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TO THE

QUEEN'S

MOST

Excellent MAJESTY.

MADAM,

YOUR gracious Acceptance of my late Book, which I had the Honour to Dedicate to His Royal Highneſs, makes me preſume to lay *This* at Your Majeſty's Feet.

The Diſcoveries that have been ſucceſſively made of the Religions, Manners, Cuſtoms, Politicks, and Natural Products of all Parts of the World, will *here* give Your Majeſty an *agreeable* and *uſeful* Entertainment: And, I'm ſure, it will add to Your Satisfaction to ſee, that they have been chiefly made by thoſe of Your *Own Nation.* It hath been thought by ſome a laudable Reaſon for ſending our Gentlemen Abroad, that they may the better learn to value their Native Country. And this I dare ſay, That when either a Man hath actually travell'd the whole World over himſelf, or carefully conſider'd the Accounts which thoſe give us that have done ſo, he will be abundantly convinced, that Our own Religion, Government and Conſtitution is, in the Main, much preferable to any he ſhall meet with Abroad; And eſpecially under the happy Influence of Your Majeſty's Reign, whom Providence ſeems graciouſly to have deſign'd to make us Great and Happy, even whether we will or no.

Your Majeſty's Goodneſs to all Your Subjects, makes our Duty and Loyalty, by no means a Burthen, but a ſubſtantial Pleaſure. Your Wiſdom and penetrating Judgment diſappoints all the Deſigns of the Enemies of Your Government, and nips them in the Bud. Your [illegible] and ſteady Affection for the Eſtabliſh'd Church, damps all the

the Hopes of *Faction* and *Fanaticiſm*; And Your entire Compliance in all Things with Our Laws and Conſtitutions, Your Lenity, Love of, and Goodneſs to Your People, whoſe Eaſe and Happineſs You really ſtudy much more than Your Own, fruſtrates and blaſts all the barbarous Contrivances of thoſe, who would enſlave Us to Arbitrary Power, *French* and *Popiſh* Tyranny: And who wou'd deprive Us of the greateſt Bleſſing We ever yet had, Your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Excellent Government! This, *Dread Sovereign*, all the World ſees, and juſtly admires in Your Majeſty: *This* makes Your Armies conquer Empires Abroad, and every One call You Bleſſed, *pray* heartily to GOD for You, and *bleſs* GOD for You, at Home.

And as theſe are Vertues, *Madam*, that can never loſe their juſt Reward; ſo I doubt not but GOD will give it *You*, in a great Meaſure, *here*; and make *You* the Glorious Inſtrument of Settling the Peace and Liberty of *Europe* on a ſafe and laſting Foundation.

The mighty Succeſs Your juſt Arms have obtain'd already, againſt the Common Enemy, doth fairly foretell *This*. And as I doubt not but This is the Univerſal Prayer of all *true Engliſh* Men; ſo is it deſired by none, with greater Zeal and Earneſtneſs, than by,

MADAM,

Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful,

And moſt Obedient Subject and Servant,

JOHN HARRIS.

TO THE
READER.

THough the Contents *are very full and particular, yet I judge it may be satisfactory to give some Account of this Work in general.*

The former of these Volumes begins with the most early Discoveries, and Settlements of Trade, and reaches down to the Year 1626, *where* Purchas *ends his Collection. But you will find here a succinct Account, of the Books of very many other Authors, which are neither in* Him *nor* Hackluit.

This Volume is divided into Five Books.

The First of which contains an Account of the several Circum-Navigations *of the* Globe, *by* Columbus, Ferd. Magellane, *Sir* Francis Drake, *Mr.* Tho. Candish, Oliver Noort, Sebald de Wert, George Spitbergen, William Cornelison, Schooten *of* Horne, *&c.*

The Second Book gives you the first English *Voyages to the* East-Indies, *both before and after the Settlement of the* East-India *Company.*

As also, the first Voyages of the Dutch *to those Parts, with their several Successes there, till their Pretensions to a Property and Sovereignty at the* Banda *Islands.*

You will find here also, that the French, *finding the great Advantage the* English *and* Dutch *made of the Trade to the* East-Indies, *fitted out Ships to come in for a Part with them: And here you have in particular the admirable Voyage of Monsieur* Beauleu *to the* East-Indies, *taken from the large Collections of Mousieur* Thevenot: *In which you have a just Account of the* English, Dutch *and* Portuguese *in that Part of the World, and on what Foundations and Principles each proceeded in their Pretences and Measures. To which is added all the Discoveries of the* Spaniards, Portugals *and* Italians, *relating to the* East-Indies, *and the adjacent Countries.*

The Third Book contains the best Descriptions and Accounts of the several Parts of Africa, *beginning with the Author called* Leo-Africanus; *and at the End of each Chapter, adding what* Mormoli *hath further observed. And to this is annex'd all that Mr.* George Sandys *relates of* Africk, *of his own Knowledge. You have here also the Substance of* Ludolphus *his excellent History of* Æthiopia, *as also, Sir* Tho. Herbert's *Travels thro' a good Part of this Country: The Marrow of which Book we thought fit to bring in here; tho' Sir* Thomas *began his*

his Travels but in the Year in which Purchas *ends his Collection, and was Thirty Years in compleating them. But then his Exactneſs and Fidelity will ſufficiently atone for this, and you will find him much more accurate, than thoſe Writers in* Purchas: *Which yet, to illuſtrate the Matter the more fully, we have put together with him.*

In the Fourth Book you have an Account of whatever is material in all the Voyages to Ruſſia, *and the* Northern *and* North-Eaſtern *Parts: In the Beginning of which we have been much beholding to* Hackluit, *who hath been very expreſs and particular, with Regard to this Part of the World.*

After this you have all the Attempts to diſcover a North-Eaſt *and* North-Weſt Paſſage *to the* Eaſt-Indies, *in a continued* Series *of Time, from the firſt to the laſt; together with a* Map *of the* North Pole, *ſhewing* how far, *and* which Way, *each Perſon went; how they* return'd, *or where they* periſh'd: *This ends with Capt.* Wood's *Voyage; and with it is connected all the Accounts of* Greenland, *and the adjacent* Northern *Parts.*

The Fifth Book contains the Diſcoveries of our own and all other Nations in America: *With an Account of the Settlement of our Plantations, Trade,* &c. *there: In which Book, as there is nothing at all omitted that is in* Hackluit *and* Purchas, *ſo there is beſides above a Third part more added.*

The Second Volume *hath nothing out of* Purchas *and* Hackluit; *but is entirely New: Being taken from the beſt of all the Modern Authors extant, and is divided into Four Parts, according to the general Diviſion of the World. The Account of the* Appendix *you have in the Title Page, as alſo of the* Introduction; *of which therefore I ſhall ſay nothing: Only I ought to advertiſe you, that in the* Contents *you will find every Author's Name, and to what Part of the World he travell'd,* &c. *And that the* Index *is ſo very large and compleat, that you may there readily find the Deſcription of any Part of the World; or an Account of any* Bird, Beaſt, *or* Plant *remarkable therein, that hath been deſcrib'd by Travellers.*

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THE

INTRODUCTION.

PART the First.

Of the Origination of Mankind, the Peopling of the World, and the Migration of Nations.

WHoever will carefully and unprejudicately consider, That there hath in all Ages, and amongst all Nations been a constant Tradition, That Mankind had its Original *ex non Genitis*, or from some first Parents not begotten in the common way, but immediately created by God himself. Whoever will observe that the Increase of Mankind daily exceeds the Decrease, and that Nations usually have doubled their People in about 360 Years, if not sooner: Whoever will enquire into the original Invention of Arts and Sciences, and satisfy himself from History, as he may easily do, that they all had their Rise within the compass of five or six Thousand Years: Whoever will judiciously consult the History of the most antient Times, and from thence observe, that we have no authentick Accounts of any Transactions, Originals of Kingdoms, Wars, or Institutions of Laws, Governments and Commonwealths beyond that Time; but that the Plantations of all known Parts of the World, nay even the Original and *Apotheoses* of the Heathen Deitys themselves, fall all within that Period: Whoever, I say, will candidly consider these Evidences, must conclude that we have all the moral Assurances possible, That the World had a Beginning, and that Mankind had its first Original about the Time we have so particular an Account of in the Sacred History of the Bible: And consequently, abstracting from the Divine Authority of *Moses*'s History, it cannot but be lookt upon as the most valuable Piece of Antiquity extant in the World. For 'tis plainly to him only that we are indebted for our Knowledge of the Time and Manner of the Beginning of the World; of the first Parents of Mankind; of the Cause of the Frailty and Depravity of Human Nature, of the Inventors of Arts, the Original of Nations, the first Founders of Empires and Kingdoms, and of the Institutions of Laws and Government. Which things in all other antient Histories are so intermix'd with Fables and ridiculous unaccountable Stories, that all we can learn from them is, that they knew nothing of the matter, but what they stole from him designedly, or had conveyed to them by immemorial Tradition from him. The ambitious Pretences of almost all Nations to Antiquity, and to the Vain-glory of being *Aborigines*, hath occasioned their Historians to intermingle so many Fables and Lies with the Accounts of their Origination, that there is hardly any heed to be given to what they relate; nor ought they to merit our Belief any further than as they are collaterally confirmed by other Histories: But the Account which *Moses* gives us of the peopling of the Earth after the Deluge by *Noah*'s Children, is so conformable to all the authentick Records yet remaining in any Language, that it carries with it irresistible Evidence; and its Brevity and manner of Relation is as admirable as its Truth and Intelligence is valuable. For we have more Information from him in one Chapter, than we can get without him from all the large Volumes of other Authors. Unless therefore Men will be so ridiculously capricious, as to deny the Authority of an Author, only because he hath Divine Inspiration to support him, the History which *Moses* gives us of the Original of Mankind and the Peopling of the World, ought to claim the greatest share of our Veneration and Regard.

His Account of the Peopling of the Earth before the Deluge, is designedly short, his Intention being only to relate the most remarkable Passages, and to give an account of the Succession of the Holy Line down to *Noah*, and thence to his own Time.

Bp Patrick *on Gen.*

But he is very particular about the *Seat of Paradise*; telling us, that it was placed *in Eden Eastward*; that is, Eastward of *Judea*, or from the Desert of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* was when he wrote this Account. Perhaps the Name of *Eden* might be derived from the Pleasantness of the Place: But we read of the Place or Country of *Eden* in several Places of Scripture, as in 2 *Kings* 19. 12. *Isa.* 37. 12. *Ezek.* 27. 23. and this *Eden* was Eastward of *Judea*: For in the Scripture the Inhabitants of *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Persia*, are called the Children of the East. This *Eden* was part of the Kingdom of *Assyria*, as is plain from 2 *Kings* 19. 12. and that Kingdom antiently contained, not only the Country then called *Ashur*, but also *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, &c. in some part of which last Province the Bishop of *Ely* thinks Paradice was situated; though the generality of Authors call the Region *Mesopotamia*.

Out of *Eden Moses* tells us a River went, and from thence (*i. e.* below the Garden) was parted into two Heads. This River, according to the best Accounts I can find, was a Conjunction of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*: For tho' these Rivers have different Springs, and run a long way asunder, yet at last they meet in *Apamia* (as *Ptolomy* saith;) which *Apamia*, *Bochart* saith, was the Place the *Arabians* now call *Alcatsar*, about 45 Miles from *Bagdat*, and then run together for a great way. This united Stream probably ran through the Country of *Eden*, and had the Garden of that Name seated on the East side of it; whose Southern End was at the parting again of the two Rivers; but how far it went Eastward, or spread it self along the River, 'tis hardly possible to determine.

This River, *Moses* saith, *became into four Heads*: The judicious Commentator abovementioned well observes he doth not say, *was parted*, but *became into four Heads*, that is, *Streams*: For Sir *Walter Raleigh* shews, that so all Divisions of a great River are called. Which four Streams were, *Tigris* and *Euphrates* before they joined, and *Pishon* and *Gihon* afterwards. *Pishon* probably was the Western River *Pasitigris*, the same with *Oroatis*, according to *Salmasius*; and so 'tis drawn in the Maps of Sir *Walter Raleigh* and the most learned *Bochart*: And this, as our Mr. *Carver* observes from *Xenophon*, was called simply *Physeus*: and *Bochart* notes from *Arrian. Peripl.* that there was a Place called *Pasinum* lying near *Euphrates*; in all which Names there are some Remains of the Name *Phison* or *Pison*. And *Strabo* tells us, that from some deep Trenches, which were cut to carry the Water of *Euphrates* into *Tigris*, came the Name of *Pasitigris*. But be this as it will, *Moses* saith, *that this River compasseth the whole Land of* Havilah. In *Gen.* 10. *Moses* mentions two *Havilahs*, one descended from *Joctan*, v. 29. but this cannot be the *Havilah* here mentioned, because his Posterity were planted Eastward: But the other *Havilah*, *viz.* is said to be descended from *Cush*, and gave rise to a more Western People seated on that part of *Arabia Felix* which borders on this Stream. For we read *Gen.* 25. 18. that the *Ishmaelites*, which certainly were the Inhabitants of *Arabia Deserta*, are bounded by *Shur* towards *Egypt*, and by *Havilah* in the way to *Assyria*. And after this, 1 *Sam.* 15. 7. we read that *Saul* found *Havilah* in the same Situation. And *Bochart*, in his *Phaleg. lib.* 4. *c.* 11. *col.* 225. *Edit. Amstelod.* observes from *Strabo*, that there were a People called Χαυλοταῖοι, which were Inhabitants of *Arabia*.

The next Stream *Moses* calls *Gihon*, of which Name indeed there are hardly any Footsteps remaining; but by the Country it is said to encompass, it must be the Eastern Division of the River after its parting at *Eden*. This Country he calls *Ethiopia*, or *Cush*; by which we are to understand, not that in *Africa*, but in *Asia* (for the Antients mention two *Ethiopia*'s.) This *Bochart* asserts, and *Steph. Morinus*, in his Treatise of Paradise,

proves to be the Country of *Susiana*, which the *Greeks* c lled *Kissa*, and the *Persians* at this time call *Chuzestan*, or the Country of *Chuz*.

The Name of the Third River, he saith, is *Hiddekel*, which in *Dan.* 10. 4. is called the Great River, and therefore must be *Tigris*: For *Rauwolff* tells us in his Travels, *p.* 11. *c.* 9. that in his time the River *Tigris* was called by the People of *Caruch*, on the Confines of *Media*, *Hiddekel*. And *Pliny* saith, *lib.* 6. *c.* 27. that the *Tigris* is so called from its Swiftness; but that where it runs slower, 'tis called *Diglito*, and the *Arabians* call it *Deglat* and *Degla*; all which Words plainly are Corruptions of the Name *Hiddekel*. The *Targum* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* renders it *Diglat*.

The fourth River, *Euphrates*, *Moses* doth only barely mention, because it was very well known to those to whom he wrote, and at that time. The Seat therefore of Paradise was thus placed: The Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (i. e. *Hiddekel*) joined somewhere in the antient *Babylonia*, or, as some call it, *Mesopotamia*, into one great Stream, on the East side of whose Banks the Garden of *Eden* was placed; at the Southward End of which the River parted again into two Streams, then called *Pison* and *Gihon*; but in process of time *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as before their Conjunction, which Name we find in the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers given to them. Mr. *Whiston*, in his *New Theory of the Earth*, p. 104. supposes the antient Paradise to be at the joint Course of the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, either before they fall into the *Persian* Gulph, where they now unite together, and seperate again, or rather where they antiently divided themselves below the Island *Ormus*, where the *Persian* Gulf, under the Tropick of *Cancer*, falls into the *Persian* Sea. So that the exact Place of Paradice is now under Water, being a Branch, or Bay, of the great Ocean. What this Gentleman's Reasons are that induce him to be so particular as to the Seat of Paradice, the Reader will see in his Ingenious Theory.

This short Account of the Situation of Paradise I thought proper to give you here, because 'tis a Geographical Matter, and therefore proper for this Place: and tho' no doubt the Site of those Rivers was much changed by the Flood, yet 'tis likely *Moses* describes them as they were in his Time, and as such they do not disagree with the Accounts we have of those Places from other hands.

There is little more necessary to be taken notice of here, of Matters transacted before the Deluge, unless the Mention of *Cain*'s going out from the Presence of the Lord *into the Land of* Nod, *on the East of* Eden; his dwelling there, and building a City, which he called after his Son's Name, *Enoch*. By which we may understand, that *Cain*'s Guilt and Remorse of Mind was so great, that he could not bear the View of the *Schechinah*, or Divine Glory, the then visible Mark of God's Presence, and which abode probably in the Place where *Adam* settled himself after his Expulsion out of Paradise; and therefore wandred away Eastward from *Eden*, into a Country, that from his wandring up and down there, had the Name of *Nod* given it, that is, *the Land of Vagabonds*. This Place *Junius* thinks, was in that Tract of Land, where the first *Nomades* afterward dwelt (who perhaps took their Rambling way of living from this first Vagabond *Cain*) and which he supposes was near *Susiana*, or *Chuzestan*. Here, after he had moved up and down for a great while, till his Progeny grew numerous, he at last settled, and built a City, and called it *Enoch* (as was antiently very usual) after the Name of a Son he had then born. After this *Moses* mentions only a few Passages of *Cain*'s Offspring; looking upon them, as some of the Fathers speak, as such a wicked Generation of Men, as were not worthy to be numbred in the Book of the Living; whereas he gives a plain Account of the Genealogy of *Seth* (*Adam*'s Son) down to the time of the Deluge, and thence to his own Age.

As to all other Matters from hence to the Flood, as how far the Earth was peopled by the *Antediluvians*, in what Parts of the World they settled, whether they had any Ships or Boats, and what Travels or Voyages they made, we can advance nothing but meer Conjecture, and therefore shall say nothing of it; but proceed to consider the Peopling of the Earth after the Flood, by *Noah* and his Family, the only Survivors in that Universal Deluge.

Of the Capacity, Form and Figure of the Ark, I need say nothing, it having been sufficiently proved over and over, that it was capable of holding all those Creatures (and their Food) which were included in it during the time that the Waters of the Deluge cover'd the Earth, which was a whole Year: Only 'tis proper for my Purpose to observe, that 'tis exceeding probable the Ark did not move far from the Place where *Noah* built it, but was only just, as it were, lifted up from ground by the advancing Waters, and then set down again: For its very great Bulk and Chest-like Figure was very improper for Sailing; and we read of no Oars, Masts or Sails that it had to move it, or Rudder to steer it: And there was no Wind to drive it from Place to Place; for the Wind came not till after the Ark was safe a-ground on the Mountains of *Ararat*, as is fairly concludable from the Text. This being so, and it being also probable, that tho' *Cain*'s Progeny rambled about the Earth, and settled themselves remote from the Seat of *Adam*, and his Posterity of the Holy Line; yet 'tis very likely that these, I say, fixed themselves somewhere near to and about Paradice, in the Province of *Babylon*, *Assyria*, *Mesopotamia*, &c. For there, as *Bochart* well observes, was the greatest Plenty of the *Gopher Wood* (that is, *Cypress*, as our *Fuller* in his Miscellanies hath, I think, proved) of which God commanded *Noah* to make the Ark: And here also long after this, *Arrianus* tells us, *lib.* 7. *Alexander* built a Navy of Cypress Trees Wood.

Now we are told by *Moses*, that the Ark rested on the Mountains of *Ararat*, which now all Learned Writers do agree, signifies that long Ridg of Mountains which is now called *Taurus*, as it was by *Pliny*, and runs through *Armenia*, *Assyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, *Susiana*, &c. from *Cilian* to *Parapomisus*. On the highest and more Eastern part of this Tract of Hills did the Ark rest; or, as *Epiphanius* calls them, and *Bochart* from him, the *Gordiean Mountains*; which, as *Theodoret* observes on *Isaiah* 16. 13. were always reckoned the highest in the World. *Porcius Cato* saith expressly, that about 250 Years before *Ninus* the Earth was drowned by a Deluge, and that Mankind was restored again in *Scythia Saga*; which Country Sir *Walter Raleigh* saith is certainly under the Mountain *Parapomisus*. To the same purposes Dr. *Heylin* produces a Tradition of the Inhabitants thereabouts, that near the Foot of Mount *Caucasus* there was a large Vineyard in *Margiana*, which was of *Noah*'s planting. Mr. *Whiston* also, in his *New Theory of the Earth*, observes very justly, that it being plain from *Moses*'s Text, and from the Nature of the thing, that the Ark rested on the highest Hill of all *Asia*, nay indeed of the whole Earth (for the Water was fifteen Cubits above the Tops of all the other Mountains, when the Ark was a-ground on Mount *Ararat*) *Parapomisus* (the antient *Caucasus*) must be the Place where the Ark rested, because it is agreed, that that Hill was the highest of all in *Asia*. These Mountains were not above 200 or 300 Miles from *Eden*, and probably about half as far from the Place where *Noah* built the Ark, according to *Bochart*: And the Course of the Rains and the Rise of the Water coming from the South, might easily and gently drive the Ark so far Northerly, as to set it down on the Top of those vast high Hills. And that it was the most Easterly part of these Mountains on which the Ark rested, seems plain from the Account which *Moses* gives us of the first Removal after the Deluge, which he saith was *from the East*, into the Plains of *Shinar*, *Gen.* 11. 2. and also because we find by all antient History, that tho' we meet with none, or at least but very few Colonies sent Eastward after the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*; yet the Eastern Parts of the Earth have always been most numerous, as well as most polite and great.

After the Waters were assuaged, and the Earth grew dry by degrees, no doubt the Family of *Noah* began to come down from the Mountains, and to disperse themselves into such parts of the adjacent Countries, as probably by Birthright, Lot, or some other ways of Division each Party had appointed for them. And as these Families increas'd and grew numerous, they must of necessity extend farther and farther; so that at last, they and their Posterity came to *overspread the whole Earth*, as *Moses* expressly tells us, *Gen.* 9. 19.

From whence it appears (as a very great Man observes) that *Noah* either had no Children after the Flood, or else that none of them lived to have any Posterity. *St. Patrick on Gen.*

'Tis more than probable, that from *Ararat* they went down towards the *South* first of all, peopling *Assyria*, *Babylon*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and then *Ethiopia* by degrees: So that the Pretence of the *Egyptians* of being the most antient People of the World, was as vain as that of the *Ethiopians*, who contended with *them* for Antiquity, of whom they were but a Colony, as we learn from *Gen.* 13. 13.

But in order to give a more particular Account of the Peopling of the World, and the Origin of Nations, I shall begin with the *East*, which by the general Voice of all Antiquity

Antiquity, hath been pronounced the most antient Part of the World; and it hath been by one common Consent always owned, that all Learning, Arts and Sciences, and Knowledge of antient Times, hath been derived from thence. This, as Dr. *Jackson* observes, is apparent from the Rise and Increase of Arts and Sciences, which were in the East in a good degree of Perfection, as early as we have any account of Time in profane History, and were from thence propagated into other Parts of the World: and this also is confirmed by the State and Grandeur of the Eastern Kingdoms, long before *Greece* or *Italy* made any Noise or Figure in the World, and which 'tis plain were originally Colonies from thence.

The Ark therefore resting on the *Gordiæan* Hills, or Eastern Part of the Mountain *Taurus*, and the pleasant Plains of *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, &c. being below them to the Southward, nothing can be more likely than that some of *Noah*'s Family would go down and settle themselves thereabouts first of all, as knowing also that thereabout was the antient Seat of Paradise: And accordingly the Accounts that we have of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians*, are the most antient of any. The *Gentile* Writers of History all agree that *Babylon*, or *Babel*, was first built by the First *Belus*; which Word doubtless comes from *Baal*, which signifies *Lord* or absolute Commander: And therefore this Person can be no other but *Nimrod*, whose Kingdom *Moses* tells us, *Gen.* 10. 10. was *Babel*, and who is called *a mighty Hunter before the Lord*: Which antient Exercise of Hunting qualified him for Monarchy, as an excellent Commentator shews: For he not only enured himself to labour and toil by it, but thereby also gathered together a great Company of Young Men, robust and active, who by this means became qualified for Battle, and were fitted to pursue and conquer *Men* as well as *Beasts*. This *Nimrod* or *Belus*, *Bochart* shews was the antient *Bacchus*, who is mentioned to be a Conqueror in the East as far as *India*, and whose Name, he thinks, came from *Bar-Chus*; that is, the Son of *Cush*, who was *Nimrod*'s Father, *Gen.* 10. 8. Some Writers indeed say, that *Ninus*, his eldest Son, built *Babylon*, or a Son that went by that Name; which may be consistent enough, for the Father might begin it, and the Son finish it. As for the Account which *Ctesias* gives, that *Babylon* was first built by *Semiramis*, it cannot be understood of that *Semiramis* whom the *Greek* Histories so much celebrate: For, as *Salmasius* observes, she lived near 2000 Years after *Belus*; (*Exercit in Solinum*) and besides, both *Berosus* and *Abydenus*, who compiled the History of the Country from the antient Records, say it was built by *Belus*.

By Patrick in locum.

This mighty *Nimrod*, *Moses* saith, built also three other Cities in the plain Land of *Shinar*; which comprehended not only that part of *Assyria* where *Babylon* stood, but also that Country bordering upon *Tigris* to the Foot of the Mountains of *Armenia*. These Cities were, 1. *Erec*, which was, as *Bochart* shews, the *Arecka* of *Ptolomy*, and the *Arecha* of *Ammianus*. This was situate in the Country of *Susiana* upon *Tigris*, and from hence came the *Areccæi Campi* mentioned by *Tibullus*, as *Salmasius* observes. This *Erec* probably was the *Arderica* or *Anderica* of *Herodotus*, and from hence came that Colony mentioned *Ezra* 4. 9. called in the *Chaldee* ארכוי, by the *Septuagint* Ἀρχυαῖοι, and in the Vulgar *Latin Erchuæi*, as *Bochart* thinks.

2. *Accad*, which the LXX render *Archad*; and therefore *Bochart* thinks was the *Argad* of *Ctesias*, the same with *Sittace* or *Sittacene*, a City that had a River called *Argad* running by it, as *Ælian* shews, *lib.* 16. *c.* 42. *de animalibus*.

3. *Chalne*, called *Isa.* 10. 9. *Chalno*, and *Ezekiel* 27. 23. *Channe*. From hence doubtless came the Country called *Chalonitis*, of which *Strabo*, *Polybius*, and *Pliny* make mention, whose chief City ('tis like) antiently was this *Chalne*, afterwards by *Pacorus* King of *Persia* called *Ctesiphon*, as *Ammianus* expressly saith, *lib.* 23. and *Strabo*, *lib.* 16. saith this *Ctesiphon* was near to *Babylon*.

But whether these three Cities were built before or after the Confusion of Languages is not certain. There is all the reason in the world to believe that *Assyria* was also conquered in some measure by *Nimrod*: For tho' in *Gen.* 10. 11. it stands in our Translation, *Out of that Land* (that is, *Babylonia*) *went forth* Ashur; yet as *Bochart* and Bp *Patrick* prove, it ought to be translated, *He* (*i. e.* Nimrod) *went out into* Assyria, and built *Nineveh*, *Rehoboth*, &c. and so 'tis rendred in the Margin of our Bible, and *Bochart* shews that *Ashur* here is not the Name of a Person, but of a Place. Add to this, that *Assyria* is call'd *the Land of* Nimrod, *Mich.* 5. 6. For *Nineveh*, the Capital City of *Assyria*, is plainly the Habitation or Seat of *Ninus*; and therefore 'tis highly probable that, according to the antient Custom (see *Gen.* 4. 17.) *Nimrod* built this City, and called it after the Name of his Son *Ninus*. This Place stood on the West side of *Tigris*, was a very great and flourishing City for a long while, but at last utterly destroyed by the *Medes*, and never since rebuilt. The same *Nimrod*, *Moses* tells us, also built *Rehoboth*, from the Signification of the Word, which in the *Hebrew* is *Streets*. *Bochart* conjectures that this is that City which *Ptolomy* calls *Birtha* and *Amianus*, *Virta*, situate on the West of *Tigris*, at the Mouth of the River *Lycus*, because *Beritha* or *Birtha* in the *Chaldee*, hath the same sense as *Rehoboth* in the *Hebrew*. There is mention of a City called *Rehoboth*, *Gen.* 36. 37. which was the Birth-place of *Saul*, one of the Kings of *Edom*, or *Idumæa*; but this was situate a little below *Circesium*, at the Mouth of the River *Chaboras*, or *Euphrates*, as *Bochart* shews from the *Nubian* Geographer, *Ammianus*, *Procopius*, &c. *lib.* 4. *c.* 21. and therefore was too far from *Nineveh* to be the Place here mentioned.

Nimrod also, as *Moses* saith, built the City *Calah* or *Calach*, which *Bochart* shews was probably the Capital of the Country called *Calachene*, which was seated about the Fountain of the River *Lycus*. The City *Resen* is said also to have been built by *Nimrod*, which from the Situation, the Greatness of the Place, and the Similitude of the Name (*Lariſſa* being easily derivable from the *Chaldee* Genitive Case *Leresen*) *Bochart* thinks to have been the *Lariſſa* of *Xenophon*, *lib.* 3. *Anebas.* For he saith it was situate on the *Tigris*, was eight Miles about, had its Walls 100 foot high and 25 thick: He saith also that the *Greeks* found it in Ruins, and without Inhabitants, when they came into this part of the World, it having been destroyed by the *Persians*, when they got the Empire from the *Medes*.

But this Country of *Assyria*, into which *Nimrod* made this Expedition, which was a very large Tract of Land, and in some sense comprehended all *Syria*; for the Names are oftentimes confounded; tho *Assyria* properly was only that Country of which *Nineveh* was the Capital City, and was sometimes called *Adiabene* and *Aturia*. This *Assyria*, I say, had its first Inhabitants from *Ashur*, (as well as its Name) one of the Sons of *Shem*. *Syria* had its first Name from *Sur* or *Sor*, which was *Tyre*, the Metropolis of *Phœnicia*; and the first Inhabitants of this Part were the Sons of *Canaan*, the youngest Son of *Ham*: but afterwards *Syria* became a common Name for almost all the Country round about. Some of the *Syrians* were doubtless derived from *Arphaxad*, the Brother of *Ashur*; for we find in *Ptolomy*, a Country of *Assyria* called *Araphacitis*, which is very easily derivable from his Name. And no question a good part of the antient *Syria* was peopled by *Aram* (and his Posterity) another Brother of *Ashur*: For we find that the *Syrians* were antiently called *Aramæi*. *Homer* mentions the *Arimoi* (*Iliad.* 2.) and *Strabo* saith, that by those *Arimoi* many understood the *Syrians*: Nay the Inhabitants of that Country do to this day call themselves *Aramæans*: But the large Extent of the antient *Syria* will not permit us to think all the Inhabitants all round about *Babylon* and *Tyre* came from this *Aram*; and therefore Learned Men have in my opinion limited it only to those Places which have the Word *Aram* either prefixed or subjoined to their proper Name; as *Padan Aram*, which is *Mesopotamia*; *Aram Sobah* the antient *Tadmor*, or *Palmyra*; *Aram Damasck*, the Country about *Damascus*, &c. See *Patrick* on *Gen.* 10. 23. And this is confirmed, by finding the Remains of the Names of *Aram*'s Sons in *Syria*. The Vally of *Damascus* is called by the *Arabians* to this day *Gaut* and *Gauta*, which Bp *Patrick* observes differs only in the Letters, but not in the Pronunciation, from *Uz* or *Uzi*, the Son of *Aram*. *Grotius* takes notice of a City in *Syria*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Cholle*, plainly derivable from *Chull* or *Hull*, another Son of this *Aram*; from whom *Bochart* thinks the Country of *Cholcheene*, a part of *Armenia*, was peopled, the *Armenians*, *Syrians* and *Arabians* being much alike, as *Strabo* observes, in Body, Speech, and manner of Life.

Assyria

In *Mesopotamia* there is mention made in good Authors, of the Mountain *Masius*, from whence *Xenophon* saith there is a River flows, called *Masca*. The Inhabitants of this Mountain, *Stephanus* saith, are called *Masieni*: In all which Words there is a plain Allusion to the Name of *Mash*, another of *Aram*'s Sons; and this Person being 1 *Chron.* 1. 17. called *Meshech*, 'tis very likely from him the *Moschæni* were descended, whom *Pliny* places between *Adiabene* and *Armenia Major*. And since we learn from *Ammianus Marcellus*, that the second

Capital City of the Province of *Susiana* next to *Susa*, was called *Sela*, 'tis very likely another Son of *Aram*, whom *Moses* calls *Salah*, might give Rise and a Name to it. There is also mention in profane Authors (as well as in *Acts* 2. 9.) of the *Elamites*, whose Capital City was *Elymais*: These dwelt between *Media* and *Mesopotamia*, and very probably were derived and denominated from *Elam*, the eldest Son of *Shem*, *Gen.* 10.22. *Pliny* also and *Ptolomy* mentioning *Elamites* at the Mouth of the River *Eulæus* below *Susiana*. What *Josephus* saith of the *Elamites*, that they were Περσῶν ἀρχηγέται, the Founders of the *Persians*, may be very right, when taken in

Persia. a large Sense. And now we mention *Persia*, the Learned *Bochart*, and others prove, that the Sons of *Cush* (all but *Nimrod*) seated themselves round about the *Persian* Sea, where he finds many Remainders of their antient Names, in the Geographical Writers among the *Greeks*. 'Tis almost agreed by every one, that the *Medes*, the Inhabitants of that antient, but long extinct Kingdom of *Media*, were derived from *Madai* the third Son of *Japheth*, *Gen.* 10. 2. The *Medes* being destroyed, *Pliny*, *lib.* 6. *c.* 7. saith, the *Sarmatæ*, *who are, as is said, the Offspring of the* Medes, *do now inhabit the* Palus Mæotis. And *Pomponius Mela*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 3. saith, the *Sarmatæ are a Nation in Habit and Arms next like to the* Parthians. Of which People, the *Parthians*, saith *Trogus*, *lib.* 41. *Their Speech is a Mixture of the* Scythian *and* Median *Languages, and their Arms like* Scythians, *but their Habit after they grew rich, was like the* Medes. From whence 'tis plain the *Sarmatæ*, *Parthians* and *Medes*, were People nearly alike, and probably a-kin; and therefore the Great *Bochart*'s Conjecture is very probable, that the Word *Sarmatæ* is derived from the *Chaldee* ראש מדי that is, *Sear Madai*, the Offspring of the *Medes*.

Arabia. *Cush* himself, the Father of *Nimrod*, certainly gave Rise and Name to the famous Country of *Arabia*: For tho' *Cush* be in our Bible usually translated *Ethiopia*, yet the Paraphrase of *Jonathan* is here to be rather followed, who translates it *Arabia*: For *Cush* is the same with *Cushan*, which in *Habbak.* 3.7. is made the same with *Midian*; and *Moses* his Wife, which certainly was a *Midianite*, *Exod.* 2. 16, 21. is called a *Cushite*. And an Excellent Commentator on *Genesis* shews from *Ezekiel* 29. 10. That *Cush* cannot be *Ethiopia*, but must be *Arabia*. Of which also see *Bochart*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 2. who makes it probable from abundance of Circumstances, that the *Cushites* were those who afterwards were called *Scenitæ* because of their living in Tents; and then *Saracens*, from their Rapines and Robberies: Which agrees mightily with the Inhabitants of *Arabia*. And from *Havilah* or *Chavilah*, one of the Sons of this *Cush*, came the People called by *Pliny*, *Charelæi*, by *Eratosthenes*, *Chaulotæi*, who, as *Strabo* saith, were seated in *Arabia Felix*. *Ptolomy* also saith, that there was in *Arabia Felix* a City called *Saptha*, not far distant from the Sea; which plainly and easily may be derived from *Sabta*, another Son of *Cush*, according to *Moses*. 'Twere endless to mention all the Authorities and Arguments to prove, that all parts of *Arabia* were peopled by the Posterity of *Cush*; and therefore having shewed you where a great Stock of People were placed ready to send Colonies into the adjacent Countries, I shall enquire next into the Peopling of *Egypt*, that famous Place for Learning and Antiquity.

Egypt. *Egypt*, *Plutarch* calls Χημία, and 'tis certain that the Heathen *Jupiter* was there called *Hammon*, in both which Words there is a plain Allusion to *Ham*; and indeed in the Scripture *Egypt* is in many Places called the Land of *Ham*: And *Stephanus Byzantinus* saith, that not only a part of *Africa*, but even all that Region, was called *Ammonia* from *Ammon*; and for this he quotes the Authority of *Alexander Polyhistor*. *Ham* was the second Son of *Noah*, whose Son *Mizraim* is on good grounds supposed to be the Father of them who inhabited *Egypt* at first. There are plain Remains of his Name in the first *Egyptian* Month, which they called *Mesori*, and the Country it self was called *Mestra*, as *Grotius* and *Capellus* observe. The City of *Alcairo* is at this time by the *Arabians* called *Meser*: and *Bochart* observes well, that *Moses*'s word *Misraim* being of the Dual Number, cannot so well be the Name of a Person, but will very properly signify *Egypt*, because it consists of two Parts, the *Upper* and the *Lower*: For all that Part of it which lies against the *Nile* while it runs in one Stream, is called the *Higher* or *Upper Egypt*; but the *Lower* is that where the River is divided into many Streams; and this the *Greeks* call *Delta*, from the Letter Δ, it being of a Triangular Form. *Bochart* observes, that 'tis probable *Egypt* might be called *Mizraim*, or in the Singular *Mazor*, from its being naturally fortified on every side; for *Mazor* is a fortified Place. That this is the case of *Egypt*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *lib.* 1. *p.* 18. takes notice very particularly: *On the West*, saith he, *are inaccessible Deserts*; *on the South the Cataracts of* Nile, *and the Mountains of* Ethiopia; *on the East, Deserts*, Barathra, *and the* Palus Sertonidis; *and on the North, a Sea almost without Ports or Havens*. And *Strabo* saith, that *Egypt* was a Country content with their own Commodities, because it was not easily accessible to Strangers, *lib.* 16. *p.* 819.

'Tis not easy to say at what time from the Flood *Egypt* was peopled; but 'tis probable it was very early, since it seems to have given Denomination to *Ham*'s second Son *Mizraim*, whom 'tis likely *Moses* calls so from the Place of his Birth. We find in *Isaiah* 19. 11. that the latter *Pharoahs* called themselves *the Sons of antient Kings*, no doubt from a Tradition of the great Antiquity of *Egypt*. And if *Elmacinus* may be credited, the *Egyptian* Kingdom was Coæval with that of *Nimrod* in *Babylon*, who, he saith began to reign there in the 130th Year of his Life, which was scarce 200 Years after the Flood. But that was certainly time enough to produce great numbers of People, especially if you suppose the first Planters of Mankind after the Flood to have had two or more Children at a Birth; which is very probable, since, as one well observes, they were bid twice to encrease and multiply, and to replenish the Earth, *Gen.* 11. 1, 7. and it appears from the Text, that *Cain* and *Abel*, the first Children of *Adam*, were Twins, as Dr. *Lightfoot* notes. Between this *Mizraim* and his Brother *Phut*, *Bochart* Africa.

shews that all *Africa* was divided. All *Egypt*, and several Parts of *Africa*, as far as the Lake *Tritonis* (which bissected *Africa* nearly) was the Part of *Mizraim*; but all the rest, beyond that Lake as far as the *Atlantick* Ocean was the Portion or Division of *Phut*: Of which Name *Phut*, there are many Remains; as the City *Putea*, which is mentioned by *Ptolomy*, *lib.* 3. *c.* 1. and by him called Φθοῦτ. There is a River also called by the Name of *Fut*, and mentioned by *Pliny*, *lib.* 5. *c.* 1. This River is in *Mauritania Tingitania*, and runs into the Ocean; and *Bochart* shews that the *Africans* were Lybia.

called *Phutæi*, because many of them were *Nomades*, and rambled about from Place to Place, the primary Signification of *Phut* or *Phuts* being *scatter'd or dispersed*; and that the old *Africans* were such, both *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela* assert. 'Tis well known also that *Africa*, or a considerable part of it, was called *Lybia*; which Name certainly comes from the *Hebrew Lub*, signifying thirsty or dry, according to that of *Lucan*, *lib.* 1.

——per calidas Lybiæ sitientis arenas.

And *Lub* or *Lubia* is also the *Arabick* Name for *Lybia*.

Let us next consider *Ethiopia*, another famous Part of Ethiopia.

Africa. This, *Bochart* very probably proves to have been that Part of the Earth which in the Scripture is called *Lud*, and consequently may be supposed to receive its first People from *Ludim* the eldest Son of *Mizraim*, *Gen.* 10. 13. for the *Hebrew Lud* signifies (as well as the *Arabick*) *winding* or turning in and out like a River? And he proves from *Herodotus*, *Agatharchides*, *Strabo*, *Eratosthenes*, &c. that against *Ethiopia* the *Nile* had a great number of Windings and Turnings, like the *Meander*. And this seems to be confirmed very much from the Country about the *Meander*'s being called *Lydia*, as we learn from *Pliny*'s words, *lib.* 5. *c.* 29. *Lydia autem perfusa fluctuosi Amnis Meandri recursibus*. And *Herodotus* speaking of the *Ethiopick Nile*, saith, σκολιὸς δὲ πάνυ κατάπερ ὁ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος. He shews also that the *Ethiopians* were very famous for their shooting in Long Bows; which is the Account the Scriptures give of the *Ludim*, *Isa.* 66. 19. *Jerem.* 46. 9. In the former of these Places of Scripture he observes also, that *Phul* and *Lud* are joined together; which confirms *Lud* to be *Ethiopia*, because *Phul* is certainly the same with that City which the *Greeks* called *Phylæ*, which was inhabited by the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians*, as it were in common, and stood about 100 *Stadia* from the *Nile*, as *Strabo* expresly saith, *lib.* 27. and *Herodotus* confirms this at large, *lib.* 8. 'Tis plain also from *Diodorus*, that the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians* were Nations nearly allied in their Religious and Civil Customs, and that they had the same Letters and Hieroglyphicks, and the same Sacerdotal Vestments, &c. And he saith also, that the *Ethiopians* contended with the *Egyptians* for Antiquity (*lib.* 1.) alledging, that they living more Southerly than the *Egyptians*, had a stronger Sun, which therefore must contribute more early and efficaciously to Generation: They said also that the Land of *Egypt* was all adventitious, and gained from the Sea, by the

Mud

Mud which *Nilus* threw up into a heap: But *Moſes* ſeems to have effectually determin'd this Diſpute by ſaying, that *Mizraim* begat *Ludim*; and therefore the *Ethopians* or *Ludim* muſt be leſs antient than the *Egyptians*. And indeed 'tis exceeding probable, that the Ark reſting on the *Gordiean* or *Armenian* Mountains, the firſt Deſcent of the Sons of *Noah* was into the South, and having peopled *Babylon*, *Aſſyria*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, went, or ſent Colonies after this into *Ethiopia*, and the yet more Southern Parts. I omit *Bochart*'s other Arguments to prove the *Ethiopians* to be the *Ludim* of *Moſes*, which, who ſo pleaſes, may conſult in *lib.* 4. *c.* 26. of his *Phaleg*.

The *Egyptians*, 'tis highly probable, ſent out Colonies into many of the neighbouring Parts, as their Stock of People increaſed: But one would wonder any of them ſhould ramble ſo far as the *Euxine* Sea. And yet ſome are of opinion, that the *Chineſe* were the Offspring of the *Egyptians*: *Hornius* ſaith, 'tis paſt doubt that there are many things among them of *Egyptian* Original; as their antient way of writing, and their Philoſophy: And he thinks it not an improbable Conjecture, that part of *Seſoſtris* his Army might go thither, the Way not being ſo very great, but that ſome of them (eſpecially the Horſe, for which *Egypt* was famous) might march thither: For the *Scythians*, and of late Ages the *Tartars* have made Incurſions into *Egypt*. To this he adds, that the *Chineſe* Records ſay they were peopled firſt from the Weſt; and that the Province of *Xenſi* was the firſt inhabited, and after that *Honan*, *Peking*, *Xangtung*, &c. *Hiſtor. p.* 53, 54.

Herodotus, *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, and *Ammianus*, all agree, that the *Colchi*, which inhabited the Eaſtern Parts of the *Euxine* beyond *Trapiſond*, were derived from the *Egyptians*. Since, as *Herodotus* ſhews, their *Language*, *Manners* and *Religious Rites* did very much agree, and the Name of *Colchi* being eaſily derivable from the Word *Caſluchim* (by only omitting the L, which before an S hath not a good Sound) as *Bochart* obſerves; we may eaſily believe the *Colchi* were derived from the *Egyptians*, ſince *Moſes* tells us, *Gen.* 10. 14. that the *Caſluchim* were the Offspring of *Mizraim*, the People of *Egypt*. And this receives Confirmation from *Moſes* ſaying that from theſe came the *Philiſtim*, and that the *Caphtorim* were near the *Caſluchim*. Theſe *Caphtorim* all the Antients take to be the *Cappadocians*; but *Bochart* ſhews they were not all the Inhabitants of that Country, but that Part which was next to *Trapiſond*, where *Colchis* ended: For here *Strabo* mentions a City called *Side*, and the Country *Sidene*; but *Bochart* ſhews that *Side* in the *Greek* hath the very ſame Signification as *Caphtor* in the *Hebrew*; and therefore 'tis highly probable that the ſame Country might be called *Caphtor* in one Language, which was *Sidene* in the other. And now we are in this part of the World, let us conſider the People whom we find by the *Greeks* called *Moſchi* and *Tybareni*: For theſe are uſually joined together by *Herodotus*. *Strabo* ſaith the *Moſchi* inhabited the Mountains called *Moſchici*, North-Eaſt of *Cappadocia*; and, as the Learned *Bochart* thinks alſo, all the Mountains from the River *Phaſis* to the *Pontus Cappadocicus*: And the *Tybareni*, *Strabo* places between the *Trapezuntii* and the Inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*. Theſe People, 'tis highly probable, came from *Meſheck* and *Tubal*, two Sons of *Japhet* mentioned by *Moſes*, *Gen.* 10. 2. For theſe are as conſtantly joined together in Scripture, as they are in Profane Authors: And the Derivation of *Moſchi* from *Meſheck* is very natural to any one acquainted with the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Languages; as alſo is the *Tybareni* from *Tubal* or *Tubar*, by only changing the L into an R, as is uſual every one knows with the *Greeks*, as in Βιλιαϛ for *Belial*, &c. And *Bochart* ſhews that theſe *Tybareni* and *Moſchi* had the ſame kind of Commerce, Traffick and Commodities with thoſe of *Tubal* and *Meſheck* in the Scripture, as the Reader may ſee at large in *lib.* 3. *c.* 9. of his *Phaleg*. But before I leave the *Egyptian* Colonies, I ought to take notice that *Plutarch*, in his Book *de Iſide & Oſiride*, ſaith, that the *Egyptians* called the Country and the Mountains which lay on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean* which was called *Marmarica*, and now *Barcha*, *i. e.* that Part againſt the *Mare Lybicum*, by the Name of *Nephthun*. Now *Moſes* tells us, *Gen.* 10. 13. that one of the Sons of *Mizraim*, the Founder of the *Egyptian* Nation, was called *Naphtuhim*; which may very well ſignify the People of *Naphthuah*; and therefore from thence we have an Account of the Peopling of that Coaſt of the *Mediterranean* by a Colony from *Egypt*. And 'tis very obvious to obſerve here by the by, that from the *Egyptian* Name of this Maritime Country, *Nephthun*, the word *Neptune* may be derived: And we are ſure that *Neptune* was ſaid originally to be a *Lybian* God, and known only to that People, as *Herodotus* the Father of Hiſtory, tells us, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 50.

And ſince we are gotten into the *Mediterranean*, let us coaſt it round. That the *Phenicians*, *Syrians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Sidonians* or *Tyrians* were deſcended from the *Canaanites*, no one denies. This *Euſebius* tells us *Sanchoniuthon* and his Editor *Phil-Byblius* expreſly aſſert; and *Sanchoniuthon* calls *Phenicia* χνᾶ. as the ſame *Euſebius* obſerves. And moſt certain it is that the LXX uſe the Names of *Canaanite* and *Phenician* promiſcuouſly: For *Shaul*, who in *Gen.* 46. 10. is called the Son of a *Canaanitiſh* Woman, is in *Exod.* 6. 15. ſaid to be the Son of a *Phenician* Woman: And her whom St. *Matthew* calls a Woman of *Canaan* in *ch.* 15. 22. St. *Mark* calls a *Syrophenician*, *ch.* 7. 26. Indeed we never find the *Greeks* calling the *Phenicians* by the Name of *Canaanites*: The Reaſon of which probably is, that the *Phenicians* carefully avoided that Name, becauſe of the Curſe pronounced on their Father *Canaan*.

The Metropolis of *Phœnicia* was *Tyre*, in *Hebrew*, *Ser* or *Sur*; whence came *Surim*, and thence the *Greek* Συροι, or the *Syrians*. But *Sidon*, now *Said*, was much a more famous and antient City than *Tyre*; for *Homer* mentions nothing of *Tyre*, tho' he ſpeaks of *Sidon* and the *Sidonians* in many places: And in the Scripture we read nothing of *Tyre* till *David*'s Time, whereas *Sidon* is mentioned in the Books of *Moſes*, and no doubt the City took its Name (as the People from it) from *Sidon* the Firſt-born of *Canaan*, *Gen.* 10. 15.

From another Son of this *Canaan*, *Moſes* tells us the *Arkites* came, *Gen.* 10. 17. And theſe *Bochart* juſtly places about *Libanus*, where not only *Joſephus*, but *Ptolomy* mentions a City called *Arca* or *Arce*, in which 'tis probable ſtood the Temple of *Venus Architis*, which *Macrobius* ſaith was worſhipped by the *Phenicians*, *Saturnal. lib.* 1. *c.* 27. *Pliny* alſo mentions a City called *Arca*, which he ſaith was in the *Decapolitan Syria*. *Moſes* alſo, *ver.* 18. mentions the *Aradites*, which People are certainly the ſame with the *Aradii*, who dwelt in the Iſland *Aradus* mention'd by *Strabo* and others to be on the Coaſt of *Phenicia*; and on the Continent was a Place againſt it called *Antaradus*. I need ſay nothing here of the *Hebrew*, *Iſraelitiſh*, or *Jewiſh* Nation, which were Neighbours to, and at laſt Conquerors of moſt part of the Land of *Canaan* or *Phenicia*; becauſe of theſe (who were deſcended from *Eber* the Great Grandſon of *Shem*, *Gen.* 11. 14.) there is a full and particular Account in the Scripture.

If from hence we go on into *Aſia Minor*, or *Anatolia*, now *Natolia*, we ſhall find that *Phrygia*, ſo called from Φρύγειν in the *Greek*, which ſignifies to torrify or roaſt, and therefore by *Diodorus Siculus* called καταϰαυμένη, was peopled probably from *Gomer* the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*; for the *Hebrew* *Gumar* ſignifies to conſume by Fire, whence comes *Gumra* or *Gumro*, a Coal. Some very Learned Men indeed have fancied the *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii* to be the Offspring of this *Gomer*; but the Places they inhabited were much too remote for either himſelf or his firſt Children to travel to, tho' 'tis not improbable ſome of their Poſterity might go into theſe Parts afterwards in proceſs of time: But ſince *Ezekiel*, *ch.* 38. 6. mentions *Gomer*, as being a Neighbour to *Togarmah*; which Place, *ch.* 27. 14. he ſaith, uſed to ſend its Inhabitants to the Marts of *Tyre*; 'tis plain *Gomer* could not be ſo far off, either as *Scythia*, or *Germany*, *Spain* or *Britain*, and therefore very probably was placed in *Phrygia* and the Places adjacent. And this is much confirmed from the Situation of his Sons; for *Aſhkenaz* his eldeſt Son ſettled, beyond doubt, in *Bithynia*: For there was anciently many plain Remainders of his Name; as in the *Sinus Aſcanius*, the *Lacus Aſcanius*, and the *Inſula Aſcaniæ*. In the adjoining Country of *Troas* and the *Leſſer Phrygia*, there was a Country and a City called *Aſcania*, from whence they ſent Colonies to the *Euxine* Sea, as we may on good grounds conjecture; becauſe 'tis certain from *Pindar* (*Pyth.* 4.) and from *Apollonius's Argonaut. lib.* 2. that this was called firſt by the *Greeks* Ἀξεινος; which *Diodorus* and *Strabo* confirm, ſaying it was ſo called from the Cruelty and Inhoſpitableneſs of its firſt Inhabitants; and therefore was afterwards changed into the contrary Εὔξεινος, whence comes the preſent Name of the *Euxine* Sea: And 'tis very likely that the *Greeks* called it firſt *Axinus*, becauſe the firſt Inhabitants founded it *Aſcenaz*, from *Aſhkenaz* this Son of *Gomer*.

Phrygia.

Bithynia.

Euxine Sea.

Near this alſo on the *Euxine* was the Country of *Paphlagonia*, a Native of which being called by *Strabo*, *Tibius*, *Bochart* thinks the Name may be derived from *Riphat* or *Diphat*, as he is called (1 *Chron.* 1. 6.) another Son of *Gomer*: But this is certain, that in *Bithynia*, a Country not far from *Paphlagonia*, there is the *Amnis Rhebæus* or *Rhebas*, mentioned by *Apollonius* in *Argonaut.*

lib.

lib. 2. *v.* 791. and *Stephanus Byzantinus* mentions a River, Country and City called by this Name of *Rhebas*, which he saith is παρὰ τῷ Πόντῳ, hard by the *Euxine*. Now this word *Rhebas* is easily derivable from *Riphath*; and to come yet nearer to the Word, *Grotius* observes that *Pomponius Mela* places a People called *Riphaces*, in this Country, *Annot. in Libell. de V.R.C.*

Capadocia. Not far from *Phrygia* in *Asia Minor*, lies *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*: And *Strabo*, *lib.* 12. saith the antient *Trogmi* or *Trochmi* lived near *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, possessing the Confines thereof. These, *Stephanus Byzantinus* saith, were called also *Trocmeni*, as well as *Trocmi*, and were Inhabitants of *Galatia*. Now 'tis very likely these were derived from *Togarmah*, another Son of *Gomer*, and who was, as 'tis plain from *Ezek.* 27. 14. placed near his Father *Gomer*, as was before observed. The *Hebrew Togarmah*, the LXX always render *Torgama* or *Thorgamah*, from whence the *Trocmi*, or, as some write it, *Trogmi*, are easily derived. Now the Prophet *Ezekiel* saith in the Place above-mentioned, that the Inhabitants of *Togarmah* brought Horses to the Fairs or Marts of *Tyre*: Which agrees very well with the Account we have of the antient *Cappadocia*, which was very famous for excellent Horses; as *Solinus Isiodorus*, and *Dionysius Periegetes* tells us; and *Claudian* very plainly in these Words:

> ——————*Jam pascua fumant*
> *Cappadocum, volucrumq; parens Argæus Equorum.*
> *In Rufinum, lib.* 2.

And a sufficient Account of this may also be had from *Philostorgius*, an antient *Cappadocian* Historian, as you will find him cited by *Bochart*, *Phaleg. lib.* 3. *c.* 11.

Greece. Let us next visit the *Grecian Archipelagus* or *Chersonesus*, and enquire into the Original of the Inhabitants of that most famous Country for all kinds of antient Learning, *Greece*; where we shall find very good grounds to believe that this celebrated Part of the World was first peopled by *Javan* the fourth Son of *Japhet*: For the *Hebrew* יון may be very easily read *Ion* as well as *Javan*, if it have no Vowels under the Letters to determine its Pronunciation; and the LXX render it Ἰωύαν. In *Homer* the *Iones* are called *Iaones*, whose Nominative Singular *Iaon* comes very near to *Javan*. Now 'tis certain that the *Iones* were not antiently the People about *Athens* only; for in *Hesychius* the *Achæans* and *Boetians* are comprehended also under that Name; and in *Homer*'s Hymn to *Apollo* he makes the *Delii* to be also *Iaones*. 'Tis plain from the Name of the *Ionian Sea*, which is sometimes given to that part of the *Adriatick* which is over-against *Macedonia* and the Countries Westward of it, that they were antiently reckoned part of *Ionia*; and accordingly the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, for *Javan*, *Gen.* 10. 2. puts *Macedonia*. To this may be added that *Herodotus* saith the *Asiatick Iones*, which were Colonies from *Greece*, had τέσσαρας γλώσσης χαρακτῆρας, *four distinct Idioms of Speech*; and therefore could not be only those speaking in the *Ionick* Dialect, tho' called *Iones*: and in one word, the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, saith expresly, πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἰάονας οἱ Βάρβαροι ἐκάλουν; *all Barbarians* (or Foreigners) *call the Greeks* Iaones. From all which we may conclude with the most Learned *Bochart*, that the *Hebrews* called all those *Iones* or *Javan*, which lived from *Thrace* to the *Isthmus*: Which is much confirmed by *Theseus* his Column set up on the *Isthmus*, which on that Side looking towards *Megara* had these Words: Τάδ' οὐχὶ Πελοπόννησος, ἀλλ' Ἰωνία; *This is not* Peloponnesus, *but* Ionia. This Column is mentioned by *Strabo*, *lib.* 9. and by *Plutarch* in *Theseus*; and is said to be standing in *Codrus* his time. *Bochart* shews also from the Merchandize which *Ezekiel* saith, *ch.* 27. 13. *Javan* carried to *Tyre*, that the *Grecians* used to trade in the very same things, *Phaleg. lib.* 4. *c.* 3.

And this Account of the first Peopling of *Greece* is much confirmed by *Moses* saying, that the eldest Son of *Javan* was called *Elisha*; for every one knows that the *Morea*, or antient *Peloponnesus*, was called of old *Elis*, from a very large Country there of that Name. And *Homer* calls one Part of it *Alisium*: And as *Ezek. ch.* 27. *v.* 7. saith *Purple* came from the Isles or Maritime Country of *Elisha*; so 'tis abundantly certain, that *Elis* or *Peloponnesus* was very famous for its *Purple*, which was gotten both in the *Laconian* and *Corinthian Sinus*.

Thracia, *Mysia*, and the other Countries on the North of *Macedonia*, were probably peopled by the Posterity of *Thiras* or *Tiras*, the youngest Son of *Japhet*: For *Jonathan* and the *Jerusalem Targum* in *Gen.* 10. 2. for *Thiras* put *Thraces*; and that by *Thiras* is meant the *Thracians*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, *St. Jerom*, &c. do all agree; nor is the Derivation of *Thrace* at all forced from *Thiras*. And *Bochart* shews there are many Remains of the Name *Thiras* in *Thracia* and the neighbouring Countries. *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, *Ptolomy* and *Pliny* mention a City of *Mysia* called *Tyras*, seated on a River of the same Name: *Herodotus* mentions another River in *Thracia*, which was called *Tearus*. *Tharus* was antiently one of the Names of *Mars*, which was a *Thracian* Deity, and his Son was celebrated by the Name of *Tereus*, and is said to be first King of *Thrace*. And *Ludovicus Capellus* thinks that *Tros* and *Troes*, the *Trojans*, were derived from this *Thiras* or *Tiras*; which is very probable, both on the account of their Situation, as well as the Agreement in the Sound of the Name. The same Learned Man is of opinion also, that the *Æoles*, and the Country *Æolia*, took their Rise and Name from the above-named *Elisha*, the First-born of *Japhet*.

If we enquire next into the Original of *Italy*, we shall find that *Chittim*, another of *Japhet*'s Sons, hath a very good Claim for being its Founder. It's owned that the most antient Name of *Latium* or *Italy*, was *Camesene* or *Camisene*, of whose Etimology there is mighty Dispute among the old *Grammarians*: But the famous *Bochart* seems to have given a very just account of it in deriving it from the *Hebrew Camas*, which signifies to hide; and this very well answers to its Name by Interpretation, *Latium*, which most say comes *à latendo*; and so also doth *Chetim* in the *Arabick* (a Branch or Dialect of the *Hebrew*) signifie *hidden* or *latent*. Besides, in *Italy* there were many Footsteps of the Name *Chittim* or *Chetim*. *Halycarnasseus*, *lib.* 8. *p.* 356. mentions there a City called Κετία, which was one of those that *Coriolanus* took, as *Plutarch* shews in his Life. And *Aristotle* in *Lib. de Mirab.* mentions a River called Κηθος in *Italy* (which *Bochart* takes to be *Silarus* or *Silaris* running about *Cumæ* into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea) that would turn Plants into Stones. Nay *Eusebius*, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *Cedrenus* in his Annals, and *Suidas*, tell you the *Latines* came from a People called *Citii* or *Cetii*, and that their antient Name was so. *Italy.*

And as from *Chittim* came the *Italians*, so 'tis very likely *Spain* took its Original from *Tarshish* or *Tarsis*, another of *Japhet*'s Sons. This, *Eusebius* was the first that asserted; but *Bochart* hath made it probable by many Arguments in *lib.* 3. *c.* 7. of his excellent *Phaleg.* As to the Name of *Tarshish*, he cites *Polybius*, *lib.* 3. mentioning the League made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in which it was forbidden the former to make any Excursions beyond *Mastia* and *Tarseium*. This *Mastia Stephanus* calls *Massia*, and saith it was the Country of the *Tartessii*, and that the City *Tarseium* was situate at *Hercules Pillars*, or *Gades*. In another place of *Polybius* he finds mention made of a People called *Thersitæ*: In all which words there is a plain Allusion to *Tarshish*; and therefore it may well enough be concluded, that *Tarshish* is either *Spain* in general, or at least that part of it about *Tartessus* or *Cadiz*, which was a Place much frequented by the *Phenicians*, as will appear plain enough hereafter, when I come to speak of the Migrations of the People of that Nation: And 'tis very probable the Name *Iberi*, by which the *Spaniards* were antiently called, was given them by the *Phœnicians*, from their word *Ebrim* or *Ibrim*, signifying the utmost Bounds and Limits of any thing; because *Spain* was thought to be the utmost Extent of the Earth (as it is of this Continent) Westward. And this is much confirmed by the Merchandise brought from *Tarshish* to *Tyre*, mentioned by *Ezekiel*, *ch.* 21. 12. which is said to be *Silver*, *Iron*, *Tin* and *Lead*: For *Strabo*, *lib.* 3. saith, οὐκ ἄργυρος, οὐδὲ χαλκὸς, οὐδὲ σίδηρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τοσοῦτος, οὔτ' οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ἐξήτασται γεννώμενος μέχρι νῦν. That is, *There is not yet found any where either so much of, or so good Silver, Brass and Iron, as there is in* Spain. And the same thing saith *Diodorus*, *Pomponius Mela*, and *Pliny*; mentioning also Tin in particular: And *Aristotle* in his Book of Wonders, saith, that 'tis reported the first *Phœnicians* in their Voyage to *Tartessus* found such Quantities of Silver, that their Ships were not able to bring it away, and therefore at parting from thence made all their Vessels, nay their very Anchors of Silver. *Spain.*

As *Spain* probably was peopled by the Posterity of *Tarshish*, so *France* seems to have been by *Dodanim*, the last of *Japhet*'s Sons. The LXX call him *Rhodonim* in 1 *Chron.* 1. 7. and 'tis very likely that his Children gave Name to the famous River *Rhodanus*, and called the Country round about it *Rhodanusia*, or some such like Name. For *Stephanus Byzantinus* mentions a City and Country so called, and situate in Μασσαλία; that is, *in Tractu Massiliensi*, where now stands *Marseilles*. And *Bochart* thinks there are Remains of the Name *Rhodanus* *France.*

in the City *Rhodumna*, now *Roane*; and in the *Rhedones* and *Ruteni*, antient People of *France*, whose chief Cities are now *Rennes* and *Rhodes*; and he suggests that the Word *Eridanus* may be a Corruption from *Rhodanus*, the *Po* and the *Rhosne* being often confounded by the Antients. See *Apollonius* his *Argonaut. lib.* 4. *v.* 627.

Germany. As to *Germany* and the other Midland Parts of *Europe*, 'tis as difficult to find when they were first peopled, as by whom: *Bochart* thinks it probable that the *Egyptian Hercules* might send out Colonies as far as *Germany*; for *Tacitus* tells us in his Tract *de Moribus Germanorum*, that they had a Tradition that *Hercules*, the strongest of all Men, had been amongst them; and he saith, *Pars Suevorum Isidi sacrificat*; which *Isis* was an *Egyptian* Deity: And the *Germans* celebrate *Tuito* and *Mannus* as their first Founders; which *Bochart* very probably thinks were *Thoth* the *Egyptian Mercury*, and *Menes* the first King of *Egypt*. As for the Word *Germania*, *Tacitus* gives its Original in these Words: *Germaniæ vocabulum recens est & nuper additum; quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerunt, nunc* Tungri, *tunc* Germani *vocati sunt*. And *Bochart* thinks *Germanus* is as much as a warlike Man; *Ger* coming from the *Hebrew Gera*, which signifies to wage Wars.

Russia Muscovy. *Russia* and *Muscovy*, and the Countries adjacent to the South and West, were in all probability peopled first from the *Scythians*; and they certainly came from *Magog* the second Son of *Japhet*. *Ezek.* 38. 2, 3. *Magog* or *Gog* is said to be the chief Prince of *Meshek* and *Tubal*; or ἄρχοντα Ρὼς Μοσὸχ & Θοβὲλ, as the LXX render it, and many Learned Men think very justly, making *Rhos*, not *Chief*, as we have translated it, but the Name of a Country. *Bochart* very ingeniously conjectures that the Word *Caucasus* came from the *Chaldee Gog-hasan*, that is, the Strong-hold or Defence of *Gog*, changing the *Gimel* into a *Kappa*, as for Softness of Sound is usual in the *Greek* Language (thus for the *Hebrew Gamal*, a Camel, they write κάμηλον) and therefore 'tis probable that *Scythia*, about the Mountain *Caucasus*, is *Magog*, or the Land of *Gog*; and there is certainly some Remains of the Name *Gog* in the City *Gogarene* of *Steph. Byzantinus*, which he places hereabouts between the *Colchi* and the *Iberi Orientales*. And following the LXX and others, who make *Rhos* the Name of a Country or Region, which was contiguous to *Meshek* and *Tubal*, we cannot but think it *Russia.* gave Name and Rise to *Russia* and *Muscovia*: For *Rhos* appears to have been the Name of the River *Araxis* in *Armenia* (now *Turcomania*) running into the *Caspian* Sea, and joining into one Stream with the River *Cyrus*, a little before its Disembogue there. For thus saith the *Nubian* Geographer, as *Bochart* cites him. "In *Armenia* are two Rivers of great note, *Rhos* and *Cor*, both "running from the West Eastward: *Cor*, which is great "and navigable, rises near the Mountain (that is, *Caucasus*) and running to *Tiflis* (the *Zaliffa* of *Ptolomy*) "and from thence to the Confines of *Hanna* and *Samcun*, joins with the *Rhos*, and runs out into the Sea of "*Chozar*, or the *Caspian*. By which 'tis plain that the *Rhos* is the *Araxes*, as the *Cor* is *Cyrus*. And he cites also *Joseph Gen Gorion* for saying that the *Rhossi* inhabit the Banks of the River *Cyrus*, which runs into the *Georgian* (*i. e.* the *Caspian*) Sea; and he might easily mistake *Cyrus* for *Araxes*, the Rivers being near together. And that the *Scythians*, antiently called *Sacæ*, were Masters of this Part of the World, *Strabo* is express, *lib.* 11. where he saith, the *Sacæ*, or *Scythians*, possest the best Part of *Armenia*, calling it *Sacasenia*, after themselves, and went as far as the *Cappadocians*, who live on the *Euxine* Sea: And *Herodotus* saith, *the* Scythian Nomades, *which now inhabit* Asia, *when they were beaten by the* Messagetes, *past the* Araxis *into* Cimmeria. And *Diodorus*, *lib.* 2. saith, *that the* Scythians *first dwelt about the* Araxis. But after they were driven from this Situation, 'tis very likely some of them went Northward, and inhabited the *Tauric Chersonesus*, and called it by their own Name *Rhos*; for so *Bochart* observes from *Tzetzes*, that in his Time *Rhos* was a more common Word for a Bull than *Taurus*: He thinks also that the Name *Rhoxolani*, by which *Pliny*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 12. calls some of the old *Scythians*, came from *Rhox* or *Rhos* and *Alani*; because *Ptolomy*, *lib.* 3. *c.* 5. places the *Scythians* between the *Tauri* and the *Alani*, about the *Palus Meotis*. After this *Bochart* goes on to shew, that the Words of *Ezek.* 38. *v.* 3, &c. do agree very well to the *Scythians*, as to their being famous for Horses, Bows and Arrows, and other Armour offensive and defensive; which the Reader may consult at large, *lib.* 3. *ch.* 13. of his *Phaleg*.

From whence the numerous and various People of *India* *India Orientalis* were first derived, 'tis not so easy to discover, and probably they might have their Original from very different Families of the Sons of *Noah*. The commonly received Opinion is, that they came from the Sons of *Joktan* or *Jetan*, the Brother of *Phaleg*, which were *thirteen* in number. But *Bochart* and Bp *Patrick* confine the Situation of all these to the innermost part of *Arabia*, or *Arabia Felix*. *Hornius* saith the Antients divided all the People of the World into the *Scythians* and *Ethiopians*, the *Indians* and the *Celtæ*: And the *Indians* he supposes to be the Offspring of *Sem*, as the *Ethiopians* are of *Cham*, and the *Scythians* and the *Celtæ* (*i. e.* the *Galatæ*, or *Gauls*, as *Bochart* shews) from *Japhet*. And *Vossius*, *lib.* 1. *de Idolatr.* shews, that by *India* in the largest sense, was antiently meant the Upper *Asia*, *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*. *Hornius* thinks that some of the Posterity of *Joctan* passed Eastward out of *Arabia Felix*, a-cross the *Persian* Gulf, and so peopled *India*, which is not improbable: And in his *Dissert. Histor. Politic. p.* 85. he thinks this is apparent from hence, as well as from other Arguments, that *Ophir*, one of *Joctan*'s Sons, left his Name to *Ophir*, the Place from whence *Solomon* fetch'd his Gold. But *Bochart*, tho' he thinks the *Ophir* to be *Ceylon*, as others take it to be *Sumatra*, others one of the *Moluccas* in *East India*; yet he judges that the *Phœnicians* gave it that Name, when they found it to abound so much with Gold and other Riches (as the other *Ophir* in *Arabia* did) from their Word *Auphar* or *Uphre*, which signifies rich or opulent: And for the same reason it was called *Tapro-bana*, from *Taph-parvan* or *Taph-provan* in the same Language; for that signifies the Land or Shore of Wealth, *Phaleg. c.* 27. Now tho' *Moses* saith that the Dwelling of these Sons of *Joktan* (all except *Obal*, who passing through the Streights of the *Sinus Arabicus*, probably peopled *Arabia Troglodytica*) was from *Mesha*, &c. *Gen.* 10. 30. that is, round about the Mountain *Masius* or *Mesh*, between *Cicilia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet as Sir *Walter Raleigh* observes, 'tis very probable, that either they or their Posterity might transplant themselves into some Parts of *East India*, as those of *Magog*, who peopled *Scythia* and *Tartary*, might do into others.

Mr. *Whiston*, in his *Theory of the Earth*, hath a pecu- *China.* liar Notion about the peopling of *China*, a famous Part of *East India*, whose Inhabitants he supposes to take their Original from *Noah*, and some other Children of his besides *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*, which were born to him afterwards. But this seems to be a little inconsistent with what *Moses* tells us, *Gen.* 9. 19. where he saith, that from those three Sons of *Noah*, *was the whole Earth* overspread. From whence, as the most Learned and Judicious Bp *Patrick* observes, it appears, that tho' *Noah* lived above 300 Years after the Deluge, yet he either had no more Children, or that none of them lived to have any Posterity.

Of

Of the Peopling of America.

IT being expreſly ſaid by *Moſes*, *Gen.* 10. 32. *That the Nations were divided by the Sons of* Noah *after the Flood*: and 9. 18. *That of them the whole Earth was overſpread*: And yet in his Account of the Peopling of the World, there being mention made only of three Parts of it, *viz. Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa*, as inhabited and poſſeſt by the Poſterity of *Noah*. This hath induced ſome Perſons to aſſert, that the vaſt and populous Tract of *America* did not receive its firſt Inhabitants from any part of our World, at leaſt not from the Deſcendents of *Noah*; but that either the *Americans* were *Aborigines* after the Deluge, if they had a Beginning ſince that, or elſe were not deſtroyed by the Flood; which conſequently could not be univerſal, as *Moſes* aſſerts, and the generality of Chriſtians believe.

The common Arguments for which Opinion are in ſhort, 1. The abovementioned Silence of the Scripture about their Original. 2. The prodigious Numbers of their Inhabitants when they were firſt diſcover'd. 3. The vaſt difference that there is between them and the reſt of Mankind, in their Perſons, Manners, Cuſtoms and Languages. 4. There being found in theſe Parts many *Species* of living Creatures common to no other Part of the World, and their wanting entirely others. 5. Their being divided from *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Africa* by ſuch vaſt Seas, or inacceſſible Tracts of Ice, that 'tis incredible to ſuppoſe any of *our* Inhabitants could ever paſs from us to them, or any of *theirs* to us. And 6. That no account can be given why Beaſts of Prey, ſuch as *Lions*, *Tygers*, *Bears*, &c. ſhould ever be tranſported thither by Men, even allowing, that Curioſity, or Chance, Wars, or deſire of Gain ſhould carry them thither.

To which may be anſwered, 1. That the Silence of the Scripture about the Way, Manner and Time of the peopling of *America*, is in it ſelf no good Proof that it did not receive its Inhabitants from ſome of the Deſcendants from *Noah*, unleſs it were aſſerted by thoſe who believe *Moſes*, that *America* was peopled *immediately* after the Confuſion of Languages, and by thoſe very Children of *Noah* whoſe Names are there recorded; which is what (I think) is affirmed by no body: For as *Moſes* doth not think it neceſſary to enter into a particular Detail of the peopling of each individual Tract of Land throughout the whole Earth; but only to ſhew in general after what way and manner the *Noachians* were divided and diſtributed after the Deluge; ſo we may very well ſuppoſe, that ſome of them might in proceſs of time travel into *America*, if it were poſſible ſo to do, as well as into many other remote Regions not directly mentioned by *Moſes*. For 'tis probable, as Judge *Hale* obſerves, that ſome Migrations into *America* might be within 3 or 400 Years after the Flood.

Hale's Original of Mankind.

2. As for the great Numbers of the Inhabitants of *America*, 'tis certain there is time enough and to ſpare, ſince the Deluge, to account for ſuch an Increaſe: and 'tis probable, as will appear below, they might receive ſome of their Inhabitants not long after that time.

3. Their Shape, Make, Colour, Languages, Manners and Cuſtoms, tho' very different, as well from one another, as from thoſe of our *Continent*; yet are not more different from ours, than our own are from one another: And therefore if there be any thing in this Argument, it will conclude as well againſt the *Aſiaticks*, *Africans* and *Europeans* being derived from one Stock and Original; tho' perhaps it may appear by and by, that 'tis no good one againſt either.

The 4th Objection will fall in with this in ſome meaſure, and may be cleared up after the ſame manner. For no good Arguments can be drawn from the different Species of the Beaſts of *America*, that they had not their firſt Parents from our Continent: Are not the Inhabitants, Beaſts and Birds of *Africa* vaſtly different from thoſe of *Europe*? And don't the *Tartars* and *Chineſe* differ in Shape and Form very much from the long hair'd black *Indians* of the Eaſt, as much almoſt as they do from the White People of our Northern Parts? If therefore we have ſuch different *Species*, as it were, of Men in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, why ſhould it be thought ſtrange, that there ſhould be the ſame in *America*, and ſome of thoſe different from any of them? For that they are not all ſo is certain.

But perhaps it will be ſaid, this only increaſes the Difficulty ſtill of ſolving the Moſaical Account of the Propagation of ſuch differing kinds of Men from one and the ſame Father *Noah*; and that it rather proves they had very different Originals. But methinks 'tis not difficult to conceive how very different Colours and Shapes of Men may eaſily ariſe from the difference of Climates, Humours and Faſhions of Mankind, and from the Power of the Mother's Imagination operating on the *Fœtus*. Suppoſe for inſtance, in the Caſe of the *Cafres* or *Negroes* of *Africa*, *New Guinea*, *Madagaſcar*, &c. might not the naked Bodies of the firſt Inhabitants of thoſe Parts, by the vaſt Heat and Drought of the Climate, become very ſwarthy, burnt and black; eſpecially of thoſe who went much abroad, and expoſed themſelves to Hunting and Fiſhing, Toil and Labour in the Sun? And is it not natural enough to conceive that thoſe Perſons, who were bold and active Men at Hunting, Fiſhing, or Feats of War, would come by degrees to value themſelves on the Colour their Bodies had gain'd by ſuch brave and heroick Exploits? And would not they deſpiſe the effeminate Whiteneſs and Softneſs of thoſe that ſtaid at home? And when this *aduſt Hew* was once grown honourable, woould not every one affect it, and even uſe *Arts* and *Pigments* to procure it? To be ſure alſo the Women, who always admire daring Activity and Valour in the Men, would be beſt pleaſed with Perſons of this Form and Appearance, and conſequently have their Imaginations and Fancies always (even *inter Amplexus*) filled with Ideas of them. From whence 'tis eaſy to ſuppoſe (by what we daily ſee of the Marks that pregnant Women give their Children) that the *Fœtus* in the Womb of the Mother (which is but like a Graft on a Tree) would be tinged with the ſame Colour, Form and Complexion; and this going on further by degrees, might eaſily produce as great a Change as that of an *Aſiatick* into a *Negro*; eſpecially if to this you add the probable Suppoſition, that ſome great and eminent Hero in theſe Parts, or a famous Hunter, might happen to have a ſhorter Noſe and thicker Lips than ordinary, might cut his Hair very ſhort, and have it naturally black and curled; for by this means others of his Contemporaries or Poſterity would endeavour to imitate him as much as they could, and the Mothers would mould their tender Infants into his Shape and Form, and ſupply it all (by degrees) by the Force and Power of Fancy and Imagination, in their latter born Children. I think it needleſs to give Inſtances of this, becauſe they are ſo very common and obvious, that all Hiſtory, and every ones Experience can furniſh them in ſome meaſure: And there want not Accounts, even in the very point before us, tho' with none of its previous Cauſes and Steps, of Women, that by the Power of Imagination only, have brought forth Children of quite contrary Colour and different Shape and Form from either the Mother or the Father.

And this Conſideration will help us to account in ſome meaſure alſo for the different Species of Animals now found in *America*, from thoſe in our Continent. Where by the by, we ought to obſerve, that there are not ſo many different Species as ſome tell us, who will needs make Wonders and Monſters of every new thing they ſee, without examining into it ſo nicely as they ought to do.

Conſult Mr. Ray's Wiſdom of God in the Works of the Creation, at the beginning.

It hath been obſerved by many Authors, that *Africa* hath produced a much greater Variety of Animals than other Parts of the World, and eſpecially of Brutes; and this was a Proverb in *Ariſtotle's* time, that *Africa was ſtill producing ſomething new*, of this kind. *lib.* 2. *c.* 5. *de Generatione*: And the Solution that is uſually given for this is, that Waters in thoſe dry parched Countries being very ſcarce, great Varieties of Animals uſed to meet together at the Springs or Rivers, in order to drink and cool themſelves, and by promiſcuous Couplings there, did continually produce new *Species* of Animals. Now tho' it be uſually ſaid, that ſuch *Hebridous* Offſprings and Births as theſe don't copulate and produce Animals *ſui Generis* again; yet whether it be ſo univerſally or not, I judge may be doubted, and I believe there are Inſtances to the contrary pretty frequent, eſpecially among Birds. But be this as it will, no doubt the Climate and Soil, the Air and Degree of Heat, difference of Feeding, &c. will very much change the Shape and Appearance of Animals; as well as will accidental Impulſes on the Imagination of the Females of the Brute Creation, when (as our Great *Harvey* ſpeaks) *the ſpecifick*

Lib. de Gen. Orat. *cifick Operative Idea in the Fancy of the Dam, may be disturbed and changed by some other inordinate one.* If this were not so, why should several Countries be more famous than others for a better Breed of the same kind of Animals; and some Places be perfectly void of Beasts, Birds and Fishes, which others abound in? 'Tis not at all shocking to Reason therefore to believe, that there may be great Variety in the Shape, Colour, Make and Figure of divers Birds, Beasts or Fishes in *America* from those in our continent; and yet all *Species* at first have the same Original.

But besides all this, 'tis certain that *Tartary*, *Cathay*, and those North-Eastern Parts, do abound with a prodigious Variety of Beasts and Birds, many of which have been discovered to be vastly different from those of our Regions. Now the Bounds of this Part of the World being unknown and undiscover'd, and the stretching out of the *Tartarian* Capes undetermin'd, it cannot be proved that there may not be in those Parts, Beasts and Birds of the same Form and Shape with those we so much wonder at in *America*: And therefore Men ought to forbear concluding any thing certainly about the *American* Animals being *Aborigines*, till they are sure they know all those which inhabit those vast Deserts, and yet undiscover'd Tracts of Land: which if they don't actually join to the Continent of *America*, do undoubtedly come very near it.

The 5th Objection is a bare Assertion without proof, and therefore may be as freely denied; and I shall shew, there is much more reason to do so, than to hold it in the affirmative. And the last or sixth Argument about Beasts of Prey, &c. getting into *America*, will be found to have little of force in it, when the several ways of peopling that part of the World are laid before you.

But I cannot omit taking notice now, that tho' the *Spaniards* found the *Continent* of *America* full of those savage Beasts; yet there were none of them in any of the Islands which lay remote from the Continent, tho' very large; which both shews that these Creatures were not at least, *Aborigines* there, as Trees, Fruits and Plants were; and therefore *America* must be stockt with them from some other Part of the World; and which by a fair way of Conclusion too, lay *nearer* to them than those Islands. This *Acosta* asserts to be true on strict Examination of the Primitive State of *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, *Margarita*, *Dominica*, *Jamaica*, &c. And this hath been confirmed since to be the Case of other Islands newly discover'd by subsequent Navigation. And *J. de Laet* saith there were no such Birds found in these Islands, as could not fly far, such as Patridges, &c. (*P.* 99 *de Orig. Gent. Americ.*)

About the ways of the first peopling of *America* there have been a vast number of Opinions and Conjectures, and some very wild and extravagant; as particularly that of *Lescarbotus* mentioned by *Laet*, *viz.* That *Noah* (who he fancies was born there) went either thither himself, or sent a second Venter of Children into *America*, after he had divided our three Parts of the World amongst his three former Sons. But this seems directly contrary to the History of *Genesis*, where we find that all the East was peopled by *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and their Posterity; and is also asserted without any manner of Proof, Ground or Argument. Leaving therefore this and all other Opinions, which seem to me to have little Foundation from Reason, History, or Collation of Customs; I shall insist only on such as appear to have those real Foundations to support them.

But here 'tis necessary to premise, that there were found in *America* at its first Discovery by the *Spaniards*, People of so very different Shapes, Colours, Habits, Customs, Languages and Manner of Living; that 'tis almost a Demonstration they did not all come from the same Original; but probably were peopled from different Parts of the World, and at different times, and that some of their Inhabitants came to them very early too. For tho' all the Inhabitants of the great Continent of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, did come from *Noah's* Sons, who yet differ as much from one another in many Parts, as the several Inhabitants of *America* do; yet this will receive some Solution from the Mosaical Account of the Confusion of Languages. But this cannot have place with those who first peopled *America*, unless you suppose a supernatural Effect without any Ground or Reason.

Hornius very judiciously, in order to clear the way for the better discovery of those Persons who *did* first people *America*, first considers what Nation ought justly to be excluded from that Claim, and shews who *did not* go thither. And first he makes it probable, that the Inhabitants of *America* came not from *Swedeland*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, *Germany*, &c. because all the Inhabitants of that *new World*, are black hair'd, tho' not curl'd and woolly like the *Ethiopian Negroes*. The Northern *Americans* also were found to have no Proper Names, neither *Gentile* nor *Personal*: And if any Part of it was peopled from the *Celtæ*, the Northern Parts must: But the *Celtæ* were always curious and exact about Names; and therefore the Conceit of *Grotius* about *America*'s being peopled chiefly from *Norway*, seems entirely groundless, as *J. de Laet* hath fully proved; tho' 'tis likely that *Groenland* might have some of its Inhabitants from thence, but these did not spread far.

'Twas about the Year 982 after *Christ*, when *Ericus Ruffus* peopled *Island*, and some part of *Groenland*, and the Christian Religion was planted there about 18 Years after: Wherefore since no Footsteps of Christianity were found in *America*, these *Groenlanders* could send few or no Colonies far into *America*. Also the Northern *Americans* were all without Beards, or at least generally so: For *Vasquez de Conrado* saith he never saw in all *Mexico* above one old Man bearded; whereas the *Celtæ*, or antient *Gauls*, wore all Beards. There was no Footsteps found in *America* of that common Notion about the Transmigration of Souls; nor in the Southern Parts any that burned the Dead instead of burying of them, as the *Asiatick Indians* always did: Whence he concludes also, that neither the *Celtæ* sent the first Inhabitants into the Northern, nor the *Indians* those into the Southern Parts.

'Tis very improbable also, that either the *Greeks* or *Romans* could people *America*, tho' from some forced Etimologies of Words, some have thought so: And the Reason is, because they were kept within the *Mediterranean* by the *Carthaginians*, and had no Settlements on the Coasts of the *Atlantick* Ocean, from whence they could get into the New World, if they had Skill in Navigation to attempt Discoveries of that nature, as it doth not appear they had.

Tho' also some, as *Arius Montanus*, and from him others, have been very fond of deriving some of the first Inhabitants of *America* from the *Jews*; and tho' some Authors, as our *Brerewood*, suppose the Ten Tribes which *Salmanazar* and his Successors carried Captives into *Assyria*, to have gotten (I know not how) into that New World: Yet there being no such Rite as Circumcision, nor any other, purely *Levitical*, found amongst them, this can have no solid Foundation. I know some have said, that the *Americans* were found to be circumcised; but 'tis owned they were but very few; and those perhaps, as others judge, apeared to be so to less curious Observers, because their *Preputia* were eaten away by the Pox: But both *Acosta* and *Herrera*, on an exact Enquiry, could find no Signs of a true Circumcision. From which 'tis plain, that neither the *Jews*, nor any Nation that constantly used Circumcision as a Religious Rite, did people this Part of the World; from whence all the *Turks* and *Mahometans* are also excluded. And if the *Scythians* or *Tartars* had any share in the sending Inhabitants to the Northern Parts of *America*, 'twas before they received *Mahometanism*, and with it Circumcision: So that *America* was either peopled before *Mahomet*'s Time in all its Parts, which is highly probable; or at least by such as were not of his Religion.

And as there were no Footsteps of the *Jewish*, so there were none also of the Christian Religion found in *America* at its first Discovery. Some indeed have said, that there were Crosses found erected in *Jucatan*, and that they had a Tradition of their being left there by a Man beautiful and glorious as the Sun it self, and who died upon one of them; but this seems a meer Legend, for *P. Martyr* saith there is nothing certain in this Relation. And *Herrera* justly scruples at *Gomara*'s Relation of there being Crosses of *Aurichalcum* and Wood, placed upon the Graves of the *Jucataneses*; because he saith there is no *Aurichalcum* found either in *Jucatan*, or any where else in *America*: And *Garcilasso* saith, that at *Cuzco* there was indeed a great Marble Stone in the Form of a Cross, but it had no Religious Use. Some insist much also on the Use of Baptism among the *Jucataneses*, to prove it to be a Christian Colony: But as every one knows Baptism was a Rite in use long before Christ, and in many Places of the World; and that therefore nothing certain can be concluded from thence: So 'tis certain that the *Jucataneses* never had any Baptism as a Religious Rite properly so called; and all the modern *Spanish* Writers, on a nearer Enquiry into the State of *America*, do deny that there was any such thing as Christian Rites found among them: And their abominable Idolatry, Human Sacrifices, and other barbarous Usages, sufficiently shew, that they had not their

Original from any Christian Nation; for wherever that Religion hath once been eſtabliſh'd, all ſuch Heathen Rites and Cuſtoms have fallen before it. It ſeems therefore plain, that *America* was not peopled by Chriſtians, but probably had its Inhabitants in all or moſt Parts of it, before our Saviour's Incarnation; as will further appear after.

'Tis not likely alſo, that any of the firſt Inhabitants of *America* came from *Ethiopia*, or at leaſt very few of them, becauſe there are no *Ethiopic* Negro's, or at leaſt but very few, found there, but what the *Europeans* have carried thither: And for the ſame reaſon *New Guinea* alſo muſt be excluded from being ſuppoſed to have ſent any of its numerous Inhabitants thither, if our late Relations are true, that they are all *Negro's* there; for the firſt Diſcoverers mention a vaſt variety of Colours and Shape among the *Americans*.

Indeed *Hornius* cites *Peter Martyr* and *Gomara*, as making mention of ſome *Ethiopic* Negro's, which were found about *Careta* in *America*; which probably might be driven over in a Storm, or might deſignedly go over from *Congo* in *Africa*; for *Lopez* ſaith the People thereabouts antiently had Ships carrying 200 Oars.

And thus having endeavoured to ſhew from what Parts of our World *America* was not peopled, let us next enquire from whence it probably did derive its numerous Inhabitants. And to begin with the Northern Part of it: 'tis not unlikely, as *Hornius* obſerves, That that Tract of Land might receive its firſt People three ways: On the North from the antient *Scythians*, on the Weſt from the *Phœnicians*, and on the Eaſt from the *Chineſes*.

There ſeems good reaſon to believe, that the *Phœnicians* went very early into *America*: For when the *Canaanites* were expelled their Country by the Children of *Iſrael* in *Joſhua*'s time, 'tis very probable that neceſſity drove them to ſeek new Habitations; eſpecially if the Story of the two Marble Pillars, which *Evagrius Scholaſticus* cites out of *Procopius*, be true: For he ſaith theſe were ſet up near *Tingri* or *Tangier*, and had in the *Phœnician* Language and Character this Inſcription upon them. *We fly from the Face of that Robber* Joſhuah *the Son of* Nun: And that they would have recourſe to their Shipping too for this purpoſe, for which they were antiently very famous, ſeems paſt doubt.

They went early into *Spain* and *Africa*, 'tis certain; and ſome Writers ſay they went all round *Lybia* (which antiently ſignified *Africa*.) This they could not well do along the Shoar, but muſt venture out far into the Ocean; and therefore they might as eaſily from thence ſail into *America*, as to the Canary Iſlands; which is not above 15 days Sail from the Canaries: And 'tis fact that they were as far as the *Canaries* and *Azores*. *Strabo* ſaith expreſly, *That entring the* Atlantick *Ocean, they built Cities beyond the* Herculean *Straits*: And alſo that *they had many and great Ships in ours, and in the moſt outward Sea*. *Eratoſthenes* alſo and *Strabo* both ſay, that the *Phœnicians* being infeſted with Wars at home, took Shipping, and ſought new Settlements in the *Atlantick* Ocean: And the ſame thing we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, *lib.* 5. And that the Antients had a Notion of another World, or another Part of ours, lying beyond the *Atlantick* Ocean, is very plain and evident. *Ælian* in his third Book ſaith, that *Silenus* told *Midas*, that beſides *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Lybia* (or *Africa*) there was another infinitely large Continent, in which were great Cities, and People of different Laws and Cuſtoms from ours; and where there was a vaſt Quantity of Gold and Silver, which was leſs valued there than Iron with us. No doubt alſo theſe were the great Iſlands mentioned by *Apuleius* in his Book *de Mundo*, on the Authority of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*. And we find in *Seneca*, *Avitus* ſaying, *Fertiles in Oceano jacere terras, ultraq; eum, rurſus alia Littora, alium jacere Orbem*. And in the *Medea* of the other *Seneca*, you have this remarkable Paſſage.

——Venient Annis
Secula ſeris quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxat, & ingens
Patet tellus, Typhiſq; novos
Detegat Orbes, nec ſit Terris ultima Thule.

To which may be added what we find in *Ammianus Marcellinus*; which is, that there *was an Iſland in the* Atlantick *Ocean, larger than all* Europe.

But to return to the *Phœnician* Plantation of this New World; *Hornius* thinks there were three eminent Voyages made by the *Phœnicians* into *America*: The firſt under *Atlas*, who, *Plato* in his *Critias* ſaith, was the Son of *Neptune* (a *Phœnician* Deity) and others call him the Son of *Cœlus* and the Brother of *Saturn*. Under this *Atlas* they paſſed the Straits, of old called *Hercules Pillars*, and coming into the Ocean, gave the Name of *Atlantick* to it, which it retains to this day: And it appears from *Strabo*, that all the Sea round about *Aſia*, and great part of *Africa*, was called the *Atlantick* Ocean: becauſe, he ſaith, Arabia Fælix *extended it ſelf as far as the* Atlantick *Ocean*. In this *Atlantick* Ocean, the old *Phœnicians* found a great Iſland as large as *Aſia* and *Africa*, which they called *Atlantis*, and I think could be nothing but *America*. This famous *Atlantis* is mentioned by *Plato* in his *Timæus* and *Critics*, and by many hath been thought to be entirely a fabulous Relation: But *Plato* himſelf expreſly ſaith, *That he doth not write a Fable, but a true Hiſtory*. And *Proclus* cites one *Marcellus* an *Ethiopian* Hiſtorian, who relates the ſame Story as a Truth; to which may be added, that *Crantor*, *Plato*'s firſt Interpreter, takes the thing to be a true Hiſtory, and no Fable. All this conſidered, tho' there are, according to the antient Cuſtom, ſome fabulous Stories connected with the Relation; yet there is very good reaſon to take it to be truth in the main, ſince there is nothing impoſſible or improbable in the Account of it: For the *Phœnicians* had very early, good Ships, and did not uſe to coaſt along the Shore only, but ventur'd out far to Sea in the clear and fair time of the Year, guiding their Courſe by the Sun and Stars, as they might very eaſily do: And in this point they were ſo skilful, that all our Aſtronomy at firſt came from them. And we find *Pliny*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 16. complaining, that the Men of his time were lazy and enervated, the Skill of Navigation loſt, and the Deſire of ſeeking New Worlds and Regions extinguiſh'd.

There is alſo good Authority from Antiquity, that the *Phœnicians* made a ſecond Voyage into *America*: For what can be plainer than what we find in *Diodorus Siculus*, *lib.* 5. *p.* 299. 300. *Edit. Hanoviæ A.D.* 1604. where he tells us, "That the *Phœnicians* did very antiently ſail "out beyond *Hercules's Pillars*, along the *African* Coaſt; "and there meeting with Storms and Tempeſts, were "carried to the remoteſt Part of the Ocean, and after "many days came to a vaſt Iſland many days Sail from "*Lybia*, and lying very far Weſt. This Place had a "fruitful Soil, navigable Rivers, and ſumptuous Edifices: And from hence the *Carthaginians* came to the "Knowledge of theſe new Lands. And in another place he ſaith, "That the *Carthaginians* finding that "they were often preſt with Wars by the *Tyrians* and "*Mauritanians*, took Shipping, paſſed *Cadiz*, and ſail'd "to this new Region in the *Atlantick* Ocean, and "planted a Colony there; but kept the Diſcovery a "long while cloſe, that if they ſhould ever be driven "from their native Soil again, they might have this "Place to retire to. This is a very plain and remarkable Paſſage, and can be meant of nothing but *America*, to which Place the Deſcription given by *Diodorus* doth well agree: And this alſo will help us to gueſs pretty well at the *Time of this Expedition*; for it muſt be juſt after the Wars above-mentioned between the *Carthaginians*, and the *Tyrians* and *Mauritanians*.

The third Voyage of the *Phœnicians* into *America*, *Hornius* judges to be in *Solomon*'s Time, when the *Tyrian* Fleet went to *Ophir* for Gold. Which *Ophir* he thinks might be *Hiſpaniola* or *Cuba* in the *Weſt Indies*: And certain it is, that in the former of theſe Iſlands *Bartholomæus* the Nephew of *Columbus* found Gold Mines of a prodigious greatneſs, *viz.* of 16 Miles in length; but the Natives then had loſt the uſe of them (*Novus Orbis Regionum, &c. p.* 77.) And therefore *Columbus*, *Vetablus*, *Rob. Stephanus*, *Genobardus*, and many others, have believed this *Hiſpaniola* to be *Solomon's Ophir*; as *Arius Montanus*, *Goropius Becanus*, *Guil. Poſtellus*, *Marcus Marinus*, *Brixianus in lib. de Arca Noæ*, *Ant. Poſſevinus*, &c. do believe it was ſomewhere in *Peru*. And would the Place from whence *Solomon's* Ships were built and did ſet out, which was *Ezion Gaber*, agree with this, I ſhould think alſo that there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe *Ophir* to have been *Hiſpaniola*, or ſome Place thereabout. But after all the Endeavours of *Goropius Becanus*, who was the firſt, and ſome others, to prove *Ezion Gaber* to be ſituated in the *Mediterranean*, 'tis plain from 2 *Chron.* 8. 17. 1 *Kings* 19. 26. that *Ezion Gaber* was in *Idumæa*, or *Edom*, which *David* had conquered, and on the Shore of the *Red Sea*. *Goropius Becanus* alſo would have *Solomon's Tharſhiſh* to be *Tarteſſus* in *Spain*; whereas 'tis plain that *Tharſhiſh* is only a general Word for the Sea, or Ocean, as appears from 2 *Kings* 22. 48. where *Jehoſaphat's* Ships are called *Ships of Tarſhiſh*: So likewiſe in 2 *Chron.* 20. 36. *to go to* Tarſhiſh, ſignifies *to go into the Sea*, or *into the Great Sea*. And conſequently the Navy of *Tarſhiſh* in 1 *Kings* 10. 22. muſt be underſtood

stood in the same general Sense, for a Fleet that were to sail in the wide Sea, or *Indian* Ocean, in order to fetch Gold from *Ophir*, or *Zeilan*. Which being determined, as *Lippenius* in his *Navigatio Solomonis Ophiritica, cap.* 2. *Sect.* 1. and *Bochart* in his *Canaan, lit.* 1. *cap.* 44. have put it out of doubt: 'Tis then certainly a very unreasonable thing to suppose that *Solomon*'s Ships should go all round *Africa*, and thence into *America* for Gold. Wherefore *Ophir* must be placed somewhere else; and the most Learned *Bochart* makes two *Ophirs, Vid. Phaleg. lib.* 2. *cap.* 27. One in *Arabia* very rich in Gold, and from whence the *Israelites* had it before *Solomon*'s time, when the *Tyrians* first made them Navigators. This *Ophir* was the Country of the *Cassanitæ* of *Ptolomy*, the *Gasandæ* of *Diodorus*, and the *Casandres* of *Agatharchides*. But the *Ophir* to which *Solomon* sent for Gold, he shews to be the *Taprobana* of *Ptolomy*, the Island *Seilan*, or *Zeilan*, in the *East Indies*. See also his *Canaan, lib.* 1. *cap.* 46. But tho' I cannot think *Hornius* is in the right in asserting that *Solomon*'s Ships went with the *Tyrians* into *America* for Gold, when they went to *Ophir* from the *Red Sea*; which also is contradictory to what he himself had before advanced, that no *Jews* had ever been in *America*: Yet I can see no reason to deny that the *Tyrians* and *Phœnicians* might go thither from *Tyre*, or other Ports in the *Mediterranean*, as early as in *Solomon*'s Time, and 'tis likely, before that. For they had Colonies very antiently in the *Atlantick* Ocean, in the *Canary* Islands, and in the *Azores*; and so might as easily go to *America* from thence, as from the *Straits* thither.

That the *Canary* Islands are the same with those antiently called *Fortunatæ*, is certain; and what *Hornius* suggests is very probable, that they derived their Name of *Canaries*, not *à Canibus* (for *Gomara* saith, when the *Fortunate Isles* were first discover'd, there were no Dogs found there) but *à Chananæis*, from the *Phœnicians*, who as *Scylax Caryandenus* saith, *used to sail often from the Continent of* Africa *to* Cerne, *and back again*. The change of the Letter N into R is very usual, as in *Nebuchadrezar* for *Nebuchadnezar*; and *Cerne*, some think, is only a Contraction of *Canaria*. In the time of *Pliny* and *Juba*, 'tis said the Inhabitants of these Islands left them; and since we have no account whither they went, 'tis likely, as *J. de Laet* observes, that they went into *America*; and after this, they grew so barbarous, that, as *Hornius* saith, *'tis certain they had lost the Use and Knowledge of Fire*. Tho' it appears also from *Pliny*, and other antient Writers, that when the *Fortunate* or *Canary* Islands were first discovered, there were the Ruins of great Buildings found there; which shews that formerly they had been well inhabited.

We find also from *Strabo*, that the *Phœnicians* did very earlily sail to the *Cassiterides*, but concealed their Discovery: He saith, they found the Inhabitants to be *Wanderers, long-bearded like Goats, clothed in long black Gowns, that they walked with Staves, were desirous of Peace, and wholly given to Maritime Affairs. Lib.* 3. Which is just such a Description as *Athenæus* gives of the antient *Spaniards*, and therefore 'tis probable these Islanders came from thence. And it being now agreed, that by the *Cassiterides* in this place, *Strabo* meant the Islands *Azores*; 'tis an easy Supposition, that the *Phœnicians* might thence sail into *America*, as well as from the Continent thither. Which confirms, another way, what *Plato* saith, *viz. From* Atlantis *(or* America*) Men went to other Islands, and from thence to the Continent*. When the *Azores* were discovered by the *Flandrians* and *Portugals*, they were uninhabited, their People having probably all gone into *America*.

It hath been generally thought that the Antients dared not venture out far to Sea, but always coasted along the Shores: But these Voyages of the *Carthaginians* to the *Fortunate* or *Canary Islands*, to the *Azores*, &c. plainly disprove that Opinion: And besides, we find *Herodotus* in his *Melpom.* saying, that the *Carthaginians* sail'd all round *Africa*, which they could not well do along the Shore, Sailing being there much more difficult and dangerous than it is further out at Sea. And *Herodotus* saith also, that *Necho* King of *Egypt* setting out from the *Red Sea*, sail'd all round *Africa* as far as *Cadiz*, and so back again to *Egypt*. 'Tis agreed also that the Isles of *Cape Verde* were peopled first by the *Phœnicians*, from thence 'tis an easy Passage to *Brasile* in *America*; and the Manners, Language, Form of Body of the *Brasilians*, agrees with that of the *Autololes*, or Inhabitants of these Islands, who are *Getuli*, not *Ethiopes*. And now we are hereabouts, it may be proper to take notice of those *Ethiopick* Negro's which *Peter Martyr* and *Gomara* tell us were found in the Region of *Careta* in *America*, if such there are; who 'tis probable might get over from *Congo* in *Africa*, where, as *Lopez* saith, the Natives have had Ships of 200 Oars, as hath been before observed. *J. de Laet.* saith that *Tercera*, one of the *Azores*, lies almost in the Mid-way between *Spain* and *America*: wherefore the *Phœnicians* might as well go from thence, into *America*, as from *Spain* thither.

There are found also in *America* many Words, Civil and Religious Rites and Customs, which seem plainly to be of a *Punick* or *Phœnician* Original; and tho' perhaps these singly taken may not be of weight enough to convince, yet in the whole they must be allowed to be of considerable force for the proving the Supposition we are now upon. *Hornius* thinks the Names of *Pachama Puna* in *Peru*, and *Bunigande*, to be plainly *Punick*; as also *Pinoles*, the Names of the most antient People of *New Spain*. But certain it is there were many Words there found that are plainly *Phœnician*; such as *Abenamagos*, the Son of *Mago*; *Ben-ommian*, the Son of *Ommia*; the one an eminent *Carthaginian* Family, the latter an *Arabian* one. About the *Isthmus of Darien*, as *Peter Martyr* and *Gomara* both say, there were the Words *Ab-raibas, Abibeibas* in use; and in *Jucatan*, *Al-dela*; in *Guadalaira* there was found the Word *Bar-Cimeco*; and in *Nixapa* they had *Balderoci*; in *Cumana*, *Beradechi*: And the three last *Indian* Kings in *Jamaica* were called *Beroica, Ben-Beroica*, and *Aben-Beroica*. There is also in many words a plain Derivation from the famous *Phœnician* Word *Anak*; as in *Anakuuz*, a famous *American* Prince in *Caribana*: and in *Paria*, the Word *Anaxerat*, as in *Aiti* or *Hispaniola*, they had at *Anakaona*.

And methinks 'tis very remarkable, that the Natives of *New England* should call the *Septentriones*, *Mosk* and *Paukunaw*, which in their Language signified a *Bear*; for there being no resemblance between the Figure of that Constellation, and that Animal, 'tis highly probable that they learnt to give it that Name from the *Phœnicians*, who did call it so, and from whom all our Astronomy is originally derived, and most of the Names of the Constellations came. Roger Wil-liams.

There were also some *Phœnician* Rites and Customs found in *America*; but Process of time, and the Invasion of the *Scythians*, who, as you will find below, overrun most Parts of *America*, did make great Confusion and Intermixtures in things of that nature.

Thus there were found about *Manta, Tragaanccus*, and the Lake *Titicaca* in *Peru*, prodigiously large, splendid and excellently wrought Buildings of a round Form, and arched over like an Oven or Tent, exactly resembling the old *Punick Mapalia*; and these were so antient, that they were built long before the Family of the *Incæ* had the Government of *Peru*. Also in *Hispaniola* the Huts of the Natives were built, as *P. Martyr* tells us, of a Spherical Figure, of Wood, and in the Form of a Tent at the top.

Gomara tells us, that in the *Isthmus* of *Panama* the dying Kings used to kiss the Feet of their Successors; which was an old *Phœnician* Custom. We find also from *Josephus*, in his first Book against *Apion*, that the *Phœnicians* used to cut or shave all Parts of their Head but only one Lock upon the Crown, which they used to tie up in a Knot; and just so did the *Nicaraguaians* and the *Jucatanese* wear theirs. It hath been shewn above, that the first Inhabitants of the *Canary Islands*, were *Phœnicians*; and there is a great Agreement between the *Canarians*, and the People of *Paria* and *Darien* in *America*, as to the preserving the Bodies of the Dead, and hanging them up in their Houses: And as 'twas the Custom in the *Canaries* to give their Princes the first Night with every Bride, so was it also in *Nicaraguay*.

Hornius observes very well, that 'tis probable many *Egyptians* might go along with the *Phœnicians* into *America*, as well as into *Greece*, &c. Now there are some odd *Egyptian* Customs which were found in *Peru* and *Nicaraguay*; as that the Husband should spin, sweep and wash the House, while the Wife did all the Business abroad; and that the former should make water (*genubus inflexis*) the latter *Corpore erecto*. 'Tis well known that *Cham, Jupiter Hammon, Baal* or *Belus*, was the antient Deity of the *Phœnicians*; of whose Name there is some Remains found in *Jucatan*, where they called one of their old Prophets *Chila-Cham-bad*. *Porphyry* cites *Sanchoniathon* to prove that the old *Phœnicians* used to sacrifice great Numbers of their Children to their Gods, and to use for a Form of Adoration, Kissing their Hands, cutting their Flesh, and letting out their Blood: The two former of which Customs were common in *Peru* and *Jucatan*, and the latter was used in *Mexico* and *Nicaraguay*. *Eusebius* hath shewed from *Sanchoniathon*, that paying Divine Honour to such departed Persons as were famous for all Actions or Inventions,

was an old *Phœnician* Cuſtom; and this the Inhabitants of *New England* had amongſt them.

And thus there ſeems to be many good Reaſons for ſuppoſing the old *Phœnicians* to have had very early a Knowledge of *America*; to have ſail'd frequently thither, and to have peopled a good part of it: But ſuch was either their Envy, Avarice, or deſign of retiring thither under the Preſſures of a War, &c. that they kept this Diſcovery as a great Secret: And the *Carthaginians* forbad all manner of Navigation thither, under moſt ſevere Penalties, and by a publick Edict (ſaith *Hornius*) excluded not only others, as the *Tyrrheni*, but alſo their own People, from ſailing into the *Atlantick* Ocean; which they could eaſily do, being Maſters of the Straits.

And this will help us to account why *America*, tho' ſo well known to the antient *Phœnicians*, ſhould be loſt to the Memory of their latter Succeſſors, and why the *Americans* ſhould loſe almoſt all Remembrance of their Original, and degenerate in many Places, into ſuch Barbarity and Wildneſs, as they were found to be in, on the *Spaniards* firſt Diſcovery of them.

But tho' the *Phœnicians* were thus the firſt People that went out of the *Mediterranean* into the *Atlantick*, and ſo into *America*, yet 'tis probable enough that the *Spaniards* might go thither afterward; for we learn from Hiſtory, that they ſent out Ships on purpoſe to make Diſcoveries in the *Atlantick* Ocean; *Plutarch* telling us, that *Sertorius* went out with that deſign. And *Laet* and *Hornius* ſeem to me to gueſs very reaſonably, that the *Spaniards* being haraſs'd and preſt with the *Punick* War, took the *Carthaginians* Ships, and *Hanno* for their Pilot and Captain, and ſought new Seats for themſelves in the Ocean. We have been told, that plain Remains of *Spaniſh* Ships have been found in the *Arabian* Gulph (and no doubt they might much eaſier go to *America* than thither) and *Strab.* ſaith that the *Spaniards* were antiently Pirates in the *Atlantick* Ocean: And it appears from the ſame Author in ſeveral Places, that the *Spaniards* about *Cales* had antiently great Ships, were very skilful in Navigation, and did more than once go round *Africa*, as *Laet* obſerves in his Anſwer to *Grotius*, *p.* 105. Wherefore when theſe were driven by the *Romans*, they might fly firſt to the *Canaries*, or other Iſlands in the *Atlantick*, and thence into *America*.

The *Nubian* Geographer tells us alſo, that ſome *Moors* were once fitted out from *Lisbon*, with Ships victualled for many Months, to make Diſcoveries in the *Dark Sea* (as the *Arabians* called the *Atlantick*) and after many days Sail having found ſome Iſlands, they were driven by a Storm back to *Africa*, and thence went home *re infectâ*. 'Tis probable alſo that ſome *Ethiopians* might go deſignedly, or be driven into *America*, not long before the Diſcovery of this new World by the *Spaniards*: For tho' ſome few Negro's were found in *America*; yet their Number was ſo ſmall, and themſelves confined to one Place, that 'tis very likely they could not have been there any conſiderable time before the *Spaniards* found them in *Braſile*.

There is alſo another Account of the Peopling of ſome part of *America* by an Expedition from *Wales*, which hath ſomething more than Gueſſes to authoriſe it, and is this. *Powell*, in his Hiſtory of *Wales*, ſaith, that *A. D.* 1170. *Owen Guinneth* being dead, and his Sons quarrelling and contending for the Government, which a Baſtard got from them; one of them, whoſe Name was *Madoc*, got proper Proviſions, &c. and ſought for new Regions in the Ocean; and that leaving *Spain* behind him, he bent his Courſe to the Weſtward, and ſo diſcovered a new World, where he found many wonderful things. This he came back and told to his People, mightily praiſing and extolling the Beauty and Fertility of the Place, which he found entirely uninhabited. After this he went with a great number of People of both Sexes thither again, and ſettled Plantations there; and returning home, he went a third time alſo with 10 Ships (as *Hackluit* ſaith) If this Account be true, as I ſee no reaſon to diſtruſt it, the Place *Madoc* went to muſt be *Virginia*, *New England*, or ſomewhere thereabouts. In confirmation of which *Peter Martyr* in *Decad.* 7. *cap.* 3. ſaith, that the *Virginians* and *Guatimallians* uſed to celebrate the Memory of one *Madoc*, as an antient and great Hero amongſt them: And in *Decad.* 8. *c.* 5. he makes mention of the Words *Matoc-Zunga* and *Mat-Inga*, as being in uſe among the *Guatimallians*, in which there is a plain Alluſion to *Madoc*, and that with the *D* ſoftned into *T*, according to the *Welch* way of Pronunciation. Now theſe *Welch*-men mingling with the barbarous *Chichimecæ*, there might in 2 or 300 Years, their native Language, and almoſt every thing of their firſt Original be loſt amongſt People rude and uncultivated, and who perhaps knew nothing at all of Letters, or at leaſt of keeping an Account in Writing of their Annals and Tranſactions.

I proceed next to conſider another very eminent way by which *America* was peopled, and from whence 'tis probable it had far the greateſt part of its Inhabitants, and that is, from *Scythia*: And by *Scythia* I underſtand what the *Greeks* antiently called by that Name, *viz.* all that Tract of Land which lies Weſterly, Northerly and Eaſterly of the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Seas. The barbarous Inhabitants of this mighty Extent of Ground the Antients ſometimes called *Arimæi*, as we learn from *Pliny*, from whence afterward the Word *Arimaſpi* was derived: And the *Perſians* called them all *Sacæ* from a neighbouring Nation of the *Scythians* of that Name, as indeed they were all called *Scythians* from a People of that Denomination ſituate at firſt in a little Place about *Araxes*, and who became very eminent for their Courage and Conqueſts; for they got into their Power and Poſſeſſion all the Country lying between Mount *Caucaſus*, the Ocean, *Palus Meotis*, and the River *Tanais*; and from theſe came the fierce People called *Pali*, *Napæ*, *Sacæ*, *Maſſagetæ*, *Arimaſpi*, &c. of which ſee *Diodorus Siculus*, *lib.* 2. *Bibliothecæ*. Theſe *Scythians* after they had run over and filled all the Northern *Aſia*, you will ſee by and by, rambled in great Numbers into *America*, and that, by ways open enough (ſaith *Hornius*) both to the Weſt and Eaſt; but the latter was the eaſier: And accordingly it hath been obſerved, that *America* hath been much fuller of People in thoſe Parts of it which border on *Aſia*, than towards *Europe*. *Grotius* excepts againſt this Opinion of the *Scythians* Peopling *America*, becauſe no Horſes were found there at the firſt Diſcovery of it by the *Spaniards*; which yet the *Scythians* were always famous for the uſe of. But to this it may be anſwered, that the *Scythians*, when they came ſo far North, as to the Paſſage by which they went into *America*, would find their Horſes quite uſeleſs to them; neither indeed is it probable that they would live there: For on the Icy Ocean there are vaſt Numbers of *Scythians* (ſaith *Hornius*) which are derived from the *Huns*, and other People which were famous for the uſe of Horſes, which yet now do entirely want them, being not able to uſe or to keep any there: And therefore inſtead of them they uſe their *Rangifera* or Rain Deer, and great Maſtiff Dogs: Which Cuſtom (to confirm what we are now advancing) is found in ſeveral Places of *America*. And 'tis remarkable that *Tacitus*, in his Book *de Moribus Germanorum*, at the end, ſaith that the *Fenni*, who certainly came from the *Sarmatæ*, *had no Horſes*; and 'tis very likely that Horſes will not live in ſuch cold Climates. *Grotius* alſo ſuppoſing that there is no Way by Land into *America*, objects that the *Scythians* were no *Navigators*, and ſo conſequently could not get thither. But that ſeems to be a Miſtake in Fact; for *Diodorus* mentions a Sea-fight between the *Amazons* (which were *Scythians*) and the *Atlantii*. The *Scotch*, whom *Cambden* proves to have a *Scythian* Original, ſailed firſt into *Ireland*, and then into *Caledonia*, in the Age of *Oroſius*: The *Heruli*, whom *Zozimus* reckons among the *Scythians*, poſſeſt themſelves early of the *Thule*, as *Hornius* aſſerts. The Navigations of the *Ruſſians*, in the *Euxine*, are as eminent in the *Greek* Hiſtory, as thoſe they have made in the Northern Ocean are in ours. And *Hornius*, *lib.* 3. *p.* 142. *de Orig. Gent. Americ.* ſaith, that in the Eaſt, the *Tartars* had a Fleet of 15000 Ships between *Corcangui* and *Caigui*, where the River *Conoron* runs into the Sea; and this in the Time of their Emperor *Kublai*, and before their taking of *Mangi*, which is *China*. *Ludovicus Frois*, in his Account of *Japan*, ſaith that the *Japoneſes* relate of the *Jeza* or *Tartars*, that they ſail'd from the Continent to the Iſland of *Mateumai*, which is 15000 Paces from the Kingdom of *Legeran* in *Japan*. And to put this Matter into a clearer Light, we learn from *Thuanus*, *lib.* 67. both the manner of Navigation uſed by the *Tartars*, and why they carried no Horſes with them: *When in their Rambles they come to an Arm of the Sea, or a Strait, they kill* (ſaith he) *their worſt Horſes* (*perhaps now render'd uſeleſs*) *and with their Skins turned the wrong Side outward, and their Ribs inſtead of Timber, they make Boats, which they ſow together with their Horſes Hair, large enough to hold* 8 *Men a-piece, and ſo they paſs over.* Now why they might not go into *America*, if there be a Paſſage for them, as it will appear below that there is, no good Reaſon can be aſſign'd.

And as the Nations very far North uſed not Horſes, which by reaſon of the Cold will not live there; ſo neither had they much knowledge of the uſe of Iron:

For

For *Tacitus* saith of the *Fenni*, in his Book of the Manners and Customs of the *Germans*, that they *for want of Iron used to head their Arrows with Bones*, as is practised in many Places of *America*, who seem to have had but little knowledge of that Metal, because they were peopled in a great measure by such Nations as had it not in use, as several of the *Scythian* Nations had not: For *Strabo* saith of the *Massagetæ*, that they used Brazen Weapons of War, because there was but very little Iron amongst them; and the very same Custom was found in *America*, where there was but very little Iron used, but all their Weapons were usually made of Brass But that they were perfectly ignorant of the use of Iron, is a great Mistake, tho' *Peter Martyr* too rashly saith it; for *Acosta* mentions an Iron Cage, which the *Mexicans* used to put Offenders in; and the *Paraguayans* used Pieces of Iron for Mony: And *J. de Lact* speaking of the *Peruvians*, saith, that they were in a great measure, but not entirely ignorant of the use of Iron.

Hornius shews that there were three Nations of the antient *Scythians* which went into *America*, the *Hunni*, the *Kithæ*, and the *Sinæ*. The *Hunni* were a very large People, containing the *Alani*, *Ungri*, *Turcæ*, *Tartari*, *Fenni*, *Lucumores*, *Tingesii*, with many other barbarous Nations inhabiting the Shores of the Icy Sea, as we learn from the Words of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. And yet plainer speaks *Rubruquis*, as I find him cited by *Hornius*: *Trans Volgam*, &c. "Beyond the *Volga*, towards "the North, there is a Region called *Pascatir*, from "whence the *Hunni* and *Hungari* took their Original, "and the Language of the *Hungari* is the same with "that of *Pascatir*.

Hornius assigns two Causes for the *Scythians* rambling into *America*, their numerous People, and their constant Wars: For the Vanquished, or the weaker People, who could not make head against them, always fled as far as they could out of the way, lest they should be eaten by the Conquerors; for the *Scythians* used to eat their Enemies: The antient *Scythians* were also mighty Hunters, and Pursuers of wild Beasts. *Bonfinius* saith, this brought the *Hunni* out of the interior *Asia* into *Europe*; and therefore the Flight of the wild Beasts, if there was Way passable for them (of which hereafter) might easily draw the *Scythian* Hunters after them into *America*. The *Scythians* also never had any fixed Place of Settlement or Abode, but changed their Camps, as the Season of the Year, Game, Water or Woods invited them, never staying long in a Place, but continually seeking new Habitations and new Regions to hunt in. Therefore on some pressing occasion, they might travel either over some small Strait, after the manner above described, or over the Ice into *America*: As to which latter way, it may receive some confirmation from what *Rubriquis* saith of the *Tartars*, that they use to invade, in the Winter, the Islanders called *Tauta* and *Marsa* in the *Frozen Sea*, up above *Tartary*, getting over to them upon the Ice: And the same Practice, *Olaus* saith, was in use amongst the antient *Sueci*.

Hornius thinks 'tis not difficult to guess at the time in which these *Scythians* and *Huns* went into *America*; and to be sure it was much later than the Voyages of the *Phœnicians* thither above-mentioned, because the Northern Parts of *America*, which these *Scythians* peopled, were much thinner of Inhabitants than the Southern Regions: And indeed 'tis likely no Persons would have taken to such a cold Climate, unless driven by Wars, and forced by Necessity: And such a Necessity did fall upon many of the People of the Northern Parts of the World about the Year of Christ 400, in which the Affairs of the North were in the utmost confusion, and they were so over-stockt with People, that they rambled almost all manner of ways; and then 'tis probable those that were nearest to those Parts were driven into *America*. And this receives a good Confirmation from the Account the *Americans* gave of the *Chichimecæ*, a barbarous People, who in their Hunting and Rambling kind of Life, and many Customs besides, were mighty like to the old *Scythians*; for these People, they said, came into *Mexico* about the Year 700 after Christ, according to our way of Accounting. So that if they went from our World in the Year 400, they might people the Northern Parts of *America* tolerably well in 300 Years, after that thin rate that the *Spaniards* found them inhabited: For *Purchas* tells us, that all *Virginia*, *New-England*, and all the Countries up to the Pole, had not so many People as there were then in *London*.

So that this second Peopling of *America* by the *Scythian Hunns*, is tolerably well determined to be about the Year of Christ 400.

And this probably was effected two ways, both Eastward and Westward, and that either by *Land*, the Continents there joining, or else over but *Narrow Straits* of the Sea. Those that went to the Westward, might go first to the Banks of the River *Oby*, and so to the Shore of the *Frozen Sea*, up towards *Nova Zembla*. This Part of the World the *Nubian* Geographer, and *M. Paulus Venetus* call the *Regions of Darkness*; and you will find these Names given to the People that inhabit there: The *Calami*, *Tingesii*, *Ostachii*, *Molgomii*, *Serpanowzi*, *Lucumores*, *Gryslini*, *Vogulitzæi*, *Samojedi*, *Papinæi*, *Premskii*, *Obdoræ*, *Condoræ*, *Loppi*, *Fenni*, *Caroli*, &c. The three last of these People inhabited the utmost Parts of *Scandia* as far as the Promontory of *Rubea*, now called *Noordkyn*. This is the Eastern *Lapland*, which the *Swedes* call *Tremes*, others *Biarmia*; and the general Name for all the *Finni* and *Laplanders* is *Skidfinni*, from their wearing Wooden Shoes, which the *Swedes* call *Skidh*. These *Finlanders* and *Laplanders* going still farther North, came at last to *Nova Zembla*, and so, as some say, into *Greenland*: For *Linscotius* saith, that in the Months *June*, *July* and *August*, these People used to frequent those Places for the sake of Hunting, and for the Fertility of the Soil, and the Pleasantness of the Place at that time of the Year. In *Nova Zembla*, *Groenland*, and the neighbouring Islands, *Pomp. Mela*, and others of the Antients, place the *Hunni* and *Fenni*, or *Faneſii*. From *Nova Zembla* and *Lapland* there is but a short Passage to *Groenland* (about 4 days Sail) there being many Islands interspersed in the way, which are easily passed to by such Boats, or *Canoes*, as are now used in *Groenland*, &c. and probably are all, in the Winter, approachable on the Ice. Nor was this Part of the World unknown to the Antients, for the most antient Geographers called that Sea which lies beyond the Promontory of *Rubeas* and *Scandia*, by the Name of *Cronium*, from an adjacent Island which they called *Cronia*, or the Isle of *Saturn*, and sometimes *Oggia*, and which was very probably *Groenland*: And their *Ultima Thule* was certainly *Island*; because *Strabo* saith expressly, *that* Thule *was six days Sail Northward from* Britain; which cannot agree with *Shetland*, or any other Pretender to that Name. *Groenland* therefore was not so named from its green Appearance, but from its antient Name *Cronion*: And that it was inhabited when the *Norwayans* first discovered it, is plain from there being found there now People of Shape, Colour and Manner of Life vastly different from the *Norwayans*; but exactly like the old *Scythians*, *Tartars*, *Laplanders*, and Northern *Americans*. And we find in *Purchas* one *Ivorus Boty*, a *Groenlander* by Birth, but of *Norwayan* Parents, who giving a Description of this Place, saith, that in the Western Parts of *Groenland* there are a very potent People, who are Enemies to the *Norwayans*, and which are called *Screlingers*, and who are of a Yellow or Olive Colour, and continually are rambling, for the sake of Hunting, Fishing and Fowling. *Martin Forbisher*, about the *Straits* that bear his Name, found Men with broad Faces, flat Noses, large Nostrils, long black Hair, and of an Olive Colour; and others describe them as having none or very thin Beards, and in Form just like the *Samojeds* or *Tartars*: And such have been the People that have been brought to our Parts of the World from thence. In the most Northern Parts therefore of *Tartary*, *Nova Zembla*, *Lapland*, *Groenland* and *America*, there being found Men of the same Shape, Form, Colour, way of Life, Manners and Customs; 'tis very likely that they are all of the same Original, and that the Northern Parts of *America* were peopled by the *Hunni*, or *Scythians*, this way. The Animals that are found in these Places are alike too: in all vast Numbers of white Bears that feed on Fish; and 'tis highly probable that these came out of *Groenland* into *America*, because in the Southern Parts of *America*, about the *Terra Magellenica*, there are none ever found. *Arngrimus* maintains also against *Blefkenius*, as I find him cited by *Hornius*, that in *Island* there are no Bears but what come over from *Groenland* on the Ice; and that those Creatures use to travel a great way on the Ice, and sail on Pieces of it, the Navigators into these Northern Parts do assure us. *Lescarbotus* thinks it probable that the Elks come into *Canada*, the *Terra de Labrador*, &c. from the Northern Parts of *Europe*, swimming over a-cross some Strait or Arm of the Northern Sea. And there is one *Bibaldus Pirkhaimerus*, a *German* Writer mentioned by *Hornius*, who asserts, that "there come into *Groenland* "usually from the Northern *Terra Incognita*, and the "*Frozen Sea*, certain savage and barbarous Men called "*Caroli*, in great Numbers, for the sake of Trade and "Merchandizing; and that 'tis there taken for granted, "that they come from the other side of the North Pole. But *Hornius* thinks, that tho' *Groenland* be certainly a

Part

Part of the *American* Continent; yet that these People went thither rather over the Ice, from *Tartary*, &c. when the Sea was frozen up, than round about by the Pole, of which Parts we do indeed know nothing certain at all.

Grotius is of the opinion that the Northern *America* was peopled much after the way we have been now describing, but from another Original: He will have the *Norwayans* to go first to *Island*, thence into *Groenland*, and after this into *Friesland* and *Estotiland*, that is, at last into *America*, because he makes those two Places to be part of the *American* Continent. But as *Laet* and *Hornius* shew, this Opinion is improbable in these respects: 1. Because 'tis unlikely the *Islanders* should not transport Horses and Kine along with them into *Groenland*, and so into *America*; and yet none were found any where in *America* at its first Discovery. 2. 'Tis strange also and unaccountable how the *Norwayan* Language should come to be quite lost both in *Groenland* and *America*, and yet retained in *Island*. But 3. Chronology will not allow of it; for the *Spaniards* found that the *Americans* had a firm Tradition that the *Chichimecæ* came to the Lake of *Mexico* before the Year of our Lord 720; whereas *Island* was not inhabited till about the Year 879; and the *Norwayans* did not get from thence to *Groenland* till *A.D.* 984. Besides, there was not found in *America* any *European* Corn, which sure the *Norwayans* would have carried with them; as they would also their Vice of hard Drinking, which we find the *Mexicans* abhored, and punished Drunkenness severely.

However *Hornius* allows, that some *Germans*, *Danes*, and *Norwayans* might get into *America*: For *Ivorus Boty* and *Arngrimus* give an Account of some Colonies going into *Groenland* from *Island*; but these were but a few, and were settled only just upon the Coast, and in all probability did not go up far into the Country, nor people *Greenland*, but by some Casualty or other were lost or destroyed; and perhaps this way: *Isacius Pontanus*, in his History of the *Danes*, saith, that *Helgeland*, *Westsenere*, *Island*, *Feroe*, *Findmark*, and *Groenland*, did antiently belong to the King and Queen of *Denmark*, and were only frequented by the *Danish* Fleet. But this annual Navigation thither was at last omitted for two Reasons: 1. Because in the Year of Christ 1348. there was a terrible Plague, which raged almost every where, and near exhausted *Denmark*; so that there was no yearly Navigation to *Groenland* as usually. 2. And that in his Time the Ice lay in such vast Quantities and Heaps in the way, that there was scarcely any entring into the Ports of *Groenland*: So that the People of *Norway*, *Denmark*, or from whatever Northern Parts of *Germany* they came, who went to *Groenland*, were either starved, or destroyed by the Natives.

For a further Confirmation of this *Scythian* Peopling of *America* by a Western Expedition, 'tis worth observing what *George Fournier* saith, *viz.* That 'tis certain many People come yearly from *Nova Zembla*, by the *Frozen Sea* and the Island of *Vaigats*, into *Muscovy*, that they may traffick with the *Samojeds* and *Tartars*: and therefore (saith he) we need not doubt but that People might antiently go that way into *America*; for here *Europe* and *Asia* are separated only from *Nova Zembla* in *America*, by a little Strait. To which also may be added what *Vasquez de Coronado* and *Martin Forbisher* say of their own knowledge, that in *Groenland*, and above *Cibola*, the People use Dogs instead of Horses, as 'tis well known the *Siberi* of *Russia*, and all the *Finlanders* and *Laplanders* upon the *Frozen Sea* used to do, as *Paulus Venetus* tells us. But I rather think these Dogs are in reality the *Rein Deer*, because the Antients call them *Cervi*, and say there were a kind of *Scythians* who used to ride on Stags.

As these *Huns* and *Scythians* went into and peopled *America* by the West; so a far greater Number, we will shew you, went thither by the East; where the Passage is shorter and easier, and the Regions fuller of People. And this way the Animals found in *America*, seem to have gone; for all that New World almost, but especially the Northern Parts, was full of Deer, Lions and Tygers: And there being none of these Creatures found in *Groenland* (nor the *Terra Magellanica*) 'tis more than probable they got into it by an Eastern Passage. Now we learn from *Solinus*, that as *Scythia* abounded with no Animals more than Deer, so many of them used to swim across a Part or Arm of the Sea. *Am. Marcellinus* tells us of prodigious Numbers of Tygers in *Hyrcania*; and *P. Venetus* saith, that all over *Tartary* there were Lions, Bears and Deer: And we learn from *Pliny*, that there was a vast Variety, as well as Multitude, of wild Beasts in the great *Tartarian* Deserts, and that the Country in many Places was render'd a Desert by those Beasts. 'Tis not therefore an unreasonable Supposition, that in these mighty Wilds and Forrests of *Russia* and *Tartary*, there may be many strange *Species* of wild Beasts unknown to us; (for we see we have new Creatures brought to us every day, and shewn about as strange Sights) and why may we not then with equal reason suppose, that those strange Beasts and Birds which *America* abounds with, might come from hence, and by this Eastern Passage get thither?

And as to Birds, we learn from *Paulus Venetus*, that there is a great Variety and Quantity of them in *Tartary*. That *Asia* and *America* are here divided by a *Strait*, and not connected by Land, *Hornius* thinks very probable from what the *Dutch* have observed in their Navigations to *Nova Zembla*, &c. for in the Straits of *Nassow* they found a double Tide, or a meeting of two Tides, one of which set to the Eastward, and the other to the Westward, as it hath been observed to be in the *Magellanick* Straits, the *Baltick*, and as it is in our Channel; and when they were past *Waigatz*, they found another Salt and blue Sea. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and the *Nubian* Geographer, all say that *Asia* is encompassed round with the Ocean in these North Eastern Parts; and *Rubruquis*, *Paulus Venetus*, *Plancarpus*, and *Vincentius*, all agree in the same thing, making no mention of any *Isthmus*; only they say there are Islands beyond it, whither the *Tartarians* get upon the Ice: And *Rubruquis* saith, the Names of the Inhabitants of those Islands are *Taute* and *Manse*. How far the *Tartarian* Capes stretch out to the Northward, is not yet exactly determined, but *Hornius* computes it to be to the 70th Degree of Latitude, and our late Maps have made it 3 or 4 Degrees yet more North: And the King of *Sweden*'s Mathematicians found *Nerkum*, or the North Cape of *Lapland*, to lie in 72 deg. 30 min. *Paulus Venetus* saith, that 'twas usual to sail from the Continent of *Barga* to the Isles in the *Frozen Sea*; Why not also into *America*? which cannot be far from thence.

And that antiently there was good reason why the Borderers upon the Frozen Sea should endeavour to get into *America*, if they could, or trust themselves to the Ocean to seek out new Habitations, *Pliny* acquaints us, when he tells us, *ab Anthropagis Scythis omnia deserta fuisse usque ad Tabin, quod ejus Gentis Ferociam sustinere nemo posset*: That is, the *Scythian* Man-Eaters, or *Cannibals*, made all the Country thereabouts desert, as far as *Tabis*; because no body could sustain the Brutal Cruelty of those People. Some therefore they killed and eat; others (which no doubt were many) they drove into the Sea, into the adjoining Islands, and into *America*.

And thus *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates the Matter: "The Man-Eaters, saith he, made all things Desert "where they came; all their neighbouring People flying "before them, and seeking new Habitations as far out "of their way as they could get. Who those People were that were thus driven into *America* at this time, 'tis hard to determine now; but there seems, as *Hornius* thinks, to be the Remains of two old Names in *America* that may give some light into this matter: About *Florida* were a People called *Apalatci* and *Apalcheni*, which he thinks are the Remainders of the *Apalei* mentioned by *Solinus*, and whom he joins with the *Massagetæ*; of which last Word the *Mazatecæ*, one of the four old Nations of *New Spain*, and the *Massachasetæ* in *New England*, seem to be plain Derivitives. The other Name is *Tambi*, a very antient People in *Peru*, and whom *Hornius* thinks came from the *Tabieni* of *Ptolomy*, and who gave Name to the Promontory *Tabis*.

Hornius thinks also that there was a second Ramble into *America* by the East, which tho' later than the former above-mentioned, yet was very numerous and famous: For the *Hunni*, *Alani*, *Avares*, *Turcæ*, *Tartari*, *Mogoles*, *Parthi*, &c. and many other Nations, of which there is frequent mention in the antient Geography, did then go into that new World.

The *Hunni* were a very barbarous People, and were placed first of all in the farthest Part of *Asia* next the Sea, where there are the Names of *Cunad* and *Ung*, People bordering upon the *Mogoles*; and that the *Cunadani* were the same with the *Hunni*, is plain, because they call themselves *Mogoles*, and that in *Hungaria* it self. These *Hunni*, *Cuni*, *Cunchi*, *Cunadi*, *Hornius* thinks, peopled and gave Name to *Canada* in *America*; and indeed *Canadi* is easily derived from *Cunadi*: And since in *Vincentinus* his *Speculum Historiarum* there is mention made of the *Huyrones*, a Nation adjoining to the *Mogoles*, he supposes with great probability, that from them came the *Hurons*, a Nation of *America*, not far from *Canada*.

These

These *Chuni* or *Hunni* going into *America* with their Neighbours the *Alani*, might give the mix'd Name of *Chontuli* to the People about *Nicaragua*; and in *Peru* there were found some that called themselves *Tallanes*. The *Ingæ* were an antient and eminent Nation in *America*, whose Name came very probably from the *Ungæ*, among the *Tartars*. The old *Parthi* being driven by the *Scythians*, rambled into almost all Parts: There is mention made of some of them in *Macedonia* by *Strabo*, *Stephanus* and *Pliny*; but the far greatest part travell'd into the Deserts of *Hyrcania*, *Daha*, *Aria*, *Margia*, &c. where at last they were called *Parsi*; and from hence doubtless came the Name of *Persæ*, which in the Book of *Daniel* are called *Paras* and *Pharsi*: And since we find mention in *Strabo* of the *Parii*, an antient Nation among the *Scythians*, the same with the *Parthi* and *Parsi*; 'tis very probable the Region of *Paria* in *America* took its Name from, and was peopled by the old *Scythian Parii*. When also we find in *Herodotus* an antient *Scythian* People called *Napæ*, and another *Pali*, we may fairly conjecture that the *Nepi* in the Island *Trinidada* came from the former, and the *Otapali* in *Florida* from the latter.

The antient *Turcæ*, called by the *Greeks Tauri* and *Tauriſci*, spread themselves largely in many Parts of the World: These being seated at first about the *Caspian* Sea, might with their Neighbours the *Tartars* go over into *America*. *Herodotus* calls them *Iyrcæ*; and so *Hornius* thinks *Strabo* should be corrected in his Eleventh Book, where he saith the *Iyrcæ* (not the *Cyrcii*, as the Vulgar Text hath) were Neighbours to the *Tapyri*. From these antient *Iyrcæ* 'tis likely the *Iroquoi* of *America* might come, and the *Souriquoi* too, if what *Leunclavius* tells be true, that the *Hyrcani*, which came from these antient *Iyrcæ*, are called in their own Language *Tzuruki*. To which may be added, that the *Mexicans* called God *Teu*, which *Nicephorus* saith was the Name for the Deity among the *Turcæ*; and in *Mexico* a Mountain was called *Tepec*, which the old *Turcæ* called *Tepe*.

The *Tartars* were a very antient *Scythian* People, and of these *Rubruquis* saith the true Name was *Moales*, and that they would be called so, and not *Tartari* or *Tatari*, because *Cingis Can* was of the Nation of *Moal*. These *Moales* are the same with the *Mogoles*, and of these there is plain Remains in *America*: In *Cinaloa* there are a People called *Tamogali*; and about the *Rio de la Plata*, a People called expresly *Mogoles*. The adjoining Provinces to the *Mogoles* in *Asia* are *Cotan*, *Baita*, and *Tangur*. Now in *America* you have almost those very Words: In *St. Martha* was a Place called *Coto*, and in *Chili* one called *Coton*, and *Paita* in *Peru* seems plainly to come from *Baita*: In *Peru* also is a Place called by the *Americans*, *Tangora*, and another *Tangarala*. *Hornius* also gives many Instances of the Names of Towns and Cities in *America* agreeing with those of *Tartary*: And he urges it as a very considerable Argument, that the *Tartars* peopled *Mexico* and the adjoining Part of *America*, that so many *Mexican* Words end in *an*, as the Names of Places there generally do; such as *Teutitlan*, *Coatlan*, *Hazatlan*, *Quezatlan*, *Petutlan*, *Tenouitlan*, *Ezapan*, &c. For *an* is a mighty common Termination for the Names of Places amongst the *Tartars*, and the Inhabitants of those Eastern Parts of the World. And as many Proper Names among the *Huns*, *Scythians*, &c. used to begin with the Particle *Al*; so they are observed to do in *Jucatan*, and the adjoining Parts of *North America*. In the preceding Age there was an *American* King reigned in *Quivira*, whose Name was *Tatarax*; in which as there is plainly the Word *Tatar* or *Tartar*; so there is the Particle *ax*; which was frequently added to the Names of their Princes among the old *Turks* and *Tartars*: And this we find often done also in *America*, where the Names of *Stalderax*, *Almorax*, *Mereb-ax* and *Naguatax* have been given to their Princes. An antient Name in the Kingdom of *Mexico* was *Atzlan*, saith *Hornius*, which is purely *Turkish*, one *Atzlan-beg* being Prince of *Carasina* in *Natolia* about the Year of Christ M.CCC.. The Founder of the *Peruvian* Empire was one *Mango*, as the *Americans* say; which is a very common Name among the *Tartars*, whose 4th Emperor was a *Mango*: So that there is both in the Names of Places and of Persons, plain Remains of the Old *Scythians*, *Hunni*, *Turcæ*, *Tartari*, *Mogoles*, &c. in several Places of *America*.

In the last place let us consider the Manners and Customs of these *Scythians*, *Huns* and *Tartars*, and compare them with those of the *Americans*, from whence a further Light will be given to their Original. *Tacitus* at the End of his Book *de Moribus Germanorum*, gives this Account of the Manners and Customs of the antient *Fenni*: *Fennis mira feritas, fœda pauperta, non Arma, non* EQUI, *non Penates; Victui Herbæ, Vestitui Pelles, Cubile Humus, sola in Sagittis spes, quas inopia Ferri, Ossibus asperant. Idemq; Venatus Viros pariter ac Feminas alit: Passim enim comitantur, partemq; Prædæ petunt, Nec aliud Infantibus Ferarum imbriumq; suffugium, quam ut in aliquo Ramorum nexu contegantur. Huc redeunt Juvenes, hoc Senum receptaculum. Id beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasq; Fortunas spe metuq; vertere; securi adversus Homines, securi adversus Deos, rem difficilimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne Voto quidem opus sit.*

And much the same Account *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives of the old *Hunni*; adding that they have no Beards, even in Old Age, that they are a thick strong short sort of People, and very deformed. Both which Descriptions do agree so exactly with the *Chichimecæ*, *Pilcosmes* and *Cheriguanæ* in *North America*, and with the *Brasilians* in the *South*, that one would think they were design'd on purpose for them: For there is no Part of the World that ever had anything like the Barbarity of those *Americans*, but the *Scythian Nomades*; nor were there *Anthrophagi*, *Cannibals*, or Man-Eaters, any where, but amongst these *Scythians* and the *Americans*: Which I think is a very considerable Reason to suppose, that these Inhabitants of the New World, which were thus unnaturally barbarous, must be derived from those Parts of the Old, where only such abominable things were customary. *Paulus Venetus*, *Vincentius*, and *Planocarpus*, describe the Old *Tartars* to be of mean Stature, broad flat Faces, with little or no Beards, and that they eat their Enemies taken in War. And indeed the *Scythian* Customs prevail in many Places of *America*, such as many Wives to one Man, eating their Enemies, and sticking their Heads upon Poles, painting their Bodies, continual Hunting and changing their Places of Abode, like the old *Nomades*. *Paulus Venetus* saith, that in *Cangigu* the *Scythians* used to paint their Faces and Bodies with the Images of Birds, Beasts, Dragons, &c. so that they could not be wash'd out: And we find by Prince *Ieoli*, whom Capt. *Dampier* brought from *Mindanao*, tho' he was born at *Meangis*, that this Painting was in use also in the Eastern Islands. Now the People of *Virginia* and *Florida* in *America* were found thus painted when *America* was first discovered. And as *Herodotus* saith of the *Scythians*, that they used to carry always about them a part of one of their Enemies Skins, so did the *Hurons* and *Floridans*; and who sometimes flawed them, and made Mantles of their Enemies Skins. The same *Herodotus* and *Strabo* both say, that tho' Polygamy were usual amongst the *Scythians*, yet there was one Nation of them, *viz.* the *Massagetæ*, which were content with one Wife: And so likewise in *America* the *Mazatecæ*, a Name not much unlike the *Messagetæ*, with the *Pinoles*, the *Otomies*, and the *Chichimecæ*, four of the most antient *American* Nations, kept to one Wife. The *Scythians*, and in particular the *Massagetæ*, used to kill those that they thought were desperately and incurably ill, to put them out of their Pain; which Custom was found among the wild *Canadans* in *America*. The *Parthi*, an antient *Scythian* People, used to expose dying Persons in the open Fields, to be devoured by the wild Beasts and Birds; and so, from them, did the *Persæ*, *Caspii*, and *Hyrcani*, do the same thing; as also the *Tebetenses* in *Cathay*: (saith *Hornius*) and this odd Custom was found practised in the *Terra Firma* of *America*. The Eating of dead Relations was an unaccountable and abominable Custom; and *Strabo* tells us, that this was used by the *Massagetæ* and *Derbices*; and no doubt from those barbarous *Scythians* it past into *America*; for we find it was practised by the People of *Venezuela*, and the *Chirihuani*, a Nation beyond the *Andes* in *Peru*, as *Garcilasso* tells us. 'Twas a known Custom also among the Old *Scythians*, to place at the Sepulchers of their Dead, Meat, Drink, Arms and Mony; and this was also in use amongst the *Americans*. And as the *Scythians* used to let out their Blood, and cut themselves with Lances, when they made a League or solemn Covenant; and sometimes also to testify their joyful Reception of any Person: So did the *Jucatanses* and the People of *New Albion*. And that very odd Custom which the *Scythians* about *Tebet* had, of giving their Brides to be first enjoyed by another, was found amongst the Inhabitants of *Nicaragua* in *America*. The *Inga* or *Peruvian* Princes, used Diadems or *Turbants* of various coloured Cloth, wound 4 or 5 times round their Heads; were very rarely seen by their Subjects; made them fall prostrate before them: All which were Customs used by the *Scythians* and *Tartars*. When any King or Prince died, the *Mexicans*, *Peruvians*, *Floridans*, *Canadans*, *Darienses*, &c. used to slay a certain number of his Slaves, Domesticks, Captives, &c.

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that they might attend him and wait upon him in the other World; which every one knows was practiſed by the *Tartars*. And the *Americans* alſo did not burn, but bury their Dead, as the antient *Tartars* uſed to do. The *Braſilians* in particular, by 3 ſorts of very odd Cuſtoms, ſhew that they came originally from the *Tartars*: For firſt they ſhaved their Heads on the top like Monks, as *Vincentius* tells us the Old *Tartars* uſed to do. 2. The Manner of their eating their Enemies, uſed by the *Braſilians* was the ſame with that of the *Tartars*; for both did it *in Terrorem*, called all the Neighbourhood together; then ſolemnly ſlew the Captives, and boiling or roaſting them, deliver'd Pieces of them about to every one preſent, to excite his Hatred and Rage againſt thoſe with whom they were at War. 3. In *Braſile* the Child-Wife, as ſoon as ever ſhe was brought to Bed, uſed to riſe and go about her Buſineſs, and take care of the Family Affairs, as if ſhe had not been delivered of any Child at all; when inſtead of her, the Husband gets himſelf into Bed, pretends to feel Pains, to be weak and out of order, and to be got well again gradually by gentle and nouriſhing Phyſick. Now this ridiculous Whim, *Paulus Venetus* ſaith, was practiſed among the *Arcladani* in the extream Parts of *Tartary*, as well as in ſome other Parts of the World; as we find by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Flaccus* in his *Argonauticks*.

The *Americans* have been very famous for their wearing of Feathers, the reaſon of which ſeems to have been, the vaſt Variety of beautiful Birds which the New World affords: And this was a very antient Cuſtom amongſt the Old *Turcæ*, *Tartari*, *Garamantes* and *Lycii*; as is plain from *Herodotus* and other antient Writers.

That particular Puniſhment for Theft, which *Oviedo* and *Gomora* tell us the Old *Aitanians*, or the Inhabitants of *Hiſpaniola* uſed, which was impaling them alive, was alſo of very antient uſe among the *Turcæ*, *Tartari* and *Perſæ*. And that cruel out-of-the-way Trick, which the *Groenlanders*, *Cinaloenſes*, and *Nicaraguani*, were found to play with their Children, of cutting and ſlaſhing their Cheeks into great Gaſhes, when they were very young, was practiſed alſo frequently among the *Hunni*: And they are ſaid to have done it, to render their Males beardleſs. Now all *America* is beardleſs, but three Nations: And *Vincentius* and *P. Venetus* obſerve alſo, that the *Tartars* have none at all, or but very thin Beards.

The Food alſo of the *Americans* correſponds with that of the *Tartars*, their Bread being *Maize*, and their Drink *Chica*; which latter, ſaith *Hornius*, is a ſort of Broth made of Pulſe, which they drink hot; and this was certainly the chief Diet of the *Turcæ* and *Tartari*: But this *Maize* and *Chica* is uſed no where in the World but in *Aſia* and *Scythia*: and as *Acoſta* obſerves, the *Maize* is called *Frumentum Turcicum*. Tho' alſo *America* abounds with Vines, yet they never had any Wine there, any more than in *Tartary* or *China* formerly, whatever they may have now.

'Twere endleſs to mention all the particular Cuſtoms in which the *Americans* do plainly agree with theſe antient *Scythians*; but I think theſe I have enumerated may render their Original (in part) from *Scythia* very probable; eſpecially if to theſe we add, in the laſt Place, their Religious Rites and Obſervations. The *Americans* worſhip the Sun and the Fire, and in *Mexico* there was a perpetual Fire kept in the Temple; and thoſe Deities were worſhipped by the *Scythians*, *Turcæ* and *Tartari*. And this is very remarkable, which is taken notice of by *Hornius de Originibus Gent. Americanarum*, *lib.* 3. *p.* 216. That the *Obdoræ* and *Condoræ* worſhip an Idol called *Zlotta-baba*, which was of Stone in a Womans ſhape, and ſituate on the Banks of the River *Obi*; to this they uſed to ſacrifice Animals, and to beſmear all the Parts of the Idol with their Blood. Now of this Image there are two plain Remains in *America*: At *Pipeles* in *Guaburimalla* there was a Stone Image worſhipped in the Form of a Woman; and in the *Iſthmus* of *Darien* there was a Female Deity, which they called *Da-Baiba*, to which they paid mighty Honours and Worſhip; and here there is ſome Agreement in the Names of *Zlotta-Baba* and *Da-Baiba*. To their Deities the *Americans* uſed to offer the Hearts of Human and of other Sacrifices, as we find was the uſual Cuſtom in *Mexico*; and this alſo was the Practice among the *Tartars*. And thus much for the Peopling of *America* from the North Eaſtern Parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*, from the Country of the antient *Hunni*, *Tartari*, and other *Scythians*; in which there are ſo many things deducing the Origine of part of the *Americans* from theſe barbarous People, that when it is laid all together, and duly conſidered, it amounts to a fair degree of probability; and farther than that we cannot pretend to go, there being no way to come at a Demonſtration in the Account of things ſo long remote and obſcure.

But becauſe there were found in *America* at its firſt Diſcovery, two very polite, civilized and mighty Nations, *Mexico* and *Peru*, which can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to be derived from ſuch barbarous People as thoſe *Scythians* above-mentioned; 'twill be worth our while to enquire, whether there be not good ground to believe they might have their Inhabitants from ſome Parts of our World where Arts and Sciences were much more cultivated, than in thoſe deſert and ſavage Regions of *Scythia*, &c.

Now of all the Inhabitants of the New World, the *Peruvians* were the beſt and moſt civilized, as abſtaining entirely from Human Sacrifices, or eating Human Fleſh; which becauſe of the Intermixture of the barbarous *Chichimecæ*, was not exactly true of the *Mexicans*. *Hornius* his Conjecture therefore ſeems very probable to me, that the *Peruvians*, *Chilians* and *Mexicans* received their firſt People from *Cathay*, *Eaſt India* and *China*, or ſome adjoining Nations as polite as thoſe. *Cathai* was the moſt civilized part of all *Scythia*, and was not unknown to the Antients; for *Ptolomy* mentions the *Chatæ* thereabouts, and *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Region called *Cathea*: In latter Times it came to be called *Kitha*; and this was divided into two Parts, one called ſimply *Kithai*, and the other *Kara-Kithai*. In this latter part, the famous *Preſter John* had his Seat and Dominion, of whom becauſe there are many fabulous Stories, *Hornius*, from the judicious *Rubruquis* and *Venetus*, gives the following Account. When the *Gauls* took *Antiochia*, which was in the Year of Chriſt 1098, one whoſe Name was *Con-Can*, reigned in *Kara-Kithai*, and commanded alſo the Northern Regions, from whence the *Turcæ* went out. In this *Kara-Kithai* there was a *Neſtorian* Shepherd, who was a powerful Prince of the People of *Yayman*; and this Man, after *Con-Chan*'s Death, invaded the Kingdom of *Kathai*, and by the *Neſtorians* was called *John*, who have feigned 1000 Stories about him; and from hence came all the Fable of *Presbyter John*, or *Preſter John*.

The *Abyſſine* Emperor in *Ethiopia*, hath by the *Europeans* been called this Name, as well as this *Aſiatick* Prince; but ſaith *Hornius*, for different Reaſons: The latter was called *Preſtegan* by the *Perſians* and *Neſtorians*, becauſe he was an Apoſtolical Perſon, as the Word in their Language ſignifies; but the *Abyſſine* Prince was by the *Indians* and *Perſians* called *Preſter Chan*, i. e. *Rex Mancipiorum*, the King of Slaves; becauſe great Numbers of Slaves were brought from *Ethiopia*.

P. Venetus ſaith, there was in *Cathaia* a Prince called *Presbyter John* in his Time; and the ſame ſaith *Antonius Andrada Luſitanus*, who in the Year 1624, went from the Kingdom of the *Great Mogul* to ſearch out that Region, and found him to have large Dominions.

This *Cathay* was not a part of the antient Kingdom of *China*, but a Northern Region adjoining to it, as appears from the *Nubian* Geographer: But about the Year 1360, *Cathay* and *Mangi* were united into one *Chiniſe* Kingdom, and then the famous *Chineſe* Wall was built, to ſecure them againſt Invaſions from the *Tartars*; and that it can't be much older, is certain, becauſe there is not any mention of it in *Paulus Venetus*, who wrote about the Year 1200: It was therefore no doubt built by *Honwa*, who drove the *Tartars* out of *China*, and left them nothing but the Kingdom of *Caſcar*.

By the antient *Sinenſes* or *Chineſe*, we are to underſtand therefore all thoſe who lived to the South of *Cathay*, in the vaſt Region of *Mangi*. Theſe, tho' originally derived from the *Scythians* and *Indians*, yet had all their Letters, Poliſure, Arts and Sciences, from the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, who made frequent Expeditions into this Country; as appears from the Voyages of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, whom the Antients ſay were *Phœnicians*. The *Tyrians* had a Colony at the *Euxine*, as mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*; which was on the Banks or at the Mouth of the River called *Tyras*. In the *Perſian* Gulph there was an Iſland called *Tyrus* and *Aradus*, whoſe Inhabitants, *Strabo* ſaith, contended that they were derived from the *Sidonians*. And there was a Nation of the *Phœnicians* called *Sinæi*, from whom 'tis very probable the Name of *Sinæ* or *Sinenſes* firſt came: Theſe *Sinæi* lived firſt about *Sina* in *Arabia* and *Syene* in *Egypt*. The Kingdom of *Egypt*, it appears, did anciently extend all over *India*; for *Diodorus* ſaith of *Seſoſtris*, that he conquered all *Aſia*, beyond *Ganges*, as far as the *Indian* Ocean; and *Strabo* ſaith, their Empire extended as far as *Bactria*, *India* and *Scythia*; and much to the ſame purpoſe *Tacitus* ſpeaks. 'Tis very likely therefore, that the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* went into *China*, and there left part of their Language, Hieroglyphicks, Learning, Arts

and

and Sciences, for there is a great Conformity between the *Chineſe* Language, Arts, &c. and thoſe of the Old *Egyptians*: Their Cuſtoms alſo and Manners agree; the Women in *China*, manage the Publick Affairs, while the Men are Cot-Queans, dreſs the Victuals and manage all Domeſtick Buſineſs, and this we learn from *Herodotus*, *Mela*, *Epiphanius*, *Diodorus*, &c. was the way of the Antient *Egyptians*: The *Chineſe* had alſo the manner of hatching Chickins by the heat of Ovens, which the *Egyptians* have been ſo famous for: And their Way of Writing by a kind of Pictures and Characters agrees very nearly; and ſo did the Writing of the *Mexicans*, with both. For that the *Chineſe*, *Cathayans*, *Japoneſes*, *Coreans*, and other Nations of *Eaſt-India* did ſail into *America*, ſeems very Clear and Evident. The *Epicerini* a People of *Canada*, aſſerted at our firſt diſcovery of them; that to the Weſt end of them, very far off, there lived another People, who affirmed that foreign Merchants without Beards, uſed to come in great Ships to their Coaſts: Who could theſe be but the *Indians* or *Chineſes*? *Vaſquez de Coronado* ſaith that in *Quivira*, there were Ships found whoſe Sterns were adorned with Gold and Silver: Which *Maffeius* in his Hiſtory of *India*, and *Ludovicus Frois* in his Letters about *Japan* ſay, was uſual in the *Japaneſe* and *Chineſe* Ships. And in *Acoſta*, we find the *Spaniſh* Admiral *Melendeſius* aſſerting that *Chineſe* Ships were found wrackt in the *Mare del Nord* above *Florida*, which perhaps were the ſame with thoſe ſeen at *Quivira*. In *Quaculca* too, there was a plain Tradition of *Foreign Merchants* which uſed to come thither from the Weſtward, and which were *clothed in Silk*. Theſe 'tis like ſailed under the Tropick of *Cancer*, and came firſt to *Quivira* or *California*, and thence coaſting along the Shoar, went down into *New-Spain*, &c. The Wind is generally fair for ſuch a Voyage, and it may be, and uſually is (ſaith *Hornius*) performed in about 50 or 60 days time: and there can be no reaſon to doubt of their ſailing to *America* ſince they had Ships fit for this purpoſe; and ſince as we learn from the *Nubian Geographer*, that they ſailed into *Arabia*, and others ſay into *Africa*.

But beſides all this, there is frequent mention of theſe Oriental Places in the Names and Traditions of the *Americans*. There were a People in *America* called *Chiapanecs*; which word is much the ſame in ſound with *Japan*, or *Japaneſes*: Theſe came from *Nicaragua*, according to *Herrera*; to which place they came from *Guatimala*, and to *Guatimala* from *Mexico* and *California*. In *Guatimala* there is a River and Province called *Chiapa*, and in the Kingdom of *Mexico* a Lake of the ſame name. In the Iſland of St. *Trinidada*, there is a place called *Ker-Japan*, as *Hornius* writes.

In the Language of *Japan*, *Tonus* ſignifies the Sun, Moon, or Stars; and alſo Princes: and the *Mexicans* call the Sun *Tonatiuh*, and the Moon *Tona*; and in *Hiſpaniola*, *Taino* ſignifies Nobles or Princes; *Japan*, is by the *Chineſes* called *Jequen*, that is, *Sunriſing*; by the *Japoneſes*, 'tis called *Gipan* and *Nipon*, or *Nippon*: and by *Paulus Venetus*, 'tis called *Zipangri*, after the *Tartarian* Language, and accordingly when *Columbus* came to *Hiſpaniola*, and heard there, that part of that place was called *Zipangi* by the Natives, he thought he had been come to the *Aſiatick Japan*. The word alſo *Montezuma*, or *Motezuma*, is plainly of *Japoneſe* Original, and as it was the uſual Titles for the Emperors of *Mexico*: ſo *Motazaiuma* in *Japan*, is the common Apellation for their Princes, as *Hornius* obſerves. 'Tis very probable therefore, that the *Japoneſes* ſailing to the Eaſtward, went firſt to the Intermediate Iſlands (for ſuch there are) and thence into *America*.

Fr. Caron in his Deſcription of *Japan* (where he lived from a Child) ſaith 'tis uncertain whether *Japan* be an Iſland, or part of ſome Continent, and that the greateſt part of it is yet unknown to the *Japoneſes* themſelves. From the Province of *Quanto*, where the Principal City *Jedo* and the Seat of the King is, he ſaith, it reaches 27 Days Journey towards the South-Eaſt; and then you come to the Promontory of the utmoſt Province *Tſunga*; from hence paſſing a Strait of Eleven Miles over, you come to the Land of *Jeſſo*, or *Seſſo*; which is vaſtly large and Mountainous, and but thinly inhabited, and hath never been fully diſcovered by the *Japoneſe*, becauſe of its great extent and want of Proviſions, tho' it abound with precious Skins and Furrs. The Inhabitants of this Land of *Jeſſo*, he ſaith, are long-hair'd, with thin Beards like the *Chineſe*, and perfectly Brutiſh and Barbarous. And to this place (he ſaith) the *Japoneſe* paſs over in little Boats (*in Scaphis*.)

Why then (as *Hornius* obſerves, from whom I have cited this) ſhould not this Land be either the Continent of *America* it ſelf, or elſe ſome Iſland contiguous thereunto, ſince the deſcription of the Natives is ſo like that of the Inhabitants of *America* thereabouts.

Fr. De Laet ſeems alſo to be of Opinion that the Junction of *America* with our Continent is ſomewhere without the *Artic Circle*, about *Cathay*; which falls in very well with this Account of *Fr. Caron*: and this place he, *viz. Laet* obſerves, is near enough to the Place where the Ark reſted after the Deluge, to account for a very early Paſſage into *America* out of *Aſia*. *Vid Lib. de Orig. Gent. Amer.* p. 91.

Coren, which the *Chineſe* call *Corai*, the *Japoneſes* *Coraſi*, the Natives or Inhabitants call *Cacli*, wherefore 'tis likely the Inhabitants of this *Cacli*, diſcovered and named *California*: and perhaps they ſpread themſelves much further: for there is a Province in *Florida* called *Calos*. This *Corea* is parted from *Cathay* (ſaith *Hornius*) by a large River of Three Miles broad, which I ſuppoſe, runs out of the Sea of *Cango* into the *Chineſe* Ocean: of this Place the principal Province is called *Cambalu*, from whence *Hornius* thinks *Cempoala* in *New Spain* takes its Name. But certain it is that *Cathay* was called *Kitaia*, and near the *Chinawall*, there is a Lake called *Kitha* or *Kita*: and *Hornius* ſaith, the Inhabitants were called ſometimes *Katani* and *Gotani*; and that there is an Iſland lying off of the Continent of *Japan*, called *Goto*: of which Words there are many Remains in *America*, *Gata*, *Goto*, and *Gata*, being a common Termination for the names of Places there, as is plain in the *Eperagoti*, *Arcoagoti*, &c. in *Guiana*; the *Managoti* of *Cumana*, the *Ologota* of *Florida*, &c. And the Natives of *New England* called the Sea *Kitham*, and the Ships *Kithanock*, probably from the Lake *Kitha*.

Near *Xaliſco* there is a City called *Chita*; in *Peru* yoll have *Quito*, a very famous place; and in *New Granada*, a Sea called *Quivo*. In *Chuquiaba*, *Hornius* ſaith there is a place called *Caracate*, which, indeed, is very like *Kara Kithai*, one part of *Cathay*.

Then, as to *China*; there are many names of Places in *America* that ſeem to be plainly derivable from *Chineſe* Words.

In *Mechoacana* a Province of *Mexico*, there is a City called *Zinzonta*, which is plainly a *Chineſe* Word, *Tzintzon* being a uſual Word in that Language, as *Hornius* ſaith: And near to this Province of *Methoachan*, there are Two Cities called *Manchao* and *Campio*, as there are Two in *China*, called *Macao* and *Campa*.

The *Peruvians* boaſted no higher an Original than about 400 Years, for the Family of the *Inca*, *Ynca* or *Inga*; their Princes that Governed them when the *Spaniards* firſt diſcovered *Peru*. Before this, they ſay, they were barbarous, lived wild in the Woods, eat Mans Fleſh, &c. Till one *Manco* came to them from their Father the *Sun*, and taught them a better, more civilized way of Life; from this *Manco* came the whole Family of the *Inca*'s.

This Tradition of theirs, ſhews plainly that *Manco* was a Foreigner, and that their Good Government was ſet up by him all at once, and therefore he muſt have learnt and gain'd his Wiſdom and Politeneſs in ſome other place. 'Tis very probable therefore that this *Manco* came from *China*, and that with a Good Fleet of Ships, and as *Laet* ſaith, with a Good Army too, or elſe he could not have ſubdued ſo numerous a People, nor have brought them under any Government. I ſay, 'tis probable he came from *China*, or *Cathay*, &c. becauſe the Architecture of the *Inca*'s in *Peru*, and all their mighty Buildings, Towers, &c. are exactly after the *Chineſe* manner; their Cities alſo were vaſtly great, like thoſe of *China*: In *Cuſco* there were above 100000 Houſes, many of Stone; their Streets, Large, Noble, and Strait, adorn'd now and then with Squares, paved with Flint or Stone, and Towers fortified with Three Walls round them: Many alſo of their Cuſtoms agreed with thoſe of the *Chineſes*.

The *Mexicans* were the Politeſt, but the leſt antient of any of the People of *America*; for their Account of themſelves reached not above 300 Years backward: Now ſince we learn from *P. Venetus*, and with a little Variation as to Time, from the Annals of *Gonſalo Mendoza* too, that about the Year of Chriſt 1268; the *Chineſe*, being driven out of their Country by the Invaſions of the *Tartars*, *fled into certain remote Iſlands and there remained*, 'tis very likely that they went then into *America*; and to make this Expedition, *Facfur* their preſent King provided a 1000 Ships, and took with him a great number of People. Theſe *Remote Iſlands*, as *Hornius* obſerves, could neither be *Japan* nor *Java*; for both thoſe were well known to *Paulus Venetus*, and 'tis plain they could not be the *Philipines*; becauſe there are no

remains of the Manners or Customs of the *Chineses* there, and the People are of another Make and Language: wherefore 'tis likely these Remote Islands were in *America*; and that since, *Venetus* saith they were *Inexpugnabiles*, it was this remoteness or distance from *Tartary*, that made them so. And if we allow 100 Persons to go in each Ship, which is probable enough (they having large Ships, as hath been shewn above) the Number of these Fugitive *Chineses* would be 100000, which are too many to be bestowed in any place less than such great Islands as those of *America*. And if any one should make an Objection to this, on the Account of the *Americans* wanting Horses, which these *Chineses* may be supposed to have taken with them. *P. Venetus* answers it plainly, by saying, *There were then no Horses in* China.

Hornius takes a great deal of pains to adjust the Chronology of the *Mexicans*, and he concludes that their Antiquity cannot exceed the Year 1200, and therefore may easily and fairly be derived from this *Chinese* Ramble under *Facfur*, about the Year 1270. But 'tis like their other Six neighbouring Nations of the *Novatlace*, about the Lake of *Mexico*, are much more ancient; and 'tis very well worth observing how well this agrees with *Montezuma*'s account of the *Mexicans* which he gave to *Cortez*, *That they were originally Strangers, and came from foreign Parts, from the East, in the Fleet of a great Prince so long ago that the Memory of the Time was lost.* This great Prince must be *Facfur*, whom the *Chineses* call *Tepin*, but the *Mexicans Tolpecin*. 'Tis likely *Facfur* and his Fleet landed first on *California*, and from thence they went to the Continent in *Canoas*, &c. for the *Mexicans* had a Tradition, *that their Ancestors came over an Arm of the Sea in* Canoas *into* Atzlane: by which they meant the Sea between *California* and *New Mexico*, and which the *Spaniards* call, *Mare vermeio*. For *Montezuma* told *Cortez* that this Prince that brought them over, went home again, leaving them behind: that after this, returning again, he would have maintained his former Authority over them, but that they had intermarried with the Natives of the Place, had built themselves Houses, &c. and chose themselves a Senate, and Princes of the People, and so would not receive him at all amongst them: He therefore going back again, or away with the Fleet, they made themselves *Canoes* to pass over to the main Land, and it hath been taken notice of by almost all the Writers of *America*, that about *California* there were found a People that spake nearly the same Language with the *Mexicans*, and had the same Laws, Customs, and Manners; which therefore were the Remains of those *Chineses* that Married, Settled, and stayed in or about *California*, while their main Body might go over to the Main, and settle themselves among the *Novatlaca*, upon the Lake of *Mexico*.

And the Customs and Manners of the *Mexicans* were found to be very agreeing with those of the *Chinese*: The *Mexicans* had large Cities, adorned with stately Buildings, their Streets divided into Squares, they had Castles, Towers, Palaces, and publick Places (like Inns) for the entertainment of Travellers, which were built at the Publick Cost; all which agrees with the Custom of *China*, and other parts of the East, and tho' the *Peruvians* had no Mortar, fewer Towers, and those not very high; yet the *Mexicans* had both Mortar (or a Cement equivalent thereunto) Edifices built with Marble, and Towers of a vast height; insomuch that *Cortez* saith, he never saw any thing so Great and Magnificent, and that their Cities exceeded any in *Europe*, both for Magnitude and Splendor. In *Tezcuco*, he saith, there were 30000 Houses; and that *Tlascala* was larger and more populous than *Granada*: and as for their Skill in Mechanical Arts, he saith the *Mexicans* were wonderfully famous; and that they would draw the Picture of any Animal that they had but once seen, very lively and strong.

The *Mexicans* had two ways of disposing of their Dead; one was by Sepulture, or burying in the Ground, and the other by Burning: In the former of these ways, the Body was always kept just 15 Days at the House of the Deceased, where there was Feasting all the while: And for the same number of Days did the *Chinese* keep a dead Man above Ground, at his own House, during which time the Priests performed the usual Rites. Their way of saluting their Princes, and going out backward from their Presence, was the same with that of the *Chineses*; and the Titles of their Kings of the same pompous Nature. The *Mexicans* had a great or Royal Seal, by which all Grants and Publick Business were signed: In *Mexico* as in *China*, their Senators or Palatines were usually Twelve, but sometimes but Ten. The Ensigns and Standards of the *Chineses* were Dragons and Serpents, and such had the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*. The way of writing in *Mexico* was like that of the *Chineses* in most things; their Letters were Pictures or Characters of things, their Paper made of the Threads of Trees: of their Books compacted of which, in *Cozumel*, *Iucatan*, *Mexico*, *Nicaragua* and *Guatimalla*; there were innumerable Volumes found, treating about *Agriculture*, Plants, and the Actions and Affairs of their Ancestors, which the brutal *Spaniards* destroyed and burnt. The *Mexicans* cultivated the same Arts, as the *Chineses*; and in particular, had *Geographical Tables*, or a kind of Maps of their Country, very large and curious. The *Mexicans* also were so skilful in making Fire-works, that they seem to have been acquainted with a Composition something like our Gunpowder; of which the *Chinese* pretend (as well as of Printing) to have had a very antient Knowledge: Tho' with what Truth, *Hornius* justly makes a doubt, since there is no mention made of any such thing in *Paulus Venetus*; and yet he describes several of their warlike Engines.

And thus have I laid before you in as fair a Light as I can, the Evidence I could collect about this abstruse and difficult Point, *The first peopling of* America: and which, when it comes to be considered impartially, and viewed altogether, seems to me, to make out the Derivation of them from our World very plain and conspicuous, and to point out the Time of it too with some tolerable Exactness.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

PART the Second.

Of the Antient Shipping and Navigation, and their ſucceeding Improvements.

WHether there was any conſiderable Navigation before the univerſal Deluge may be juſtly queſtioned; ſince we have no authentick Account whereon to build ſuch a Suppoſition; nor have we, I think, Authority enough to deny, as ſome do, all manner of Knowledge of the uſe of Boats to the Antediluvians. Certain it is, that there was a Sea, and Rivers before the Flood; and in above a 1500 Years time, which according to the laſt Account, paſt between the Creation and the Deluge, 'tis ſtrange that no one ſhould diſcover, that it was poſſible to be born upon the Water, in proper Veſſels. The daily uſe of Water, for almoſt all the Neceſſaries and Conveniences of Life; required them to employ hollow Veſſels to raiſe it up with, and to tranſport it to their Places of Abode, and they could not avoid taking notice that thoſe Veſſels would ſwim or float upon the Water: In the Rivers alſo, they could not but ſometimes ſee floating Wood, and their endeavour to get it out for their uſe, might very probably ſatisfy them, that a large Tree would more than bear the weight of a Man upon it, without ſinking, and that it would do this much better if it were hollowed out like their Water-Veſſels: They muſt ſee that this would be an uſeful Invention to paſs Rivers, &c. and therefore it ſeems very probable to me, that they would take the hint and improve it, as (its granted) Men did, ſoon after the Flood. *Moſes* no where tells us that the Ark which *Noah* built was a new and ſurpriſing thing to the Antidiluvians; and 'tis plain from *Plato*; *Lib.* 3. *de Legit.*: That there was a Tradition of the Art of Navigation, being in ſome meaſure known before the Flood; but that it was loſt with the Boats themſelves at the Deluge. The ſame we find alſo from *Ovid*'s deſcription of the Flood, *Metam. lib.* 1. *fol.* 7.

Occupat hic colicm, Cymbâ ſedet alter aduncâ,
Et ducit Remos ille, ubi nuper ararat.

All this, I grant, is only conjecture, and I deſign to build nothing more on it, than to ſhew that thoſe who boldly aſſert that *Noah*'s Ark was the firſt Veſſel that ever was made to carry Men on the Water, have not ſufficient Authority for it, either from Hiſtory, Tradition, or Reaſon. But ſo much are we in the dark, about Matters at ſo great a diſtance from us, that 'tis very hard to determine who was the firſt inventor of Ships or Boats after the Flood. No doubt *Noah*'s Sons all made a ſpeedy uſe of ſo beneficial an Invention, as they had occaſion. But who they were that from them, brought it into the learned Part of the World, and taught the *Egyptians* and *Grecians* the Knowledge of this Art, it is not now very eaſy to ſhew. *Prometheus*, *Neptune*, *Minerva*, *Jaſon*, *Atlas*, *Hercules*, *Danaus*, *Erythræus*, &c. are all by ſome Authors or other, ſaid to be ſeverally the Inventors of Shipping. But what is ſaid of moſt them is ſo entirely fabulous, that there is no relyance on theſe Relations.

It may with great probability be ſaid that the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians* have the juſteſt claim for this Invention. *Euripides* in his *Troas*, *Act.* 1. calls Shipping an *Egyptian Art*; and 'tis certain that they were very early famous for their Shipping. *Cicero* ſaith, that the *Phœnicians* were the firſt Navigators, and brought Merchandizes into *Greece*. And *Pliny*, attributes the firſt Invention of Shipping and Sea Battles to them, *Lib.* 5. *c.* 12. *Herodotus* ſaith, that the *Phœnicians* coming out of the *Red-Sea* made very long Voyages, and carried their Wares into many Places, and particularly into *Argos*, a then famous City of *Greece*. *Strabo*, *Lib.* 7. ſaith, that nothing of the Ocean was known in *Homer*'s time: But this *Bochart* ſhews to be a miſtake. Vid. *Canaan. Lib.* 1. *c.* 36. and *Lib.* 9. Shews that the *Caſſiterides* Iſlands (which he makes Ten in Number) were known to the *Phœnicians*, but their Navigation thither ſtudiouſly concealed. The ſame Author, *Lib.* 16. tells, us that the *Sidonians* firſt learned Aſtronomy and Arithmetick (I ſuppoſe he means ſome kind of Calculation or Eſtimation of the Ships way) from their Nocturnal Navigations; and 'tis certain that theſe Arts came Originally from them.

Prima Rates ventis credere docta Tyros,
Tibul. El. 7.

Pomponius Mela. Lib. 1. *c.* 12. and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Lib.* 12. both agree alſo in attributing the Invention of Navigation to the *Phœnicians*. *Strabo*, *Lib.* 1. gives us good grounds to believe that the *Phœnicians* ſail'd out of the Straits, and built Cities in *Africa*, before the *Greeks* knew any thing of Shipping, and before the ſiege of *Troy*. *Scheffer* in his excellent Book, *De Militia Navali*, Lib. 1. p. 3. Thinks that the *Indian* Sea was very early known to the *Phœnicians*; becauſe there is mention made in the Book of *Job*, *c.* 28. 16. of the Gold of *Ophir*: But tho' this (I judge) not to be concluſive enough; ſince as the moſt learned *Bochart* hath ſhewed, there were Two *Ophirs*, one in *India* which was the *Taprobana*, now *Ceylon*; and the other in *Arabia*, of which latter 'tis probable *Job* may ſpeak. Yet 'tis likely enough that the *Phœnicians* might try the *Indian* Ocean as early as that: for having Ships in the *Red-Sea* (which *Scheffer* thinks was denominated, *Mare Rubrum*, *Puniceum*, or *Phœnicium*, from the *Pœni* or *Phœnices*) they might eaſily venture out into the *Indian* Sea. *Agenor* was the firſt *Tyrian* King whom *Scheffer* makes contemporary with *Gideon*, and his Sons *Cadmus* and *Phœnix* had tolerable Fleets. This was a good while before *Minos*, whoſe Mother was *Europa Cadmus* his Daughter: *Minos* indeed, raiſed a Fleet, 'tis ſaid, to clear the Seas from Pirates; but we learn from good Authority, that *Phoroeas* alſo King of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and *Bacchus*, had Fleets long before him, as well as the *Phœnicians*. *Sidon* was a flouriſhing City 300 Years before *Minos* his time: 'Twas built as *Bochart* ſaith, *Phal. lib.* 4. *c.* 35. by the Nephew of *Cham*; and we learn from *Trogus* (lib. 18.) *Poſt multos deinde annos a Rege Aſcaloniorum expugnati Sidonii; Navibus appulſi, Tyrum Urbem, ante annum Trojanæ cladis condiderunt*: And indeed, tho' we find *Sidon* mentioned as long ago as *Jacob*'s Time, the *Holy Scriptures* ſpeak not of *Tyre* till *David*'s Reign; and *Strabo*, and *Pomponius Mela*, both celebrate it as the richeſt City of all *Phœnicia*, and that it was antiently very eminent for great Numbers of large Ships. *Agatharchides* alſo, and *Phileſtratus*, do agree that *Erythras* the firſt Founder of the *Phœnicians* (and from whom probably the *Red-Sea* was called *Mare Erythræum*) was very famous for his Naval Power.

Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Mentions a very large Fleet (ſuch as it was) of *Semiramis* the Wife of *Ninus*, whom *Euſebius* and St. *Auſtin* place about 300 Years after the Flood. This Fleet engaged upon the River *Indus* with one belonging to *Scaurobates* or *Staurobates*, a King of that part of the World; and the *Indian* Fleet was worſted: But there are many Circumſtances in this Story, as particularly of her Army, conſiſting of above Three Millions of Men, and her having 2000 Ships, that make it appear Fabulous, and indeed it hath juſtly been eſteem-

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ed so by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and most Judicious Writers. Others will have *Sesostris* King of *Egypt* to have invented Gallies, &c. very anciently, and to have been very famous for Shipping; others say, that the *Egyptians* did use very anciently to coast along the *Red Sea* in Rafts devised by King *Erythrus*: But in these Accounts there is nothing certain to be relyed upon. For such was the Genius of the *Greeks*, that they turned every thing almost into Fable. The Poets called a Ship, a *Sea Chariot*; for *Æschylus* saith of *Prometheus*, that he —— ὑγρὸν ναυβάτην ὀχημάτων: And in *Catullus* we find this Line.

Ipsa levi fecit volitantem flumine currum.

Homer and others called a Ship an Horse, whence arose the Fable of *Bellerophon* and *Perseus* his Flying Horse, *Pegasus*: *Vid. Palephati Libr. 1. Mirabil. Historiarum:* and of *Nessus* the Centaur, whom they represent as both a *Portitor* and as a *Nauta*. Thus because *Europe* the Daughter of *Agenor* the *Phœnician* King, being carried away by the *Cretians* in a Ship that had a Bull for its *Paraesemum*, its Ancient, Colours, Device, &c. She was represented as being carried away by that Animal. Thus also the Fable of *Scylla*, as *Palephatus* saith, came from hence; that the *Tyrrheni* as long ago as the Siege of *Troy* using Piracy, and with their *Myoparones* and *Triremes* infesting the Coasts; one of these being called *Scylla*, was a very good Sailor, but yet *Ulysses* outsailed her, and so escaped.

Eusebius tells us, *Lib.* 1. *Præp. Evang.* c. 10. that one *Usous* was the first that ever dared venture out to Sea, which he did in a *Canoa* made of the Trunk of a Tree and hollowed by the Fire. This *Usous* which *Gyraldus* miscals *Use*, *Scheffer* will have to be *Esau* the Brother of *Jacob*, and that he used this *Canoa* to fly from him: As indeed the Story in *Eusebius* probably hints. This Boat was the μονόξυλον or ἄκατος of the *Greeks*, so called, ἀπὸ τῦ κατακλᾶσθαι, because it was made by hollowing. And this *Scheffer* shews to have been in most ancient Use among the *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and after them the *Greeks*: And also as *Pliny* takes notice, *Lib.* 16. *c.* 41. by the *German* Pirates too. From their Hollowness the *Romans* called these *Alvei*.

Tunc Alveos fluvii primam sensere cavatas.
Virg.

They were called also *Trabariæ*, because they were made out of one only Beam or *Trabs*: As both *Diodorus* observes: And we find from *Virgil*, Æneid. 3.

—— *Vastumq; cava Trabe currimus Æquor.*

These were also the same with the *Lintres*, as appears by the Passage of *Sidonius Apollinaris in Paneg.*

—— *Pars Lintre Cavatâ*
Jam dociles exponit Equos ——

Xenophon Lib. 6. saith, that these Skiffs, or κωπόξυλα, held each of them three Men a-piece: But to be sure the Number of hands varied with their Largeness. *Snellius* thinks, that *Dædalus* and *Icarus* went singly to Sea, in such little Canoa's as are used about *Davis* his Straits in *America*: And that the latter venturing too far from Shoar, was drown'd: But however, these Canoa's have been, and are still, in use in many Places of *America*, the Inhabitants of which Place, no doubt, deriving the Invention very early from those of our Continent.

Isidorus Lib. 19. cap. 1. saith, that the *Rates* were the first and most ancient kind of Boats, and that they were only Beams of Timber fastned together: The same *Maximus Tyrius* asserts also, saying, that the first Men used to make σχεδίαν καὶ σκάφιον, a poor small hasty made Raft of some light Wood, by framing pieces of Timber together; and on this they would venture to Sea. *Dissertat.* 40. These *Rafts*, Floats, or Bark-Logs are described by Capt. *Dampier* in his Voyage round the World, *p.* 141 and in other places. Some of which are small, and without Sail or Rudder, carrying but one Man, who sits upon it, or astride it, with his Legs in the Water: These are used on the Coast of *Coromandel* in the *East Indies*, and are now called *Catamarans*: But in the *South Sea*, he describes Rafts or Bark-Logs made to carry Goods; which were very large, carying 60 or 70 Tuns of Wine, &c. and are used to go between *Lima* and *Truxillo*, *Gaicquil*, and *Panama*. These have a large Rudder, and a Mast, and Sail. *Pliny* Lib. 7. c. 56. and *Strabo* Lib. 16. tell us, that these Rates were used by the most Ancient People; the *Phœnicians*, *Ethiopians*, and the *Gerrhæi*, which used to trade in them to *Babylon*.

Prima Ratem Ventis credere docta Tyros.
Tibullus Eleg. 7.

Thucydides Lib. 6. that the *Sicilians* usually passed from their Island into *Italy* in these Rafts. These the *Greeks* called κώπαι, hastily made Boats; but in *Aulus Gellius* Lib. X. c. 25. they are called *Ratariæ*, and *Gyraldus* saith they were first invented by *Pyrrhonus Magus*, in *Lydia*: But *Scheffer* cites *Isidorus*, for attributing the first Invention of Ships to the *Lydians*; which he saith *Gyraldus* mistook for these *Rates*. 'Tis highly probable, that the *Rates* were the first Vessels in which Men ventur'd to Sea; the Invention being so Natural, Rude, and Simple: But after this, 'tis easy to suppose, they might by degrees think of hollowing Trees, or making Boats of Skins, Reeds, Canes, Barks of Trees, and at last of *Boards*. We learn from *Strabo*, Lib. 17. and all Antiquity, that Boats made of Reeds, and the *Egyptian Papyrus*, were used very early.

Sic cum tenet omnia Nilus
Conseritur bibula Memphytis Cymba Papyro.
Lucan.

And 'tis highly probable, that *Juvenal* means these Reed or Cane Boats, in this Passage of *Satyr* V.

—— *Illud vestris datur alveolis; quod*
Canna Myoepsarum prorâ subvexit acutâ.

The Scholiast saith, that the *Canna* was a small Boat made of Reeds or Canes, and from hence perhaps came the *Canoa* or *Cannoo*, which is every where used to signify a small *Indian* Boat. And tho' it be odd enough to suppose, that Men should think of Earthen Boats: Yet such, the same Satyrist tells us were used by the *Egyptians*. Satyr 15.

—— *Imbelle & inutile Vulgus*
Parmula fictilibus solitum dare vela Phaselis
Et brevibus Picta remis incumbere Testa.

Pliny Lib. c. 9. mentions some Boats used by the *Ethiopians*, which he calls *Plicatiles*, because he saith they used to fold them up together, and carry them upon their Backs whenever they come to a Cataract: And such *Herodotus* tells us were used by the *Babylonians*, and he describes them thus. Their Boats were made of a *round Form* of Skins or Hides, and were covered with a kind of Baskets made of the Twigs of Oziers, and into each of these he saith they would put an Ass, and after they were come to *Babylon* they use to sell the Baskets, &c. and laying the Leather upon their Asses, march away for *Armenia*. These σκαῖα πλοῖα and πλοῖα δερμάτινα and δερμάτινοι, as the *Greeks* called them, or *Naves Sutiles*, were used in many other Places, as by the *Liburni*, &c. and the Poets represent Old *Charon*'s Boat to be of Leather, for thus *Virgil* Æn. 6. *v.* 414.

—— *Gemuit sub pondere Cymba,*
Sutilis, & multum accepit rimosa Paludem.

And these kind of Boats, it appears from *Lucan*, were very easily used by the *Venetians* and the *Britains*.

Primùm cana Salix madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in Puppim, cæsoq; induta Juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum supernatat amnem:
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado; fusoq; Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

And to this very Day these Leathern Boats are used upon the River *Severn*, and in some other Places in *England*.

Pliny Lib. 9. *Diodorus* Lib. 3. *Strabo* Lib. 16. All mentions the Shells of Tortoises, being anciently also used as Boats. *Pontanus* Lib. 2. Histor. Amst. c. 21. as I find him cited by *Scheffer*, mentions Boats made of the Barks of Trees (like *West-Indian* Birchen Canoa's) and used by the *Pitzorienses*, a People of *East-India*: And no question very various were the Materials that were used in different Places to make such small Boats as these, which were used in the Infancy of the Art of Navigation, and chiefly to pass Rivers, &c. *Strabo* also *Lib.* 16. saith, that the *Phœnicians* had a kind of Boats that could be taken to pieces and carried upon Mens Backs: And of

these

theſe *Scheffer* from *Steuvechius* gives a Figure, but I take it to be purely conjectural. The πλοῖα among the *Greeks* were not Ships, but only a kind of larger Boats; whoſe ſides at firſt were covered only with Hides of Beaſts, but afterwards they came to uſe Planks or Boards, as we do now. Of theſe πλοῖα we find a great many particular Names in Authors: For the *Cymba*, which 'tis ſaid the *Phœnicians* invented, the *Lembus* which the *Cyrenæi*; the *Celox*, which the *Rhodians*; the *Myaparo*, which the *Tyrrheni*; the *Phaſelus*, which the *Campani*; and the *Scapha*, which the *Illyrians* pretend to have found out are all called πλοῖα, by ſome Writers. Thoſe ſmall Boats (like our Scullers upon the *Thames*) that had but one Man in them, who rowed with two Oars, or Sculls, the *Greeks* called *Ampheres*: But thoſe in which each Man had an Oar they called κελόκας, *Celoces*, as appears from *Thucydides* and *Strabo*. And ſometimes ſuch a little Boat that had but two Men to row, was by the *Latines* called *Biremis*: As appears from theſe two places of *Lucan*.

——— Quem contra non longa Biremi
Appulerat ſcelerata manus ———
Lib. 8. v. 562.

And Lib. x. v. 56.

——— Se parva Cleopatri Biremi
Correpto cuſtode Phari, laxare catenas,
Intulit Ematiis, ignaro Cæſari, tectis.

Wherefore 'twas not only a Ship with two Banks or Tire's of Oars that was called a *Biremis*, but ſometimes a little Boat. And the ſame muſt be obſerved as to the *Triremis*: For *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theſeus* ſaith, that there was a τρίκροτον, or *Triremis*, of but three Oars; for it was appointed by the *Grecian* Council, That no *Triremis* ſhould be fitted out any whither, that could hold above five Men. Nor need we be ſtartled at an odd Number of Oars, being uſed in a Boat: For both *Polybius* Lib. 8. mentions the σκάφη πενταρικόν, a Skiff with five Oars; and *Diodorus Siculus* Lib. 20. the σκάφος τετρήρικον, a Skiff with thirteen Oars: But *Scheffer* himſelf tells us, that Boats with an odd Number of Oars, are now uſed upon the *Rhyne*. By this Name of πλοῖα alſo were the *Acatia*, *Lintres*, *Caraba*, *Epholcia*, *Capulæ*, *Cumbæ*, *Alvei*, &c. often called: Of which more particularly heareafter among the Alphabetical Names of Ships and Boats. *Bochart* in the ſecond Book of his Geography, *Ch.* 11. ſaith, that theſe πλοῖα were alſo called anciently γαῦλοι: And he cites the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, *Callimachus*, and *Epicharmus* out of *Athenæus*; to prove that γαῦλος was the Term for a *Phœnician* Boat. *Aulus Gellius* mentions the *Gaulus* among the ſeveral kinds of Boats; and *Feſtus* deſcribes it to be *Genus Navigii penè rotundum*. And he ſhews, that the word *Gaulus* among the *Phœnicians* was oppoſed to *Arca* or *Arco*: Which ſignified a *long Ship*, as the *Gaulus* was a roundiſh one; and therefore *Bochart* thinks with great Probability, that the *Argo Navis* was ſo called from its being the firſt *long Ship* among the *Greeks*: For *Pliny* cites *Philoſtephanus* for ſaying, *That* Jaſon *was the firſt that ever ſailed in a long Ship*: The Ancient Fleets conſiſted of two Parts; the *Onerariæ Naves* or Ships of Burden; which were of a roundiſh Form (that they might have the more Room for Stowage;) and were ſeldom or never rowed: But were carried only by their Sails. And the other ſort were the μακραὶ the *Naves longæ*, which the *Greeks* called ἱππαγωγοὶ, becauſe they were uſually rowed, and theſe were their fighting Ships. See *Livy* Lib. 25. c. 27. The firſt Invention of theſe *Longæ Naves*, or Gallies, *Ægeſias* in *Pliny*, Lib. 7. c. 56. aſcribes to *Paralus*: *Philoſtephanus* gives the Honour of it to *Jaſon*: *Cteſias* to *Samiras*; *Saphanus* to *Semiramis*, and *Archimacus* to *Ægeon*, Vid. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Book 1. Ch. 8. p. 114. Others ſay, *Seſoſtris* King of *Egypt* firſt deviſed theſe Gallies, tho' others tell us, that *Semiramis* uſed them in the Paſſage of her vaſt Army upon the *Indies*. *Thucydides* gives this Invention to the *Corinthians*; *Tertullian* aſcribes it to *Minerva*, others to *Neptune*: The *Samothracians* claim it as their Diſcovery; and ſome will have *Danaus* to be the firſt that brought it into *Greece*: And *Pliny* ſaith, that the Invention came from *Egypt*, *Navem Danaus ex Ægypto in Græciam advexit*, Lib. 7. c. 56. which thing is alſo fairly to be concluded from the beginning of the Fragment of *Archelaus* in *Euripides*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* Lib. 1. *Strom.* ſaith, that the firſt Ship was built by the *Lybian Atlas*, and he lived as is ſuppoſed, about *Moſes* his Time. This ναῦς, or *Navis*, was an ἱππαγωγὸς, or of twenty Oars all on one Bank, and was of a long Form: And that ſuch were built, and in uſe before *Jaſon*'s Time (whom others aſſert to have built the firſt long Ship in *Greece*) is plain from what *Herodotus* tells us of the *Egyptian* Prieſts; *viz.* that they ſay *Seſoſtris* was the firſt that ever ſailed in long Ships; which he did into the *Arabian* Gulph, ſubduing the People who inhabited the Coaſts of the *Red Sea*. *Scheffer de Militiâ Navali* Lib. 1. c. 3. ſaith, that *Danaus* raiſed the kind of Ship found out by the *Lybian Atlas*, up to one of fifty Oars, and that *Jaſon* copied after *Danaus*. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that *Liparus*, who lived before *Jaſon*, ſailed into *Italy* with long Ships. The Word *Gally*, *Scheffer* ſaith, comes from the *Greek*, γαῦλος; which *Leon* tells us was the Word uſed for a Long Ship, or a *Moneris*, having one only Bank of Oars: And ſuch a Ship *Strabo* calls μονοκρωτον, *Lib.* 7 and *Tacitus* ſpeaking of ſuch Ships, *Lib.* V. *Hiſtor.* c. 23. ſaith, *Junctiores Ordine aguntur*.

Snellius in the Preface to his *Typhys Batavus*, ſaith, that the Invention of Long Ships came firſt from the *Sidonians*: As he thinks is plain, from this Paſſage in the *Helena* of *Euripides*.

Χώρει σὺ ἡ ναῦν τοῖς ὑ πεντηκοντόροις·
Σιδωνίαν δὸς, ἢ βέλεων ἐπαλαὶ.
Act. 5. Scen. 1.

And indeed the ſame thing appears from the following *Chorus*; and from ſeveral other Places of that Tragedy. The *Argo Navis* which *Bochart* ſhews (*ubi prius citat.*) was ſo called from the *Phœnician* Word *Arco* or *Argo*, *longa*, was à *Pentecontoros*, as appears from the number of Hands that were in her: Where the Gods and Heroes themſelves were Rowers: And the Poet *Serenus* laughs at *Hercules*, calling him *Semiremex*, from his awkward rowing in this *Argo-Navis*. This *Argo-Navis* ſome ſay, was built by one *Glaucus*: *Moriſotus de Orbe Maritimo*, p. 2. *Bochart. Gregr. Socr.* Lib. 2. c. 11. ſhews that the *Arco-Navis* was at leaſt 50 Cubits, or 75 Feet in length: If the *Interſcalmia* were διημμαία two Cubits aſunder (Vid. Lib. 1. c. 2.) And if any thing can be gathered of Certainty from *Theocritus* his calling it τριακονταλαξυγον, that is, its having 30 *Scalmi* on a ſide, it muſt be yet longer. And certain it is, that it had more than 50 Rowers, tho' *numero rotundo* it be called πεντηκοντορος; for there were 54 *Argonautæ* in it beſides *Jaſon*; all the Flower of *Greece*, their Deſign being to fetch Gold from *Colchos*, Vid. *Plin.* Lib. 3. c. 33. In this Ship there was but one Man to an Oar, and but one Bank or Tire of Oars; ſo that this was a μονοκρωτον, or *Moneris*. And theſe kind of Ships ſometimes had an hundred Rowers in them, as *Scheffer* tells us, and tho' they were a kind of mean Rate, between an *Actuaria* or Piratical Runner, and a Ship of more than one Bank of Oars, yet they ſometimes were built ſo large as to exceed a *Triremis*; as we learn from *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 18.

Pliny, From the Authority of *Damaſthene*, or as *Scheffer* corrects it, *Demaſthe*, who lived in *Herodotus* his Time, tells us, that the *Erythræi* were the firſt that found out the *Biremis*, or a Ship with two Banks of Oars, rowing one above another. And *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus*, all agree, that about three hundred Years after the Siege of *Troy*, *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* built the firſt *Triremis*. But even this Invention *Clemens Alexandrinus* (Lib. 1. *Strom.*) attributes to the *Sidonians*. According to *Pliny* the *Quadriremis* was invented by *Ariſtoteles Carthaginenſis*: And the *Quinquiremis*, by *Neſichton* of *Salamis*. But this *Diodorus* Lib. 14. denies, ſaying, that *Dionyſius* after he had taken the *Corinthian Triremes*, contrived to enlarge the Dimenſions and *Ordines* of thoſe Ships; and that he firſt of all, built the *Quinque Remis*. After this, as *Pliny* tells us, *Zenagoras* the *Syracuſian*, built a Ship of *Sex Ordines*, or Banks of Oars: And *Neſigiton*, one of ten Banks or Tires. *Alexander* the Great is ſaid to have built a Ship of twelve *Ordines*; and *Philoſtephanus* ſaith, that *Ptolemy Soter* built one of fifteen. And that *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*, built one of thirty: to which *Plutarch* agrees. After this, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* is ſaid to have raiſed up the Number to forty *Ordines*; and *Ptolemy Philopator*, to fifty. But the Ships of theſe high Orders were uſeleſs Moles of Timber, built only for Vanity, Oſtentation, and Amuſement.

The Deſcriptions of theſe Ships of ſeveral *Ordines* or Banks of Oars, before *Auguſtus* his time, are really very obſcure; and in ſome of them there is little more than Conjecture to build upon. But what light I could get into this Affair, I will here give the Reader; as alſo the ancient Names of the ſeveral kinds of Ships, Boats, &c. and their Armature, ſeveral Parts, &c. both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages; becauſe, beſides its Curioſity, it

will be of good use for our understanding of the Writings of the Antients, of both those Nations.

There is a great dispute among the Learned about the Form of these Ships: Some have thought that the *Ordines* are only to be reckoned length-wise, or fore and aft, in the Ship. Of this Opinion is *Baysius*, *Stewechius* on *Vegetius*, *Castilionius* upon *Vitruvius*, and many others: And *Scheffer* thinks these ground their Notion upon what the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* saith, whose Words are: θρανίτης ἐστὶν, ὁ πρῶρα τὰς πρώρας· ζυγίτης, ὁ μέσος· ἢ θαλαμίτης, ὁ πρὸς τρόπιν: That is, the *Thranita* is that Rower, which rows in the *Stern*; the *Zygita*, he that rows in the *Mid-ship*; and the *Thalamita* is he that rows in the *Head*: Which what to make of, I confess I know not. Tho' to this *Baysius* agrees, dividing a Ship length-wise into 3 parts, from the Head to the Mast, from the Mast to the beginning of the *Acrostolion*, and from thence to the End of the Stern: In the first of which Divisions he places the *Thranitæ*, in the middle one the *Zygitæ*, and in the last the *Thalamitæ*: But the Reasons he produces for this are very weak and inconclusive. For certain it is, that the *Ordines* of Rowers were elevated something one above another, as *Jos. Scaliger* in his Comment upon the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, hath plainly proved against *Baysius*: For he cites these Words of *Lucan*, *lib.* 3. *v.* 536. (among a great many other Evidences.)

—Summis longè petit æquora Remis.

Where the *longè* and *summis Remis* sufficiently shew, that in this Ship of *Brutus*, there were some Oars placed above others, and that to a considerable height too. These Verses also of *Silius Italicus*, lib. 14. v. 424. prove the same thing.

Intrat diffusos pestis Vulcania passim,
Atq; implet dispersa Eros: Trepidatur omisso
Summis remigio, sed enim tam rebus in arctis
Fama mali nondum tenet penetrarat ad imos.

By which 'tis plain, that tho' the Fire raged upon the Deck, and so affrighted the upper Rowers, or the *Thranitæ*; yet it had not yet reached those Rowers which were below under the *Cataστromata*. And some of these were placed so low, that to use *Arrianus* his words on another occasion, αὐτῶν (speaking of the *Biremes*) τὰς κώπας κάτωθεν ἐκ τῶν σκαλμῶν ἔξω ἔχουσι τοῦ ὕδατος. *Their lower Oars were but a very little above the Level of the Water.* Lib. 6. *in Exped. Alexandr.* *Vegetius* also, in his Book *de Quinqueremibus*, saith expressly, *quinos sortiuntur remigum gradus*: And by what we have of *Memnon* in *Photius*, it appears, that the *Octeres Navis* was so called, because she had 8 Decks, Banks, or Tires of Oars rising one above another. *Lib.* 3. We find *Lucan* also speaking of the *Quadriremis* after such a manner, as plainly shews the *Ordines* were raised one above another.

Quosq; quater surgens extructi Remigis Ordo
Commovet, & terno consurgunt ordine Remi.

Sir *H. Saville* would have these *Ordines* neither to be accounted length-wise in the Ship, as *Baysius*, nor in height one above another, as *Jos. Scaliger*; but transversly, or a-thwart Ships: But this single Conjecture of his having no ground from the Writings of the Antients, and being refuted by *Rivius*, I shall do no more than barely mention it, and proceed.

However, tho' these *Ordines* or Banks of Oars were not all on the same Floor, Deck, or Horizontal Plain; yet they were not neither, as *Jos. Scaliger* would have them, *directly* over one another: For this, as will appear below, neither the height of the Ship, nor the length of the Oars will (in many Instances) allow to be possible; nor is there any Description or Figure of any such Ship to be found in Antiquity.

But before I enter into a particular Detail of the several Opinions of Authors how these *Ordines* are to be accounted for, in such great Ships, as are said to contain 30 or 40 of them; it may be proper and instructive to premise what the Learned *Suellius* hath observed in the Preface to his *Typis Batavus*; which is, that the *Greeks* made two Distinctions of long Ships: One with regard to the number of Oars or Rowers; and the proper Termination for this was in ηρης: Thus τριήρης, τριακοντήρης, πεντηκοντήρης, &c. was a Ship of 20, 30, or 50 Oars. The other in respect to the number of the *Versus* or *Ordines Remorum*; and the right Termination for this was in ημις. Thus the most antient Gally, or long Ship, was, as it is now in the *Mediterranean*, a μονήρης, having only one Bank or Tire of Oars; but a Ship that had 2, 3, &c. Banks or Tires of Oars, was called a δήρης, a τρήρης, &c. as is plain from these words of an old Author upon the *Tacticks* of *Ælian*: ἡ τριακόντορος ἢ παρακόντορος καὶ πεντηκόντορος λέγεται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κωπῶν. ἡ μονήρης ἢ δήρης ἢ ἑξήρης, καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐπ' ἀνωμάλοις. But tho' they expresst the number of a Ship's Oars by a Word whose Termination was in ορος, yet they carried this no lower than to εἰκοσόρος, a Ship of 20 Oars: For if she had fewer Oars than 20, they denominated her from the σκαλμός, *Paxillus*, or Peg on which the Oar was placed. Wherefore, when in *Strabo* we meet with the Words πενταδιήρης καὶ δωδεκαδιήρης; we are to understand by it a Ship or Boat that was rowed with 15 or 12 Oars only.

There was also yet another distinction of Ships used by the *Greeks*, which 'tis proper enough to take notice of on this occasion; and that is, whereby they distinguished one Ship of the same *Ordo* or number of Oars from another, with regard to their bigness; since they had an half Bank of Oars, either alone, or between two *Ordines*. Thus the Ἡμιολία or ἡμίολος, seems to have been, as *Snellius*, and *Potter* in his *Greek* Antiquities, observe; a Ship between an *Uniremis* and a *Biremis*; as having one Bank or Order of Oars, and half, or about half, another: And so the τριημιολία was between a *Biremis* and a *Triremis*; being denominated, as the former of these Authors judiciously observes, from the Order it *approached to*, and not from that which it *exceeded*.

But to return to the Solution of the Difficulties about the *Ordines Remorum* in the antient Ships. *Scheffer* rejects the Notion of *Rivius* (which is since espoused by *Vossius*, as I shall shew you hereafter) that there were more than one Man to an Oar: He asserts that the Ship took its Name always from the Number of its *Ordines* or Banks of Oars one above another, never from the Number of Oars (in which, by what hath been said above, you will find that Learned Man was in some measure mistaken) and his first Sense of the Matter lay thus. According as a Ship was called *Biremis*, *Triremis*, *Quinqueremis*, *Quadragintaremis*, &c. so he supposes she had 2, 3, 5, or 40 ἐλάσιαι (as the *Greeks* called them,) that is, *Versus Remorum*, or Banks of Oars: That each of these *Versus* or Banks, was divided into certain *Ordines* or Classes; of which a *Quadriremis* had 4 such, a *Quinqueremis* 5, &c. more or less, according to the Ship's length. And he saith, that the Rowers were denominated from the *Versus*, and the Ship from the *Ordines Versuum*: As for instance, a *Triremis* was so called, because it had three of these *Versus*, *viz.* the uppermost that of the *Thranitæ*, the middlemost that of the *Zygitæ*, the lowermost that of the *Thalamitæ*: And in each of these *Versus* there were three *Ordines* or *Classes* extended length-wise in the Ship; which Division and Distinction he thinks authorised by these Lines of *Virgil*, lib. 5. Æn.

—Triplici pubes quam Dardana versu
Impellunt, terno consurgunt Ordine remi.

Where the *Versus* are plainly distinguished from the *Ordines*, and the Number of Oars in each *Versus*: And to make this out he produces a Coin mentioned by *Goltzius*, and struck by *Lepidus*; and also a Picture out of the *Naumachia* of *Onuphrius Pavinius*. But on a maturer consideration of this Affair, he owns this Account to be involv'd with Difficulties scarce solvable. For both the length of the Ships of the higher *Ordines* will not allow of this; and if it would, the *Ordines* in the greater Ships must be fewer than those in the lesser: And therefore he concludes we ought rather to adhere to those who make these *Ordines* to be accounted in height, and not length-wise.

But however, these *Ordines* were not in distinct Decks, directly over one another; so that the upper Rower sat with his Feet over the Head of him that rowed next below him: But they were disposed into the *Ordines* by their *Juga*, *Seats* or *Benches*, and were distant from one another the space of two, three, four or more Cubits, according to the length of the Ship: And these Spaces or Distances (he saith) *Salmasius* and *Philander* in their Notes upon *Vitruvius* have shewn to be the *Interscalmia*: And because *Vitruvius* calls this Space διάστημα, that is, of two Cubits, he thinks the Architect speaks only of the vulgar *Triremis*, in which the *Scalmi* were not above two Cubits asunder. But that they were further distant in the greater Ships, he judges from what *Vitruvius* saith in another place (*Lib.* 1. *c.* 2.) *viz.* that from the *Interscalmia* you may determine the *Ratio* of the bigness of the Ship. The Rowers sate therefore at a due distance from each other, both that the Oars should not interfere or be foul one of another; and also that there might be a Space for the Rower next above them to fit between them,

them, &c. And this Disposition is confirmed by the Figures which *Baysius* gives us of the antient *Biremes* and *Triremes*, which have the Old *Marmora* to authorise them; and which both *Scheffer* himself and Mr *Potter* in his *Archeologiæ Grecæ* have inserted in their Books. From which Figures he judges that the *Ordines* were not above a Cubit one above another, and that they rose not directly, but sloping. And he supposes that this height of the *Ordines* one above another, was less in the greater Ships than in the lesser, because there was room for a greater distance between the Rowers: And he supposes that in that vast Ship of *Ptolomy Philopater*, which is said to be of 40 *Ordines*, the Oars of the lowest *Versus* were but 5 Cubits long: Why then (saith he) might not the Oars of the highest Bank of Rowers in that Ship, and which from *Athenæus* we learn were 38 Cubits long, touch the Water; since perhaps there might not be above 30 Cubits in the whole height of the Ship, or it may be, a yet less distance? This Account he thinks is incumbred with no Difficulties, and will be consistent with what we find in all the antient Authors who have written upon this Subject. As for the three Appellations of the Oars, 'tis probable they came first from the *Triremis*, the most usual Ship of War, and which had 3 Banks or *Ordines* of Rowers: But that in larger Ships the Rowers were divided into three *Classes*, of which those that were nearest the Water were called the *Thalamitæ*, the middle Class the *Zygitæ*, and the uppermost the *Thranitæ*. The Number of Rowers that were in each *Versus*, or Rank of Benches, was not certain: Sometimes there was 50, sometimes 40, sometimes 30 Men on each; and in the lesser Ships yet fewer: And every Pair of these *Versus*, viz. the Starboard and Larboard, or the Right and Left Rank or Row of Benches reckoned together, made the *Ordo*, the Tire, Deck or entire Bank: And the Ship was denominated from the Number of these *Ordines*, ex gr. being called a *Quinqueremis*, for having five of these *Ordines* one rising above another. If the *Tacticks* of *Leo* may be relied on, there were never less than 25 Men or Rowers in each *Versus*, or not less than 50 in each *Ordo*; but the exact Number can't be determined. *Silius Italicus*, Lib. 14. *de Bello Punico*, v. 38. speaking of a *Quinqueremis*, saith,

> *Sed quater hæc centum numerosa remige pontum*
> *Pulsabat Tonsis*——

So that usually a *Quinquiremis* may be supposed to have 400 Oars, 40 on each *Versus*, and 80 in each *Ordo*: if all the *Ordines* had a like Number. But *Scheffer* thinks the Number of *Ordines* themselves (as he accounts them) abated as you went upwards: So that in the lowest *Versus* of a *Quinquiremis* he makes five *Ordines*; but in the two uppermost, but four. From whence it follows, saith *Scheffer*, that there never was any *Moneres*, or Ship with one only Bank of Oars, but what was a *Pentecontorus*: And below this Number of 50 Oars, the Ship was only denominated from the Number of her Oars, and not from the *Ordines*: Thus a Ship or Boat of 20 Oars was called εἰκόσορος. one of 30 Oars, τριακόντορος. There were indeed very large Boats that had but one Deck or Tire of Oars, or which were of the μονήρης kind: For we read of the ἑξηκόντοροι and the ἑκατόντοροι; but beyond this last *Rate* of 100 Oars, no *Moneres* or Ship of one only *Ordo* of Oars ever went. And let the Number of Oars in one of these be what it will, if it was doubled, or had a new *Ordo* or Deck, or Tire of Oars of the same Number placed above it, it then became a *Biremis*; if trebled after the same manner in height, it was called a *Triremis*, &c. So that *Ptolomy*'s Τεσσαρακοντήρης was a ἑκατόντορος raised up to 40 *Ordines*; or a Ship with 40 *Ordines Remorum* of an hundred Oars on each Deck, Tire, *Ordo* or Bank, and of 50 in each *Versus*. *Scheffer* observes very well, P. 95. that the *Hecatontorus*, or a Ship with an hundred Oars, all in one and the same Bank, was more frequently doubled or trebled up into a *Biremis* or a *Triremis*, than the *Pentecontorus* was: For the Form of this latter Ship requiring it to have but 25 Oars in a *Versus*, incapacitated it for being raised up into the higher *Ordines*, by clapping more Tires of the same Number of Oars upon it; for the length of the Ship increasing with its height, there would have been both a deficiency of Hands to row it; and also such great Gaps or empty Spaces in her, as would have been useless and inconvenient. They did therefore either double, or in some other *Ratio* encrease the Number of Oars in a *Versus*, in the higher Ships; as we find by the *Quinqueremis* of *Pliny*, which had 40 in each *Versus*, or 80 in each Bank, 400 in all. Wherefore, since we find by *Polybius* (*Lib.* 1.) that the first *Roman* Ships had 300 Oars, and were of the *Quinqueremis* kind (and this was the Form of all their Ships of War, he saith, in the first *Punick* War); 'tis plain they must have 30 Oars in each *Versus*, or 60 in each *Ordo*; for that multiplied by 5, the *Numerus Ordinum*, makes 300. In the Fragments of *Memnon* put out by *Photius*, there is an Account of an *Octeres* of *Ptolomy*'s, called the *Lyon, which was admirable for her Length and Neatness: She had an* 100 *Oars in each* Versus; *so that on each Side she had* 800 *Men,* 1600 *in all.* *Scheffer* thinks this Ship was composed of a double *Hecatontorus* placed lengthwise, and but of the common height: For the placing of more Oars lengthwise in a Ship, contributes much more to her Sailing, than placing them in height one above another.

There is also another Distinction of all these kinds of Ships of War, which we find in *Livy*, viz. *Naves majoris & minoris Formæ*. The Ships of the lesser *Form* or *Rate* were the *Moneres*, *Biremes*, *Triremes* and *Quadriremes*: Those of the higher *Form* or *Rate* were the *Penteres*, *Hexeres*, and all the higher *Ordines*. For thus the Historian expresses himself, *Lib.* 28. *cap.* 23. *Regia Classis Septem & Triginta majoris Formæ Navium fuit; in quibus tres Hepteres & quatuor Hexeres habebat; præter has decem Triremes erant.* And in *Chap.* 31. *Hostium Classis unde nonaginta Navium fuit, & maximæ Formæ Naves, tres Heperes habebat, duas Hesteres.* Which helps us to understand his Meaning in *Lib.* 36. *cap.* 43. where are these Words: *Centum navibus, quarum septuaginta tectæ, ceteræ apertæ, minoris Formæ omnes erant.* These lesser Ships the *Greeks* called κωφόλεραι; but those of the larger, Form or Rate Βαρεῖαι. The Ships of the lesser Rate or Form were called κωφόλεραι, because they had not so many Banks of Oars as the greater ones had; and also lay snugger, and were much better Sailers: Wherefore they were also called *Dromones* or *Cursoriæ*, by the later Writers. And the Form of these began at last to be changed into that of Onerary Ships, so that they served for both Uses, as we learn from *Cassiodorus* (*Lib.* 5. *Var. Ep.* 16.) For speaking of their *Dromones*, saith he, *Mille Dromones fabricandos assumere decrevimus, qui & frumenta publica possint convehere, & adversis Navibus, si necesse fuerit, obviare.*

Vegetius, Lib. 4. c. 33. tells us, that *Mark Antony*'s Fleet being routed in the Battle of *Actium*, chiefly by the Ships of the *Liburni*; the *Romans* made their Ships afterwards after their Make and Form; and henceforward all Ships of War began to be called *Liburnæ*, and the Names of *Quinquiremes*, *Triremes*, &c. to be little used: As indeed the Ships themselves of the higher *Ordines* were quite laid aside; for we find by *Suidas*, that the *Liburnæ*, νῆες ἦσαν οὐ κατὰ τὸν τριηραρχικὸν ἐσχηματισμέναι τύπον, ἀλλὰ λῃστρικώτεραι, χαλκεμβολοῦσαι, καὶ ἰσχυραὶ καὶ κατάφρακτοι, καὶ τάχος ἄθλων ἄπιστον: i. e. were Ships, not so much in the Form of the *Triremes*, but more like Piratical Ships, strong, close, and of incredible Celerity. And *Zozimus* saith, that a good while before his time, the *Triremes* were out of use: So that these great pompous Ships, of many *Ordines*, were by degrees found to be very unfit for Service, and at last quite laid aside by the *Romans* after the Battle of *Actium*; and their *Liburnæ* or Gallies seldom or never after that had above one Deck, or Bank of Oars, and never exceeded two.

The Emperor *Leo* in his *Tacticks* expresly calls the *Dromones*, *Gallies*; and our Gallies in the *Mediterranean* at this day are nearly of the Form of the *Liburnæ* or *Dromones* above-mentioned, which the *Romans* at last pitcht upon, as the best and most serviceable Ships of War.

Having thus given you the Solution of the Learned *Scheffer*, of the Difficulties which arise in accounting for the several *Ordines Remorum* in such great Ships as that of *Ptolomy Philopater*, &c. and mentioned also all along with it such Distinctions of the several kinds of the antient Ships, as did collaterally occur: I proceed next to acquaint you with the Sense of the Learned *Snellius* on the same Subject, from the Preface to his *Typhys Batavus*. He takes notice, that the Measures of *Ptolomy Philopater*'s Ship were these: She was 280 Cubits, or 420 Feet, in length; 38 Cubits, or 57 Feet, broad within board; in height, to the *Acrostolion*, she was 48 Cubits, or 72 Feet; and at the Stern she was built 53 Cubits, or 79 Feet above the Water. There are two things here very remarkable, viz. the great length of the upper Oars, in order to their striking the Water; and the vast height and bulk of the Ship. 'Tis said by *Athenæus*, from whom we have these Measures, that the upper Oars were 38 Cubits, or 57 Feet in length. Now tho' casting Lead into their Handles, and putting more Hands than one to an Oar, would make these Oars easily moveable, the former of which things *Athenæus* saith was done, in these Words: Κῶπαι δὲ Θρανιτικαὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πηχῶν τὰς μεγίστας.

μεγίστας, ἐι διὰ τὸ πολυσέλιδον ἴχειν τοὺς ἐγχειριδίους ἢ γεγονέναι λίαν εἶναι Καρίαι κῶλα τὸν ξύλωσιν ἐνίησιν ὑπάρχειν τῇ χρείᾳ: And *Snellius* thinks there was two Men at leaſt to an Oar, and no doubt of it a greater number, to the upper Oars: Yet how to account for the upper Oars ſtriking the Water when they were but 57 Feet in length, is not ſo eaſy; or indeed, how a Ship of 40 *Ordines* ſhould riſe no higher. To ſolve which, *Snellius* firſt computes, that from the *Os Sacrum* to the Crown of the Head, in a Man of a mean height, there is about 3 Foot; and conſidering that with long Oars Men riſe up to pull, let a Foot be allowed for that. This, ſaith he, will neceſſarily make the diſtance of 4 Feet between *Tranſtrum* and *Tranſtrum*. Now taking this 40 times, in *Ptolomy*'s Ship, there will be 160 feet diſtance in height, between the uppermoſt and loweſt Oars: Whereas *Athenæus* ſaith, ſhe was in height to the *Acroſtolion* in all but 48 Cubits, or 72 Feet, which is not half that. To ſurmount which great Difficulty, he ſuppoſes that the *Thalamitæ*, or loweſt Rowers, uſed very ſhort Oars; and conſequently there was but little of the Oar within Board, they ſitting very near the Ship's Side: But the higher any *Ordo* of Oars was, the longer were the Oars, and the greater diſtance was the Hand of the Rower from the *Scalmus*, *Hypomochlion*, or *Thoul*, as our People call it in a Boat. By this means he accounts for Room for the inferior *Ordines* to move their Head and Body, and to make their Stroke. He juſtly obſerves alſo, that the Oars were not placed directly over one another, but each Rower in the ſecond *Ordo*, ſate in the middle between two Rowers of the *Thalamitæ*, &c. And as this appears plainly to be the caſe in the *Biremis*, whoſe Figure *Baïfius* hath given us; ſo 'tis very likely it was the diſpoſition of the Rowers in all Ships of the higher *Ordines*. And this being ſuppoſed, he thinks, if the Interval or Diſtance between Oar and Oar, in the ſame *Ordo* or Tire, were but ſettled, the whole Matter would be eaſily accountable. He thinks alſo, that the *Tranſtra* in all Ships, were not exactly at the ſame diſtance one above another, which he endeavours to make good by two Arguments. The firſt is, that ſince *Ptolomy*'s *Quadraginteremis* had 4000 Oars, if you divide 4000 by 40, the Quotient will be 160; therefore there muſt be an 100 Oars in a Bank in this Ship, *viz.* 50 on each ſide. Now this Ship was 280 Cubits, or 420 feet in length; and allowing 60 foot for thoſe parts of her towards the Ends, which to be ſure had no Oars, there remains 360 feet for the whole length of her Decks of Oars. Dividing then this Number 360 by 50, the Quotient will be but 7 ½ (not 9, as 'tis in *Snellius*, who divides by 40 the Number of Banks, inſtead of 50 the Number of Oars (in length) in each *Ordo*.) Which 7 ½ feet will be ſufficient for the Motion of the Rowers Body in making his Stroke, and recovering his Oar. But to him the ſtrangeſt thing of all is, and 'tis what, he ſaith, is utterly incredible (*omnem fidem excedit*, p. 30.) the uppermoſt Oars in this vaſt Ship were leſs than 40 feet above the loweſt; which he concludes from the length of the Oars, thus: Suppoſe a Right-angled *Scoſceles* Triangle, whoſe Hypothenuſe is 38 Cubits, or 57 feet, (the whole length of the uppermoſt Oars, according to *Athenæus*.) Now tho' about one third of this Number ought to be allowed for the part of the Oar within board; yet let there be but 7 feet from the *Scalmus* to the *Manubrium*, there will then be 50 feet for the Hypothenuſe without board. The Square of 50 is 2500, whoſe half is 1250; and the Root of this is not full 35 ½, for the height of the uppermoſt Bank of Oars above the loweſt of all. So that there being 40 of theſe Banks or *Ordines*, they could not be ſo much as 12 Inches one above-another, allowing the thickneſs of the *Tranſtra* too into the number of 35 ½ feet. So that, ſaith *Snellius*, unleſs you ſuppoſe the Men to be ſtowed as they lay Herrings in a Ship, 'tis impoſſible to conceive how the Ship ſhould hold ſo many Rowers. And this Difficulty will ſtill increaſe upon us, when we conſider that a good part of the Ship's height will be taken up by a Deck over all the Rowers, by Cabins, State-Rooms, &c. And *Snellius* thinks there is no way to get over this, but by ſuppoſing the Number of the loweſt Banks of Oars to have been very ſmall, but that of the uppermoſt very great: Which Account renders the Ship a meer uſeleſs Mole of Wood, more like a little Town, or a great Caſtle, than a Ship: And accordingly we find the Antients calling by the Names of *Cyclades* ſuch pompous Structures as this was. Nay *Virgil* compares the Ships of *M. Antony*, in the Battel of *Actium*, to the *Cyclades*, which indeed, as appears from *L. Florus*, Lib. 4. were huge unweildy things, but yet theſe did not exceed above 8 or 9 *Ordines*. But of ſuch as that Ship of *Philopater*,

——*Pelago credas inare revulſas*
Cycladas, aut Montes concurrere Montibus altos:
Tanta Mole viri Turritis Puppibus inſtant.

And he thinks that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* began to build ſuch huge Ships out of a vain Humour of rivalling the Ark of *Noah*: For he before this of 40, built one of 30 *Ordines*, and another of 20.

He obſerves alſo, that the *Octeris* of *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (mentioned by *Memnon* in *Photius*) had a much eaſier Explication; and where there was a yet greater Number of Oars in an *Ordo*, *viz.* 200, or one 100 in every *Verſus*. He ſuppoſes the diſtance between the uppermoſt and loweſt Oars to have been near 40 foot, and that the *Ordines* were 5 feet one above another. He concludes with telling us, that *Archimedes* made a *Vigintiremis*, which was bigger than this uſeleſs Ship of *Philopater*. This went loaded with Corn from *Syracuſe* to *Alexandria*, being ſent as a Preſent to King *Ptolomy*.

But tho' this *Quadraginteremis*, and another mentioned by *Athenæus*, as built by the ſame Prince, were vaſtly large, there being as much Timber uſed in the former, as would have built 50 *Triremes*: Yet were theſe, for Bulk, nothing comparable to that Ship which *Archimedes* ordered to be built for *Hiero* of *Syracuſe*; of which *Snellius* gives us an account from *Athenæus*, and he from *Moſchion*, who wrote a whole Book of its Deſcription. This vaſt Mountain of Wood required 300 Workmen to build her, and had her Hold, or Room within Board ſo divided into Partitions, that here were good Lodging Rooms, Parlours, Places for Study and Learning, Walks, Gardens, Fiſh-ponds, Baths, Stables for Horſes, a Temple of *Venus*, &c. This Ship was encompaſſed round with an Iron *Vallus*: (ſaith *Snellius*) by which whether he means a Hoop to ſtrengthen the Ship, or a kind of Rail and Baluſtre to adorn it, it is not eaſy to determine. But this Ship had alſo eight Towers, two in the Forecaſtle, and two in the Stern, and two on each ſide of her. On her Deck was a Wall with Forts, and upon this Wall, in the Towers, and in the tops of her Maſts, were Engines of Battery, and for other warlike Uſes, placed; one of which would throw or caſt a Stone of 300 Pound weight, and a Dart of 12 Cubits long to the diſtance of 600 foot. And yet this wonderful Ship *Snellius* thinks was exceeded in ſome meaſure by thoſe which the *Romans* uſed to tranſport the Obelisks from *Alexandria* to *Oſtia*. See alſo *Plin.* Lib. 36. c. 9.

This was the Senſe of the Judicious *Snellius*, a Man of very good Skill in antient Learning, and in the moſt uſeful Parts of the Mathematicks: But however his Account is not to me compleatly ſatisfactory. Let us therefore ſee next what *If. Voſſius*'s Judgment is about this matter, *viz.* about the diſpoſition of the *Ordines*, as you may find it more at large in his Diſſertation *de Triremium & Liburnicarum Conſtructione*, printed among his Obſervations, *Lond.* 1685. in *Latin*. He builds what he hath to ſay upon this Subject chiefly on a Paſſage in *Vitruvius*, Lib. 1. c. 11. where the Architect ſpeaking of the Symmetry of all kinds of Edifices, and how to judge of it, ſaith, You may judge of the Proportion of Ships by the *Interſcalmium*, which the *Greeks* call διπεία: For ſo *Voſſius* corrects the Word *Dipheiaca*, as it is in *Turnebus*, or *Iphefiaca*, as it is in the MS. in the *Cotton* Library. In the common Books the Word is διαχώσεις; but this *Turnebus* juſtly explodes, for *Vitruvius* could not be ſo abſurd, as to conclude one might judge of the Bigneſs of Ships, from the *Interſcalmium*, in all of them, being of the quantity of 2 Cubits. The *Interſcalmium* therefore, ſaith *Voſſius*, was not, as Learned Men have thought, the Space or Diſtance between two Oars, or between two Benches of Rowers; but the Space between the *Scalmus* and the Rower that ſate fartheſt from the *Scalmus*: Or to ſpeak plainer and more ſignificantly, the ἔνδον κῶπης, as *Heſychius* calls it; that is, as much as is the length of that part of the longeſt Oar which is within the Ship: And this Space the *Greeks* called διπεία, becauſe it was moſtly, tho' not entirely taken up by the Rowers: And this διπεία, he ſaith, once known, not only the Length and Breadth of every Ship that rows is given, but alſo the Proportion of all Parts of her, and the Length of the Oars; as is now well known to be the caſe of the Gallies in the *Mediterranean*. And he judges, that the antient *Triremes*, and the Ships of more *Ordines*, were built much after the Rate and Proportion of the modern Gallies, ſince their Length to their Breadth is repreſented to be about 7 to 1, as it is in our Gallies. *Lucian* indeed deſcribes a Ship, whoſe Length was about

4 times its Breadth; but this was not of the kind we are ſpeaking, *viz.* Ships of War, but an Onerary one, which went only with Sails, without Oars: And was much like our preſent Ships of Burden, whoſe Length is about 4 times their Breadth. And leſt this great Length in a Ship of War or Gally, ſhould prove a weakening to her; the Ancients, as well as the Moderns, placed ſtrong Tranſom Beams every where a-croſs her, to keep her Sides together: which both ſtrengthen'd the Ship mightily, And alſo was of uſe to the Rowers, who always pull the eaſier the further they are placed from the *Scalmus*.

As to the length of the Oars, he thinks juſtly, that it varied according to the Rate of the Ship, as it doth now: But this Proportion, he ſaith, is now-a-days obſerved, that if a Gally be 95 Cubits long, and 12½ broad; the length of her Oars muſt be 24 Cubits and ½, that is, ſuppoſing half a common Cubit to be the *Palmus Major* of 9 Inches: 48½ ſuch Palms. The length of the Oar within Board from the end or the handle to the *Scalmus* is eleven Palms or 99 Inches: And to this part there are placed uſually five, and ſometimes ſix hands, or Men to row: for about 4½ Palms from the *Scalmus* (within Board) the Oar hath no hands applied to it, ſince both Experience and the Nature of things teaches, that the Rowers have little or no Force, if they ſit very near to that ſide of the Ship or Boat their Oar is put out from. From the *Scalmus* without the Ship the Oar is 37 Palms in length, at the handle it is 9 Inches in Diameter, and grows by degrees bigger till you come juſt to the *Scalmus*, where 'tis 14 Inches in Diameter: And then 'tis 9 Inches again in Diameter at the *Scalmus*; but without it, not above 4 Inches, and this Thickneſs it keeps till you come to the *Palmula*, or part that ſtrikes the Water, which is alſo 9 Inches broad. Theſe Meaſures all Builders of Gallies obſerve in the *Mediterranean*; and unleſs they are obſerved, the Oars will be either ſo weak as to break, or ſo big as to be cumberſome and unmanageable. Having premiſed this, he takes *Ptolemy Philopator*'s Famous Ships of 40 *Ordines* into Conſideration, about which you have ſeen above the Opinions of others. And ſince *Athenæus* tells us, that the longeſt Oars of this Ship were 38 Cubits, or 57 feet in length, the Proportions of the ſeveral parts of thoſe Oars he judges eaſily eſtimable: As for inſtance, he ſhews, that the Thickneſs of thoſe Oars, juſt without the *Scalmus*, ought to have been ſomething above 7 Inches in Diameter, and that 36 foot of the length of the Oar was without the Ship. At the part, or handle, where the Rowers ſate and pulled, it was at leaſt 15 Inches in Diameter: Into which thick handles, if Lead were caſt, as *Athenæus* ſaith there was, they would be eaſily enough manageable by 4 or more Hands, eſpecially having a third part of their length, or 19 Foot within Board: Which is the Proportion that ſhould be obſerved in all Oars. He ſaith further, that there can be no good Rowing Ship but what will have the length of the Oar without Board to the height of the uppermoſt *Scalmi* above the Surface of the Water, in a *Seſquitertian* (he ſhould have ſaid, *Tripla Seſquitertian*) *Ratio*: Or as 3½ to one. Wherefore the Oars in this great Ship being 36 Foot long without Board, if when being put down to ſtrike the Water, they be lowered 1 Foot from the perpendicular of the higheſt *Scalmi*, the diſtance of theſe *Scalmi* from the Water will be 9 Foot. But then the next Difficulty will be, how to account for 4000 Rowers in no greater an height from the Water than 9 Foot, and what is to be underſtood by their riſing up to forty *Ordines*: And how theſe 4000 Rowers could be divided into 40 *Ordines*. He avoids repeating what ſome learned Men in *France* have ſaid upon this Subject: And only obſerves, that they have rightly aſſigned the Riſe of theſe *Ordines* not to be directly perpendicular, but ſlopewiſe, or obliquely: As is apparent from ſome ancient Monuments: But he thinks thoſe are in the wrong, who aſſign but one Man to an Oar, eſpecially in the upper *Ordines* of ſuch great Ships; for ſince they allow but a ſmall part of the Oar to have been within Board, 'tis impoſſible ſuch vaſt Oars would be manag'd by a ſingle Man, ſo as to be of any uſe. For if this Ship of 40 *Ordines* had, as they allow, a Cubits riſe in every Bank, or Order, it muſt be at leaſt 40 Cubits high from the Water: So that by the by, ſince *Athenæus* ſaith her Oars were but 38 Cubits, how could they ſtrike the Water? He ſhews alſo that the Oars muſt not only be long enough to reach the Water, but that they muſt keep to the Proportion above-mentioned: And conſequently muſt have been 180 Feet without Board, and 90 within: Alſo that theſe Oars near the *Scalmus* muſt have been 15 Foot in Diameter; and allowing a proportionable Thickneſs for them at the handles, the part of ſuch an Oar which is within the *Scalmus*, would take up (he ſaith) the room of a 1000 Rowers.

Next, as to placing the Rowers, and the diſtance of their Oars and Benches one from another: There is not much Light to be had from the Ancient Coins and Medals; becauſe there was not room to expreſs above one *Ordo* or Bank of Oars, in the Figures of the *Triremes* and *Liburnicæ*. But in a Coin of *Cæſar Gordianus*, a Draught of which Sir *J. Maſham* had from *Caccarii*, and which he ſhew'd to *Voſſius*, there are apparently two *Ordines*, one riſing above another. And upon *Trajan's* Pillar at *Rome*, and ſome other old *Marmora*, there are plainly to be ſeen three *Ordines Remorum* riſing obliquely. And from hence it was, that *Palmerius* and ſome other Learned Men, have fancied, that in the Ships of the Superior Orders, and particularly in that of *Ptolemy Philopator*, the *Ordines* were all accountable after the ſame way, *viz.* in height one above another: But this cannot be allowed, becauſe of the great Abſurdities and Inconſiſtencies above-mentioned, which will plainly be deducible from this Suppoſition.

Voſſius thinks therefore, that there were never any Ships built with above 7 *Ordines* or Banks of Oars: And this he cites *Julius Pollux*, as affirming in theſe words; where he hath corrected the Vulgar *Greek* Text, by his own *Liber Optimus*, as he calls it. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν στέγον ἑκατέρωθεν παρατεινόμενοι τρόποι, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ διὰ μέσου ὁ καὶ θαλάμιος ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἑτέρωθεν ἀνίσχοιεν ἂν τρόποι, ὧν ἑκάτερος καλεῖται πρῶτος Βύλης, καὶ δεύτερος, καὶ τρίτος. I ſhall not undertake to give you the *Engliſh* of theſe words; becauſe *Voſſius* hath not put them into *Latin* himſelf: And I queſtion, whether there can be ſo much gain'd from them, as he would infer: But however, 'tis probable, that the Banks or Tires of Oars ſeldom or never roſe higher than this, in Ships of uſe, as I have in part obſerved before.

In order to make out that this huge Ship of *Philopator*'s did not riſe to above ſeven *Ordines Remorum*, he next enquires into the diſtance between Rower and Rower. In the preſent Gallies this diſtance is never leſs than 3, and uſually about 4 Foot. And *Ferdinandus Oliverius Luſitanus* ſaith 2½ Feet is enough. In the Ancient *Triremes* theſe Intervals between the Rowers, are not always to be conſidered after the ſame manner. If the Oars were to be placed directly and perpendicularly over each other; the Diſtance of 3 Feet or 2½ Feet was enough between Rower and Rower. But if the *Ordines* roſe obliquely, the Rowers were at leaſt 7 Feet diſtant one from another. But this could not be in the *Pontick Oſteris*, deſcribed by *Memnon* in *Photius*: In each ſingle *Ordo* of which he ſaith, there were 100 Rowers; for if we allow 7 Foot diſtance between Oar and Oar, the Ship muſt be above 700 Feet in length, beſides Head and Stern: Wherefore *Voſſius* thinks 'tis pretty clear, that this *Oſteris* had but one *Ordo* of Oars, and eight Men to each Oar; but in the Ship of *Ptolemy Philopator*, there could not be ſuch a Diſpoſition of the Oars. For if you ſhould ſuppoſe, that there was only the ſpace of 3 Foot between the Oars of the ſame *Ordo* in this Ship; The τὸ ἐγκοῖλον, or Part of the Ship where the Oars were uſed, could not be above 100 Cubits; and ſo there would be the ſpace of 180 Cubits, in which there were no Oars at all. Now in all Rowing Ships (ſaith he) more than ⅔ths of the Length of them ought to be taken up by the Oars. But he concludes, that there was in Reality but one 6th part of *Ptolemy*'s Ships, free from Oars: Becauſe *Athenæus* ſaith there were but 50 Rowers in each *Ordo*: (I ſuppoſe he means on each ſide, for 50 times 40 is but 2000, whereas here were 4000 Rowers) whence 'tis eaſy (he ſaith) to gather, that the Rowers were diſpoſed in oblique Parallelograms: Whoſe Form and Length he gives you a Diagram of. In the *Mediterranean* Gallies each Rower's Bench or Seat is 22 Inches high, and out of this, if you take 4 Inches for the height of the Footſtep or Stretcher; there will remain the diſtance of a Cubit or 18 Inches between them. And the ſpace of 9 Feet (which he had before ſhewed the higheſt *Scalmi* were in this Ship above the Water) would contain 6 ſuch Benches of Oars. In his Figures he ſhews you the manner of the Rowers being placed, and what ſpaces are taken up by the Motion of their Bodies in Rowing, whether I muſt refer the Reader. After this, he juſtly rejects the Opinion of *Palmerius* and others, of the 40 *Ordines* being all one above another; ſince, according to his Scheme, all the Orders of Rowers (above the third) would rather hinder than forward the Motion of the Ship, by the Oars ſtriking the Water. And this Difficulty ſtill encreaſes with their Notion of their being but a ſmall

part of the Oar within the Ship: Especially too since they will needs have the Oars (as *Scheffer* in particular) moved by but one Man a-piece. For how is it possible for one Man, at but a little distance from the *Scalmus*, to manage an Oar of the Length and Bigness of those in this celebrated Ship? Since 'tis found, that the small Oars (in Comparison of those) of a Modern Gally, will signify nothing if moved by but one hand, tho' at the distance of 12 Foot from the *Scalmus*! And yet 'tis an Eternal Rule in Staticks; that one Man at 20 foot from the *Scalmus*, will have as much power to move an Oar, as 20 Men shall have at the distance of but one foot from the *Scalmus*. So that finding insuperable Difficulties in all other Solutions of this matter, he at last proposes his own Opinion and Judgment about the Disposition of the Rowers in this mighty Ship: And he thinks his Account will solve the whole Affair, and make it clear and intelligible. 1. Therefore, he supposes that in the lowest *Ordo*, or that next the Water, there was but one Man to an Oar. 2. That as for the Oars of the higher *Ordines*, the higher they were posited, and the farther distant the handle of the Oar was from the *Scalmus*, so proportionably, had they more Men to each Oar. 3. That the *Gradus* and *Ordines Remorum*, so often mentioned by the Ancients, are not only to be sought in the Decks or Tires of Oars one above another, but rather in the *Juga* or Benches upon which the Rowers sate, and to which they went up by steps. And that these Benches were not, as is vulgarly believed, placed parallel to the Sea, or in an Horizontal Position, but they ascended errose in height obliquely towards the middle of the Ship, so that the Seats of those Rowers upon the same *Jugum*, or Bench, which were next the *Forum*, were an entire Cubit's height above those next the *Scalmus*. Then he gives another Diagram, in which he shews the manner of the Position of the Oars in a Ship of six *Ordines*: Where the *Scalmi* of the uppermost Oars are 9 foot above the Surface of the Water, each *Ordo* being a Cubit above that next below it; and so every where.

The *Thalamita*, or lowermost Oar, sate 4 foot from the *Scalmus*, and his Seat was elevated 4 Inches above it. The Rower in the second *Ordo* sate 7 feet from the *Scalmus*, and 7 Inches above it. The Rower in the third *Ordo* sate 10 feet from the *Scalmus*, and 10 Inches above it. The fourth, 13 Inches above, and 13 feet from the *Scalmus*: The fifth sate 16 Inches over it, and 16 feet from it: And the sixth or uppermost Rower sate 19 feet from, and 19 Inches above the *Scalmus*. And higher than these six *Ordines*, he thinks, they did not build, both because the Oars would be of such a length as to be unmanageable; and also because there can no great use be made of an Oar, when its handle rises as high as the head of the Rower.

Next, in order to discover the Number of *Juga*, or Benches, that were in this Ship, and how many Rowers sate on each Bench, he takes the length of the longest Oars into Consideration: These *Athenæus* saith, were 57 feet long; and consequently allowing a third part of the Oar to be within Board, as the natural and usual Proportion is, the *Interscalmium*, or distance between the *Scalmus* and the inner end of the Oar will be 19 feet. But he allows a Cubit for the Thickness of the Ship's side, reckoning from the *Epiſcalmium*, or the point of Decussation. Then he enquires how much of the *Interscalmium* had no Rowers in it: And saith, That in the common Gallies if the *Interscalmium* be of 17 Spans (or 153 Inches) there are no Rowers for the distance of 7 Spans (or 63 Inches) *i. e.* 5 feet 3 Inches from the *Scalmus*. But then the other 10 Spans of length are all taken up with the Rowers; which are 5 in Number. And he finds from *Hesychius*, that this Proportion was observed in the Ancient Ships, which were but of one *Ordo* or Deck. But because in Oars of such a vast length as those in *Ptolomy*'s Ships, require a greater distance between the Rowers and the *Epiſcalmium*; instead of 5 foot as in the common Gallies, let the distance here be supposed to be 5 Cubits, or 7 Feet and an half: Then there will remain the space of 12½ feet which he supposes was taken up by 10 Rowers; 15 Inches being space enough for each Rower. After this he gives another Scheme of the manner of placing the *Juga* of Benches for the Rowers to sit on; which Benches rose up in height obliquely one above another: The lowermost *Ordo* had but one Rower, the second two, the third four, the fourth six, the fifth eight, the sixth or uppermost ten; so that in the whole, these *Juga* contained 31 *Ordines*. And he supposes a double Obliquity in these *Juga*, i. e. that they rose or ascended length ways, as well as in Breadth; and also that the *Tigna*, or Beams which supported these *Juga* were framed so as to exhibit a kind of Grate or Lettice. Between these Gratings, and the *Juga*, he allows a space for the Masters or Commanders of the several Banks of Oars, to come to their Posts: For since between the uppermost Rowers there was the distance of 19 feet, altho' 2 Cubits should be allowed for the Thickness of the Beams which support the *Juga*, and as much for the way for Officers and Commanders to go up to their Posts, there will yet remain the space of 13 feet: Which Breadth is sufficient, because this Ship, he saith, was τριήρης ⊕, *i. e.* had three *Fori*.

After this he considers the seventh *Ordo* of Oars, where the Rowers sate above the *Transtra*; whereas the other six Banks of Rowers before spoken of, sate all below: And he saith, that tho' this may seem to be a higher place than that of those which rowed below or under the *Transtra*, yet that in reality it was not so, the 6th and 7th *Ordo Remorum* being of an equal Height from the Water, as were also their *Scalmi*: which seeming Paradox he thus endeavours to make out. These *Transtra* were Beams going a-cross the Ship from side to side, and not only so, but running clear thro' the Side, and jutting out to a considerable distance without Board. These served sometimes for Benches for the Men to sit and row on, which was their first Signification; the lower Benches being called *Juga*: The *Transtra* the *Greeks* called Θρῆνυς. Besides the above-named use of which *Transtra* for the Men to sit upon and row, as well without the Ship as within it, they were also the greatest strength Ships of so long a Form could have, and which indeed kept them together intirely: And without such 'tis impossible to suppose that Vessels which were 7 or 8 times as long as they were broad, could bear the Motion of a moderate Sea. And tho' in many of the ancient Coins and Medals which have Ships stampt upon them, the ends of these *Transtra* without the Ship do not appear, the Axis of the Eye being supposed to be at right Angles with the Ships side usually; yet however in some Coins they do appear very plainly and particularly in the first of those mentioned and designed by *Bayfius*, in which the *Mutuli* or Brackets supporting the *Projecture* of the *Transtra* are very visible. And the same thing may be collected from *Archimedes* his Ship, mentioned by *Athenæus*, where the *Struppi* and *Scalmi Remorum*, are said to have been a convenient distance without the Ship. And these *Projectures* with the coverings upon them, had anciently different Appellations according to the parts of the Ship they possest. That which was next the Poop, they called *Jugum Puppis*, and that next the Prow, *Jugum Proræ*: And these *Pollux* saith, they called also *Maxillæ* and *ælæ*. The very extreme ends of these Beams jetting out without Board in the Foreship, the *Greeks* called ἐμβολίδες, as being like Ears, and these Beams were always made of very firm and strong Wood, lest in an Engagement, the Oars should break off there. For in a Sea Fight the Enemies directed the *Rostra* of their Man of War after two several ways: If they engaged a Ship Head to Head directly, then they endeavoured by means of the *Rostra*, to break off the two Eminent *Epotides* which were in the Prow, so that they being broken and the *Scalmi* carried off, the Ship would be so disabled that she could not row; and besides, the stroke did also very much endanger the carrying away the Anchors of the Adverse Ship, which hung at her Bow. But if instead of attacking her a head, they aimed at the Stern: Then the Direction of the *Rostra* was against those *Epotides* to which the Rudders were affixed: Which they hoped to bear away by the Shock, and so disable her from steering.

Upon the *Transtra* were the *Catastromata* built; which were a kind of *Decks*, or rather half or quarter Decks: For they were not close every way, but always left open in the middle, that there might come in Air to refresh the numerous Rowers. And these Decks did not only reach as far as the Ship's sides, but projected out beyond them a good way, even as far as the *Scalmi* of the uppermost Oars, and were supported by Brackets or Stanchions, at the external Ends of the *Transtra*. And therefore when *Thucydides* saith that the *Naves Longæ* were without Decks or Coverings before the *Persic* Wars, he means within Board: For we find from *Homer*, that the most ancient *Greek* Ships had those Covering upon the exterior parts of the *Transtra*: But they were open in the middle within Board, for the Reasons above given. These *Catastromata* were also both supported and adorned by *Atlantes* and *Telemones*, that is Pillars of Wood, carved after the same manner as the *Caryatides*: Which were Human Figures, whose Heads supported the Entablature of a Column.

After

After this useful and curious Digression about the *Catastromata*, he returns to the Point he was before to make good; and that was, that the uppermost Oars of the 7th *Ordo* were not higher, or had their *Scalmi* further from the Water, than those of the sixth *Ordo* next below them, and under the *Transtra*. And this he accounts for by shewing, that the *Thranitæ*, or uppermost Rowers, sate not above, but sidewise, of the upper *Zygitæ*: And of these he gives a Diagram, and supposes that the Oars of these *Thranitæ* were of the same length and magnitude with those of the uppermost *Zygitæ*; and consequently there was in each *Ordo* an equal number of Men to an Oar. And having observed before, that the *Sex Ordines Remorum* contained 31 *Ordines Remigum*, accounting from the Rower next the Water, to the uppermost of the *Zygitæ*; if you add ten more for the *Thranitæ*, you will have 41 *Ordines* of Rowers upon seven *Fuga* or Benches, and rising gradually into seven *Ordines Remorum*. Now since it appears from *Athenæus*, that in this celebrated Ship of *Philopator*, there were 50 Oars of a Side placed lengthwise, and that she was of the height of 7 Banks or *Ordines* of Oars; 50 multiplied by 7 gives 350, which doubled, gives 700 for the whole number of Oars she was rowed with. And since it hath been probably shewn, that for the Management of these Oars there was allotted 41 Men to every 7 Oars, accounted in height one obliquely above another, according to the *Remorum Ordines*: You must say by the Rule of Three, if 7 give 41:: what shall 700 give? The Answer will be 4100. Wherefore there must be in this Ship, according to *Vossius* his Account, 4100 Rowers; which agrees well with *Athenæus*, who saith, there were above 4000: In a round Number therefore she may be called a τεσσερακοντήρης, or a Ship of 40 *Ordines*, tho' she was in reality of a little larger Rate.

And thus doth this very Learned and Judicious Man account for the distribution of the 4000 Rowers in this eminent Ship of *Ptolomy Philopater*, offers it for a Solution of the Difficulties about the *Ordines*, which I have the more largely given you, because it is much the best of any I have met with; tho' even this is embarrassed with some Perplexities, not to say Inconsistencies, which seem to arise from our want of knowing the exact Sense of the *Greek* and *Latin* Words used by the Antients about Shipping; but this is no more than what at this distance of Time we may expect.

The Learned and Inquisitive *Scheffer* came near to a right Solution of this Matter; but he was hinder'd from compleating it, by falling into an Error, in which some others have also followed him, or he them; which is, that none of the antient Writers mention Oars that were moved by more than one Man at a time. But this Mistake *Vossius* shews to arise from their not considering, that both *Greeks* and *Latines* use the same word for the Oar, the Men that row with it, and the Vessel rowed by it; as we do at this very day on the River *Thames*. For when we find *Cicero*, in his 5*th Orat. in Verrem*, saying of the *Syracusians*, *Conjecisse multitudinem Piratarum ex ipso Navigio, quod erat factum sex Remorum numero.* 'Tis plain he could not mean there were but 6 Oars in the Ship; for how could those be called a Multitude? Nor could he mean that the Ship had *sex Ordines Remorum*; for no Piratical Ships ever were of that form in his time, but were built low and flat like the modern Gallies: And therefore he must mean, that the Oars were moved by six Hands, or Men, a-piece. So also when in *Livy*, *Lib.* 33. we find mention made of a Ship of K. *Philip*, which, he saith, had *sedecim Versus Remorum*. *Vossius* having proved it to be impossible, that any Ship should either directly or obliquely rise up so high, thinks that by *Remos* here is understood *Remiges*; and that either there were some Oars in this Ship so large as to be moved by 16 Men; or rather that the Ship having 4 Orders, Banks or Tires of Oars, the lowest were moved by one Man at each; the Oars of the second Bank were severally, moved by 3 Men; those in the 3d *Ordo* by 5, and those in the uppermost Tire by 7 Men: For 7 + 5 + 3 + 1 makes just 16. But this is no more than a probable Conjecture. And after the same manner doth he interpret that Passage of *L. Florus*, where he saith, that *M. Anthony* had Ships from 6 to 9 *Ordines Remorum*: He understands by it *Ordines Remigum*, and that some of his Ships were so large, as to have their upper Oars moved by 9 Men; because a Ship of 9 Banks or Orders in height, must needs have her upper Oars perfectly useless.

And so much for this difficult and perplexing Matter; I proceed next to consider the several Kinds, Forms, Divisions, Uses and Names of Ships, with their Parts, Rigging, Tackle, Armature, Ornaments, Commanders, Officers, &c.

Mr. *Potter* tells us rightly, that the *Greeks* divided their Ships into 3 kinds, *Ships of Burden*, *of War*, and *of Passage*. The first sort, *viz.* Ships of Burden, they called στρογγύλοι, ὁλκάδες (whence our *English*, *Hulk*) and in the general πλοῖα. These the *Latines* called *Onerariæ* usually, and sometimes *Annotinæ* (*Vid. Lib.* 3. *Cæsaris de Bell. Gall.*) That is, *Victuallers* to their Ships of War. The *Greeks* called also Ships of Burden τετρήρεις, from their being more bulky, and coming nearer to a round Figure than the Men of War, which were μακραί, lean and long. There were several kinds of these Ships of Burden, as you will find below in the general Alphabet of the Names and Kinds of Ships; and they usually went without Oars, using only Sails; but sometimes they made use of Oars too, as is plain from many Passages in Antiquity. These kinds of Ships were called ὁλκάδες, because they were frequently towed after the Ships of War which went with Oars, as being of themselves very sluggish Sailers: For ὅλκια were the *Remulci* or Ropes with which one Ship towed another. The *Naves Onerariæ* were by the *Greeks* called πλοῖα, to distinguish them from the νῆες, or Ships of War, to which that word νῆες was appropriated.

These Ships of War were by the *Greeks* called μακραί, that is, *Naves longæ*, as the *Roman* Term was, because they were of a very great length in proportion to their breadth, *viz.* in about that of 7 to 1. They were also named ἐλάται, because they were chiefly moved by Oars; and sometimes, as in *Plutarch* and *Thucydides*, they are called κωπήρεις, for the same reason. These long Ships or Ships of War were again also distinguished and named according to the Number of, or the manner of carrying their Oars, as I have already largely shewn above. To this Species of the *Naves longæ*, the *Actuariæ* or *Rowers* ought to be referred, which were designed for Speed, Intelligence, Piracy, &c. For they were called *Actuariæ*, *quia cito agi possunt*, as *Scheffer* thinks; but according to *Isidorus* and *Baysius*, because they went with Sails and Oars both. There were two sorts of these *Actuariæ*, a greater and a lesser Size, of which the latter were called *Actuariolæ*. The *Actuariæ* were seldom used as Ships of War, but chiefly in Piracy, as Rovers, Corsairs, Runners: They had never less than 18 or 20 Oars, and some had 30 or 40; but if they rose up to 50, they exceeded this kind, saith *Scheffer*. They had no *Rostra*.

The third kind of Ships were *Ships for Passage*, or *Transports*, and these the *Greeks* distinguished according to the nature of their Passengers, or those they were to transport. Those that served in general for transporting of Men, they called πῆγαι and φάσηδες; but when they carried armed Soldiers, they were called ὁπλιτηγοὶ and στρατιώτιδες; or if Horses or Horsemen, ἱππαγωγοί. These Transports for Horse, the *Latines*, as *Festus* and *Gellius*, call *Hippagines*, from the *Greek*. And so peculiar was this way of denominating the Ships from the Things they carried in them, that we find in *Strabo* some σιτηγοὶ; and in *Arrianus* we have the word σκευαγωγὸς in the same sense, as the Name of a Ship, which he opposes to a Man of War. These therefore were designed to transport, Tents, Carriages, and all such Utensils as an Army would have need of in a Camp, or upon a March. *Pollux* calls these Transport Ships, βαῖδι and βαρίδι, because their Form and heavy Lading made them slow or sluggish Sailers. As to the Form and Structure of Ships in general, the Antients had a regard to three things: That their Ships might be of a due or just bigness, of sufficient lightness, and yet of sufficient strength. If they are made too great, they are both unmanageable, and ruin themselves by their own bulk and weight. We find the *Persians* telling *Alexander* the Great (in *Curtius*) *That Ships above measure large, were ungovernable*, Lib. 6. c. 11: and this was the great fault of the Ships of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, whose Bulk *Florus* observes was such, *ut non sine gemitu Maris & labore Ventorum vehærentur*; and there was hardly any thing more injurious to them than their own Weight. And this we have found by our long Experience in Naval Affairs, that the shorter and snugger our new Ships are built, the better they sail, bear hard Weather and a tumbling Sea, and work as easily as some old Ships of much lesser Rates.

They were also careful that their Ships should not be too heavy: And this was a good consideration at that time, when the manner of fighting at Sea was so vastly different from what it is now; for then Speed and Expedition, and easy tacking about or turning any way, going readily forward or backward, as occasion served, was the chief thing they aimed at; and all things considered, they are now as good Qualifications in a Ship, as they were then: To have Ships, as *Lucan* expresses it,

——*Habiles*

——Habiles Pugnamq; capeſſere——
Et tentare Fugam, nec longo frangere Gyro
Curſum, nec tardè flectenti cedere Clavo.
Lib. 3. v. 553.

In order to gain this point, they took care to provide proper Timber to build Ships withal; and chiefly that it was well ſeaſoned and dry enough, to make it light, buoyant and ſtanch: For green Plank and Timber will both be very heavy, and alſo will in time ſhrink, chap, and ſo leave the Seams open, and the Ship leaky. The *Laryx Sylveſtris*, the *Pinus Domeſticus*, and the *Abies*, are commended by *Vegetius*, lib. 4. c. 34. for this purpoſe: And of the laſt of theſe *Virgil* ſaith,

Naſcitur & caſus abies viſura marinos;

And when this *Abies* was prepared by thorough Seaſoning, &c. for this uſe, it was called *Sapinus*, as appears from *Pliny*, lib. 16. c. 40, 42. and alſo from *Vitruvius*, lib. 2. c. 9. But both theſe condemn the *Larix*, as being too ponderous, and the former Author ſaith, 'tis apt to be worm-eaten too faſt. The *Alnus* is much celebrated for this purpoſe by the Antients (*Alnus amica Fretis*) and *Pliny* recommends the *Arbor Perſica*, lib. 13. c. 9. In *Homer*'s time the *Cletra* and the *Populus* were in uſe, and *Theophraſtus* praiſes the Cedar: and of theſe, and of ſeveral other kinds of Trees, they adapted Timber for the ſeveral Parts of the Ship.

Quæ longa eſt, tumidis prælebit cornua velis.
Quæ fortis, clavo potior, quæ lenta, favebit
Remigio, ſtagni patiens aptanda carinæ.
Claud. lib. 3. de Rapt. Proſ.

And in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the want of Timber for Shipping on any emergent occaſion, the *Romans* appointed Woods and Foreſts for this ſole purpoſe; in which they well deſerve our Imitation, among whom there is very little care taken about the Preſervation of Timber, tho' our Shipping be ſo eminent a part of our Security and Advantage. This *Livy* ſaith was done by *Scipio*, and as others tell us, by *Ancus Martius* their firſt King; and when they had not enough and ſufficient at home, they were ſo wiſe (as ſome of our neighbouring Countries have been in reſpect of us) to get it from their Friends and Allies.

The third thing they lookt after was the Strength of their Shipping; and this they thought depended chiefly on the time of the Year their Timber was felled, and on the cloſe framing and joining the Planks and Beams, &c. together. The *Romans* thought the beginning of Autumn the fitteſt Time to cut down Timber for Sea Uſes, and in particular to do it at the New Moon. Timber rightly felled they called *Tempeſtiva*, as you may find by this Line of *Virgil*.

Aut Tempeſtivam Sylvis excidere Pinum.

But whether in this point they were not more nice, exact and curious than is neceſſary, I muſt leave to better Judges.

To render their Ships cloſe, ſtrong and compact, they drove Braſs Nails through all their Planks; which Metal they preferred to Iron, for this purpoſe, becauſe it was leſs apt to ruſt in the Water. And to hinder Leakage, and to render them ſtanch and tight againſt the Water, they drove in *Stuppa*, *i. e.* Oakam, as we do now, into all the Chinks or Crannys between Plank and Plank. And over all this they put a Coat of Wax, and ſometimes of Pitch, as appears from *Flaccus*, lib 1.

Parte trahat tacitum puppis Mare, fiſſaq; fluctu
Vel pice, vel molli concludere vulnera cerâ.

And this Invention *Suidas* attributes to *Phaaces*. *Vegetius* mentions their uſing Roſin alſo among the Wax and Pitch. This Mixture of Pitch and Wax, when taken off the Sides of Ships, *Pliny* calls Ζωπίσσα, lib. 16. c. 13. After all was finiſhed, and the Ship launched, they made always a ſolemn trial of her, how ſhe would ſail or row, and what was to be depended upon from her, before ever they tried her in Service: And from a Paſſage out of *Cicero*'s 5th Oration againſt *Verres*, *Scheffer* thinks 'tis plain, that the Officer, who had the care of the Trial of new built Ships, was called the *Prætor*.

And thus much for the general Conſtruction of Ships: Let us next conſider the ſeveral Parts of a Ship, and their antient Names in the two famous Languages, the *Greek* and the *Latine*.

Scheffer ſaith, the principal Parts of a Ship are, the *Prora* or *Prow*, the *Puppis* or Poop, and the *Venter* or Belly. In the Belly is firſt conſiderable the *Keel*, which is a long Piece of Timber placed along the Bottom of a Ship, into which all her ground Timbers and Hooks are faſtened and bolted fore and aft. This the *Romans* called *Carina*, and the *Greeks* τρόπις and σεῖρα. The Keel was bent in its proper Form, by the means of certain Poſts or Timbers to which it was faſtened, and which the *Greeks* called δρυόχοι; and this word *Cauſabon* thinks anſwered to the *Latin Statumina*. Antiently they put Keels only to their *Long Ships*; their ſmall Boats, and the *Naves Onerariæ* being uſually without them, as *Scheffer* ſhews from *Iſiodorus*.

Next to the Keel was the θαλαμη, the *Sentina*, Gutter, or Sink, like our Hollow between the *Keel* and *Keelſon*, where the Keel-Rope runs to clear the Limber-holes, that the Water may come freely to the *Antlia* or Pump. This θάλαμη ſome have confounded with the δευτέρα τρόπις, or Keelſon, which in reality lies above the θάλαμη, and is frequently by the *Greeks* called λέπαδιον χαλκίδα, κλοιοτροπέιον; and by *Ariſtophanes* ἰδρωτῆρ. At the bottom of the Keel were placed pieces of Timber, to ſave the Ship from danger of ſpringing a Leak, if ſhe ſhould happen to ſtrike upon a Rock, &c. and alſo, as *Pollux* ſaith, to ſave the Keel from breaking and wearing. Theſe the *Greeks* called σφήνωματα, and the *Latins Cunei*, as *Scheffer* concludes from this of *Ovid*, Lib. 11. *Metamorph.* v. 516.

Famq; labant Cunei, ſpoliataq; tegmine Cera
Rima patet——

Theſe *Celeuſmata* muſt needs very much retard the Motion of the Ship, and therefore I ſuppoſe were ſoon left off, as the Art of Ship building improved; and I know of nothing like them that we have now.

Next above the Keelſon and Floor was an Hollow, which the *Greeks* called κοίλη πλοῦν, and κάτω, the *Romans Teſtudo*, *viz.* the Belly, or middlemoſt and loweſt part of the Hold. This Place was compaſſed in by the πλευραὶ, *Coſtæ*, or Ribs of the Ship, called alſo ſometime ἰγκοίλια: On theſe the internal Planks were nailed, which, together with the ναυζώμαλα, Ζυγίτης, or according to *Ariſtophanes* the ζωμεύματα, which are the *Wales* or *Bends* which run round the Ship length-ways, and on which Men ſet their Feet, when they clamber up the Ship's Side: and the Ribs, external Plank, &c. compoſed the πλευραὶ, *Latera* or Sides of the Ship. And the depth of the Ship within board, or height of her from the Water without, they divided into three Parts, according to the Number of the Zones or *Wales* (much as we now call the *Wales*, by the names of 1, 2, 3, and 4 *Wale* from the Water). The lowermoſt *Wale* was called Θαλαμίτης, becauſe next to the Sea or Water, the middlemoſt ζύγα, and the uppermoſt Θρανίτης, and according as the Rowers ſate in any of the Planes of theſe Zones, they were called *Thalamitæ*, *Zygitæ*, and *Thranitæ*, as hath been before obſerved. Theſe Zones, or Ranks of Places of the Rowers, the *Greeks* called πάροι and ἰδύλια; and the *Latins Fori*: For the *Fori* were not the ſame with the *Cataſtromata* (as ſome have fancied) which are the uppermoſt Decks or Coverings in a Ship: For *Lucan* mentions the upper and lower *Fori*, as being Places where the Rowers ſate, in theſe Verſes, beformentioned on another occaſion.

Intrat diffuſos peſtis Vulcania paſſim,
Atq; implet diſperſa Foros: Trepidatur omiſſo
Summis remigio, ſed enim tam rebus in arctis
Fama mali nondum tanti penetrarat ad imos.

And before in *Lib.* 3. v. 29.

At poſtquam ruptis pelagus compagibus hauſit
Ad ſummos repleat Foros, deſcendit in undas.

In the Ships Sides were Places or Holes to thruſt the Oars out at, which if it were all in one continued Vacuity, Mr. *Potter* ſaith, the *Greeks* called it τρήρης: But if, as it was moſt uſual, each Oar had its ſingle Hole, then theſe diſtinct Holes were called τρήματα and τυμπανήλα, as appears from *Ariſtophanes* and *Pollux*: And the Interpreter on the former ſaith truly, that they were ſometimes called ὀφθαλμοὶ, from their appearing ſomething like Eyes. Theſe Holes, 'tis plain from *Feſtus*, the *Latins* called *Columbaria*, becauſe they were like Holes in a Dove-houſe, placed orderly, one above another. They took their Appellation alſo (as the Rowers did) from their height above the Water, the uppermoſt being called

called θαλάμια, the middle Ranks ζύγια, and those next the Water ἁλίαι. The whole space which the Men took up to sit and row, in the *Greeks* was called ζύγιον: Which Word seems also to signify the spaces between the several *Ordines Remorum*.

Above the *Thranus*, over all the Banks of Oars, there was a Passage left free to walk in, and therefore called πάροδος, and sometimes περίθωριος, as being contiguous to the uppermost Banks of Oars. *Scheffer* thinks, That the Entrance into the Ship's hold was near this place, and therefore 'tis called *Aditus* by *Ovid*, in *Libr. 3. Metamorph.*

——— Pars hic mihi maxima Juris
Inque Aditu subsisto———

Anciently 'twas called *Agear*: Which word *Ennius* hath in this Verse, *Lib.* 8.

Mulea foro ponunt, agearia longa replentur.

As *Scheffer* rightly corrects the Text: Instead of the Vulgar, *Agiaria*.

Let us now leave the middle part of the Ship, and move forwards into the Fore-Castle, Head or Prow: This the *Greeks* called πρῷα, and μέτωπον, and the *Latines Prora*: In some Ancient Ships, we read, that this part was double, as also the Stern; as in that Ship of *Danaus*, with which he fled into *Egypt*. Here was considerable, first the σόλος, which was a long Peece of Timber sticking out of the Head, something in the form of a Helmet, and with a kind of *Voluta* or Scroul at the end winding downwards; which from its Shape they called ὀφθαλμός, it being something like an Eye; this *Scolus* was also called κίρκος and ἐπισκαλαία: The uppermost Convex part of this, as appears by the draught of the Ancient *Triremis* which *Lazarus Baysius* pretends to give us from the *Trajan* Column, was the ἀκροστόλιον, which the *Romans* called *Apluſtre*, and answered to the ἄφλαστα in the Stern: Sometimes the *Acroſtolia* were of an Orbicular Form, sometime shaped like Wings; and to it there was often an ἀσπιδίσκιον, ἀσπιδίσκη, a *Scutulum*, or little Shield affixed, and sometimes a piece of Wood was erected, to which Ribbonds of divers Colours were hung, and served both for Ornament, and Distinction of the Ship: But there was usually in the Prow placed just below the σόλος the παράσημον, the *Ancient* or Flag by which Ships were not then distinguished, to what Nation they belonged, as they are now, but from one another. The *Latines* called this *Pictura*, because it usually represented some Animal, Flower, or some Artificial thing, a Crown, &c. Sometimes also this was carved on a kind of Table, Shield, &c. of Wood, and painted afterwards: From the Figure of this *Paraſemum* the Ship took its Name, being called the *Dolphin*, if it represented that *Fish*: But with us now, this is usually done from the Picture in the Stern. In *Virgil* there are two Passages confirming this, as I find them cited by *Moriſotus* in his *Orbis Maritimus*.

The first is,

——— Æneia puppis
Prima tenet, roſtro Phrygios invecta leones.

Where tho' the Ship of *Æneas* was *Sub Tutela Matris Deum*, whose Image was therefore painted in her Stern, yet in her Prow she bore a Lion or Lions for her *Paraſemum*, and so was denominated from thence.

The other is this;

Maſſicus cerata Princeps ſerat æquora tygri.

Where 'tis plain the *Paraſemum* (which was a Tyger) was in the Prow. In the Head of the Ship there was ἔμβολον or *Roſtrum*; the Use of which I shall shew hereafter, this was the lowest part of the Head, and usually under Water. *Scheffer* saith the Sides of the Prow were called πλευραί, and sometimes παρίαι: Which Mr. *Potter* corrects into παρίαι, that is Cheeks, in Allusion to an Humane Face. Between the Sides of the Prow or Head was contained that space which the *Greeks* called παρεξειρεσία, because it was free from Rowers, and this reached from the foremost Oars to the ἀκροστόλιον. This Prow or Fore-part of the Ship was anciently finely adorned: Sometimes guilded with Gold, and sometimes painted with beautiful and lively Colours. Of which *Red* was most anciently in use: For we find *Homer* giving the *Greek* Ships the Titles of μιλτοπάρῃοι and φοινικοπάρῃοι: This they thought very proper for Ships of War, because it was the Colour of Blood: But sometime Blew or Sky-Colour was also the Fashion, as bearing some Resemblance with the Colour of the Sea: Thus we find in *Homer*, Ships called κυανοπρῳρίδες from their blew Heads; and in *Aristophanes* they are called κυανεμβόλοι: Several other Colours were also used; and these were not only Varnishes or Colours slightly laid on, but they were done after a much stronger manner; and annealed in by Wax melted in the Fire, and incorporated with the Pigment, so that neither Wind, Water, nor the heat of the Sun, would much damage it. From the Wax that was used in this kind of Painting, it was called κηρόχυσις, and from its being done by fire ἐγκαυστική. 'Tis mentioned by *Ovid* in the 4th Book of his *Fasti*: Thus,

——— Picta coloribus ustis:
Cærulem matrem concava puppis habet.

In these Colours, and in divers parts of the Ship, they did use to represent the Figures of their Deities, of Animals, Plants, Flowers, &c. as *Baysius* at large shews from the Ancient Monuments. And the manner how they did it is described by *Vitruvius* in *Lib. 7. c. 9.* There was also one kind of Ornament which, with the *Greeks*, was peculiar to the Prow of a Ship; and wherewith the Extremities of it were adorned: These in general they called ἐκφόρια; and by the Scholiast on *Thucydides*, τῶν κορυφίδων. The *Latines* called them *Corymbi*; as I suppose from this of *Homer*.

———τεὼν ἐπικόλπιον ἀκρὰ κόρυμβα.

But the *Latines* did make these *Corymbi* common Ornaments to the Stern of the Ship, as well as the Prow; and in the genetal, they seem to be much the same with the ἐκφορίδια.

In the *Stern* of the Ship, which the *Greeks* called πρύμνα, and their Poets πόπ. The Top, or uppermost part of it, was the ἄφλαστον, or *Apluſtre* in *Latine*; which was a kind of handsome Shell framed of Boards, and placed over the Captain's Seat in the Poop; a little lower was a Place called ἀνάκλιτον, whose lower part was the ἰνθμός; and because it was bent in an Arch, like the head of a Cradle, or of a Basket Chair, they called it θρόνιον: And the Planks of Wood out of which this was made, σελίδες. The Poop, or upper part of the Stern was much higher than the Head, and incurvated in Arch-wise: For *Virgil* mentions the Commander of the Ship as standing, *— Celsâ in puppi*; and *Ovid* hath it, *Stantem in Puppe recurvâ*: For this was the Pilot or Master's Place, who gave Directions for steering the Ship: And here the Commander in chief sate, in the abovementioned arched Seat: Which *Athenæus* calls σκίμπους, the *Latines* called it *Diæta* and *Tabernaculum*. In the Stern was also the *Tutela Navis*, or the Picture or Image of the Deity under whose Protection the Ship was thought to be, as having been solemnly committed to it. The Stern was also then, as it is now, the most honourable part of the Ship: And held so sacred, that it was a kind of Sanctuary to retire to in the greatest Danger: And this *Fonsbergius* (in *Scheffer*) saith is the Custom at this Day in the *Mediterranean* Ships. It is called by *Germanicus*, *Veneranda Puppis*: And *Livy* speaking of the *Carthaginian* Embassadors petitioning for Peace of the *Romans*, saith, *Lib.* 30. *c.* 36. *Cum ad Puppim Prætoriæ Navis acceſſiſſent, Velamenta ſupplicum porrexerunt, orantes imploranteſq; fidem Scipionis.*

Let us next consider the Rigging, Tackle, and Instruments used aboard a Ship, both for common and Warlike Uses. The Instruments necessary for common Use, were such as were subservient either to her Rowing, Sailing, or both. Those necessary for Rowing were first the *Transtra*, as the *Latines* called them, because they went a-cross or a-thwart the Ship, from side to side; these were the Seats on which the Men sate that rowed; of whom *Virgil* saith,

Conſidunt Transtris———

The *Greeks* called these σανίδια, ἑδώλια and ζυγά: From whence the *Latine* word *Juga* in the same Sense: These *Transtra* served the Rowers for Beds as well as Seats; as is plain from this Passage out of the *Agamemnon* of *Seneca*.

———Credita eſt vento Ratis
Fuſuſq; Transtris Miles———

And from this of *Virgil*, *Æneid.* V.

———Placida laxarunt membra quiete
Sub Remis, fusi per dura Sedilia Nautæ.

He might very justly call them *dura Sedilia*: For they were only the bare cross Beams of the Ship, without any Beds upon them. For to have had such would in those Days, would have been thought too soft lying for a Soldier or a Sailer. Nay the very Captain, or Commander himself, slept at Night in his Arched Hutt, or Century Box, upon the Poop; where he abode, eat and drank by day: And *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Alcibiades*, takes notice, that some softer and easier Methods of lying, which that General had contrived for himself, were objected against him as a great Fault.

2. *Remi*, κωπαι, or Oars: These are sometimes called *Palmulæ*; but this word properly signifies the outermost broad ends of the Oar which strike the Water: These the *Greeks* call πλατειαι; and they were often lined or covered with Brass: These Oars were of different Length, Strength, and Weight, according as there was occasion, as hath been before observed: The *Thranitæ* using the greatest and longest: The *Thalamitæ* the least and shortest.

3. There were necessary to rowing, the *Lora* or *Struppi*, by which, as with Leathern *Strops*, the Oars were fastened to the *Scalmi*, that they might not slip too far out of the Ships side, or out of the hands of the Rowers. *Vitruvius* Lib. 10. c. 8. saith, *Remos circa Scalmos Strophis religari*: *Q. Curtius* calls this, *aptare Remos*, the fitting the Oars for Business. The *Gubernacula*, or Paddle-Helms, with which the Ship was steered (of which below) were also bound to their *Scalmus*, with these *Lora*. These *Lora*, the *Greeks* called τρόποι and τροπωτῆρες: And in *Hesychius* you find ὀπισθοπτάρσεις in the same Sense.

4. *Scalmus* was the *Tocul*, *Pin* or *Peg*, placed in the Hole in the Ships side, &c. on which, as on an *Obex*, or *Hypomochlion*, the Oar was fixt; and on which, as on a Centre, it moved: The *Greeks* called it also σκαλμός, but *Hesychius* κοπτίδιον; and sometimes not only the *Paxyllus* in one particular Hole where an Oar was thrust out and fastened by the *Lora* to it, was called *Scalmus*, but the whole Rank of Oar-holes, belonging to any particular *Ordo*. And those pieces of Leather, with which we now line the *Scalmus*, to save the Oar from wearing out too fast at the part which plays in the *Scalmus*; the *Greeks* called it ἀμμαλία, and ἄσκωμα. There was also a piece of Leather fastened upon the Seat of each Rower, which the *Greeks* called ὑπηέσιον; and these were all the Instruments which I can find mentioned by Authors as subservient to bare Rowing. Let us next consider such as were necessary for Sailing. Of these the

1. Were *Sails*, which the *Latines* called *Vela* and *Tunices*: And the *Greeks* sometimes, φοίνικες. They called them also ἄρμενα; but most usually ἱστία from their requiring a Mast to carry them. The *Sail*, some say, was first invented by *Icarus*; others by *Dædalus*. At first there was but one Sail in a Ship: But in a little time we find mention made of the use of more; whose Names are 1. ἄρτεμων: And this according to *Pollux* was a kind of Top-sail, used above the *Antenna*: And served rather to direct the Ship, than to forward her Motion, or give her fresh way. The *Artemon* seems to be the same with what the *Latines* called *Supparum*.

Summa pandens———
Suppara Velorum, perituras colligit auras.

Lucan. Lib. V.

For *Lipsius* saith the *Suppara* were such Sails as were born aloft, or on the Tops of the Masts. 2. ἀκάτια were the lower, or great Sails, the Courses, as we now call them (*i. e.*) the Main-sail and Fore-sail. Some have confounded the ἀκάτια with the βόλιδες, but these were very small Sails used somewhere in the Head, or rather about the Bow-sprit: They are sometimes called also *Lipadæ*. (3.) Ἰνδρόμων was a Sail of the 2d Degree of Magnitude, and as *Hesychius* and *Isiodorus* say was placed in the Stern, *i. e.* it was the Mizzen, as 'tis now called.

The Matter of which the first Sails seem to have been made was *Leather*: Which *Varro* concludes from the *Latine* Word *Velum*, à *Vellere*. These Leathern Sails were used by the *Venetians* in *Cæsar*'s time: *Vid. Lib.* 3. *de Bell. Gallico*. But they were generally of Linen afterwards, as they now are, and of this Linen there was a sort peculiar for Sail-cloth, which they called *Carbasus*. As appears by this of *Virgil*, and many other Passages.

——— Tumidoq; inflatur carbasus Austro.

Strabo tells us, *Lib.* 4. that the People on the *Nile* used Sails made of Reeds; and many kinds of Reeds and Rushes are used for that purpose to this Day in the *East Indies*, where nothing is more common than *matted Sails*, or Sail made of Matts.

2. The Yards on which the Sails were hung, or bent to; the *Greeks* called κεραῖα, the *Latines Antennæ*: But *Silius Italicus* calls them sometimes *Cornua*, in Imitation of the *Greek*.

———Veloq; Superba capaci
Cum rapidum hauriret Boream, & Eurubus omne
Confligeret flatus———

The Parts of the Yards next the Mast, by which they slide up and down upon it, they called ἄμολα and σύμολα: The parts of the Yard farthest from the Mast they called ἀγκῶνες, *Brachia*: i.e. as we say, the Yard Arms: But the very extream Parts of all, they named ἀκροκέρατα, the Tips or Points of the Yard-Arms.

3. Ἱστὸς the Mast in *Latin*, *Malus*, was the upright Pole that bore the Yard, and on which it moved up and down. At first there was but one Mast; and this was placed exactly in the middle of the Ship: And therefore its Step, or Hole in which it was placed was called by the *Greeks* μεσόδμη, and by the *Latines Modius*. But the ἰστοδόκη of *Homer* was a place provided a-shore to lay up the Masts, Yards, &c. in, because whenever they came a-shore they did use to take down the Masts, in those days. The Parts of the Mast were, 1. πάτανα, the Foot of it, which went into the Hole or Step. 2. λίναι, or as *Athenæus* writes it λίνθοι, the same with τελαμῶνες, was that part of the Mast to which the Yard was fitted when the Sail was set. 3. Θρανίον, the round Top of the Mast, where Men stood to look out for Land, and in time of Fight to throw Darts, &c. the Top-mast above this was called ἰκρίον, and the very Extremity or Top of it the *Greeks* called πλαγίαν, on which hung a Pendant or Streamer called ὄπτιλον.

4. Σχοινοι, *Funes* in General: Of which the Account in the Ancient Writers is very obscure. *Scheffer* thinks the *Latines* called the *Halliards* and *Lifts* with which the Yards were hoisted up, or lowered upon occasion, *Rudentes*: And these *Vegetius* calls *Funes Chalatorii* from the *Greek* χαλᾶν, *dimittere*. *Suidas* seems to limit the ὄπλοις so, as that we are to understand by them only those Breast Ropes and Parrels, which fasten the Yards to the Masts. The *Ceruchus*, *Anchonis* and *Anquina*, seems to have been what we now call a *Brace*, which is a Rope at each end of the Yard-Arm, by means of which the Yard is *squared*, *traversed*, &c. or set in any Position, which is best, that the Sail may draw the most Wind; and whether these be not what *Homer* calls the κερκίδες, what *Suidas* calls ὑπήρεισαι, and the *Latines Opiferæ*, since they seem to be intended, by the dark Descriptions we have of them, for the same use: I must have the Learned Reader to judge. These Ropes belonged all to the Yard; but the πόδες, or *Pedes*, were immediately fastned to the Sails: These I take to be what we now call the *Sheets*; which are Ropes bent to the Clews of the Sails, and are designed to hale off, or hale on the Sail as there is occasion, and according as the Wind veers about. The Ropes with which they used to strike or raise their Mast, *Scheffer* from the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*, calls μεσυρίαι, *Mesuriæ*: Which I take to be the *Stays* of the Masts: And those Ropes which strengthen, keep, erect, and support the Masts sides way, he saith were called πρῶτονες, *Protones*; i. e. a kind of *Shrouds*. The Καρχήσιον seems to have been either the Tackle, or a Block with Shivers in it, thro' which the running Ropes of the Ship went. The Cables, Hawsers, or Ropes by which the Ship rode at Anchor, the *Greeks* called πείσματα and sometimes κάμιλοι; The *Latines Anchorarii*; and *Anchoralia*: The *Venetians* long ago used Iron Chains instead of these, as *Cæsar* observes: *Anchoræ pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctæ*. The Rope with which any Ship or Boat was towed along after another at Sea: Or on Shore by Men or Horses: The *Greeks* called ὁλκοί, ῥύμαι and σπεῖραι; The *Latines Parolcones* and *Remulci*: And by *Festus* and *Isidorus* the Word *Spira* is retained. Those Ropes by which any Ship was fastened a-shore, the *Greeks* called δπῖραι, ὄπτειαι, πείσματα and πρυμνήσια: But the *Romans Retinacula*. And usually near the Water-side where Ships lay, there were great Stones set up, with Holes bored

bored in them to let the *Retinacula* thro': These Stones the *Greeks* called ἀγκύλαι: But sometimes Anchors were used also for this purpose; and sometimes Posts set up with Rings on them; which *Festus* tells us were called *Tonsillæ*. There was a Rope also which they called *Tormentum*, which went from Head to Stern, and was used to keep the Ship tight together in hard Weather, as *Isidorus* saith; and of this kind, as *Rivius* observes, must the *Hypozomata* be, which are mentioned by St. *Luke* to be used about the Ship in which St. *Paul* was ship-wrackt. 'Tis plain such used to be carried to Sea; for *Athenæus* saith, in *Ptolomy Philopator*'s Ship there were 12 such provided, which were 600 Cubits in length each of them; being Cables long enough to compass the Ship all round about, and so to keep her from falling or breaking to pieces. That such things were practised at other times also, is apparent from the Account we have of *App. Alexandrinus* his blaming *Sext. Pompeius*: Because he pursued not the Enemies Ships hard enough after he had worsted them, but suffered them to save their disabled shatter'd Ships, by under-girting them with Ropes: And as it is plain from this of *Horace*.

——Sine Funibus vix durare Carinæ
Possint imperiosius Æquor.——

4. Πηδάλια, *Gubernacula*, the Rudders: In the ancient Ships were a kind of Paddles, or strong Oars with broad Palms; these were fastened on a *Scalmus* on each side of the Stern of the Ship, not just behind as our Rudders are, but where she begins to round away towards the Stern Post. Sometimes these were called *Plectra*. The several Parts of these Rudders had these Names, Οἰαξ, *Clavus*, which was a Nail, or Sprig of Iron, which went a-cross thro' the *Pertica*, at the end of the *Ansa*, to keep the Rudder right in the *Scalmus*. Φόνες, *Pertica*, the round long Pole running thro' the middle of the broad part of their Paddle: πτερύγιον, *Pinna*, the broad part of the Paddle, on each side of the *Pertica*. Αὐχὴ, *Ansa*, the handle or *Tiller*, which the Steers-man held in his hand. Some small Boats had but one of these Rudders, and then that was placed just behind in the middle of the Stern; but the larger Ships had always two at the least, disposed as is above-said: And *Ptolomy Philopator*'s Great Ship had four. In some of their Ships of War, there were also Rudders in the Fore-ship, that so they might steer away Stern formost, if there were Occasion.

5. Ἀγκύραι, *Anchora*. This was first the Invention of the *Tyrrhenians*, as *Pliny* saith, tho' others attribute it to *Midas*, the Son of *Gordion*: They were very anciently made of Stone: And that not only as being great Stones with Holes bored thro' to fasten Boats to, as in Rivers now a-days; but formed into the Shape and Figure, nearly, of our present Iron Anchors: And *Ludovicus Romanus* tells us, that at *Calecut*, in the *East Indies*, Marble Anchors are used to this day, the like others relate of *Japan*. *Athenæus* saith, that in *Ptolomy Philopator*'s Ship there were four Wooden, and eight Iron Anchors. But these Anchors of Wood, *Scheffer* thinks, were not of the Figure of ours; but only pieces of Wood, with Lead cast into them, by the weight of which the Ship was staid. And this he gathers from a Passage in *Diodorus*, Lib. V. where he saith, that the *Phœnicians* coming into *Italy* to buy Silver, and finding very great Plenty of it, they took out the Lead out of their Anchors, and put Silver in the room of it. They used also for the same purpose Pyramidal Baskets, which they filled with Stones and Pebbles, especially in hard Ground, where the Fluke of an Anchor would not take hold, and those Anchors they called κοσκινίδαι, as *Polyanus* tells us in the History of *Iphicrates*, Lib. 3. exemp. 38. In time they came to make their Anchors of Iron; but at first they had but one Fluke, these the *Greeks* called ἀγκύρας μονοδόντους; but after some time, *Eupalamius*, or some say *Anacharsis*, a *Scythian* Philosopher, found out, that it was better they should have two Flukes; this the *Greeks* called ἀμφιστόμους and ἀμφίκολα; and the *Romans*, *Anchora Bidens*. The Antients, as well as the Moderns, used several Anchors aboard their Ships: Of which the strongest and largest the *Greeks* called ἱεραὶ, the *Latines*, *Sacra*: The same with what our Seamen call now the *Sheet Anchor*. Whether they made use of any Stock to go thro' the Ring of the Anchor, in order to keep the Arms right, so that the Fluke might strike into the Ground; as one would think they must needs do, is not certain: There being not above one or two ancient Coins that express any such thing: But this indeed, as *Scheffer* observes, may arise from want of Care in those that made the Dies for Meddals.

6. Βόλις, which *Isiodorus* and *Lucilius* call *Catapirates*, and *Herodotus*, Ὑποπομπίδιον, was the Sounding Line and Plummet, with which they both examined the Depth of the Sea, and also understood the Nature of the Bottom or Ground, over which the Ship was.

7. Ἄντλος, ἀντλίον, which *Festus* calls *Tollena*, was the Ship's Pump, whereby to free her from the Water which leaks into the Hold. This *Lucretius* calls *Haustrum*:

Ut Fluvios versare Rotas atq; Haustra videmus.

8. Κοντοὶ, which *Sophocles* calls πολύκμητα: The *Latines* retained the word *Contus*, which was a strong Pole of sufficient Length, by which they fended off the Ship from striking against Rocks, Shelves, &c. and also set her off from the Shore into the Water: These had, as our Setting Poles to this day have, Iron Spikes at the bottom, as appears from this of *Virgil*,

Consurgunt Nautæ, & magno clamore morantur;
Ferratosq; Sudes, & acutâ cuspide Contis
Expedium——————

Æneid 5.

A Boat that had neither Sails nor Oars, and which was set, or shov'd along only by these *Conti*, the *Greeks* called κοντίδιον; from their Use the *Romans* called them also, *Trudes*, and sometimes *Sudes*.

7. Ἀφράκτισμα, ἴρμα, ἔρεισμα and θύμαλλος, in *Latine Saburra*, the Ballast, was then, as it is now, usually of Sand, or small stony Gravel, &c. and had the same use with them, as with us.

Having thus shewed you the Instruments aboard the antient Ships, which were necessary to sail and row them, we will next consider their Armature, and after what manner their Ships of War *offended* their Enemies, and *defended* themselves. And first, the Old Ships of War were famous for their ἐμβολὰς or *Rostra*, which were Beams of Wood sticking out forward in the Head of the Ship, armed sometimes with Brass, and sometimes with Iron Spikes, and their use was to run into the Sides of the Enemies Ships under Water, and so by making Holes in them, to sink them. These do not appear to have been in use in *Homer*'s Time, for in him there is no mention of them. But yet *Æschylus* calls *Nestor*'s Ship ἐπωτίδα; and *Eurypides* in his *Iphigenia* speaks of Brazen *Rostra*, used in the *Grecian* Ships, as long ago as the *Troian* War; but 'tis probable they described the antient Ships, as built after the manner of those of their own Age. The Invention of these *Rostra* is by some attributed to one *Aristo* a *Corinthian*; and he communicating this to the *Syracusians*, it proved of great Advantage to them in a Sea-fight which they soon after had with the *Athenians*: For by this new Device several of the *Grecian* Ships were broken and sunk, as *Diodorus Siculus* mentions, *Lib.* 13. These *Rostra* are spoken of by *Cæsar*, Lib. 4. c. 14. and *Pliny*, Lib. 7. c. 57. will have one *Piseus*, whom in the same Chapter he calls *Tyrrhenus*, and saith that he invented the Trumpet, to be the first Author or Inventor of them. At first they were made very large and long; but afterwards finding that they too much hinder'd the Motion of the Ship, they were made less and shorter: For they were placed usually under the Surface of the Water, as appears from this Passage in *Virgil*, Æneid. 5.

——————Totumq; dehiscet
Convulsum Remis, Rostrisq; stridentibus Æquor.

But there are some old Medals that express the *Rostra* as partly above, and partly under Water, in the Ships used in the first *Punick* War. And *Scheffer* from *Diodorus* attributes the Contrivance of placing these *Rostra* entirely under Water, and not the first Invention of them, to *Aristo* the *Corinthian*. The Number of these *Rostra* was uncertain: Sometimes a Ship had but one, sometimes two or three of them: *Ptolomy Philopater*'s vast Ship is said to have had seven *Rostra*, and *Æschylus* makes *Nestor*'s Ship to have ten of them. Their Figure was often that of the Beak of a Bird, the Head of a Serpent or of some Beast, and from thence came the Name *Rostra*. They were only in Ships of War, which therefore are often called *Naves Rostratæ*.

The Ἔμβολοι also, as the *Greeks* call them, were another part of the Armature of the Antients Men of War; and these were thick, strong, and proportionably long Beams, coming out of each side of the Prow or Head of the Ship, in order to fend off against the Stroke of the Enemies *Rostra*. *Scheffer* thinks that the *Corinthians* invented

vented these *Epotides*, and that the *Syracusians* were the first that followed their Example. They were always placed in the Foreship, and consequently the Etymologists are mistaken, who fix them in the Stern part also. It doth not appear that the *Romans* had any Name of their own for these *Epotides*, nor do their *Coins* or *Marbles* express their Figure: But in some of the *Greek* Medals they are very plain, an Instance of which *Scheffer* gives from *Lazius*. He also thinks, that those Beams which are sometimes described on Coins, as sticking out directly forward, and over the *Rostra* (which I suppose were moveable, and were taken in when the Ship attacked the Enemy with her *Rostra*, and thrust out when she was attacked) were called also *Epotides*. The breaking off these *Epotides*, and so disabling a Ship from rowing, was, as I have above shewn, one of the chief Aims of every adverse Ship.

Another part of the Armature of the Antients Ships, were the ἐκτὰ or *Catastromata*, which from *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, *Pollux*, *Hesychius*, &c. we learn were certain Decks or Stages of Wood on which the Soldiers stood to fight, in a Ship of War, and to throw Darts, Javelins, &c. at the Enemy. *Petronius* calls this Deck the *Constratum Navis*; whence such Ships as had these *Catastromata*, the *Latines* called *Naves Constratæ*, the *Greeks* στρωτὰι, and sometimes they called the στρωτὰ by the Name of στρωτόδεσμα. These *Naves Constratæ* were opposed to the *Apertæ* or ἀφρακτὰι, *i. e.* as we now call them, *Open Boats*. *Pliny*, Lib. 7. c. 5. attributes the Invention of these *Catastromata* to *Thesius*, and saith, that before Men fought only in the Head and Stern of the Ship, where there were some *Tabulæ* or Frames of Boards erected for the Men to stand on, especially in the Head of the Ship. And this Custom of covering the Ships of War only in part, remained till the time of *Themistocles*: For it appears by History, that the Ships that fought against the *Æginetæ*, *Corcyræi*, and also against *Xerxes*, were only covered over with Decks, Stages or *Catastromata* in the Head and Stern: For, as *Thucydides* expresses it, ὁ ναῦλαι γὰρ ἔτι ἦσαν ἄκρα καὶ πρύμνα κατεστρωμέναι. Some Writers have confounded these *Catastromata* with the *Fori*, but falsly; for the *Fori* were a kind of Divisions of the Rowers into *Classes*; but these Decks were above all the Oars, and over all the Rowers Heads, and were the highest part of the Ship, or the *Propugnacale*, as they are sometimes called, where the Soldiers stood to fight.

Bayfius observes, that there were some of the lesser Ships which were covered close over for their Security against Darts, &c. And *Cæsar* saith of the *Massilienses*, *Lib. 2. de Bel. Civil.* that they used Fishing Boats close covered, to secure their Rowers from the Danger of the Enemies Darts. But *Scheffer* thinks this was rather by way of erecting Blinds, *Wast Clothes*, &c. or some Covering or Defences perpendicularly on the Ship's Side, than by a Covering quite over at the top. And this kind of Defence *Thucydides* calls παραπετάσματα, the *Latines Plutei*, and it was made sometimes of strong Leather, and sometimes of Pieces of Ropes platted together. The *Greeks* called these also παραπήγματα, παρεζώματα, παρεμβλήματα and παραπλέσματα.

Another part of the Armature of the Antient Ships of War, was their Towers; these were chiefly used by the *Romans*, and were continued as long as to the time of *Commodus*. *Armatæ Classes imponunt sibi Turrium propugnacula, uti in Mare quoque pugnetur, velut è Muris*, saith *Pliny*, Lib. 32. c. 1. Sometimes there was a Tower both in the Head and Stern of the Ship, and sometimes one on each Side of the Ship about the middle. *Plutarch* calls these Rowers ξύλινοι, because they were framed of Wood. Some will have *Agrippa* in *Augustus* his Time, to be the first Inventor of these Towers, as *Servius* upon *Virgil*, *Zonaras*, *Calius Rhodiginus*, &c. But certain it is, they are mentioned by *Cæsar*, *lib. 3. de Bell. Civ.* and *Lib. 3. de Bell. Gall.* They were of different Forms and Figures, according as their Designs and Uses were different, and were painted of divers Colours both for Ornament and Distinction. Out of them the Soldiers cast Darts and Stones, shot Arrows, &c. at the Enemy, and by their help they came near to and scaled the Walls of Sea Port Towns in Sieges.

The next Weapon or Instrument of War, which the antient Ships used, was, what they called the ἄκμων or *Dolphin*, which was a vast Weight of Lead or Iron cast into the Form of a Dolphin, and in time of a Fight was drawn up by Pullys to the end of the Yard-Arm, which when they could conveniently, they let go all of a sudden, that it might fall into the Enemies Ship, and so sink it; and perhaps also they had some Device to throw it with some violence, which added to its own great weight, would make its Force, to break the adverse Ship, the greater.

There were also several other Instruments of Mischief, which the Antients made use of in a Sea-fight, as *Harpagones* or *Harpagæ*, which were long Poles with Iron Hooks at the Ends, to hold the Enemies Ships, that they might not get off. *Manus Ferreæ*, which *Moriſotus* saith were of two sorts, either a kind of Gantlets which they put on their Hands to save them from Cuts, Blows, Fire, &c. and also a kind of Iron Hooks or Graples, which they fastened at the End of a Rope, to throw into and and catch hold of the Enemies Ship, Rigging, &c. They used also *Falces*, or large cutting Hooks, which were fastened at the End of long Poles, to cut Rigging. These Hooks and Poles sometimes were designed to lay hold only of the Enemies Ship and Rigging, and then the *Greeks* called them δίκρατα ναυμαχικὰ, the *Latins*, *Tela trahalia*, *Navales Unci*, and *Hastæ longæ*, the same with the *Harpagones*, as I suppose: and an Instrument which they called *Bipennis*, to cut the Rudder Bands of the Enemies Ships. The usual Arms of the Soldiers were nearly the same as in the Land Service, viz. *Thoraces*, Breast-plates, *Clypei*, Shields or Bucklers, *Galeæ*, Helmets or Head-pieces, together with *Gantlets* of Iron, and *Greaves* of the same, to secure their Legs. They had also an Engine called *Asser*, which *Vegetius* describes to be a slender long Beam, like a Yard, which in time of Action was slung upon the Mast, and had at each end an Iron Head like a Battering Ram. This *Asser* they had a way of forcibly driving against the Enemies Ships; and it would destroy and ruin any Men that it fell upon, and sometimes break a Hole through the Ship it self. At the Ends of their Yards they had also oftentimes χειρῶναξ placed, which were Engines to throw Stones down into the Enemies Ships. *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 12. *Livy* calls them *Tolleni*, and by some Writers 'tis called *Ciconia*, κηλώνιον, *Tollenо*. They used also the *Corvi*, which were Pieces of solid Iron with 3 Spikes to them, and a Ring on the top (according to *Scheffer*) to which an Iron Chain was fastened. These were violently thrown by an Engine into the Enemies Ships, and did often break Holes in her, but most times held her so fast linkt, that they could not get off. The way to prevent these *Corvi* and *Manus Ferreæ* from taking effect, was, as *Pollux* saith, to stretch Hides all over their Decks. They used also *Siphones*, as they called them, that is, *Tubes*, or hollow Cylinders filled with combustible Matter, which would suddenly take Fire, and break out upon the Enemy with Flame, Noise, and Smoke. *Ignis cum Tonitru & Fumo ignito per Siphones emissus Naves incendens.* And sometimes they threw Pots of burning Coals, sometimes of Quick-lime, to blind them; and *Hannibal* used to throw Earthen Pots filled with Serpents, as *Justine* and *Cor. Nepos* tell us. And to compleat all Mischiefs in one, the *Ignis Græcus*, as 'tis called from *Greece*, the Place where it was invented by one *Callinicus* a *Syrian* Architect; which was a Fire that would burn under Water, and as some say, be kindled by it: After it had been a convenient time lodged deep in the Water, it would rise up and burn any thing that came in its way. See *Rivius* his *Hist. Naval. Pars media*, p. 196. The Mischievous Consequence of which way of fighting *Lucan* describes, *Lib. 3.* Thus:

Nulla tamen plures hæc edidit æquore Clades
Quam pelago diversa Lues. Nam pinguibus Ignis
Affixus sedis, & tecto Sulphure vivax
Spargitur: at faciles præbere alimenta Carinæ
Nunc pice, nunc liquida rapuere incendia Cerâ.

And again,

Nec flammis superant undæ, sparsisq; per Æquor
Jam ratibus, fragmenta ferus sibi vendicat Ignis.

But let us leave this dreadful Subject, to consider something more pleasing and agreeable.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* had several Peculiarities in their Method of adorning their Ships. I have already observed, that they used to paint the Prow of their Ships with Red, Blue, and sometimes White Colours, so strongly, that no Weather would injure it: The Method of doing which was by burning in the Colours with Oil and Wax, as *Vitruvius* describes it at large, *Lib. 7. c. 9.* and this Method of Painting the *Greeks* called *Encaustice*: And sometimes with this they used to paint the Figures of Animals, Plants, Flowers, &c. In the Heads of their Ships they had also solid Adornments carved in the Form of Helmets, Crowns, round Balls, which the

Greeks

Greeks ἐκρυόλια and ἔκρυσα, and the *Latines Corymbæ*; and by ſome Authors they are called *Roſtra*. In the Stern they had a kind of Shell framed of Boards, which turned forward over the Commander's Seat: This the *Greeks* called Ἀφλαστα, and the *Latines Apluſtre*. Behind the *Apluſtre* ſtood up a long and ſtrait Staff, about the middle of which was faſtened a particoloured Pendant, which play'd to and fro in the Wind, and ſhewed alſo which way it blew. Of this Ornament *Bayfius* gives a Figure. Another Ornament was the χλωνίσκος, or *Anſerculus*, which tho' ſome will have to belong to the Head, yet moſt Authors place in the Poop of the Ship: It was the Figure of a Gooſe his Head and Neck, and was uſually placed adjoining to the *Apluſtre*. The Gooſe was lookt upon as an Animal of good Omen to Seamen, becauſe of its ſwimming ſo well in the Water, without danger of drowning. They uſed alſo ſometimes to gild the Head and Stern of their Ships with Gold; and ſometimes they ſilvered them o'er; and ſometimes made the *Acroſtolia* of Gold, Ivory, &c. *Alcibiades* had the Sails of his Ship of Purple, as had alſo *Cleopatra* thoſe of her famous Gally; and often they uſed Cloth painted of a Flame Colour, and ſometimes with Inſcriptions or Motto's upon them. *Suetonius* mentions Ships of *Caligula*, whoſe Sails were of various Colours; and ſometimes they painted and gilded the very Oars, according to the Humour of the Commander, or the Dignity of the Expedition, or the Quality of the Paſſengers, &c.

But tho' the Parts of the Ship were thus beautified and adorned, the common Sailers themſelves were generally naked almoſt all over. *Victor* ſpeaking of the Wife of *Antonius*, ſaith, *In Campania ſedens amœna Littorum obſidebat ad legendos ex Nauticis, qui plerumq; nudi agunt, flagitiis aptiores.* And they went thus almoſt naked, to enure them to Hardſhip, that they might bear all manner of Weather, as *Seneca* ſaith, *Lib. de Providentia, c.* 4. And the Clothes which they did wear at any time, were made of Goats Hair, becauſe that was thought beſt to keep out Wind and Water. Theſe Garments, becauſe firſt invented in *Cicilia*, were called by that Name. The Rowers were as naked as thoſe that handed the Sails, and but very ſeldom wore any Clothes at all. But the *Gubernator* or Maſter, or he that commanded the Rowers and Sailers, and gave direction for the guidance or ſteering of the Veſſel, was dignified with a *Pallium* or Cloak, which was worn over his Shoulders, and gathered and faſtened on the Left Shoulder with a Button, Buckle, &c. but yet ſo as that his Arm came out, and was at liberty to manage the *Gubernaculum*. This is plain from *Plautus* in his *Miles Glorioſus*, Act. 14.

Facito ut venias ornatus hac ornatu Nauclerico
Cauſam habeas ferrugineam, culcitum ob oculos laneam
Palliolum habes ferrugineum (nam is colos Theſſalicus eſt)
Id erit convexum in Humero læve, expapillato brachio
Præcinctus, atq; aſſimilato, quaſi Gubernator Sies.

And thus *Virgil* deſcribes Maſter *Charon*:

Sordidus ex humeris nodo dependet amictus.
Æn. 6. v. 301.

Thus much for the Ornaments in the Antient Ships, and the Habits of the Seamen: Let us next conſider their Enſigns, Colours, Flags, &c. And firſt, that which diſtinguiſhed one Ship from another, and gave her a Name, was the παρίσημον, as the *Greeks* called it; which was ſome Device, the Figure of ſome Animal, Flower, or Artificial Thing, and was ſometimes painted on a Flag, and ſometimes carved in Wood, and afterward painted. This was therefore by the *Latines* called *Pictura*, and was placed of old, not as it is now with us, in the Stern, but in the Head of the Ship, between the *Embolos* and the *Proembolides*, as *Scheffer* ſaith; and juſt below the *Stolos*, ſay others. But that it was in the Head, and above the *Roſtrum*, appears from this of *Virgil*, Æneid. 5.

——Ænea puppis
Prima tenet, Roſtro Phrygios invecta Leones.

Where the *Paraſemum* was a Lion, and therefore probably the Ship called by that Name: For that Ships were named from hence, is plain from *Ovid*.

Eſt mihi, ſitq; precor, flavæ Tutela Minervæ
Navis, & a pictâ Caſſide nomen habet.

Here the *Paraſemum* was an Helmet, and therefore the Ship was ſo called; but the *Tutela* was *Minerva*. This *Tutela Navis* was a very different thing from the *Paraſemum*, tho' confounded with it by ſome Writers: For the *Tutela* was the Image of ſome Deity under whoſe Protection the Ship was ſuppoſed peculiarly to be: This *Tutela* was placed in the Stern, which was therefore accounted the moſt ſacred part of the Ship, and was ſometimes a carved Image, but moſt times painted, as appears from *Ovid*.

Accipit & pictos Puppis adunca Deos.

The Name of each Ship was uſually written in the Front of the Ship's Head, about the *Acroſtolion*: This Place where the Name was written, *Pollux* ſaith, the *Greeks* called πίναξ; and it was done upon a roundiſh or oval Board, which from its Figure the *Greeks* frequently call ἀφθάλμος. The Name of the Ship was always taken from the *Paraſemum*, as we ſaid before.

The Prætorian Ship was alſo diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a peculiar *Vexillum* or Flag, which was uſually of a Purple or Red Colour, and hoiſted up upon a long Pole or Staff placed commonly in the Forecaſtle of the Ship, and ſometimes in the Stern. In the *Roman* Prætorian Ships, the Eagle, as a Standard, was often diſplayed, as appears from antient Monuments, ſaith *Scheffer*. In the Prætorian Ships there were alſo peculiar Towers, built higher, and quite different from the fighting Towers beforementioned. Thus *Lucan*,

Et jam Turrigerum Bruti comitata Carinam
Venerat in Fluctus Rhodani cum gurgite Claſſis.
Lib. 3.

Theſe were placed in the Stern of the Ship, and from them the Word of Command was given to the Men, and Signals erected or diſplayed to direct other Ships; which in the Night was effected by Lights hung out in the Prætorian or Admirals Ships; and ſometimes there were two, and ſometimes three ſuch, and as often but one. But *Livy* ſaith, that the Men of War always hung out one Light a-nights, and the Onerary ones two. Some ſay alſo that the Men of War carried (by day) a thing like an Helmet at their Topmaſt-head, and the Onerary ones always a Basket: Which latter ſeems very true, ſince *Feſtus* calls the *Naves Onerariæ* by the Names of *Corbitæ*; as alſo doth *Cicero*, *Lib. 16. Epiſt. ad Attic.* The Signal for a Battel was a Helmet or Shield of Gold or Braſs hung up on the Cap of the Maſt, as our Admirals hang out the Bloody Flag, when they are going to engage. There was alſo a peculiar Sign, which was uſed to the Rowers, to make them keep time, and pull all together: This was ſometimes done by the Voice, like the Noiſe our Seamen uſe in weighing Anchor, and ſometimes by waving of a Stick, which they called *Pertica*: He that did this was called *Hortator* and *Portiſculus* among the *Romans*; and the *Pertica* was alſo ſometimes called by this Name *Portiſculus*. And perhaps ſometimes this *Pertica* was ſtruck againſt ſome ſounding Body, to make the Rowers hear, as well as ſee how and when to pull. Alſo, beſides the Trumpet, which was uſed to excite and encourage the Soldiers to fight, for which purpoſe the *Lituus* was alſo ſounded; there were two peculiar Signs given to the Rowers by the Voice of the *Hortator*: The former of theſe the *Greeks* called κελεύσμα, and the *Latines Hortamentum, Signum, Juſſum, Juſſus*, and *Juſſio*: And this *Servius* on *Lib.* 8. *Æn. Virg.* ſaith, was the *Clamor nauticus ad hortandum; ut, nunc, nunc incumbite Remis!* But *Ariſtophanes*, in *Ranis Act.* 4. *Scen.* 2. tells us, that the Word which was uſed to make them row, was ἰὼ ἰὼ παῖ, and that by which he made them deſiſt or leave off, was ὀττοτοτοῖ; and either of theſe is ſignified by the word *Celeuſma*. The other Noiſe or Sign, which the *Hortator* made with his Mouth, and which was ſeconded by all the Rowers, and aſſiſted with Muſick, if they had it, was what the *Greeks* call *Symphonia*. *Scheffer* obſerves, that this hath generally been confounded with the *Celeuſma* but erroneouſly: For the latter was but only one Word, the former a kind of continued Song Tone, or Noiſe in Tune, modulated by the Pipe uſually, and ſometimes by the Harp. The Deſign of it was, that the Rowers might be at a certain and true Time with their Oars, ſtrike a long and even Stroke, and alſo be diverted and pleaſed at their Labour. *Pedianus* in *Cicero* ſaith, *Sciendum eſt cani remigibus per Symphoniacos ſolitum, & per aſſam Vocem, id eſt, ore prolatam, & per Citharam.* And *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranis*, makes *Charon* tell *Bacchus*, who would fain have baulkt his Oar out of a pretence that he knew not how to pull right.

——ῥᾷς ἀκούσεαι μέλη
Κἀλλιε, ἐπειδὰν ἐμβάλῃς ἅπαξ.

That is; *You'll eaſily learn; for aſſoon as ever you put your Oar down into the Water you will hear a delicate fine Song,* which will keep you right: And after this, the Comick Poet gives you the Song, but chiefly in the Frogs croaking Language, to carry on the Humour of the Play. This *Symphonia Cicero* calls, *Cantilena Nautica*, and *Ariſtophanes* Νηλεφῆ, as doth alſo his Interpreter, explaining it to be, *genus Muſicæ Modulationis, quo Remiges exhortantur*: And the other End and Deſign of this Sea Song, we learn from *Statius* his *Theb.* V. v. 343.

Acclivis malo mediis interſonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantoſq; jubet neſcire labores.

And ſince we are now ſpeaking of the Antient Method of regulating the Motion of the Oars, ſo as that they ſhould ſtrike all together, and give the Ship as freſh way as was poſſible: I ought to take notice of the *Liburnæ Rotatæ*, which a certain Anonymous Author mentions, as invented and uſed in the Time of *Honorius*, and were Ships with Water-Wheels inſtead of Oars, and theſe Wheels were turned round within by Oxen. In *Moriſotus* his *Orbis Maritimus*, p. 712. There is a Figure of a Ship with ſix ſuch Wheels, and thoſe moved by as many Oxen. Theſe *Liburnæ Rotatæ* our *Rivius* p. 14, 15. of his *Hiſt. Naval. Mediæ* is pleaſed very much to ridicule; but it ſeems to ariſe from his underſtanding little of Contrivances of that Nature: The Deſign indeed of *Moriſotus* his Figure appears clumſey and inadequate for the purpoſe it was intended for: in appointing an Ox to every Wheel. But it doth not follow from hence, that no Improvements can be made of ſo good and uſeful a Deſign. The Advantages of ſuch an Engine, could it be performed as it ſhould be, would be very great. A Ship by this means would be able to continue her Courſe in a perfect Calm; ſhe would eaſily get out of the way of a Spout, and it may be of a Gally, that ſhould give her Chaſe. Ships, eſpecially in the *Mediterranean*, might be brought into a Line of Battle, or rowed away when diſabled: And perhaps moſt of the Advantages which the *French* Fleet hath from their Gallies, might accrue to an *Engliſh* one by this Invention. I cannot therefore avoid taking notice of the Rowing Engine invented by the Ingenious Captain *Thomas Savery*: A Deſcription of which was publiſhed in the Year 1698. and ſince that, a ſhort Account hath been given of it in the *Lexicon Technicum*. The Contrivance is thus: He adapts a Wheel to the Drum Head of the Capſtan of a Ship, whoſe Teeth turn a Trundle Head, thro' which runs an Iron Bar clear a-croſs, and which reaches out thro' the ſides of her; on its ends without board, at a convenient diſtance from the Ship's ſides, are faſtened 2 Drum-heads, in which are fitted, to take out at Pleaſure, 6, 8, 10, or 12 Paddles, according to the Rate of the Ship. At the upper ends of theſe Paddles are faſtened Iron Pins with Heads to them; by which means, and by the help of a Cord, taking an half Tun about all thoſe Pins, both the Paddles may be ſwifted, or ſtrain'd and ſtrengthened ſo, that they ſhall all work proportionably; and alſo a Paddle may (with a Luff Tackle) be eaſily handed in and out, in order to be fitted into or taken out of the Drum-head of the Bar. Now here, if the Men will but work (and the Labour is nothing near ſo hard and dangerous as that of weighing Anchor, &c.) if there be a ſufficient Number of them, and the Paddles made proportionably large, I doubt not but the Engine will give the Veſſel freſher way than any Oars can do, workt by the ſame Number of Hands, as indeed hath been found true by Experiment: And I hope our Grand Fleet will not viſit the *Mediterranean* another Summer without this Contrivance. But to go on,

From this brief Account of the Ornaments, Enſigns, Flags, Standards and Signals of the Antient Ships, we may make an eaſy Tranſition to the ſeveral Diſtinctions among their Soldiers and Sailers. The Soldiers or Marines differed moſtly from thoſe in the Land Service, by the Strength and Weight of their Armour: Which exceeded theirs, becauſe their fighting was more ſtationary. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Themiſtocles*, ſaith, that each Man of War had 18 *Propugnatores*, which were to fight on the *Cataſtromata*: Of which four were *Sagittarii*, who threw Darts, Javelins, Spears, &c. the reſt were all heavy Armed, and theſe the *Romans* called *Claſſiarii*. The *Greeks* called them *Epibatæ*: And tho' they are plainly diſtinguiſhed, by Authors, from the *Remiges*: Yet *Scheffer* thinks that ſometimes upon emergent Neceſſity, the Rowers fought too; and ſo might be called *Epibatæ*. And indeed all the Rowers were Soldiers too, except the *Gubernator*: As we learn from *Thucydides*, and from the *Agamemnon* in *Senica*; for *Act.* 3. *v.* 417. we find theſe words,

Famq; enſe feſſum Miles exonerat latus
Neglectaq; Summas per puppes ſcuta jacet
Ad militares Remus aptatur manus.

And theſe doubly qualify'd Hands, that could both fight and row, the *Greeks* called ἀμφιβίους; as *Pollux*, *Thucydides*, and *Suidas* informs us. But in proceſs of time, as their Ships became larger, and were better fitted for War, we find the Men aboard plainly diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts, *viz.* Sailers, Rowers, and *Marines*, or Soldiers. The Rowers were called in *Greek* ἐρέται, κωπηλάται, and ſometimes ἁλιρρόμβοι. And by *Livy*, *Socii*; tho' that Term is alſo ſometimes given to the *Marines*, and to the *Nautæ* or Sailers too. I have already ſhewed the Diviſion of the Rowers, into the *Thalamitæ*, which ſate loweſt and next the Water: The *Zygitæ*, which rowed in the middle, next above them; and the *Thranitæ*, or the higheſt or uppermoſt which ſate next to the *Cataſtromata*. And as the Rowers had this Triple Diſtinction from their Scituation in the Ship; ſo were they denominated alſo from the Ship it ſelf: Thoſe which belonged to a *Triremis*, the *Greeks* called τριηρίται: And thoſe that rowed in the Onerary Ships (in which there were very ſeldom Oars) they called σκαφηκαπάται: The Sailers were diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral Offices and Employments. Thoſe that handed the Sails, the *Greeks* called ἀρμενίους; thoſe that got up the Maſt to look for Ships, Land, &c. Some ſay were called *Schoenobatæ*; and by the *Latines*, *Speculatores*: Theſe *Feſtus* calls alſo *Corbitores*, becauſe they lay or ſtood for this purpoſe in the *Corbes* on the Tops of the Maſts: Tho' the *Corbes* were rather peculiar to the Tops of *Onerary* Ships, as I have before obſerved: The Tops of the Maſts of Men of War being called *Galeæ*. Thoſe which were employed in Meſſages and Errants up and down the Ship were called μεσσαῦλαι: And theſe did all meaner and more ſervile Offices: Some plied the Pump, others weighed and dropt the Anchor: And they had a peculiar ſort of Fellows, whom they called *Urinatores*, whoſe Buſineſs was to dive down and clear the Anchor, if it were foul of any thing, and would not come up, as appears from this of *Lucan*, Lib. 3. *v.* 697.

——*Pugna fuit uſus in illa*
Eximius Phocæus animam ſervare ſub undis
Scrutariq; fretum, ſiquid merſeſſet arenis,
Et nimis affixos unci convellere morſus,
Aductam quoties non ſenſerit Anchora funem.

Theſe Divers, *Pollux* tells us, the *Greeks* called κολυμβηταί; and they made many other Uſes of them beſides this of helping to get up the Anchor: For as *Manilius*, Lib. V. Aſtron. obſerves.

Exportuntq; mari prædas, & rapto profundo
Naufragio, atque imas ſcrutantur arenas.

They alſo uſed to get up any thing from the bottom, that by chance fell over-board, and to ſeek for Wracks, &c. and the *Rhodian* Laws appointed them a peculiar Proportion of the Value of the things they fetched up, according to the Depth of the Water: If they dived in 8 Cubits they had ½, if in 15 Cubits they had ⅓. They were very ſerviceable alſo in Sea Engagements and Expeditions: For *Thucydides*, Lib. VII. ſaith, that the *Syracuſian* Mole was cut aſunder by the Divers under Water: And in *Arrianus*, Lib. II. *de Exped.* we read of their being employed to cut the Enemies Cables. There was alſo another ſort of *Nautæ*, called *Carabitæ*, *Scaphitæ*, and *Lintrarii*: Theſe were the *Boat's Crew*, who always attended upon the Pinnace, Barge, Long-Boat, or whatever you will call her. There is mention made alſo in ſome Writers of the *Haleyarii*; who were a kind of *Tackle-Men*, and their Poſt was to ſhip and unſhip all Goods, Casks, Proviſions, Arms, &c. which came aboard at any time, or were ſent a-ſhore, or put on board ſome other Ship. Some Writers, and particularly St. *Ambroſius*, mention the *Thalaſſometræ*, which were thoſe that ſounded the Depth of the Sea with the Βόλις, or Plummet. There were alſo the ναυπηγοί, as the *Greeks* called them: and the *Latines* from them, *Naupegæ*, i. e. the Shipwrights or *Carpenters*, who were to mend any thing which

which was broken or out of Order: But tho' these were very necessary Fellows aboard a Ship, yet the Ancients accounted them in the lowest and meanest Rank, of any Persons belonging to the whole Company.

Before the Ship put to Sea, every Hand aboard her was exercised, in his several Capacity, that he might be knowing and ready in his Business: We learn from *Cæsar* and *Dion*, that among the *Romans* a very considerable time was allotted to exercise the Rowers, and to render them fit for Service: And *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and *Thucydides*, all say the same thing of the *Greeks*; and for the better Performance of these useful Exercises, there were peculiar Officers appointed; which by *Vegetius*, Lib. IV. c. 32. are called *Navarchi*: But we don't read any thing of these *Navarchi*, before the time of *Antoninus*. The *Gubernatores* also were exercised in their way; for they justly thought it a dreadful thing, that the Master of a Ship should be

——Pelagi rudis, & Pontum tractare per artem
Nescius, accepit miseræ si Jura Carinæ.
Ventorum tenet ipse vicem, cunctisq; Porcellis
Dat Jactare ratem, fertur vaga gurgite puppis
Ipsius in Scopulos, dextrâ impellente Magistri.

Silius, Lib. V.

The very Soldiers also were continually exercised, by sham Sea-Fights, to make them knowing and daring in real ones: Nay the *Romans* at last began to be so satisfied of the Usefulness of these Naval Games or Exercises; that they made a place on purpose for their Celebration in the *Campus Martius*; where there was naturally a Lake; and this by Art, in the times of *Julius* and *Augustus*, was made very fit for such Exercises. And soon after, these sham Sea-Fights became part of the Entertainment of the Publick, and were instituted not only for the Uses above-mentioned; but also to please the People (as with other publick Shews) and shew the Magnificence, Liberality, not to say Vanity, of the great ones.

Assoon as ever Orders were given, from the Prince, for putting forth of a Fleet to Sea: The Seamen first of all launched the *Triremes*, &c. the Ships of War; which, as it appears by these Lines of *Flaccus*, Arg. Lib. I. lay with their Sterns a-shore.

At Ducis imperio Minijæ, monituq; frequentes
Puppem humeris subeunt; & tento poplite proni
Decurrunt ——————

And thus also *Virgil*,

——————Stant Littore Puppes.

The Instruments they used in lanching out these Ships, were (1.) *Vectes* or Levers, 2 *Cylindri* or Rollers of Wood: Which were called also *Palanges*, and by *Virgil*, Lib. 2. Æneid. *Lapsus*.

Accingunt omnes operi, pedibusq; Rotarum.
Subjiciunt Lapsus.

Isidorus saith these were called also *Pulvini*. There was a great deal of Trouble in this clearing or getting off the Stern from the Shore; till *Archimedes* invented an Engine for this purpose, as *Plutarch* tells us in the Life of *Marcellus*: And of which thus *Silius*, Lib. 14. v. 252.

——————Puppes etiam, constructaq; Saxa
Fœmineâ traxisse ferunt contra ardua dextrâ.

In *Bellonus* his *Theatrum* you have a Figure of this Instrument or Engine of *Archimedes*, or of one which he imagines was like it, and would serve well enough for this purpose.

When the Ships lay up far from the Water, they drew them down to the Sea in *Plaustra*, which had their Bottoms covered with Skins, raw Hides, &c. to save the Ships Bottom and Sides from Injury, as *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 1. and *Livy*, Lib. 25. c. 11. both tell us. Assoon as the Ships were lanched, then the *Annonæ* or Provisions were put on Board; and that often in the Ships of War themselves, for 8, 10, or 12 Days time: But seldom longer: Tho' usually the Provisions were carried in other Ships or Victuallers, particularly provided for that purpose. This being done, the Sailers were first summoned on board by the sound of a Trumpet: Then the Rowers got in, and each Man took his *Transtrum* and Oar, either by Command, and Appointment of the *Proreta*, or more usually by Lot.

Nunc agite, Socii, propellite in Æquora Navem,
Remorumq; pares ducite sorte vices.

Propert. lib. 3. v. 87c.

And to the same purpose *Virgil*, Lib. 3. Æn.

Sternimus optatæ gremio telluris ad Undam
Sortiti remos——————

And assoon as each Man had his Bench and his Oars allotted him, his Name was put upon both. Then the Arms offensive and defensive were put into the Poop, Towers, &c. and the whole Solemnity was concluded with Sacrifices, Lustrations, &c. When the Fleet prepared to sail, notice was given by the Sound of a Trumpet, for every one to get ready, and at night a Light was put out from the Tower in the Poop of the Prætorian Ship. The Order of their Voyage was thus: First went light Ships, Spy Boats, &c. to find out good Ports, Stations, Anchor-ground, &c. and because they went thus first, the *Greeks* called them πρόπλοι. Next to these went the *Triremes*, and other Ships of War, and in the Rear of all the *Naves Onerariæ*. The Fleet was usually commanded by two Persons, whom we may call the Admirals of the Ships of War, and of the Victuallers, Tenders, Transports, &c. and sometimes there were more Commanders, each having the Charge of a small Squadron of 6 or 8 Men of War a-piece.

When they came to the desired Port, Shore, or Place of landing, they left off rowing, held Water with their Oars, and brought the Ship about, and ran her a-shore Stern foremost. This the *Latines* called *Inhibitio Remigationis*, and the *Greeks* τὴν πρύμναν κρούεσθαι. To effect this the Rowers got up off their Seats, turn'd about, and look towards the Head of the Ship, as *Silius Italicus* observes, *Lib.* 2.

Converso Tyrios petierunt remige Patres.

This turning the Ship about the *Latines* called *Obversio*:

——Obvertunt Pelago Proras.
Virgil.

Then they lowered their Yards, and struck their Masts, and cast their Anchors out of the Forecastle. The Rowing Ships had their Oars brought close to, and lasht fast to the Ship's Side, having their outermost Ends elevated: For in this posture they were both out of the way the present, and also ready to use again, assoon as there was occasion for them. The Naval Camp or Place where the Fleet lay, they called *Castra Nautica* and *Navalia*. To defend themselves in this Place, if any Enemy were near, they usually cut or dug a Semicircular Ditch, which they fortified with a kind of Ramparts of Earth, and a Parapet or Wall of Wood, and this was their Defence to Landward. Without the Fleet, in the Sea, they stuck Piles down in the Water standing obliquely, and with very sharp Points towards the Sea. When they had thus effectually secured their Sea-Camp, if it were Winter, and they designed to stay there any considerable time, they brought their Ships of War quite up upon the dry Land; otherwise they only made their Sterns fast ashore. When a Fleet lay only still for a while at an Anchor, and did not touch the Shore, they called it *Statio*, and the *Greeks* ὅρμον, ὑφορμεῖν; and by *Appianus* these Stations are called ὑποφορμίσματα. Their Havens the *Greeks* called λιμένα, the *Latines Portus*: Tho' the *Portus* was more properly an Artificial Haven, which was commonly called *Cothona* or *Cotones*; whereas a Natural Haven was called *Ostium*. The Artificial Ports were to have, first a good χῶμα, or Work run doubly into the Sea, in order to procure between its Sides a good Entrance into the Haven, secure against Winds and Tides. This double Mole the *Latines* called *Cornua*, as we find from *Lucan*, Lib. 2.

Precipiti cursu flexi per cornua Portus
Ora petunt, Pelagusq; dolent contingere Classes.

The Sea Entrance into these *Cornua* was defended by Chains and Bars of Wood; therefore it was called *Claustrum* by the *Latines*: It was also fortified with Towers, and near the Entrance were the *Phari* or Watch Towers placed, where Lights were hung out a-nights to guide Ships into the Harbour. They were so called from the famous

famous *Pharos* or Watch-Tower built at *Alexandria* by *Ptolomy*.

Lumina Noctivagæ tollit Pharus *æmula Lunæ.*
Statius.

The Paſſage between theſe *Cornua* or *Moles* was called *Stoma* by the *Greeks*, and *Oſtium* by the *Latines*, and ſometimes *Fauces*. This let the Ships into the μύχος or innermoſt part of the Haven, where they were made faſt to the *Crepidæ*, or as *Homer* calls it, the ῥυμός, which was a Work of Stone built like our Keys, on which were Houſes filled with Stores, Docks, &c. for building or refitting Ships, &c. Theſe Docks the *Greeks* called νεώσοικοι, ὅπλοθῆκαι, νεωσοίκια, &c.

Whenever the Antients had a Proſpect of a Sea Engagement, the firſt thing they did was to clear their Ships of War of all unneceſſary Weight and Lumber, leaving no more Proviſions on board than what was of indiſpenſible neceſſity: And then, if it were poſſible to avoid it, they would not engage but in a calm Sea, and good Weather. Next, they took great care to get the Enemy between the Shoar and them, both that themſelves might have room enough, and the Enemy be pent up and ſtreightened; and alſo that they might bring on ſtill new Ships into the Engagement, and row off their diſabled ones with ſafety and eaſe. *Appianus*, Lib. 5. takes notice, that *Calviſius* neglecting this Maxim, was almoſt deſtroyed by *Menecrates*, his Ships driven aſhore, ſtranded and wrackt. And thus was it with the *Roman* Fleet in the Battle againſt *Adherbal* the *Carthaginian* Admiral, as *Polybius* tells us, *Lib.* 1. They choſe alſo, if they could, rather to engage near their Enemies Coaſts than their own: The Reaſon of which, *Leo* gives in his Tacticks. *Ne (inquit) in tuâ ipſius Terrâ Prælium committas in quâ ſperant milites (juxta Proverbium) ſi tantum haſtas defigunt, ſervari; ſed prope Hoſtilem Terram potius ut Hoſtes Salutem ſperantes, ſua in Terrâ fugam dimicationi anteponant.* They took care alſo, not to engage againſt Wind or Tide, (*i. e.*) they ſtrove to get the Weather Gage of the Enemy, as we ſpeak. When they came to actual Fighting, they took in all their great Sails; and then the *Imperator* or Commander in chief appointed the Order of Battel: Which was various according to Circumſtances; but the firſt Line, when there was more than one, they called *Prima Claſſis*, and the ſecond *Suſidiaria*: And ſometimes there was a third Line of light ſmall Ships which lay behind the two former. Uſually there was but one Line, and then the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt Ships were in the Wings, and the weakeſt in the Centre: Alſo the *Prætor's*, or chief Admiral's Poſt, was in the right Wing; but if they were in the Form of an Half Moon, his Poſt was in the Center, as appears by the Tacticks of the Emperor *Leo*. This Half Moon, which the *Greeks* called μηνοειδὲς σχῆμα, was the moſt ordinary Figure of any: And it gained theſe two Advantages; that the Enemy could not eaſily break through, and were alſo eaſily hemm'd in, or encompaſſed round on all ſides. Of this Form *Lucan*, Lib. 4 thus ſpeaks,

Cornua Romanæ Claſſis, valedæ; Triremes
Quaſq; quater ſurgens extructi remigis ordo
Commovet, & plures quæ mergunt æquore Pinus
Multiplices cinxere rates. Hoc robur aperto
Oppoſitum Pelago: Lunata Claſſe recedunt
Ordine contentæ gemino creviſſe Liburnæ.

But there were alſo in uſe other Figures, with ſtrait lined Fronts; and theſe ſometimes were all in one Body, ſometimes divided into two Squadrons; and ſometimes into three: Which laſt Form was called the *Phalanx*, as appears by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Sheffer* mentions many other leſs common Forms, as that of a Wedge, an Oval, &c. Vid. Lib. 3. c. V. Whether I refer the curious Reader, being in haſt to conclude this long Diſſertation. The Soldiers who were to fight, were divided into the *Superiores*, which were actually engaged upon the *Cataſtromata*; and the *Inferiores* which ſtood below ready to relieve and ſupply them, as they were diſtreſſed or cut off. Of thoſe aloft, the heavy and armed ſtood in the Mid-ſhip, the moſt expert, bold active Fellows in the Head; and they were all ready, with one foot upon the Gunwale or ſide of the Ship, expecting the Signal when they ſhould begin to throw their Darts, &c.

Vix meminere maris tam vaſto ad prælia niſu,
Incumbunt Proræ, poſitumq; in margine puppis
Extremâ plantâ, nutantes ſpicula torquent.
Sil. Ital. Lib. 14.

When they were juſt going to engage in an actual Fight, the Imperator went in his Boat and made an encouraging Speech to every Ship: Then the Signal for the Battle was hung out of the Pretorian Ship; which by being waved to the right or left, being lifted up higher, lowered, or entirely taken down, was an Inſtruction to them which way to carry the Fight, how long to hold it, and when to deſiſt. This Signal was ſometimes a Red Flag, and ſometimes an Helmet, as I have before obſerved. The Onſet was begun with Trumpets, who ſounded the πολεμικὸν, or *Claſſicum*. Then one of their chief Aims was *detergere Remos*.

Aſt aliæ lacerâ atq; incuſſi roboris ictu
Detergere Remos ——
Sil. Ital. Lib. 4.

As the *Romans* call'd it, ἀνακοπὴν κωπῶν, to break or cut off one anothers Oars, and ſo diſable the Ship from rowing. If this could not be done, then they got cloſe to one another, and fought it hand to hand with the Marines; tho' ſtill endeavouring to ſink one another: as before, by the *Roſtra*, ſo now by Engines, &c. and to grapple faſt with, and to board one another: And then it grew very warm Work indeed, as *Silius Italicus* deſcribes it, *Lib.* 14.

——*Injecta ligant hinc vincula ferri,*
Atq; illinc ſteterunt q; ad prælia nexæ,
Nec jacula aut longè certatur harundine fuſâ
Cominus, & gladio terreſtria prælia miſcent.

And thus you ſee how they behaved themſelves in an open Fight at Sea: A word or two of their Naval Sieges, and Defences. When they beſieged any place by Sea, they uſed to block up the Harbour, and encompaſs it all round with their Ships, whom they joined one to another with Chains; and communicated by Bridges or Gallies; where the Soldiers were always ready to throw Darts, &c. and to oppoſe the Paſſage of any Ships in or out. They ſtrengthned this Naval Mole alſo by driving long Piles down into the Ground, to which they faſtened their Ships. This was their *Circumvallation*. The Attack upon the Town they uſually managed by two Ships joined to one another by a Bridge, on which they placed their battering Engines, and wooden Towers alſo, which they filled with Men to ſcale the Walls, and to drive thoſe that defended them from thence: Againſt theſe bold Attempts, the beſieged defended themſelves by their own Ships; by driving Piles down into the Earth under Water, whoſe Tops were ſhod with Braſs or Iron Spikes, to annoy the Enemies Ships as they approached to the Walls: Sometimes they made a *Contravallation* with their Ships againſt the work of the Enemy; and ſometimes endeavoured to burn it, by throwing in Pitch, Tar, and other combuſtible Matter actually enkindled amongſt their Ships; and now and then by ſending Boats loaden with ſuch Materials in among them; [as the *Tyrians* did, when *Alexander* beſieged their City] and then ſetting them on Fire to burn the Enemies Fleet. So that a kind of Fire Ships, you ſee, the Antients had a Notion of long ago; the Invention of Man being very early ripe for Miſchief.

I proceed next, to conſider, the Officers, Magiſtrates, Stipends, Salaries, Triumphs, Rewards and Puniſhments in uſe amongſt the Antients, in their Ships and Fleets.

The Officers and Magiſtrates in the Antient Fleets and Ships were theſe.

1. The ναύαρχος, ναύαρχος. The *Præfectus Claſſis*, as the *Romans* ſtil'd him. Among the *Greeks*, this great Office was ſometime in the hand of one Man, but oftner divided between two, or three, who were all equal in Power: As *Alcibiades*, *Niceas*, and *Lamachus* were; with them alſo, the Office was precarious, depending upon the Good Will of the People, entirely as to its Continuance. But among the *Romans*, the *Prætors*, while they had the Care of Naval Affairs, were to continue this Command but for one Year, and then they were to deliver up their Charge to their Succeſſors. This was the Officer which we now call an Admiral: (in chief) The Name of *Admiral*, or as the *French* write it, *Amiral*, ſome think came from the *Admirantes*, a ſort of commanding Officers, both for Sea and Land Service, amongſt the *Saracens*. But *Moriſotus*, in his *Orbis Maritimus*, Lib. 2. c. 7. will have it to come from the word ἀμηρᾶλις, which was, he ſaith, the Title for the *Præfectus Claſſis*, or Commander of the Fleet (in the *Eaſtern* Empire) before the time of the Emperors *Leo* and *Mauricius*.

Mauricius, tho' ſome will have it be derived from ἁλμυρός, *Salſus, à Salſugine Maris.*

The next Officer to the High Admiral or Commander in chief, was the Ἐπισταλεύς, or, as he is called alſo, ὑπαρχοσταλεφορός. This was a kind of *Vice-Admiral*, and was ſo called by the *Greeks* (ſaith *Pollux*) becauſe he was Aſſiſtant, and immediately under the ναύαρχος; and that this was his Office, appears alſo from ſeveral Paſſages in *Zenophon's* Hiſt. The *Romans* called him *Subpræfectus*; and tho' he were but Vice-Admiral to the Prætorial Squadron, he was *Præfectus* or Commander in chief of another Squadron or Fleet. *Scheffer* obſerves, that thoſe Officers above-mentioned were ſuch as more peculiarly commanded the Soldiers and Naval Strength of a Fleet; but there were another ſort, which the *Greeks* called ἀρχικυβερνῆται, which had more immediately the Care of the Ships, who had the Management of all Maritime Affairs, were to provide commodious Harbours, to direct the Courſe of the Fleet, *&c.* And perhaps he that was *Maſter* of the Prætorial Ship had peculiarly this Title of *Archigubernus*. *Scheffer* thinks that this was the ſame Officer with him whom *Tacitus* calls *Præfectus Remigum*, and whom *Livy*, lib. 24. c. 41. calls *Præfectus Socium* or *Sociorum*. But there being no particular Deſcription of his Office, 'tis hard to determine any thing poſitively about it.

The Captain alſo of each particular Ship the *Greeks* called Ναύαρχος, and the *Latines* from them *Navarchus*. Tho' *Livy* frequently ſtiles him *Præfectus*, and *Lib.* 45. *c.* 42. *Magiſter Navis*, and *Tacitus* gives him the Name of *Triremiclius*, Ann. 14. c. 8. Hiſt. 2. c. 9. which laſt Term among the *Greeks* ſignified the Captain of a *Triremis*: And there is mention alſo of a ὁλκαδάρχος, who ſeems to have been a Sharer with ſome other Perſon in the Command of Captain of a *Triremis*. The Captain of a πεντηκοντόρος, or a Ship of 5 *Ordines*, was called Πεντηκοντάρχος, and ſo for other Rates. Thoſe who commanded the Seamen, and had the immediate care of the Guidance and Working of the Ships, the *Greeks* called κυβερνῆται, the *Latines Gubernatores*, and ſometimes *Magiſtri Sociorum Navalium*. This Officer was the ſame with our Maſter of a Ship, and his Poſt was in the Poop.

—*Solus ſtat Puppe Magiſter.* *Statius*, Theb. 8. v. 267.

Sometimes he is deſcribed as ſitting at the Helm, and the Place where he ſate was by the *Greeks* called ἐγκλημα: His Authority over the Seamen appears to have been very great by this of *Flaccus*, lib. 1.

Typhys agit, taciti ſedent ad Juſſa Miniſtri,
Qualiter ad ſummi Solium Jovis omnia circum
Prona parata Deo.———

The Art of guiding, conducting and ſailing the Ship well, the *Greeks* called τέχνη κυβερνητική, and it conſiſted, as *Scheffer* obſerves, chiefly in theſe three things: The Knowledge of the Stars and of the Courſe of the Winds; the Diſtance and Scituation of Ports and Havens, and the Art of working of a Ship ſo as to find her *Trim*, as we call it, and make her ſail to the beſt advantage. Their Knowledge of the Stars in a manner was confined to the Obſervations of the *Great* and *Little Bear*, two Conſtellations near the North Pole, ſo called, as appears from *Lucan*, *Lib.* 8. *v.* 172.

Signifero quæcunq; fluunt labentia Cælo
Nunquam ſtante Polo miſeros fallentia Nautas
Sydera non ſequimur, ſed quæ non mergitur undis
Axis inocciduus gemina clariſſimus Arcto
Ille regit Puppes———

Of theſe two Conſtellations the *Greeks* took moſt notice of the *Great Bear*, which they called *Helix*, and we *Charles his Wain.*

Dat Graiis Helice curſum majoribus Aſtri.

The Leſſer Bear, which the *Greeks* called *Cynoſura*, was moſt regarded by the *Phœnicians*; they firſt diſcovered and obſerved its Motion round the Pole, and that the Pole Star it ſelf was the laſt in its Tail. And indeed the Knowledge of the Stars in general, and the firſt Foundations of all our Aſtronomy, is entirely owing to the *Phœnicians*. And the Reaſon why they obſerved the *Cynoſura* rather than the *Helix*, *Germanicus in Arateis* thus expreſſes.

Certior eſt Cynoſura tamen ſulcantibus æquor:
Quippe brevis totam fido ſe Cardine vertit,
Sidoniamq; Ratem nunquam ſpectata fefellit.

They had Charts alſo, in which not only the Scituation of Countries and diſtant Regions were deſcribed; but the Courſe of the Winds alſo was expreſſed, and how, and from what Parts, and at what time, they uſually blew: as appears from this Paſſage of *Propertius*, lib. 4. *de Arethuſa.*

Cogor & è Tabulâ pictos adiſcere mundos
Qualis & hoc docti ſit poſitura Dei.
Quæ tellus ſit tecta gelu, quæ putris ab Æſtu;
Ventus in Italiam qui bene vela regat.

The *Gubernator* was alſo skilful how to avoid Rocks, Shelfs, Sands, *&c.* either by his own Experience in former Voyages made to the ſame Places, or by the Writings of others; the Deſcriptions and Accounts of whoſe Voyages they called *Periplı*, and *Itineraria*. He was alſo ſuppoſed to underſtand perfectly well the way of working of a Ship, and how to put her into ſuch poſture, that ſhe ſhould make the beſt of her way. For as *Oppianus*, Lib. 1. v. 229. expreſſes it.

——Πρύμνη δ' ἐπὶ παντὶ χαλινὰ
Ἰθεώσης ἀνίησιν.

And as *Lucan* deſcribes the *Gubernator* at work in his Poſt, *Lib.* 8 *v.* 88.

Juſto vela modo pendentia cornibus æquis
Torſit, & in lævum puppim dedit——
Hos dedit in proram, tenet hos in puppe rudentes.

Sometimes there were two of theſe *Gubernatores*, eſpeciall in the greater Ships: And *Ælian* ſaith, it was the uſual Cuſtom to have it ſo among the *Carthaginians*. The next Office under the *Maſter*, was the *Proreta*, who was to manage the Helm according to the direction of the *Gubernator*. The *Greeks* called him πρωρεύς, and he was, as *Zenophon* ſaith, τὰ κυβερνήτου διδάσκων; and therefore, as *Pollux* ſaith, was to ſteer the Ship at the Command of the Maſter. Tho', as his Name implies, he had no doubt alſo his proper Poſt in the *Prow* or Head of the Ship, where ſome ſay he was to ſit and obſerve the Winds, to give notice of Rocks, *&c.* and all approaching Danger: Some will have him to have had the Care alſo of the diſpoſition of the Rowers, of the Rigging and Tackling of the Ship, and he that was to aſſiſt the Maſter with his Advice and actual Service, whenever required.

The next Officer was the κελευστής, as the *Greeks* called him; the *Portiſculus*, or *Hortator Remigum*, ſomething like our *Boatſwain*; one that either by a Noiſe he made with his Mouth, by the Blow of a Maller, Hammer, Stick (which they called *Pertica*) &c. gave a Sign to the Rowers to pull away all together, or to deſiſt, *&c.* This Officer was alſo called *Ageator*, and *Juſſor*.

Next to the *Portiſculus*, the Τερπάνδρος deſerves to be conſidered, which was a Muſician, that either by the Harp or Pipe, not only ſtruck the true Time for the Rowers to obſerve with their Oars as to the Length of the Stroke; but by engaging them to join in the Harmony with him, exhilerated their Spirits, and made them forget their Labour.

———*Mediæ ſtat Margine Puppis,*
Qui voce alternos Nautarum temperet ictus,
Et remis dictat Sonitum; pariterq; relatis
Ad numerum plaudat reſonantia cærula tonſis.
Silius, Lib. 6. v. 361.

And thus alſo *Statius*, Lib. 5. *Thebaid.* v. 343.

Acclivis malo mediis interſonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantoſq; jubet neſcire labores.

But of this we have ſaid ſomething before.

The next Officers were the Ναυφύλακες, or *Cuſtodes Navium*: Theſe *Scheffer* thinks, took charge of all the Sails, Cables, and all other Inſtruments on board. *Jul. Pollux* calls them Διόπται, and he repreſents their Office to be, taking care, eſpecially a-nights, that the Ship came to no damage by running againſt Rocks, ſtriking againſt the Ground, *&c.* which they were to prevent by the uſe of Booms or long Poles, with which they were to fend againſt Danger, and to ſet off upon occaſion.

Ὡς ναυφύλακες νυκτὸς ναυκληρίας
Πλαγίοις ἀπευθύνουσιν κώπαις τρόπιν.
Sophocles.

There were also Officers whom the *Greeks* called τριηραρχοι; these had peculiarly the Charge of the Ships Sides, as appears from *Turnebus*, and from this of *Claudian*:

Ac velut exertus tentandis navita tonsis
Præficitur Lateri custos——

de Consul. Mallii, v. 47.

Scheffer thinks these were two Officers that commanded, one the Starboard, the other the Larboard Oars, all along the Ships Side in length, which seems very probable.

In the antient Ships there were also Officers called κελευσται by *Homer*, who were appointed to deliver out the several Messes or proportion of Provisions to the Ships Company: These seem to be the same with what the *Romans* called *Diætarii*, a kind of *Quæstores*, or Clerks of the Provisions: Some will have them to be the same with the *Celeustes*, but I judge they were different. There was also the γραμματευς, λογιστης, the *Navalis Scriba*, as *Festus* calls him; which seems to have been an Officer analogous to our Purser. And lastly there was the ἱερευς, whom *Pollux* describes as being an Attendnat upon the Fire: But whether he were the Cook, or the *Sacrificator*, 'tis hardly possible to determine at this distance, there being no particular Account of this Office given any where in Antiquity.

Let us next consider what Stipends, Wages and Encouragements the Antients gave to their Marines, Rowers and Sailers: And these were of 3 kinds, as *Scheffer* observes: Money; Bread, Provisions, &c. and Clothes. In most antient Times, when either the Men went Voluntiers, or a Privateering, or when they were summoned to take Arms for the necessary Defence of their Country against an Invasion, we do not find that any Stipend or Salary was given to either Soldiers or Rowers. Afterwards as private Men made a Trade of War, they paid the Soldiers and Seamen; and it was not till the first *Punick* War, that their Stipend came out of the publick Treasury, among the *Romans*. But in the second *Punick* War 'tis clear from *Livy*, Lib. 33. c. 21. that their Wages and Pay was taken from thence: But if the Treasury were out of Cash, sometimes particular Men of great Fortune and Possessions paid the Fleet, and at last it came to be laid as a Burden upon private Persons: For *Livy*, Lib. 29. saith, that according to each Man's Circumstances or Estate he was obliged to find one or more Seamen, and to give them so many Months Pay. This was done by Decree of the Senate, when *L. Æmilius* and *C. Flaminius* were Censors: And then (saith he) *Primum est Factum, ut Classis Romana Sociis Navalibus privatæ impensa paratis compleretur.* And this Custom held till *Hannibal* was driven out of *Italy*, and then the *Roman* Affairs began to mend a little. After this it appears again from *Livy*, that they paid their Seamen out of the publick Treasury; and as for the Fleets which were put out by their *Socii* or Allies, they made *them* pay the Soldiers and Rowers at a certain Stipend. Indeed what this Stipend or Wages was, which either the *Romans* themselves, or their Allies allowed, is not certainly known. *Scheffer* thinks 'twas less than the Land Pay, and guesses, that as the Land Soldiers had 3 *Asses*, so these had but two: But afterwards in the times of the Emperors, it was raised; for *Scheffer* observes, that in the time of *Anastasius* the Rowers had 5 *Roman Solidi*; and the Officers Pay was raised proportionably, as the *Rhodian Laws* shew us: For 'tis there appointed that *Illi qui Clavum tenet Portio una cum semisse, tantundem Prorete & Naupego: Nautæ & Carabitæ portio una, Paraschitæ portio dimidia tribuitur.* What Stipend the *Grecians* allowed their Seamen is equally obscure; tho' that they did allow some, is plain from *Plutarch*'s Life of *Themistocles*, from *Xenophon* and *Thucydides*; and this Stipend came out of the publick Treasury. But tho' the certain quantity of their Pay *per* Day, or *per Month*, be not known; yet 'tis apparent that there was a difference in it, according to the difference in the Pains and Labour of the Persons. The Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* saith, that the *Thalamitæ* or lowermost Rowers had less Pay than the rest, because their Oars were shorter, and nearer to the Sea: And *Thucydides*, Lib. 6. mentions something extraordinaay given to the *Thranitæ* over and above the publick Stipend; because (as the Scholiast saith) their Oars being longer than any others in the Ship, they had the hardest Labour; and to this we may add, that they *stood* and rowed, whereas the others *sate*; and, besides, if the Ship were of 5 or 6 Orders, their Oars must move over their Heads, which made it yet more laborious and difficult. These were called ὑρθιοκωπαι by *Hesychius* on this account. But what each particular Man had, is not easy to discover. There is a Passage in *Plutarch*'s *Lysander*, by which it appears, that the common Allowance for every *Nauta* was three *Oboli*, and that *Cyrus* at *Lysander*'s request made it four. After this *Tissaphernes* increased their Pay to a *Drachma*, or six *Oboli*, as we learn from *Thucydides*, Lib. 8.

They had also Clothes (such as they were) allowed them out of the publick Money, and this was accounted as part of their Pay, as was also the *Frumentum* or Provisions which were appointed for them at the charge of the Publick. Sometimes they had a certain quantity of Corn allowed them, as when there was a prospect of a long Voyage; and often bak'd and boil'd Meats. When they had crude Corn, there were Mills allowed on board to grind it; but they had oftner their Allowance in Meal or Flower. Which, with Water (to which sometimes Milk, Wine or Oil was added) they made up into a kind of *Cakes*, which the *Greeks* called μαζα; but this was a kind of Hasty-pudding, and came far short of the goodness of Bread.

Garlick was also a mighty Food with the Rowers, both among the *Greeks* and *Latines*; and Cheese and Eggs they usually took along with them. For there is an Account in *Aristophanes* of a certain odd kind of Broth, which he calls μυττωτον, which was much used at Sea, and was composed of Cheese, Eggs and Garlick. This Tarr-Pottage the *Romans* called *Mostum* and *Moretum*, and sometimes *Intritum*, as *Scaliger* shews from *Donatus*. Their Drink was nothing but Water, especially for the common Seamen; But we do now and then read of Officers having Wine on board.

These Provisions were, as we have before observed, carried in peculiar Vessels, and not put on board the Men of War: And how these Ships differ'd from the *Naves longæ*, or Ships of War, and by what peculiar Names they were called, I have in part shewed before, and shall speak of again in the Catalogue of the several kinds of Ships, and therefore shall say nothing further of them now. I shall conclude with a word or two about their Rewards and Punishments, and of the Sea Triumphs.

The usual Reward that a Commander or Captain had, for behaving himself honestly and bravely, had, was a *Naval* or *Classical Crown* or *Coronet*; and more peculiarly was this given to him, *Qui primus in Hostilem Navim transilierit, Cujusve operâ manuve Navis Hostium capta fuit*, as *A. Gellius* and *Festus* express it. This Coronet or Garland, was wrought into Figures representing the *Rostra*, *Acrostolia* &c. of Ships, and was worn upon solemn Occasions: And sometimes he was solemnly presented with a Purple Flag or Standard, which was hung up in his House as a Token of and Trophy for his Conduct and Courage. The *Gubernatores* or *Masters*, the subaltern Officers and common Soldiers, Rowers or Seamen, had usually a Gift of Money bestowed upon them, in value proportionable to their Merit, being greater or less according as they behaved themselves: If they were Foreigners they were sometimes made Denizens; they were exempted from Taxes, and they were endowed with several other Privileges and Advantages, according to the Pleasure of the Government; and they had often also the Honour to be buried in some publick Place of Repute when they died; which was a thing they were very fond of.

And as their Rewards you see were Honorary; so their Punishments were usually Disgraces: Such as degrading them from their Station, taking away their Commission, incapacitating them from any publick Office or Employment, and sometimes depriving them of the Liberty of wearing the common and ordinary Habit, with those of their own Rank: But this was chiefly if not solely, a Punishment for Officers that did not behave themselves as they should have done. The common Soldiers, Rowers, or Sailers, were usually chastised with Corporal Punishment: And this was of 2 kinds; 1. *Common* or *Ordinary*, which was lashing their Back with small Ropes or Cords; or with a Cat of Nine-tails, as we now call them; and this was a Punishment for little Faults committed in the Ship: Or 2. *Extraordinary*; for great Crimes and Offences: And this was to hang them up by the Heels on the Ships side, without Board, and with their Heads downwards: And sometimes tying a Rope about their Middle to let them down under Water, and letting them go quite under the Ships Keel, to draw them up on the other side of the Ship: Which Punishment we now call *Keel-Hailing*. If a Man

a Man deserted, or fled from his Post, the Punishment was to cut off both his hands. 'Twas a common Punishment also, for a great Fault, to put the Offender on shore, in some barbarous and savage Place, and there to leave him to shift for himself: But for Capital Crimes the Punishment was throwing the Offender over-board, and so drowning him in the Sea.

Naval Triumphs were designed as peculiar Rewards, and as the Honours done to the *Imperator*, High Admiral, or Commander in chief, for an Eminent Victory in an Engagement by Sea. The first that ever had this Honour among the *Romans*, was *Duillius* their Admiral in the first Punick War, for his Signal Victory over the *Carthaginian* Fleet at *Liparæ*: Himself and *Cn. Cornelius* being Consuls. Before any Triumph was determined, the *Prætor* or Consul always sent to *Rome* a Ship crown'd with Laurel as a Token and Notification of the Victory: And next he came home himself, if he could, or at least sent his own Ship, or Ships, adorn'd with the Spoils of the Enemy: And if he came himself, he was met by the Consuls, Prætors, and most of the great Officers of the City; when he was landed he applied himself to the Senate for Leave to have a Triumph, without whose Decree it could not be done: When on due Examination of the Circumstances of the Victory, they thought fit to allow him a Triumphal Entry, it was usually performed after this manner, First, as in a Land Triumph, the *Lictors* began the Cavalcade; these were followed by Musicians, who sang and play'd the Sea Song, Tune, or *Harmonia*, whereby the Rowers were brought to strike true, and to keep just time with their Oars, as is above described. Next followed Pictures and Representations of the Engagement; after this came the *Rostra*, and other Spoils and Ornaments of the Enemies Ships, together with their Arms and Weapons of War, drawn a-long in Carriages: Then were brought Tables, in which the Number and Names of the Enemies Ships were written, which the *Victor* had taken or destroy'd, and after these were carried the Treasure taken from the Enemy, the Crowns which were presented by the Allies. Behind which marched the Captive Pirates, Captains, and Commanders of the Enemies Ships: And next came the Admiral himself in a Triumphant Chariot, raised conspicuously high, and wearing a Gown adorned with Gold and Purple, and with his Head crown'd with Laurel, and after the Chariot followed the *Marines*, *Rowers*, and *Sailers*, all adorned with Laurel, in this Pomp they went to the Capitol, and there after having offered up the proper Sacrifices, &c. they hung the *Rostra* and Naval Spoils up in the Temple,

Multaq; præterea Sacris in Postibus arma
Captiva pendent currus———
———ereptaq; Rostra Carinis.

Virg. Æn. 7.

And sometimes Columns and other Trophies were erected in several Places, in Honour of the Conquerour.

The manner of the Naval Triumph, amongst the *Greeks*, was in very few material Points different from this of the *Romans*, and therefore I need not stay to give any particular Description of it.

An ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE *of the Ancient* Latine *and* Greek *Names of* SHIPS, *expressing their several Kinds, Rates, Sizes,* &c.

1. *Acatus* was a small Ship, which went only coasting along the Shore: This Word being the Term for the Main Sail of a Ship, 'tis probable this *Acatus* was only a Boat with one broad square Sail. From hence came also the
2. *Acation*, which seems to have been a small, swift, or Actuary Boat. *Suidas* saith it was the Name of a Fishing Boat; and *Thucydides* gives it the Title of *Amphericon*. *Plutarch* makes it the same with *Scapha*.
3. *Actuariæ Naves*, were a sort of *Naves Longæ*; sometimes they are called *Actuariolæ*; unless these were a yet a smaller sort. These were called by this Name, *Quia cito agi possunt*, and therefore come often under the Name of *Celeres*. They seem to have been a kind of Runners, and used for Piratical Uses.
4. *Alveus* was a Canoa or small Boat, made out of one Piece of Timber, by hollowing it like a Trough.
5. *Ampheres*, were Scullers, or Boats rowed with two Oars by the Management of only one Man. The Scholiast upon *Thucydides* calls it *Amphericon*, and *Strabo*, ἀμφήρη. *Apertæ Naves* were such as we call open Boats: Without any Deck; in Opposition to the *Cataphractæ*, *Constratæ*, and *Tectæ Naves*.
6. *Aulones*, were Ships of State, built for the Entertainment and Passage of Princes.
7. *Autochabdolus* and *Autoschædius*, was a Ship hastily made, and in an urgent Necessity.
8. *Barca*, according to *Isidorus*, is a Vessel *quæ cuncta Navis commercia ad Littus portat*. The Name seems to be taken from the *Greek*, Βαρὶς and Βαρίδιον, which were Onerary Ships.
9. *Biremis*, usually was a Ship that had two Banks or Tires of Oars one above another; but the word is sometimes used for a small Boat in which there were but two Oars; and those perhaps moved but by one Man, and in this Sense 'tis the same with *Ampheres*, or *Sculler*.
10. *Byrsopagus*, was a sort of Boat made of Leather, of a round Form, and wickered over: These were of old used by the *Assyrians*, *Armenians*, *Venetians*, and *Britains*, as I have shew'd above: *Vid. Lucan. Pharsal.* Lib. 1.
11. *Camera*, was a close wide bellied Boat, capable of holding 25 or 30 Men: It was used of old by the *Henicchani*, the *Bosporani*, and at this day by the *Tartars* against the *Turks*: (saith *Morisotus*), they are built without Iron, or any other Metal, to keep them together: Such Boats as these the Inhabitants of the *Palus Mœotis* and the *Euxine*, are said to row themselves in, in the Summer time; and then carrying them up into the Woods in the Winter they make them serve for Hutts to lodge in.
12. *Camëræa* was a larger, and yet more big-bellied Boat than the ordinary *Camera*, but of the same kind, and used by the same People. *Canna* (whence *Canoa*) was the *Monoxylon*, or Boat made all of one Tree, hollowed out.
13. *Cantharus*, according to *Suidas*, was a Boat so called from its Figure, being something like a drinking Cup. It was used in the Island *Naxo*: And thence called *Naxiurges*.
14. *Carabus*, according to *Isidorus*, Lib. 19. c. 1. is a small Skiff made of Twigs, Oziers, &c. and covered with Leather: Called by the *Greeks* κυρβασία.
15. *Cataphractæ* were close covered Ships, with Decks over them, called *Catastromata*, on which the Soldiers stood to engage in a Sea Fight. These are said to be first invented by the *Rhodians*; and are called by the *Latines*, *Tectæ* and *Constratæ Naves*. *Cataplus*, according to *Morisotus*, was a small Trading Ship, or Merchant-man.
16. *Catascopium*, a Spy-Boat, or small Ship employed to get Intelligence. The same with the *Navis Speculatoria*. *Caudicæ Naves*, according to *Isidorus*, are Boats made all of one hollowed Tree: The same with *Cannæ*.
17. *Caupulicæ* and *Capulicæ*, a kind of Privateers or Pirates: So called *à Capiendo*, saith *Morisotus*.
18. *Celox* and *Celetes*, was a small Boat, in which two or more Men rowed, each with a single Oar: By which it was distinguished from the *Ampheres*, or Sculler. Some will have this to be a long Ship, and something like our *Brigantines*: But *Scheffer*, from *Appian*, proves the former Account of it to be the right one. They were called also *Celones*. But not *Celeres*; which were the *Naves Actuariæ*.
19. *Cercurus*, found out by the *Corcyreans* in *Asia*; and by them called *Cercyra*, as *Morisotus* tells us. It was a large Ship of Burthen, and yet rowed too with Oars in the Fore-ship. *Chalchembolon* was a Ship whose *Rostrum* was covered with Brass.
20. *Cholones*, very large, and yet swift sailing Ships. *Morisotus*.
21. *Comistica*, Ships in which the *Grecians* carried home the Enemies Spoils taken in the Engagement.
22. *Constratæ Naves*. See *Cataphractæ*.
23. *Corbitæ* were Onerary Ships, which carried a Basket (*Corbis*) for a Signal on the Top of their Masts saith *Festus*.
24. *Cumba*, the same with *Cymba*.
25. *Cybæa* was a kind of large *Triremis*, finely adorned and beautified, *Morisotus*.
26. *Cymba*, a small Boat invented by the *Phœnicians*. The same with the κελὴς of the *Greeks*.

27. *Dicrotæ*, Ships that row with two Banks of Oars, the ſame with the *Biremes*: But *Moriſotus* will have them to be Ships with two Rudders (one in the Head, and the other in the Stern) which could go with either end foremoſt.

28. *Dromones*, according to *Iſidorus*, are long Ships, ſwift Sailers, and fit for Purſuit or Chaſe. Some will have them to be Store-ſhips, but erroneouſly.

29. *Exploratoriæ Naves*, the ſame with *Speculatoriæ*, Spy-Boats.

30. *Fictiles Naves* were a ſort of Boats made of Clay, or Earth baked, and anciently uſed by the *Egyptians* upon the *Nile*: As both *Strabo* Lib. 17. teſtifies, and is plain from *Juvenal*. Sat. XV.

——— Imbelle & inutile Vulgus
Parvula fictilibus ſolitum dare vela Phaſelis
Et brevibus pictæ Remis incumbere teſtæ.

31. *Galeæ*, which the Emperor *Leo* calls γαλαῖαι, were μακραὶ; μονόξυλοι, long Ships with one only Bank of Oars: *Qui ſimplici ordine aguntur*, ſaith *Tacitus*. From theſe came our Modern *Gallies*: Which outdo all the Antient *Liburnicæ*, &c. in Swiftneſs. For *Voſſius* ſaith, that no *Triremis*, or any other ancient Ships, with Sails, Oars, &c. could ever go above 200 *Stadia* in one day: And *Artemidorus* accounts 90 *Stadia* a good day's run: Whereas our Modern Gallies will go 1400 *Stadia* in a day: And our Gallies (he ſaith) gain 28 Feet 10½ Inches at every ſtroke of the Oars, whereas the Old *Triremes* could get but 25 Feet and 8 Inches at a ſtroke.

32. *Gerariæ* were Veſſels of Burden, and ſeem to be the ſame with the

33. *Gauli*: Which *Feſtus* ſaith were Ships almoſt of a round Form, uſed for carrying of Merchants Goods. *Heſychius* ſaith they were *Phœnician* Veſſels, in whoſe Language, *Bochart* ſhews, *Gaulus* ſignifies round. In the general they are *Onerary Ships*, and diſtinguiſhed from the Men of War which were *long Ships*.

34. *Hemiolæ*, *Hemiolus*, a ſmall Piratical Ship or Boat, 1½ of whoſe Capacity was was without Oars, for the Men to ſtand and fight there.

35. *Hepteres*, *Hexers* } were Ships of War of 7 or 6 *Ordines Remorum*.

36. *Hibricta* was a long narrow Ship, invented and uſed by the *Scythian Iberi*, *Moriſotus*.

37. *Hippagines*, *Hippagogæ*, *Hippophoræ* } were Ships uſed to Tranſport Horſe.

38. *Julopezza*, the Name of a Ship; but how to diſtinguiſh it I know not, ſaith *Moriſotus*: And I never met with the word any where, but in him.

39. *Lamiæ*, a kind of long Ships, and very ſwift Sailers. *Moriſotus*.

40. *Lembus* was a ſmall Ship, or rather Boat: As *Iſidorus* ſaith, the ſame with the *Cymba*, *Linter*, and *Carabus*. A ſmaller Boat of this kind was called

41. *Lemunculus*, and *Lenunculus*.

42. *Liburnæ*, *Liburnicæ*, were a kind of *Biremes* invented by the *Liburni Jadertini*, a People upon the *Adriatick Gulph*. *Vegetius* ſaith, *Lib.* 4. *c.* 33. That *Auguſtus* at the Battle of *Actium*, finding that *M. Antony*'s Ships were chiefly worſted by the Ships of the *Liburni*, who were Auxiliaries to *Auguſtus*; concluded *That* kind of Shipping beſt for the Service of the War.

And after that almoſt all Ships of War were called *Liburnæ*; and the Names of *Quadriremes*, *Quinqueremes* were diſuſed. But as *Suidas* ſaith expreſly, the Ancient *Liburnæ* were not built like the *Triremes*, or ſuch like Ships of more than one *Ordo*; But were ſtrong, cloſe, ſnug built Veſſels, prodigiouſly ſwift, and therefore uſed for Piracy. The largeſt *Liburnica* that ever was built, *Voſſius* obſerves, was that of *Caligula*: *Suetonius* calls it a δικρότον. Becauſe it had 10 *Ordines Remigum*; or 10 Men to an Oar. This Ship had 80 Oars of a ſide: Which doubled makes 160, and that multiplied by 10 gives 1600 for the Number of Oars. The *Quinque Remis* of *Cajus*, alſo mentioned by *Pliny*, was a *Liburnica*: She had 40 Oars of a ſide, and each moved by 5 Men: So that the Number of her Rowers was 400. But no *Liburnica* had ever above one Deck of Oars: Tho ſome were ſo large anciently, as to have 1000 Rowers; theſe were like our *Galeaſſes* covered and built with Towers, &c. So that a *Galeaſſe* may be called *Liburnica Conſtrata*.

49. *Linter* was antiently the ſame with the *Scapha*, *Alveus*, or *Monoxylon*; a Canoa made out of one Piece of Timber by hollowing it.

50. *Littorariæ* or *Orariæ*, the ſame with the *Trabes i.e.* Boats which were uſed only in Rivers, or to coaſt along the Shore.

51. *Longæ*, μακραὶ, were the *Ships of War* of the Antients, which were ſo called from their great Length, being uſually 7 or 8 times as long as they were broad: And theſe were of two kinds, either with but one Tire of Oars, or with more.

52. *Moneris* was a long Ship of one only Bank of Oars, the ſame with what the *Greeks* at laſt called γαλαία, and we now call a *Gally*. *Scheffer* ſhews that no Ship with 50 Oars was called a *Moneris*.

53. *Monoxylus* was a *Canoa* made out of one Tree, by hollowing it like a Trough.

54. *Muſculus* was a kind of bending or crooked Ship according to *Gyraldus*.

55. *Myoparo* or *Paro*; ſo called, ſaith *Iſiodorus*, *quaſi minimus Paro*; was a Piratical Ship, between a long Ship and an Onerary one, called alſo *Trieretica* and *Hemiola*; and *Livy* mentions the *Myoparo* and *Lembus*, as one and the ſame thing. 'Tis ſaid to be invented by the *Tyrrheni*, and by *Iſiodore* is ranked with the *Carabus*; and *Scheffer* thinks it was built juſt as the *Hemiola*, having only Oars in the Fore-ſhip. *Bayfius* thinks they were like our *Galleons*; but 'tis plain the *Myoparo* was but a ſmall Ship or Boat.

56. *Nauſus*. *Moriſetus* ſaith there was antiently a Gallick ſmall Ship called by this Name; but I never found it in any Author.

57. *Ocyalus* and *Oxia*, with ſome is the Name of a ſwift ſailing Ship.

58. *Onerariæ Naves* were Ships of Burden to carry Stores and Proviſions for the Men of War, and alſo for Trade and Merchandize. The *Greeks* called them σκευοφόροι, and σκευοθῆκαι; and indeed they had peculiar Names according to their uſe: If they carried Proviſions, the *Latines* called them *Annotinæ*; if they carried Horſe, *Hippagines*, &c.

59. *Orthocræus* is one whoſe Yards ſtand exactly upright ſtrait or ſquare.

60. *Paralus* was the Name of a Ship uſed by the *Athenians*, to export ſuch Perſons as were baniſhed the City.

61. *Phaſelus* was invented by the *Campani*, and was a ſmall weak Boat, as we may gather from this of *Horace*:

Fragilemq; mecum ſolvat Phaſelon.

62. *Pentecontorus* was a Ship of 50 Oars: Such was the *Argo-Navis*, or the firſt Long Ship.

63. *Pentiremis* was a Ship of 5 Orders or Banks of Oars, the ſame with the *Quinqueremis*.

64. *Plicatiles Naves* were ſmall Boats of Leather, with which the *Æthiopians* and *Babylonians* uſed to paſs up and down Rivers. *Pliny*, lib. 5. c. 9.

56. *Pontones*, ſo *Cæſar* calls the *Gallick* Ships, which were of the Onerary kind: ſome ſay they were of old uſed to paſs Rivers, &c. as our Pontons are now: But becauſe *Diodorus* calls them πορεῖα, they ſeem rather to have been originally a kind of Tranſport Ships.

66. *Præcurſoriæ Naves*, the *Greeks* called them προώρους, were Ships appointed to go before a Fleet to make Diſcoveries.

67. *Prætoriæ Naves* were thoſe in which the Commanders in chief went, and which carried peculiar Flags or Standards by day, and three Lights every Night.

68. *Proſumiæ* are a kind of Ships mentioned by *Plautus* in his *Amphytrio* to be a kind of *Naves Speculatoriæ* or Spy-Boats.

69. *Quadriremis* was a Ship of 4 Banks or Orders of Oars.

70. *Quinqueremis* one of 5 ſuch.

71. *Rates* and *Ratariæ Naves* were the moſt antient Veſſels in which Men ever went to Sea; being a kind of *Rafts* or Bark Logs, made only of ſeveral Pieces of Timber put together, as I have above at large deſcribed.

72. *Roſtratæ*

72. *Roſtratæ Naves* were ſuch Men of War as were armed with *Roſtra* to break off the Enemies Oars, and to break Holes through the Side, and ſo ſink the Enemies Ships.

73. *Samæna* or *Samis* was a kind of *Biremis*. I have not found this Word any where but in *Moriſotus*.

74. *Scapha* was a Canoa made by hollowing out a Tree, and then forming it into the Form of a Boat: the ſame with the *Monoxylus*, *Carabus*, *Speculatoria*, &c. For Authors confound them altogether. This was often taken for a Boat attending upon a Ship; which becauſe it was towed after her with a Rope, the *Greeks* called it alſo ἑφολκια.

75. *Scirdiæ*, which the *Greeks* called ξυλαρια, the ſame with the *Rates* or *Bark-logs*.

76. *Speculatoriæ Naves* were Boats ſent out to ſpy or diſcover the Enemies Fleet. Theſe were ſometimes called *Cattæ* and *Cataſcopia*.

77. *Stlatum*, according to *Moriſotus*, is a very broad Ship.

78. *Strongylon*, a roundiſh kind of Ship, ſwoln bellied, and fit for Burden.

79. *Sutilis Navis* was a Leathern Boat, whoſe Sides were ſowed together.

80. *Synedria* was a large Ship built with Seats, &c. to hold Councils of War.

81. *Tabellariæ Naves* were ſuch as carried Letters, Orders, &c. in an Engagement: Theſe were called by various Names, as *Præcurſoriæ*, *Dromones*, *Luſoriæ*, &c.

82. *Thalamegæ* were Ships of State and Pomp, having fine Lodging Rooms, and other Apartments, &c. finely adorned.

83. *Theoris* was the Name of a peculiar Ship, which the *Athenians* ſent every Year to *Delphos*, to conſult the Oracle there. *Moriſotus*.

84. *Trabariæ Naves* were the ſame with *Ratariæ* and *Rates*.

85. *Trieris*, the ſame with *Triremis*, a Ship of 3 Banks or Orders of Oars.

86 *Vitiles Naves*, the ſame with the *Sutiles*.

87 *Vagiones*, were Veſſels built of very thin Boards or Planks, and joined together by Braſs Pins, &c. with wonderful Art. *Moriſotus*.

Of the Invention, Uſe, and Properties of the MAGNET.

THE *Magnet* or Loadſtone, as to its wonderful Quality of attracting Iron, was known to almoſt all Parts of the World, from all Antiquity. *Kircher* quotes *Abarbinel*, to ſhew that it was known to the *Hebrews*; and from *Plutarch* it appears that the antient *Egyptians* had the Knowledge of this Property. *Homer* alſo, *Ariſtotle*, *Ptolomy*, *Pythagoras*, *Theophraſtus*, *Gallen*, &c. and all the *Greeks* knew and admired this attractive Property of the Magnet, of drawing *only* Iron. The *Grecians* uſually called it the *Heraclean Stone*, becauſe it was firſt found about *Heraclea*, a City of *Magneſia* in *Lydia*: But the Author of the *Etimologicum* will have it called *Heraclius Lapis* διὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ κρατητικὸν τῆς ὁλκῆς, becauſe of the Strength and Power of its Attraction of Iron. *Pliny* ſaith, *Lib.*36. *c.*17. that it took the Name of *Magnes* from a certain Shepherd of that Name, who by chance diſcovered its Virtue by his nailed Shoes and Iron-ſhod Staff ſticking or adhering to theſe kind of Stones: But 'tis more probable that it was ſo called from *Magneſia*, that Part of *Lydia* where it was firſt diſcovered by the *Greeks*, as *Lucretius* tells us,

Quam Magneta vocant Patrio de Nomine Graii,
Magnetum quia ſit Patriis de finibus ortus.

And by *Achilles Tatius* 'tis called μαγνητικὸς λίθος. *Snellius* and ſome others quote *Euripides* as the firſt who gave the Loadſtone the Name of *Magnes*. By *Sophocles* 'tis called *Lydius Lapis*, from *Lydia*, the Region where it was found, of which *Magneſia* is a part. The *Greeks* alſo ſometimes gave it the Name of *Sideritis*, from its Property of attracting Iron unto it. For which indeed it is deſervedly celebrated by all the Antients, whenever they ſpeak of it: And *Claudian* hath a particular Poem on this Subject, in which he very elegantly and maſterly deſcribes the Virtues of this Stone, and admires the ſecret Cauſe of ſuch an amazing effect.

Quis calor infundit geminis alterna metallis
Fœdera? Quæ duras jungit diſcordia mentes?
Flagrat anhela Silex, & amicam ſaucia ſentit
Materiam, placidos Chalybs cognoſcit amores.

But notwithſtanding the ſo long and ſo univerſal a Knowledge as there plainly appears to have been of this Stone, there do not ſeem any good grounds to believe that the *Directive Faculty* of it was at all known to the antient *Greeks* or *Latines*, or to the *Egyptians*, from whom the *Greeks* received all their curious Learning. Our *N. Fuller* indeed labours hard to prove the contrary Opinion; but he is ſufficiently refuted by the moſt Learned *Bochart* in his *Geogr. Sacr.* and by many others. Whether there were nor ſome Knowledge of this moſt uſeful and excellent Property among the *Chineſes*, *Arabians* and *Africans* before we had made the Diſcovery of it in *Europe*, may' I think, be very juſtly doubted; notwithſtanding *Kircher*, p. 18. ſaith, that after all his moſt diligent Enquiry of thoſe who had been in *China*, and who perfectly were acquainted with the *Chineſe* Annals and Hiſtory, he could find nothing of it among them. For *Iſ. Voſſius* in his Diſſertation *de Artibus & Scientiis Sinarum*, ſaith expreſly, that the Knowledge of the Magnet, and its directive Faculty of pointing to the North, was known to the *Chineſes* for 2800 Years ago; and that other Nations had it from them. And he cites *Jacobus de Vitriaco*, as aſſerting, that the *Saracens* had made uſe of the Compaſs in Navigation, for near five hundred Years ago: And he ſaith, 'tis certain that the Knowledge of the Declination or Variation of the Mariners Compaſs was known alſo to the *Saracens*, and from thence came to the *Chriſtians*: And he thinks that the *Saracens* had this Knowledge from the *Chineſe*, who uſed to trade to *Taprobana* or *Ceylon*, p. 80. *J. de Laet. p.* 75. *de Orig. Gent. Americ.* ſaith, that 'tis not juſt to conclude, that becauſe the *Greeks* and *Latines* had antiently no Knowledge of the *Pyxis Nautica*, therefore none of the Orientals any where had: For ſaith he, *Acoſta* confeſſes, that *Vaſques de Gama* found the *Ethiopians* about *Moſambique* knew the Uſe of the Compaſs; and it did not appear from whom they had learnt the Uſe of it. This *Vaſques de Gama* was the firſt that diſcovered the *Cape of Good Hope*. The ſame thing *Kircher* takes notice of; and owns alſo, that in the *Geographia Arabica Vaticana*, and in the *Nubiana*, which are ſufficiently antient, there are *not obſcure Hints* of the Knowledge of the Mariners Compaſs. *Cabæus de Magnete*, p. 21. ſaith, the firſt that he could find that mentioned the Knowledge of the *Directive Faculty*, or as our *Gilbert* calls it, the *Verticity* of the Magnet, was *Albertus Magnus* and *Vincentius Belluacenſis*; and theſe both quote a Book *de Lapidibus*, which they will have to be *Ariſtotle's*, in which there is mention made of the *North* and *South Part* of the Magnet. And tho' *Cabæus* doth not believe this Book to be really his whoſe Name it carries, yet he thinks juſtly enough, that it may be written by ſome old *Arabick* Author, and ſo put out under *Ariſtotle's* Name; which if true, will ſufficiently prove our Point, *viz.* that there was a Knowledge of the *Verticity* of the Magnet in ſome other Part of the World, before we diſcovered or produced it here. To which muſt be added what is poſitively aſſerted by *Gilbert* and many good Authors, *viz.* that *Paulus Venetus* brought its Uſe into *Italy* about *A. D.* 1260. having learnt it in *China*, or ſomewhere in his Travels to the Eaſt. *Cabæus* ſaith, the firſt Writer on this Subject of the Directive Faculty of the *Magnet*, was one *Petrus Peregrinus Gallus*, in a little Book (which he calls) *Epiſtola*; and this Book he ſaith, *Garzonius* aſſerts he ſaw in the *Bibliotheca Caſtellana* at *Venice*. This Epiſtle, he ſaith, *Johannes Taiſner*, in his *Opuſculum perpetuâ memoriâ digniſſum de Natura & Effectibus Magnetis*, printed at *Cologn* 1562, hath diſguiſed

and deformed, and then publiſhed as his own; tho' that Epiſtle it ſelf were printed 4 Years before. *Athan. Kircher*, p. 19. ſaith, ſome account this *Petrus Peregrinus Gallus* to have been our *Roger Bacon*: And this he thinks is the Truth; which *Sturmius* alſo confirms in his *Epiſtola Invitatoria*, Dat. Altorf. 1682. ſaying expreſly, that 'twas *Roger Bacon* firſt found out the *Verticity* or *Polarity* of the Magnet. And for the Honour of our own Nation alſo, the late Learned and Excellent Mathematician Dr. *Wallis*, *Savilian* Profeſſor of Geometry in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Phil. Tranſ.* N°. 278. conjectured, that the Mariners Compaſs was an *Engliſh* Invention, from the Word *Compaſs*, which is almoſt every where retained; and is properly an *Engliſh* Word, being uſed in many of our Provincial Parts for a Circle, or exactly round Figure, whoſe Circumference is every where equally diſtant from a Point within it, called its Centre.

But it muſt be granted in all this which is above advanced, tho' there be great probability, yet there is little certainty of: And therefore we muſt next attribute, with the generality of Writers, the firſt Invention of the Mariners Compaſs to *Joh. Goia*, or *Gira*, of *Malphi*, a Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, not far from *Salernum*, in the *Terra de Lavoro*; ſome call him *Flavius Gioia*: And this was about the Year 1300.

After this great and moſt uſeful Diſcovery was known to *Europe*, there were ſoon many inquiſitive Heads that employed their Thoughts about making further Diſcoveries of this celebrated Stone. So that in ſome time its *Variation* or *Deflection* from the true Meridian, was diſcovered by *Sebaſtian Cabot*. The *Declination* (as it was at firſt called, whereas now the *Variation* often paſſes by that Name) or rather the *Inclination* of the Needle, was firſt diſcovered by our Countryman *Robert Norman*. (See his Book called the *New Attractive*, printed at *Lond.* 1614.) which is a ſurprizing Property, whereby it always *dips* under the Horizon, when placed upon a Pin like a Compaſs, except in ſuch Places as are juſt under the Equator; and there it keeps always parallel to the Horizon exactly. And he found the greateſt Inclination at *London* to be 71 °. 50'. Dr. *Wallis*, *Phil. Tranſ.* N°. 276. thinks that the Diſcovery of this Dipping of the Needle is owing to Mr. *Blagrave*, or ſome other *Greſhamite*: And he deſcribes this Property to be a Direction of Altitude above the Horizon: So that if it be duly poiſed on an Horizontal Axis, it will point to a determinate Degree of Altitude or Elevation above the Horizon: And he ſaith truly, that of this Diſcovery, tho' made ſo long ago, there hath not yet been any conſiderable uſe made. The *Variation of the Variation* is another conſiderable and very ſurprizing Property of the Loadſtone; that is, That the Magnetick Needle (in its Horizontal Poſition) doth not always retain the ſame Variation or Declination from the true Meridian, in the ſame Place and at all Times; but doth ſucceſſively vary its Declination or Variation from Time to Time. This was firſt (as 'tis now agreed on all hands, ſaith Dr. *Wallis*) diſcovered by Mr. *Gellibrand*, about the Year 1635. But *Sturmius* ſaith, that this was taken notice of alſo by *Hevelius*, *Auzout*, *Petit*, *Volckamer*, and others, much about the ſame time. So that our *Engliſh* Nation have had a very conſiderable Share in the Diſcoveries which have been made about the Magnet, and its wonderful and uſeful Properties.

A ſuccinct Account of which Properties, and other ſuch *Phenomena* of the Loadſtone, as have been found out truly to belong to it by plain Experiments and repeated Obſervations, I ſhall here ſubjoin, without entring into *Theories* or Explications of the Cauſes of them: And after this, I will give you the Thoughts and Obſervations of the Learned and Ingenious Capt. *Hally* (now *Savilian* Profeſſor of Geometry in *Oxford*) upon the Variation of the Compaſs, and the Reaſon of the *Variation* of that *Variation*: Becauſe both theſe will be of great uſe to aſſiſt the Enquiries of publick ſpirited and ingenious Men, in their future Trials, Obſervations and Experiments on this very great Subject, ſo univerſally uſeful and advantageous to all trading Nations: And alſo becauſe many Travellers and Navigators may perhaps carry this *Bibliotheca* with them abroad, tho' to them other Books, in which theſe things are to be found, are leſs known or agreeable.

The Properties or Phænomena *of the* Magnet, *or* Loadſtone, *as they have been diſcovered by* Gilbert, Cabæus, Kircher, Vin. Leotaudus, Cartes, *Dr.* Power, *the Honourable Mr.* Boyle, *&c.*

1. THAT in every *Magnet* there are two Poles, one pointing North, the other South; and if a Stone be cut or broke into never ſo many Pieces, there are theſe two Poles in each Piece.

2. That theſe Poles, in divers Parts of the Globe, are diverſly inclined towards the Earths Centre.

3. That theſe Poles, tho' contrary to one another, do help mutually towards the *Magnet*'s Attraction and Suſpenſion of Iron.

4. If two *Magnets* are Spherical, one will turn or conform it ſelf to the other, ſo as either of them wou'd do to the Earth, and that after they have ſo conformed or turned themſelves, they endeavour to approach to join each other; but if placed in a contrary Poſition, they avoid each other.

5. If a *Magnet* be cut through the Axis, the Parts or Segment of the Stone, which before were joined, will now avoid and fly each other.

6. If the *Magnet* be cut by a Section perpendicular to its Axis, the two Points there which before were conjoined, will become contrary Poles, one in one, the other in the other Segments.

7. Iron receives Virtue from the Magnet by Application to it, or barely from an Approach near it, tho' it do not touch it; and the Iron receives this Virtue variouſly, according to the Parts of the Stone it's made to touch, or made approach to.

8. If an Oblong Piece of Iron be any how applied to the Stone, it receives Virtue from it only as to its Length.

9. The *Magnet* loſes none of its own Virtue by communicating any to Iron, and this Virtue it can communicate to Iron very ſpeedily; tho' the longer the Iron touches or joins the Stone, the longer will its communicated Virtue hold, and a better *Magnet* will communicate more of it, and ſooner than one not ſo good.

10. That Steel receives Virtue from the *Magnet* better than Iron.

11. A Needle touch by a *Magnet*, will turn its Ends the ſame way towards the Poles of the World, as the Magnet will do.

12. That neither Loadſtone nor Needles toucht by it, do conform their Poles exactly to thoſe of the World; but have uſually ſome Variation from them: And this Variation is different in divers Places, and at divers Times, in the ſame Place.

13. That a Loadſtone will take up much more Iron when armed or capt, than it can alone: And that tho' an Iron Ring or Key be ſuſpended by the Loadſtone, yet the Magnetical Particles do not hinder that Ring or Key from turning round any way either to the Right or Left.

14. That the Force of a Loadſtone may be variouſly encreaſed or leſſened, by the various Application of Iron or another Loadſtone to it.

15. That a ſtrong *Magnet*, at the leaſt diſtance from a leſſer or a weaker, cannot draw to it a Piece of Iron adhering actually to ſuch leſſer or weaker Stone; but if it come to touch it, it can draw it from the other: But a weaker Magnet, or even a little Piece of Iron, can draw away or ſeparate a Piece of Iron contiguous to a greater or ſtronger Loadſtone.

16. That in our North Parts of the World, the South Pole of a Loadſtone will raiſe up more Iron than the North Pole.

17. That a Plate of Iron only, but no other Body interpoſed, can impede the Operation of the Loadſtone, either as to its *attractive* or *directive* Quality. Mr. *Boyle* found it true in Glaſſes ſealed Hermetically; and Glaſs is a Body as impervious as moſt are to any *Effluvia*.

18. That the Power or Virtue of a Loadſtone may be impaired by lying long in a wrong Poſture, as alſo by Ruſt, Wet, *&c.* and may be quite deſtroyed by Fire.

Experiments

Experiments of the Nature and Properties of the Magnet. *By Mr.* Boyle.

1. MR. *Boyle* found, that by heating a *Magnet* red hot, it could be ſpeedily deprived of its *Attractive Quality*.

2. If a Loadſtone be heated red-hot, and then cooled, either with its South Pole to the North, in a Horizontal Poſition, or with its South Pole downwards in a Perpendicular one, it will change its Polarity, the South Pole becoming the Northern one, and *vice verſâ*.

3. By applying the Poles of a very ſmall Fragment of a Loadſtone to the oppoſite vigorous ones of a good larger *Magnet*, Mr. *Boyle* found he could ſpeedily change the Poles of the Fragment; but he cou'd not effect it in a Fragment that was conſiderably bigger, tho' he tried many hours.

4. He obſerved, that well tempered and hardned Iron Tools, when heated by Attrition, Turning, Filing, *&c.* they would, while warm, attract thin Filings or Chips of Iron and Steel, but not when cold. Yet I remember once to have ſeen my ſelf, and tried, that a Piece of a File which was in the hands of Mr. *Tarwell* the Spectacle Maker, did retain ſuch an attractive Quality, that it would take up and keep ſuſpended the Key of a Cabinet or *Eſcritore*, and needed no Attrition to excite this Magnetical Vertue.

5. The Iron Bars of Windows which have long ſtood in an erect Poſition, do grow permanently Magnetical, the lower Ends of ſuch Bars being the North Poles, and the upper the Southern: For according to Laws of *Magnetiſm*, we find the lower Ends of ſuch Bars will drive away the North End of a poiſed Needle, and will attract the Southern: Which ſhews, that by the continual Paſſage of the ſubtile Magnetical Particles through them, they are turned into a kind of Magnet themſelves.

6. If a Bar of Iron that hath not long ſtood in an erected Poſture, be only held perpendicularly, its lower End will be the North Pole, and attract the South Point of a touched Needle: But then this Virtue is tranſient, and will ſhift as you invert the Bar; for the other End, when held lowermoſt, will preſently become the North Pole: Wherefore, in order to render the Quality of *Verticity* permanent in an Iron Bar, it muſt remain a long time in a proper Poſition: But the Fire will produce this Effect in a very ſhort time; for as it will immediately deprive a Loadſtone of Attractive Power, or change its Poles (as in *Exper.* 1, 2.) ſo it will as ſoon give a *Verticity* to a Bar of Iron, if being heated red hot, it be cooled in an erect Poſition, or directly North and South. Nay, it hath been obſerved often, that even Tongs and Fire-Forks, by being often heated, and then ſet to cool in a Poſition near to erect, have gained this Magnetical Property. The Reaſon of which very different Effects of the Fire on a *Magnet*, and on Iron, Mr. *Boyle*, with his uſual Modeſty, ſuggeſts to be this: That the peculiar Texture or Conſtitution by which a *Maguet* differs from common Iron Oar, being accurate and fine, is ſpoiled by the rude and violent Attacks of the Fire: But this mighty Agent by working upon Iron, ſoftens and opens the Pores of the Mettal (which is harder than Iron Oar;) ſo that it becomes capable of being pervaded by the Magnetical Particles, and by that means gains a *Vertical Quality*.

7. Mr. *Boyle* found, that by heating a Piece of *Engliſh Oker* red hot, and placing it to cool in a proper Poſture, it plainly gained a Magnetick Power.

8. The ſame Noble Gentleman found, that an excellent Loadſtone of his own having lain almoſt a Year in an inconvenient Poſture, had its Virtue ſo impaired, that he at firſt thought ſomebody had ſpoiled it by Fire.

9. If a Needle be well touched on a good Loadſtone, 'tis known it will, when duly poiſed, point North and South; but if it have one contrary Touch of the ſame Stone, it will immediately be deprived of that Faculty; and by another ſuch Touch it will have its Poles quite changed; ſo that the End which before pointed North, ſhall now point Southward.

10. Dr. *Power* and Mr. *Boyle* both tried; that after a red-hot Iron had gained a *Verticity* by being well heated and cooled North and South, and then alſo hammered at the Ends, this Virtue would immediately be deſtroy'd by 2 or 3 Blows of a ſtrong Hammer ſmartly given about the middle of it.

11. Mr. *Boyle* found, that by drawing the Back of a Knife, or long Piece of Steel Wire, *&c.* over the Pole of a Loadſtone leiſurely, once or divers times, beginning the Motion from the Equator or middle of the Stone, towards the Pole, the Knife or Wire will accordingly attract one End of a poiſed Magnetical Needle: but if you take another Knife or Wire, and thruſt it leiſurely over the Pole, from the Pole towards the Equator, or middle of the Equator, this Knife ſhall expel or drive away the ſame End of the Needle which the former Knife would attract. Which Experiment makes it very probable, that the Operation of the *Magnet* depends on the Flux of ſome fine Particles which go out at one Pole, then round about, and in again at the other.

13. Becauſe it is one of the univerſal Laws of Nature, That *Action and Re-action are always equal*: Therefore 'tis plain, the Iron muſt attract the Magnet as much as that doth the Iron; and ſo you may eaſily experiment it to be in Fact, if you place a Magnet or Piece of Iron on a Piece of Cork, ſo as that it may ſwim freely in the Water; for then you will ſee, that which ſoever you hold in your Hand, will draw the other towards it.

A Diſcourſe of the Variation of the Compaſs, by Mr. Edm. Hally, Savilian *Profeſſor of Geometry in* Oxford, *and* F.R.S.

THE Variation of the Compaſs (by which I mean the Deflection of the Magnetical Needle from the true Meridian) is of that great concernment in the Art of Navigation, that the Neglect thereof does little leſs than render uſeleſs one of the Nobleſt Inventions Mankind ever yet attained to: And for this cauſe all Ships of conſequence (eſpecially thoſe bound beyond the Equator) carry with them Inſtruments on purpoſe to obſerve this Variation; that ſo the Courſe ſteer'd by the Compaſs, may be reduced to the true Courſe in reſpect of the Meridian.

Now altho' the great Utility that a perfect Knowledge of the Theory of the Magnetical Direction would afford to Mankind in general, and eſpecially to thoſe concern'd in Sea Affairs, ſeems a ſufficient Incitement to all Philoſophical and Mathematical Heads, to take under ſerious Conſideration the ſeveral *Phænomena*, and to endeavour to reconcile them by ſome general Rule: Yet ſo it is, that almoſt all the Authors from whom a Diſcourſe of this kind ought to have been expected, paſs by in ſilence the Difficulties they here encounter. And thoſe that mention this Variation, by affirming it to proceed from Cauſes altogether uncertain (as are the caſual lying of Iron Mines and Loadſtones in the Earth) put a ſtop to all further Contemplation, and give diſcouragement to thoſe that would otherwiſe undertake this Enquiry. 'Tis true, that not long ſince one Mr. *Bond*, an old Teacher of Navigation, put forth a ſmall Treatiſe, wherein he pretends to calculate the Variation; but he limits his Hypotheſis to the City of *London*, affirming himſelf (as he had a great deal of reaſon) that the ſame *Calculus* is not ſufficient for other Places; whereby it appears, that this Rule is far ſhort of the ſo much deſired general one.

Now altho' (through want of ſufficient Obſervations, and ſome other Difficulties which I ſhall anon ſhew) I cannot pretend perfectly to eſtabliſh the Numbers and Rules of a *Calculus*, which ſhall preciſely anſwer to the Variations of all Parts of the World; yet I ſuppoſe it will not be unacceptable to the Curious to propoſe ſomething of a Light into this abſtruſe Myſtery; which, if no other, may have this good effect, to ſtir up the Philoſophical *Genii* of the Age to apply themſelves more attentively to this uſeful Speculation. But before I proceed, 'twill be neceſſary to lay down the Grounds upon which I raiſe my Concluſions, and at once to give a Synopſis of thoſe Variations which I have reaſon to look upon as ſure, being moſtly the Obſervations of Perſons of good Skill and Integrity.

A TABLE of VARIATIONS.

Names of Places.	Longitude from London.	Latitude	Anno Dom.	Variation observed.
	d. m.	d. m.		d. m.
London	0: 0	51:32 N	1580	11:15 E
			1622	6: 0 E
			1634	4: 5 E
			1672	2:30 W
Paris.	2:25 E	48:51 N	1683	4:30 W
			1640	3:00 E.
			1666	0: 0
			1681	2:30 W
Uraniburg	13: 0 E	55:54 N	1672	2:35 W
Copenhagen	12:53 E	55:41 N	1649	1:30 E
			1672	3:35 W
Dantzick	19: 0 E	54:23 N	1679	7:00 W
Montpelier	4: 0 E	43:37 N	1674	1:10 W
Brest	4:25 W	48:23 N	1681	1:45 W
Rome	13: 0 E	41:50 N	1651	5: 0 W
Bayonne	1:20 W	43:30 N	1680	1:20 W
Hudsons Bay	79:40 W	51: 0 N	1668	19:15 W
In *Hudsons Straights*	57:00 W	61: 0 N	1608	29:30 W
In *Baffin's Bay* at Sir *Tho. Smith's* Sound	81:00 W	78: 0 N	1616	57:00 W
At Sea	50: 0 W	38:40 N	1682	7:30 W
At Sea	31:30 W	43:50 N	1682	5:30 E
At Sea	42: 0 W	21: 0 N	1678	0.40 E
Cape *St. Aug.* of *Brazile*	35:30 W	8: 0 S	1670	5:30 E
Cape *Frio*	41:10 W	22:40 S	1670	12:10 E
At Sea off the Mouth of the *River of Plate*	53: 0 W	39:30 S	1670	20:30 E
At the East Entrance of *Magellan* Straights	68: 0 W	52:30 S	1670	17: 0 E
At the West Entrance of *Magellan* Straights	75: 0 W	53: 0 S	1670	14:10 E
Baldivia	73: 0 W	40: 0 S	1670	8:10 E
At Cape *d' Agulhas*	16:30 E	34:50 S	1622	2: 0 W
			1675	8: 0 W
At Sea	1: 0 E	34:30 S	1675	0:
At Sea	20: 0 W	34: 0 S	1675	10:30 E
At Sea	32: 0 W	24: 0 S	1675	10:30 E
At *St. Helena*	6:30 W	16: 0 S	1677	0:40 E
At *Ascension*	14:30 W	7:50 S	1678	1:00 E
At *Johanna*	44: 0 E	12:15 S	1675	19:30 W
At *Monbasa*	40: 0 E	4: 0 S	1675	16: 0 W
At *Zocatra*	56: 0 E	12:30 N	1674	17: 0 W
At *Aden* at the Mouth of the *Red Sea*	47:30 E	13:00 N	1674	15: 0 W
At *Diego Roiz*	61: 0 E	20: 0 S	1676	20:30 W
At Sea	64:30 E	0: 0	1676	15:30 W
At Sea	55: 0 E	27: 0 S	1676	24: 0 W
At *Bombay*	72:30 E	19: 0 N	1676	12: 0 W
At Cape *Comorin*	76: 0 E	8:15 N	1680	8:48 W
At *Ballasore*	87: 0 E	21:30 N	1680	8:20 W
At *Fort St. George*	80: 0 E	13:15 N	1680	8:10 W
At the West Point of *Java*	104: 0 E	6:40 S	1676	3:10 W
At Sea	58: 0 E	39: 0 S	1677	27:30 W
At the Isle of *St. Paul*	72: 0 E	38: 0 S	1677	23:30 W
At *Van Diemen Land*	142: 0 E	42:25 S	1642	0: 0
At *New Zealand*	170: 0 E	40:50 S	1642	9: 0 E
At 3 *Kings Isle* in *New Zealand*	169:30 E	34:35 S	1642	8:40 E
At the Isle *Rotterdam* in the *South Sea.*	184: 0 E	20:15 S	1642	6:20 E
On the Coast of *New Guinea*	149: 0 E	4:30 S	1643	8:45 E
At the West Point of *New Guinea*	126: 0 E	0:26 S	1643	5 0 E

Tho' I could wish we could obtain from the *Spaniards* what Variations they find in their Voyages from the *Manillas* towards *Acapulco*, through the North Part of the South Sea; as likewise what it is at *Japan*, from the *Dutch*: Yet (considering the number of these Observations I have collected, and that they are made in Parts of the World so remote from *Europe*, and from one another) I suppose that the Theory that answers these, will scarce fail in those Regions from whence we have as yet no account. But first we must make some Remarks upon the foregoing Table: And first,

That in all *Europe* the Variation at this time is *West*, and more in the Eastern Parts thereof than the Western: As likewise that it seems throughout to be upon the Increase that way.

Secondly, That on the Coast of *America*, about *Virginia*, *New-England* and *New-found-land*, the Variation is likewise Westerly; and that it increases all the way as you go Northerly along the Coast, so as to be above 20 Degrees at *New-found-land*, nearly 30 Degrees in *Hudson's* Straits, and not less than 57 Degrees in *Baffins* Bay: Also that as you sail Eastward from this Coast, the Variation diminishes. From these two it is a legitimate Corollary, That *somewhere between* Europe, *and the North Part of* America, *there ought to be an Easterly Variation, or at least no Westerly.* And so I conjecture it is about the Eastermost of the *Tercera Islands*.

Thirdly, That on the Coast of *Brazile* there is East Variation, which increases very notably as you go to the Southward, so as to be 12 Degrees at Cape *Frio*, and over-against the River of Plate 20 Degrees: And from thence sailing Southwesterly to the Straits of *Magellan*, it decreases 17 Degrees, and at the West Entrance but 14 Degrees.

Fourthly, That at the Eastward of *Brazile* properly so called, this Easterly Variation decreases, so as to be very little at *St. Helena* and *Ascension*, and to be quite gone, and the Compass Point true about 18 Degrees of Longitude West from the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Fifthly, That to the Eastward of the aforesaid Places Westward Variation begins, which reigns in the whole *Indian* Sea, arises to no less than 18 Degrees under the Equator it self, about the Meridian of the Northern Part of *Madagascar*: and near the same Meridian, but in 39 Degrees South Latitude, it is found full 27 Degrees: From thence Easterly the West Variation decreases, so as to be little more than eight Degrees at Cape *Comorin*, and than three Degrees upon the Coast of *Java*; and to be quite extinct about the *Molucca Islands*, as also a little to the Westward of *Van Diemens* Land, found out by the *Dutch* in 1642.

Sixthly, That to the Eastward of the *Molucca's* and *Van Diemens* Land in South Latitude, there arises another Easterly Variation, which seems not so great as the former, nor of so large extent; for that at the Island *Rotterdam* it is sensibly less than upon the East Coast of *New Guinea*. And at the rate it decreases, it may be well supposed, that about 20 Degrees farther East, or 225 Degrees East Longitude from *London*, in the Latitude of 20 Degrees South, a Westerly Variation begins.

Seventhly, That the Variations observed by the Honourable Sir *John Norborough* at *Baldivia*, and at the West Entrance of the Straights of *Magellan*, do plainly shew, that that East Variation noted in our third Remark, is decreasing apace; and that it cannot reasonably extend many Degrees into the South Sea, from the Coast of *Peru* and *Chili*, leaving room for a small Westerly Variation, in that Tract of the unknown World that lies in the Mid-way between *Chili* and *New Zealand*, and between *Hounds-Island* and *Peru*.

Eightly, That in sailing North-West from *St. Helena* by *Ascension* as far as the Equator, the Variation continues very small East, and as it were constantly the same: So that in this part of the World the Course, wherein there is no Variation, is evidently no Meridian, but rather North-West.

Ninthly, That the Entrance of *Hudsons* Straights, and the Mouth of the River of *Plate* being nearly under the same Meridian, at the one place the Needle varies 29½ Degrees to the West, at the other 20½ Degrees to the East. This plainly demonstrates the Impossibility of reconciling these Variations by the Theory of *Bond*, *which is by two Magnetical Poles and an Axis inclined to the Axis of the Earth.* From whence it would follow, That *under the same Meridian the Variation should be in all Places the same way.*

These things being premised, may serve as a sure Foundation to raise the Superstructure of a Theory upon. But first it would not be amiss to shew hereby the Mistake of *Gilbert* and *Des Cartes*: The first whereof supposes, That *the Earth it self being in all its Parts Magnetical, and the Water not; wheresoever the Land is, thither also should the Needle turn, as to the greater Quantity of Magnetical Matter.* But this in many Instances is not true, but most remarkably upon the Coast of *Brazile*, where the Needle is so far from being attracted by the Land, that it turns the quite contrary way, leaving the Meridian to lie N.b.E. which is just along the Coast. As to the Position of *Des Cartes*, That *the Iron and Loadstones hid in the Bowels of the Earth and the Bottom of the Sea may be the Causes that the Needle varies*, if we consider for how great a Part of the

Earth's

Earth's Surface, *ex gr.* in the whole *Indian* Sea, the Needle declines the same way, and that regularly, 'twill follow that the attracting Substance that occasions it, must be very far distant. Now by Experience we find the little force that Iron Guns have upon the Compass in Ships (their Virtue, tho' they be Demiculverin, or greater Cannon, being not perceptible at four or five Yards Distance) and the Experiments now before the *Royal Society* do plainly shew, how little a Magnetism there is in most crude Iron Oars: What Quantity thereof must be then supposed to make so powerful a Diversion at two or three Thousand Miles distance? Yet I I cannot deny that in some Places near the Shoar, or in Shoal-Water, the Needle may be irregularly directed from the aforesaid Causes, and that not a little, as *Gassendus* gives a notable Instance of the Island *Elba* in the *Mediterranean* Sea: But these Differences from the general Direction are always Signs of the Nearness of those Magnetical Substances, for the Production whereof that Island *Elba* has been famous from all Antiquity. Besides, against both *Des Cartes* and *Gilbert*, the Change of the Variation which has been within these hundred Years last past more than 15 Degrees at *London*, is an entire Demonstration; tho' *Des Cartes* does not stick to say, that the Transportation of Iron from Place to Place, and the Growth of new Iron within the Earth, where there was none before, may be the Cause thereof. The same holds likewise against the *Hypothesis* of *Magnetical Fibres*, which *Kircher* maintains.

Now to propose something that may answer the several Appearances, and introduce nothing strange in Philosophy, after a great many close Thoughts, I can come to no other Conclusion than, That *the whole Globe of the Earth is one great Magnet, having four Magnetical Poles, or Points of Attraction, near each Pole of the Equator two; and adjacent to any one of these Magnetical Poles, the Needle is governed thereby, the nearest Pole being always predominate over the more remote.* The Parts of the Earth wherein these Magnetical *Poles* lie, cannot as yet be exactly determined, for want of sufficient *Data* to proceed Geometrically; but as near as Conjecture can reach, I reckon that the *Pole*, which is at present nearest to us, lies in or near the Meridian of the Lands End of *England*, and not above seven Degrees from the Pole Arctick. By this Pole the Variations in all *Europe*, and *Tartary*, and the *North Sea*, are principally govern'd, tho' with regard to the other Northern Pole, whose Situation is in a *Meridian* passing about the middle of *California*, and about 15 Degrees from the North Pole of the World. To this the Needle has chiefly respect in all the *North America*, and in the two Oceans on either side thereof, from the *Azores* Westward to *Japan*, and farther. The two Southern Poles are farther distant from the South Pole of the World: The one about sixteen Degrees therefrom, is in a Meridian, some twenty Degrees to the Westward of *Magellan Straights*, or 25 Degrees West from *London*. This commands the Needle in all the *South America*, in the *Pacifick Sea*, and the greatest Part of the *Ethiopick Ocean*. The fourth and last Pole seems to have the greatest Power and largest Dominions of all, as it is the most remote from the Pole of the World, being little less than 20 Degrees distant therefrom in the Meridian, which passes through *Hollandia Nova* and the Island *Celebes*, about 120 Degrees East from *London*. This Pole is predominant in the South Part of *Africa*, in *Arabia*, and the *Red Sea*, in *Persia*, *India*, and its Islands, and all over the *Indian Sea*, from the Cape of *Good Hope* Eastwards to the middle of the great South Sea that divides *Asia* from *America*. This seems to be the present Disposition of the Magnetical Vertue throughout the whole Globe of the Earth: It remains to shew how this Hypothesis makes out all the Variations that have been observed of late, and how it answers to our several Remarks drawn from the Table. And first it is plain, that (our *Europeen* North *Pole* being in the Meridian of the Lands-end of *England*) all Places more Easterly than that will have it on the West-side of their Meridian, and consequently the Needle, respecting it with its Northern Point, will have a Westerly Variation, which will still be greater as you go to the Eastwards, till you come to some Meridian of *Russia*, where 'twill be greatest, and from thence decrease again. Thus at *Brest* the Variation is but 1½ Degrees, at *London* 4½ Degrees; but at *Dantzick* seven Degrees West. To the Westward of the Meridian of the Lands-end, the Needle ought to have an Easterly Variation, were it not that (by approaching the *American* Northern Pole, which lies on the West side of the Meridian, and seems to be of greater force than this other) the Needle is drawn thereby Westwards, so as to counterballance the Direction given by the *European Pole*, and to make a small West Variation in the Meridian of the Lands-end it self; yet I suppose, that about the Meridian of the Isle *Tercera*, our nearest Pole may so far prevail, as to give the Needle a little turn to the East, tho' but for a very small space: The Counterballance of those two Poles permitting no considerable Variation in all the Eastern Parts of the *Atlantick* Ocean; nor upon the West Coasts of *England* and *Ireland*, *France*, *Spain* and *Barbary*: But to the Westward of the *Azores*, the Power of the *American* Pole overcoming that of the *European*, the Needle has chiefly respect thereto, and turns still more and more towards it, as you approach it. Whence it comes to pass, that on the Coast of *Virginia*, *New-England*, *New-found-land* and *Hudsons Straights*, the Variation is Westward; that it decreases as you go from thence towards *Europe*, and that it is less in *Virginia* and *New-England*, than in *New-found-land* and *Hudsons Straights*. This Westerly Variation again decreases, as you pass over the *North America*; and about the Meridian of the middle of *California*, the Needle again points due North; and from thence Westward to *Tedzo* and *Japan*, I make no doubt but the Variation is Easterly, and half the Sea over no less than fifteen Degrees, if there be any truth in this Hypothesis of mine. Therefore I propose this as a trial, that the whole may be scann'd thereby; and I conceive it will not be hard to know of the *Spaniards* how it is, who so frequently sail through that Ocean in their Return from the *Manilla Isles*. This East Variation extends over *Japan*, *Tedzo*, *East Tartary*, and part of *China*, till it meet with the Westerly, which is govern'd by the *European* North Pole, and which I said was greatest somewhere in *Russia*.

Towards the Southern Pole the Effect is much the same, only that here the South Point of the Needle is attracted. Hence it will follow, that the Variation on the Coast of *Brazile*, at the *River of Plate*, and so on to the Straights of *Magellan*, should be Easterly (as in our third Remark); if we suppose a Magnetical Pole situate about twenty Degrees more Westerly than the Straights of *Magellan*. And this Easterly Variation doth extend Eastward over the greatest part of the *Ethiopick* Sea, till it be counterpoised by the Virtue of the other Southern *Pole*; as it is about mid-way between the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Isles of *Tristan d' Acuntia*. From thence Eastwards, the *Asian* South Pole (as I must take the liberty to call it) becoming prevalent, and the South Point of the Needle being attracted thereby, there arises a West Variation very great in Quantity and Extent, because of the great distance of this Magnetical Pole of the World.

Hence it is, that in all the *Indian* Sea, as far as *Hollandia Nova*, and farther, there is constantly West Variation; and that under the Equator it self it arises to no less than eighteen Degrees where 'tis most. About the Meridian of the Island *Celebes*, being likewise that of this Pole, this Westerly Variation ceases, and an Easterly begins, which reaches, according to my Hypothesis, to the middle of the *South Sea* between *Zelandia Nova* and *Chili*, leaving room for a small West Variation govern'd by the *American* South Pole, which I shewed to be in the *Pacifick* Sea, in the sixth and seventh Remark.

What I have now said does plainly shew the Sufficiency of this Hypothesis for solving the Variations that are at this time observ'd in the temperate and frigid *Zones*, where the Direction of the Needle chiefly depends upon the Counterpoise of the Forces of two Magnetical Poles of the same nature; and I suppose I have shewn how it comes to pass, that under the same Meridian the Variation should be in one place 29° West, and another 20° East, as I have noted in my ninth Remark. In the *Torrid Zone*, and particularly under the Equinoctial, respect must be had to all four Poles, and their Poles and their Positions well considered; otherwise it will not be easy to determine what the Variations shall be, the nearest Pole being always the strongest: Yet not so as not to be counter-ballanced by the united Forces of two more remote. A notable Instance whereof is in our eighth Remark, where I took notice, that in sailing from *St. Helena* by the Isle of *Ascension*, to the Equator, on a N.W. Course, the Variation is very little Easterly, and in that whole Tract unalterable; for which I give this Reason, that the South *American* Pole (which is considerably the nearest in the aforesaid Places) requiring a great Easterly Variation, is counter-poised by the contrary Attraction of the *North American* and the *Asian* South-Pole; each whereof singly are in these Parts weaker than the *American* South-Pole: and upon the N.W. Course, the distance from this latter is very little varied, and as you recede from the *Asian* South-Pole, the Ballance is still preserved by the Access towards the *North-American* Pole. I mention not in this

Case the *European* North-Pole, its Meridian being little removed from those of these Places, and of it self requiring the same Variations we here find. After the same manner we might proceed to conclude the Variations in other Places under and near the Equator: But I purpose to leave it for an Exercise to the Thoughts of the serious Reader, who is desired to help his Imagination, by having before him a Map or Globe of the Earth, and to mark thereon the Magnetical Poles in the *Longitudes* and *Latitudes* I assign them.

Thus I hope I have not lost my Pains and Study in this difficult Subject, believing that I have put it past doubt, *That there are in the Earth four such Magnetical Points or Poles, which occasion the great Variety and seeming Irregularity which is observed in the Variations of the Compass.* But to calculate what it is, in any Place assign'd, is what I dare not yet pretend to, tho' I could wish it were my Happiness to be able to oblige the World with so useful a Piece of Knowledge: There are Difficulties that occur, that render the thing as yet not feasible; for first there are a great many Observations requisite, which ought to be made at the same time; not at Sea, but a-shore, with greater Care and Attendance than the generality of Sailors apply. And besides, it remains undetermin'd in what proportion the attractive Power decreases, as you remove from the Pole of a Magnet, without which it were a vain Attempt to go about to calculate. There is yet a further Difficulty, which is the Change of the Variation, one of the Discoveries of this last Century; which shews, that it will require some hundreds of Years to establish a compleat Doctrine of the Magnetical System. From the foregoing Table it should seem, that all the Magnetical Poles had a Motion Westward. But if it be so, tis evident, that it is not a Rotation about the Axis of the Earth; for then the Variations would continue the same in the same Parallel of *Latitude* (the *Longitude* only changed) as much as is the Motion of the Magnetical Poles: But the contrary is found by Experience; for there is no where in the Latitude of 15 ½ North between *England* and *America*, a Variation of eleven Degrees East at this time, as it was once here at *London*: It seems therefore, that our *European* Pole is grown nearer the Pole Artick than it was heretofore, or else that it has lost part of its Virtue. But whether these Magnetical Poles move altogether with one Motion, or with several; whether equally or unequally; whether Circular or Libratory: If circular, about what Center; if Libratory, after what manner; are Secrets as yet utterly unknown to Mankind, and are reserv'd for the Industry of future Ages.

Having in the precedent Discourse delivered a Theory of the Variation of the Magnetical Compass, wherein I did collect as many Observations as at that time I could procure, and having carefully compar'd them together, I came at length to this general Conclusion, *That the Globe of the Earth might be supposed to be one great Magnet, having four Magnetical Poles or Points of Attraction, near each Pole of the Equator two: And that in those Parts of the World which lie near adjacent to any of these Magnetical Poles, the Needle is chiefly govern'd thereby; the nearest Pole being always predominant over the more remote.* And I there have endeavour'd to state and limit the present Position of those Poles in the Surface of our Globe, which the Reader pleasing to consult, will save us the pains of repeating. But after all, tho' that Discourse was favourably received both at home and abroad, as seeming to render a tolerable Account of the observed Variations; yet I found two Difficulties not easy to surmount: The one was, that no Magnet I had ever seen or heard of, had more than two opposite Poles, whereas the Earth had visibly four, and perhaps more. And secondly, it was plain that these Poles were not, at least all of them, fixt in the Earth, but shifted from Place to Place, as appeared by the great Changes in the Needle's direction within this last Century of Years, not only at *London* (where this great Discovery was made) but almost all over the Globe of the Earth; whereas it is not known or observed that the Poles of a Loadstone ever shifted their Place in the Stone, nor (considering the compact Hardness of that Substance) can it easily be suppos'd; tho the Matter of Fact be too notorious and universal not to be accounted for.

These Difficulties had wholly made me despond, and I had long since given over an Inquiry I had so little hopes of, when in accidental Discourse, and least expecting it, I stumbled on the following Hypothesis; in delivering whereof, if I shall seem to advance any thing that looks like extravagant or romantick, the Reader is desired to suspend his Censure, till he has consider'd the Force and Number of many Arguments which concur to make good so new and so bold a Supposition.

Tho' it be sufficiently known and allowed, that the Needle's Variation changes, it will be necessary however to give a few Instances, whereby it may appear that this Change is gradual and universal, and the effect of a great and permanent Motion: For which take the following Examples.

At *London*, in the Year 1580, the Variation was observed by Mr. *Burrows* to be 11 deg. 15 min. East. In *Anno* 1622, the same was found by Mr. *Gunter* to be but 6 deg. 0 min. East. In the Year 1634, Mr. *Gellibrand* found it 4 deg. 5 min. East. In 1657, Mr. *Bond* observed that there was no Variation at *London*. *Anno* 1672, my self observed it 2 deg. 30 min. to the West. In the Year 1692, I again found it 6 deg. 0 min. West. So that in 112 Years the Direction of the Needle was changed no less than seventeen Degrees.

At *Paris*, *Orontius Finæus*, about the Year 1550, did account it about eight or nine Degrees East Variation. *Anno* 1640, it was found three Degrees East. *Anno* 1666, there was was no Variation there, and *Anno* 1681, I found it to be 2 deg. 30 min. to the West.

At *Cape d' Agulhas*, the most Southern Promontory of *Africa*, about the Year 1600, the Needle pointed due North and South without Variation, whence the *Portuguese* gave its Name. *Anno* 1622, there was two Degrees West Variation. *Anno* 1675, it was 8 deg. 0 min. West; and in the Year 1691, it was curiously observed not less than 11 Degrees West.

At *St. Helena*, about the Year 1600, the Needle declined eight Degrees to the East. *Anno* 1623, it was but 6 deg. 0 min. East. *Anno* 1677, when I was there, I observed it accurately on shoar to be 0 deg. 40 min. East; and in 1692, was found about 1 deg. Westward of the North.

At *Cape Comorin* in *India*, in the Year 1620, there was 14 deg. 20 min. West Variation. In the Year 1680, there was 8 deg. 48 min. but now lately in the Year 1688, it was no more than 7 deg. 30 min. So that here the Needle has returned to the East about seven Degrees in seventy Years.

In all other Examples the Needle has gradually mov'd towards the West, and the Places are too far asunder to be influenc'd by the removal of any Magnetical Matter, which may by accident be transplac'd within the Bowels, or on the Surface of the Earth. If more Examples are desired, the Reader may be furnish'd with them in the *Portuguese Routier* of *Alliexo de Motta* (written about the Year 1600) and in the Voyage of *Beaulieu*, both published in Mr. *Thevenot*'s first Collection of curious Voyages, printed at *Paris*, *Anno* 1663; which he is to compare with the Journals of our late *East India* Voyagers, and I am assured that it will be thereby evident, that the Direction of the Needle is in no Place fix'd and constant, tho' in some it changes faster than in others: And where for a long time it has continu'd as it were unalter'd, it is there to be understood, that the Needle has its greatest Deflection, and is become stationary, in order to return, like the Sun in the Tropick. This, at present, is in the *Indian* Sea, about the Island *Mauritius*, where is the highest West Variation, and in a Tract tending from thence into the N. N. W. towards the *Red Sea* and *Egypt*. And in all Places to the Westward of this Tract, all over *Africa*, and the Seas adjoining, the West Variation will be found to have encreas'd; and to the Eastwards thereof, as in the Example of *Cape Comorin*, to have decreas'd, *viz.* all over the *East Indies*, and the Islands near it.

After the like manner, in that space of East Variations, which beginning near *St. Helena*, is found all over the *South America*, and which at present is highest about the Mouth of *Rio de la Plata*, it has been observ'd, that in the Eastern Parts thereof, the Variation of the Needle gradually decreases: But whether on the contrary it increases in those Places which lie more Westerly than that Tract wherein the highest East Variation is found, or how it may be in the vast *Pacifick Sea*, we have not Experience enough to ascertain, only we may by Analogy infer, that both the East and West Variations therein do gradually increase and decrease after the same Rule.

These *Phænomena* being well understood and duly considered, sufficiently evince, that the whole Magnetical System is by one, or perhaps more Motions translated; whether Eastwards or Westwards, I shall anon discuss: That this moving thing is very great, as extending its Effects from Pole to Pole; and that the Motion thereof is not *per Saltum*, but a gradual and regular Motion.

Now

Now considering the Structure of our *Terraqueous* Globe, it cannot be well suppos'd that a very great part thereof can move within it, without notably changing its Centre of Gravity, and the Equilibre of its Parts, which would produce very wonderful Effects in changing the Axis of diurnal Rotation, and occasion strange Alterations in the Sea's Surface, by Inundations and Recesses thereof, such as History never yet mention'd. Besides, the solid Parts of the Earth are not to be granted permeable by any other than fluid-Substances, of which we know none that are any ways Magnetical: So that the only way to render this Motion intelligible and possible, is to suppose it to turn about the Center of the Earth: And there is yet requir'd, that this moving internal Substance be loose, and detached from the external Parts of the Earth wherein we live; for otherwise were it affix'd thereto, the whole must necessarily move together.

So then the external Parts of the Globe may well be reckon'd as the Shell, and the internal as a *Nucleus* or inner Globe included within ours, with a fluid *Medium* between, which having the same common Concentre and Axis of diurnal Rotation, may turn about with our Earth each twenty four hours; only their outer Sphere having its turbinating Motion some small matter either swifter or slower than the Internal Ball; and a very Minute difference in length of Time, in many Repetitions becoming sensible, the Internal Parts will by degrees recede from the External, and not keeping pace with one another, will appear gradually to move either Eastward or Westward by the difference of their Motions.

Now supposing such an Internal Sphere to have such a Motion, we shall solve the two great Difficulties we encountred in my former Hypothesis: For if this Exterior Shell of Earth be a *Magnet*, having its Poles at a distance from the Poles of the Diurnal Rotation; and if the Internal *Nucleus* be likewise a *Magnet*, having its Poles in two other places distant also from the *Axis*; and these latter by a gradual and slow Motion change their place in respect of the External; we may give a reasonable Account of the four Magnetical Poles I presume to have demonstrated before; as likewise of the Changes of the Needle's Variations, which till now hath been unattempted.

The Period of this Motion being wonderful great, and there being hardly an hundred Years since these Variations have been duly observed, it will be very hard to bring this *Hypothesis* to a *Calculus*; especially since, tho' the Variations do increase and decrease regularly in the same place, yet in differing Places, and at no great distance, there are found such casual Changes thereof as can no way be accounted for by a regular *Hypothesis*; as depending on the unequal and irregular distribution of the Magnetical Matter within the Substance of the External Shell or Coat of the Earth, which deflect the Needle from the Position it would acquire from the Effect of the general Magnetism of the whole. Of this the Variations at *London* and *Paris* give a notable Instance: For the Needle hath been constantly about 1 deg. 30 min. more Easterly at *Paris* than at *London*; tho' it be certain that according to the general Effect, the difference ought to be the contrary way; notwithstanding which, the Variations in both Places do change alike.

Hence, and from some other things of like nature, I conclude, That the two Poles of the External Globe are fixt in the Earth; and that if the Needle were wholly governed by them, the Variations thereof would be always the same, with some little Irregularities on the account I but just above mentioned: But the Internal Sphere having such a gradual Translation of its Poles, does influence the Needle, and direct it variously according to the result of the Attractive or Directive Power of each Pole; and consequently there must be a Period of the Revolution of this Internal Ball, after which the Variations will return again as before. But if it should in future Ages be observed otherwise, we must then conclude that there are more of these internal Spheres, and more Magnetick Poles than four; which at present we have not a sufficient Number of Observations to determine; and particularly in that vast *Mare del Zur*, which occupies so great a part of the whole Surface of the Earth.

If then two of the Poles be fixt, and two moveable; it remains to ascertain which they are that keep their place; and tho' I could wish we had the Experience of another Century of Years to found our Conclusions upon, yet I think we may safely determine, *That our* European *Pole* (which in the precedent Discourse I supposed near the Meridian of the Lands-end of *England*, and about 7 Degrees therefrom) is That that is moveable of the two Northern Poles, and That that has chiefly influenced the Variation in these Parts of the World: For in *Hudsons Bay*, which is under the Direction of the *American* Pole, the change is not observ'd to be near so fast as in those Parts of *Europe*, tho' that Pole be much farther remov'd from the *Axis*.

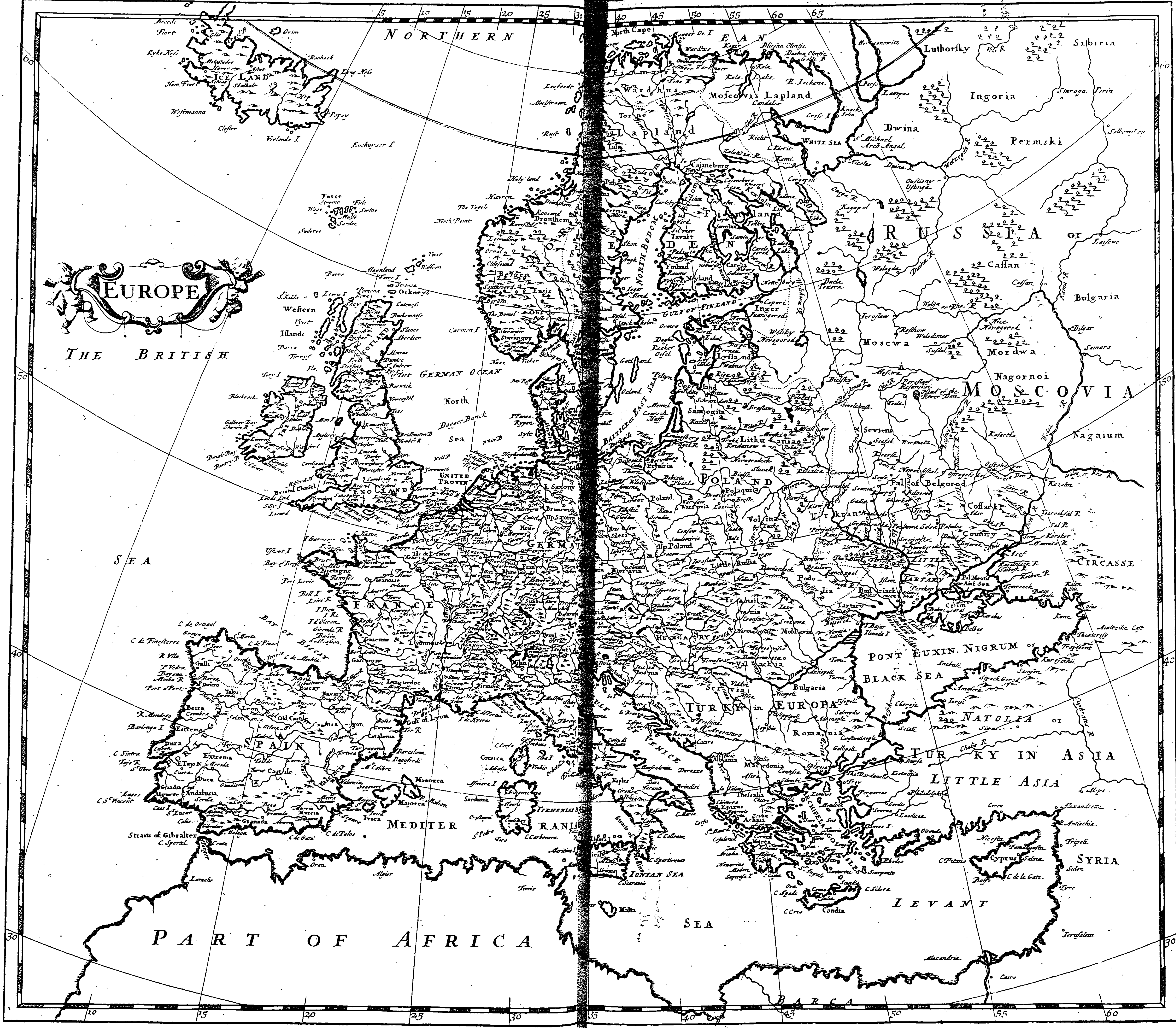
As to the *South Poles*, I take the *Asian* Pole, which I place about the Meridian of the Island *Celebes*, to be the fixt, and consequently the *American* Pole, to move; from the like Observations of the slow Decrease of the Variation on the Coast of *Java*; and near the Meridian of the *Asian* Pole; tho' I must confess to have no account of the Effects of the other beyond *Magellane Straights*.

If this be allowed me, 'tis plain that the fixt Poles are the Poles of this External Shell or *Cortex* of the *Earth*, and the other two, the Poles of a Magnetical *Nucleus* included and moveable within the other. It likewise follows, that this Motion is Westward; and by consequence, that the aforesaid *Nucleus* has not precisely attained the same degree of Velocity with the exterior Parts in their diurnal Revolution; but so nearly equals it, that in 365 Revolves, the difference is scarce sensible. This I conceive to arise from the Impulse whereby this diurnal Motion was impress on the Earth, being given to the External Parts, and from thence in time communicated to the Internal; but not so as perfectly to equal the Velocity of the first Motion impress'd on them, and still conserv'd by the superficial Parts of the Globe.

As to the Quantity of this Motion, it is almost impossible to define it, both from the Nature of this kind of Observation, which cannot be very accurately perform'd, as also from the small time these Variations have been observ'd, and their Change discover'd. It appears by all Circumstances, that its Period is of many Centuries of Years, and as far as may be collected from the Change of the Place, where there was no Variation, by reason of the Equilibre of the two Southern Magnetical Poles, *viz.* from *Cape d' Agulhas* to the Meridian of *St. Helena* (which is about 23 deg. in about 90 Years) and of the Place where the Westerly Variation is in its ακμὴ or greatest Deflection, being about half so much, *viz.* from the Isle of *Diego Roiz* to the South West Parts of *Madagascar*; we may with some reason conjecture, that the *American* Pole has mov'd Westwards forty six Degrees in that time, and that the whole Period thereof is performed in seven hundred Years, or thereabouts: So that the nice Determination of this, and of several other Particulars in the Magnetick System, is reserv'd for remote Posterity: All that we can hope to do, is to leave behind us Observations that may be confided in, and to propose *Hypotheses* which after Ages may examine, amend or refute. Only here I must take leave to recommend to all Masters of Ships and all others, Lovers of Natural Truths, that they use their utmost Diligence to make, or procure to be made, Observations of these Variations in all Parts of the World, as well in the North as South Latitude (after the laudable Custom of our *East India* Commanders) and that they please to communicate them to the *Royal Society*, in order to leave as compleat a History as may be to those that are hereafter to compare all together, and to compleat and perfect this abstruse Theory.

And by the way, it will not be amiss to amend a receiv'd Error in the Practice of observing the Variation; which is, to take it by the Amplitude of the Rising and Setting Sun, when his Center appears in the visible Horizon; whereas he ought to be observ'd when his under Limb is still above the Horizon about ⅓ of his Diameter, or twenty Minutes, upon the score of his Refraction, and the height of the Eye of the Observer above the Surface of the Sea; or else they are to work the Amplitudes as they do the Azimuth, reckoning the Sun's Distance from the Zenith 90 deg. 36 min. This, tho' it be of little consequence near the Equinoctial, will make a great Error in high Latitudes, where the Sun rises and sets obliquely.

Navigantium



EUROPE
NORTHERN
THE BRITISH
SEA
PART OF AFRICA
MEDITER
LEVANT
SEA
PONT EUXIN. NIGRUM or
BLACK SEA
NATOLIA or
TURKY IN ASIA
LITTLE ASIA
SYRIA
RUSSIA or
MOSCOVIA
Ingoria
Permski
Dwina
Luthorsky
Bulgaria
Mordwa
Moscwa
Nagaium
CIRCASSE
Moscovis Lapland
WHITE SEA
POLAND
Lithuania
FRANCE
SPAIN
ENGLAND
TURKY in EUROPA
HUNGARY
Bulgaria
Macedonia
Moldavia
North Sea
GERMAN OCEAN
Western Islands
Straits of Gibralter
Cyprus
Jerusalem
Alexandria

The First BOOK.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE Circum-Navigations of the Globe.

CHAP. I.

Of the Improvement of NAVIGATION *in Latter Times. The first Application of Magnetical and Astronomical Instruments thereto: And the Discoveries made by the* Portugueze.

IF we look back upon Antiquity, and consider the State of Navigation in the remoter Ages of the World, we shall easily confess, that they did, in all Points, fall vastly short of the admirable Attainments of their Successors, in these Matters: For the Proof of this, we need but consider, that the Invention of the Compass is of a very modern Date; and 'tis not to be discerned, by any convincing Tokens, that our Forefathers did ever dream of any such Contrivance. And being destitute of such a Direction, as this Noble Instrument affords, they were put to no small Shifts to find their Way at Sea. They were forced to fetch Instructions from the Heavens above, and the Prospect of the Globe round about them. The Rocks and Mountains were their Guides by Day, and the Stars by Night had the Conduct of the Ship. Their imperfect Art could not protect a Vessel under the Fury of a ruffled Sea: 'Twas in the Power of each Wind to frustrate a Voyage, and detain them close Prisoners in their own Port. They dared not venture out to Range the wide Ocean, and bid Adieu to the Land, for Weeks or Months together; but generally took Care to keep the Shore in sight, sailing as near it as they could with Safety, and nothing but Tempests could ever drive them further: So that they could make no great Progress in the Discovery of any Countries, that did not just border upon them; and the Globe they lived on, might be either ten times bigger, or as many times less than it is, for any thing they could find by their Navigation.

The Advantage of Modern Navigation, above that of the Ancients.

But the latter Ages, by the happy Discovery of some Properties of the Loadstone, have with much ease surmounted those formerly reputed Impossibilities in Sailing: They have now gotten the free Use, and the full Command of the Ocean: They can travel all over the vast Dimensions of it, without fear of losing themselves, or their intended Harbour: They can, by infallible Methods, steer their Course to the remotest Parts, and survey the whole Globe from the one Pole to the other: They are not liable to any of those Disappointments, nor tied to observe those short uncertain Measures in their Sailing, that the Ancients did. Tho' the Air be all black with Mists and Fogs, and the Stars afford no Light nor Direction; tho' the Forces of Winds and Waves combine to make them wander up and down the Deep, yet still under the Conduct of this excellent Guide, they know where they are, and how to extricate themselves out of every Labyrinth. Something of the Nature and Property of the Loadstone, was without all question known to Antiquity. They knew the attractive Power it exercises upon Iron, and the strange Sympathy between those two Bodies. * This the Works of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, &c. do sufficiently justifie; in which we find some of those Phænomena taken notice of. But the Polar Direction of that Stone, and the Needle affected with it, together with its Variation from N. and S. which in many Parts of the Earth 'tis of a sudden forced into: These are Discoveries, the Glory of which seems purely to belong to the latter Ages of the World. 'Tis true, that some over-zealous Champions for the Cause and Honour of Antiquity, will find this Discovery there, in spite of all Demonstrations to the contrary: And *Solomon* being granted to be the Wisest of Men, must of necessity also be the Author of this Invention, as some will fain have it. But without any Derogation from the Honour of that Prince's Wisdom, it is not very likely that this Discovery came from him: For we never heard of any Volumes of his concerning Minerals and Fossils, tho' we know he discoursed largely of the Vegetable Kingdom: Or had he done so in any part of his Writings, tho' the Books themselves had been lost; yet the Virtues of such a Stone so useful to the World, and celebrated by such an Author, would certainly have been nicely preserved in Memory, and as carefully transmitted to Posterity. Besides, 'tis most certain, that this Invention must have been known not only to *Solomon* himself, but to all the *Tyrian* Sailors, and Sea-men, who were the Managers of his Fleet; and who by the help of it, were to perform the *Ophirian* Voyages, (which Voyages, by the way, were too slow and tedious, to be performed by the Direction of a Compass.) And had the *Tyrians* known it, the News would not have stopp'd there; the whole World would quickly have rang with the Noise of it: And their Ships would have carried the Report, whereever the Wind had blown, and the Seas had run. And every Age unquestionably would have been infinitely fond and tender, of so profitable a Contrivance as this; and have recommended it to the succeeding Generations, as the most inestimable Jewel a People could be possessed of. In short, the Worth and Usefulness of it, must needs have made it Immortal, after once it had a Birth in the World.

* See a vast Catalogue of Authors to this purpose mention'd by Dr. *Gilb. Libro de Magnete.*

Solomon not probably the Author of the Compass.

See *Varen. Geog. Gen. Lib.* 2. Cap. 38. Pr. 2.

There are various Opinions and Reports besides, concerning this Providential Invention of the Compass; tho' rather
See *Sell.* 7. determining the Places than the Time, in which it first appeared. Some say, that the famous *Venetian*, *Marco Polo*, brought it from *China* into *Italy*, 300 Years ago. That the *Portugueze*, at their first Entrance into the *Indian* Seas, found Compasses and Quadrants in all, amongst the
A. D. 1503. *Moors*. That (*a*) *Vertomannus* travelling with the same People over the *Arabian* Deserts, to *Mecha*, observed them to steer over that huge Sandy Ocean, by the help of the Compass. That a certain Person of (*b*) *Malfi*, a Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, *Johannes Goya* by Name, may deservedly put in his Claim here, before all other Pretenders. However the Matter is, 'tis by far most probable, that as the *European* World was the first Fountain to it self of other very Noble Inventions, so it was also of this: And that the *East*, (with all its glorious Pretences) has rather borrowed the Perfection of Arts from us, than we the first Elements of them, from thence.

(*a*) *Vertomannus*, chap. 14.

(*b*) Of which Town is this remarkable Verse, *Prima dedit Nautis Usum Magnetis Amalphis.*

This may suffice as to the first Discovery and Application of this wonderful Fossile, to the Uses of Navigation, concerning which we may further note in general. That the Needle inspired with the Virtue of this Stone, presents us with these two most remarkable Phænomena. The one is its Verticity, or Polar Direction; by which as a true and faithful Index, it points out (tho' not always, yet often) the true Poles of the great Magnet, our Terrestrial Globe. The other is that which is vulgarly called, the Variation of the Compass; and it is the Deflexion of the Magnetick Meridian, from an exact N. and S. Line; so that the former makes a certain Angle with this latter, declining from it either Easterly or Westerly, according as the Cause of that Declination (whatever it be), is sealed either towards the one or the other of these Quarters: This Variation observes for the most part, no stated Rule, nor Law, in proportion to the Longitude, Latitude, or Situation of Places. It is not equally observed in all Parts of the same Meridian: As under the Meridian of the Isle *Del Cowe*, which is one of the *Azores*; there is no Variation at the Isle it self, but there is considerable in some other Parts of the same Meridian. Again, It doth not observe any certain proportion in going from East to West, and West to East: For from the Isle *Del Cowe*, it increases to the Isles *Tristan de Canha*, and to those further Easterly, where it is near 13 Degr. but from thence to the *Cabo Das Agulhas*, it decreases again; so that near that Cape, which is not far from the Cape of *Good Hope*, there is very little Variation, if any: Neither is the Quantity of it always exactly the same, in the same individual place. For instance: At *London*, *A. D.* 1580, the Variation was observed to be 11 Degr. 15 Min.; but by a succeeding Observation, in 1662, it was found 6 Degr. 13 Min. So at *Paris*, in 1640, it was observed to be 3 Degr. whereas 30 Years before, (*viz.*) 1610. it was found at the same place to be 8 Degr. The Causes of all these surprizing Phœnomena, are purely of Philosophick Consideration, and therefore are not to be enquired after in this place.

Var. Geog. Gen. Lib. 3. Prop. 4.

But having now briefly discoursed these General Introductory Heads, concerning the Compass it self, we must look farther into the Successive Uses and Applications of it, to the Business of Navigation: And here justly to pursue the Circumstances of the Matter of Fact; and to begin with the first considerable Beginnings of the *European* Sailing, it is necessary for us to look into *Spain* and *Portugal*; the latter of which Countries, we shall find first attempting to pull off the dark Veil from the Face of the World, and prying into those Parts of it, which (through Ignorance of this Art) had lain hitherto conceal'd. And since the Country we look into, had lately been the Scene of so many remarkable Actions, and (just freed from the Hurries of a bloody War) entred upon the Prosecution of this Noble Design; we may briefly trace those Circumstances of it down to those happier and calmer Days, wherein it found it self at leisure to undertake this Work.

The *Moors* stirr'd up by *Julian* Earl of *Ceuta*, in Revenge of his Daughter's Ravishment, by the *Gothish* King *Roderick*; * like a mighty Torrent, spread themselves through the whole Country of *Spain*: Which now having lost the *Gothick*, was forced to submit to the *Saracenical* Yoke. The first that made head against this Rout of *Barbarians*, with any Success, was *Pelagius*; whose Successors very happily carried on (what he had so nobly begun) for the space of 300 Years: About which time the great City *Toledo* was forcibly wrested from the *Moors*, by the Bravery of *Alphonsus* VI. From the Daughter of this Prince, (married to *Henry* of *Lorrain*) was descended *Alphonsus* I. King of *Portugal*; from whose time, till that of *John*, the First of that Name, the Wars against the *Moors* were continued with Vigour, and crown'd with so many Victories, that they were quite driven out of those Parts of *Spain*.

* *A.D.* 712.

King *John* pursuing the Hereditary Quarrel, passed over into *Africk*, removing the Scene of War from his own Country, into that of the *Moors*. And here he took the Town of *Ceuta* from them, as an Introduction to further Conquests in the Country; in the gaining of which he was not a little assisted by the Noble Valour of the (*a*) *English*, who were principally (tho' not only) concerned in that Action. And the *English* were inclined to give the *Portugueze* this Countenance, partly from an Alliance between the two Crowns, the Sence of which was yet fresh in the Nation: For *Henry* V. that then Reigned in *England*, was Nephew to *Philip*, the Wife of this King *John* of *Portugal*, she being the Daughter, and he the Grandson of *John* Duke of *Lancaster*.

An. 1415

(*a*) *Walsing.* Hist. Ang.

Neither was this the only Benefit of this Nature the *Portugueze* are indebted to our Nation for: For long before this, * at the Request of the King of *Portugal*, they had forced the *Moors* out of an important Town (*b*), giving 47000 of those Infidels, the Honour of dying by *English* Hands. Which Assistance of the *English* was at that time the more valuable; because being then bound for the Holy Land, they did by this means, as it were, quench the Flame of their Devotions for a while, and delay their Service for the Blessed Sepulchre.

* *A.D.* 1188.

(*b*) *Sylvia.* See *Matth. Paris*, at the end of *Hen.* II.

The Third Son of this King *John* by the forementioned *English* Princess, was the famous Prince *Henry*, to whom the World is indebted for so many Discoveries. He having tried his Fortune against the *Moors*, to his own, and his Nation's Honour, began to think of remoter Conquests than those, and finding out new Subjects, in Countries yet unknown. For this purpose he attended the Mathematical Sciences, became an hard Student himself, and encouraged his Subjects to pursue those Studies. He erected a School for Navigation and Astronomy, and invited a skilful Mathematician from the Isle of *Majorca*, in order to the spreading the Knowledge of those Arts through his Country.

Being thus in some measure prepared for the Sea, he sent some Ships out to try their Fortune: But they went no farther than Cape *Bajadore*, about 180 Miles beyond Cape (*c*) *Non*; which was the stated *Ne plus ultra* of former Navigations. The Reason of which speedy Return was this: That the violent breaking of the Sea upon the Cape, made it dangerous to pass near it; and they dared not put off far to Sea, for fear of losing themselves. But that which Art durst venture to attempt, a Tempest did the next time compel them to; for by Distress of Weather, they were carried out as far as **Porto Santo*; which having just saluted, and bestowed the Name upon it, they returned home with the News of this new-found Island.

(*c*) Cape *Non*, so called, because they went not beyond it.

* They gave it that Name, because 'twas their Port, and found on *All Saints* Day.

The Prince, upon Notice of this Discovery, quickly after sent out three Ships again; of which number two were committed to the Conduct of *John Gonsalvo Zarco*, and *Tristan de vaz*, the former Discoverers; the third, to *Barthel. Perestrello*. These (besides the intended Planters of this new Colony) carried a Ship-board with them * a Coney, big with Young; which having discharged her Burden upon the Island, laid such a Foundation for the Increase of those Animals, that in two Years time, the numerous Progeny became a Plague to the whole Country, consuming the Labours of the Inhabitants, and laying all waste before them. Upon this *Perestrello* going off, the other two addressed themselves to further Discoveries. And seeing * at a distance something appear like a Cloud, they resolved to try whether 'twas Land or no; which accordingly it fell out to be, and was the Island afterwards called *Madera*. This, by the King's Consent, was divided between the two Discoverers: The one part called *Funciale*, to *Gonsalvo*, and his Heirs; and the other named *Macchio*, to *Tristan de vaz*. This latter Division of the Island, was so called from one (*d*) *Macham*, an *English-man*, whom a Tempest had driven thither. This Man having buried a Mistress here, left upon her Tomb-stone, the relation of his Adventure: After which, with a Boat cut out of a Tree, without Sail, or Oar, he reached the Coast of *Barbary*. Where being presented to the King for a Wonder, he was sent by him to the King of *Castile*.

* The strange Increase of Coneys.

* *Madera* discover'd.

(*d*) *Macham* an *English-man*, first at *Madera*. *A. D.* 1344

In the Year 1420, the Plantation at *Madera* commenced: *Gonsalvo* being forced to open his way with Fire, which (if, as 'tis reported, burnt for Seven Years continually) we may be sure, made a very great Scarcity of Wood in those Parts. The King designing to improve the Country, ordered * Sugar-Canes to be brought from *Sicily* thither: Which thrive so well in that Soil, that some Years the Fifth-part has amounted to more than 60000 Arrobes, each of which is 25 *l.* and all the Product of a small Spot of Ground, not above Nine Miles in Compass.

* *Madera* Sugar.

The

The Isle *Porto Santo*, discovered before, was given to *Perestrello*, upon Condition of Peopling it: And this proved a very hard Task; the place being so fearfully over-run with Coneys, that 'twas scarce able to admit any other Inhabitants. However, they were by degrees dispossess'd; but not without prodigious Massacres, 3000 of them being killed at one time in a small Islet.

Twelve Years had now passed, since the first Attempt was made of getting beyond Cape *Bajadore*; which yet appeared an insuperable Difficulty. They fansied Tempests and Hurricanes in the Air, strange Gulphs and Whirlpools, that would swallow up Ships, with all the Horrours of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, about that Cape. At last a certain *Portugueze*, *Gilianes* by Name, had the Courage to bid Defiance to all these Dangers, and to look the Cape in the Face: He found the Seas open and passable; came home commending the Air and Soil of the Places where he had been. He performed his * Voyage with great Success, having neither been tos's'd in the Air by Whirlwinds, nor plunged in any of the Vortices about Cape *Bajadore*.

*A. D. 1433.

The *Portugueze* now rid of these Fears, adventured the next Year 40 Miles farther; where they found the Country uninhabited: This was done by *Anthony Gonsalvo*. After this, no great Progress was made, till *A. D.* 1441; when *Nunyo Tristan* discovered Cape (*c*) *Blanco*, and took some Prisoners; the only Prize of his Voyage.

(*c*) Cape *Blanco* found.

Matters being gone thus far, King *Henry* obtain'd at the Hands of the Pope, (which was then *Martin* V.) the perpetual Donation to (*f*) the Crown of *Portugal*, of whatsoever should be discovered from Cape *Bajadore*, to the *East-Indies*, inclusively: Together, with an Indulgence in full, for all those devout Souls, whose Bodies should chance to be drop'd in the Undertaking. And this the succeeding Popes confirmed, at the Request of King *Alphonsus*, and his Son, King *John*.

(*f*) The Popes Liberality, in giving what was not his own.

* After this, *Denys Fernandez* passed the River (*g*) *Sanuga*, (which separates the *Azegni* from the People of *Guinee*, call'd *Gialof*) and discovered also Cape *Verd*. And whereas in some succeeding Voyages, some that were Friends to the *Portugueze*, had been made Slaves: The King did at once an excellent Piece of Justice and Charity, making those that had stolen them, send them back to the *Canaries* from whence they were forced), well Apparelled, at their own Charges. These *Canaries* were first made known to the *French* and *Spaniards*, by *Macham* the *English-man*, mentioned before: And one *Berancet*, a *French-man*, who held three of them in possession, compounded with King *Henry* for them: But the *Spaniard* put in his Claim to them, as being conquered by that *French-man*, under the Countenance and Support of *Castile*: To which Crown they still belong, having gone through various Fortunes, and been in many Hands.

*A. D. 1443.

*A. D. 1445.

(*g*) *Sanuga*, & Cape *Verd* found.

But King *Henry* still prosecuted his Noble Design of laying open an unknown World to view, till the time came for himself to make a Voyage into another. (*b*) His Death happen'd, *Nov.* 13. *A. D.* 1463. and about 43 Years after the first Discovery of *Madera*: And tho' his whole Life, (that upon the Throne at least) had been entirely devoted to this Business, and vast Treasures had been expended upon the same); that in all his time (which was near Fifty Years) no greater Progress had been made, than from Cape *Bajadore*, to *Sierra Liona*, which is about 1110 Miles.

(*b*) K. *Henry's* Death.

A little before his Death, the Isles of Cape (*i*) *Verd* were discovered, by *Antonio di Nolle*, a *Genouese*, in Commission from the King; together with *Maio*, *Philip*, and *Fago* Isles. In his time also, some *Flemings* sailing for *Lisbon*, discover'd the *Tercera's*, which were Peopled in *A. D.* 1449.

(*i*) Isles of Cape *Verd* discover'd. *Maio*, *Fago*, &c.

King *Alphonsus*, his Successor, having little leisure for farther Discoveries, farmed that Concern to one *Fernand Gomez*, a Citizen of *Lisbon*, for the space of five Years; upon Condition, of Discovering 300 Miles every Year, beginning from *Sierra Liona*, and so along the Coast. This Person discover'd (*k*) *Mina*; and after that, down to Cape St. *Catharine*, on the South-side of the Line. About that time also, were discover'd the Isles of *Fernand Po*, St. *Thomas*, St. *Matthew*, *Annobon*, and *Del Principe*: But the World cannot enroll the Names of those Discoverers, amongst the rest of those who merit a Publick Acknowledgment, because they are wholly unknown. But we are now to look into the Management of Affairs, under the succeeding King of *Portugal*, *John* II.

(*k*) *Mina* & C. St. *Catharine*, St. *Thom.* &c.

This Prince possess'd of the Throne of *Portugal*, found leisure to prosecute the Business of Discovery, tho' his Predecessor could not. He having once tasted the Golden Profits of *Guiney*, resolved to give himself a more complete Satisfaction, and enter into a more intimate Correspondence with that charming Country.

Accordingly he sent * out a Fleet of 10 *Caravels*, under the (*a*) Command of *Diego Dazambuin*, to build the Castle of St. *George della Mina*; which in *A. D.* 1486, he dignified with the Privileges of a City. In the Church of this place, a Priest was appointed to pray for the Soul of King *Henry*; and quickly after, the King assumes the Title of Lord of *Guiney*. *Caramenza*, the Prince of that Country, would have hindred the building of the Castle, and the Negroes began to mutiny upon it; but partly by fair means, and partly by foul, the Mutineers were quieted, and the Design went on. The King gave Orders for the setting up of Stone Pillars in divers places, with the *Portugueze* Arms upon them, expressing the Times and Authors of the Discoveries that were made. Which Method was also used by *Diego Cau* (*b*), in the first Discovery of the Kingdom of *Congo*, who left divers such Memorials, as those upon the Banks of the River *Zair*. This Man, in both his Voyages, discovered 1125 Miles, from Cape St. *Catharine*, along the Coast.

*A. D. 1481.

(*a*) Note, that one of the Captains in this Expedition, was an *English-man*, named *Diego*, or *James Ruiz*.

(*b*) *Congo* discover'd in *A. D.* 1484.

By the Embassador of the King of *Benin*, (not far from *Mina*) the King of *Portugal* had (*c*) News of the Great Emperor of *Æthiopia*, commonly called *Prester-John*: Of which mighty Prince's Acquaintance being very ambitious; and also, no less desirous of an Acquaintance with the *East-Indies*, he sent out quickly in pursuance of both those Designs. Two Pinnaces, of 50 Tuns apiece, were dispatched, under the Command of *Barth. Diaz*, with a little Victualling-Bark, in *August*, *A. D.* 1486. This Captain made his (*d*) Enquiries after *Prester-John*, by certain Negroes (whom he set ashore in divers places), who were to make ample Reports of the *Portugueze* Civility, and Grandeur; the Marks of which they carried along with them, in their Apparel, and other Gifts bestowed upon them. He gave Names to several places that were discovered, and set up Crosses of Stone in an Island, called from thence, *The Cross*; where his People weary of the Voyage, and having lost their Victualling-Bark, with some Earnestness urged his Return. Notwithstanding which, he proceeded a little further, and discovered the famous (*e*) Cape, which in remembrance of his Troubles he call'd *Tormentoso*; and was afterwards, by K. *John*, call'd, the *Cape of Good Hope*. Here he also set up another Pillar of Stone, which he called St. *Philip*, as the other at the River of *Zair* was call'd St. *George*; and that at Cape St. *Augustine*, had its Name from the Cape. He return'd in *Decemb. A. D.* 1487. 16 Months, and 17 Days, after his setting out. By the way he met with his Victualler, supposed to be lost, and in it nine Men; three only of which were found alive: And one of that number, died with a Surprize of Joy, upon the meeting with their Ships again. These were the King's Endeavours by Sea, to come to the Knowledge of *Prester-John*.

(*c*) Notice of *Prester-John*.

(*d*) Enquiries after him.

(*e*) *Cape of Good Hope*.

By Land he sent some to fall in with the *Æthiopian* Company, and travel as Pilgrims; but wanting Skill in the *Arabick* Tongue, they were forced to return. Upon this one *Peter* (*f*) *Couilian*, versed in that Language, was employed in this Affair, (and with him *Alphonso Paina* *.) These went from *Alexandria* to *Cairo*, and so to *Aden*, from whence *Paina* went to pursue the *Æthiopian* Discovery, but died at *Cairo*. *Couilian* embark'd for the *East-Indies*, from whence he return'd to *Africa*, with a Design of going to *Portugal*. But he received Orders from the King, not to return till he had been in *Æthiopia*, whither he was deputed to go, in the Character of an Embassador: *Couilian* (having writ to the King, to encourage his Navigation, and sent him a Map of his Discoveries in *India* and *Africa*) prosecuted his Journey to the *Æthiopian* Court: Where he was made so Welcome, that he could never get loose again. The Report of which Reception, together with the Circumstances of his Travels, he made about 30 Years afterwards, to *Francis Alvarez*, an Attendant on *Roderick de Lima*, the King's Embassador to that Court.

(*f*) *Couilian* first in *Æthiopia*.

*A. D. 1487.

And thus far were Matters carried on by King *John*: He open'd the way by Land into the Bowels of *Africa*, and began a Correspondence with the most potent Monarch of that Quarter of the World. He might have done more, in all probability, had he fallen in with *Columbus*'s Offers, whom he saw in his first Return from the *Indies*, in *March*, *A. D.* 1493. Yet is Navigation a very great Debtor to this Prince, who passionately desired

(g) K. John's Endeavours to improve the Arts of the Sea.

its Glory and Improvement (*g*), and took hearty Care to accompliſh it. Two of his Phyſicians, *Roderigo*, and *Joſeph*, were good Mathematicians; and theſe he employ'd, with *Martin Bohemus*, (who was *Regiomontanus*'s Scholar) to ſupply the Deficiencies, and enlarge the Bounds of the Science. And now was Aſtronomy called in to its aſſiſtance; and various Inſtruments (the Privilege only of Aſtronomers before) were put into the Hands of the Sailors, and turn'd over to the Uſes of the Sea. Tables alſo of Declination were made, for the finding out the Latitude, and Courſe; with many other very curious Helps: All which were the Genuine Products of this happy Conjunction of Navigation and Aſtronomy.

And hitherto we have ſeen the Induſtrious *Portugueze*, drawing the firſt and more imperfect Lines of the Practice of Navigation: 'Tis our Buſineſs now to enquire, what heightning Strokes have been given by ſucceeding Maſters, and by what Steps and Draughts it has arrived to the Perfection in which we ſee it at this Day. And firſt of all comes in the Performance of *Columbus*; who diſcovers no leſs than half a World at once, and draws us a perfectly new Face on t'other ſide the Globe.

But before we ſet out with him, or any other of the General Sailors, we think it proper to deſire (once for all) the Reader's patient Indulgence, in the Liberty we take, of tracing the ſeveral particular Steps of theſe Mens Voyages. He may obſerve, that we reckon not only the Years and Months with them, but alſo the very Days too, when they are out at Sea: that we go with them almoſt into every Port, ſee them aſhore in every Iſland they come to, and take Notice of ſeveral Paſſages in their Sailing, that at firſt ſight may appear too minute and trifling, to deſerve a particular mention. But to perſwade his favourable Cenſure of this Liberty, he is deſired to conſider: That the Particularneſs of thoſe Obſervations, which might be a Fault, with reſpect to a well-known World, is neceſſary (or at leaſt very excuſable), in reference to a World not yet diſcovered. We are now going to take our firſt View of thoſe Parts of the Globe, which as yet we are ſuppoſed not to know. Theſe Men are our firſt Sailors, and go in an untrodden Path, and whatſoever they ſhew us is quite new: Upon this Score, to ſail but two or three Leagues with them, and only to ſee a Cape, or ſome ſorry Iſland, which lies in their way; may be of more moment, than to follow a Modern Sailor all round the Globe, and hear him talk of thoſe Places that have been a thouſand times deſcrib'd before. Every Step taken by a firſt Diſcoverer, preſents an Original in thoſe Matters; others that come after, do but Copy or Refine upon him, and continue the Story that he begins. His Relations are Text, (in their Conſequence and Weight) compar'd with thoſe of others, and therefore to be purſu'd even to a Scruple, in every Circumſtance, that does not appear with a bare Face of Folly and Impertinence. 'Tis for this Reaſon, that we propoſe ſo punctual an Obſervation of the ſeveral Steps of the Voyages, made by thoſe celebrated Perſons, who firſt ventur'd out into the World, and laid a Foundation for *Europe*'s Acquaintance and Converſe with the remoter Parts of it. But as the Diſcovery of the World goes on before us, and the Strangeneſs of thoſe Countries wears off by repeated Viſits made to them; tho' we will loſe nothing valuable, that our Modern Navigators have to ſhew us; yet we ſhall not give them that Ceremonious Attendance in Sailing, that we allow the more Ancient Ones.

CHAP. II.

Of COLUMBUS, *&c.*

WHERE this Fortunate Diſcoverer was born, is not agreed amongſt Writers: Some ſay at *Savona*; ſome at *Narni*; others at *Cicureo*, in the Territories of *Genoua*, of an ancient Houſe, and great Reputation, in the time of *Otho* II. This Great Man, it ſeems, tho' he brought a new World to light, yet left the Place of his own Birth and Breeding in ſo much obſcurity, that there needs another *Columbus* to find that out. However this be, 'tis enough to know, that he had an early Paſſion for the Sea, and began both to Trade, and make Charts for Sea Service, when he was very young. The Fame of the *Portugueze*, for their Skill in Marine Affairs, brought him to thoſe Parts; where he Married and Settled, and Traded to the Coaſts of *Guiney*. He had the Character of a Man, ſober, temperate, grave, and devout, of competent Learning in other reſpects, and very ſtudious in the Mathematicks. What Motives induced him to the Great Undertaking, he afterwards ſo happily finiſh'd, are unknown. Some ſay, a certain Pilot, that had been driven upon the Iſlands of *America*, gave him the firſt hint of a new World there: But this is thought to be the fruit of *Spaniſh* Envy; that People perhaps being much concern'd that *Italy* ſhould raviſh this Glory from their Country. 'Tis probable, that his own Mathematical Reaſonings might make him conclude, the poſſibility of finding Inhabitants on the other ſide of the Globe. That conſidering the vaſt Dimenſions of the Earth (which might eaſily be determined from the Principles of *Geometry*); and that the known World was circumſcribed within very narrow Bounds: It was utterly improbable, that all the reſt of ſo great a Ball, ſhould be overſpread with Water, and be an Habitation for Fiſhes, inſtead of Men, who had at firſt ſo peculiar a Charge from the Almighty, to multiply and repleniſh it. Being alſo amongſt the *Portugueze*, he could not but hear ſeveral things, from ſome Hands or other, that might ſerve to confirm thoſe Suſpicions of a new Face of the Globe, which Mathematicks perhaps had at firſt given him. Thus 'tis ſaid, that a certain (*a*) Mariner, which uſed the *Azores* and *Tercera* Iſles, told him, That he was once carried 450 Leagues to the Weſt of Cape *Vincent*, and there took up a piece of Timber, wrought by a Man's Hand, and, as he thought, without Iron; and this, he fanſied, muſt come from ſome more Weſtern Iſland. (*b*) Another alſo reported, That he had ſeen a piece at *Puerto Santo*, wrought after the ſame Faſhion, brought thither by the Weſterly Winds; beſides very large Canes, capable of holding two Gallons of Water in each Knot: Which being reported to grow in *India*, he ſuppoſed might be conveyed into thoſe Parts, by the ſame forces of Winds as the Timber was. Some Informations from the *Azores*, likewiſe aſſured him, That certain Pines had been caſt up at *Fayal*, and *Graciosa*, by ſtrong Weſterly and N. W. Winds; together with two Canoes, and the like number of dead Men, upon the Coaſt of *Floras*; who by their much larger Faces, and different Countenances, ſeem'd to have been Inhabitants of ſome remote and unknown Region. There were ſome alſo, that confidently aſſerted, That Land had diverstimes been ſeen at a diſtance, which lay far beyond the Bounds of the preſent Diſcoveries; and conſequently, was ſome part of the Globe that had not yet been viſited by the *European* Sailors. Some of theſe Perſons made their Reports to *Columbus* himſelf, as *Diego Velaſques*; and particularly a certain Mariner, who told him of an Iſland which he had ſeen lie far Weſt of *Ireland*, and ſuppoſed to be that now called *Newfoundland*. Others (*c*) had given in their Experiences to the ſame effect, if not to *Columbus* himſelf, yet to the World and the Nation where he reſided; ſo that he cou'd not miſs of the Information. And now being fully aſſured, that a New World lay ſome where or other conceal'd, his next Care was to come at the ſight of it: And in order thereto, to procure ſuch due Encouragement and Aſſiſtance, as might render his Attempts ſucceſsful. In the firſt place therefore, he propounded the Matter to the *Genoueſe*, his Country-men: To whom his Propoſals not being at all agreeable, he addreſſed himſelf, in hope of better Fortune, to the Court of *Portugal*. But the Project took no better at *Lisbon*, than it did at *Genoua*; and the Notion of a New World was much in the ſame degree of Reputation amongſt them, as that of a New-raiſed Body was formerly at *Athens*. Here the King's Mathematicians acted the parts of thoſe Bantering Philoſophers, and heard this New Doctrine broach'd with not a little Sport and Jeſt. However, *Columbus*'s Reaſonings made ſome Impreſſion upon them, ſo far, that they thought it proper to adviſe the King, to try whether he ſpoke Truth or no. And thereupon a Veſſel was ſecretly ſent out, with Orders to look after *Columbus*'s World; which not finding, and meeting with bad Weather, they return'd home, having done nothing.

Columbus in the next place (tho' having had ſo many diſcouraging Repulſes) thought of making one Effort more, and that was, trying of the Temper and Inclinations of the *Engliſh*: And accordingly ſent his Brother *Bartholomew* to

Columbus early a Student in Mathematicks.

(*a*) *Martin Vincent.*

(*b*) *Pedro Correa.*

Some Hints given him of undiſcover'd Land.

(*c*) *Antonio Leme, Pedro de Velaſco, Vincent Diaz, a Portugueze.*

Genoueſe and *Portugueze* reject his Propoſals.

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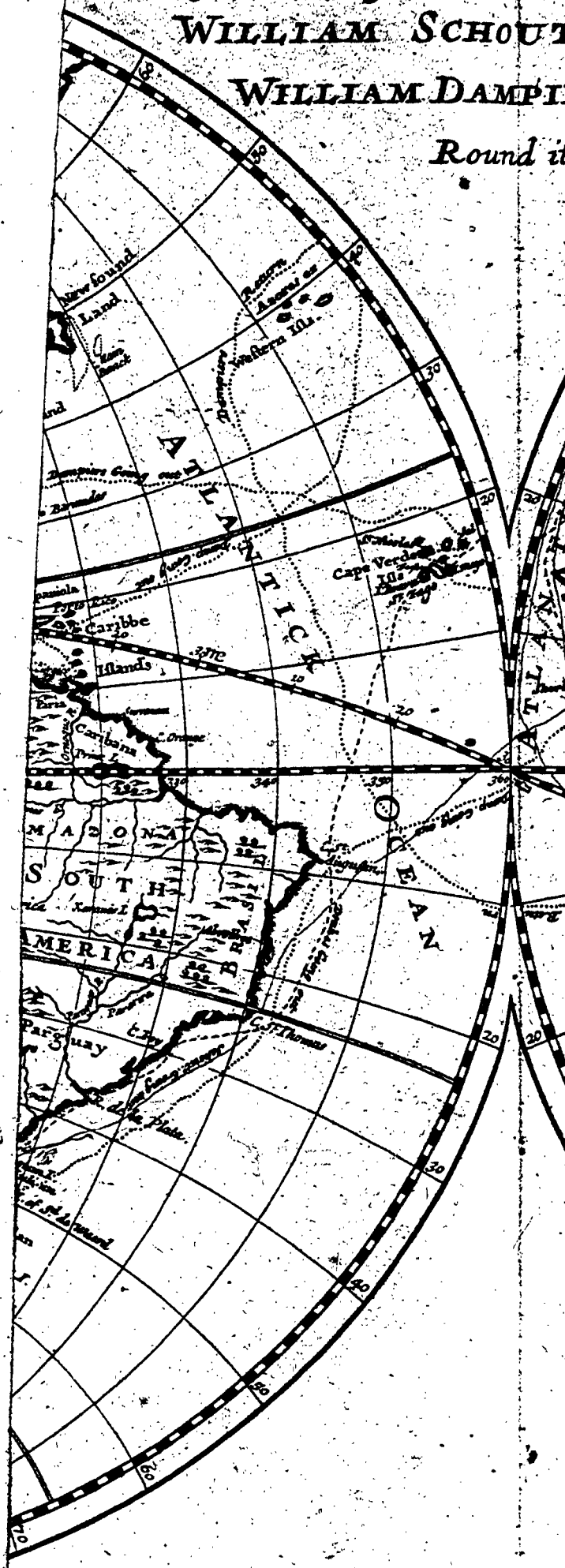
Columbus early a Student in Mathematicks.

(a) Martin Vincent.

(b) Pedro Correa.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Columbus forced to Compound with them.

(b) They see Land.

(c) Salvador discover'd.

* The Natives.

(d) Conception Isle found.
(e) Fernandina

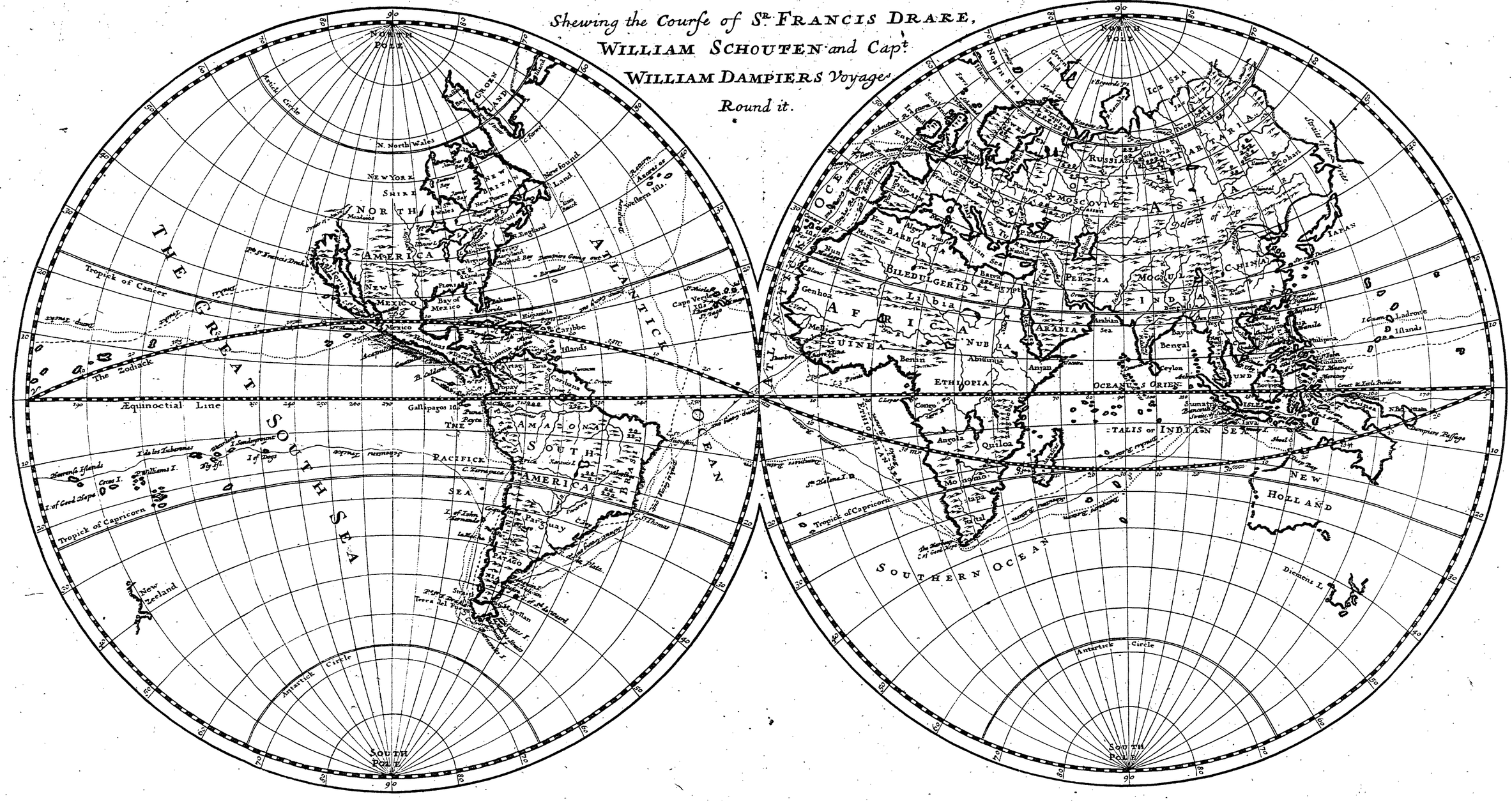
(f) Isabella.

(g) Cuba, which they call'd Juana, in Honour of the Prince of Castile.

(h) Hispaniola discover'd.

A NEW MAP OF THE WORLD

Shewing the Course of Sr. FRANCIS DRAKE, WILLIAM SCHOUTEN and Capt. WILLIAM DAMPIERS Voyages Round it.



(g) K. John's Endeavours to improve the Arts of the Sea.

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(a) Ma Vincent.

(b) Pa Correa.

to King *Henry* VII. This Messenger falling into the Hands of Pirates by the way, and not being so lucky as to get a speedy Hearing of the King, Matters were delayed so long, that *Columbus* weary with fruitless Waitings, immediately * applied himself to the Court of *Spain*. But their Catholick Majesties being then engaged in War with the *Moors*, his Answer was (after five Years Suit), That the Treasure of the Nation was so exhausted with those Wars, that they could not afford to be at any New Expences.

Delayed in England. * A.D. 1484.

Columbus needed not have felt the Pain of this new Repulse, had he deferr'd his Applications to this Court, and not begg'd of *Spain*, till he had received a positive Denial from *England*: For this latter Court did embrace his Proposals, tho' things went so tediously on, that (as it happen'd) his Request was granted in *Spain*, before he knew 'twas consider'd in *England*. But 'twas the Fruit of much Labour and Toil, and came after innumerable Slights and Repulses.

The two Dukes of *Medina Celi*, and *M. Sidon.* were his Advocates; but could not be heard on his behalf. Twice he thought of setting a final Period to his unprofitable Endeavours in *Spain*, and get over to his Brother, at the *English* Court. But at last the Scene changed; and the Clergy undertaking his Cause, it prosper'd in their Hands. *Columbus* was admitted to their Catholick Majesties Presence, and had a favourable Audience, and Grant of his Desires; the Queen being willing to pawn her very Jewels, to raise Money for his Expedition. This was the best use they could possibly be put to at that time; because they were quickly (with great Advantage) to be redeemed, by the rich Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*. Besides, the *Spanish* Stock was very low, at that Juncture; and they could never have nick'd the time more exactly to go to the *West-Indies*, to do themselves a kindness.

Succeeds in *Spain*.

The Terms *Columbus* made with their Catholick Majesties, were these: *That if he made no Discoveries, he would have no Reward: And if he did, that he should sustain the Office of Vice-Roy by Land, and Admiral by Sea; with the Advantage of the Tenths of the Profits, through all the Countries discovered by him. And these Privileges not to be restrain'd to his own Person only, but to become Hereditary.* This Agreement was made in the open Field, at the Siege of *Granada*, April 17. 1492.

And 'twas not long before the Voyage thus resolved upon, did actually commence: For the Court was now as warm in the Prosecution of the Design, as before 'twas cold and indifferent. *Columbus* had reason'd them all into such high Expectations of the Success of his Undertaking, that they were as eager for his going, as he himself.

Columbus sets out.

Accordingly having gotten a small Fleet of three Caravels he set forth from *Palos*, on *Friday*, *August* 2. *A. D.* 1492. Himself commanded the Admiral called St. *Maria*. *Martin Alonzo Pinçon*, was Captain of the *Pinta*; and his Brother, *Francisco*, was Master. And in the Third Vessel, which they called the *Ninna*, *Vincent Tannez Pinçon*, was Captain, and Master. These Officers had under their Command, in these Three Vessels, about 120, or as some say, but 90 Men.

On the 11th they had sight of the *Canaries*, where they staid till *September* the 6th, refreshing themselves at the Isle *Gomera*; but went off then for fear of the *Portugueze*, who had Mann'd out three Caravels to take them.

The *Portugueze* attempt to hinder them.

September the 7th, they lost sight of Land; and with that, their Courages too; a great many of them taking their leaves of this, and expecting the next time to land in the other World. *Columbus* comforted these Cowards as well as he could; and to do it effectually, was fain to cheat them in his Reckoning; making them believe they were not so far from Home, as indeed they were. On the 14th they observed the Variation of the (*a*) Compass; which was the first time that Phænomenon had fallen under Observation. On *Sunday* the 16th they saw Grass and Herbs floating on the Water, and some small Animals, (Grashoppers) alive amongst them; which made some of them (now come to a little better hope) believe, they should see dry Land once more, and that quickly too. The Nineteenth and Twentieth, these Presages continued; besides which, they saw some Sea-Fowl: All which put together, considerably raised their Expectations of it. All this while the Wind favoured their Voyage; but on *September* the 22d, it came cross at S. W. And now the *Spaniards* began downright to repent them of their rash Attempt, in venturing so far from home; and therefore expecting to become a Banquet to the Fishes, in a very little time, they began to storm at their Admiral, that he had brought them thither: Not sparing the very King and Queen themselves in their Passion, as Persons too easie and credulous, charging them with Indiscretion, in listening to such wild Proposals, and sacrificing their Subjects upon such trivial Occasions. As for *Columbus*'s part, they told him plainly, That if he wou'd not tack about, and make homewards again, he should go over-board without fail: For they were resolved to shift for themselves, and save their own Lives, if they cou'd. The Admiral return'd them good Words for bad; and answer'd these insolent Threatnings of the Rabble, with charming Promises of great Rewards, upon Condition of a little more Patience. And tho' he made shift to cheat them into a little good Humour, by crying out Land, on the 25th of *September*: Yet that Calm was quickly succeeded by a more outragious Storm than before; the Result of which was, that after some farther Trials, *Columbus* (having no way to defend himself any longer), was forced to promise to return, if they discovered not Land in three Day's time; this being the utmost space, that the domineering Sailors would allow him.

Columbus forced to Compound with them.

(a) The Variation first observed.

Spanish mutiny.

The first of those Days, he found by the Sun-setting, that Land was near; upon which they contracted their Sails; and that same Night they saw Light. About two Hours after Midnight, one of the Company discover'd Land (*b*). This happy Sight was on *October* the 11th, *A. D.* 1492. This they found to be an Island of 15 Leagues compass; and it was one of the *Lucayans*, called by the Inhabitants, *Gavehani*; but by them *San* (*c*) *Salvador*, being about 950 Leagues from the *Canaries*. Here they went ashoar, and having sung a *Te Deum*, they took solemn Possession of the place, in the Name of their Catholick Majesties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Isabella*.

(*b*) They see Land.

(*c*) *Salvador* discover'd.

The Natives of the place thought them to be very strange People; and much more wondred at their Ships, which they believ'd to be Great Animals. The *Spaniards* gave them Caps, Beads, and other Toys; which they payed themselves very well for, in more valuable things. These People were naked, of a middle-size, well proportion'd Bodies; their Natural Complexion of an Olive, but painted with other Colours, according to their Fancies *. They knew not the Use of Iron, nor the Make of Weapons, but innocently laid their Hands on the Edges of the *Spaniards* Swords. Their Isle abounded with Parrots, besides which they scarce saw any other Animals. They truck'd for Cotton-Yarn: And told the *Spaniards*, That the Gold they wore in Rings at their Nostrils, came from the South; where they would find a Prince very rich therein.

* The Natives.

On the 15th of *October* they went to another Island, seven Leagues from thence, which they call'd (*d*) St. *Maria de la Conception*. The 17th they went to *Fernandina* (*e*), the Women of which place had only short Cotton Coats, from the Navel to the Mid-thigh, to cover their Nakedness. After this they came to another Isle, which they called *Isabella* (*f*): Of which, as of all the others, they took solemn Possession; and in all these Places carried it justly and honestly towards the Natives. They proceeded hence to *Cuba* (*g*), which the *Indians* told him afforded Gold and Pearl. Two *Spaniards*, and as many *Indians*, were here sent to search the Country; and lighting of an *Indian* Town of about Fifty Houses, they were well treated there, the *Spaniards* being honour'd with Incense as they went along, as if they had been Deities; which the simple *Indians* indeed did almost believe, tho' after Experience made them wiser. Here they saw Cotton grow of it self, with several sorts of strange Birds and Trees: But the Commodity the *Spaniards* most minded, was the Gold which they saw the *Indians* wear in their Noses; about which they were so curious as to ask some Questions: To which the *Indians* as honestly answer'd, *Cubanacan*; that is, they had it out of the midst of *Cuba*; the *Spaniards* thinking (because of that Term *Can*) that they had talk'd of the Great Cham of *Cathay*.

(*d*) *Conception* Isle found.

(*e*) *Fernandina*

(*f*) *Isabella*:

(*g*) *Cuba*, which they call'd *Juana*, in Honour of the Prince of *Castile*.

Alonzo Pinçon left *Columbus* here, who quickly after went himself in quest of *Hispaniola* (*h*); which the Natives at that time call'd *Hayti*. They took here a Woman, a Native of the Island, whom treating well, she became a serviceable Agent on their behalf, with the rest of the Natives: So that at last there was a very good Correspondence establish'd between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* there, the King of the Place inviting *Columbus* to come ashoar. A Fort was built upon this Island, to maintain the *Spanish* Pretensions and Authority; in which 38 Soldiers were left: And after this Business done, *Columbus* made Provisions for a Voyage homewards, charging his *Spaniards* to carry it obligingly to the *Indians*, and their King.

(*h*) *Hispaniola* discover'd.

Accordingly on *Friday*, *Jan.* 4. 1493. he set out from the Port of *Nativity*. In his Voyage, he affirms, he saw Mermaids; as also before, on the Coast of *Guinea*. And now much more of the Coasts of that large Isle *Hispaniola* came under their view; which they diligently observed, and gave

gave Names to divers Capes and Harbouts. About some of these Parts, the *Indians* and *Spaniards* had a Quarrel, which came to a small Skirmish; but this Breach was quickly made up, and the Controversie finish'd, by a Token of Submission from the *Indian* King, which was his Crown of Gold, sending them good Intelligence in to the Bargain. From this (*i*) place they set out *Jan.* 17. making the best of their Way homewards; *Columbus*'s Reckoning being now as many Leagues short of theirs, in coming from the *Indies* to *Spain*, as theirs was of the Truth in going from *Spain* to the *Indies*.

((*i*) The Gulf *de las Flechas.* Sail Homeward.)

In *February* a fierce Tempest overtook them, in which time of Danger (all other Remedies failing) they humbly implored our Lady's Help, vowing Pilgrimages in Honour of her, if ever they came safe to Shoar. For this they cast Lots; the first of which fell on *Columbus* himself, to go to *Guadalupe*; the second on *Pedro de Villa*, to *Loretto*; and the third common to all of them, to march in solemn Procession in their Shirts, to the first Church of our Lady they came at. Yet had they sunk, the World might possibly have had the Knowledge of *Columbus*'s Discoveries: For he writ the Discourse of it at large in Parchment, and put it up in a Barrel, intending to commit it thus to the Care of Providence. But they scap'd this Danger, and *Feb.* 15. had sight of St. *Mary*'s Island, one of the *Azores*. And here going ashoar upon the pious Design of fulfilling their Vows, they fell into the Hands of the *Portugueze*; the Saint of their Vows, it seems, not taking due Care to protect them from that Misfortune.

(Vows made in a Storm.)

However, by some means or other, they made an Escape from thence; and going off to Sea, were met with another Storm, which exercis'd their Devotion a second time, and produced another Vow of Pilgrimage (but unhappily made) to our Lady of *Cinta*. Here the Admiral suffer'd for his Devotion, for the Lot fell on him, and so forced him to *Lisbon*, into the Hands of his Enemies. Some of the *Portugueze* would have given him a rough Entertainment; but the more Generous King defended him from their Malice, gave him good Entertainment, and Crown'd all his Favours with a Concession of full Liberty to depart into *Spain*. But this was not the only Injury the *Portugueze* did this most deserving Person: For they assaulted his Fame, and endeavour'd to eclipse the Glory of that Performance of his, which all Posterity will celebrate him for. Nay, the *Spaniards* themselves (for the Good of whose Nation his Labours were bestowed) could hardly forbear traducing (at least lessening) of him, and what he had done; telling him, 'Twas a very easie Matter to make the Discoveries he had made. This envious Objection he very pleasantly diverted by the Problem of the Egg, which was to be made stand upright on one end. When the Shell was broke, the Egg would stand; but they could not hit of that Method to make it stand, and gave over the Problem as insoluble, till *Columbus* crack'd the Shell, and solv'd it. So when his Discoveries of the New World were made, 'twas an easie matter then to find it out. But Envy and Malice will find Employment for themselves, and no Merit nor Goodness can be a Defence against the Assault of them. This *Columbus* found by many other unpleasant Experiences: Who yet, (notwithstanding the scurvy Usage of some Men) was highly valued by their Catholick Majesties, Nobly Rewarded for his good Service, and had the far better and more lasting Reward, of the Praises of the most ingenious Writers of that Age.

(*Columbus*'s second Vow forces him to *Lisbon*.)

(The King of *Portugal* releases him.)

(The *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* envy him.)

Their Catholick Majesties possess'd of these new Dominions, thought fit to desire a Confirmation of their Title to them, from the Divine Vicegerent here on Earth. This was a very sure Course, and every way as effectual for their Majesties purpose, as an immediate Grant from the High Court above: Since the Act and Deed of this Great Minister of Heaven, would be esteem'd of by all the Catholick World, as that of the Supreme King himself.

(King of *Spain* addresses the Pope, &c.)

Accordingly an Embassador was sent to *Rome* upon this important Affair; which as it was the first of that nature that ever that Court was address'd to upon; so it succeeded in all Points as well as could be hoped for. The Pope then in the Chair was *Alexander* VI. a *Spaniard* by Birth, and a Native of *Valentia*. He immediately granted their Catholick Majesties Request; and by Virtue of that Power (long before pretended to by the Successors of St. *Peter*), which extended to the Sovereign Disposal of all the Kingdoms of this World, he pass'd over these New Acquisitions in *America*, to the Crown of *Castile*; which he declared to the World in a solemn Bull publish'd upon that occasion. A Copy of this Bull is here faithfully transcribed for the Entertainment of those that would see how little the *Romish* Pontiffs do scruple breaking the Rules of common Justice and Equity, to serve the Purposes of their own Worldly Interest and Glory. That they can Dethrone Princes, dispossess whole Nations of their rightful Inheritances, transfer the Properties of one People to another, turn out those whom God and Nature have put any where in possession, to make room for their own Votaries.

Exemplar BULLÆ seu Donationis, Autoritate cujus, Episcopus Romanus *Alexander* ejus nominis Sextus, Concessit & Donavit *Castellæ* Regibus & suis Successoribus, Regiones & Insulas Novi Orbis.

ALexander *Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo Filio* Ferdinando *Regi, & Charissimæ in Christo Filiæ* Elizabeth *Reginæ* Castellæ, Legionis, Arragonum, Siciliæ, & Granatæ, *Illustribus, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

(The Pope's Bull.)

Inter cætera Divinæ Majestati beneplacita opera & cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit, ut Fides Catholica & Christiana Religio nostris præsertim temporibus exaltetur, ac ubilibet amplietur ac dilatetur, animarumque salus procuretur, ac barbaræ Nationes deprimantur & ad Fidem ipsam reducantur. Unde cum ad hanc Sacram Petri *Sedem Divina favente clementia (meritis licet imparibus) evocati fuerimus, cognoscentes vos tanquam veros Catholicos Reges & Principes: Quales semper fuisse novimus, & à vobis præclare gesta, toti pæne Orbi notissima demonstrant, nedum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio, & diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum, omnesque conatus ad hoc jamdudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio Regni Granatæ à Tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Divini nominis gloria facta, testatur. Digne ducimur non immerito, & debemus illa vobis etiam sponte, ac favorabiliter concedere per quæ hujusmodi sanctum ac laudabile ab immortali Deo acceptum propositum, indies ferventiori animo ad ipsius Dei honorem & Imperii Christiani propagationem, prosequi valeatis. Sane accepimus quòd vos qui dudum animum proposueratis aliquas Insulas & Terras firmas remotas & incognitas, ac per alios hactenus non repertas, quærere & invenire, ut illarum incolas & habitatores ad colendum redemptorem nostrum & fidem Catholicam profitendum reduceretis, hactenus in expugnatione & recuperatione ipsius Regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, hujusmodi sanctum & laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis. Sed tandem, sicut Domino placuit, Regno prædicto recuperato, volentes desiderium vestrum adimplere, dilictum filium* Christophorum Colonum, *virum utique dignum, & plurimum commendatum, ac tanto negotio aptum, cum Navigiis & hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus, ac periculis, & expensis destinastis ut Terras firmas & Insulas remotas & incognitas, hujusmodi per Mare, ubi hactenus Navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem (Divino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in Mari Oceano Navigantes) certas Insulas remotissimas, & etiam Terras firmas, quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fuerant, invenerunt. In quibus plurimæ gentes pacifice viventes, & (ut asseritur) nudi incedentes, nec carnibus vescentes, inhabitant: Et ut præfati Nuntii vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipsæ in Insulis, & terris prædictis habitantes, credunt unum Deum Creatorem in Cœlis esse, ac ad fidem Catholicam amplexandum & bonis moribus imbuendum, satis apti videntur: Spesque habetur, quod si erudirentur, nomen salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Terris & Insulis prædictis facile induceretur. Ac præfatus* Christophorus *in una ex principalibus Insulis prædictis, jam unam turrim satis munitam, in qua certos Christianos qui secum inerant in custodiam, & ut alias Insulas ac Terras firmas remotas & incognitas inquirerent, posuit, construi & ædificari fecit. In quibus quidem Insulis & terris jam repertis, Aurum, Aromata, & aliæ quamplurimæ res preciosæ diversi generis & diversæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Unde omnibus diligenter, & præsertim fidei Catholicæ exaltatione & dilatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges & Principes) consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum claræ memoriæ Regum, Terras firmas & Insulas prædictas, illarumque Incolas & Habitatores, vobis Divina favente clementia subjicere, & ad fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis. Nos itaque hujusmodi vestrum sanctum & laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, & ipsum nomen salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino, & per sacri lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis, ut per viscera misericordiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi atque requirimus, ut cum expeditionem hujusmodi omnino prosequi & assumere prona mente Orthodoxæ fidei zelo intendatis, populos in hujusmodi Insulis & Terris degentes, ad Christianam Religionem suscipiendum inducere velitis & debeatis, ac peri-*

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cula nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma ſpe fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus veſtros faliciter proſequetur. Et ut tanti Negotii Provinciam Apoſtolicæ gratiæ largitate donati, liberius & audacius aſſumatis, motu proprio non ad veſtram vel alterius, pro vobis ſuper hoc nobis oblatæ petitionis inſtantiam, ſed de noſtra mera liberalitate, & ex certa ſcientia, ac de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, omnes Inſulas & Terras firmas inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas verſus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & conſtruendo unam lineam à Polo Arctico, ſcilicet Septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, ſcilicet Meridiem, ſive Terræ firmæ & Inſulæ inventæ, & inveniendæ ſint, verſus Indiam, aut verſus aliam quamcunque partem, unæ linea diſtet à quelibet Inſularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis, verſus Occidentem & Meridiem. Itaque omnes Inſulæ & Terræ firmæ repertæ & reperiendæ, detectæ & detegendæ à præfata linea verſus Occidentem & Meridiem, quæ per alium Regem aut Principem Chriſtianum non fuerint actualiter poſſeſſæ uſque ad diem Nativitatis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti proxime præteritum, à quo incipit Annus præſens Milleſimus quadringentiſimus nongeſimus tertius, quando fuerunt per Nuncios & Capitaneos veſtros inventæ aliquæ prædictarum Inſularum Autoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro *conceſſæ, ac Vicariatus Jeſu Chriſti, qua fungimur in Terris, cum omnibus illarum Dominiis, Civitatibus, Caſtris, Locis, & Villis, juribuſque & juriſdictionibus ac pertinentiis univerſis vobis, hæredibuſque, & ſucceſſoribus veſtris (Caſtellæ & Legionis Regibus) in perpetuum tenore præſentium donamus, concedimus, & aſſignamus: Voſque, & hæredes, ac ſucceſſores præfatos illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, & omnimoda poteſtate, autoritate, & juriſdictione, facimus, conſtituimus, & deputamus. Decernentes nihilo minus, per hujuſmodi donationem, conceſſionem, & aſſignationem noſtram, nulli Chriſtiano Principi, qui actualiter præfatas Inſulas & Terras firmas poſſederit uſque ad prædictum diem Nativitatis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti jus quæſitum, ſublatum intelligi poſſe, aut auferri debere.*

Et inſuper mandamus vobis in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ (ut ſicut pollicemini, & non dubitamus pro veſtra maxima devotione & Regia magnanimitate vos eſſe facturos) ad Terras firmas & Inſulas prædictas, viros probos & Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, & expertos ad inſtruendum Incolas & habitatores præfatos in fide Catholica, & bonis moribus imbuendum, deſtinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmiſſis adhibentes. Ac quibuſcunque perſonis, cujuſcunque dignitatis, etiam Imperialis & Regalis ſtatus, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, ſub excommunicationis latæ ſententiæ pœna quam eo ipſo, ſi contra fecerint incurrant, diſtrictius inhibemus ne ad Inſulas & Terras firmas inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas verſus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & conſtruendo lineam à Polo Arctico ad Polum Antarcticum, ſive Terræ firmæ & Inſulæ inventæ & inveniendæ ſint verſus Indiam aut verſus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ lineæ diſtet à qualibet Inſularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis verſus Occidentem & Meridiem ut præfertur, pro mercibus habendis, vel quavis alia cauſa accedere præſumat, abſque veſtra ac hæredum & ſucceſſorum veſtrorum prædictorum licentia ſpeciali: Non obſtantibus conſtitutionibus & ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, ceteriſque quibuſcunque: In illo in quo Imperio & Dominationes & bona cuncta procedunt, Confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus veſtros, ſi hujuſmodi ſanctum ac laudabile propoſitum proſequamini, brevi tempore cum felicitate & gloria totius populi Chriſtiani, veſtri labores & conatus exitum feliciſſimum conſequentur. Verum quia difficile foret præſentes literas ad ſingula quæque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferri, volumus ac motu & ſcientia ſimilibus decernimus, quod illarum tranſſumptis manu publici Notarii inde rogati ſubſcriptis, & ſigillo alicujus perſonæ in Eccleſiaſtica dignitate conſtitutæ, ſeu Curiæ Eccleſiaſticæ munitis, ea prorſus fides in judicio & extra, ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, quæ præſentibus adhiberetur ſi eſſent adhibitæ vel oſtenſæ.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam noſtræ commendationis, hortationis, requiſitionis, donationis, conceſſionis, aſſignationis, conſtitutionis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis, & voluntatis, infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli *Apoſtolorum ejus, ſe noverit incurſurum.*

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum *Petrum*, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1493. quarto Nonas Maii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Primo.

A Copy of the Bull, or Grant, by Virtue of which, Alexander VI. *Biſhop of* Rome, *entitled the Kings of* Caſtile, *and their Succeſſors, to the Countries and Iſlands of the New World.*

Alexander Biſhop, the Servant of the Servants of God, to our dearly beloved Son in Chriſt, *Ferdinand* King, and to our dearly beloved Daughter in Chriſt, *Elizabeth* Queen of *Caſtile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily,* and *Granada,* moſt Illuſtrious Princes, wiſheth all Health and Apoſtolical Benediction.

This Bull is to be ſeen in *Lopez de Gomara*, in his Hiſt. Gen. Part 2. c. 19. and in *R. Eden.*

Of all the Works that are acceptable to the Divine Majeſty, and agreeable to our Wiſhes; that doubtleſs is the greateſt, which conſiſts in promoting, enlarging, and conveying into all Parts the Catholick Faith, and Chriſtian Religion, eſpecially in the Age we live in, in procuring the Salvation of Souls, in Subduing and Converting the barbarous Nations: We therefore being call'd by the Divine Clemency, (tho' without a ſuitable Merit) to St. *Peter's* Sacred-Chair; and having always known you to be true Catholick Kings and Princes; eſpecially conſidering that your Noble Exploits, celebrated almoſt all the World over, are demonſtrative Evidence, that you not only wiſh for the Advancement of the Catholick Intereſt, but actually promote it by all your Efforts, Study, and Diligence, ſparing no Labour, Expences, or Danger, nor even the Effuſion of your own Blood: In a word, that all your Thoughts and Endeavours have for a long time been ſolely bent upon it; of which your reſcuing of the Kingdom of *Granada* from the Tyranny of the *Saracens*, in our time, to the infinite Glory of the Divine Name, is a memorable Inſtance. As theſe Accounts plead your Merit, ſo we are ſenſible that we ought of our own Accord, and out of pure Favour, to grant you whatever may enable you to carry on, and purſue with growing Fervency your holy and laudable Deſigns, ſo acceptable to the Immortal Being, in order to promote the Honour of his Name, and enlarge the Bounds of Chriſtianity. In earneſt, we are inform'd, that you had form'd a Deſign ſome time ago, to carry on the Queſt and Diſcovery of ſome remote Iſlands, and Continents, that are not yet known or diſcover'd by others; in order to reduce the Inhabitants to the Worſhip of our Redeemer, and the Profeſſion of the Catholick Faith; but being then diverted by the Conqueſt and Regaining of the Kingdom of *Granada*, you were not at that time able to compaſs your holy and laudable Ends. We underſtand likewiſe, that at laſt having recover'd *Granada*, purſuant to the Divine Will, you purſued your former Intention, by appointing our beloved Son, *Chriſtopher Columus*, a Man of Worth and Repute, and qualify'd for ſo great an Undertaking, to Viſit the Seas that Navigation had not reach'd, in queſt of the remote and undiſcover'd Continents and Iſlands; and furniſh'd him with Men and Shipping proper for the purpoſe, not without great Labour, Danger, and Charge: That the ſaid *Chriſtopher*, and his Companions, by God's Aſſiſtance, ſailing with extream Diligence thro' the Ocean, did accordingly diſcover ſome very remote Iſlands, and even Continents, that were formerly unknown, and are inhabited by ſeveral peaceable Nations, which (as 'tis ſaid) go naked, and abſtain from Fleſh; and in the Opinion of your Diſcoverers, believe that one God, the Creator of the Univerſe, reſides in Heaven, and ſeem ſufficiently diſpos'd for embracing Civility, and the Catholick Faith; inſomuch, that 'tis hop'd that proper Inſtruction would eaſily introduce the Name of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, into the above-mention'd Continents and Iſlands. Our Intelligence likewiſe bears, That the ſaid *Chriſtopher* caus'd a Fortreſs of ſome ſtrength to be built, in one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe Iſlands; and has therein plac'd a Garriſon of ſome Chriſtians that accompanied him, who are likewiſe to look out for other undiſcover'd Iſlands and Continents: That the Iſlands and Continents thus diſcover'd, afford Plenty of Gold, Spices, and ſeveral other precious Things: And that you, after a mature Conſideration of all the Circumſtances, eſpecially the Promotion and Enlargement of the Catholick Faith, purſuant to the Duty of Catholick Kings and Princes, have reſolv'd, in imitation of the Illuſtrious Kings your Anceſtors, by the Favour of Almighty God, to ſubdue and reclaim to the Catholick Faith, the abovemention'd Continents and Iſlands, their Natives and Inhabitants. Now we approving very much of this your holy and godly Purpoſe in our Lord, and deſiring that it may be brought to a due Period, that the Name of our Saviour may be eſtabliſhed in thoſe Parts, do ſeriouſly exhort you in our Lord, conjuring you by your holy Baptiſm,

ptism, which obliges you to an Apostolical Obedience, and earnestly require you, by the Bowels of the Mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that since you intend, out of a Zeal for the Orthodox Faith, vigorously to pursue, and carry on the said Expedition, to reduce the People of the foresaid Lands and Islands, to the Christian Religion: You shall not be at any time scar'd by Danger or Labour, relying upon a firm Hope and Confidence, that the Almighty will Crown your Endeavours with Success. And to the end that the Bounty of Apostolical Grace may inspire you with more Freedom and Boldness, in pursuing so great a Design; we do of our own Accord, without any Influence from your Solicitation, or that of others in your behalf; but out of our own pure Bounty, and by Virtue of our certain Knowledge, and the Fulness of Apostolical Power, Give, Grant, and Assign to you, your Heirs and Successors, the Kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, all the Islands and Continents, found, or to be found, discovered, or to be discover'd, toward the West and South, whether towards *India*, or any other part; drawing a Line from the Artick Pole, or the North, to the Antartick Pole, or the South, at the distance of a hundred Leagues towards the West and South, from any of the Islands that are commonly call'd, *De los Azores*, and *Capo Verde*. So that all the Islands and Continents found and to be found, discover'd and to be discover'd, from the said Line, towards the West and South, that were not actually possess'd by any other Christian Prince before the last Christmass, (*i. e.*) the Commencement of the present Year of our Lord 1493. any of these Countries, I say, when discover'd by your Captains, and Servants, together with their Dominions, Cities, Castles, Forts, Villages, Rights, Jurisdictions, and all Appurtenances, are by the Tenor of these Presents Given, Granted, and Assign'd to you, your Heirs, and Successors for ever, by Virtue of the Authority of Almighty God granted to us in St. *Peter*, and the Vicarship of Jesus Christ, lodg'd in us upon Earth: And hereby Make, Constitute, and Depute you, your Heirs and Successors, the Lords thereof, with Full, Free and Universal Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction: Provided still, that this our Gift, Grant, and Assignation, shan't be understood to dispossess any Christian Prince, of what Islands, or Continents, he may have possess'd before the Christmass afore-mention'd.

And further, with regard to that Holy Obedience, which you have promis'd, and we doubt not, will perform, in Conformity to your singular Devotion, and Royal Magnanimity, we command you to pursue the Premises with utmost Diligence, and to send to those Islands and Continents, Men of Probity and Learning, such as fear God, and are qualified to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholick Faith, and Good Manners. At the same time we strictly prohibit all Persons of what Estate, Degree, Order, or Condition soever; or whatever Dignity, whether Imperial, or Regal, under the Pain of the Sentence of Excommunication, to presume, without the Special Leave of you, or your Heirs and Successors, under the Pretence of Trade, or any other, to touch upon the said Continents or Islands, found or to be found, discover'd or to be discover'd, towards the West and East, whether towards *India*, or any other part, a Line being drawn from the Artick to the Antartick Pole, at the distance of a Hundred Leagues, as to the West and South, from any of the Islands that are commonly call'd, *De los Azores*, and *Capo Verde*: Notwithstanding any Constitution, Decrees, and Apostolical Orders to the contrary. In him from whom Empire, Dominion, and all Good Things do proceed, trusting, that by the Direction of Almighty God, if you pursue your holy and laudable Design, your Labours and Endeavours will in a short time be brought to a happy Conclusion, to the Glory and Felicity of all Christendom. But forasmuch as these Letters can't without great difficulty be convey'd to all the Places, where it may be convenient to shew 'em, we do with equal Knowlege and Good-will declare, That the same Faith and Credit shou'd be given in all Places, whether before Courts, or any where else, to the Transcript of these Letters, sign'd by a Publick Notary thereunto requir'd, and attested by the Seal of an Ecclesiastical Court, or of any Persons invested with Ecclesiastical Dignity, as would be given to the Original it self.

Let no Man therefore whatsoever, offer to infringe, or with a rash Attempt to counteract this Letter of our Commendation, Exhortation, Demand, Gift, Grant, Assignation, Constitution, Deputation, Decree, Command, Prohibition, and Determination. If any one has the Presumption to venture upon such an Attempt, he is hereby given to know, that he will thereupon incur the Indignation of the Almighty God, and *Peter* and *Paul* his holy Apostles.

Given at Rome *at St.* Peter's, *in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord* 1493. *the Third Day of* May, *and the first Year of our Popedom.*

What Interest the *Spaniards* had in the New World, 'tis certain the *Portugueze* might have had before them, had they been so wise as to have embrac'd *Columbus*'s Offers. But having rejected them as vain and ridiculous, and thereby neglected a very favourable Opportunity of advancing the Interests of their Nation: Now seeing the *Spaniards* so well seated there, where they might have been themselves, they began to grow very angry at them. The King of *Portugal*, by his Embassador signified his Resentment: But the *Castilian* (willing if possible, to preserve the ancient Peace between those two Crowns) by his Embassadors endeavour'd to cool that Heat, and temper the Choler of the *Portugueze*, in some measure making fair and plausible Overtures for that purpose: Telling him, That if he thought good, the Matter in Dispute between them, should be put to a Reference, and left to the Arbitration of a select Number of Judges on both sides; or that the Controversie should be carried to the Court of *Rome*, and so left to be decided by the infallible Sentence of the Pope. The *Portugueze* on his side, also offered to the *Spaniard*, all the Discoveries through the World Northward from the *Canaries*, reserving to himself the Countries that should be discover'd Southward from those Isles. But these Proposals then took of neither hand, and so the Controversie remained as it was. Yet afterwards it was agreed, that some Persons should be deputed on the behalf of both Nations, to examine the Matter, and look into the Pretensions of both Parties to the New Discoveries; as also, to settle the Limits of their several Pretensions. There were three of these Plenipotentiaries on the *Spanish*, and as many on the *Portugueze* side; and their Conferences at last issued in an Agreement to this purpose, *viz.* That the Line of Partition mention'd in the Pope's Bull, should be extended 270 Leagues further to the West, that all from thence Westward should fall to the share of the *Spaniards*, and from thence Eastward to the *Portugueze*: That there should be free Sailing on both Parts; but that neither should Trade beyond the appointed Bounds. This Agreement was made *June* 7. *A.D.* 1493. seal'd by the King of *Spain*, July the 2d; and by the King of *Portugal Feb.* 27. 1494. And now each Party had nothing to do, but to prepare for further Discoveries; which Work while King *John* was intent upon, he died, leaving it to his Successor *.

The Quarrel between *Portugal* and *Spain*.

The Pope's Authority infring'd.

They agree.

A.D. 1495.

The new King *Emanuel*, in pursuance of that Design, * sent out three Ships, with one Victualler; in which were about 160 Men, under the Command of *Vesco di Gama*. This Captain (having *Couilian*'s Maps and Instructions) set sail *July* the 9th, and passing by the Isle St. *James*, he directed his Course Eastwards. The first Land he saw, was that which he called (*a*) the Bay of St. *Helena*; where after three Months ill Weather they went ashoar. Here they took certain Negroes, whose Friendship they procured by little Trifles which they bestowed upon them; and by this means a free Traffick with the rest of the Natives, for such Victuals as they had. But this good Understanding was lost, by the means of the Folly and Cowardice of one of their Company; who having been civilly treated at the Negroes Houses, and honestly conducted back, cried out in a fearful manner, as he was coming home to his Company; at which the *Portugueze* coming in, and the Negroes running, a Skirmish commenc'd between them; in which the Negroes, with their sharp-pointed Poles, which they darted at the *Portugueze*, wounded many of them; *Gama* himself feeling the sharpness of them amongst the rest. Upon this they left St. *Helena*, and sail'd towards the Cape of *Good Hope*; but were encountred with so violent Storm by the way, that they were forced to strike Sail, and commit themselves to the Mercy of the Winds. In this Confusion *Gama*'s Company press'd him to think of returning homewards, and not expose them to so cruel a Death as seem'd to threaten them. But he refusing to do this, they plotted his Death; which by his Brother's Vigilance and Care he avoided; and so laying the chief of the Mutiniers in Chains, he proceeded in his Voyage without controul.

A.D. 1497

(*a*) St. *Helena*

Sail towards the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Novemb. 20. he doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*, and sail'd continually near the Land, which they saw full of Cattle, and People like them at St. *Helena*; naked, speaking odly in the Throat, and enclosing their Privy Parts in a Receptacle of Wood. Having refresh'd themselves here, they proceeded; and *Decem.* 8. met with a Storm, that lost them the sight of Land, which with fair Weather they recover'd again. And now having past 230 Miles from their last Watering-place, and seeing a pleasant Country well stock'd with People; on *Jan.* 10. a Messenger was sent on Shoar, with a Present, who was return'd with the like again, after good Usage. Here *Gama* set two condemned ashoar, giving them their Lives, that being

Double the Cape.

being planted there, they might make Obſervations of the Country, and People.

Good Entertainment by the Natives of St Raphael

The next place he came at, the People were much of the ſame colour, but more bold and familiar: And here one of them told him, in broken *Arabick*, That Ships like theirs did uſe to come to a Country that lay not far off. This Country he called St. *Raphael*, and that particular place where he had this Information, *The River of Good Signs*. Here he erected a Stone Croſs, and left two condemned Perſons for the ſame purpoſe as before.

Having refreſh'd his Company, and ſet out again, on *March* the 1ſt, they ſpied ſeven Sail, which coming near, ſaluted them in *Arabick*, and made them a great deal of Muſick. The Men in theſe Ships had Garments of Silk, Linen Turbants wrought with Gold, and Faulchions by their ſides. The *Portugueze* were inform'd by them, that the place they were near was *Mozambique* (*b*); the Inhabitants of which were moſtly *Mahometans*, tho' the Genuine Natives were Idolaters. That 'twas Subject to the King of *Quiloa*, and that there was Trading from thence into *Arabia*, *India*, and other Parts of the World.

(*b*) *Mozambique* diſcover'd.

The *Portugueze* found theſe *Moors* furniſh'd with Sea-Charts, and Quadrants, and to be Maſters of the moſt uſeful Invention of the (*c*) Compaſs. *Zacoeia* the Governour of the place (whom they had ſweetned before with ſome Preſents) came in great Pomp to Viſit them a Ship-board; where he was nobly feaſted: At which time they obſerved, that theſe *Mahometans* did make very bold with the Juice of the Grape, which they took off in large Quantities, in ſpite of all that *Mahomet* and the *Alcheran* had ſaid to the contrary. The Governour taking it for granted, that *Gama*, and his Company, were *Mahometans* (for had they known they were Chriſtians, they wou'd have treated them otherwiſe) ask'd, Whether they were *Moors*, or *Turks*? He enquired alſo concerning the Weapons they uſed, and the *Mahometan* Books they had amongſt them. *Gama* could ſay little as to the Books, but gave ſuitable Anſwers to all the other Queſtions; telling the Governour, he was going to the *Indies*; and therefore deſired him to furniſh him with Pilots for his Voyage. This the Governour promiſed, and the next Day ſent him two: But happening now to diſcover they were Chriſtians, they not only plotted Miſchief againſt them, but aſſaulted them with open Violence.

(*c*) The Compaſs in uſe amongſt the *Moors* in the *Indian* Seas, before the *Portugueze* came there.

Treachery at *Mozambique*

Gama hereupon went to *Quiloa* (*d*), having now but three Ships, the fourth being burnt before: But here he cou'd not Land; which whether 'twere owing to the Treachery of the Pilots, or to any other Misfortune, is not certain. Being diſappointed, he went to *Mombaza* (*e*), which his deceitful Pilots perſwaded him, was a very proper place to refreſh his ſick Men at. The Air indeed here he found ſweet and pleaſant, the Country fertile and very agreeable; but the People falſe and treacherous. The King ſent 100 Men, well arm'd, after the Turkiſh Faſhion, with a deſign to ſurprize the Admiral, cou'd they have had opportunity: But this *Gama* prevented, poſitively refuſing them entrance, and admitting only four of the principal of them. They told him, *The King was deſirous of his Acquaintance; and would have him bring his Ships a little nearer the Town*: Which together with a Preſent, perſwaded *Gama* of his ſincere Intentions. And this had certainly been done, but that fearing a Shelve in his paſſage thither, he ſtopt ſuddenly, and caſt Anchor: Upon which the *Mooriſh* Pilots, conſcious to themſelves of their Treachery, (for they had agreed with the King of *Mombaza*, either to run the Ships a-ground, or elſe bring them within his reach) and fearing 'twas diſcover'd, leap'd into the Sea, and left him to be his own Pilot. The King alſo, that Night, ſent out ſome to cut their Cables; but this Danger they avoided too.

(*d*) *Quiloa*.

(*e*) *Mombaza*.

Deſigns againſt them at *Mombaza*.

From hence they ſail'd to *Melinda* (*f*), where they arrived on *Eaſter*-Day. This Town appear'd ſtately and well built, the Country about it fruitful; the People Idolaters, black, with curl'd Hair, naked from the Navel upwards, and from thence cover'd with Silk down to the Mid-leg. The Chriſtians of *India* here, were glad to ſee the *Portugueze*; and gave them ſome uſeful Inſtructions, relating to their Voyage. The King of the place was very civil and kind in his Deportment towards them, and gave them a Pilot to conduct them to the *Indies*. They departed hence *April* the 22d, and having paſs'd the Line, recover'd, to their great Joy, the ſight of the Stars, which they had not ſeen for ſome conſiderable time before.

(*f*) *Melinda*.

Gama comes to *Calecut*.

The next Proſpect they had of Land, was the pleaſant one of the high Mountains of *Calecut*, which they ſaw *May* 19. and came within two Miles of the City the ſame Day. One of the Condemned Men being here ſet aſhoar to obſerve the Town, and Inhabitants, was like to have been ſqueez'd to Death with the Throngs of People, that came crouding about him to ſee him, wondring at his *Spaniſh* Dreſs; which made amongſt them, who were uſed to other Faſhions, a very odd and ſtrange Figure. But one *Monzaid*, a *Tunis* Merchant, knowing of what Country he was, carried him to his Houſe, and after good Entertainment given him, went with him aboard *Gama*'s Veſſel. He told the Admiral, that the King of *Calecut* would be glad of his coming, the beſt part of his Revenues being his Cuſtoms. Upon this *Gama* ſent two of his Company (who were conducted by *Monzaid*) to wait on the King; and withal to tell him, That the King of *Portugal* was deſirous of a Friendly Correſpondence with his Majeſty; and that a Free Trade might be opened between both Kingdoms, for the Glory and Profit of each; and that he had ſent them thither to lay a Foundation for it. The King ſeem'd to be pleas'd with the Meſſage; and ſent a certain Officer (called the *Catual*) honourably to conduct *Gama* to him; who giving his Brother Charge of the Fleet in his abſence, order'd him to return home, if any Misfortune happen'd to him aſhoar.

Welcom'd by the King.

Gama, and his Attendants being landed, there were Litters provided to receive them, and the King's Guards walk'd along by their ſides: Being brought to a very ſtately Temple, and ſet down at the Door of it, four Men, in the habit of Bramens, ſprinkl'd Holy Water upon them, and gave them ſweet Pouders. By the Painting they obſerved upon the Walls within, and ſome other Ornaments, they could not tell, at firſt, but that this Temple was deſigned for Chriſtian Worſhip. But they were more effectually cheated into that Fancy afterwards, when the Prieſts, in the Performance of the Rites of their Superſtition, pointing to a certain Image, cried aloud, *Maria*; at which all the Pagans falling proſtrate, preſently began to mumble out their Prayers. The *Portugueze* thinking this to be ſome ſort of Devotion to the bleſſed Virgin, bore the Pagans Company in their devout Poſtures, and began to pray as well as they. Their own way of ſerving God, it ſeems, being ſo like that of the Heathens, that they could not know them aſunder, nor avoid miſtaking one for the other. From this Temple they paſs'd into another as magnificent as the former, and ſo to the Palace, at the Gates of which they were met by ſome of the Nobles, as alſo at the Door of the Preſence-Room, by the principal of the Bramens, who embraced *Gama*. This Room was large, with Benches over one another, almoſt like a Theatre; the Floor being cover'd with Silken Carpets, and the Walls hung with Embroidery. The King lay upon a very rich Couch, having a Noble *Tiara* upon his Head, thick beſet with Jewels, which together with thoſe in his Ears, and upon his Fingers and Toes, made him yield a very glorious Figure. He was a Comely, Tall, Majeſtick Perſon; and the King appear'd as much in his Face, as in his Royal Apparel. *Gama* having done him Reverence, was placed in a Seat by him, and the other *Portugueze* were made to ſit likewiſe. After this, he diſcourſed with *Gama*, about the Deſign of his Embaſſage; who not being free to declare it in that promiſcuous Aſſembly, the King removed into another Room; where *Gama* told him, what he had in Charge from the King of *Portugal*; which this Prince receiv'd with great Satisfaction. The Catual was order'd to conduct him to his Lodgings: where he had Time and Advantage to look about him. The City he obſerved to be large and rambling, the Houſes not curiouſly built, nor joining cloſe together, but parted by Gardens and Orchards which lay betwixt them. There was hardly any Stone-Building in the City, (their Laws forbidding pompous Houſes) the King's Palace only excepted; altho' *Calecut* was at that time a ſort of an Imperial City: The King being in Power and Riches ſuperiour to all his Neighbour-Princes, and having, at that time, many Tributaries.

His Introduction to the King.

Gama comes before the King.

The City of *Calecut*.

After three Days, *Gama* conducted by the *Catual*, preſented his Credentials to the King, which he deſired might not be interpreted by any of the *Moors*, who plainly appear'd to be his Enemies. Theſe Letters were interpreted by *Monzaid*, his Friend; and the King was ſo kind, as to give him a plain Hint of the Tricks, and fraudulent Dealings of the *Moors*: For which he return'd him Thanks and departed.

Yet notwithſtanding this, did the King ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded into a very bad Opinion, and into unfair Treatment of the *Portugueze* too, by theſe very *Moors* whom he had warned them of. (*g*) They told him, That *Gama* was a Spy, and deſigned no good to his Country; that 'twas not conſiſtent with the Safety of his Nation, to encourage him to Trade there: And that for their parts, if the *Portugueze* had that Liberty afforded them, they would remove, with all their Effects, to another Country; which would redound very greatly to his Majeſty's diſadvantage. By theſe, and other like Inſinuations, the King was ſet againſt them; and began to fall in with them in their

(*g*) The Malice of the *Moors*.

treacherous Designs, of doing the *Portugueze* what Mischief they could. And to effect this, he sent to *Gama*, to bring his Ships nearer the Town, and for Security to deliver up his Sails: But he ordered his Brother, instead of that, to sail homewards, if he saw him long detained ashoar. Yet *Gama*, by their Perswasion, sent his Merchandize ashear, with Men to sell them, having Liberty then himself to return to his Ships; tho' his Goods were not sold there, but carried to *Calecut*, by the Treachery of the *Catual*, who pretended that they would go off there to better advantage. *Gama* sent away every Day, two or three to look after his Affairs in the Town; and also to desire of the King, the liberty of placing a Factor there: But he had no Answer from the Court, but only the bad News, that two of his Men, with their Merchandize, were committed to safe Custody.

Injuries offer'd to them, and *Gama's* Endeavour to right himself.

In Revenge of this Injury, *Gama* attack'd the next Ship that came thither, and took six considerable Persons belonging to the King Prisoners. This the King (tho' he grievously resented) yet seem'd to pass by; and therefore to pacifie *Gama*, sent his two Servants the next Day, with Letters to the King of *Portugal*; but keeping still the Goods, pretending, that he might, if he would, send a Factor thither, to dispose of them. But this *Gama* absolutely refused now, declaring he would have all his Effects aboard again, and would keep those Prisoners till he had them. Upon this the King quickly sent his Wares in Boats to him, demanding his Prisoners: But *Gama* denying the delivery of them, sent the King Word, That he would carry those *Malabars* into *Portugal* with him, as an Evidence of his injurious Usage and Treachery: And so giving them his final Answer out of the Mouths of his Great Guns, he drove them away. The King could not tell how to help himself at that time, because his Fleet was all unrigg'd; yet he sent out 60 Merchant-men after them, but a Tempest interposed, and put an end to that Pursuit.

False dealing of the King of *Calecut*.

Gama, at the next Port he came to, writ a mollifying Letter to the King; which he sent by the Hand of one of his Servants, which he had before Arrested. And here he was set upon by a very famous * Pirate, with eight Ships, one of which he took, and dispersed the rest.

* *Timoia.*

Putting in at *Anchedina*, to mend his shatter'd Vessels, he receiv'd there a Message from *Zabaius*, Lord of *Goa*, an *Italian*, who offer'd him very great Kindnesses, if he would come thither. *Gama* suspecting the Integrity both of the Message, and Messenger, put the Fellow upon the Rack; who then confess'd himself a Spy: So he carried him into *Portugal* with him; where he was Baptized, and proved a useful Servant to the King.

Sails homewards.

He hasted from hence, and came to *Magedoxo*, on the *African* Coast, the People of which being spiteful *Mahometans*, he sunk and spoil'd their Ships, and beat down part of their Walls.

At *Melinda* he had kind Entertainment; where having stay'd five Days, he hasted homewards, for fear of Winter Weather at the Cape, carrying along with him an Embassador from the King of *Melinda*.

By the way he burnt one of his Ships, it being shatter'd and disabled, and there being need of the Men aboard her, to supply the want of Mariners in the other two.

(n) *Zanzibar.* *February* the 27th, he came to *Zanzibar* (*b*), which is Twenty four Miles from the Continent; the Prince of which, tho' a *Moor*, treated him Civilly.

(i) St. *Blase.* He refreshed again at St. *Blase's* (*i*) watering. And on *April* the 25th, he doubled the Cape: From whence he came to St. *Jago*, where a Tempest parted the two Vessels. *Coelius*, the other Commander, went directly to *Lisbon*; but *Gama* put in at the *Tercera's*, where his Brother died: But soon after he himself came safely to *Lisbon*, having now finish'd a long and difficult Voyage: An Account of which was given to the King by the other Captains, before his Arrival *.

* 1499.

He brought along with him the *Tunis* Merchant, *Monzaid*; who was his Friend at *Calecut*, and desired to go into *Portugal* with him, where he afterwards became a Christian. But of his own Men he brought home but few, the Voyage having left him but 55, (and those very feeble too) out of near 200, which he carried with him.

Tho' the *Portugueze* in their first Visit to the *East-Indies*, had met with no very obliging Entertainment; yet unwilling presently to quit their Pretensions to a Correspondence with so Noble a Country, they resolved to repeat their Civility, and make them a second.

Capralis sets out.

King *Emanuel*, for this purpose, set out a Fleet of thirteen Ships, in which were 1500 Men, and good store of all necessary Provisions for such a Voyage. Amongst which it is not to be forgotten, that there were some Provisions intended for the Benefit of the Souls of those Infidels, amongst whom they were going, *viz.* Five large Bodies of Divinity, Friars of St. *Francis's* Order, who doing the Work of Chaplains a Ship-board, were to do that of Apostles when they came a Shoar. This Fleet was commanded by *Peter Alvarez Capralis*; who had special Orders from the King, to live peaceably with the King of *Calecut*, if possible: As also to get leave to build a Fort, for a Security from the Hostilities of the *Moors*.

Capralis set out from *Lisbon*, March the 8th, of the then Secular Year *; and coming to St. *Jago*, a Storm scatter'd the whole Fleet, and forc'd one Ship to return home. The rest of the Fleet having stay'd for this Vessel two Days to no purpose, set Sail Westward; and *April* the 23d, to their very great Wonder, had sight of Land (*a*). *Capralis* commanded the Master ashoar; who brought News of a fertile, and well water'd Country; but possess'd by a barbarous People, naked, with very long Hair, arm'd with Bows and Arrows. A Storm overtook them that Night; but they got into a secure Harbour, which *Capralis* call'd, *Puerto Seguro*, because he had there a safe Retreat from the Fury of the Storm. They took two Fisher-men, whom furnishing with some small Trinkets, they set ashoar again; after which they brought many of their Countrimen, who for Beads and Bells, and such like Toys, gave them Meal and Fruits, and such things as they wanted. This Country they called, *The Country of the Holy Cross*; from the vast quantity of that sort of Wood, since call'd *Brazil*. They sanctified it with a Sermon, and Mass said ashoar, and erected a Stone Pillar for a Memorial: After which having dispatched a Ship to *Portugal* with this News, they proceeded in their Voyage. 'Twas on *May* the 5th, that they went from hence; and on the 23d, a sudden Storm sunk four of their Ships, and drown'd all the Men of them, scattering the other seven at so violent a rate, that they quite lost the Sight and Company of each other for a long time. One of them wandred into the *Arabian* Gulf, and thence got home, having lost almost all her Men: But the other six, on *July* the 25th, got together again, and went on towards the Cape. Having doubled it, they found a good pleasant Country; but the People were not free for Trade, but utterly refused having any thing to do with them: Which whether 'twere the Effect of Poverty, or Perverseness, is not much material. At *Mozambique* they had free Watering, and hired there a Pilot for *Quiloa*.

* *A.D.* 1500.

(a) *Brazile* discover'd.

Go on from *Brazile*.

The People about the Cape refuse their Correspondence.

The King (*b*) of *Quiloa's* Dominions reach 900 Miles in length: His Subjects a mix'd sort of People, but speak mostly *Arabick*. The Country abounds in Springs, Trees, Cattel, wild and tame; the Soil is also rich, and the Fishing good. It is separated from the Land by a narrow Sea, and is about 400 Miles from *Mozambique*. The City is large and populous, the Houses magnificent, and well furnish'd. They use here a sort of Bastard Frankincense about their Ships, for want of Pitch. *Capralis* sent to Complement the King, who kindly entertained the Messengers, and promis'd the next Day to come aboard. This he did at the time appointed, in a very splendid manner, having a gallant Retinue, noble Furniture, and variety of Musick, to grace his Visit. The *Portugueze* receiv'd him in the best manner they could; and *Capralis* having deliver'd his Message from the King of *Portugal* to him, he promis'd to enter into a strict League of Friendship with that Prince; and the next Day was appointed for the concluding it. (*c*) But the *Moors*, who were sworn to do the Christians all the ill Offices they could in all places, did not fail to blast their Designs in this place also. *Capralis* upon this, went to *Melinda*, where the *Portugueze* had ever found very good Entertainment: But here he made no stay, only taking care before he went, to find out some way to *Presser John's* Country; which he did by two condemned Persons, whom he left there for that purpose.

(b) Description of *Quiloa*.

(c) Treachery of the *Moors*.

August the 22d, he came to *Anchodiva*: and after a short stay there, to *Calecut*. Being come thither, the King sent two * *Nairo's*, with a *Guzaratte* Merchant, to bid him Welcome: Which Civility he return'd by four of those Persons whom *Gama* had taken Prisoners the Year before. These he sent to the King, dress'd in the *Portugueze* Habit, in Company of some others: At whose coming the King was exceeding glad. He entertain'd *Capralis* in a Palace near the Shoar; and after a great deal of Complement, promised him far larger Grants than ever he demanded. He gave 'em free Liberty of Trade, and Houses for their Merchandize; and all this delivered to them in a most Noble Charter, which was a Golden Table; upon which these Grants of the King were engraven. They had liberty also of setting up the King of *Portugal's* Banner, upon the top of their House, as a Token of his Respect to that Prince. The King having a mind to see some Proof of the

* Some of the Guard. Entertainment at *Calecut*, and the kind Promises of the King.

Portu-

Portugueze Courage and Valour, desired *Capralis* to go and take a certain great Ship that was coming from *Cochin* to *Cambaia*. *Capralis* order'd out one of his least Vessels for this Enterprize; which yet performed it successfully, bringing that mighty Ship in Triumph, the next Day, into *Calecut* Road. This Action procured them at once the King's Admiration, and the *Moor*'s Envy; who now began to Practice their accustom'd Arts of Treachery and Deceit, abusing them by all the Methods they cou'd devise, notwithstanding the King's Encouragement and Protection. The *Portugueze*, by that Charter, were to have had the first Refusals of the Market: But the *Moors* prevented them, and got their own Vessels well laded first; making the *Portugueze* stay three Months, instead of twenty Days, for their Lading, tho' they were promis'd to be dispatch'd in that space of time.

Intrigues of the *Moors*.

Capralis complain'd to the King of these Proceedings; who bid him take Satisfaction from the *Moors*, and lade his own out of their Vessels. This he was himself unwilling to do; but *Correa*, the Cape Merchant, urg'd him to it so much, that he brought back one of the *Moor*'s Ships (which was marching off) into the Haven; the King not openly countenancing one side or the other, but seeming willing to have them try the Matter out betwixt them. The *Moors* upon this, with a Company of Soldiers, broke into the *Portugueze* House, and assail'd them with great Heat and Fury. The odds were very great too, there being but 70 *Portugueze* to 4000 of these Barbarians, so that *Correa*, with 50 more of them, were there killed upon the spot, and the rest (making a hard shift) were got aboard their Ships.

Moors assault them.

In Revenge of this Injury, *Capralis* the next Day fell upon ten great Ships of the *Moors*, kill'd 600 Men, and distributed the rest as Slaves, laded his own Vessels with their Goods, and set the empty Ships afire. The next Morning he batter'd the Town with his great Guns, which cut off a great many, the King himself very narrowly escaping one of their rambling Balls, knocking down one of his Courtiers dead at his Feet.

Capralis's Revenge.

'Twas high time now to leave *Calecut*; from which therefore *Capralis* departed, and went to (*d*) *Cochin*, which is about 170 Miles from *Calecut* Southward. The King of this place was at that time poor, and a Tributary to *Calecut*; however he gave the *Portugueze* free leave to Trade, and Houses for that purpose; which Privilege was also offer'd by the Kings of *Cranganor*, and *Coulam*: But 'twas at *Cochin* that *Capralis* fix'd his Staple.

(*d*) *Cochin*.

Not long after this, News was brought him, that the King of *Calecut*, (resolved to requite the Insolence and Outrages of the *Portugueze*) had sent out a Fleet of twenty great Ships, and several small ones, to pursue and fight them. *Capralis* went out to attack them, but the Wind not serving, the two Fleets did not meet to dispute the Point at that time: Leaving therefore two Factors at *Cochin*, and taking in the rest of his Freight at *Cananor*, he set out homewards, *January* the 16th. One of his Ships was here wreck'd; and another of them he employ'd in the Search of the Golden *Zophala*; and with the rest he return'd to *Lisbon*, which he reach'd the last of *July*.

Factory at *Cochin*.

Comes to *Lisbon*.

Before he came home, the King had dispatch'd three other Ships upon the same *Indian* Affair. And the * Year following he sent *Vasco Gama* a second time, with ten Ships. (*e*) One *Soderius* also went out with a Fleet of 15 Ships, having receiv'd Orders to make himself Master of the Sea, and to do his utmost against the *Moors*.

* 1502.

(*e*) The 3d, 4th, and 5th *Indian* Voyages.

Five Ships more went under *Stephen Gama*; and in short, so many Ships went, that in a little time, the main Riches and Profits of the *East-Indies*, were shipp'd over into *Portugal*. This Prince *Emanuel*, having been made in a few Years space (by the Industry of these Commanders) Lord of the Trade and Navigation of those Parts, as well as of the Kingdoms of *Ormuz*, *Goa*, and *Malacca*, and other parts of the *East*.

A fuller Account of these Matters, is to be drawn out of the *Portugueze* Writers themselves; no more being here meddled with, than what necessarily occurs in our tracing the Original and Progress of Trade and Navigation.

The many Affronts that had been offer'd to the *Portugueze* Nation by the People of *Calecut*, had incited them to endeavour a just Revenge. And they made a shift in some measure to accomplish their Designs, notwithstanding all the Assistance afforded to the other Party, both by the Neighbouring, and by Foreign Powers.

They proceeded so far as to bid Defiance to all the Force of the great City of *Calecut* it self; and not only so, but to storm it too; setting up their Victorious Banners in the midst of it, in spite of all opposition to the contrary. The two principal Managers of this Action, were *Albuquerque*, and *Cotinius*, under whose Conduct the *Portugueze* made this famous Attempt. *Cotinius* having a mind to the Plunder of the King's Palace, and envying any else a share in the Glory of taking it, push'd Matters on with too much Heat and Rashness for his own Security: For here his Soldiers thinking all their own, and minding nothing else but enriching themselves with the Royal Spoils, gave the Adversaries such an advantage, that in a fresh Charge which they made upon them, *Cotinius* himself lost his Life. *Albuquerque* (while this hot Action was going on at the Palace, was busie in setting the City on fire; which had near cost him the same Price that *Cotinius* paid before him), being forc'd to be carried away out of the Encounter, and that as good as dead with his Wounds; which yet he survived, as the *Indians* afterwards found to their Cost. Neither were these the only Losses of this nature the *Portugueze* sustain'd that Year; for *Almeida*, one of their Vice-Roys, was sacrificed near the Cape of *Good Hope*, by the Fury of a Troop of Savages.

Portugueze storm *Calecut*.

First Attempt for Trade at *Malacca*.

While these things were doing at *Calecut*, one *Didacus Sequeria*, was sent from *Portugal*, to settle a Trade at *Malacca*. He having passed the Promontory (*a*) *Cori*, and sailed through the *Bengalan* (*b*) Bay, put in at (*c*) *Sumatra*; which is divided by a very narrow and dangerous Strait, from the Continent of *Malacca*, and was supposed formerly to have been a Peninsula: *Sequeria* was the first that did this. Having here made a League with the Kings of *Achen* and *Pedir*, and erected some Stone Monuments, he came to (*d*) *Malacca*; the Prince of which was very kind and favourable to him at first; but afterwards soured to that degree by the *Moors*, that he plotted to kill the *Portugueze*, and seize their Ships. He invited *Sequeria* to a Feast, with a Design to cut him off when he had him in his power: But being made sensible of the intended Villany, he excused himself from being his Guest.

(*a*) Cape *Cori*.

(*b*) Bay of *Bengala*.

(*c*) *Sumatra*.

(*d*) *Malacca*.

This not taking, the Plot was laid to disperse his Men about in several places from him, and then to assault his Ship, and take both him and it together. To accomplish this, the perfidious King offer'd him, as a very great Favour, the Liberty of Lading his Ships, and that before any other Merchants whatever; only desiring him to keep this Favour to himself, and not to publish it. By this means a good part of his Men were employ'd abroad, whilst he wanted (as it appear'd afterwards) their Assistance at home. But now the Plot was ready to have been put in a general Execution; and some of the Conspiracy were come aboard *Sequeria*'s Vessel, pretending a Complement from the King, but indeed to fall upon him; and wanting only to see the desired Sign given; which was a Smoke that was to be raised in a certain place: But some of those in the Town, not having Patience to stay for the Sign, began the Charge upon *Sequeria*'s Men that were there; which being espied by the Watch at top of the Ship, *Sequeria* presently arm'd the Men he had with him, and sent a small Party to help them that were engaged ashoar, whilst himself, with the rest, so warmly plied the *Malaccan* Ships with their Ordnance, that they were glad to fly out of his reach as fast as they cou'd. Of *Sequeria*'s Men, there were 40 that were kill'd ashoar, and more taken Prisoners. After this, having inform'd his Country-men of this Piece of Treachery, and left it to them to chastize the *Malaccans* for it, he himself went directly to the Cape of *Good Hope*, and so home to *Lisbon*.

By that time this Action was over; *Albuquerque* (whom we left wounded at *Calecut*) began to shew himself to the World again; and being desirous to enter upon some considerable Service for the Glory of his Prince and Country, he resolved upon the Recovery of the famous Isle of *Ormuz* (*e*). This Kingdom had once already submitted it self to the *Portugueze* Yoke, and paid a Yearly Tribute of 15000 Serafines of Gold to King *Emanuel*; the *Portugueze* also had a good Fort erected there. But in process of time by their Negligence, by Mutinies and Intestine Divisions, they so weakned themselves, and encouraged the *Ormuzians* ready for a Revolt, that they took that Opportunity to recover their ancient Liberty, and expel the domineering *Portugueze*; which they accordingly effected. *Albuquerque* now had projected the Reduction of this Island, and was upon his way thither, with a Fleet of 21 Sail; but was accidentally invited in his passage, to the Conquest of *Goa*; for which he had then a very favourable Opportunity: For the Prince, *Zabaius* was then lately dead, leaving his young Son, *Idalcan*, as full of Troubles, as he was void of Experience. The Person that gave him this Intelligence, was *Timoia* the Pyrate, who also promis'd his best Assistance. The *Portugueze* upon this, presently laid Siege to *Goa*; which lasted not long before 'twas surrendred into their Hands. Yet did the young Prince *Idalcan*, in a very short time, drive them out again; but had not the good luck to keep them out, when they were out; since they quickly

(*e*) *Ormuz* once subject to the *Portugueze*; but lost, and then recover'd again by *Albuquerque*.

Goa taken by the *Portugueze*.

made the second Conquest of it, ever since which they have kept it.

And now was *Albuquerque* setting out for *Ormuz* again, when the Winds blew him to another Side-Conquest: They wou'd not let him sail to *Ormuz*, but favoured him to *Malacca*. Here he demanded of the treacherous King, *Mancudius*, the Prisoners taken from *Sequeria*; who pretended at first, they were fled; but seeing the Town fir'd by the *Portugueze*, he produc'd 'em. He demanded of him likewise all the Charges of the two Fleets, and Restitution of all things that were lost: Which Conditions seem'd so hard to this Prince, and his Counsellors, that they chose rather to commit all to the Event of a War, than to submit to them. And the Issue of it was this, that *Mancudius* was slain, and his Kingdom of *Malacca* entirely reduc'd to the Obedience of *Portugal*.

Malacca conquer'd.

'Tis remarkable, that when *Albuquerque* was going to *Malacca*, he met with some Ships coming from thence, which he assaulted and took. In one of them there was a certain Person, *Nardabeguca* by Name, who was one of those that had conspired against *Sequeria* before; this Man, tho' he were bitterly wounded in the Skirmish with *Albuquerque*, so that he could stand no longer upon his Legs, yet was observed to lose not a Drop of Blood, as other wounded Men did; tho' they found afterwards, that he was not a Bloodless Animal: For upon the pulling away of a Golden Chain, which he wore upon his Arm, he immediately poured forth his Soul, in Torrents of Blood, that issued out of those Passages that were made before. The Reason of this they attributed to the Virtue of a certain Bone (*f*), taken from a Beast call'd *Cabir*, in the Kingdom of *Siam*; which Bone was included in the Golden Chain. They pretend, that this Bone, by a very potent Restringency, which Nature has endowed it with, did forcibly hold the Blood in the several Channels of the Body, notwithstanding the many Vents given it to run out at. This was designed to be sent as a most precious Jewel, and a wonderful Rarity, into *Portugal*; but, they say, 'twas lost in a Shipwreck in the way.

(*f*) The Bone of the Beast *Cabir*.

But to return: After the Conquest of *Malacca*, *Albuquerque* having no more Lets by the Way, did accomplish his Voyage to *Ormuz*, and the Conquest of it too. And now the *Portugueze* made a very formidable Figure in the *Eastern* World, and most of the *Indian* Princes began to Court their Favour, being Eye-witnesses of their Every-Days rising Greatness. *Idalcan*, and the King of *Calecut*, desired a League with them: The King of *Maldiva* became their Vassal: Nay, in *Africk*, the Great *Prester-John* himself, pretended to their Friendship. Their Victory at *Malacca*, prepar'd their way to a great many other Conquests, and good Correspondencies in those Parts, as at *Amboina*, *Banda*, and the *Molucca's*. *Antonius Abreus* was sent in search of these *Molucca's*; who came first to *Java*, then to *Amboina*, erecting Stone Pillars in both those places; and from thence to *Banda*, so full of, and so famous for the excellent Spices, Nutmegs and Mace. He found both here, and at the *Molucca's*, that the Fame of the *Malaccan* Victory was got into those Parts, to the great Advantage of the *Portugueze*; so much, that the Kings of *Ternate*, and *Tiridore*, solemnly referr'd their Controversies to their Decision, and even sprung a new Quarrel, in striving who should have the *Portugueze* on their side. Tho' they have paid for chusing them the Arbitrators of their Differences; the *Portugueze* having decided the Controversie neither to the King of *Ternate's*, nor the King of *Tiridore's*, but to their own Advantage.

The Greatness of the *Portugueze* in the *East*.

CHAP. III.

The Voyage of Ferdinandus Maglianes, *the first Compleat Circum-Navigator, and Discoverer of the* Straits, (*from him called* Magellanick.) *Taken out of* Antony Pigafetta, *an* Italian *of* Vicenza, *and one that assisted in this Voyage.*

IT very often falls out, that Crosses and Disappointments, diverting Men from the Prosecution of their first Designs, open and prepare their way to new Undertakings, which are afterwards attended with more Benefit and Success. 'Twas so in the Case of this famous Person, whose Discoveries in the World we are now to look over.

Maglianes (a *Portugueze* Gentleman, and a Soldier of no mean Character) had serv'd his Country to very good purpose, both in the *African* and *Indian* Wars. Particularly we find, that he fought under *Albuquerque's* Banners, in those successful Wars of his, that brought in the Kingdoms of *Malacca*, *Goa*, and *Ormuz*, to the Obedience of *Portugal*. How far *Maglianes* was engaged in these Affairs, is uncertain; but this Character he has in the general; to have done very good Service, and given large Proofs of his Valour and Conduct. And having thus perform'd what he thought might merit some further Consideration and Reward from his Prince, he petition'd for a small Augmentation of his Stipend, as much as would make it half a Ducket *per* Month more. But King *Emanuel* thinking fit to reject the Suit, and deny any further Increase of his Wages: The Petitioner (who deeply resented it) gave up himself wholly to be guided by his own revengeful discontented Thoughts. He resolv'd to quit the Service of a Master, whom he reckon'd hard and ungrateful; and find out some other, that shou'd know how to treat his Merit better. So bidding Adieu to the Court of *Portugal*, and all his Hopes of Preferment there, he betook himself to that of *Spain*, and offer'd his Service to the Emperor * *Charles* V.

Maglianes in Discontent, goes to be employ'd at the Court of *Spain*.

* Who was King of *Spain* as well as Emperor of *Germany*.

He acquainted this Prince, That all the *Banda* and *Molucca* Islands, fell to his share, by the Laws of that Division, which *John* II. of *Portugal*, and *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* of *Castile*, had formerly agreed on. And farther propos'd, to make a compleat Discovery of those rich Islands, by a new and unheard of Navigation round about by the West. The Emperor (as it appears by the Consequence) was glad of this Information, and well pleas'd at the Proposal of the New Method of Discovery: For five good Ships were quickly prepar'd and furnish'd at his Charges, and put under the Command of *Maglianes* as Admiral. The Number of the whole Company aboard this Fleet, amounted not to 300; and of these Thirty were *Portugueze*.

They set sail from *Seoil* the 10th of *August*, *A. D.* 1519. and *October* the 3d, got up betwixt Cape *Verd*, and the Islands of that Name. They spent a great deal of time about the Coast of *Guiney*, and by tedious Calms, (which lasted Seventy Days) were so long a labouring to cross the Line. But when they had done this difficult Work, and the *South* Pole appear'd above the Horizon, they held on their *South* Course, and came upon the Main of *Brasile*, about that part of it which lies in 22 ° Degrees. They observ'd it to be all one continued Tract of Land hither, from Cape St. *Augustine* (upon that same Coast) which is about 8 Degrees from the Equinoctial Line.

Maglianes sets out.

Brasile.

In this part of the Country they were well refresh'd with all Conveniences for Life; they found good store of Fruits, Sugar-Canes, and divers sorts of Animals, out of all which they had a liberal Entertainment. Having made 2 ° Degrees more of *South* Lat. they fell in with a Country inhabited by a wild and monstrous sort of People: They were of a prodigious Stature, fierce, and barbarous, made a horrible roaring Noise, more like so many Bulls, than Human Creatures; and yet with all that mighty Bulk were so very nimble and light of Foot, that none of our *Spaniards*, or *Portugueze*, cou'd overtake them. Here was a stately River of fresh Water, that had seven Islands in the Mouth of it, and was full Seventeen Leagues wide in that part: The biggest of these Islands yielded them some Jewels, and they gave it the Name of St. *Mary*. They continued Coasting along this Tract of Land, towards the South Pole, and met with a couple of Islands so full of Seols and Pengwins, that in an Hour's space they cou'd have laden all the five Ships. The Pengwins were a black, heavy, unwieldy Fowl, extreamly fat, cover'd over with a sort of Down, instead of Feathers, and arm'd with a Bill

Sugar-Canes.

Cannibals.

They take some of them Prisoners.

Cape St. *Mary*.

Seols and Pengwins.

Bill like a Raven's. They maintain themselves altogether out of the Waters, eating nothing but Fish: For which Reason, perhaps, they might be very serviceable in this Fleet upon Fish-Days, if they were dispos'd to observe those Rules at Sea.

Their next Advance was to 49 ½ Degr. *South* Lat. Here they were shut up with hard Weather, and forc'd to take up their Winter-Quarters. They had a miserable dull time on't at this place, seeing no living Creature, but themselves, for a long time together.

A Giant comes to them.

At last, to put an end to the Solitude, a certain Giant of the Neighbouring Parts, came up to give them a Visit: A brisk, jolly, frolicksome Fellow, very merrily dispos'd, singing and dancing all the way as he came. Being got to the Haven, he stood there, and threw Dust upon his Head; which they observing, sent some ashoar to him; who making the like Signs of Peace, upon that Assurance he came along with them to the Ship, without any thing of fear or scruple. His Bulk and Stature was such, as would easily allow him the Character of a Giant; the Head of one of their middle-siz'd Men reach'd but to his Waste, and he was proportionably big. His Body was formidably painted all over, especially his Face; here were a couple of Staggs drawn, one upon each Cheek, and great red Circles about his Eyes. His Colours were otherwise mostly yellow, only his Hair was done with white.

The Description of him.

For his Apparel, he had the Skin of a certain Beast, clumsily sowed together; but a Beast as strange as that was that wore it; every way unaccountable; neither Mule, Horse, nor Camel; but something of every one; the Ears of the first, the Tail of the second, and the Shape and Body of the last. 'Twas an entire Suit, all of one piece from Head to Foot; as his Breast and Back were cover'd with it above, so his very Legs and Feet were wrapp'd up in the same beneath. The Arms that he brought with him, were a stout Bow and Arrows; the String of the former was a Gut, or Sinew, of that monstrous Beast; and the latter, instead of Iron-heads, were tipp'd with sharp Stones.

The Admiral made him Eat and Drink, and he enjoy'd himself very comfortably a Shipboard, till he happen'd to peep in a great Looking-Glass, that was given him amongst other Trifles. This put him into a Fright, that he could not easily recover from; the dismal Face he saw there, star'd him quite out of all Countenance and Courage; and he started back with such Violence, that he tumbled a couple of the Men that stood by him, to the Ground. This was a Sign that he was throughly and effectually frightned; but no doubt, the thing that appeared to him, will be thought sufficient to do it, if the foregoing Description be well considered. A Pair of great Staggs with branched Horns, and the flaming Circles drawn about the Eyes: What Hobgoblin cou'd have a worse Look than this? A Dæmon's Face, in a Vizzard Mask, with a Set of long Teeth, and a Nose of half a Yard, could not have more power over the Imagination, and give a Man a worse Shock of a sudden, than such a sight. However, this Giant far'd so well amongst them, (notwithstanding the Fright by the Looking-Glass) that quickly after they had the Company of more of them. Particularly one came, and made himself mighty familiar, carried it pleasantly, merrily, and with so much good Humour amongst them, that our *Europeans* were almost (at least as far as they cou'd be) pleas'd with his Company. He gave them a sight of one of those Beasts, whose Skins they so frequently wear; but we have nothing of any particular Character of it added, to justifie or disprove the former Surmises about it. They taught him to speak and pronounce, pretty clearly, several Words of their Devotion, as *Jesus*, *Ave Maria*, &c. The doing of which was (if duly consider'd) an Act of great Charity: For these Giants, they say, were horribly pester'd with Apparitions, and so wanted a Sett of proper Words, to bid Defiance to those Disturbers of their Quiet and Repose: And if such Charms as these will do the Business in *Europe*, there's no Reason why they should not be as effectual in *Brasile*.

They take some of them Prisoners.

But they seem to be very much to blame, in offering, as they did, to make Prisoners of any of those wild People, which carried it so fairly and civilly to them. To circumvent them by Stratagems, and cheat them of their Liberty, when they had not (as far as appears) done any thing to deserve the Forfeiture of it. They fill'd their Hands with Toys, and little Things, that pleas'd them, and in the mean time put Iron Shackles upon their Legs; which the Wretches thought were very fine Play-things as well as the rest, and were pleas'd with the Gingling Sound of them, till they found how they were hamper'd and betray'd. But then they fell a Bellowing like Bulls, and implor'd the Help of *Setebos*, in that Extremity; they cry'd aloud for his Assistance, but he did not come to deliver them; and what Power it is they give that Name to, they themselves best know. To desire his Help in Misery, implied some Notions conceiv'd of his Goodness and Compassion; and 'tis not to be imagin'd, that they wou'd thus crave Relief of an Evil Spirit, that us'd to vex and afflict them. It must be own'd, that they report very strange things, of horrid Forms and Appearances frequently seen amongst these People: Of Horned Dæmons, with long shag Hair, throwing out Fire both before and behind. But are not the Giants almost as bad Figures themselves? And is it not possible for them to mistake the foul Shapes of one another for something else? We see how one of them was scared almost out of his Wits with seeing his own Face in a Glass, and might not another Face as ugly as that do the business as well? 'Tis too true, that the Power and Dominion of evil Spirits is very far extended in this Lower World; the Princes of the Air are fond of Empire, as well as those that are upon the Earth, and not less willing (to be sure) to enlarge their Territories than they. But 'tis not for the Honour of the Supreme Being, to suppose so very large a share of his Inheritance in their hands; to bring them in, upon every occasion, Abusing and Tyrannizing over his Creatures, and turning the biggest part of the Creation into a Bedlam, by playing all the mad pranks in it that Hellish frenzy can inspire. This seems to be a very coarse Complement to Infinite Wisdom and Goodness; and, in short, an Honour too great to be allowed to any Beings that are acted by Principles of Malice and Wickedness.

Their Cloathing, and Diet, *&c.* in general.

But to return to their other Observations about these People: They tell us that most of them wear the same sort of Apparel that the first they saw appear'd in; that is, the Skins of the fore-mentioned Beast. They go with their hair short, yet that that is they tie up with a Cotton-lace. They have no fix'd Habitations, but certain Portable Cottages, which they remove from one place to another as their fancy leads them; and the very same Materials which they use for the defence of their Bodies, they use also for the defence and covering of these Cottages. What flesh they eat they bestow no ceremonies of Dressing upon, but devour it just fresh and raw as it comes to their hands; besides which, they have a certain sweet Root amongst them (call'd *Capar*) which is a considerable part of their feeding likewise. They add, that they are extremely jealous of their Women; they don't tell us they saw any of them, by that means to give the Men any occasion of awakening that passion in themselves.

The Practice of Physick is reduc'd into a very narrow compass amongst them, and takes in no more than Vomiting and Phlebotomy: These two Evacuations must answer all varieties of Cases and Purposes; and where this won't do, the Disease is incurable in that Land. Their way of bleeding is to give a good chop with some edge Tool or other in the Part that Labours, be it Leg or Arm, or Face, 'tis all one. But tho' 'tis odd to use a Chopping-Knife instead of a Lancet for letting Blood, yet 'tis worse to thrust an Arrow a Foot and a half down the Throat to procure a Vomit: No doubt but this will prick the Fibres, and set a Man a reaching to some purpose; and whereas they say it makes them puke very freely, and bring up a vast deal of Choler and Blood, 'tis very likely to be true, and if the point of an Arrow thrust down so far did not draw Blood from them, a Man wou'd be ready to question what sort of Metal their insides were made of. So that upon this account, their Practice may be yet more compendiously summ'd up, and we may say these People cure all distempers at one single operation, which is also both Vomiting and Bleeding at the same time. From this way of managing themselves, and thriving so well upon't, any Man will be ready to allow them a good strength of Constitution; but it seems that of their Limbs is as considerable too, of which they give us this instance: That when they made the attempt of taking some of them Prisoners, one of them alone very near tired the utmost forces of nine of their Men that were employ'd to Master him; and tho' they had him down, and bound his hands tightly, yet he freed himself from his Bonds, and got loose in spight of all their endeavours to hold him. And proportional to both these strengths, is that also of their Appetite; one of them eat up a whole Basket of Ship-bisket at a Meal, and drank a Bowl (they don't say how large) of water at a draught; but any thing of this kind is not so very strange, considering the huge Carkasses they have to maintain. One thing of them (which is something singular) is not to be omitted before we leave them; and that is, that by reason of the vehement cold, they truss themselves up so very close and tight, that the Genitals in the Men are not to be discover'd, lying hid entirely within their Bodies. The

Admiral

Miglianes calls 'em *Patagons.*

Admiral gave these People the Name of *Patagons*; and if any *Europeans* should at any time go amongst them, these few common words may be of some use in dealing with them. They call Bread *Capar*, Water *Oli*, black *Amel*, red *Cheicche*, red Cloth *Cherecai*: *Setebos* and *Cheleule* are the Names of two Beings they pay a Religious respect to, of which the former is the Supreme, the latter an Inferiour one; but whether they are Proper Names, or only the Terms for a higher and subordinate Power in general is not certain.

Some common words of their Language.

Port St. *Julian.*

The Port they staid in all this while was call'd *Port St. Julian*; of which, as of the whole adjoyning Country, they took solemn Possession, and left a Cross erected in token of it. 'Twas full five Months that they continued here in the Conversation of these barbarous People, and the feeling of the much more cruel and severe weather. It was the beginning of *October* by that time they got up to the *Cape de Verd* Islands, and were detain'd so long by the Calms, that they made it some time in *December* before they cross'd the Line. Then was the Sun quite at, or very near the Tropick of *Aries*, and consequently was advancing back again towards the Line as they were moving Southward from it; so that by that time they came down to 49½ degrees of S. Latitude, things began to look with a Winter-like appearance, and the hard Weather came on apace. This term of Time expir'd, they set out again and sail'd to 51 degrees 40 minutes S. Latitude; here they found a convenient Port, and met with good Provisions of Fuel, Fish and fresh Water. They linger'd away at this place a matter of two Months more, and then came to 52 degrees South Latitude, where they light upon the Entrance into the *Streights*. They found them about 110 Leagues in length, and as for the breadth very uncertain; in some places very wide, in others not more than half a League over; the Land on both sides high and uneven; and the Mountains cover'd with Snow. When they came to the end of it, and found an open passage into the great Ocean, *Magliancs* was surpriz'd with a Joy that exceeded all the common bounds and measures, for this was the happy thing he look'd for, and now he was able to demonstrate his Sailing round by the West to the Emperor. The Point of Land from whence he first saw this most desirable sight, he call'd in memory of it *Cape Desiderato*; but it seems 'twas not so desirable to all the rest of the company, for here one of the Ships stole away and sail'd homewards by her self. They give a very good Character of the *Streights*, for affording all the conveniencies of fresh Water, Fish, grateful Herbs, Wood, secure Havens, of which there are great plenty; and they say, are almost at every Leagues end. And these Advantages are to be met with all over the *Streights*, and not in one or two particular places only; there's none of the Havens (by their report) but what will entertain you with both Food and Firing.

They set sail again.

They enter the *Streights.*

Cape *Desiderato.*

Distress in the *Pacifick Sea.*

They entred the *Pacifick Sea*, (as they call'd it) *Nov.* 28. *A. D.* 1520. and in this wide rambling Ocean they sail'd 3 Months and 20 Days without sight of Land: The miseries they endured for want of Provision, a good part of this time, were such as are seldom heard of. The fresh Water they had aboard stunk and was very loathsome; all their Bread was gone, and nothing left to eat but Skins and pieces of hard Leather. Nature will make any shift, tho' ever so hard and poor, to bear her self out in a distress, when 'tis possible to be done; and the poor Seamen here, rather than starve, fell very greedily to work upon those dry tough pieces of Leather that were folded about the Ropes of their Ships. But it being impossible to eat them till they were some way soften'd and fitted for chewing, they laid them asteep in the Salt Water for some days, and then made the best of them as long as they lasted. But then again, what with this impure sort of feeding, which was short and scanty too, and the daily impoverishment of their Spirits wanting better Recruits, their numbers lessen'd apace; some died outright, others fell into pining Sickness, others had their Gums that grew quite over their Teeth on every side; by which means, being totally unable to manage those tough solids they were forc'd to feed upon, they were past all help, and so miserably starv'd to death. Their only comfort in all these direful circumstances, was a constancy of fair and good weather: The Winds blew them smoothly and gently along, and broke out into nothing of a raging Fit, all the while they were thus expos'd; the Sea as calm and quiet too, and by this got the Celebrated name of *Pacifick*. And how happy was it to be thus at rest from the Toils of a Stormy Sea? Had Famine and Tempests come together, how quickly would they have been wearied out? Whither wou'd the shatter'd Fleet have been tost, and what wou'd have become of the Discovery of the *Moluccas*? In all this time, they saw nothing but two uninhabited Islands that gave no prospect of any Relief. The Needle of their Compass varied sometimes, and at others moved so dully and irregularly, that they were often forc'd to inspire and quicken it with a fresh touch of the Loadstone. The *South Pole*, they tell us, has no remarkable Star near it as the North has: There are two Clusters of small Stars (which appear more like Clouds than any thing else) and are separated one from another at a small distance; between these there are a couple of Stars not very large nor bright, which discover themselves, by the smallness of the Circle they describe, to be pretty near the Pole, at least the neerest of any that are discernible.

South Pole Stars.

At the distance of 20 degrees from the *South Pole*, they tell us of an Island of exceeding height call'd *Cipanghu*, and at 15 degrees of another as high, the Name of which is *Sumbdit*. They sail'd in one Gulph at least 4000 Leagues, and having made by their Reckoning 120 degr. Longitude from their first departure, at the same time they found they drew towards the *Equinoctial*. When they had pass'd that Line, and were got to 13 degrees *North* Lat. they design'd for the Cape call'd by the old Geographers the *Cape of Cattigare*; but this they miss'd, going upon that old Account of the Lat. of it, which places it thereabouts, and came to understand afterwards that it lies in 12 degrees.

Islands *Sumbdit* and *Cipanghu.*

March 6. they came up with a parcel of Islands, being then in 12 degr. *North* Lat. and 146 degr. Lon. from their first setting out. Here they went ashore to breathe and refresh a little, after all the fatigues of their tedious Voyage thro' the *South* Sea; but the thievish People of these Islands would not let them be quiet; while they were reposing themselves ashore, the others would be pilfering and stealing things out of the Ships, so that 'twas impossible to enjoy their ease in any measure, till they had taken some course to deliver themselves from these unwearied Disturbers. So they march'd with a small Party, pretty well Arm'd, up into one of the Islands, burnt some of their Houses, and killed some few of them; but this Correction, tho' it might awe them for the present, yet could not mend their evil Temper and Disposition, but they that were Thieves would be Thieves still, and in spight of Swords and Guns, wou'd play the Knave as before, for which reason they resolv'd to make no long stay there, but find out some other place where they might Rest with more safety and quiet. As for the Character of this People and their Manners, they give us this Relation:

Island *Ladrones.*

The People of the *Ladrones* and their Customs.

That there is not the least appearance of any Order or Form of Government amongst them, but every Man lives as he lists, and does what's agreeable to his own humour and inclination. Nay, considering how universally that Thieving, Cheating Disposition prevails, 'tis next to impossible there should be any thing of that kind, for the governing part wou'd never fail to transgress the Laws of Justice and Common Honesty as much as the rest; and the Inferiours would never bear to be curb'd and punish'd by those that they saw do the very same things, and set such an example before their Eyes. So that the general corruption of their Manners will necessarily keep them all upon a level, and establish a perpetual Anarchy amongst them. As far as appears, the Men go entirely naked, not discovering any thing of that common modesty which obtains amongst most barbarous People to bestow some covering upon the Privy Parts; that distinction indeed ceases here, all Parts being equally expos'd to view. Their hair is very black, both on their Heads and Beards, the former being generally very long, and reaching down to their Wastes. They anoint themselves all over with the Oil of the Coco, but their natural Complexion is Olive. They colour the Teeth black and red; and some of them will wear a Bonnet made of the Palm-tree upon their Heads. The Women are much better favour'd than the Men, and (as their Sex requires) more modest too; they all wear Coverings made of the inner Bark of the Palm-tree, their Hair black, thick and long; and (as they say) ready to trail upon the ground. They commend them for very careful industrious Housewifes, spending their time at a much better rate than the Men do, for whilst these are pilfering abroad, the others are making Mats and Nets of the Palm-tree at home; but of both sides the Work goes to the furnishing of the House. Their Houses are built of Timber, cover'd over with Boards and large Fig-leaves, and distinguish'd into several Apartments; their Beds are the Palm-Mats laid one upon another, and the leaves of the same are instead of Sheets and Blankets. They have no weapons but Clubs and long Poles, upon which they put heads of horn. Their feeding is upon Coco's, Benana's, Figs of a hands length, Sugar Canes, Fowl and Flying Fish. Their Canoes are pretty odly contriv'd and patch'd up, that they'll sail with them at a very

very great rate; the Sails of them are made of broad Date-leaves sowed together; instead of a Rudder they use a large Board with a Staff at the top, and may, when they will, make the Stern the Forecastle, or the Forecastle the Stern; they are always painted over either black, or white, or red, some one colour, and some another, as they like. These People are mightily taken with any little thing that's new and agreeable to their childish humour: When the *Spaniards* had wounded several of them with their Arrows; nay, pierced them almost through and through, these being strange things to them, they wou'd pull them out of their wounds, and hold them in their hands, staring at them till they dropt down dead. And after all, tho' they had been so roughly handled, yet they would follow the Ships as they were going away to gaze at them; so that they had at one time a matter of 200 of their Canoes pressing about them, as near as they could, to behold those wonderful Contrivances.

Zamal and *Humunu* Islands.

March the 10th, they landed upon the Island of *Zamal*, which is 30 Leagues from the *Ladrones*; and the next day they went ashore at *Humunu*, an Island not inhabited, but well deserving to be so. Here they found Springs of delicate clear water, abundance of Fruit Trees, Gold and white Coral: The Admiral called it the *Island of good Signs*. The Inhabitants of some of the neighbouring Islands came up to them not long after, a People of much Humanity and good Disposition, very fair and friendly in their Carriage, and appearing to be mighty well pleas'd at their coming amongst them. They came laden with Presents of Fish, and the Wine made of the Coco-Tree, and promis'd other Provisions in a little time.

Natives of the adjacent Islands.

Since the Coco-Wine is mention'd, it may not be amiss to shew the various Uses these People put that Fruit to; by which it will appear, how very serviceable a thing it is, and how many of the Conveniencies of Life are furnish'd out by it. The Coco is the Fruit of a certain Tree like a Date, and supplies them at once with Bread, Wine, Oil and Vinegar; and (besides all this Food and Sawce) with Physick too. The Wine is drank from the Tree it self, but all the rest are made from the Fruit. They cut off some part of a branch of the Tree, and fasten on to the remaining piece a good large Reed, into which drops a Liquor like White-wine, in colour and appearance, and of a taste gratefully tart. A good quantity of this thus drawn forth, and put up in a Vessel, is their Coco-Wine, without any farther preparation. The Fruit (which is as big as a Man's Head at least) has two rinds, the outermost of which is green, two fingers thick, and full of strings and threads; and of these they make all the Cords they use about their Boats. Under this rind there is another, or rather indeed a shell, being considerably thick and hard; this burnt and pulveriz'd, is us'd as a remedy for several distempers. Next to this lies the kernel, which is white, and of the thickness of a finger; it has a pleasing taste, almost like an Almond, and when 'tis dried they make it into Bread. In the middle of this kernel, there is a hollow full of a pure limpid water, and of a very cordial and refreshing nature; it will sometimes congeal, and lie like an Egg within the shell. When they would make Oil, they leave the Fruit a steep in water till it putrifies, and then set it over the fire, and boil it into an Oil. And the Vinegar is only the same water expos'd for some time to the Sun, which turns it into a Vinegar like that of White-Wine. Lastly, If they mix the kernel together with the water that is lodged in the cavity of it, and then strain it through a Cloth, they make a good Milk of it. The Coco-Trees resemble the common Date-Trees in all other things but this, That they are not so rugged and knotty as they are. They'll hold out very well 100 Year, and two of them will maintain a Family of ten People with Wine very handsomely, provided they be used by turns, and each Tree having been drawn seven or eight days, be allow'd as many to recover again before any more be taken from it: This care taken, such a number of People may drink as much as they will, and the Trees will bear them out in it.

Description of the Coco, and its uses.

People of the Island of *Zulvan*.

But to return to the Concerns between the People and them: According to their Promise they came again with more Provisions, and enter'd into a farther degree of familiarity and friendly Correspondence with them; they invited the Admiral into their Barks, and were reciprocally invited aboard the Admiral's Ship, where a great Gun being let off to entertain them, it put them into such a fright, that they were all ready to leap over-board, but good Words and Presents brought them to themselves again, and with much ado they were perswaded to keep out of the water. The Name of their Island was *Zulvan*, of no very great compass, but considerable for its Products. They had all manner of Spices in their Barks, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Ginger and Mace, and several things made in Gold; all which they carry up and down for Merchandize. They were without Apparel, but yet dress'd at a more costly rate than the *Europeans* that had it; they had Earings of Gold in each Ear, and several Jewels fasten'd with pieces of Gold to their Arms: Besides, they had Daggers, Knives and Lances, that were all very richly garnish'd with the same Metal. But tho' they had nothing of any Garment on, yet they had something of a Covering before, and that a sort of Cloth very ingeniously made out of the rind of a certain Tree that grows amongst them. The most considerable Men are distinguish'd from the common sort by a piece of silken Needle-work wrapp'd about their Heads. They are gross-bodied, broad, and well set, of an Olive Colour; and this Hue they maintain by a constant Inunction of their Bodies with the Oyl of the Coco.

They departed from this Isle, *March* 25. *A. D.* 1521. and directed their Course between the W. and S. W. sailing between the Isles *Cenaie*, *Huinangsian*, *Hibussen*, and *Abarian*.

March 28. They came to the Isle of *Buthuan* (*l*); the King of which, and the Prince his Son, gave them honourable Entertainment, together with good Quantities of Gold and Spices. The Admiral presented the King with two Vests of Cloth, one red, and the other yellow, made after the *Turkish* Fashion; and some of his Courtiers with Knives, Glasses, and Beads of Crystal. His Majesty was terribly frightned at the Discharge of a Piece of Ordnance, and as much surpriz'd to see one of the *Portugueses* in Armour, lash'd with naked Swords, without receiving any harm. But he was much more confounded at the Magick of the Compass, and to hear that they had found their way thro' the wide Ocean, by the Direction of that. The Admiral sent two of his Company ashear along with him, of which *Antony Pigafetta* was one. When they were landed, the King and his Attendants, all lifted up their Hands to Heaven, and then towards the two Christians; in which Ceremony these also followed them: And this Custom they observed in Drinking too. His Majesty's Palace was like a Hay-house, cover'd with Palm and Fig-leaves, mounted so high upon great Timber-posts, that they were forced to use Ladders to get in. Tho' they are no Christians, yet at their Meals they always make the Sign of the Cross, sitting in the same manner with their Legs as Taylors do. At Night, instead of Candles, they burn the Gum of a certain Tree, wrapp'd up in Palm-leaves. The King and Prince having entertain'd them, each in their several (*m*) Palaces, and given them Noble Presents, dismiss'd them; but not without new admiration, and a firm perswasion now rooted in their Minds, that they were above the Rank of common Mortals, having seen so many strange things by them; and especially *Pigafetta*'s Writing and Reading what he had written, which were Mysteries they could not comprehend.

(*l*) *Bethuan*.

(*m*) The Prince's Palace in the Isle of *Cegbam*.

Plenty of Gold.

In the Isle of *Butuan*, as they sifted the Earth of a certain Mine, they found great Lumps of Gold, some as big as Nuts, others as large as Eggs; of which Metal were all the King's Domestick Vessels made.

The King of *Buthuan*.

The King himself was a very comely Person, his Hair black and long, his Complexion Olive; his Body perfum'd with sweet Oils, of Storax and Benjamin, and painted with divers Colours. He had Rings of Gold in his Ears, and on every Finger three: His Head was wrapp'd with a Silken Veil, and a piece of Cotton wrought with Silk and Gold, cover'd his Body to his Knees. He wore a long Dagger by his side, with a Haft of Gold, and a Scabbard of fair carved Wood. His Country, it seems, is so rich, that one of his Subjects offer'd a Crown of Massy Gold, with a Collar, for six Threds of Crystal Beads; but the Admiral would not permit such Bargains as these, that they might not appear to be too fond and covetous of their Gold.

The Natives.

The People are of an active and spritely Nature; the Men quite naked, except a Covering of Paint: But the Women go clothed from the Waste downwards, and both wear Golden Ear-Rings. They are always chewing *Arecca*, and say, they can't live without it. This is a sort of Fruit like a Pear, cut in Quarters, and rolled up in the Leaves of a Tree (call'd * *Vetele*), which are almost like Bay-leaves.

* Or *Betele*.

As for Religious Rites, they had no other in use amongst them, but only to lift up their Faces, and Joined-hands, to Heaven, and call upon their God *Abba*. The Admiral caused a Banner, in which was the Pourtraicture of the Cross, and a Crown of Thorns, with Nails, to be brought forth, and publickly Reverenc'd by all his Men, in the King's Presence; telling His Majesty, it should be set up in some high Mountain in his Country; not only for a Token of good Entertainment to Christians in that place, but also for his own, and Nation's Security, and Defence; since

Magellanus orders a Banner, with a Cross, to be erected.

ſince if they devoutly pray'd to it, 'twou'd infallibly protect them from the Miſchiefs of Lightning and Tempeſt, as well as from other Evils. This the poor Prince promis'd to do, knowing no better, and glad to be ſo defended from Thunderbolts.

Many Iſlands, *Zubut*, &c.

Departing from hence, this King's Pilots brought them to the Iſles of *Zeilon*, *Zubut*, *Meſſana*, and *Caleghan*, of which *Zubut* is the beſt, and has the beſt Trade. In *Meſſana* they found Dogs, Cats, Hogs, Hens, Goats, Rice, Ginger, Cocus, Myll, Panicke, Barley, Figs, Oranges, Wax, and Gold, in great ſtore. This Iſle lies in 9½ Degr. of N. Lat. and 162 Degr. of Longitude, from the firſt Stage.

They ſtay'd here eight Days, and then ſailing to the N. W. paſs'd by the Iſles *Zeilon*, *Bohol*, *Canghu*, *Barba*, and *Catighan*. In which laſt Iſle, there are Bats as big as Eagles, and that taſte, when dreſs'd, like a Hen: There are alſo Stock-Doves, Turtle-Doves, Popinjays, and a certain ſort of Fowl like a Hen, which have little Horns, and lay their Eggs a Cubits depth in the Sand, where the Sun's heat Hatches them.

Fowls with Horns.

Eggs hatch'd in the Sand.

From *Meſſana* to *Caleghan*, is about 20 Leagues ſailing to the Weſt, and from *Caleghan* to *Zubut* about 50 Leagues; to which they now directed their courſe, having the Company of the King of *Meſſana* along with them.

April 7. about Noon, they entred the Port of *Zubut* (*n*), and coming near the City let off all their great Guns, which put that place into a very great conſternation. But all that apprehenſion of danger from the Ships was quickly remov'd, by the coming of their Ambaſſador to the Town, who aſſur'd the King, that 'twas cuſtomary with them to diſcharge their Cannon whenever they came into any great Ports; and that 'twas a piece of Reſpect they always paid to the Lords and Governours of Towns. He told him how mighty a Prince they were Servants to, and that their deſign was to find out the *Moluccas*: That they only came to viſit him by the way, hearing of his Fame by the King of *Meſſanes*, and deſired him to grant them Victuals for the Commodities they had brought. The King bid them welcome, but told them, 'twas a Cuſtom there, for all Ships that came, to pay Tribute, and that he expected the like Acknowledgment from them. This the Ambaſſador poſitively refuſed, telling him, That his Admiral was the Servant of ſo great a King, that as he had never yet, ſo he wou'd not now begin to make that Acknowledgment to any Prince in the World: And withal, That if he wou'd Accept of Peace offer'd to him, well and good, if not, he ſhou'd quickly have his hands full of the War. A certain *Moor*, that ſtood by, told the King, That theſe were the *Portugueze* that had Conquer'd *Calecut* and *Malacca*, and therefore Adviſed him to have a care how he provok'd them. Upon this conſideration, the King concluded to refer the Matter to his Council, and to give them an Anſwer the next day, ſending them, in the mean while, Wine and Victuals. The King of *Meſſana*, who was a very potent Prince, went aſhore, and acted very Generouſly, on that behalf, with the King of *Zubut*: The effect of which was, That the King, inſtead of Demanding, was now almoſt ready to yield to pay Tribute himſelf; which they not at all inſiſting upon, but only deſiring liberty to Trade, he cheerfully granted it, offering to Seal the Covenant of Peace and Friendſhip with his Blood. After this, the King of *Meſſana*, the King of *Zubut*, and his Nephew, came aboard the Admiral, brought him Preſents, and confirm'd the League. The Admiral perſwaded them to embrace the *Chriſtian Faith*, which they did with exceeding Joy and Pleaſure, being all afterwards Baptiz'd. This example of the great Ones influenc'd the whole Iſland, ſo that *Chriſtianity* was Univerſally receiv'd there. When they came to the City, they found the King in his Palace, ſitting upon a ſort of fine Mat made of Date-leaves, having no manner of Apparel but a *Bombaſine* Cotton about his Waſte. About his Head he had a Veil of Needle-work, and about his Neck a very coſtly Chain; as alſo ſtately Jewels in his Ears. He had before him ſeveral *Porcelane* Veſſels, ſome with Eggs, and others full of Date-Wine. The Prince Entertain'd them likewiſe at his Palace, and for their Diverſion made his Daughters Sing and Dance naked before them. One of the *Spaniards* dying, they deſired leave of the King to bury him in his Land: To which the King reply'd, That ſince he, and all his moſt coſtly things, were at the King their Maſters devotion, much more ſhou'd a few Foot of his ground be ſo, in affording a Burial-Place to one of his Subjects.

(*n*) The Iſle of *Zubut*.

Shedding Blood a token of Friendſhip.

The Iſland receives the Chriſtian Faith.

The King.

These People exerciſe Juſtice in their Dealings with one another, keeping cloſe to the Uſe of Weights and Meaſures. Their Houſes are made of Timber rais'd high upon Poſts, ſo that they go up by Stairs to them. They talk of a certain ſort of Water-Fowl in this Country, as big as a Crow, which they call *Lughan*, which the Whales ſometimes ſwallow down alive, and have their Hearts eaten up by this Bird; by which means many of them are kill'd, and the Bird is afterwards found alive in the Carkaſs of the Whale. The Skin of this Fowl is black, but the Fleſh good. The *Spaniards* had very advantageous Bartering with theſe People, they giving them 10 *Peſo's* of Gold (every one of which is a Ducat and half) for 14 pound weight of Iron; beſides, all ſorts of Proviſions for very inconſiderable trifles. The baptizing of theſe Princes (who had before embrac'd *Chriſtianity*) was perform'd with very great Solemnity, the Ordnance being all diſcharg'd; which the Admiral told the King of beforehand, to prevent his being ſurpriz'd. The King of *Zubut* was named *Charles*, and the Prince *Ferdinando*; the former of thoſe Names being the Emperors, and the latter his Brothers. The King of *Meſſana* was named *John*, and the great *Moriſh* Courtier *Chriſtopher*. Beſides the Princes and great Men, there were 500 of a more Inferiour Rank baptiz'd at the ſame time. All their Idols were broken, and the Croſs ſet up in divers places, which the Admiral engaged them to pray very devoutly before, Morning and Evening. The Queen was baptiz'd too at the ſame time, with 40 of her Ladies, and her Daughter &c the Prince's Wife. She was young and handſome, her Body cover'd with a white Cloth, and her Head adorn'd with a ſort of a Triple-Crown made of Date-leaves. After Maſs was ended, the King and Court dined in the Admiral's Ship, in Honour of whom all the great Ordnance were diſcharged. In 8 days time, moſt of the Iſland was become *Chriſtian*, except one Village of Idolaters, who wou'd not obey the King's command in this Matter; the *Spaniards* therefore burnt the Village, and erected a Croſs upon the Ruines of it. And to ſhew the good and advantageous effects of *Chriſtianity* amongſt theſe People that had embrac'd it, they pretend a very miraculous cure was wrought upon the King of *Zubut*'s Brother upon his receiving Baptiſm. The Admiral, it ſeems, pawn'd his Head for his immediate recovery, if he wou'd ſubmit to this Sacred Rite, and break all his Idols. And they ſay, that the Admiral did ſave his Pawn, the Prince perfectly recovering of his Malady. And beſides this, that this Miracle brought in a vaſt number of Converts, and occaſion'd a fearful deſtruction of Heatheniſm, Altars and Idols, all about in the Iſland. The People of this Iſland, inſtead of Coin, pay the King their Stated Tribute in Victuals.

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The King &c. Baptiz'd.

The Queen.

A ſtrange Fowl that deſtroys the Whales.

Not far from *Zubut* lies the Iſle of *Mathan* (*o*), the Inhabitants of which go quite naked, except a ſlight Covering upon the *Pudenda*; at which Part all the Males, both great and ſmall, do hang certain golden Rings, perforating the Skin for that purpoſe. They take as many Wives as they pleaſe; one of which only has the Sovereignty of the Houſe. They uſe very odd Ceremonies in their Sacrifices to the Sun. They begin with ringing Bells; then they ſpread a Cloth upon the ground, on which are ſet certain Platters with Honey, Rice and roaſted Fiſhes. The Sacrifice they offer is a Hog, and the Managers of the Ceremony are two old Women, who ſing and dance about the Animal, and ſound Trumpets made of Reeds. They mumble out certain Prayers to the Sun, and after ſeveral antick and ridiculous Geſtures, they pour out a Cup of Wine upon the Hog. One of the Venerable Prieſteſſes ſtrikes the fatal blow with a Lance, and then puts a lighted Lamp into the Creatures mouth, which continues burning all the time of the Ceremony. The other dips the Reed-Trumpet in the Blood, and with her finger beſmears her Husband's Forehead, and then the reſt of the Men that aſſiſt at the Sacrifice. When they have done, they diſrobe themſelves of their Prieſtly attire, and fall to eating the Honey, Rice and Fiſhes, in which only Women partake with them. As for the fleſh of the Hog, that is not to be touch'd till theſe two Witches have crav'd a Bleſſing upon it. As for their Funerals, their Ceremonies are almoſt as foppiſh and extravagant as thoſe of their Sacrifices. When a Man of Figure dies, all the chief Women go to his Houſe, and carry boughs, with pieces of Cotton in them, which they faſten all about the Corps. They ſit round about it cloath'd in white Cotton, fanning themſelves with branches of Palm, the Room being Incens'd with Myrrh and Storax all the while. Then a certain Perſon comes and cuts off the Hair of the Deceaſed by little and little; and at the ſame time, his chief Wife lies upon his dead Body, with her Face, Hands and Feet, to his, crying and lamenting while his Hair is cut off, but ſhe changes her Funeral Notes into a Merry Song when the other ceaſes cutting. The Ceremony laſts five Days; after which they encloſe the Corps in a Dormitory built of Wood, and made very faſt on every ſide.

(*o*) *Mathan*.

The People.

Their Sacrifices.

Their Funerals.

This Isle of *Mathan* was govern'd by two Kings; the one of which refusing to pay Tribute to the King of *Spain*, *Maglianes* went out to reduce him. The *Indian* had between 6 and 7000 Men furnish'd with Bows and Arrows, Darts and Javelins; which Army *Maglianes* attack'd with 60 of his *Spaniards*, arm'd with Coats of Mail and Helmets. The Battel was sharp and tedious; but *Maglianes* his Heat and Courage carrying him in too far amongst the *Barbarians*, he was there first wounded with a poyson'd Arrow, and afterwards thrust into the Head with a Lance, which ended the Life and Action of this Noble Commander. About 8 or 9 of his Men were slain, and about 15 of the Enemy, besides many wounded; but *Maglianes*'s Body could not be redeem'd at any rate. They chose two others to succeed him in his Charge, *viz. Odoardo Barbosa* a *Portugueze*, and *Johannes Serrano*; who was shortly after, with divers others, betrayed by the Interpreter.

Maglianes's Death.

A little before the Admiral's Death, they had tidings of the *Moluccas*, the great end of their Voyage: So that now leaving *Mathan*, they sail'd to the Isle (*p*) *Bohol*; and here they burnt the *Conception*, furnishing the other two Ships with the Men and Ammunition of it. Directing their course from hence to the South West, they came to the Isle (*q*) *Pavilaghon*, inhabited by *Blacks*. From hence they came to *Chippit* (*r*), which is a large Island; it is about 50 Leagues from *Zubut*, in 8 degrees of North Lat. and about 170 degrees of Lon. from their first Stage. It abounds in Gold, Rice, Ginger, Goats, Hogs, Hens, &c. and the King of it gave them a friendly reception. In token of Peace, he mark'd his Body, Face, and the tip of his Tongue, with Blood, which he drew out of his Left Arm; and the *Spaniards* followed him in that bloody Ceremony. *Pigafetta* was entertain'd by him and his two Wives, but they ply'd him so hard with Brimmers, that he was forc'd to Excuse himself from Pledging them, and take his Leave.

(*p*) *Bohol.*

(*q*) *Pavilaghon Blacks.*

(*r*) *Chippit.*

Sailing from hence about 40 Leagues, between the West and South West, they came to *Caghaian* (*s*), a very great Island, but not well inhabited. The People are *Moors*, Exiles from *Borneo*, rich in Gold, and for their principal Weapons use poyson'd Arrows.

(*s*) *Caghaian.*

Another Course of about 25 Leagues, between the West and North West, brought them to *Puloan* (*t*), a very fruitful Island, lying in 9½ degrees of North Lat. and 179½ degrees of Lon. from their first Stage. It yields much the same Products as *Chippit*, besides very large Figs, Battato's, Coco's, and Sugar Canes. The like Ceremonies also were here used in token of Friendship, between the King and the *Spaniards*, as were at *Chippit*. The People go naked, use poyson'd Arrows, and are fervent Lovers of the Sport of Cock-fighting. They make a sort of Wine here of Rice, which is very intoxicating, but otherwise better than that of the Palm.

(*t*) *Puloan.*

Sailing about 10 Leagues from hence, toward the South West, they had a sight of the famous Isle of *Borneo* (*v*); the beginning of which is full 5 Leagues distant from the Port. Here they met with a Tempest as they were entring the Port, which went off when the fires of the three Saints * appear'd upon the Cables. It is a very large and rich Island: It lies in 5½ degrees of North Lat. and 176½ degrees of Lon. from their first departure; the chief City contain'd no less than 25000 Houses. The King was a *Moor*, a Prince of very great Power, and large Command, kept a magnificent Court, and was always attended by a mighty Guard. He sent the Captains several Presents, and order'd a couple of Elephants, Trapp'd with Silk, to be led forth, to bring the *Spanish* Messengers, and Presents, to the Palace. He has 10 Scribes, or Secretaries, that write his Affairs in Barks of Trees. His Houshold is govern'd all by Women, who are the Daughters of his chief Courtiers. His Subjects pay him their Reverence by lifting up their Hands, closed three times over their Heads: Then lifting up their Feet one after the other; and lastly, kissing their Hands. They chew a great deal of the *Betele* in this Country, and drink a Rice Wine call'd by them *Arach*. The Country affords Camphire, which is the Gum of the Tree *Capar*; also Cinnamon, Ginger, Mirabolans, Oranges, Limons, Sugar, Cucumbers, Melons, plenty of Fowl and Beasts; amongst which are Elephants.

(*v*) *Borneo.*

* St. *Helen*, St. *Nicholas*, St. *Clare.*

July 29. they were set upon by 100 of the Indian *Junks* †, of which they took 4; and in one of them a considerable Prisoner, Son to the King of *Lozon*, and General of the King of *Borneo*'s Forces, being then upon his return from the Sack of *Lae*, a great City in the Isle towards *Java*: but the Pilot being Brib'd, let him make his escape; so that they lost his Ransome.

† Small Vessels.

Leaving *Borneo*, they came to the Isle *Cimbubon* (*w*), which lies in 8 degrees 7 minutes of North Lat. Here they staid 40 Days caulking their Ships, and furnishing them with fresh Water and Fuel; they were forc'd to Work barefoot, their Shooes being quite worn out, and there being none of the Gentle-Craft in *Cimbubon* to supply them with more. In the Woods of this Isle they found a Tree, the Leaves of which, as soon as they fall on the ground, do move from place to place as if they were alive. They resemble Mulberry-Leaves, and on the sides of them there are certain Fibres produc'd, that seem like little Eggs. If they are cut, or broken, there's nothing like Blood comes forth; but if they are touch'd, they suddenly spring away. This *Pigafetta* tried, keeping one of these Leaf-Animals in a Dish for 8 days. The Isle affords Ostriches, wild Hogs, and Crocodiles. They took here a Fish Headed like a Swine, with two Horns; its Body all one entire Bone, and some thing like a Saddle on its Back.

(*w*) *Cimbubon.*

A Sensitive Tree.

An odd Fish.

They sailed from hence by the West, towards the South East Quarter, for the *Moluccas*, and in their way found the Sea full of Weeds and Herbs: This was near certain great Mountains. This Course brought them to the Isles of *Zolo* and *Taghima* (*x*), which afford very rare Pearl. From hence 'twas that the King of *Borneo* got a couple of Pearl as round, and very near as big as a Hen's Egg.

(*x*) *Zolo*, &c.

Large Pearl.

Sailing towards the North East, they came to *Mangandano*, a great City lying above the Isles of *Buthuan* and *Caleghan*. Here they took a Canoe, with certain *Indians*, who gave them directions for the *Moluccas*; so that they chang'd their North-East for a South-East Course, on to a Cape of the Isle *Butuan*. Here they heard of a strange sort of Savages cover'd with shaggy hair like Beasts, strong and tall, having only weapons of Wood; they reported of them, that they wou'd eat the Hearts of their slain Enemies raw, with the Juice of Oranges and Limons for Sawce. These Islands afford the best Cinnamon in the World; of which they had 27 pound in Exchange for two Knives. Being in 6 degrees 7 minutes North Lat. they still kept their South-East Course, which brought them upon the Isles *Ciboco* (*y*), *Biramboia*, *Sarangani*, and *Candinghar*.

Wild Men!

(*y*) Four Islands.

October 24. they had a great Storm; and they say, that after their Prayers, the three Fortunate Lights appear'd as before; which once shewing themselves, the noisy Winds and Waves were commanded into a profound silence. They came to Harbour in the Isle *Sarangani*, reported to yield both Gold and Pearl; and here they press'd two Pilots for their *Moluccа* Voyage. They pass'd the Isles (*z*) *Ceana*, *Canida*, *Cabiaio*, *Camuca*, *Cabalu*, *Chiai*, *Lipan* and *Nuza*, and came to a fair Island call'd *Sanghir*, in 3½ degrees of North Lat. which Isle had 4 Kings. Having pass'd 5 other Islands, they at last espied a small Cluster of 4 Islands, which their Pilots said were the *Moluccas* (*a*); this was the 6th of *November*, and the 27th Month after their departure from *Spain*. They tried the depth of the Sea with their Plumbet all about these Islands, and found it no less than 102 Yards; which shews that the *Portugueze* design'd none else shou'd come thither but themselves, when they told the World, That those Seas were so shallow, that there was no Sailing there, besides the other dangers of Rocks and Shelves, and continual Darkness.

(*z*) Eight other Islands in their way to the *Moluccas*. *Sanghir.*

(*a*) The *Moluccas* in sight.

Stories of the *Portugueze.*

Nov. 8. * before Sun-rising, they enter'd the Port of *Tiridore* (*b*), which is one of the chief of the *Moluccas*. The King was a *Moor*, but notwithstanding the prejudices of his Religion, so extremely fond of the *Spaniards*, and so much devoted to the Service of their Master, that he bid them come ashore into their own Country and Houses, call'd them his Brethren and Children; nay, in Complement to them, changed the Name of his Kingdom from *Tiridore* into *Castile*.

* *A.D.* 1521.

(*b*) *Tiridore.*

These *Moluccas* are five in number; *Ternete*, *Tiridore*, *Mutir*, *Macchian* and *Bacchian*. Of all these, *Ternate* is the chief, and the King of it was once Lord of all the rest. *Mutir* and *Macchian* were then Commonwealths, but *Bacchian* a Monarchy. The Clove-Trees here are very tall, and as big about as a Man; the Boughs large in the middle and sharp at top, the Leaves like those of Bay-Trees, and the Bark of an Olive colour. The Cloves grow in large Clusters at the tops of the Boughs; at first they are white, red when come to maturity, and grow black by after drying. The Leaf, Bark and Wood, being green, is as strong as the Clove it self. They gather them twice a Year, in *June* and *December*; and if they don't take them in time they grow very hard. Every Man has his own peculiar Trees, but they bestow but little Husbandry upon them. They have also in this Isle a sort of a Tree, the Bark of which being steep'd in Water, may be drawn out in small Fibres, to the fineness of Silk; and of this the Women make a sort of Aprons, which is all the Covering they make use of.

Cloves.

(c) *Gilolo* Isle. Near *Tiridore* lies the great Isle (c) *Gilolo*, which is parted between *Moors* and *Heathens*. The 2 Kings of the *Moors* have contributed themselves very liberally to the Peopling of the Island, the one of them having 600, and the other 650 Children. The *Pagans* were more abstemious in these Matters, as well as less Superstitions in other regards, than the *Moors*; yet they report of them, that they adore the first thing they see in the Morning, so that an Ass may be the Object of their Worship for that Day, as soon as a better thing. But how poor soever they are in Understanding, they are very rich in that which gets many a Fool the Reputation of a Wise Man, in these Parts of the World; they have good store of Gold amongst them, which notwithstanding all their defects in Religion, was sufficient to recommend them to the Esteem of the *Spaniards*. In this Isle there is a sort of a Reed grows as big as a Man's Leg, and full of a very fine Limpid Water, which makes a wholesome Drink. *Nov.* 12. a Publick Warehouse was appointed in the City for the Sale of their Merchandize. The Exchange was thus: For ten Yards of good red Cloth, they had one Bahar of Cloves, every Bahar being four Cantars, and six Pound; and every Cantar 100 *l.* weight. For fifteen Yards of a meaner Cloth, they had in Cambie, one Bahar: For 35 Drinking-glasses one Bahar: For 17 Cathyls of Quicksilver, one Bahar. They brought all sorts of Provisions daily to their Ships, and a sort of fresh Water, which springs out of the Mountains where the Cloves grow: It is hot when it comes out of the Spring, but very cold when it has stood a while in some other place.

Gold.

The Water of Reeds.

They receiv'd here a Comical Present for the King of *Spain*, from the King of *Bacchian*; which was a couple of dead Birds of the bigness of Turtles, with little Heads and Legs, long Bills, two or three long Feathers, party-colour'd at their sides, instead of Wings, their whole Body else all of one colour, and that near a tawny. They never fly but when the Wind blows to help them. The *Moors* fancy they come from Paradise, and therefore call them the Birds of God.

Strange Birds

Products of *Molucca*. As for all these *Molucca's* in general, their Products are Cloves, Ginger, Rice, Sagu-bread, Goats, Sheep, Hens, Popinjays white and red, Figs, Almonds, Pomegranates, Oranges, and Lemons, and a sort of Honey which is made of Flies less than Ants. Moreover, Sugar-Canes, Oyl of Coco's, Melons, Gourds, and a Fruit which they call *Camulicai*, which is extreamly cold. The Natives of these Islands were all Heathens, the *Moors* having not had footing there above 50 Years before the *Spaniards* came.

The Isle *Tiridore* is in about 27 Min. North Lat. and 171 Degr. Long. from their first Meridian; and about 9 ' Degr. from the *Archipelago*; in which is the Isle of Thieves, and runs to the Quarters of South West, and N. N. E.

Ternate is in 4 Min. of South Lat. *Mutir* is directly under the Æquinoctial. *Machian* is in 15 Min. of South Lat. And *Bacchian* in 1 Min. and this Isle is the biggest of all the *Molucca's*.

When they departed from hence, they had the Kings of several Islands attending them in their Canoes; they were conducted by them to the Isle *Mare*, and there this Royal Company took their Leaves of them, not without a great deal of Sorrow, as they pretended. In this Isle they left a leaking Ship behind them, giving Orders, if it could be repaired, for its return into *Spain*.

From *Mare* they directed their Course to the S. W. being now no more in number than 46 *Spaniards*, and 13 *Indians*. They passed the Isles of *Chacouan*, *Legema*, *Sico*, *Gioghi*, *Caphi*, *Sulacko*, *Lumatola*, *Tenetum*, *Buru*, *Amboi*, *Budia*, *Celerur*, *Benaia*, *Ambalao*, *Baudon*, *Zorobua*, *Zolot*, *Nocecmor*, *Galian*, and *Mallua*, besides many others possess'd both by *Moors*, *Heathens*, and *Cannibals*. They stay'd at (d) *Mallua* fifteen Days, repairing their Ship. It lies in 8' Degr. of S. Lat. and 169 Degr. 40 Min. of Long. according to their Reckoning. There grows a vast deal of Pepper there, both long and round; the Leaves of the Tree like Mulberry-leaves, and climbing like Ivy. The People are perfect Cannibals; the Men wear their Hair and Beards put up in Canes; and for Weapons, use only Bows and Arrows.

Many Islands.

(d) *Mallua.*

Pepper.

* *A.D.* 1522. (e) *Timor.* *January* 25. * leaving *Mallua*, they arrived at *Timor* (e), which is five Leagues distant between the S. and S. W. Here they found Ginger, the Wood of White Saunders, divers Fruits and Beasts, Gold, and plenty of all sorts of Provisions. The People of the *Molucca's*, *Java*, and *Lozon*, fetch their Saunders from this Island. It lies in 10 Degr. S. L. and 174 of Long. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and have amongst them, (which is also common to all the Isles of this *Archipelago*) the Distemper we call the *French-Pox*.

Sailing a long Course from hence, between the W. and N. W. they came to the Isle of *Ende* (f), which yields great store of *Cinamon*. In this Tract of Sea, there is a long Series of Islands, lying in order behind one another, as far as the Greater *Java*, and the Cape of *Malacca*. About half a League from this Greater *Java*, lies *Java* the Less; which is full as big as the Isle of *Madera*.

(f) *Ende.* Cinamon.

Feb. 11. * sailing from *Timor*, they got into the Great Sea *Lantchidol*, and steer'd away between the W. and S. W. leaving the N. Coast on their Right-hand, taking care not to sail too near the Shoar, least the *Portugueze*, who were seated at *Malacca*, shou'd chance to spy them; and on this Account they directed their Course without the Isle *Sumatra*. And that they might pass the Cape of *Good Hope* more securely, they sail'd about 42 Degr. towards the S. Pole, waiting in those parts seven Weeks for the Wind, fetching many a Compass with their full-spread Sails, having a W. and N. W. Wind in the Prow of their Ship, so that they could not easily get along. The Cape of *Good Hope* they observ'd to be in 34 ½ Degr. of S. L. and 1600 Leagues from the Cape of *Malacca*: They reckon'd it to be both the greatest, and the most dangerous * Cape in the World.

* *A.D.* 1520.

* Modern Experience allows no such great danger.

But having now pass'd all the Dangers of the Cape, being smartly pinch'd with Hunger, and Sick too, some of them were for putting in at *Mozambique*, for a little Refreshment; but the major part of the Company concluding, that the *Portuguese*, who were there, wou'd prove but untoward Physicians for their Distempers, they resolv'd to sail homewards. This they did, in a Course toward the S. W. for the space of two Months, without touching at any part; in which time they lost 21 Men of their Company, the remainder being just upon the point of starving. They came in good time under this extreme Necessity, to St. *James's* Island, which is one of the Cape *de Verd* Islands; and here they were forc'd to throw themselves upon the Mercy of the *Portugueze*: For in the Ship was Famine, and certain Death; and tho' ashoar there were armed Enemies, yet here they had a Chance for their Lives, which in the other Circumstance they had not. So that venturing ashoar, they opened their miserable Case to the *Portugueze*; who were so generous as to relieve them the first time, and so barbarous as to detain them Prisoners the next time they came for Food.

They are in great distress.

The *Portugueze* keep them Prisoners.

Those in the Ship, finding their Companions (thirteen in number) stopp'd by the *Portugueze*, and having no mind to bear them Company in Prison, tho' they had a Shipboard, made all the haste they possibly could away; and so the Wind bestowing it self very liberally upon their Sails, they came *Sept.* 7. into the Haven of St. *Lucar*, near *Sevil*.

The Port of St. *Lucar.*

Having welcom'd themselves home with a Volley or two of Shot, they went in Procession barefoot, and in their Shirts, with a great Torch before them, to the Cathedral, to return their Thanks to Heaven, for the happy Conclusion of their Voyage.

Their other Ship which they left behind to be repair'd, came home afterwards, sailing by the afore-mention'd *Archipelago*, thro' the Great Sea, to the Coasts of the *West-Indies*, arriving at that part of it which lies opposite to *Darien*, where the *South* Sea of *Sur* is separated by a narrow Neck of Land, from that Western Ocean, in which are the Isles of *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*. The Streight in the South Sea which they passed, was called the Streight of *Victoria*, from the Ship in which the Admiral discover'd it, tho' afterwards it receiv'd a new Name from the Admiral himself, being call'd in Honour of the Discoverer, the *Magellanick* Streight.

Their other Ship returns.

Darien.

After they were come home, the *Portugueze* overthrew their Factory at *Tiridore*, took their Ship the *Trinity*, built themselves a Fort at *Ternate*, and raised a Factory there, getting the whole Clove-Trade into their own Hands. And besides these Enmities abroad, there were fierce Contentions at home, between the two Nations, each challenging the *Molucca's* for their own Right. But in short, the *Portugueze* having tasted the Sweetness of the *Molucca* Trade, were resolv'd never to quit it to the *Spaniards*; neither did they leave till they had engross'd all to themselves. For the Emperor marrying the King of *Portugal's* Sister, and wanting Money, he pawn'd * all those rich Islands, and the whole Spice-Trade, to the *Portugueze*, for 350000 Duckers; and that without limiting any certain time for the Redemption of them again. And whereas *Cortes* * offer'd to lay down the Money, upon Condition of six Years Profits of the Trade, and yet to leave all after that to the Crown; the Emperor would not admit of it: So that the *Portugueze* still kept their Prize; till they lost both that and themselves too, to the Crown of *Spain*.

* *A.D.* 1529.

* *A.D.* 1548.

The

The Perſon that brought home the Ship *Victoria* from the *Molucca's*, was *John Sebaſtian Cabo*; whom the Emperor moſt Nobly Rewarded for his Service.

Before this Agreement between the Emperor, and King of *Portugal*, about the *Molucca's*, ſome of the *Portugueze* had attempted this Diſcovery out of *New Spain*, by the *South* Sea, but with ill Succeſs, as is related by *John Gaetan*, a *Spaniſh* Pilot (*g*). They ſail'd * from Port *Nativity*, in 20 Degr. of N. L. and came to the *Molucca's*; where the King of *Tiridore* entertain'd them well: But not being able to maintain their Ground againſt the *Spaniards*, they were forc'd to come to a Compoſition with them.

(*g*) See Ramuz. Tom. I. * A.D. 1524.

And thus have we ſeen the *Spaniſh* Ships putting a Girdle half round the Globe; we ſhall now ſee our *Engliſh* Ones finiſh what they had begun, making both Ends of it perfectly meet together.

CHAP. IV.

The famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, *the firſt General that ever Sail'd round the whole Globe.*

A. D. 1577. THE Fifteenth of *November*, Sir *Francis Drake*, with a Fleet of five Ships and Barks, (in which were about 164 Perſons) ſet ſail from *Plimouth*, pretending a Voyage to *Alexandria*: But the Wind proving contrary, he was forc'd the next Morning to put in at *Falmouth* Haven, in *Cornwall*. Here a moſt violent Tempeſt had like to have made an univerſal Wreck, which yet produc'd no worſe effects, (as Providence was pleas'd to order the matter) than the loſs of the Admiral's * Maſt, and the driving of the *Marigold* aſhoar, which ſomething bruiz'd her. For the repairing theſe Damages, they return'd back to *Plimouth*; where having put all things to rights, and again prepared themſelves for the Dangers of the Sea; they ſet Sail the ſecond time, on the 13th of *December*.

* This famous Ship was call'd the *Pelican*.

On the 25th of the ſame Month, they fell in with Cape *Cantin*, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*. And on the 27th came to Iſle *Magador* (*a*), lying one Mile diſtance from the Main, between which and the Iſle, they found a very ſafe and convenient Harbour. Here the Admiral erected a Pinnace, having brought the Hulks of four ready fram'd from *England*.

(*a*) *Magador* on the Coaſt of *Barbary*.

While they were upon this Work, ſome of the Inhabitants came to the Water-ſide, ſhewing their Flags of Peace: Upon which the Admiral ſent out his Boat, to know their Minds. One of his Men ſtay'd as a Pledge amongſt them, and two of their Company were brought a Shipboard: They told him by Signs, That the next Day they wou'd furniſh his Ships with good Proviſions; which Civility he requited with ſome Linen Cloth, Shoes, and a Javeline, things very acceptable to the Barbarians, and ſo they departed.

Treachery of the Barbarians. The next Day they came as they had promis'd; and one of the Men leaping out of the Boat amongſt them, thinking to have leap'd into the Arms of Friends, made himſelf the Priſoner of theſe perfidious Wretches; who threatning to ſtab him, if he made any reſiſtance, preſently mounted him a Horſeback, and carried him up into the Country.

The Pinnace being finiſh'd, they ſet ſail *December* the 30th, and Coaſting along the Shoar, they met ſome *Spaniſh* Fiſhermen; which giving Chace to, they took three of them: And a little further they met with a Booty of three Caravels.

Cape *Blanco*. *January* the 17th, they arrived at Cape *Blanco*; where they found a Ship at Anchor within the Cape, having only two Mariners in her: The Ship they took, and carried her into the Harbour, where they ſtay'd four Days; in which time the Admiral muſter'd his Men aſhoar, to prepare them for Land, as well as Sea-Service. Here they took of the Fiſher-men ſuch Neceſſaries as they wanted, and alſo one of their Barks (*b*) of about 40 Tun; leaving behind them a little Bark of their own.

(*b*) They are call'd Caurels.

They left this Harbour *January* the 22d, carrying along with them one of the *Portugueze* Caravels, which was bound to the Iſles of Cape *de Verd*, for Salt; of which good ſtore is made in one of thoſe Iſlands. The Maſter of that Caravel aſſur'd the Admiral, That in one of the Cape *de Verd* Iſlands, call'd (*c*) *Meyo*, that there was good ſtore of dry'd *Cabrito's* (*d*), which were every Year made ready for ſuch Ships of the King's as call'd there. They came upon this place, *January* the 27th; but the Inhabitants would drive no Trade with them; the King's Orders having poſitively forbid it. Yet the next Day they went to take a view of the Iſland; the Admiral ſending out a Company of Men for that purpoſe. They march'd towards the chief place of the Iſle, and having travell'd thro' the Mountains for three Days, they came thither before Day-break. They found the Inhabitants all run away; but they came not to ſee them, but the Country: And this, by the Manuring, appear'd to be more fruitful than the other part. They reſted themſelves here a while, and banqueted upon the ſweet and lovely Grapes which were in their prime, even at that Seaſon of the Year, which is the Depth of Winter with us in *England*. This won't appear ſtrange, if it be conſider'd, that that Country lying in the Torrid Zone, ſees the Sun twice a Year in its Zenith, which makes a double Summer, and ſo enjoys a far greater ſhare of that Luminary's Influence and Preſence, than thoſe places that lie without the Boundaries of his Motion, and to which he is never Vertical: So that whereas in places ſeated in remoter Parallels, the mightieſt Influence and Action of the Sun, in its neareſt Approaches to them, is not of force enough to keep Nature in a blooming ſtate thro' the whole Revolution of the Year; nor can the weaker Rays of the Winter-Sun, ſo far renew its Vigour, or remove the deadly Chill which then oppreſſes all things, as to bring any Plant or Fruit to its due maturity. On the other hand, theſe Climates of the Middle Zone, are ſo throughly heated by the twice culminating Sun, and alſo have him ſtill, (by the Laws of his Motion) at ſo little a diſtance from them, that even in his fartheſt Receſs, there is, in many places, Warmth ſufficient for the ſpringing of Vegetables, and the ripening of Fruits.

Grapes ripe in Winter.

This Country is ſtor'd with Goats, wild Hens, and Salt, which Nature makes ready to the Inhabitants Hands. It is brought together in great Quantities upon the Land, by the flowing of the Sea, and the Heat of the Sun kerns it; the People have no more to do, but to gather it into Heaps, and ſell it to their Neighbours; which they do, making a good Trade of it. They found here alſo Coco-Trees, the Fruit of which, ſeems to be in all points, the ſame with thoſe before deſcribed, which the *Spaniards* found in the Iſle *Zuluan*. The Trees themſelves bear no Leaves nor Branches, but at the top the Fruit grows in Cluſters, and they are, each Coco, as big as a Man's Head. Having ſatisfied themſelves with theſe Fruits, they march'd farther into the Iſland, and ſaw great ſtore of *Cabrito's*, but they could take none of them; tho' if they had pleas'd, they might have furniſh'd themſelves with ſome that were old, dead, and dried, which the People had laid out on purpoſe for them; but not caring for that Refuſe of the Iſland, they return'd to their Ships.

Salt made by Nature.

Coco-Trees.

January the 21ſt, they went from hence, and ſail'd by the Iſle St. *Jago* (*e*); in paſſing by which, the People diſcharged 3 Pieces at them, but without doing any miſchief. The Iſland is fair and large, inhabited by *Portugueze*; but the Mountains are poſſeſſed by the *Moors*: Who to deliver themſelves from Slavery, fled to thoſe places of Refuge, where they have fortified themſelves. Before this Iſland they ſaw two Ships under ſail, one of which they took, and found to be a good Prize, well laden with Wines. The Admiral retain'd the Pilot, but diſcharg'd the Ship and the Men, giving them ſome Victuals, a Butt of Wine, and their wearing Cloaths.

(*c*) St. Jago Iſle.

A Prize taken.

The ſame Night they came to the Iſland *Del Fogho* (*f*), or the burning Iſland, which is inhabited by *Portugueze*. On the North-ſide there is a ſort of a Vulcano, that is continually belching out Smoke and Flame. On the South-ſide lies a (*g*) very delightful Iſland, beſet with Trees ever green and flouriſhing, and refreſh'd with cooling Streams, that pour themſelves out into the Sea. Here was no conveni-

(*f*) Iſland *Fogho*.

(*g*) *Brava*.

ent Road for their Ships, the Sea being so deep, that there was no possible fixing of an Anchor thereabouts.

Leaving these Islands, they drew towards the Line, being sometimes becalm'd for a long time together, and at others beaten with Tempests: They had continually great plenty of Fish, as Dolphins, Bonito's, and flying Fishes, some of which drop'd down into their Ships, and cou'd not rise again, because their Wings wanted moisture.

Flying Fish.

From the first Day of their Departure from the Islands of Cape *Verd*, they sail'd 54 Degrees without sight of Land; and the first which they saw was the Coast of *Brasile*, in 33 Degr. of *South* Lat. *April* 5. The barbarous People athoar having discover'd the Ships, began to use their accustomed Conjuring Ceremonies, in order to raise a Storm to torment them, and sink their Ships: For this purpose they made great Fires, and offered some Sacrifices to the Devil; but he was not able to serve them at that time; the Winds and Seas being kept in good order, by a Power superiour to that of the Prince of the Air.

April the 7th, They had Lightning, Rain, and Thunder; in which Storm they lost a little Bark, the *Christopher*; but the 11th Day they found her again; and the place where all the Ships that were dispers'd in the search of her met together the Admiral call'd the Cape of *Joy* (*k*); and here every Ship took in fresh Water. The Country hereabouts was fair and pleasant, the Air sweet and mild, the Soil rich and fruitful. The Inhabitants seem'd to be only some Herds of wild Deer, no others being to be seen; tho' they discern'd the Footsteps of some People, (and those of a large size too) in the Ground. Having weigh'd Anchor, and run a little farther, they found a little Harbour between a certain Rock and the Main, where the Rock breaking the force of the Sea, the Ship rid very safely. Upon this Rock they kill'd several Sea-Wolves, (which we call Seols) keeping them for Food.

(*k*) Cape Joy.

Seals.

Their next Course being to 36 Degr. of *South* Lat. they entred the great River of *Plate* (*l*), and came into between 53 and 54 Fathom of fresh Water; but finding no good Harbour here, they put out to Sea again. Sailing on, they came to a good Bay, in which Bay scattering about several pretty Islands, one of which was stock'd with Seols, and the others for the most part with Fowls, to a very wonderful degree of plenty: There was no want of any Provisions, nor of good Water there. The Admiral being ashoar in one of these Islands, the People came dancing and leaping about him, and were very free for Trade; but had a way not to take any thing from any other Person, without it were first thrown down upon the Ground. They were a comely strong-bodied People, very swift of Foot, and of a brisk lively Constitution.

(*l*) Rio de Plate.

Seols and Fowl.

Strange Humour of the People.

The *Marigold*, and the *Christopher*, (being sent to discover a convenient Harbour) return'd with the happy News of one; into which they went with all their Ships. Here the Seols abounded to that degree, that they kill'd more than 200 in an Hour's space. The Natives came boldly and confidently about them, while they were working ashoar; their Faces were painted, and their Apparel only a Covering of some Beasts Skins (with the Furr on) about their Wastes, and something wreath'd about their Heads. They had Bows an Ell long, but no more than two Arrows apiece. They seem'd to be not altogether destitute of Martial Discipline; as appear'd by the Method they observed in ordering and ranging their Men. And they gave sufficient proof of their Agility, by stealing the Admiral's Hat off from his very Head; which was a brave Prize amongst them, one taking the Hat, and another the Gold Band that was in it, neither of which cou'd ever be gotten again from them.

Vast Numbers of Seols. People of the Country.

Having dispatch'd all Affairs in this place, they set sail; and *June* the 20th they harbour'd at Port St. *Julian*, so call'd by *Magellanicus*. Here they saw the Gibbet, in which *Magellanicus* had formerly executed some of his mutinous Company: And here also (as if the place were fatal to Mutiniers) did Admiral *Drake* execute one of his.

Port St. *Julian*

August the 17th, they left St. *Julian*'s Port, and the 20th fell in with the Streight of *Magellan*, going into the *South* Sea. The 21st they entred the Streight, which they found to lie very intricate and crooked, with divers Turnings; by which means shifting about so often, the Wind wou'd sometimes be against them, which made their Sailing very troublesome. And not only so, but dangerous too, especially if any sudden Blasts of Wind came: For tho' there be several good Harbours about, and fresh Water enough, yet the Sea is so deep, that there is no Anchoring there, except in some very narrow River, or Corner, or between the Rocks. There are vast Mountains cover'd with Snow, that spread along the Land on both sides the Streight; the tops of which mount up in the Air to a prodigious height, having two or three Regions of Clouds lying in order below them. The Streight is extreamly cold, with Frost and Snow continually; yet do the Trees and Plants maintain a constant Verdure, and flourish, notwithstanding the Weather.

Description of the Streights of *Magel.*

At the South and East parts of the Streight, there are various Islands, between which the Sea breaks into the Streight, as it does in the main entrance. The breadth of it is from one League, which is the narrowest to two, three, or four Leagues, which is the widest.

August the 24th, they came to an Island in the Streights, where were a sort of Fowl as big as Geese, that cou'd not fly; and they were in such multitudes, that they kill'd 3000 in less than one Day.

Pengwins.

September the 6th, they entred the *South* Sea at the Cape, or Head-shoar. And the 7th they were driven by a Storm back from that entrance, more than 200 Leagues in Len. and one Degree to the South of the Streight. From the Bay they were driven back to the Southward of the Streights, in 57 Degr. of South Latitude, where they Anchored among the Islands, finding good fresh Water, and excellent Herbs. Not far from hence they entred another Bay, where they found a sort of naked People, ranging from one Island to another, in their Canoes, to seek Provisions: These traded with them for such Commodities as they had.

Sailing Northward again from hence, they found three Islands, *October* the 3d; in one of which was such plenty of Birds, as is hardly credible.

October the 8th they lost the Ship, in which Mr. *Winter* was, which they imagin'd to be forc'd back by a Storm into the Streights; this Conjecture proved to be true, tho' they were mistaken in their supposition of his being lost. [He, after he came home to *England*, declared, That solemn Possession was taken of the Streights, and the Territories adjacent, with Turf and Twig, after the *English* manner, and that by himself in the Name, and for the Use of Queen *Elizabeth*.]

Mr. *Winter* separated by a Storm, and returns.

Being now come into the height of the Streights again, they put away towards the Coast of *Chili*, which the General Maps place to the North West; but they found afterwards to lie to the North East, and Easterly: So that those Coasts were either not fully discover'd, or at least not faithfully described.

Continuing their Course, they came *November* the 29th, to the Isle *Mocha* (*k*), where they cast Anchor, and the Admiral with ten Men went ashoar. The People that dwelt there, were such as the extream Cruelty of the *Spaniards* had forced from their own Habitations to this Island, to preserve their Lives and Liberties there. They carried it very civilly to the Admiral, and his Men, bringing them Potatoes, and two fat Sheep, promising further to bring them Water, for which they receiv'd some Presents. The next Day two Men were sent ashoar, with Barrels for Water, and the Natives having them at an advantage, presently seiz'd them, and, as 'tis probable, knock'd them on the Head. The Reason of this Outrage was, because they took them for *Spaniards*, whom they never spare, when they fall into their hands.

(*k*) *Mocha* Island, in 38 Degr. 30 Min. *M.S.*

Pursue the *Cacafuego*.

Continuing their Course for *Chili*, and drawing near the Coasts of it, they met an *Indian* in a Canoe; who mistaking them for *Spaniards*, told them, That at St. *Jago* there was a great *Spanish* Ship laden from *Peru*. The Admiral rewarding him for this Intelligence, he conducted them to the place where the Ship lay at Anchor, which was Port *Val Parizo*, in 33 Degr. 40 Min. of South Lat. All the Men they had in her, were no more than eight *Spaniards*, and three Negroes; and they supposing the *English* to have been Friends, welcom'd them with the Beat of a Drum, and invited them to drink some *Chili* Wine with them. But they resolving first to secure their Prize, and then drink afterwards, boarded the Ship, and laying all the *Spaniards* under Hatches, took possession. One of the *Spaniards* seeing how they were served, desperately leap'd overboard, and swam to the Town of St. *Jago* to give them Notice of the *English*'s coming; upon which all the Inhabitants presently quitted the Town, and ran away: Which they might quickly do, there not being above nine Households in the whole Town. The Admiral and his Men being entred, rifled the Town and the Chapel, taking out of it a Silver Chalice, two Cruets, and an Altar-Cloth. They found in the Town also a good Cargo of *Chili* Wine, and Boards of Cedar Wood; all which they carried to their Ships; intending the Boards for Firing, and with the Wine to drink the *Spaniards* Healths. The General having then set all the Prisoners ashoar, except one whom he reserv'd for his Pilot, he left St. *Jago*, and directed his Course to *Lima*.

They take the *Cacafuego*.

They take a *Spanish* Ship.

They take the Town of St. *Jago*.

Wine of *Chili*.

Being

Being now out at Sea, and having opportunity to examine the Particulars of the Booty taken at St. *Jago*, they found (besides the Wine) 25000 Pezoes of very pure Gold of *Baldivia*; which amounted to more than 37000 *Spanish* Duckets. So continuing their Course to *Lima*, they put in at *Coquimbo* (*l*), which lies in 29 Degr. 30 Min. *South* Lat. Here the Admiral sent fourteen Men ashoar, to fetch Water: But the *Spaniards* happening to spy this small Company, and being resolved for the Glory of their Nation, to undertake a brave Revenge upon so notorious an Enemy; they did (tho' the Action was bold and hazardous) with an Army of 300 Horse, and 200 Foot, attack these fourteen *English*; and after some Fight, by the help of their Guns, made a slaughter of one of them; the other thirteen coming back safe to the Ship. After this, the *English* going ashear to bury their dead Man, the *Spaniards* put out a Flag of Truce; but they thinking their Fidelity to be no greater than their Courage, did not care to trust them, and so went off.

Gold of *Baldivia.*

(*l*) *Coquimbo.*

From hence they came to a Port called *Tarapaxa* (*m*); where being landed, they found a *Spaniard* asleep upon the Shoar, with thirteen Bars of Silver lying by him, which came to about 4000 *Spanish* Duckets; they did not think fit to disturb the *Spaniard*'s Repose, but taking the Silver, they left him to take out his Nap. Not far from hence, going ashoar for Water, they met a *Spaniard* and an *Indian*, driving 8 *Peruvian* Sheep (which are as big as Asses) laden with very fine Silver; every Sheep having two Leather-bags, (containing 50 *l.* weight each) on his Back. They deliver'd the poor Animals from those irksome Burthens, and lodged the Bags in their own Ships: After which, the *Indian* and *Spaniards* were permitted to drive on.

(*m*) *Tarapaxa* Port.

They sail'd hence to *Arica* (*n*), which is in 18 Degr. 30 Min. *South* Lat. And in the Port found three small Barks, which being rifled, yielded them 57 Wedges of Silver, each weighing about 20 *l.* They took no Prisoners in the Barks, but those valuable ones before-mention'd: For the Men that belong'd to them, fearing no Strangers coming there, were all gone ashoar to make much of themselves. They did not assault the Town, having not strength enough for it: So that putting off to Sea again, they met with another little Bark laden with Linen Cloth, part of which the Admiral took, and so let her go.

(*n*) *Arica.*

They came *February* the 13th to *Lima*, which lies in 11 Degr. 50 Min. *South* Lat. and being entred the Haven, found there twelve Sail of Ships, lying fast at Anchor, with all their Sails down, without Watch or Guard, their secure Masters being all a Drinking and Carouzing ashoar. Examining the Contents of these Ships, they found a Chest full of Rials of Plate, good store of Silks and Linen; all which Plate they carried to their own Ships, and good part of the Silks and Linen.

The Admiral here had Notice of another very rich Ship named the *Cacafuego*, which was gone towards *Paita*; which they pursuing thither, found her before their Arrival, gone for *Panama*. But however, tho' they miss'd their intended Prize, another (which they took in the pursuit of her to *Panama*) paid them the Charge of their Voyage: For besides the Ropes and Tackling for Ships which they found in her, she yielded them 80 *l.* weight of Gold, together with a fine Crucifix of the same Metal, richly adorn'd with Emeraulds; all which, with some of the Cordage, they seiz'd. But resolving still to proceed in the pursuit of the *Cacafuego*, the Admiral, to encourage his Company, promis'd, That whoever first saw her, shou'd have his Golden Chain for a Reward: Which fell to the share of Mr. *John Drake*, who first descried her about three a Clock. About six a Clock they came up with her, gave her three Shots, struck down her Mizen, and boarded her.

Pursue the *Cacafuego.*

They take the *Cacafuego*

They found her as rich and weighty as she was reported to be, having aboard her thirteen Chests full of Rials of Plate, 80 *l.* weight of Gold, a good quantity of Jewels, and 26 Tun of Silver. The place where this Prize was taken, was call'd Cape *San Francisco*, about 150 Leagues from *Panama*, and in 1 Degr. of *North* Lat. Amongst other rich pieces of Plate which they found in this Ship, they met with a couple of very large Silver Bowls, gilt, which belong'd to the Pilot of her: The Admiral seeing these, told him, That he had two fine Bowls, but he must needs have one of them; which the Pilot yielded to, not knowing how to help himself: And further, to make it look less like compulsion, he presented the other of them to the Admiral's Steward. This Pilot's Boy (when they went away) told the Admiral, That his Ship, and not theirs, shou'd now be call'd the *Cacafuego*, since it had gotten all the rich Lading of the *Cacafuego* in it: Which Jest of the Boys made the Company very merry.

After this, having entirely ransack'd the *Cacafuego*, they cast her off; and continuing their Course to the West, they met with a Ship laden with Linen Cloth, *China*-dishes, and Silks of the same Country. The Owner of it was a *Spaniard* there present; from whom the Admiral took a Faulcon wrought in Massy Gold, with a great Emerauld set in the Breast of it. Besides this, chusing what he lik'd of the Wares aboard this Vessel, and seizing the Pilot for his own Service, he turn'd the Ship going. This Pilot brought them to the Haven of (*o*) *Guatulco*, the Town adjacent, which had but (as he said) seventeen *Spaniards* in it. Having therefore put to Shoar, they marched directly into the Town, and so up to the Publick Hall of Justice; where they found the Court sitting, and a Judge ready to pass Sentence upon a parcel of poor Negroes, that were accus'd of a Plot to fire the Town. But the Admiral's coming chang'd the Scene of Affairs at the Court; for he being Judge himself, pass'd Sentence upon them all, both Judges and Criminals, to become his Prisoners; which Sentence was presently executed, and they all carried away to the Ships. Here he made the chief Judge write to the Townsmen, to keep at a distance, and not pretend to make any manner of resistance; so the Town being clear'd, they ransack'd it all over, finding no more valuable Plunder than about a Bushel of Rials of Plate; only one of their Company took a rich *Spaniard* flying out of the Town, who paid him for his trouble in pursuing him, with a Gold Chain, and some Jewels. Here the Admiral setting ashoar some *Spanish* Prisoners, and his old *Portugeze* Pilot, which he took at the Islands of Cape *de Verd*, departed hence for the Island *de Cano* (*p*). While they lay here, a certain *Spanish* Ship, bound for the *Philippine* Islands, came in their way; which they only lightned of a part of the Burthen of her Merchandize, and so discharged her.

China Silks, and Porcellan.

(*o*) *Guatulco* Haven.

(*p*) Island *Cano.*

And now the Admiral thinking he had in pretty good measure, reveng'd both the Publick Injuries of his Country, as well as his own Private Wrongs upon the *Spaniards*, began to deliberate upon his return home. But which Way he should take, was the Grand Question to be resolved: To return by the Streights of the *South* Sea, (besides the Dangers of that Passage which he had already experienc'd) he thought, would be, to throw himself into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who would probably there wait for him, with a far greater Strength than he cou'd now cope with: For he had at this time but one Ship left, tho' it was a very rich one. All things therefore consider'd, he resolved to go on to the *Molucca's*, and so follow the Course of the *Portugueze*, to get home by the Cape of *Good Hope*. But being becalm'd, he found it necessary to sail Northerly, to get a good Wind; upon which design they sail'd at least 600 Leagues, which was all the way they made, from *April* the 16th, to the third of *June*.

June the 5th, being got into 43 Degr. of *North* Lat. they found the Air excessively cold, and the further they went the severity of the Cold was more intolerable. Upon which score they made towards the Land till they came within 38 Degr. *N.* Lat. under which height of the Pole they found a very good Bay, and had a favourable Wind to enter the same. Anchoring here, they had some Correspondence with the People of the Country, whose Houses lay all along upon the Water-side. They sent the Admiral a Present of Feathers, and Cawls of Net-work; who entertain'd them with so much Kindness and Liberality, that the poor Wretches thought a Company of kind Angels were come from the other World to caress them.

A Bay.

The Country and People about the Bay.

Tho' the Country be cold, yet they order the matter so in the framing of their Houses, as to live out of danger of starving: For they surround them with a deep Trench, upon the outmost Edge of which they raise up great pieces of Timber, which close altogether at the top, like the Spire of a Steeple. Their Bed, is the bare Ground strew'd with Rushes; and their Fire-place in the middle, about which they all lie.

The Men go naked; the Women wear a loose Garment of Bulrushes, dress'd after the manner of Hemp, which fastned about their Middles, hangs down to their Hips, and upon their Shoulders they have a Deer-skin. But their very good Qualities make amends for their ordinary Dress and Figure; they being extreamly dutiful and serviceable to their Husbands.

The Admiral had quickly after another Present from them; which was Feathers, and Bags of Tobacco; a considerable Body of them waiting upon him at the same time. They were all gather'd together upon the top of a Hill, from whence their Speaker harangu'd the Admiral, who lay below in his Tent, pitch'd at the bottom of the Hill. When this was ended, they left their Weapons and came down, offering their own Presents, and at the same time civilly returning those which the Admiral had made them.

All the while the Women who remain'd above, possess'd with a mad Fury, tore their Hair, and made dreadful Howlings; which is the common Musick at their Sacrifices;

crifices, ſomething of which Nature was then ſolemnizing. But whilſt theſe above were ſerving the Devil, the Men below were better employ'd, attending very diligently to Divine Service, then performed in the Admiral's Tent.

The News of the *Engliſh* being there, ſpreading about in the Country, there came two Ambaſſadors to the Admiral, to tell him, That the King was coming to wait upon him, and deſired a token of Peace to aſſure his ſafe Conduct. The Admiral having given this, the whole Train began to march towards them, and that in very good and graceful order.

The King comes to the Admiral.

In the Front came a comely Perſon bearing the Scepter before the King, upon which hanged two Crowns, and three Chains of a very great length: The Crowns were made of Net-work, and artificially wrought with Feathers of many colours; and the Chains were made of Bones. Next to the Scepter-bearer came the King himſelf, a very comely proper Perſon, ſhowing a good Air of Majeſty in his gate and deportment; he was ſurrounded with a Guard of tall Martial-look'd Men, who were all clad in Skins. Next to thoſe came the common People, having (to make the finer Show) painted their Faces, ſome white, ſome black, and ſome other colours, and all with their Arms full of Preſents, even the very Children themſelves not excepted. The Admiral drew up all his Men into order of Battel, and ſtood ready to receive them within his Fortifications. At ſome diſtance from him, the whole Train made a Halt, and kept a profound Silence; at which time, the Scepter-bearer made a Speech of half an hour long. This being ended, the ſame Officer, of a Speech-Maker, became a Dancing-Maſter, and at the ſame time ſtruck up a Song; in both which he was followed by King, Lords, and Common People, who came Singing and Dancing up to the Admiral's Fences. Being all ſet down, there (after ſome preliminary Complements) the King made a Solemn Offer of his whole Kingdom, and its Dependencies, to the Admiral, deſiring him to take the Sovereignty upon him, and profeſſing that he himſelf would be his very Loyal Subject. And that this might not ſeem to be meer Complement and Pretence, he did (by the Conſent of his Nobles there preſent) take off the Illuſtrious Crown of Feathers from his own Head, and fix it upon the Admiral's; and at the ſame time, Inveſting him with the other Enſigns of Royalty, did (as much as in him lay) make him King of the Country.

The King reſigns his Crown and Kingdom to Sir *Francis Drake*.

The Admiral accepted of this new offer'd Dignity, as Her Majeſties Repreſentative, in her Name, and for her Uſe; it being probable, that from this Donation, whether made in jeſt or in earneſt, by theſe *Indians*, ſome real Advantages might hereafter redound to the *Engliſh* Nation and Intereſt in thoſe Parts. The common People diſpers'd themſelves up and down every where amongſt the Admiral's Tents, expreſſing an admiration and value for the *Engliſh* to the degree of Madneſs and Profaneneſs, coming before them with Sacrifices, which they pretended to offer with a profound Devotion to them, till they, by force, kept them back from proceeding in thoſe Impious Ceremonies, expreſſing their utmoſt abhorrence of them, and directing them to the Supreme Maker and Preſerver of all things, whom alone they ought to Honour with Religious Worſhip.

Deer and Conies.

The Admiral and his Company travell'd to ſome diſtance up in the Country, which they found extremely full of Deer, which were large and fat, and very often 1000 in a Herd. There was alſo ſuch a vaſt plenty of Conies, that the whole Country ſeem'd to be one intire great Warren. They were of the bigneſs of a *Barbary* Coney, their Heads like thoſe in our Parts, their Feet like a Moles, and their Tail reſembling that of a Rat: Under the Chin, on each ſide, is faſtned a Bag, into which the Creature injects what Food it gets abroad, and preſerves it for a time of neceſſity. The fleſh of them is a valuable Diſh amongſt the Natives, and the Skins afford Robes for the King, and all the great Men.

Gold and Silver.

The Earth of the Country ſeem'd to promiſe very rich Veins of Gold and Silver, there being hardly any digging without bringing up ſome of the Ores of them. The Admiral call'd it *Nova Albion*, partly in Honour to his own Country, and partly from the Proſpect of white Cliffs and Banks, which it yields to them that view it from the Sea. At his departure hence he ſet up a Monument, with a large Plate, upon which was Engraven Her Majeſties Name, Picture, Arms, Title to the Country, the time of their arrival there, and the Admiral's own Name.

Nova Albion.

In this Country the *Spaniards* had never ſet footing, nor did they ever diſcover the Land by many degrees to the Southward of this Place.

Setting ſail from hence, they loſt the ſight of Land till *October* 13. upon which Day, in the Morning, they came in with certain Iſlands in 8 degrees North Lat. from whence they met a great number of Canoes coming laden with Cocos, and other Fruit. Theſe Canoes were hollowed within with a great deal of Art, and look'd ſmooth and ſhining without like burniſh'd Horn. The Prow and Stern both yielded inwards, Circle-wiſe; and on each ſide of them lay out two pieces of Timber about a Yard and half long, more or leſs, as the Veſſel was bigger or leſs: They were of a conſiderable heighth, and for ſhew ſet off in the inſide with white Shells. The People that were in them, had the lower part of their Ears cut round, and ſtretched down a conſiderable way upon their Cheeks, by the weight of thoſe things they hang in them. They ſeem'd to deſign their Nails for Weapons, letting them grow a full Inch in length: Their Teeth are as black as Pitch, and they have a way to renew them, by eating of an Herb with a ſort of Powder, which they ever carry about them for that purpoſe.

Strange Canoes.

Iſlands in 8 degr. North Lat.

October 18. they came to ſeveral other Iſlands, in ſome of which there was an appearance of Inhabitants, and continued their Courſe by the Iſlands of *Taquloda*, *Zelon*, and *Zeveta*; the firſt of which had good ſtore of Cinnamon, and they were all of them Friends to the *Portugueze*.

Iſlands.

Nov. 14. they fell in with the *Moluccas*, and intending for *Tiridore*, as they Coaſted along the Iſland *Mutyr*, which belongs to the King of *Ternate*, they met his Viceroy, who ſeeing the Admirals Ship, without fear came aboard him. He adviſed the Admiral, by no means, to proſecute his Voyage to *Tiridore*, but to ſail directly for *Ternate*, becauſe his Maſter was a very great Enemy to the *Portugueze*, and wou'd have nothing to do with them, if they were at all concern'd with *Tiridore*, or that Nation who were ſettled there. The Admiral, upon this, reſolv'd for *Ternate*, and early the next Morning came to an Anchor before the Town. He ſent a Meſſenger to the King with a Velvet Cloak, for a Preſent, and to aſſure him, That he came thither upon no Deſign, but purely that of Trading in his Country. The Viceroy alſo, by this time, had been with the King, and diſpos'd him to entertain a very favourable Opinion of the *Engliſh*; which wrought ſo far, that the King return'd a very civil and obliging Anſwer to the Admiral's Meſſage, aſſuring him, That a friendly Correſpondence with the *Engliſh* Nation was highly pleaſing to him; That his whole Country ſhould lie open to them, and whatever it yielded ſhould be at their Service. And more then that, That he was very ready to lay himſelf, and his Kingdom, at the foot of ſo Glorious a Princeſs as was the Queen, whom they ſerved, and to make Her his Sovereign as well as theirs. And in token of this, he ſent the Admiral a Signet, carrying it, beſides, with a very great reſpect to the *Engliſh* Meſſenger, who went to Court, and had been received there with much Pomp and Ceremony. The King having a mind to make the Admiral a Viſit a Shipboard, ſent beforehand four large Canoes, fill'd with ſome of the moſt highly dignify'd Perſons about him. They were all dreſs'd in white Lawn, and had a large Umbrella of very fine perfum'd Mats, (born up with a frame made of Reeds) ſpreading over their Heads from one end of the Canoe to the other. Their Servants clad in white ſtood about them; and without theſe were Ranks of Soldiers, placed in comely order on both ſides. Beyond the Martial Men, were plac'd the Rowers, in certain well-contrived Galleries, which lay three of a ſide all along the Canoes, and were decently rais'd one above the other, each Gallery containing 80 Rowers. Theſe Canoes were furniſh'd too with all Warlike Proviſions, and the Soldiers well Accoutred, having all manner of Weapons both Offenſive and Defenſive. Rowing near the Ship, they all paid their Reverences to the Admiral, in great order, one after another, and told him, That the King had ſent them to Conduct him into a ſafer Road than that he was in at preſent: Soon after the King himſelf came, attended by ſix Grave ancient Perſons; he ſeemed to be much pleaſed with the *Engliſh* Muſick, and much more with the *Engliſh* Bravery and Generoſity, which the Admiral expreſs'd to the full, in very large Preſents made to him and his Nobles. The King promis'd the next Day to come aboard again, and that ſame Night ſent them in ſtore of Proviſions, as Rice, Hens, Sugar, Cloves, a ſort of Fruit they call *Figo*, and *Sagu*, which is a Meal they make of the tops of Trees, melting in the Mouth like Sugar, but taſting like a ſowre Curd; but yet, when made up in Cakes, will keep ſo as to be very fit for eating at 10 Years end. The King came not aboard according to his promiſe, but ſent his Brother to excuſe him, and withal, to invite the Admiral aſhore, and to be a Pledge for his ſafe return: The Admiral refus'd to go himſelf, but ſent ſome Gentlemen of his Retinue, in company of the King's Brother, and kept the Viceroy till their return. They were receiv'd aſhore by another

Ternate Iſland.

King *Ternate* offers his Kingdom to be at the Command of Q. *Eliz.*

Great Canoes.

They go aſhore to have Audience of the King.

another Brother of the King's, and several of the Nobles, and conducted in great State to the Castle, where there was a Presence of at least 1000 Persons; the principal of which were the King's Council, to the number of 60 very grave Persons, and 4 Turkish Leigers in Scarlet Robes and Turbants, who were there to negotiate in Matters of Trade between *Constantinople* and *Ternate*. The King came in guarded with 12 Lances, a glorious Canopy embroider'd with Gold being carry'd over his Head. He had a loose Robe of Cloth of Gold hung about him; his Legs bare, but Shooes of Cordovan upon his Feet. He had Circlets of Gold wreathed up and down in his Hair, and a large Chain of the same Metal about his Neck, and very fair Jewels on his Fingers. A Page stood at the Right Hand of his Chair of State, breathing the cool Air upon him with a Fan two foot in length, and one broad, curiously embroider'd and bedeck'd with Sapphires, fasten'd to a Staff 3 foot long, by which the Page moved it. He kindly receiv'd the *English* Gentlemen, and having heard their Message, sent one of his Council to conduct them back to their Ships. He is a potent Prince, and has 70 Islands under him, besides *Ternate*, which is it self the best of all the *Moluccas*. His Religion, and that of his Country, is *Mahometanism*: They observe New Moons and Fasts, as the followers of *Mahomet* do; in which Fasts, tho' they mortify the flesh by Day, yet they pamper it as much in the Night.

After this, the Admiral having dispatch'd all his Affairs here, weighed Anchor, and put off from *Ternate*, sailing to a little Island Southward of the *Celebes*, where they staid 26 Days. This Island is extremely Woody, the Trees are of a large high growth, straight, and without Boughs, except at top, and the Leaves something like our *English* Broom. Here they observed a sort of shining Flies in great multitudes, no bigger than the common Flies in *England*, which swimming up and down in the Air, between the Trees and Bushes, made them appear as if they were burning.

Shining Flies.

Here are Bats also as big as Hens, and a Terrestrial sort of Craw-fish, which dig holes in the Earth like Conies; and are so large, that one of them will very plentifully Dine four Persons.

Large Bats and Craw-fish.

Setting sail from hence, they design'd to have run for the *Moluccas*; but having a bad Wind, and being amongst a parcel of Islands, with much difficulty they recover'd to the Northward of the *Celebes*, where being not able, for contrary Winds, to continue a Western course, they alter'd to the Southward again, which they found very hazardous, by reason of the Shoals that lie thick among the Islands. This they prov'd by a dangerous (and almost fatal) Experiment on *Jan.* 9. * when they run upon a Rock, in which they stuck fast from 8 at Night to 4 *P.M.* the next Day. In this distress, they lightned their Ship upon the Rocks of 3 Tun of Cloves, and 8 Pieces of Ordnance, and some Provisions: Very quickly after which, the Wind chopping about from the Starboard to the Larboard of the Ship, they hois'd sail, and the happy gale, at that moment, entirely disengag'd them from the embraces of the Rock.

* *A.D.* 1579. Their danger upon a Rock.

They get free by a Wind.

Feb. 8. they fell in with the fruitful Island *Baratene* (q), having in the mean time suffer'd much by Winds and Shoals. The People of it are of a comely Make of Body, but a far more beautiful Disposition of Mind, being very Civil and Courteous to Strangers, and punctually Just in all their Dealings. The Men cover only their Heads, and the *Pudenda*, but the Women from the Waste down to the foot: Besides which, they load their Arms with great heavy Bracelets, some of Bone, and others of Brass and Horn, weighing the least of them two Ounces apiece; and of these they have on 8 or 10 at a time. Linen Cloth is a very good Commodity here, these People being fond of it, to make Girdles and Rolls for their Heads. The Island affords Gold, Silver, Copper, Sulphur, Nutmegs, Ginger, Long-pepper, Limons, Cucumbers, Coco's, Figu, Sagu, *&c.* particularly a sort of Fruit, in bigness, form and husk, resembling a Bayberry, hard, but pleasantly tasted; and when boil'd, is soft, and of good easie digestion. In short (except *Ternate*) they met with no place that yielded more plenty of all agreeable Comforts, for Humane Life, than this did.

(q) *Baratene* Island.

Linen Cloth good Merchandize.

The Products of the Island *Baratene*.

Leaving *Baratene* they sail'd for *Java Maior* (r), where they met with a Courteous and Honourable Entertainment likewise. The Island is govern'd by five Kings, who live in a perfect good Understanding with one another: They had once four of Their Majesties a Shipboard at a time, and very often the Company of two or three. The *Javans* are a stout and warlike People, go well arm'd with Swords, Targets and Daggers, all of their own Work, which is very curious both as to the outward Form and the inward Temper of the Metal. They wear Turkish Rolls on their Heads; the upper part of their Bodies is naked, but from the Waste downwards they have a *Pintado* of Silk, trailing on the ground, of that colour which pleases them best. They manage their Women quite at another rate than the *Moluccans* do, for these latter will hardly let a stranger see them; whereas the former are so far from that nicety, that they'll very civilly offer a stranger a Bedfellow. And as they are thus Civil and Hospitable to strangers, so they are pleasant and sociable amongst themselves; for in every Village they have a Publick-House, where they all meet, and bring their several shares of Provision, joyning all their Forces together in one great Feast, for the keeping up good fellowship amongst the King's Subjects. They have a way peculiar to themselves of boiling Rice; they put it into an Earthen Pot, which is of a Conical Figure, open at the great end, and all over perforated. In the mean time they provide another great Earthen Pot full of boiling Water, into which they put this perforated Vessel with the Rice; which swelling, and filling the holes of the Pot, so that no quantity of Water can enter, is by this sort of boiling brought to a very firm consistency, and at last is Caked into a sort of Bread, of which with Butter, Oil, Sugar and Spices, they make several very pleasant Meals. They have got the *French* Disease amongst them in this Island, but instead of fetching out the Poyson by a Salivation, they do it by a sort of Perspiration thro' all the Pores of the Body; and that by sitting naked in the Sun for some hours, whose scorching Rays do open those Passages, and give free vent to the noxious Matter to discharge it self by. The Admiral here had News of some great Ships that lay not far off, so not knowing what they might prove, he would stay no longer at *Java*. From hence they sail'd for the *Cape of Good Hope*, which was the first Land they fell in withal; neither did they touch upon any other till they came to *Sierra Leona*, upon the Coast of *Guiney*. They pass'd the Cape *June* 18. and by the pleasure of their Voyage that way, found how much the *Portugueze* had abused the World, in the false Representations of the Horrours and Dangers of it.

(r) *Java Major.*

The Manners of the *Javans*.

Way of boiling Rice.

July 22. they arrived at *Sierra Leona*, where they found great store of Elephants, and Trees that had Oysters fastned to them, upon which they liv'd and multiplied. Leaving this place *July* 24. they arrived in *England*, *Nov.* 3. * it being the third Year after this Noble, but Hazardous Voyage, was first undertaken.

* *A.D.* 1580.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Proſperous Voyage of Mr. THO. CANDISH *(of* Trimly *in the County of* Suffolk, *Eſq;) and the Second of the* Circum-Navigators; *which Voyage was begun* July 1. 1586. *Written by Mr.* Francis Pretty *of* Eye *in* Suffolk, *his Companion in the ſame Voyage.*

THO' the *Engliſh* had led the way quite round the Globe, and it had been an Immortal Honour to have done it that once, leaving it for others to make the next Experiment; yet finding the reſt of the World lie ſtill, and none pretending to follow them in thoſe Glorious Enterprizes, they reſolv'd to be the Second, as well as the Firſt, *Circum-Navigators*, themſelves.

In purſuance of this Deſign, on *Thurſday, July* 21. * there ſet out of *Plimouth* 3 Sail, The *Deſire*, a Ship of 120 Tun; the *Content*, of 60 Tun; and the *Hugh Gallant*, a Bark of 40 Tun: In which three Veſſels were 123 Perſons, and ſufficient Proviſions for two Years, at the Charge of the Worſhipful Mr. *Candiſh*, of *Trimly*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Eſq; who alſo was Admiral of this little Fleet. * *A.D.*1586.

Auguſt 23. they made towards *Sierra Leona* (*a*), and the 25th fell in with the South-ſide of it, where they had 5 Fathom Water at the loweſt; and for about 14 Leagues in the South-Weſt, all the way running into the Harbour of *Sierra Leona*, they had from 8 to 16 Fathom. Here they ſpoil'd a Town of the *Negroes*, who had kill'd one of their Men with a poiſon'd Arrow. (*a*) *Sierra Leona.*

September 3. ſome of them went up with the Boat four Miles within the Harbour, where they caught plenty of Fiſh; and going aſhore, they got ſome Limons, ſeeing ſome Buffes too as they were returning. Buffes.

The 6th they went out of the Harbour of *Sierra Leona*, and ſtaid one Tide 3 Leagues from the point of the Harbours Mouth, the Tide there flowing (as they obſerved) South-Weſt. They leave *Sierra Leona.*

The 7th they departed from one of the Iſles of Cape *Verde* (*b*), which is 10 Leagues from the Point of *Sierra Leona*, and the ſame Day they Anchored two Miles off the Iſland, and Landing, found only Plantanes upon it. (*b*) Cape *Verde* Iſland, or the Iſle of *Maiomba.*

The 8th, one of the Boats went out, and Sounded round about the Iſland, finding 5 fathom Water in a Sound at the Weſt-end; afterwards, for a Caſt or two, but two fathom, and then ſix, and ſo deeper and deeper. At the Eaſt-end was a Town, to which the *Negroes* reſort ſometimes, as their Proviſions left there did intimate. There's no freſh Water on all the South-ſide, but on the North there is in three or four places. The whole Iſland is a perfect Wood, except a few ſmall ſpots, where ſome Houſes ſtand, and theſe are encompaſs'd round with Plantane-Trees; the Fruit of which is excellent Food. The place is marvellouſly ſubject to Storms of Rain and Thunder in this Month of *September*.

They left this Iſland on the 10th, and the laſt of *October* ſailing W. S. W. about 24 Leagues from Cape *Trio* (*c*), in *Braſile*, they fell in with a great Mountain, which had a high round top ſtanding aloft like a little Town. (*c*) Cape *Trio* in *Braſile.*

Nov. 1. they went in between the Iſland St. *Sebaſtian* (*d*) and the Main-Land, where carrying their things aſhore, and erecting a Forge, they built a Pinnace, and fitted up whatſoever was out of order; which Work detain'd them till the 23d. (*d*) St. *Sebaſtian.*

Upon the 26th, they fell in with the Coaſt of *America* in 47½ degrees of North Lat. from which place they ran along the ſhore till they came into 48 degrees of Lat. finding it a very ſteep Beach all along.

Nov. 27. they came to an Harbour, into which the Admiral firſt entred, calling it, on that account, (from the Name of his Ship) *Port Deſire* (*e*). Near this Harbour there's an Iſland or two very full of Seals, and another as well Stock'd with grey Gulls: The Harbour it ſelf is very convenient for the Trimming and Graning of Ships, becauſe of the conſiderable ebbing and flowing of the Water there. Here the Savages wounded two of their Company with their Arrows, which are made of Canes headed with Flints. A wild and rude ſort of Creatures they were, and, as it ſeem'd, of a Gigantick Race, the meaſure of one of their Feet being 18 Inches in length. (*e*) *Port Deſire.* Seals and Gulls. Great Cannibals.

When any of them dies, he is buried in a Grave of Stone, upon the Cliffs, by the Sea ſide, all his Darts being faſten'd about his Tomb, and his Treaſures of Shells laid under his Head.

Decemb. 28. they left *Port Deſire*, and went to an Iſland lying three Leagues to the Southward, and kept along the Coaſt S. W. and by S. The 30th they came to a Rock (much like the Eddyſtone at *Plimouth*) lying about five Leagues from the Land, and in 48½ degrees of South Lat. and Sounding, they had 8 Fathom, rocky ground, within a Mile of it. They kept on Coaſting S. S. W. and found great ſtore of Seals all along the Coaſt. They leave *Port Deſire.*

Jan. 2. * they fell in with a great white Cape, in 52 degrees, and had 7 fathom Water within a League of the ſhore. The 3d they fell in with another great Cape, in 52 degrees 45 minutes; from which Cape there runs a long Beach, about a League to the Southward, and reaches to the opening of the *Magellanick Streight*. Under this Cape they Anchor'd, and loſt their Anchor in a very great Storm, which raged violently for three Days. * *A.D.*1587.

Jan. 6. they put into the *Streights*, which they found in ſome places 5 or 6 Leagues wide, and in other places conſiderably more narrow. The 7th, between the Mouth of the *Streights*, and the narroweſt part of it, they took a *Spaniard*, who was left there with 23 more of the ſame Nation; and theſe were all remaining of 400 left three Years before in theſe *Streights*. The ſame Day they paſs'd the narroweſt of the *Streights*, where the *Spaniard* ſhew'd them the Hull of a ſmall Bark, ſuppos'd to be one left there by Sir *Francis Drake*. The Mouth of the *Streights* is in 52 degrees South Lat. and 'tis from thence, to the narroweſt paſs, 14 Leagues; and the Courſe is W. by N. Alſo from this narroweſt Paſs to *Penguin* Iſland is 10 Leagues, and the Courſe is W. S. W. and a little to the Southward. Here, (*f*) in *Penguin* Iſland, they Anchored the 8th Day, and kill'd and ſalted great ſtore of *Penguins*. They enter the Streights of *Magellan.* One of *Drake*'s Barks call'd the *John Thomas.* (*f*) *Penguin* Iſland.

Jan. 9. they left this Iſland, and ſailed S. S. W. to King *Philip*'s City, built by the *Spaniards*. It had four Forts, and each Fort had one Caſt-piece in it, which were all buried, and the Carriages left ſtanding in their places; they dug for theſe Pieces, and recover'd them all. The City had ſeveral Churches in it, and ſeem'd to be well contriv'd, eſpecially as to its Situation, which was in the moſt happy place of all the *Streights* for the conveniences of Wood and Water. But miſerable was the Life which this forlorn Remnant of *Spaniards* had lived there, for the ſpace of two Years, having hardly any thing but a few Shell-fiſh to ſupport Nature withal, except they had the luck to take a Deer at any time, that came down from the Mountains to drink. Their deſign in coming to this Town, was to fortifie theſe *Streights*; ſo that all other Nations, beſides themſelves, ſhou'd be debarr'd of a paſſage into the South Sea: But Providence was pleas'd to animadvert, with ſome ſeverity, upon the Wickedneſs and Injuſtice of that proceeding, making this place of their intended Miſchief, to the reſt of the World, a Scene of direful Punithments to themſelves; for here the Earth with-held its common Products from them; the Plants wou'd not grow, nor the Trees bear Fruit; nor any of their Labours proſper. And beſides this rigour laid upon Nature, (which in thoſe Parts of the World is not ordinarily ſo very ſparing of her Bleſſings) the *Indians*, their moſt implacable Enemies, broke in upon them in a very violent manner: And by theſe means they were reduc'd to the laſt Extremities, all their Stores brought out of *Spain* being ſpent, and no more to be gotten abroad, the Country either not affording it, or the *Indians* falling upon them, and Hunting the *Spaniards* while they Hunted a few Deer, for the preſervation of their Lives; ſo that at laſt, they died like ſo many Dogs, in their Houſes, in great numbers, and the ſtench of the putrifying Carkaſſes infecting thoſe that ſurvived, they were forc'd to quit the Town with one conſent, and go rambling about upon (*g*) K. *Philip*'s City. The miſerable State of the *Spaniards* at K. *Philip*'s City.

on the Sea-Coasts, living at a barbarous rate upon Leaves and Roots, and Sea-herbs, or what Animals they could at any time happily light on. They determin'd to march on to the River of *Plate*, and were in their miserable Progress met by the *English*, as was before observed. The Admiral nam'd this place (for the scarcity of all Necessaries here) *Port Famine* (*h*). It lies in 53 Degr. *South* Lat.

(*h*) Port Famine.

The 14th they left this place, and ran five Leagues South West to Cape (*i*) *Froward*, which Cape is the Southermost part of the Streights, and lies in the Lat. of 54 Degr. From this Cape sailing W. by N. five Leagues more, they put into a Bay which they call'd Muscle-Cove, from the store of Muscles found there.

(*i*) Cape Froward.

Muscle-Cove

The 21st they left that place, and sail'd N. W. and by W. ten Leagues, to a fair sandy Bay, which the Admiral call'd (*k*) *Elizabeth* Bay.

(*k*) Elizabeth Bay.

The 22d they departed from *Elizabeth* Bay, and about two Leagues off found a good River, in which the Admiral rowed in the Boat for the space of three Miles. There was a pleasant Champaign Country that lay about the River; all else but this, near the Streights, being craggy and mountainous. But a very brutish sort of Savages inhabited thereabouts, which had eat up many a *Spaniard*, and would fain have made a Meal upon *English* Flesh too, but that they fail'd of bringing them into their Trap. The Admiral finding the Plot they had laid to betray him, made his Men pelt them with their Harquebusses, which did Execution upon several of them: So leaving that River, they sail'd to St. *Jerome's* (*l*) Channel, which was two Leagues off.

Cruel Savages

(*l*) St. Jerome's Channel

From this Channel they sail'd Westward, about three or four Leagues, to a Cape which lies on the North-side of it; from which Cape to the Mouth of the Streights, the Course runs N. W. and N. W. by W. and the distance from thence to the entrance into the *South* Sea, is about thirty four Leagues; so that the Length of the whole Streights is ninety Leagues.

'Tis farther observable, that the Entrance of the Streights into the *South* Sea, is in near the same Latitude with the Passage out of the North Sea into the Streights, which is 52 ½ Degr. *South* Lat. And here between the fore-mentioned Cape, and the Mouth of the Streights, were they forced to lie in Harbour, till *February* the 23d: The Reason of which Imprisonment, was the stormy Winds, and excessive Rains, that poured down with such fury from the Mountains, that they were brought into extream danger thereby, being no less distress'd for want of Food too; the badness of the Weather hardly permitting them to land and range the Country for a Supply. As they lay here in the Streights, they observed, (which had also been discover'd by the *Spaniards* before) that there were Harbours on both sides the Shoar, at every Mile, or two Miles end.

February the 24th, they entred the *South* Sea, observing on the *South*-side of the Entrance, a very high Cape, with a low Point adjoining to it; and on the North four or five Islands (*m*), lying six Leagues off the Main, with much broken and sunk Ground about them.

They enter the South Sea.

(*m*) The Islands *Las Antegadas*.

March the 1st, they had a great Storm at Night, in which they lost the Company of the *Hugh Gallant*, being then in 49 Degr. *South* Lat. and 45 Leagues from the Land. The Storm continued three or four Days, and the *Hugh Gallant* having sprung a Leak, and beaten by the Storm away from all help, was ready every moment to plunge to the bottom: However, she made a shift to hold up her head (by the great Labour and Pains of her Men): And on the 15th in the Morning, she came in between the Isle St. *Mary*, and the Main, where she met the Admiral, and the *Content*; which two Ships had, during the Storm, secur'd themselves two Days at the Isle *La Moha* (*n*), which lies in 38 Degr. *South* Lat. At this place some of the Company went ashoar, where the *Indians* met them, and gave them a warm Reception with their Bows and Arrows, being yet at the same time very cautious of their Guns.

The *Gallant* in danger.

(*n*) Moha.

These *Indians* were of the Country of *Aranco* (*o*), which being a Golden Region, and consequently very tempting to the avaricious *Spaniards*, had been divers times invaded by them, but to no purpose; the Inhabitants having always so briskly defended themselves, that their Enemies (tho' better provided than they) could never boast of being their Conquerours: And these Desperadoes mistaking the *English* for *Spaniards*, gave them that Entertainment which they always used to give the other. After this Skirmish they weigh'd Anchor, and ran under the West-side of St. *Mary* Island (*p*), where they had good riding in six Fathom Water. The Island it self lies in 37 ½ Degr. *South* Lat. and abounds in Hogs, Hens, and divers sorts of Fruits. The *Indians* that live here, are in such absolute Slavery to the *Spaniards*, that they dare not so much as kill a Fowl, or a Swine for themselves: And tho' the *Spaniards* have made them Disciples, yet they use them more like Dogs than Men, or Christians.

(*o*) Aranco rich in Gold, and not conquer'd by the Spaniards.

(*p*) St. Mary Island.

The 16th the Admiral went ashoar with 70 or 80 Men, well arm'd: They were met and welcom'd by two *Indians* of Quality, who conducted them to a place where was a Chapel built by the *Spaniards*, round about which were several Store-houses, furnish'd with good Wheat and Barley, as clean and fair as any *England* it self can produce. They provided themselves out of these Stores, with sufficient Quantities of Corn; and laid in besides, good store of Hogs, Hens, Potatoes, dry'd Dog-fish, and Maiz, which is a Wheat of *Guiney*. The Admiral invited the two principal *Indians* aboard to a Treat; and the Wine having opened their Eyes, to see clearly, that the Admiral and his Men were no *Spaniards*, (as they hitherto suppos'd them to be) they began to be very free with them, and to talk largely of the Gold Mines; telling them, That if they wou'd go cross the Country to *Aranco*, they shou'd get as much Gold as they car'd for. But the Admiral not perfectly understanding the Information, it being given partly by Signs which were obscure, prosecured not that Adventure, but went on with his Voyage.

The 18th in the Morning they left this place, and sail'd all that Day N. N. E. about 10 Leagues.

The 19th they run in with the Land at E. N. E. and anchor'd under an Island call'd the *Conception* (*q*).

(*q*) The Conception.

The 30th they came into the Bay of *Quintero* (*r*), in 33 Degr. 50 Min. *South* Lat. And the last Day, a Company of 50 or 60 Men, well furnish'd, march'd up into the Country seven or eight Miles. In their March they saw vast Herds of wild Cattel, wild Horses, Dogs, Hares, and Coneys, Partridge, and other Fowl; many fine Rivers, well stock'd with all sorts of Wild-Fowl. But having travell'd as far as they cou'd for the Mountains, and that without any Adventure, after refreshing themselves a while upon the Banks of a pleasant River, they return'd in good order to their Ships that Night. Yet was there a Party of 200 Horse abroad that Day to have taken them, and that upon the Information of the *Spaniards* that had escaped from them the Day before: But these valiant Soldiers, tho' they saw them, durst not make any Attack, but kept at a distance, and so let them go off without any disturbance.

(*r*) Quintero.

They go ashoar.

But the next Day, *April* the first, they were a little bolder: For some of the *English* being ashoar, and very hard at Work, filling of Water, the *Spaniards* who had watch'd the opportunity, and were then very eager to fight, when they saw their Enemies were busie) poured down 200 Horse from the Hills upon them, making a shift to kill some few of them, and take a small number of Prisoners. But the glorious Victory of the *Spaniards* had a sudden Period set to it, by the coming of 15 *English* more, who soon changed the Fortune of the Day, not only rescuing their own Company, but killing 24 of the *Spaniards* upon the spot, and driving the rest up the Mountains again. After this they rid in the Road, and water'd there in spite of the *Spaniards*, till the fifth Instant, when they left this Bay of *Quintero*: Putting in at a small Island, about a League from the Bay, which is full of Penguins, and other Fowl, they provided themselves with what store they wanted, and so sail'd away N. & N. by W.

24 Spaniards slain.

The 15th they came to *Moro Morcno* (*s*), which lies in 23 ½ Degr. South Lat. under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and has an excellent Harbour; and is made so by a certain Island, which gives a Ship entrance at either end of it. Here the Admiral went ashoar with 30 Men, and was met by the *Indians*, who brought fresh Water and Wood on their Backs. They are a simple sort of People, and live after a wild and savage manner, and in very great awe and dread of the *Spaniards*. They brought the Admiral, and his Company, to their Houses, which lay about two Miles from the Harbour: They were compos'd only of a few Rafters laid a-cross, supported by two or three Forks stuck into the Ground, with Boughs spread over them. Their Beds were the Skins of wild Beasts laid upon the Floor; and their Food little else but raw stinking Fish.

(*s*) Moro Morano.

When any of them die, they bury them with all the Tackling that belongs to them, as Bows and Arrows, and their very Canoes. These Canoes of theirs are very artificially made; being form'd of two Skins like Bladders, which are blown full at one end with Quills. A couple of these being made fast together, with the Sinews of some wild Beast, and then put into the Water, do swell and puff up at that rate, that they are as firm and fire as can be: They make nothing of venturing to Sea in these Boats, and lading them with great Quantities of Fish; part of which goes for Tribute to the *Spaniards*, and part kept to stink for their own eating.

Strange Canoes.

Tribute paid in Fish.

May the third, they came into a Bay, where are three little Towns, *Paracca*, *Chincha*, and *Pisca*; which latter place lies in 13 ½ Degr. *South* Lat. They landed here, and took some Provisions of Wine and Bread, Hens and Figs, out of some of the Houses; but they could not get ashoar at the best of the Towns, the Sea run so extreamly high.

Pisca Bay.

They made themselves Masters of two rich Ships by this time, laden with Sugar, Molosses, Maiz, Cordovan Skins, *Montego de Porco*, Packs of Pintadoes, *Indian* Coats, Marmalade, Hens, &c. One of them, which had the best Lading, wou'd have yielded 20000 *l.* had there been opportunity to have made a Sale: And of all this they took as much as they cou'd conveniently bestow in their Ships, burning the rest with the Vessels, and setting all the People in them ashoar.

Prizes taken.

The 26th they came into the Road of *Paita* (*v*), which lies in 5 Degr. 4 Min. *South* Lat. The Town it self is well built, very neat and clean in all parts of it, and contains about 200 Houses. The Admiral landing here with 60 or 70 Men, had a Skirmish with the Inhabitants; the Issue of which was, that the *English* beat them quite out of the Town, and forc'd them up the Hills, from whence they play'd with their Small-shot upon them, but wou'd not venture a fair Battel out of those Mountainous Refuges. When the *English* had possess'd themselves of the Town, they march'd after the Enemy up the Hills; and after some Dispute obliging them to retire still further, till it came to a thorough and compleat Rout; they seiz'd all their Baggage which they had brought with them out of the Town, and lodged there for Security, up and down in the Mountains. Here was plenty of all sorts of Houshold-stuff; Store-houses full of all sorts of Wares, and (to pay them for the trouble of their March up the Hills) 25 *l.* Weight of Silver, in Pieces of Eight. They set the Town a-fire, and burnt it to the Ground, and also to the value of 5 or 6000 *l.* in Goods, together with a Bark lying in the Road: And so leaving the *Spaniards* the Blaze of their flaming Houses and Goods, to light them down from the Mountains at Night, they went hence, directing their Course to *Puna*.

(v) *Paita* taken & burnt.

May the 25th, they arrived at the Isle *Puna* (*w*), which lies in 1 Degr. *South* Lat. in the Harbour whereof they found a large Ship of 250 Tun, riding at Anchor, with all her Furniture, which they sunk without any more adoe, and so went ashoar. The Lord of this Island is called the Cacique of *Puna*: He was an *Indian* born; but having married a *Spanish* Woman, and being resolv'd to be of his Wife's Religion, (that happening to be the Christian) he embrac'd it too, making his Subjects follow his Example. He had a sumptuous and well-contrived Palace near the Sea-side, with curious Gardens adjoyning to it, and fair Prospects out of it, both to the Water, and up into the Country.

(w) *Puna* Island.

He keeps all the *Indians* of the Island in continual Drudgery, their Work being to make Cables; such plenty of which is made by these labouring *Indians*, that the *South* Sea is mostly furnish'd from hence.

Its Products.

The Island is near as big as the Isle of *Wight*, and has a good share of the Blessings of Nature: For tho' it does not yield Mines of Gold and Silver, yet it affords those things that are far more necessary for Human Life; there's excellent Pasture-land here, and variety of useful Animals to be maintain'd by it, as Horses, Oxen, Sheep, fat and fair, Goats that are very tame, and yield abundance of Milk; besides very good Fowl, Pigeons, Turkeys, and Duks of a large size. The Cacique has Orchards that yield most sorts of useful Fruits, as Oranges, Limons, Figs, Pomegranates, Pompions, Melons, Cucumbers, Radishes, &c. with divers sorts of odoriferous Plants, as Rosemary, Thime, &c. One of them is beset round with the Trees that bear the Bombasin Cotton; the tops of which grow full of Pods, out of which the Cotton it self rises. In the Cotton lies a Seed of the bigness of a Pea, and in every Pod there are seven or eight of these Seeds, which (if the Cotton be not gather'd when 'tis ripe) do drop of their own accord, and make a new Spring of the Plant.

Cotton Trees

May the 29th, the Admiral went to a little Island close by *Puna*, into which the Cacique had convey'd all the valuable Furniture of his Palace, and other Movables, necessary both for House and Ship: These Stores being all discover'd, they took what Plunder they thought fit out of them, and convey'd it into their Ships. They burnt the Church also which stood hard by the Cacique's Palace, and brought away the five Bells that were in it.

June the 2d, 100 *Spaniards* assaulted them, killing and taking Prisoners twelve of the *English*, and losing Forty six of their own Men in that Encounter. The same Day going ashoar again with 70 Men, they met with a Party of 100 *Spaniards*, arm'd with Muskets, and 200 *Indians* with Bows and Arrows; and having entirely put them to flight, they made havock of their Fields and Orchards, and burnt four great Ships (that were building) upon the Stocks, as also the Great Town it self, which they left a meer heap of Rubbish. This Town had no less than 300 Houses in it; besides which, there were two or three in *Puna*, that contain'd 200 Houses each.

Two Skirmishes with the *Spaniards*

The Town burnt.

June the 5th, they went out of the Road of *Puna*, and sail'd to *Rio Dolce*, where they water'd. And the 12th pass'd the Æquinoctial, continuing a Northerly Course all the rest of that Month.

Rio Dolce.

July the 1st, they had sight of *Nueva Espanna* (*w*), being four Leagues distant from the Land, and in 10 Degr. *North* Lat.

(w) *Nueva Espanna.*

The 9th Instant they took a new Ship of 120 Tun, in which was one *Michael Sancius*, a very skilful Coaster in the *South* Seas, whom the Admiral took for his Pilot; and he gave them the first hint of the great Ship *Anna Maria*, which they took afterwards coming from the *Philippine* Islands. They took all the Men, the Sails, the Ropes, &c. out of this Ship of *Sancius*'s, and then set her a-fire.

The 10th they took a Bark that was going to give the Alarm all along the Coasts, of the arrival of the *English*; but all the Men were got out of her.

A Bark of Advice taken.

The 26th they came to an Anchor in the River of *Copalita* (*x*); and the same Night, with 30 Men in the Pinnace, rowed to *Agatulco* (*y*), two Leagues from that River, and in 15 Degr. 40 Min. *North* Lat. they made a Descent upon them, and burnt both the Town and Custom-House, which was a large and fair Building. Here were laid up six hundred Bags of Anile (for the Dying of Cloth) and four hundred of Cacaos, every Bag of the former being worth forty, and of the latter ten Crowns. These Cacaos serve amongst them, both for Meat and Money: They are like Almonds, tho' not altogether so pleasant; they afford both solid Food and Drink too, and pass in Trade, instead of ready Money, 150 of them being as good as a Rial of Plate.

(x) The River of *Copalita.*
(y) *Agatulco.*

Cacaos pass for Money in *Nueva Espanna.*

The 28th they set sail from *Copalita* (because the Sea was so great there, that they could not fill Water) and reach'd *Agatulco* the same Night.

The next Day the Admiral went ashoar with thirty Men, marching two Miles into the Woods, where they took a Mestizo *, belonging to the Custom of that Town, and a considerable parcel of Stuffs with him, and carried both the Master and the Goods away to their Ships.

* Mestizo's are the Son of *Spaniards* by *Indian* Women.

August the 24th, the Admiral, and thirty Men, went in the Pinnace to the Haven *Puerto de Natividad* (*z*), which lies in 19 Degr. North Lat. where *Sancius* had inform'd them, wou'd be a certain Prize; but before they came thither, she was gone twelve Leagues farther to fish for Pearls. However, here they took a Mulatto, that was sent to give Notice of the *English* all along the Coast of *Nueva Gallicia*, together with all his Letters, and burnt the Town, and two Ships of Two hundred Tun a piece, that were a building there, and so return'd to their Ships.

(z) *Puerto Nat.* Haven.

They burn the Town, and two great Ships.

The 26th, they came into the Bay of St. *Jago*, where they water'd at a good River, that yielded them good store of Fish, and some quantity of Pearls. This Bay is in 19 Degr. 18 Min. North Lat.

S. *Jago* Bay and River.
Pearl.

September the 2d, they left St. *Jago*, and the third Day came into the Bay of *Malacca* (*a*), lying a League to the Westward of Port *Natividad*, and is a very good place for Ships to ride in.

(a) *Malacca* Bay.

The same Day the Admiral, with about 30 Men, went ashoar to an *Indian* Town call'd *Acatlan*, which lies two Leagues from the Road: It consisted of twenty or thirty Houses, and a Church, which they demolish'd, and went aboard again that Night.

Acatlan burnt.

The 4th they left the Bay of *Malacca*, and sail'd along the Coast.

The 8th they came to the Road of *Chacalla* (*b*), which is 18 Leagues from the Cape *de los Corrientes*.

(b) The Road of *Chacalla.*

The 9th in the Morning the Admiral sent out forty Men, (with *Sancius* for a Guide) who marching two Leagues through the Woods, and Desart Places, light of two or three Families, some of which were *Indians*, others *Spaniards*, and one *Portugueze*; all which they brought along to their Ships. The Admiral made the Women go fetch Plantanes, Limons, Oranges, and other Fruits; and for a Reward gave them all their Husbands again, except one *Spanish* Carpenter, and the *Portugueze*, whom he retain'd.

The 12th they arrived at the Island St. *Andrew* (*c*), a very woody place, and yielding vast store of Fowl, and Seols, and a sort of Serpents call'd *Iquano's*, which have four Feet, and a sharp long Tail, but very good Meat.

(c) Isle St. *Andrew.*
Serpents.

Leaving St. *Andrew*'s Island, they came the 24th into the Road of *Massatlan* (*d*), which lies under the Tropick of *Cancer*. The River is large within, but much barr'd

(d) *Massatlan*

at

at the Mouth; and upon the North-side of the Bar, there's good Water, but very bad filling of it, because at low Water it is shoal'd half a Mile off the Shoar. The Bay affords good Fish, and the Country about it as good Fruits; some of which they purchas'd, though with danger.

An Island to the Northward of *Massathan*.

The 27th, they come to an Island a League to the Northward of *Massathan*. Upon a little Island hard by, they saw thirty or forty *Spaniards* and *Indians*, that kept Watch there, being sent from *Chiametla*, which lay eleven Leagues up in the Country, as *Sancius* inform'd them. But they were like to have been in very great distress here for fresh Water, and must have gone back twenty or thirty Leagues to have fetch'd it, if a Spring had not been discover'd in good time. But one of their *Spanish* Prisoners putting it into their Minds to search for Water under the Sand; they took that Method, and digging two or three Foot deep, they found good Water, and running so freely too, that they might have fill'd some Thousands of Tuns, if they had wanted.

Fresh Water in the Sand.

October the 9th, they set sail for the Cape of St. *Lucar* (c), which is on the West-side of the Point of *California*, to which they came on the 14th. It is very like the Needles at the Isle of *Wight*; and within it there is a great Bay (f), into which falls a fair River, about which some *Indians* live. In this River they water'd, and lay off and on about the Cape St. *Lucar*, till *November* the 4th.

(c) Cape St. *Lucar*, on the Point of *California*.

(f) *Aquada Segura*.

November the 4th, the *Desire*, and the *Content*, went beating up and down upon the Head-land of *California*, which lies in 23 Degr. North Lat. Upon which same Day in the Morning, one of the Company in the Admiral going up the Top-mast, spied a Sail bearing in from the Sea with the Cape; which he presently signified to the Company, with the joyful Exclamation of, A Sail, a Sail. The Admiral (having put all things in a readiness) set forwards in the pursuit of her, and having chas'd her three or four Hours in the Afternoon, got up with her, and saluted her with a Broadside, and a Volley of Small-shot. They found her to be the Noble Ship the St. *Anne*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, the Admiral of all the South Sea, and of Seven hundred Tun Burthen. Having boarded some Men upon her, they found all things were put in a good posture of Defence; the Sails were laid close upon the Poop, the Mid-ship, and the Fore-castle, all the Men stood close under Fights, which the Captain had rais'd, provided with Targets, Javelins, Swords, and great Stones, which they threw into the *English* Ship, and at them that had boarded theirs, forcing them to retire with the loss of two Men, and four or five wounded. But the Admiral making a fresh Onset with his Great and Small-shot, raked them thorough and thorough, killing and dismembring a great many of the Defendants, who yet stood very tightly to their Business. But the next Volley reduc'd them to the last extremity, shattering the Ship at that miserable rate, and boring such wide Holes for the Water to pour in upon them, that they must either yield this moment, or sink the next. Whereupon hanging out a Flag of Truce, they desired the Admiral to save their Lives, and they would yield up their Ship with all the rich Cargo into his Hands: This he granted, but commanded them presently to strike their Sails, to hoise out their Boat, and come aboard; which was accordingly performed by the Captain, the Pilot, and one of the chief Merchants.

The Fight between the Admiral and the Great St. *Anne*.

She yields.

They told the Admiral what they had aboard, to be the Reward of his Victory; which appear'd to be what was sufficiently worth the defending on the one part, and the fighting for on the other. There was 122000 Pezo's of Gold, rich Silks, Sarcenet, Damasks, Musk, with divers other sorts of Merchandize, and all manner of Provisions.

A Pezo is 8 s.

This Prize thus gotten, *November* the 6th they put into the Harbour *Puerto Segure*, where all the *Spaniards*, both Men and Women, to the number of 150, were set ashoar; the Admiral having chosen a very fruitful Spot for them to live upon; and besides given them good store of Wine and Victuals, with the Sails of their Ship, and some Planks, to build them little Houses in the Country.

The *Spaniards* set ashoar.

The Owners thus dispos'd off, the next thing was to share the Booty they had brought: And here this ungrateful Work of Distribution quickly involved the Admiral in the ill Circumstances of a Mutiny, every Man having a sharp Appetite to the Gold, but no man ever thinking he had enough: Especially did this Feud and Discontent appear most violently in the *Content*, their Vice-Admiral; which therefore from that time should have lost that Name, and had another: But all was quickly hush'd up again.

A Mutiny.

November the 17th, being Her Majesty's of *England*'s Coronation-Day, they discharg'd all their Ordnance, and Small-shot in both their Ships, and at Night continued the Celebration with Fire-works.

The Admiral reserved of the Prisoners in the *Spanish* Ship, two *Japonese* Boys, and three that were Natives of the Isle of *Manilla*: A *Portugueze*, that had been in *China*, and *Japan*: And a *Spanish* Pilot, of good Knowledge in all the Parts between *Acapulco*, and *Nueva Espanna*, to the Islands *Ladrones*. This *Acapulco*, is the Haven from whence they commonly set out for the *Philippines*, as the Islands *Ladrones* are their stated Watering-places.

November the 19th, the Admiral having discharg'd the Captain of the St. *Anne*, with a Noble Reward, and sufficient Provision for his Defence against the *Indians*, fired the Ship it self, having to the quantity of 500 Tun of Goods in her, and saw her burnt quite down to the Water.

And now the great Business being happily accomplished, which they had so long attended upon, they set Sail very chearfully for *England*. But they had the Misfortune to lose the *Content*, their Vice-Admiral: She stay'd some little time behind them in the Road and they expecting she wou'd have overtaken them, went on before, but never had her Company again. However, pursuing their own Voyage, they directed their Course to the Islands *Ladrones*; which are distant from this Haven of *Aquada Segura*, near 1800 Leagues: And this took them up about Forty five Days, *viz.* From *November* the 19th, to *January* the 3d. Upon this Day, early in the Morning, they had sight of one of the Islands *Ladrones*, call'd *Guana* (f), which lies in 13½ Degr. North Lat. and sailing with a gentle Gale before the Wind, came up within two Leagues of the Island. Here they met with sixty or seventy Canoes, full of Savages, that brought Coco's, Plantans, Potato's, and fresh Fish, to exchange for some of their Commodities. They gave them some pieces of old Iron, which they hung on upon small Cords, and Fishing-lines, and so let it veer to the Canoes; and by the same Method they got back to their own Ship, what the Savages offer'd in exchange. After all the Traffick was ended, they came crowding with their Canoes about the Ship, and thrust in so close some of them, that the Ship broke two of their Canoes; tho' the Savages themselves were none of them drown'd, the Water being almost as natural to them, as to the Fishes that always lived there. And so they continued following the Ship, and wou'd not leave the Company of it, till the Harquebuzes were commanded forth and discharg'd at them; tho' 'tis ten to one if they kill'd any of them: For they are so very nimble, that they'll pop immediately into the Water, and dive beyond the reach of all danger, upon the least warning in the World.

The Content lost.

(f) *Guana* one of the Islands *Ladrones*.

A.D. 1588.

The Commodities of the *Ladrones*.

They were very large Men, extraordinary fat, of a tawny Colour, and wearing their Hair mighty long, for the most part, tho' some have it tied up in Knots upon the Crown, like the wooden Images that stood at the Head of their Canoes.

The People.

These Canoes were very artificially made, considering that no Edge-tool was us'd about them. They are about seven or eight Yards in length, and half a Yard in breadth, and their Heads and Sterns are both alike: They are made with Rafts of Canes, and Reeds, on the Starboard-side, and have both Masts and Sails; which latter are made of Sedges, and that either square or triangular-wise. They have this excellent property, that they'll sail as well against as before the Wind.

Their Canoes.

January the 14th, by Break-of-day they fell in with a Head-land of one of the *Philippine* Islands, call'd *Cabo del Spirito Santo* (g). The Island it self is of large Dimensions, high in the middle, and depress'd to the East and West parts, and running a great way into the Sea Westward. It lies in 13 Degr. North Lat. and is distant from *Guana* 350 Leagues, and about sixty from *Manilla*, which is the chief of the *Philippines*. It is a very woody Island, and its Inhabitants are principally Heathens. They spent eleven Days sailing to this place from *Guana*, having some foul Weather, and scarce bearing any Sail at all for two or three Nights.

(g) *Cabo del Spirito Santo*.

(b) *Manilla* is planted with *Spaniards*, who live there to the number of Six or Seven hundred Persons: It is an unwalled Town, and of no great strength, tho' it has vast Riches in Gold, and several good Commodities, to defend from Adversaries. It has a constant yearly Correspondence with *Acapulco* in *Nueva Espanna*, besides twenty or thirty Ships from *China*, and the Trade of the *Sanguelo's*, which is very profitable.

(b) *Manilla*.

Trade from *Acapulco*, and *China*, to *Manilla*.

These *Sanguelo's* are *Chinese* Merchants, very sharp and sensible Men in all Matters of Trade and Merchandize; extremely Ingenious in Mechanical Contrivances, and the rarest Embroiderers in Silk and Sattin that are in the whole World. They will Work any Form of Beast or Fowl, or Fish, in Gold, Silver, or Silk, with all the

just proportion and colour in every Part, and giving it all the Life and Beauty that an excellent Painter, or that Nature her self almost does in the living Original. And 'tis plain, that these Men must bring a very gainful Trade to *Manilla*, since they made no more of Gold than they did; for as they brought great quantities of that precious Metal along with them, so they exchang'd it there weight for weight for Silver.

Sangeleis exchange Gold for Silver.

The same 14th Day, in the Evening, they entred the *Streights*, between the Island *Luçon* and the Island of *Cambaie*.

(b) *Capul* Island.

The 15th, they fell in with the Island of *Capul* (b), passing a very narrow *Streight* betwixt that Island and another, in which the Tide was considerably great, and a ledge of Rocks lay a one side of them off the Point of *Capul*, but they pass'd without danger: Within the Point was a fair Bay, and a good Harbour, in 4 fathom Water, within a Cables length of the shore.

About 10 in the Morning they came to Anchor, and presently a Canoe rowed up to them, in which was one of the seven chief *Casiques* of the Island. They pass'd for *Spaniards* with these People, who, according to their usual way of Trading with them, came and brought their Coco's and Potato-Roots to the *English* in like manner. They gave them a Yard of Linen Cloth for 4 Coco's, and as much for about a Quart of Potatoes, which in that Island are very sweet and excellent Meat, either Roasted or Boil'd. The *Casique* that came aboard them, had his Skin streaked and figur'd full of very strange Devices all over his Body; they kept him with them, and desired him to send some of his *Indian* Servants, that managed his Canoe, to go and fetch his other six Brother *Casiques* to the Ship too. The *Casiques* very quickly came, according to their request, and with them a large Train of the People of the Island, who had another as large of Hogs and Hens, and a whole Market of Coco's and Potatoes. And now the *English* had nothing else to do, for all that day, but to deal with these Huckstering People, who sold to them just as they did to the *Spaniards*, *viz.* 8 Rials of Plate for a Hog, and one for a Hen. Here a Just Execution was perform'd upon a *Spanish* Pilot, taken in the great St. *Ann*, who had Plotted to betray them into the hands of the *Spaniards*; for which he was Hang'd.

The *Casiques* come aboard.

They lay about this Island of *Capul* for about 9 Days, being all the while well furnish'd with fresh Victuals, good Water, and Wood. The People of the Island are all *Pagans*, and are said both to Worship and Converse with the Devil; they go almost naked, and are of a tawny Complexion. The Men wear a piece of a certain kind of Linen, woven out of Plantane-leaves, about their Wastes, and another coming down from their Backs, and so under the Twist, which is fasten'd to their Girdles. The Rite of Circumcision is in practise here amongst them; besides which, the Males undergo another operation, which is far from being common, and hardly practis'd any where else, except in *Pegu*. They make a perforation quite through the Glans of the *Penis*, with a Nail of Tin split in the lower end and rivetted, which they order so as to take out and put in again as they have occasion. They Invented this for a prevention of the unnatural Crime of Sodomy, which the Men of the Island were, it seems, horribly addicted to; and it was done at the humble Petition of the Women too, who laid the Case before the Magistrates, and obtained this Remedy.

Customs of the People.

On the 23d, the Admiral Summon'd all the *Casiques* of this Island, and of 100 more, (which had paid him Tribute) to appear before him: And here he discover'd himself and his company to them, telling them that they were *English*, and the greatest enemies the *Spaniards* had in the World. At the same time, he generously gave them back in Money, the value of all the Tribute he had receiv'd, and which was paid by them in Hogs, Coco's, Potatoes, and the like. This unexpected favour of the Admiral, surpriz'd the whole Assembly of *Casiques* at a very great rate, they admired his Bounty and Generosity, and engaged to assist him with all the Forces of their respective Dominions, whenever he wou'd begin a War with the *Spaniards* in those Parts. And so no less pleas'd with finding them to be *English*, than with the kindness they had receiv'd from them, having row'd about the Ship awhile with their Canoes, to give them some Diversion, they took leave, the Admiral giving them a Gun at their Departure.

They promise Assistance against the *Spaniards*.

Jan. 24. they set sail, and ran along the Coast of *Manilla*, steering N. W. between that Island and the Island of *Masbat*. And in the Islands hereabouts, they perceived the *Spaniards* to keep a strict Watch, making great fires, and discharging their Pieces all Night long, having taken the Alarm of their coming. The Island *Panama* (i) is a plain level Country in many places, affording very fair and straight Trees for the making Ship-Masts; and besides, several Mines of very fine Gold, which are in the Custody of the *Indians*. To the Southward of it lies the Island of *Negroes* (k), a very large Island, almost as big as *England*, and in 9 degrees North Lat. It appeared to be the most part of it low Land, and very fruitful; the People are neither Slaves to the *Spaniards*, nor any other Nation, but their own entire Masters.

(i) *Panama.*

Mines of Gold.

(k) *Negro* Island.

Jan. 29. at 6 in the Morning, they set sail, passing through the *Streight* between *Panama* and *Negro Island*; when having made about 16 Leagues, they found a fair opening of the *Streight* tending S. W. and by S. About this time their Boat, which they had sent out before them in the Morning, came up to them again, in which the Admiral sent a *Spanish* Prisoner ashore, with a Message to his Captain, who commanded a Ship that lay at *Panama* the Night before. The Message was to this effect: *That he shou'd be sure to provide good store of Gold against the Admiral came that way again, for he intended to come and make him a Visit at* Manilla; *which being a long Voyage would deserve good Entertainment.* And farther, *That he had certainly come now, and weighed some of his Golden Bags in an* English *Pair of Scales, but that he wanted a bigger Boat to Land his Men upon him.*

They leave the Philippines.

Feb. 8. they saw in the Morning the Island *Batochine* (l), which lies near *Gilolo*, and is in 1 degree North Lat. The 14th, they fell in with 11 or 12 small Islands, flat and low, and almost quite sunk in the Sea; they lie near the *Moluccas*, and are in 3 degrees 10 minutes South Lat.

(l) *Batochina.*

March 1. having pass'd the *Streights* of *Java Major* and *Minor*, they Anchor'd under the S. W. Parts of *Java Major* (m), where they spied some People fishing in a Bay under the Island. The Admiral sent out the Boat to them, in which was a Negro that cou'd speak the *Moresco* Tongue, which is much used in *Java*; but they being frightned at the coming of the Boat, got ashore, and run away into the Woods. Yet one of them came to the Sea-side when the Negro called, and directed them to find fresh Water, and carried a Message from the Admiral to the King, certifying him that he was come thither to Traffick for Victuals, or any valuable Commodities that his Island afforded.

(m) *Java.*

March 12. there came 9 or 10 of the King's Canoes, as full laden with all sorts of Provisions as ever they cou'd swim: They brought them Oxen, Hogs, Hens, Geese, Eggs, Sugar, Coco's, Plantanes, Oranges, Limes, Wine and *Aqua Vitæ*. Two *Portugueze* that came to see them, and to enquire about their King *Antonio* then in *England*, gave them a large Account of the Manners and Customs of this People. The King of that part of the Island (they inform'd them) was a Man of whom his Subjects stood in exceeding awe, and who exercis'd so Absolute a Power over them, and all they had, that no Man dar'd so much as make a Bargain without his leave; and if any did presume to do it, he paid for it with his Blood. This Prince had to his own share 100 Wives, (as his Son had 50) who may possibly be very happy as long as he lives, but cannot be so any longer: For he being dead, the Body burnt, and the Royal ashes laid up in an Urn; within 5 Days after this, the Tragedy of his Wives begins and ends. They all of them go to an appointed place, where, when they are come, the Favourite Wife throws a Ball out of her Hand, which, where it rests, marks out the Place of their Death. Being come thither, they turn their Faces to the East, and with their Daggers stab themselves to the Heart: And taking out handfuls of their own Blood, besmear their Bodies with it; and thus they die. This barbarous Sacrifice of themselves, to the Ghost of their dead Husbands, are the Queens of *Java* oblig'd to make by the Custom of their Country. The Men of this Island are very good Soldiers, hardy, valiant, and desperate to the last degree: They'll stick at nothing that their King commands them to do, be it attended with ever so threatning a danger. Shou'd he bid them plunge a Dagger into their Breasts, or leap off from a precipice, or into a Den of wild Beasts, they'll immediately do it, because the anger of their King is as certain Death as the point of the Sword, or the Teeth of the wild Beasts.

Some of the King's Canoes bring them Provisions.

The King's Wives kill themselves.

The Natives Obedience to their King.

They are of a tawny Complexion like the rest of the *Indians*, and go naked; but their Women are of something a better hue, and show more modesty than the Men in the use of Apparel. After this Relation of the *Portugueze*, having contented the *Javans* for the Victuals they had brought them, and receiv'd a Promise from them of good Entertainment when they came again, they took their leaves of them, the Admiral making them a Present of three great Pieces of Ordnance at parting. The next day, *viz.* *March* 16. they sail'd away for the *Cape of Good Hope*,

They leave *Java.*

The Island *Masbat.*

Hope, and spent all the rest of *March*, and the whole Month of *April*, in traversing the vast Ocean between *Java* and the Main of *Africa*, making many Observations of the Stars, the Weather, the Winds and Tides, the Bearing and Position of Lands.

May 11. one of the Company spied Land, bearing N. and N. by W. and about Noon they saw some that bore West, of them which they believed to be the *Cape of Good Hope*, they being then about 40 or 50 Leagues from it: But by reason they had a scanty Wind, they stood off to the S. E. till Midnight, and then the Wind coming fair they hal'd along Westward. The 12th and 13th Days they were becalm'd, and the Sky was thick and hazy, but on the 14th it clear'd up, and they saw Land again, which prov'd to be the Cape *False*, which is short of the *Cape of Good Hope* 40 or 50 Leagues.

Cabo False.

This Cape *False* is very easie to be known, for there lie right over it three very high Hills, but a little distance from each other; the highest of which is the middle-most, and the ground is much lower by the Sea-side. Besides, the *Cape of Good Hope* bears W. and by S. from this Cape *False*.

They double the *Cape Good Hope.*

May 16. they spied the *Cape of Good Hope*, observing the Head-land to be considerably high, and at the Westerly Point, a little off the Main, two Hammocks appearing, and three others lying further off into the Sea, yet low Land between them towards the Sea. This *Cape of Good Hope* is made, in the *Portugueze* Sea-Charts, 2000 Leagues from *Java*; but by their Reckoning they found it to be but 1850 Leagues, which took them up just 9 Weeks to sail it.

They Anchor at St. *Helena.*

June 8. by break of Day, they came within 7 or 8 Leagues of St. *Helena*, which they had just a glimpse of; but having little or no Wind, they cou'd not reach it that Day, but stood off and on all Night. The next Day, having a pretty good Wind, they stood in with the shore, (the Boat being sent before to the Harbour), and came to an Anchor in 12 fathom Water, in a good Bay, under the N. W. side of the Island, two or three Cables length from the shore. This Island lies in the Main-Sea, as it were in the midst between the Main-Land of *Africk*, and that of *Brasile* and the Coast of *Guiney*: It is in 15 degrees 48 minutes South Lat. and between 5 or 600 Leagues from the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Here they went ashore, and entred the Church which had a fair Causey leading to it, a Frame with two Bowls, and a Cross of Free-stone adjoyning to it; within it was hung with painted Cloths, having an Altar with the Blessed Virgin, and the Story of the Crucifixion pictur'd in a Table. The Valley where the Church stands is extremely pleasant; so full of rare Fruit-Trees, and excellent Plants, that it appears like some very fine and well cultivated Garden. There are long rows of Limon, Orange, Citron, and Pomegranate-Trees, Date and Fig-Trees, that present the Eye with Blossoms, Green Fruit, and ripe all at once. The Trees are very nicely trimm'd and dress'd, and distinguish'd by several curious Walks, which have the protection of their boughs, and are made cool and shady thereby. There is a sweet Crystal Spring rising at a distance, that diffuses it self in many pretty Rivulets all through the Valley, watering the several parts of it, and refreshing each Plant and Tree. There is hardly any empty space in this whole great Garden, for what places Nature has left unoccupied, Art has taken care to fill up to some advantage. The Island it self affords great store of Partridges and Pheasants, which are much larger and fairer than ours in *England*: There are Turkeys too, both black and white, and with red Heads, about the bigness of ours, and their Eggs much the same, only quite white. Here is also great plenty of Cabritos, or wild Goats; they are as big as an Ass, have a Horses Main, and a Beard that reaches down to the very ground: They go sometimes together in a Herd, that reaches a full Mile in length. Here are also vast Herds of wild Swine, that keep chiefly upon the Mountains, as the Cabritos do; they are fat, and so very wild, that a Man can never come at them, except they be asleep, or rouling themselves upon their Miry Beds.

The Fruits of St. Helena.

Partridges, Pheasants and Turkeys.

Cabritos and wild Swine.

June 20. having taken in all Necessaries here, they set Sail for *England*, and haled away N. W. and by W. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the Wind is commonly off the shore at St. *Helena*.

They leave St. Helena.

On *Friday* the 23d of *August*, they sailed E. and E. by S. for the Northermost of the *Azores*. The 29th, at 4 after Midnight, they fell in sight of the Island *Flores* and *Corve*, standing in 39½ degrees North Lat. and so sail'd away N. E.

Sept. 3. they met with a *Flemish* Vessel that came from *Lisbon*, and told them the joyful News of the overthrow of the *Spanish* Armada. *Sept.* 9. having had the Winds farewel in a most violent Storm, that carried away most part of their Sails, they arrived at the very-much and long-desired Haven of *Plimouth*.

CHAP. VI.

The Voyage of OLIVER NOORT, *&c.*

THE *English* Nation having had the Honour of the two first entire *Circum-Navigations* of the Globe, their Neighbours, the *Dutch*, put in for next share, in a noble Attempt to the same purpose, and as happily accomplish'd.

A.D.1598. *July* 2. * the good Ships, the *Maurice* and the *Concord*, set sail from *Rotterdam*, and reaching the Coasts of *England*, staid there till *Sept.* 13. for their two Companions, the *Henry Frederick*, and the *Hope*, which then came up to them. And 'tis to be observ'd, that tho' this Voyage was undertaken and perform'd at the Charge of the *Dutch* Nation, yet did the *English*, in some measure, share the Honour of it with them, their chief Pilot being an *English-man* †, and one that had before encompass'd the Globe with Mr. *Candish*.

† Capt. *Melis* Pilot in this, and Mr. *Adams* in the next Voyage. Capt. *Davis* also in their first *Indian* Voyages; all which were *English.men.*

October 4. they met a small Fleet of *Dutch*, *English* and *French*, which were coming out of *Barbary*, and gave them an Account of the horrible Pestilence raging there, which had swept away 250000 Persons in a very short space. On the 6th, they came between *Teneriff* and the great *Canic*.

Nov. 3. they had sight of the Coasts of *Guiney*. *December* 4. they came hard by Cape *Palma*, which lies in 3½ degrees North Lat. The 10th, they had sight of *Princes* Island (*a*), which lies one and a half degr. North Lat. They sent their Boats before to make some discovery of the Isle, where having entred with a Flag of Truce, they were met by a *Negro* bearing the like Peaceful Sign. They demanded only a supply of Provisions, which was granted in very fair and friendly Terms; but while they were settling this Point, a Party that lay in Ambuscade surpriz'd them in a moment, and cut off several of them; amongst which was the brave *English* Pilot, Captain *Melis*. The *Portugueze* pursued them to their Boats, which they very briskly attack'd, killing the Admiral's Brother, and very near taking all the rest Prisoners. In Revenge of this Outrage, it was concluded (in a Council of War) that the Castle should be Assaulted, which Experiment being tried, and found to prove too costly and hazardous, they took their Revenge in burning all their Sugar-Houses: And so having provided themselves with fresh Water, they set sail the 17th.

(*a*) Island *del Prince.*

Treachery of the *Portugueze.*

The 25th they reach'd Cape *Gonsalvo* (*b*), where the Wind generally blows from the Land in the Night, and from the Sea in the Day. Here they found two *Dutch* Ships, which inform'd them of the misfortune of Captain *Cleerhagen*, who was lost, with most part of his Company, upon *Princes* Island, as they had like to have been; as also of the Voyage of *Peter Veerhagens*, who had entred the River of *Congo*, and putting in at this place, had here buried 38 of his Company, and was gone some time before for *Annobon*.

(*b*) Cape *Gonsalvo.*

A.D.1599. *Jan.* 1. * they pass'd the Island *Annobon*, at which they found two degrees South Lat. and the 28th of the same Month they had the Sun in their Zenith. The 5th they reach'd Cape St. *Thomas*, (upon the Coast of *Brasile*) which lies in 22 degrees South Lat. The 6th they pass'd the *Fair* Cape, and in the Evening Cape *Frio*. On the 9th, they came to *Rio Janero*. After some loss of time, and company too, by the Treacheries of the Grand Enemy the *Portugueze*, they went to St. *Sebastian*, where the Comforts of a good Harbour, fresh Water, and plenty

Cape St. *Thomas, Frio, Fair Cape, &c.*

ty of Wood, attended them; but no Fruits were to be had.

March 14. a cruel Storm surpriz'd them, the fury of which parted the Vice-Admiral, and the *Hope*, from the rest of the Fleet, but they had the good luck to meet them again on the 17th. And now the Scurvy encreasing amongst them, together with the approach of the Winter, made them resolve to put in at St. *Helena*; but missing that, they concluded upon the *Ascension*, or some other Island, that was capable of giving them a tolerable Entertainment. But hard Fortune brought them to a very Barren and Desolate Island, in 20 degrees South Lat. where they had nothing but a few Fowl, (call'd *Malle Mewen*) which they knock'd down with their Clubs. Having therefore quickly had enough of this Barren place, they put off to Sea again; and the 1st of *June*, thinking to have reach'd the *Ascension*, they found themselves on the Continent of *Brasile*. But the *Portugueze* not suffering them to land there, they sail'd to Isle St. *Clara* (c), which lies in 21 degrees 15 minutes South Lat. It's about a Mile * in compass, and as much distant from the Continent. The Island afforded them little else but Herbs; but what it denied them in Food, it paid in Physick, yielding a sort of sowre Plumbs, which in 15 Days cured all their Sick.

(c) St. Clara.

* By Miles understand *Dutch* Miles.

July 16. they set out for *Port Desire*, in 47 degrees 40 minutes South Lat. which (after much bad weather) they reach'd *Sept.* 20. They furnish'd themselves with store of Fish and Penguins, in an Island that lies three Miles to the South of this place: Of the latter sort of Animals they took 50000 (which were as big as Geese) with a vast company of their Eggs, that proved good and refreshing Meat to their sick Company.

Penguins.

They went up the Rivers *October* 5. and going a Land, found Beasts in the Country like Stags and Buffels, with a multitude of Ostriches; one of whose Nests they light on furnish'd with 19 Eggs.

Beasts like Stags and Buffels. Ostriches.

The 20th, the Admiral went ashore to observe the Country, leaving Orders with them that Guarded the Boats, not to stir a foot from their Charge; but they having a mind, it seems, to see the Country too, took a small Ramble, and fell into an Ambuscade of Savages, which kill'd three of them, and wounded the fourth.

Savages.

These Savages were very tall portly Men, painted to the degree of Terrour, Arm'd with short Bows and Arrows; which latter were headed with Stone.

The 29th they put off from hence; and *Nov.* 4. they made pretty near Cape *Virgins* (d), where the Land lies low and plain, and by its whiteness yields a prospect like *England*. They made many Attempts to have entred the *Streights*, and were as often frustrated: They were beaten back by Tempests of Wind, Rain, Hail and Snow. They lost their Anchors, broke their Cables; Sickness and Contention (worse than any Disease) were added to all the rest of their Calamities; and all these, in concurrence, retarded their progress so far, that 'twas well nigh 15 Months (from the commencement of the Voyage, before they could make any good way into the *Streights*.

(d) Cape *Virgins.*

But to return, They observ'd the Land to lie South-West from the Cape *Virgins*, and the Mouth of the *Streights* to be about 14 Miles distance from it, and half a Mile in breadth.

Nov. 25. they saw some Men upon two Islands that lay near the Cape *Nassau* (e), who bid Defiance to the *Hollanders*, and shook their Weapons at them; but they Landing, notwithstanding this Defiance, pursued the Savages to a Cave, which they stubbornly defended to the last Man, dying every one of them upon the spot. The *Dutch* being got in, found their Wives and Children in that dark Receptacle; and the Mothers, who expected nothing but present Death to themselves and their Infants, cover'd the little ones with their own Bodies, resolving to receive the first Stab themselves. But the *Dutch* did them no more injury, than the taking of 4 Boys and 2 Girls of their number from them, which they brought a Shipboard.

(e) Cape *Nassau.*

One of these Boys having learnt to speak *Dutch*, gave them this Intelligence: That the greater of these two Islands was call'd *Castemme*, and the Tribe that Inhabited it *Enoo*. That the less Island was call'd *Taleke*, and that both were well stor'd with Penguins, whose Flesh was their Food, and the Skins their Cloathing; and as for Habitations, they had none but Caves. That the adjoyning Continent abounded with Ostriches; which also serv'd for Food. That they were distinguish'd into several Tribes, which had their several distinct Residences: The *Kemeneres* that dwelt in *Keesiy*, the *Kemekin Karamay*, the *Karatiks* in *Morina*; all which People were of the common size, but broader Breasted, and painted all over, the Men tying the *Pudenda* up with a string, and the Women covering those Parts with a Penguins skin, the former wearing long hair, and the latter shaven, but both sorts naked, except a Cloak of Penguin-skins reaching to the Waste. That there was also a fourth Tribe of them call'd *Tirimenen*, that dwelt in *Coin*; and these were of a Gigantick Stature, being 10 or 12 Foot high, and continually in Wars with the other Tribes.

Castemme and *Taleke* Island.

Giants, of which see more in *Sebastian de Weert's* Voyage.

The 28th they pass'd to the Continent, and saw some Whales at a distance by the way. They encountred too a very pleasant River, about which were delicate Trees, and store of Parrots; upon the score of this pleasant prospect, they call'd this *Summer-Bay* (f).

(f) *Summer Bay.*

The 29th they set sail for *Port Famine* (g): Here the Land tends so far to the South, that the Islands *Pantagoms*, and *Terra Fuego*, seem afar off to meet together. They found no remaining tokens here of the late famous *Philip*-City but a heap of Stones, to shew that once there had been a Building. The *Magellanick* Streight is distant from hence about 4 Miles, the Hills on both sides of which are vastly high and deep, and all the Year long cover'd with Snow *. Here at *Port Famine* they cut down Wood to make them a Boat, and found the Bark of the Trees to be hot and biting like Pepper. Having no good watering here they left this place, (doubting indeed whether it were *Port Famine* or no) and after two Miles pass'd found a good River: This was *Decemb.* 1. The next day they doubled Cape *Froward* (h) with some danger, by reason of unsafe Anchorage, and contrary Winds; so passing 4 Miles farther, into a large Bay, they Anchor'd there. Here was a Plant like Sneeze-wort, good against the Scurvy, and another as bad for Madness, making some that tasted it almost distracted for a time.

(g) Port Famine.

* See *Magellane's* and *Drake's* Voyages.

(h) Cape *Froward.*

Here they had a sight of *Sebastian de Weert's* Ship, who was one of *Verhagen's* Company, which with another of the same Fleet, had been driven back out of the South Sea. He told them he had spent above 5 Months in the *Streights*, and had but 38 left out of 110 Men, and not being able to endure the Storms of the South Sea, was forc'd to put in there, while the rest of the Fleet held on their Course.

Jan. 2. * they set out again, directing their Course to *Maurice* Bay (i), which they observ'd to extend far Eastwards, and to receive several Rivers into it; in the Mouths of which was vast quantities of Ice, that seem'd never to melt all the Year round: For tho' this was near the *Midsummer* Season in that Southern Climate, yet the Ice was so thick, that at 10 fathoms Sounding they cou'd not reach the bottom of it. The Land also seem'd to be a heap of broken Islands, which the heighth of the Mountains made appear like one firm and continual piece. Here they had the distresses of Hunger, and continual Rains, and the loss of two of their Company, who were kill'd by the Savages as they were picking Mussels, which were their chief Sustenance.

* A. D. 1600.

(i) *Maurice* Bay, which has Ice all the Year long.

Having weather'd out many Storms which endanger'd them in *Meniste* Bay (k), and some Encounters too with the Savages, they set sail on the 17th, and were driven by a Storm into *Goose* Bay, 3 Miles distant, and receiving that Name from the multitude of that sort of Fowl found there; of which they observ'd, that they cou'd both dive and swim very well, but not fly at all. Here the Vice-Admiral, for divers Crimes, was condemn'd by a Council of War to be turn'd ashore, there to shift for himself, amongst the wild Beasts, and far wilder Inhabitants of the Country.

(k) *Meniste* Bay.

Goose Bay.

Feb. 1. they entred another Bay, which they call'd *Popish* Bay (l), perhaps because their Protestant Ships were here so dismally persecuted with Thunder, Hail and Rain, and their Admiral like to be split upon a Rock.

(l) *Popish* Bay.

The 27th, they saw at a distance a huge Mountain of Ice, in *Goose* Bay; but the next day, *viz.* the last of *February*, they bid adieu to all those dismal Prospects, and pass'd the Cape *Desire* (m) into the South Sea. Their Company was now 147, but quickly lessen'd by the loss of the Vice-Admiral, whom they drop'd *March* 12. Expecting her in vain, they sail'd to the Island *La Mocha*, which is about 6 Miles from the Continent, and lies in 38 degrees South Lat. It is remarkable for a high Mountain in the middle of it, that cleaves it self at top to make way for a Course of Waters into the Valley underneath it. Here they barter'd Knives and Hatchets for Sheep, Hens, Maize, Battulas, and other Fruit. They went to see the Town, which consisted of some 50 Houses of Straw, where they were entertain'd with a sowre sort of Drink call'd *Cici*, which is made of Maize steep'd in water, and is the choice Liquor used at their Feasts. Polygamy is much practis'd amongst them, and they buy as many Wives as they can keep; so that a Man that has a good many Daughters, may chance to get an Estate

(m) Cape *Desire*, by which they pass into the South Sea.

La Mocha.

Cici, a Drink.

The People of *Chili* has the same Customs in

Estate by them, especially if they prove handsome. If one Man kill another, the Kindred of the murder'd Person are his Judges and Executioners, for they have no Laws, nor Publick Magistrates, to keep up any Form of Justice amongst them; but yet a Man may possibly buy off his Punishment too, by making a Treat of *Cici*. They make their Cloaths of the Wooll of a very large sort of Sheep, which Creatures they use to carry Burthens too: They wou'd not sell any of these to the *Dutch*, tho' they did of another sort, not much differing from the common.

(n) St. *Maries* Island. St. *Maries* Island (*n*) lies 18 Miles from hence, in 37 degr. 15 minutes South Lat. Here they met with a *Spanish* Ship that was carrying Lard and Meal to *Arauco* and *Conception*, which they Chased, and took after a pursuit of 35 Leagues. The Pilot of this Ship told them, They could not get back to St. *Maries* Island because of the South Winds, and that there was two Men of War waiting for their coming in *Arica*. Upon which Information, they concluded to sail to *Val Paraiso*, and by that means quite lost their Vice-Admiral, which might otherwise have come up to them at last. Besides, they concluded that she miss'd the Island St. *Mary*, upon the wrong placing it in *Plancius*'s Map as high as 38 degrees, when indeed it lies in 37 degrees 15 minutes. And this Errour they themselves had fallen into, had not Captain *Melis*, the *English-man*, set them right by his Observations. And it farther confirm'd them in their Resolutions not to sail back to St. *Maries* Island, to hear of the misfortune of *Simon de Cordes* there, who was in friendly manner invited ashore, and then Butcher'd by the *Indians*, together with 23 of his Men; the treacherous *Spaniards* endeavouring to get his two Ships into their hands, and sending Intelligence to *Lima*, and all the Country about, of the arrival of the *Dutch*, and the Names of all their chief Men.

The help the *Dutch* had from the *English* in their Voyage.

Mr. *Adams* takes notice of this sight, who went to *Japan* in the same Ship.

Upon these Accounts they bent their Course to *Val Paraiso* (*o*), where they took two Ships, and kill'd some *Indians*, but the *Spaniards* were all gone. This *Val Paraiso* lies in 33 degrees South Lat. and up in the Country, about 18 Miles distant, lies St. *Jago* (*p*), a Town that affords good store of Red-Wine and Sheep, which they kill only for the Sewet; with which they lade whole Vessels. Here they received Letters from the Captain of the *Flying Hart*, one of *Veerhagen*'s Company, who was treacherously Assaulted, and Captivated by the *Spaniards*; which hard fate, he inform'd them, he had avoided, had he not been misguided by the wrong placing of St. *Maries* Island in the Map aforesaid.

(o) *Val Paraiso.*

(p) St. *Jago.*

Sheep plenty.

At St. *Jago* they intercepted some Letters, which gave an Account of the Wars between the *Indians* and *Spaniards* in *Chili*: The former being, it seems, in Rebellion, (or rather standing upon a Just Defence, or acting a Just Revenge) had Sack'd the Town of *Baldivia*, putting vast numbers of the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and carrying off many Troops of Captives. They burnt the Houses and Churches, and struck off the Heads of the Popish Images, crying, *Down go the Gods of the Spaniards*. They cramm'd their Mouths with Gold, and bid them satisfie themselves with that, for the sake of which their Votaries had made so many barbarous Massacres amongst them.

Wars between the *Indians* and *Spaniards*.

Besides all this, they laid close Siege to the City Imperial, and almost starv'd the *Spanish* Garrison there. The Valiant *Indians* that undertook this Action, were about 5000; of which, 3000 were Horse, 100 shot, and 70 Corslets; all which Furniture was *Spanish* Plunder. They so mortally hate the *Spaniards*, that they rip up the Breasts of all they Master, to have the pleasure of tearing out their Hearts with their Teeth; and it adds very much to the pleasure of their Liquor, to drink it out of a Cup made of a *Spaniards* Skull. They are for the most part very Stout and Skilful Soldiers, and commit all their Military Affairs to the Management of one Supreme General, whose Orders they devoutly obey. But their Method of Election to this Honour is something odd, for they Chuse a General as we wou'd a Porter: He that could carry a Timber Log on his Shoulders the longest time, and with the least degree of weariness, was saluted General by the Army.

The fertility of *Chili*.

All this Country of *Chili*, from St. *Jago* to *Baldivia*, is one of the most fertile and delightful Spots in the World: There are all sorts of Cattel and Fruits, Gold Mines in abundance, an Air sweet and wholesome to that degree, that it is it self Life and Medicine, and excludes the use of all other Physick.

La Guasco. Morre Gorch, Morre Morene.

April 12 they entred the Bay *La Guasco*, and left it the 7th following. The 11th, they came into a great Nook called *Morre Gorch*, 10 Miles from which is *Morre Morene*, from which the shore runs to *Arica*; and all this Tract, up to St. *Francis*'s Hill, is very much subject to South Winds, tho' in the adjoyning Sea they are very variable and uncertain. The 20th, the Air was all darken'd with an Arenal, which is a Cloud of Dust rais'd so thick, that a Man can't see a Stones Cast from him; they are brought off from the adjacent Shores, and are very usual in those Parts. The 25th, they were within view of the famous City of *Lima*; and now they came to understand the vastness of the Treasure which the malice of the *Spaniards* had Robb'd them off, and which otherwise they had found in those Ships they took at St. *Jago*. For by the Pilot's Confession, there were no less than 52 Chests of Gold thrown over-board, each Chest containing 4 Arobes and 500 Pots, and each Pot 10 or 12 Pound weight in Gold. And not only this publick, but every particular Man's private Treasure, was as prodigally flung away, they not caring which way it went, whether to the bottom of the Sea, or the bellies of the Fishes, so the *Dutch* might be never the better for it. This Gold came from St. *Maries* Island, where 3 or 4 Rich *Spaniards* engross'd all to themselves, keeping 2000 poor *Indians* continually slaving in the Mines. The 29th they spied two Sail, and chased them, but to no purpose, the Ships built for that Sea (where they sail mostly against the Wind from *Panama* to *Lima*) being too swift for the *Hollanders*. They intended now to have gain'd the Island *Coquos* in 5 degrees North Lat. but being frustrated in that attempt, the better to avoid the danger of the *Spanish* Men of War, they directed their Course, *May* 20. for the Island *Ladrones*, and so to the *Philippines*.

Gold from St. *Maries* Island.

Sept. 15. they had sight of the *Ladrones*, and the 16th came to *Guana* (*q*), which is one of them, an Island 20 Miles in extent, and yielding Fish, Coco's, Bonanos, Sugar-Canes, which the *Indians* brought in a great number of Canoes up to their Ships. Sometimes they shou'd see 200 of these Canoes, with 4 or 5 Men a-piece, which wou'd come all hollowing together, *Hiero, Hiero*, that is, Iron, Iron; and with very eagerness, run their Canoes upon the Ships, and overturn them Goods and all.

(q) *Guana*, one of the *Ladrones*.

They were a very sly, subtle sort of People, extremely honest with good looking to; but otherwise, they wou'd sell a Man a Basket of Coco-shells, with a little Rice at top, for a Basket of Rice, and whip a Sword out of a Scabbard, and so pop into the water, and away to the bottom, whither a Man must go after them if he meant to have satisfaction: And the Women were as good at these Rogueries as the Men, they wou'd steal as impudently, and dive as well to hide it.

See *Magillan's* and *Candish's* Voyages, that report many other things of these People.

The 17th they set sail for the *Philippines*: On the 20th they met with Ice, yet were then in three degrees North Lat.

(r) *Bayla* Bay.

The 16th of *October* they came to (*r*) *Bayla* Bay, a very fertile Land; at which place, by counterfeiting themselves *Spaniards*, they got good store of all necessary Provisions for their Ships. The *Spaniards*, who are Lords here, make the *Indians* pay 10 single Rials a Head for every one above 20 Years old: These poor Creatures are mostly naked, and mark their Skins with Figures, so deeply impress'd as will never wear out. Being discover'd here, and also having obtain'd their design, they set sail for the Streight of *Manilla* (*s*); all the Tract approaching, to which they observ'd, was waste, barren and rocky. Here a sudden gust of Wind, from the South-East, carried away their Masts and Sails, and treated them with more fury than any they had before met with. The 23d, some of them went ashore, and eat Palmitos, and drank good store of Water; after which followed the Bloody-Flux. The 24th they entred the Streight it self, and sail'd by the Island in the midst; and in the Evening pass'd the Island *Capul* (*t*), 7 Miles within the Streight, near which they found Whirlpools, as far as they cou'd discover, bottomless.

(s) Streight of *Manilla*.

(t) *Capul* Island.

They put on now for *Manilla*, which is 80 Miles from *Capul*, wanting both wind to carry, and good Maps, and a Pilot to direct them.

Nov. 7. they took a Junk of *China*, laden with Provision for *Manilla*. The Master of this Vessel gave them this Intelligence, That there were then at *Manilla* two great Ships, that came every Year from *New-Spain* thither; and a *Dutch* Ship also that was bought at *Malacca*. That the Town was Walled about; and there were two Forts to secure the Ships that ride there. That there was a vast Trade from *China* thither, no less than 400 Ships coming every Year from *Chincheo* with Silk, and other valuable things, between *Easter* and *December*. And particularly, that two Ships were shortly expected from *Japan*, laden with Iron, and other Metals, and Victuals.

See *Candish's* Voyage.

The 15th they took two Barks, laden with Hens and Hogs, which were the *Spanish* Tribute, but became Meat for the *Dutch*, as it happen'd, who sent them a few

Linen

Bankingle, Mindore, and Lou-bon, Linen Bolts in the room of it. They pass'd the Islands *Bankingle*, and *Mindore*, right against which is the Isle *Lou-bon*, at two Miles distance; and between them both is another less Island, by which there is a safe passage for Ships.

Lussin Islands The Island *Lusson*, is bigger than *England* and *Scotland*, and has a Cluster of smaller Islands about it: It is more beholding to Trade, than to the Happiness of its own Soil for the Riches it enjoys. Lying at Anchor in 15 Degr. North Lat. in expectation of these *Japan* Ships, *December* the 1st, they took one of them: She was of 50 Tun Burthen, and had spent 25 Days in the Voyage. The Form of her was something strange, her fore-part being like a Chimney, and her Furniture very agreeable to her Shape, the Sails being made of Reeds, the Anchors of Wood, and the Cables of Straw: The *Japponese* aboard her were all bald, except one Tuft of Hair left behind; and this is the Mode of the Country.

The Japan Ships.

The 9th they took two Barks, one laden with Coco-Wine, and *Aqua Vitæ*, and the other with Hens, and Rice.

Fight with the Spaniards. The 14th they met with the *Spanish* Ships returning home from *Manilla*, upon which meeting commenc'd a very smart Fight: The *Dutch* being over-powr'd with multitudes, were reduc'd to very ill Circumstances, their Admiral being boarded once by the *Spaniards*, and almost got entirely into their possession. She was just upon the point of yielding her self to the *Spanish*-Admiral, (who had press'd her very hard almost all the Day) when her own Admiral seeing all was lost, without a very resolute Push, threatned to blow up Ship, Men and all, if they did not beat the *Spaniards* off again, and fight at a better rate. The *Dutch* upon this, hurried on with Rage, Fear, and Despair, of preserving themselves any other way, fought to so good purpose, that in a little time they clear'd their own Ship, boarded the *Spanish* Admiral, and at last sunk her.

The Dutch's Victory.

This Action cost them no more than five Lives lost outright, and Twenty six more endanger'd by Wounds; the whole Company left being now but Thirty five. But of the *Spaniards* there were several Hundreds that perish'd, partly in the Fight, and partly drown'd and knock'd in the Head, after the Fight was over.

Dutch Pinnace taken. The greatest loss the *Dutch* had, was that of their Pinnace, which encountred the *Spanish* Vice-Admiral, and was taken by her; which was no strange thing, considering she had but Twenty five Men, to maintain a Fight against Five hundred *Spaniards* and *Indians*.

From hence they set Sail for *Borneo*, the chief Town of the Isle of that Name; which is 180 Miles from *Manilla*, and lies in 5 Degr. North Lat. as *Manilla* does in about 14 Degr. 40 Min. And in their way to it, pass'd by *Bolutan* (*o*), an Island 180 Miles long.

(*o*) *Bolutan.*

(*w*) *Borneo.* The 26th they came to *Borneo* (*w*), putting into a great Bay, three Miles in compass, where there was good Anchoring, as also good Fishing in a Neighbour River, and the Fisher-men very ready to barter their Fish for Linen Cloth.

The Admiral, by a Messenger, crav'd leave of the King to Trade there: But he suspecting them to be *Spaniards*, wou'd enter into no Terms with them, till his Officers had search'd, and found to the contrary. So they Traded here for Pepper, with the *Pasanees*, a sort of People of a *Chinese* Original: The *Borneans*, and they, were fond of the *China* Linen; but that which came out of *Holland*, was a meer Drug. In the mean time the *Borneans* laid a Plot to surprize their Ship; and to effect it, *A.D. 1601. January 1.* * they came up to them with a hundred Praws; and pretending to bring Presents from the King, wou'd have boarded them: But the *Dutch* smelling what those Presents were, desir'd them to keep off from their Vessel, or they shou'd be obliged to make them do so with their great Shot; which Resolution of theirs the *Borneans* seeing, without any more adoe, desisted from the Attempt.

The City. This *Borneo* is the greatest Island in the *East-Indies*, the Capital City bearing the same Name, contains Three thousand Houses, but stands in a dirty plashy Soil, so that they may go in their Praws from one House to another.

The People. The Inhabitants all go arm'd, from the Noble-man to the Fisher-man; and the very Women have so much of the Soldier in their Composition, that if affronted, they'll presently revenge themselves with Sword or Javelin, upon him that gives it: This a *Dutch-man* had like to have prov'd to his Cost, for having some way disgusted one of these *Bornean* Virago's; she set upon him with a Javelin, and had dispatch'd him to rights, if she had not been prevented by main force. They are *Mahometans* in the Matters of Religion, and so very superstitious therein, that they'll sooner die than taste any thing that comes from a Swine, neither will they keep any of those Creatures about them. The better sort of them have a Covering of Linen from the Waste downwards, and a Cotton Turbant on their Heads; but the common People go all naked. They chew a great deal of Beetle, and *Arecca*, in this Island, which is also a mighty Fashion in many other Parts thereabouts. The *Dutch* seeing little hope of profitable Trade here, set sail for *Bantam*.

January the 4th, in the Night, four *Borneans* came to the Ship, with a design to have cut their Cables, and so to have brought the Ship a-ground; but being discover'd and pelted with Shot, they march'd off, leaving their Praw behind them, which the *Dutch* took instead of their own Boat lost at *Manilla*.

The next Day they met with a Junk from *Japan*, bound for *Manilla*; which inform'd them of a great *Dutch* Ship *, forced by Tempests into *Japan*; all the Company of which (by Famine and Sickness) were dead to fourteen: That they came first to *Bongo* in 34 Degr. 40 Min. North Lat. and after by the King's Order, removed to *Atonza*, in 36 ½ Degr. That they were there in a safe Harbour, and had liberty to Trade, and build a new Ship, which done, they might dispose of themselves as they pleas'd.

* *Mr. Adams*, an *English*-man, was chief Pilot in this Ship, and liv'd near twenty Years in *Japan*. But of him more hereafter.

By this Account they doubted not, but this Ship was *Verhagen's* Admiral; so dismissing the *Japponese* Vessel, they went on, and pass'd the Line a third time, sailing in no little fear nor danger, for want of a Pilot, and good Charts.

The 16th they took a Junk of *Jor*, and in her a skilful Pilot, who came in good time to save them from Shipwreck, which otherwise, in all likelihood, had been their Fate in those Seas: For now they had but one Anchor left, and the Cable of that almost worn out; and besides, had so many Shoals and Islands about them on every side, that 'twas a very easie matter for a Ship, a Stranger there, to have miscarried. Some of these Islands were *Binta*, and *Crincata*, which yield Diamonds that are sold at *Malacca*.

Binta. Crincata. Diamonds.

The 28th they came to *Jortan*, upon the Isle of *Java*, where they had News of *Dutch* Ships at *Bantam*. The City consists of about a Thousand Timber-Houses; the King commands a considerable part of that end of the Island, and had lately conquer'd *Balambuan*, a little Island that lies just by to the South East of *Jortan*. They are said to be *Mahometans*, all the Country hereabouts, tho' the *Pagods* in use still, seem to argue some kind of mixture of the old *Indian* Superstition with that of *Mahomet*, or at least a Toleration of it in the whole, amongst the common People. Their chief Priest is an Old Man of 120, who has a good round Family of Wives; and whether it be upon a Religious, or any other Consideration, (if the World does not bely him) the mortified Old Man lives on nothing but the Milk which he sucks from his Wives Breasts: From whence 'tis plain, that some Care is taken by these pious Women, to keep a Supply of Milk in their Breasts; and since there are so many of them, and the Circumstances of the Old Priest's Age are such as they are, 'tis probable some of his devout Brethren, and his Wives, do joyn together, to keep him from starving.

Jortan. *Balambuan.*

Sailing hence, they saw a great *Portugueze* Ship of 600 Tun, set fast in the Shoals; she was going to *Amboina*, upon a design of engrossing all that Trade to her self, and so was very justly stopp'd by the way.

February the 5th, they pass'd the Streight between *Balambua*, and *Baly*, and leaving *Java* North East from them, on the 11th they found themselves in 13 Degr. South Lat. and then directed their Course to the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Balambua, and Baly Streight.

On the 18th, they had the Sun Vertical at Noon, being then in 11 Degr. 20 Min. and here a Calm began, that lasted 11 Days.

March the 11th, they came into 24 Degr. 45 Min. and the 24th into 28 Degr. 10 Min.

April the 1st, they made 30 Degr. 50 Min. And the 19th, (having been considerably retarded between cross Winds and Calms) they were forc'd to stint themselves in their Measures of Water.

But the 24th at Night, they saw a Light like Fire about four Miles to the North West, Land now being near; whereas they reckon'd themselves 200 Miles from the Cape, and not being aware of their approach to any other.

The 25th they were in 34 Degr. 35 Min. And now the Calms gave them liberty to mend their Sails. At Night they saw another Fire, and the next Morning Land, bearing North Easterly.

The

The 27th they came into 34 Degr. 40 Min. and within six or seven Mile of the Land.

May the 2d, they made 35 Degr. 15 Min. and the next Morning saw between the East and North, something like the end of an Island, about six Mile off, by which they fancied themselves near the Cape. And now they directed their Course to St. *Helena*, where they arriv'd the 26th, and refreshed themselves with good Water, Fish, and some Flesh, but no *Cabrito's*, nor Fowl, (which are both hard to be taken) nor no Oranges cou'd they meet with here. They left this Island the 30th, and *June* the 14th pass'd the Line the 4th time.

St. Helena.

The 16th they met with six *Dutch* Ships bound for the *East-Indies*, *James Heemskirk* Admiral. These had fought thirteen *Spanish* Ships, near the Salt Islands, and had lost both their Pinnace, and Vice-Admiral; the former taken by the *Spaniards*, and the latter gone from them, but they hop'd secure.

July the 5th, they came into 27 Degr. North Lat. and met with store of the Weed *Saragossa* floating in the Water.

A Weedy Sea.

The 13th, they were in 32 Degr. 30 Min. and then had fifteen Days calm, and a very Weedy Sea.

The 22d, they were driven to a very short Allowance of Bread, and that Worm-eaten too, their Stock being almost spent.

August the 1st, they made 40 Degr. North Lat. and left the Island *Flores*, and comes about Forty five Miles to Westward.

The 18th, three Ships of *Embden* met them, and exchang'd Bread and Flesh, for Rice and Pepper with them, and withal shew'd them, that they were not so near *England* as their Master had told them, who had promis'd to make the *Lizard* next Day.

The 19th, they had sight of the *Scrlings*.

The 26th, they Anchor'd at *Amsterdam*.

Thus have we seen the *Dutch*, under the Conduct of the *English*, successfully following their Example.

Sebald de Wert's *Voyage into the South Sea*, &c.

SOme mention being made in the last Voyage of *Veerhazen's* Fleet, which pass'd the Streights a little before *Noort*, it may be proper to add something more particularly concerning that Voyage.

June the 27th, * the five following Ships set Sail from *Amsterdam*. The *Hope* Admiral, of 250 Tun, and 130 Men. The *Charity* Vice-Admiral, of 160 Tun, and 110 Men. The *Faith*, of 160 Tun, and 109 Men. The *Fidelity*, of 100 Tun, and 86 Men. The *Good-news*, of 75 Tun, and 56 Men, all furnish'd with necessary Provisions. The Admiral was Sir *Jaques Mahu*, *Simon de Cordes* Vice-Admiral, *Beuninghen*, *Beckholt*, and *Sebald de Wert*, were Captains of the other three.

*A.D. 1598.

This Fleet of Grace, after many Difficulties, made shift to reach the Isles of Cape *Verd*; where the Admiral dying, *Simon de Cordes* succeeded in his room; a proportionable change being also made amongst the other inferiour Captains. But here the undermining Practices of the *Portugueze*, and their own want of Provisions, made them quickly think of a remove, which they resolv'd should be to the Isle *Annobon*.

Having therefore set Sail from hence, and spying Land much sooner than their Reckoning would allow, in 33 Degr. South Lat. they determin'd to go to Cape *Lopo Gonsalves*, driving a small Pedling Trade with the People of *Guiney*, as they past along.

This Land was *Congo*.

Nov. the 10th, they set all their sick Men ashoar.

The 23d a *French* Sailor came aboard them, and offer'd to do them some good Offices with the Negro-King; to whom Captain *De Wert* was sent, in the Name of the Admiral: He found His Majesty mounted upon a lofty Throne, near a Foot-high, with a Royal Carpet of Lamb-skin spread under his Feet. The Robes he had on, made him appear like some Footman; it being a perfect Livery of Violet-Cloth, with a gilded Lace: He had a party-colour'd Cloth about his Head, and a String of Glass-beads about his Neck; but no Shooes, Stockins, nor Shirt on. The Courtiers that stood about him, were dress'd up with Cock-Feathers; and the Room of State, where all this mighty Presence shew'd themselves, was much inferiour to some Apartments in a common Stable.

The Negro King.

The Women brought in his Provision to him, which was Noble like all the rest; a few roasted Plantanes, and a little Smoke-dry'd Fish, serv'd up in Wooden-platters, together with a little Palm-Liquor, made up the whole Entertainment.

The *Dutch* Captain was here so hard put to it for a Dinner, that he was fain to call for some of his own Country-Provisions, under pretence of shewing the King their manner of Diet. He drank to the King in *Spanish* Wine, who pledg'd him in the same so heartily, that he was fain to be carried to sleep upon't. They got but little Provision here, the Country not being able to supply them, only a Boar, and two Buffels, they kill'd in the Woods, and a few Fowl.

December the 8th, they set Sail from hence; and the 16th came to *Annobon*. Here the Scurvy and Fever made some havock of their Men, carrying off about thirty of them, amongst which was one *Spring* an *English-man*, of good Skill in Sea-Affairs: And here they got no more Provisions, than what they possess'd themselves of by force. At the beginning of the New Year *, they set sail from *Annobon*, for the *Magellanick* Streights.

Spring, an *English man*, assisted in this Voyage.

* A.D. 1599.

March the 10th, in 42 Degr. South Lat. they found the Sea appearing in a Sanguine Hue, by the vast quantities of little Red Worms, floating about in the Water, which when taken up, leap'd like so many Fleas.

April the 6th, they entred the Streights; and at *Penguin* Island, they stor'd themselves with 13 or 1400 of those Fowl.

The 18th they Anchored in the Green Bay, in 54 Degr. Lat. where they had good fresh Water, and large Muscles. They stay'd here till *August* the 23d, having a most miserable Stormy Winter, and the loss of 100 of their Company.

May the 7th, they went out Southward, over-against the Green Bay, to take Gudgeons; but their Fishing was disturb'd by the prospect of some monstrous Savages, that appear'd to be ten or eleven Foot high. These huge Fellows having spied the *Dutch*, came upon them with horrible Outcries, and began to pelt them with Stones; but seeing four or five of their Company drop with the *Dutch* Shot, they retired to the Land, and tearing up some large Trees by the Roots, they rais'd a little Fortification, where they secur'd themselves; the *Dutch* not being over-fond of attempting to beat them out. Yet afterwards these Savages, in some measure, revenged the Death of their Companions upon them, by killing three of the *Dutch*, whom they took seeking for Food; their Weapons were Darts, whose Heads were made like Saws; so that where-ever they pierced, they must be cut out.

The Green Bay they call'd *Cordes's* Bay, and another the *Horse* Bay; in which the Admiral, and six more of the chief Men, entred into a Fraternity, binding themselves by Oath, to certain Articles, and leaving as a Memorial of it, their Names carv'd in a Table fasten'd on a high Pillar, to be seen of all that pass'd that way. This they call'd, *The Fraternity of the Golden Lion*; but the Savages did not stick to deface that Monument; and besides, to pull the dead *Dutch-men* out of their Graves, and dismember them after a horrible manner.

The sad Circumstances of the *Dutch* in the South Sea.

September the 3d, they pass'd out of the Streights, and kept together till the 7th, when they were unfortunately separated; Capt. *de Wert* was forc'd by a Storm to stay; and the *Faith* and *Fidelity* were also left behind, in all the distress, which Tempests, Hunger, Sickness, Leaks, and the loss of their Masters, cou'd bring upon them. And in this Condition, at the end of this Month, they entred the Streights again, where for the space of two Months, they had not one fair Day to dry their Sails. Here they took a She-Savage, with two Children half a Year old, which had all their Teeth, and were able to go. And here 'twas that they met with Admiral *Noort*; who yet was not in Condition to give them any Relief.

In short, after a World of Hardships endured there, they set Sail, *January* the 22d *, and arrived in the *Maes*, *July* the 14th. In which Voyage the most remarkable Discovery they made, was of three Islands that lie without the Streights, homewards, in 53 Degr. 40 Min. and about 60 Miles from the Land, which they (in honour of their Captain) call'd the *Sebaldine* Islands.

* A. D. 1600

F CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Voyage of George Spilbergen, *Admiral of a* Dutch *Fleet of Six Ships.*

*A.D.1614. 'TWas on the 8th of *August* *, that this Fleet began to sail from the *Texel*, and after much bad Weather gain'd the height of *Madera*, *October* the 3d.

The 10th they lost sight of the *Canaries*; and the 23d recover'd a Prospect of the Islands *Brave* and *Fogo*.

From *October* the 30th, to *November* the 17th, they had a continual Calm, intermix'd with some Showers; and now their Drinking Water began to fail them.

December the 9th, they pass'd the dangerous Sands of *Abrotlos*.

The 13th they had sight of *Brasile*, when the Great *Sun* discharg'd some Pieces to warn the rest of the Fleet, of the Shoals, and dangerous places about upon the Coasts.

(a) Island *Grandes*. Crocodiles. The 20th they came to the Island *Grandes* (a), where they anchor'd, and went ashoar; taking besides good store of Fish, some young Crocodiles, of the bigness of a Man.

The 30th, (being still at the Isle *Grandes*, for the ease of their sick Company) they heard the *Huntsman* (one of their Ships) let off several Guns; enquiring into the occasion of which, they found her engaged in a warm Dispute with five Barks of *Portugueze* and *Indians*, whom they assaulted too; but the Enemy being reliev'd by a fresh Supply that came in, they were obliged to give over.

*A. D. 1615. * January* the 1st, a Conspiracy of certain discontented Persons was found out; two of the chief of which the Admiral presented with Ropes for New-Year's-Gifts, and laid the rest so safe in Irons, and so far asunder, as to prevent their Plotting for the future.

Before they went from hence, they made a general Agreement amongst them, That if any Ship lost his Company, they shou'd set up an Inscription in some common Landing-place, to tell how long they shou'd stay for each other, and after make to *La Mocha*, which should be the place of their general Rendezvous.

(b) S. Vincent's. From the Island *Grandes* they sail'd to St. *Vincent* Isle (b), where they had some Experience of the *Portugueze* Subtlety and ill Intentions towards them.

The 26th they took a Bark, and in it eighteen *Portugueze*; whom they refus'd to exchange for a less number of *Dutch*, tho several valuable Things taken in the Prize, were offer'd in to the bargain. The Bark it self they burnt, as also several Buildings belonging to the *Portugueze*; and having freely discharg'd four of their *Portugueze* Prisoners, they proceeded in their Voyage from Isle St. *Vincent*, in the beginning of *February*.

March the 7th, a terrible Storm rise upon them in 52 Degr. South Lat. 6 Min. And the 21st, the more dismal Storm of Mutiny and Rebellion, broke out in the Ships; but all was calm and quiet again, when some of the factious Mutiniers were laid a soaking in the Salt Water.

(c) Magellan. Streights. The 28th they entred the Streights (c), but were forc'd out again by Wind and Tide.

April the 2d, they re-entred, and came to an Anchor, because of the Shoals; one of which they sounded, and found but five Cubits Water: Here they saw a Giant climbing the Hills, to have a full view of them, he being a Native of the Island *del Fuego*.

The 7th they went ashoar, where they found no Men, nor any other Animals hardly, but two Ostriches; only there was a good fresh River, and a sort of pleasant Blackberries to entertain them. On the South-side they found pleasant Woods, full of Parrots; but the high Mountains cover'd with Snow; and this was in 54 Degr. South Lat. One place here they call'd *Pepper-Haven*, the Bark of a sort of Trees that grew thereabouts, resembling Pepper in taste.

The 16th they traffick'd with the Savages, giving them Sack and Knives for a sort of Pearl they had; but it seems, the Savages did not like either them or their way of dealing, for they quickly after surpriz'd a Company of them ashoar; of which they kill'd two.

The 6th they pass'd into the South Sea, not without some terrible Apprehensions, on the account both of the dangerous Shoals and Islands, and the vast depth all thereabouts, that made Anchoring impossible. A fierce Storm bid them Welcome into this Sea, which they fear'd wou'd have split them upon the *Sorlings* *, that lie a little without the Streights.

* Little Isle like our *Sorling* Islands, and therefore so call'd.

The 21st of *May* they had sight of *Chili*, and *La Mocha*; which Island is low and broad to the North, and very Rocky at the Southern parts.

The 26th they began a Trade with the People, who seem'd very glad both to find them Enemies to the *Spaniards*, and so well provided with Warlike Stores to maintain a Quarrel against them. They gave them Sheep for Coral, Hatchets, and such like things, and brought every thing up to their Boats, not suffering them to come to their Houses, out of a jealous fear of their Wives. The exchange was 2 Sheep for a Hatchet; and these Creatures were very large, with long Legs and Necks, hair-mouth'd, bunch-back'd, and so stout as to serve for carrying Burthens: They had store of Hens here too, and other sorts of Fowl.

The 27th they set Sail, and the next Day came near the Shoar, hard by the Isle St. *Mary*, where they harbour'd the 29th. A *Spaniard* here that came aboard them, invited them to take a Dinner ashoar; but as they were upon the way thither, they chanc'd to spy a Party of Soldiers making that way, which they suppos'd were design'd to attend them at Dinner; upon which they went aboard again, and kept their *Spanish* Gentleman Prisoner. Going ashoar the next Morning, with three Ensigns, the *Spaniards* upon their approach, set their Church a Fire, and march'd off; upon which the *Dutch* set fire to their Houses, to burn in Company with the House of God: And in the little Skirmish that pass'd between them, two of the *Dutch* were wounded, and four *Spaniards* kill'd. They took some Hens, and about 500 Sheep, with other Spoil, out of which they plentifully supplied their Necessities. Understanding here of three *Spanish* Ships, furnish'd with 1000 Men, that had sail'd from hence in *April* to find them out, they concluded to make them as little trouble as they could, by going in quest of their Pursuers.

Spanish Treachery.

Accordingly *June* the 1st, they set Sail upon this Design, and pass'd near *Auroca*, a Town in which the *Spaniards* had a Garrison of 500 Men, and which was continually assaulted by the *Chilesians*. *Auroca.*

The 3d, they approach'd the Isle *Quiriquemam*, near the Continent; and behind it came up to *Conception* Town, inhabited by *Indians* and *Spaniards*. *Quiriquemam.* *Conception.*

The 12th, they entred the safe Road of *Valparisa*, where was a *Spanish* Ship, deserted of her Men, and left a fire by them.

The 13th, at Noon, they came into 32 Degr. 15 Min. South Lat. and the same Day to the fair and secure Harbour of *Quintero*. *Quintero.*

(d) *Arica.* *July* the 2d, they came to *Arica* (d), which lies in 12 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat. to which place the Silver is brought from *Potosi*, and from thence carried to *Panama*; but finding no *Spaniards* there, they went on.

The 16th, they took a small Ship indifferently rich, whose valuable Commodities being taken out, they sunk her.

Shortly after they were alarm'd with the sight of the Fleet Royal of *Peru*, consisting of about eight Sail, which had both sought, and was so heartily sought for by them.

The Fleet of *Peru.* This Fleet was commanded by *Roderigo Mendoza*, the Vice-Roy of *Peru*'s Kinsman, a noisie, bouncing *Spaniard*, that pretended to reduce all *England* with two of his brave Ships; and therefore came with very great assurance of sinking, and burning all those *Dutch* Hens, as he call'd them, had they been twice as many more: Nay, he bound himself by a solemn Oath, never to return till they were all destroy'd or taken. He set out of *Callao*-Road, *July* the 1st, and the Ships that compos'd his Fleet, were these that follow: The *Jesus Maria*, Admiral; with 460 Men, and 24 Brass Guns: A Ship that stood the King in 158000 Duckets. The St. *Ann*, Vice-Admiral, with 300 Men, one of the fairest Ships in all the *Indies*: She stood the King in 150000 Duckets, and had taken an *English* * Ship in the South Sea, but a little before. The *Carmer*, with eight Brass Guns, and 200 Men, besides

* A Ship in which Sir Fich. Hawkins serv'd.

beſides Commanders, and their Retinues. Then the St. *James*, and the *Roſary*, with 150 Men, and 4 Braſs Pieces. The St. *Francis*, with 70 Musketeers, and 20 Mariners. The St. *Andrew*, with 80 Musketeers, and 25 Mariners. The 8th Ship of the Fleet was ſent after the reſt, and what Furniture ſhe had is uncertain.

The 17th in the Evening the two Fleets coming near each other, the *Dutch* Admiral ſent to the *Spaniſh*, to let the Fight be deferr'd till next Day; but the *Spaniard* impatient till his Vow were fulfilled, gave the Onſet at Ten a Clock the ſame Night, thundering upon the *Dutch* Admiral with his Great Ordnance, who did not fail to anſwer in the ſame ſort of Language. The ſame brave Ship having raked the St. *Francis* through and through, ſhe was ſent down to the bottom by the *Hunter*, another *Dutch* Ship; which had quickly been hunted thither her ſelf by the *Spaniſh* Admiral, to have kept the St. *Francis* Company, had not her own Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, ſent out two Boats to her aſſiſtance. One of theſe Boats was ſunk by a Shot from the *Hunter*, miſtaking her for one of the Enemies.

The Fight between the Dutch and Spaniards.

The next Morning five *Spaniſh* Ships were endeavouring to get off, but the *Dutch* prevented the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral from doing ſo, attacking them ſo vigorouſly with their own Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, that the *Spaniſh* Vice-Admiral's Men quitted her, and leap'd off into the Admiral. But the *Dutch* ſtill preſſing hard upon them, they were forced to return back, and defend their own Ship; to be ſure with very little Heart, having before divers times, by a white Flag, offer'd to crave a Ceſſation of Arms; tho' ſome very ſtubborn *Spaniards* preſently pull'd it in again, chuſing Death before a diſhonourable Submiſſion. But after all, the *Spaniſh* Admiral not able to bear that hot Diſpute any longer, ſpread out her Wings, and fled away with all the haſte that an Adverſary perfectly fear'd and vanquiſh'd, may be ſuppos'd to make: However ſhe kept her Vow; for tho' ſhe did not bind all the *Dutch* in Chains, and beat their Ships in pieces with her great Guns, yet ſhe never came home again to tell of her ill Succeſs.

The Spaniſh Admiral flies and afterwards ſunk.

The Vice-Admiral alſo was entirely reduc'd into a poſture of Submiſſion by the *Dutch Æolus*, who it ſeems had puffed ſo furiouſly upon her, that her *Spaniſh* Courage was effectually cool'd by thoſe violent Blaſts. She ſunk that Night in the very Faces of the *Dutch*, who won'd have prevented it, if poſſible: Her chief Commander died of his Wounds, and all her Men that were not killed in the Fight, nor devoured by the Sea, were diſpatch'd by the *Dutch* the next Morning, ſome few Perſons of Figure only excepted. The *Dutch* loſt in this Action about Forty Men, and about Fifty eight were wounded. The ſame Day they went for *Callion de Lima*; but were becalm'd by the way.

The Vice-Admiral ſunk.

The 20th they paſs'd by the Iſland, and ſaw 14 Ships near the Shoar, but cou'd not come at them for the Shoals; ſo they purſued their Courſe for *Callion de Lima*, thinking to overtake the *Spaniſh* Admiral; which they afterwards heard at *Guarme*, and *Peyta*, was certainly ſunk. The *Spaniards* here from the Land ſhot at them, and with a Ball of 36 *l.* out of one of their Great Guns, had like to have ſunk the *Hunter*. They had a great Army of Horſe and Foot aſhoar, the Vice-Roy himſelf being there in Perſon: But they kept out of the reach of danger from their Ordnance, and caſt Anchor at the Mouth of the Haven, waiting (tho' in vain) to take ſome of their Ships; yet on the 26th they took a ſmall Bark that had Salt, and Eighty Veſſels of Syrup aboard her.

The 29th they came to the Road of *Guarme* (*e*), in 10 Degr. North Lat. a pleaſant place with a large Haven. They went aſhoar here, and found the Town clear'd of all the People, who had yet left ſome Proviſions behind them, which they brought to their Ships.

(*e*) *Guarme.*

Auguſt the 3d, they paſs'd between the Continent and the Iſle *Loubes*, ſo call'd from a ſort of Fiſh found there; and here they diſmiſs'd ſome of their *Spaniſh* Priſoners.

The 8th they caſt Anchor at *Peyta* (*f*), and the next Day landed 300 Men, to make an Attempt upon the City, which was ſo well defended, that they cou'd make no impreſſion upon it. However, they batter'd it with their Ordnance, and forc'd all the People up into the Mountains, with their Goods, ſo that when they landed they found nothing but bare Walls.

(*f*) *Peyta.*

This City to the Sea-wards is extreamly well fortified: It had two Churches, a Monaſtery, and ſeveral good Buildings in it; and an excellent Haven, where all Ships bound for *Panama* uſe to put in, and then ſend their Cargo by Land to *Callion de Lima*, the Wind and Sea thereabouts being generally very unquiet.

In the Iſle *Loubes*, they took two Fowl, in Beak, Wings, and Talons, reſembling an Eagle, and Combs on their Heads like a Cocks; they were two Ells high, and three in breadth, from Wing to Wing, when ſtretch'd out. They took alſo an * *Indian* Ship, of a ſtrange Form, which ſupplied them with good ſtore of delicate dried Fiſh.

* See the Picture of it in the *Latin* Vol.

They had this following Account of the State of *Peru*, and the other Dominions belonging to the *Spaniards*, in that part of *America*, from *Pedro de Madriga*, of *Lima*, *viz.*

Relation of the Government of *Peru*.

That Peru, Chili, *and* Terra Firma, *were under the Command of one and the ſame Vice-Roy; which Office is continu'd for ſix or eight Years.*

The Profits of it are 40000 *Duckets* per Annum; *with* 1000 * *Pezo's for the extraordinary Expences of Entertainments, at the Feaſts of* Chriſtmas, Epiphany, S. Spirito, *and* Eaſter; *and* 2000 *Pezo's* per Annum, *when he ſets out the Silver Fleet.*

* Pezo's of 1 a half Rials.

The Vice-Roy lives in all the Pomp and State of a King, not ſtirring out without his Guard of Penſioners: And if he goes far, he is waited on by a Hundred Lances, and Fifty Muskets.

There are in Panama, Quito, Carlos, *and* Lima, *certain Courts erected, for the Judging of all Cauſes, Civil and Criminal; Appeal being made to the* Oviidores *in Civil Matters, and to the* Alcaids *in Criminal. Both which Offices are ſupported by a Yearly Stipend of* 3000 *Pezo's: And there is a Fifth Court of this Nature too, eſtabliſh'd in* Chili.

The City of Lima, *(call'd alſo the City of Kings) is honour'd with the Reſidence of the Vice-Roy, and the Arch-Biſhop: It ſtands in a pleaſant Valley, extended a Mile and half in length, and three quarters in breadth, and is reckon'd to contain* 100000 *Inhabitants, beſides Foreign Merchants. It has four large Market-places, and a* Cercado, *fill'd with* 2000 Indian *Artificers.*

It has plenty of Buildings dedicated to Religious, and other Pious Uſes: Here are the Churches of St. John, *St.* Marcellus, *St.* Sebaſtian, *and St.* Ann: *The Monaſteries of St.* Francis, *St.* Dominick, *St.* Auguſtine, *and of our Lady* De los Meriedes; *each of which have two Cloiſters of Friars of their own Order; and no leſs than* 250 *Religious within the Bounds of every conſiderable Monaſtery. Here are two Colleges of Jeſuites; the five Nunneries of the* Incarnation, Conception, Trinity, *St.* Joſeph, *and St.* Clare: *The Hoſpitals of St.* Andrew *for the Laity, of St* Peter *for the Clergy, of St.* Ann *for the* Indians, *of* Charity *for Women only, of* S. Spirito *for Sailors, of St.* Lazaro *for Incurables. There are likewiſe in the City two Colleges, the* King's *College, and that of St.* Torine: *In the former Twenty four are maintain'd by the King, and in the latter as many by the Archbiſhop. There are reckon'd* 200 *Doctors of all Faculties here,* 400 *Maſters of Art, and* 1000 *inferiour Students.*

Here is alſo the King's Contrattation-Houſe, with his Treaſury, and a Court of Inquiſition; beſides the grand Office of the Cruſada, *or Court of the Pope's Bulls, with Officers and Penſions proportional to the former. There are reckon'd in this City, and the Suburbs of it, above* 20000 *Slaves: And it is defended by a Garriſon of eight Companies of Foot, and as many of Horſe. It ſtands two Leagues from the Sea, and the Walls of it are waſh'd by a River, that ſometimes ſwells ſo by great Rains, as to carry away the Stone-bridge, which has Nine Arches.*

The Indians *that live here, are free as well as the* Spaniards; *only they pay every ſix Months, two Pezo's, a Hen, a Fenega of eight Rials, and a piece of Cotton, or Woollen Cloth.*

The next Port to Lima, *is* Callau, *in which are about* 800 *Inhabitants.*

Potoſi *is famous for its Silver Mines; and there's a good Trade thither from* Arica, *of Beaſts, Wheat, Meal, Maize, Axicoca, an Herb for chewing: And for Carriages they make uſe of a ſort of Sheep that are form'd ſomething like Camels. There is a Deſcent of* 400 *Steps down into the Mine; in which as dark and deep as it is, there are above* 20000 Indians *continually at work; and* 100 *more employ'd in grinding and carrying, and other things, relating to the Silver Trade. This place is ſo cold, that nothing will grow for four Leagues compaſs round about, but one certain Herb, which they call* Ycho. *'Tis reported too, that in* Potoſi, *(beſides the other Inhabitants) there are* 1500 *Gameſters, that live purely by their Wits, and are beholding to a Pack of Cards for their Maintenance.*

Not far from thence is Chuquiſaca, *adorn'd with Religious Houſes, like* Lima; *and has a Biſhoprick worth* 30000 *Duckets* per Annum.

At Seventy Miles diſtance, lies the Silver Mine call'd Eruco; *and about One hundred and eighty* Spaniſh *Leagues, is the fair Haven of* Arica, *in the way to which lie many Villages well inhabited.*

There's another Silver Mine, as cold as Potosi, *that lies near* Pima, *call'd* Chocola Choea, *about which live* 5000 Spaniards.

Cusco *has a Bishop, Monks, and two Colleges, with some* 600 *Students, and* 6000 Spanish *Inhabitants.*

Areguippa *has about* 2000 *Inhabitants, and is honour'd with the Residence of a Bishop and a Corrigidore.*

The chief City of Chili *is St.* Jago, *enrich'd with a Gold Mine.*

Baldivia *is celebrated for the same, and* Coquimbo *for its plenty of Brass.*

Auroca *is no very rich Town, but 'tis defended with a Fort, in which a Company of* Spaniards *always lie in Garrison.*

And this is the Sum of the Intelligence the *Dutch* receiv'd from the aforesaid *Spanish* Prisoner; but 'tis time now to follow them to Sea again.

Having refresh'd here till *August* 21. they set sail; but wanting a good gale of Wind, and having a strong Current against them, they cou'd make no great riddance.

A Current.

(g) *Rio de Tumba.*

The 23d, they Anchor'd before *Rio de Tumba* (g), but not being able to enter there for the Tide, they directed their Course back to the Island *Coques*, in 5 degrees South Lat. but being continually persecuted with bad Weather, which hardly ever intermitted, to *Sept.* 13. they lost that Island, and with it the refreshment they expected there.

Sept. 20. they had sight of Land in *New-Spain*, and 13 degrees 30 minutes North Lat. with very tempestuous Weather.

Octob. 1. they saw a Country that yielded a very pleasant Prospect, but the violent working of the Sea hinder'd their Landing there; so they kept beating off and on till the 11th, when they came into the Haven (h) of *Aquapolque*, within shot of the Castle. Here a Flag of Truce being hung out, they dealt with the *Spaniards*, exchanging Prisoners for Provisions: They were visited too by Don *Hernardo*, the Vice-Roy of *New-Spain*'s Nephew, who must needs come aboard them, to see a Fleet that had triumph'd over the deem'd Invincible Fleet of *Peru*. The Castle here was well defended with 70 Brass Guns, having had Intelligence of their coming 8 Months before.

(h) *Aquapolque* Haven.

The 18th they set sail again, but being becalm'd, they did nothing of moment, except the taking a Bark, bound for Pearl-fishing, which they Mann'd, and took into the Attendants of their own Fleet.

(i) *Port-Selagues.*

Novemb. 1. they Anchor'd before Port (i) *Selagues*, in 19 degrees North Lat. Here they heard of a River that yielded variety of good Fish, and Meadows well Stock'd with Cattel, together with Citrons, and other Fruits; all which conveniences they wanted; but the Company they sent, fearing a surprize by the *Spaniards*, return'd as they went.

After a smart Encounter with the *Spaniards* on the 11th, they set sail for *Port Nativity*, where they furnish'd themselves with Necessaries; and from whence they departed the 20th.

The 26th, they had 20 degrees 26 minutes North Lat. and now they concluded upon the neareſt Course to the Islands *Ladrones*.

New Islands.

Decemb. 3. to their no little wonder, they saw two Islands at a great distance in the Sea, and the next day

A dangerous Rock.

a mighty Rock, in 19 Degrees, and 50 Leagues from the Continent.

The 6th, they saw a new Island, with five Hills, that appear'd like so many distinct Islands. The new Year came on with Distempers, that prov'd fatal to many of their Company.

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Jan. 23. * they had sight of the *Ladrones*, and the next day they Landed there: They set sail for the *Manilles*

(k) *Manilles*

(k) the 26th, where they happily Anchor'd *Feb.* 9. Here the *Indians* refused to Trade with them, because they said the *Dutch* were Enemies to the *Spaniards*; for which very reason, some others wou'd freely have prostituted all the Trade and Riches of a Country to them.

But in *Capul*, to which they came on the 11th, the People were of a better temper, giving them brave Hogs and Hens for very trifles: This profitable Trade they left the 19th, passing from thence through the *Streights*, towards the *Manilian* Port or Bay.

These *Indians* of *Capul* wear long Coats like Shirts, and are noted for the extraordinary Respects they pay to Clergy-men; before whom they'll prostrate themselves on the ground, and take it for a mighty Honour to be admitted to kiss their Hands.

The 19th, they Anchor'd before the Island *Lucon* (l) the principal of the *Manillos*, and in which is the City *Manilla* it self. Here was a curious Fabrick artificially erected upon the tops of Trees, that look'd like a Palace at a distance; but what airy Creatures were the Inhabitants there they cou'd not examine.

(l) *Lucon* Island.

The 28th, they pass'd by the high and flaming Hill *Albaca*.

Flaming Mountain.

The 24th, they saw the other end of the *Streight*, but the Calm wou'd not allow them to pass it.

The 28th, they Anchor'd before the Island *Mirabelles*, remarkable for its two Rocks, that lift their tops to so vast a heighth in the Air: Behind these the City of *Manilla* lies; and from hence they watch the coming of Ships from *China*, to Pilot them safe to the City, because of the great danger of the passage.

March 5. they took several Barks that were dispatch'd to gather in the Tribute paid to the City of *Manilla*, by the adjoyning places. They had now Intelligence of a Fleet of 12 Ships, and 4 Gallies, Mann'd with 2000 *Spaniards*, besides *Indians*, *Chinese* and *Japonese*; all which were sent to the *Moluccas*, to drive out the *Dutch*, and reduce those Islands to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*. Upon this News they discharg'd all their Prisoners, and resolv'd to go after them.

The 11th, they got in amongst so many Islands, that they hardly knew how to deliver themselves again, but their *Spanish* Pilot brought them out safe the next day.

The 14th, they rid at Anchor all Night, before the Island *Pancy* (m), by reason of the Shoals.

(m) *Pancy* Island.

The 18th, they sail'd close by *Mindanao* (n), but in the Evening put off further into the Sea, because of dangerous Shelves thereabouts.

(n) *Mindanao.*

The 19th, they came close by the shore again, and bought Provisions of the Islanders at very cheap rates.

The 20th they reach'd *Cape de Cudeca*, the *Spaniard*'s Watering-place, in their way to the *Moluccas*. Till the 23d, they sail'd no farther than just as the Tide forc'd them along, having a perfect Calm; but between *Mindanao* and *Tagimo*, a contrary Tide met and staid them. The People here profess'd a great enmity to the *Spaniards*, and offer'd the *Dutch* the Assistance of 50 of their Ships in that Quarrel.

The 27th they pass'd the Island *Sanguin* (o), and the 29th came to *Ternate* (p), in which the *Dutch* possess'd the Town *Macia*, where these wandring Country-men of theirs were made very welcome by them. The Streight of *Bouton* they observ'd to be full of Shoals, without which the water is deep: On the East there's good fresh Water, and two Leagues to the West lies a very rocky Shoal.

(o) Island *Sanguin.*

(p) *Ternate.*

April 8. *Cornelius de Vianez* went for *Banda*, and the Soldiers landed there, after a very long and tedious Life a Shipboard.

May 2. they sent 6 Ships to *Macian* (q), (to prevent the Enemies getting any Cloves) and Anchor'd there before *Maurice-Fort*. Here the *English* inform'd them of the success of their Country-men, in taking *Coleway*, a fam'd place for Nutmegs; and the *Indians* express'd their joyful sense of it too, by entring into a new League with them upon it.

(q) *Macian.*

Sept. 15. they came to *Jacatra* (r), and repair'd their Ships; and here they were deliver'd from the fear of the *Spanish* Fleet, sent before to the *Moluccas*, the Admiral of it being dead, and the Fleet it self shamefully retired back to the *Manilles*, having done nothing after 4 Years Preparation. Here also they met 4 large Ships from *Holland*, with good store of *Spanish* Rials; and another from *Japan*, with the same, and good a quantity of Silver, Brass, Iron, and other Commodities, which were all taken from a *Portuguese* Ship bound for *Marico*.

(r) *Jacatra.*

Octob. 20. the *Concord*, a Ship of *Horn*, that came from *Holland*, *June*, *A.D.* 1615. came to *Jacatra*, and being not of the *Indian* Company, the Admiral annexed it to his Fleet.

Nov. 10. came the *Nassau* to *Bantam*, from *Mocha* in the Red Sea, well furnish'd with *Spanish* Rials, and *Turkish* Ducats.

Decemb. 12. the *Amsterdam* and the *Middleburgh* came thither from the *Streights* of *Malacca*, with which Ships the Admiral *Spilberg* prepar'd to return. Accordingly, *Jan.* * 17. they reach'd the Island *Mauritius*, and by *March* 30. came up with St. *Helena*.

A.D. 161[illegible]

Sailing from hence, *April* 7. they came home to *Zealand* the *July* following, having pretty well seconded the *English*, both in their Prosperous Voyages, and Noble Triumphs, over the *Spaniards* in the Western World.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Sixth Circum-Navigation, *by* WILLIAM CORNELISON SCHOUTEN *of* Horne.

THE States-General of the *United Provinces*, having, in favour of their *East-India* Company, prohibited all others to pass by the *Cape of Good Hope* Eastward, or through the *Magellanick Streights* Westward, there were some that began to think of another Passage, by the means of which the South-Sea might be visited, as well as by the *Magellanick Streights*, which were now shut up from all but the Company. Such a passage was suspected to lie somewhere South of the *Streights*: The Notion was started by *Isaac Le Maire*, a Merchant of *Amsterdam*, and *William Cornelison Schouten* of *Horne*, amongst themselves; and they resolved to be at the Cost of a Voyage, to prove whether there were any truth in it or no.

The hopes of this happy Discovery so quicken'd their Preparations, that in a short time they Rigg'd out two Ships, the *Unity* of 360 Tun, of which *William Cornelison Schouten* was Master and chief Pilot, and *Jacob Le Maire* principal Factor, having in her 65 Men, 19 great Guns, with Muskets, Slings, and other Ammunition; and besides, two Pinnaces, and a Boat to serve her, together with good store of all kinds of Tackling, both for her self, and these her Attendants.

The other was the *Horne*, of 110 Tun, of which *John Cornelison Schouten* was Master, and *Aris Clawson* Factor; she had 24 Men, 8 great Guns, with Slings, and other needful Furniture.

*A.D.1615. All things being ready, *May* 25.* the *Unity* set sail, and came to the *Texel* the 27th; whither also her Companion the *Horne* came to her *June* 3.

They set out from the *Texel*. The 14th they sail'd out of the *Texel*, and the 16th pass'd between *Dover* and *Calais*; and the 17th, Anchoring in the *Downs*, *Schouten* went ashore at *Dover*, to get fresh Water.

(a) *Teneriff* and *Canaries*. *July* 13. they sailed between the Island (a) *Teneriff* and the great *Canary*, with a stiff N. N. E. Wind, and a swift Current.

They pass the Tropick. About the 15th (the same Wind and Current following them still) they pass'd the Tropick of *Cancer*.

(b) *Cape-Verd*. The 20th in the Morning, they fell in with the North-side of *Cape-Verd* (b). At Sun-rising the Cape lay W. and by S. from them, so that the N. N. E. Wind wou'd not suffer them to get beyond it, but kept them there at Anchor all that Night.

The 25th, the Moorish Alcaid came aboard them, with whom they agreed at the price of 8 States of Iron for a supply of fresh Water. They left the Cape *Aug.* 1. and the 21st of the same Month they saw the high Land of *Sierra Leona* (c), and also the Island of *Madrabomba*, which lies on the South Point of the high Land of *Sierra Leona*, and North from the *Shallows* of St. *Ann's Island*.

(c) *Sierra Leona*, and *Madrabomba*.

This Land of *Sierra Leona*, is the highest of all that lies between *Cape Verd* and the Coast of *Guiney*; so that the Point is very easie to be known. Here they wou'd have Landed, running up to the Point over the *Baixes* or *Shallows* of St. *Anns*, at 10, 9, 8, 7 and 5 fathom Water, it being still deeper to the North, but shallower to the East; so that in the Evening they Anchor'd with a high Water at 4 Fathom and half soft ground, and at Night at 3 Fathom and half.

The 22d, *William Schouten*, in the *Horne*, led the way off the Shallows, steering N. N. E. with a N. W. Wind; by which Course, they were entirely disengag'd from the *Baixos*, and got out into 18 Fathom water. From hence they went to the Islands of *Madrabomba*, which are very high, and lie all three on a row, S. W. and N. E. half a League from *Sierra Leona* to the Seaward. Here they had shallow water at 4 and 5 Fathom, and soft muddy ground: They Anchor'd a League from the Land, which appear'd to be very full of Bogs and Marshes, and lay all over waste like a Wilderness, scarce fit to entertain any other Inhabitants than wild Beasts; and, indeed, not seeming to have any other.

Going ashore the 23d, they found a River there, the Mouth of which was so stopp'd up with Sands, and Cliffs, and Rocks, that no Ship cou'd get into it, yet within the water was sufficiently deep, and the breadth such too as to give a Ship free scope to turn and wind her self about, as she shou'd have occasion.

Here they saw Tortoises, Crocodiles, Monkeys, wild Oxen, and a sort of Birds which made a noise, Barking like Dogs. They met with no Fruit but Limons, some few Trees of which they found after a tedious search; so that it seems as if Nature had intended this place for the only use of some Societies of Brute Animals, which shou'd here enjoy their native Freedom, and live out of the reach of the Tyranny of Mankind, for here they live securely, and without disturbance, being defended by the natural Poverty and Barrenness of the place, which are the Guards which Nature has set upon, and by which she preserves this Kingdom of Beasts in a State of Liberty: And till that Guard be removed, and Nature, by her Bounty, gives a temptation to a Foreign Power, the Brutes will hold their own, and the Chastity of their free State will never be violated. Barking Birds if the *Dutch* don't Lye.

The 29th, about Noon, they got above the Islands of *Madrabomba* Westward, along to the North part of the high Land, till they had 12 and 15 Fathom water, and in the Evening got about the Point.

The 30th, *A. M.* driven with a stream and a South-wind, they came before the Village, in the Road of *Sierra Leona* (d), where they Anchor'd at 8 Fathom, a little from the shore, in a very sandy bottom. The Village consisted of about 8 or 9 poor Houses cover'd with Straw: The *Moors*, that dwelt there, desired to come aboard, only demanding Pledges to be left ashore, to secure their safe return; because a *French* Ship, that came thither before, had perfidiously carried off two of them. So *Aris Clawson*, the Merchant, went ashore, and staid there amongst them, driving a small Trade with them for Limons and Bananas, which they exchang'd for Glass Beads; and in the mean time they came aboard, bringing an Interpreter with them, who spoke all sorts of Languages. Here they had a good opportunity to furnish themselves with fresh Water, which pouring down in great quantities from every high Hill, they had nothing to do but to place their Barrels under the fall of the Water to receive it. There were also vast Woods of Limon-Trees here, which made that Commodity so cheap to them, that for a few Beads and Knives they might have had 10000 or more. (d) *Sierra Leona* Road. Woods of Limon-Trees.

Sept. 1. they drove away before the stream, and Anchor'd that Evening at the mouth of the Sea, before a small River. Here they took an Antelope in the Woods, with Limons and Palmitos; and had good success in their Fishing.

The 3d, the Master brought in a great Shoal of Fish that were of the shape of a Shooe-makers Knife, and as many Limons as came to 150 for every Man's share.

The 4th, they set Sail from *Sierra Leona* early in the Morning.

Octob. 5. they made 4 degrees 27 minutes South Lat. and the same day, at Noon, they were strangely surpriz'd with a very violent stroke given to one of their Ships in the lower part of it. No Adversary appear'd, no Rock was in the way to be encounter'd with; but while this amused them, the Sea all about them began to change its colour, and look'd as if some great Fountain of Blood had been open'd into it; this sudden alteration of the Water being no less surprizing to them than the thumping of the Ship. But the cause, both of the one and the other, they were equally ignorant of, till they came to *Port-Desire*, and there set the Ship upon the Strand to make her clean: For then they found a large Horn, both in form and magnitude resembling an Elephants Tooth, sticking fast in the bottom of the Ship; a very firm and solid Body it was, and seem'd to be equally so all over, there being nothing of a large Cavity, or a light and spongy Matter, in the midst of it, but all over as dense and compact a Substance as that in the exterior Parts. It had pierced through three very stout Planks of the Ship, and raced one of the Ribs of her, so that it stuck at least half a Foot deep in the Planks, and there was about as much that appear'd without the great hole, up to the place where 'twas broken off. And now the Riddle was compleatly Solved, this Horn being the spoil of some Sea-Monster, that had thus rudely assaulted the Ship with that piercing weapon, and after the thrust not being A strange Sea-Monster.

ing able to draw it out again, had there broken it off; which was attended with such a plentiful effusion of Blood, as had discolour'd the Sea to that degree.

Having now Sail'd so far, that none in the Ships but the Masters knew where they were, or whither they intended, upon the 25th they discover'd their Designs to the rest of the Company, of going to find out a new Southern Passage into the great *Pacifick Sea*. This they had kept very close to themselves before, but now thought it time to reveal the Plot, there being no danger of defeating it; and the Company appear'd to be very well pleas'd with it, hoping to light on some Golden Country or other to make them amends for all their travel and danger.

The 26th, they made 6 degrees 25 minutes South Lat. Sailing the rest of that Month mostly Southward, till they had made 10 degrees 30 minutes.

Nov. 1. they had the Sun North of them at Noon. The 3d, *P. M.* they had sight of *Martin Vaz*'s Island, call'd *Ascension* (c), under 20 degrees; and here they observ'd the Compass to vary to the N. E. 12 degrees.

(c) *Vaz's Ascension* Island. Variation of the Compass.

The 21st, they came under 38 degrees 25 minutes, and had a deep water, whose bottom they could not reach with their Lead: Here the variation of the Compass was 17 degrees to the N. E.

Dec. 6. they had a prospect of Land not very high, but flat and white, and quickly after fell in with the North-side of *Port-Desire* (f), and that night Anchor'd one League and half from the shore, in 10 Fathom water, with an Ebb that ran Southward, as strongly as the Sea runs between *Flushing* Heads.

(f) *Port-Desire.*

The 7th, keeping a South Course, at Noon they came before the Haven of *Port-Desire*, which lies under 47 degrees 40 minutes: At the entry of it they had very high Water, neither did any of those Cliffs appear which *Van Noort* had described, and which must be left Northward in sailing into that Haven. If there were any, they were all under water; but the Cliffs lay open and visible enough towards the South Point, which therefore, perhaps, might be them which *Noort* intended. Upon this score they went on Southward, but sailing so far Southward as to miss the right Channel, they came into a crooked Bay, where, at High-water, they had but 4 Fathom and half, and at Low but 14 Foot; by which means, the *Unity* lay with her Stern fast a-ground, and there wanted only a brisk East gale to ruine her, but the Wind blowing West from the Land she recover'd again. Here they found good store of Eggs amongst the Cliffs, and the Bay afforded them Muscles, and Smelts of 16 inches length; upon which score, they call'd it *Smelt-Bay*. Their Shallop went to the *Penguin* Island, and came back with 150 *Penguins*, and 2 Sea Lions.

Smelt-Bay.

The 8th, A. M. they sail'd out of *Smelt-Bay*, and Anchor'd just before the Haven of *Port-Desire*. The Shallop was employed beforehand to Sound the depth of the Channel, which proving to be 12 or 13 Fathom, they boldly entred, having a N. E. Wind to carry them along: But after a little more than a Leagues sailing, the Wind began to turn about, and they Anchor'd at 20 Fathom, but the bottom they were upon being only slippery Stones, and the Wind now blowing hard at N. W. their Anchors cou'd not preserve them from driving away with that rough Wind upon the Southern shore. And now 'twas by far more likely than not, that both these Ships shou'd be wrack'd together: The *Unity* lay with her side upon the Cliffs, but still kept the water, and by the fall of the Sea was gradually shaden down lower and lower into it; but the *Horn* stuck so, as that her Keel was above a Fathom out of water, and a Man might have walk'd barefoot under it at Low-water. She was beholding awhile to the N. W. Wind, that, by blowing hard upon her side, kept her from falling over; but that support being gone with the Wind that gave it, she sunk down upon that side at least 3 Foot lower than the Keel; upon which sight they gave her over for lost. But yet the succeeding Flood, which came on with still Weather, set her upright again, and both she and her Companion got clear of the danger.

Their Ships like to be lost in the Channel.

The 9th, they went farther into the River, and came to *Kings-Island* (g), which they found full of black Sea-Mews, and almost all cover'd over with their Eggs: A Man, without straining to reach, might have taken between 50 and 60 Nests with his hand; each of which shou'd have 3 or 4 Eggs apiece, so that they were quickly furnish'd with some thousands of them.

(g) *Kings-Island* cover'd with Eggs.

The 11th, the Boat went in search of good Water lower down the River, on the South-side, but found it all of a brackish unpleasant taste: They saw Ostriches here, and a sort of Beasts like Harts, with wonderful long Necks, and extremely wild. Upon the high Hills they found great heaps of Stones under which some very monstrous Carkasses had been buried: There were bones of 10 and 11 Foot long; in all probability they were (if of rational Creatures) some bones of the Giants of that Country. No Water was to be found here for several days together; so that tho' they had plenty of good Fish and Fowl, they cou'd meet with no Drink to wash it down.

See the Account of the Giants in these Parts in *Magelan's* Voyage.

Here they lost their good Ship the *Horn*, by an unhappy accident; 'twas her Fate, it seems, to perish by Fire, after so many Triumphs over the dangers of the Wind and Water. For as they were burning Reeds under her, in order to her Cleansing, the flame, by some passage or other, got into the Ship, and presently gather'd to such a head, that in spite of all they cou'd do, she burnt down to the very water: They made a shift to secure her Guns, Anchors, and all her Iron-work, which was then bestowed in the *Unity*, the only Vessel they had left to prosecute their Discovery in.

The 25th, they found certain holes in the ground that yielded a white muddy sort of Water; and this, for want of better, was their Ale at that time.

Jan. 13. * they sail'd out of *Port-Desire*, but having a Calm, they Anchor'd before the Haven, till the rising of the Wind invited them to pursue their Voyage. * *A.D.* 1616.

The 18th, being in 51 degrees, they saw the *Sebaldine-Island* (h), which they observ'd to lie in that position and distance, from the Streight, that *De Weert* had determin'd. (h) *Sebald's Island.*

The 20th, they saw *Steencross-drive*; and being then in 53 degrees, they observ'd the great Current that runs S. W. and now they counted about 20 Leagues Southward from the *Magellanick Streights*.

The 23d, they had an uncertain shifting Wind, and the Water appear'd white, as if they had been within the Land: They held their Course S. and by W. and the same day saw Land, bearing W. and W. S. W. from them, and quickly after to the South; then attempting by an E. S. E. Course to get above the Land, the hard North-Wind that blew then constrain'd them to take in their Topsails.

The 24th, A. M. they saw Land a Star-board about a Leagues distance, stretching out E. and S. with very high Hills all cover'd with Ice; and then other Land, bearing East from it, high and ragged as the former. They guess'd the Lands, they had in these two Prospects, lay about 8 Leagues asunder, and that there might be a good Passage between them, because of a pretty brisk Current that ran Southward along by them. About Noon they made 54 degrees 46 minutes, and then began to make towards the fore-mention'd opening, but the succeeding Calm prevented it. Here they saw an incredible number of Penguins, and such huge troops of Whales, that they were forc'd to proceed with a great deal of caution, for fear they shou'd run their Ship upon them.

Great numbers of Whales.

The 25th A. M. they got up close by the East Land, which upon the North-side reaches E. S. E. as far as the Eye can follow it: This they call'd *States-Land*, and that which lay West they gave the Name of *Maurice-Land* to. They observ'd, that on both sides there were good Roads and sandy Bays, good store of Fish, Penguins and Porpusses, and some sorts of Fowl; but the Land adjacent seem'd quite bare of Trees and Woods. They had a North-Wind at their entrance into this passage, and directed their Course S. S. W. so that going pretty briskly on, at Noon they made 55 degrees 36 minutes, and then held a S. W. Course, having a good stiff gale to blow them forwards. The Land upon the South-side of the Passage, at the West-end of *Maurice-Land*, appear'd to run W. S. W. and S. W. as far as they cou'd see it, and all very craggy uneven ground.

States-Land and *Maurice-Land.*

The new Streights, call'd the *Streights of Maire.*

* In the Evening, having a S. W. Wind, they steer'd Southward, meeting with mighty waves that came rouling along before the Wind; and the depth of the Water, to the Loofward from them, (which appear'd by some very evident Signs) gave them a full assurance, that the great South-Sea was now before them, into which they had almost made their way, by a passage of their own peculiar Discovery. The Sea-Mews hereabouts were larger than Swans, and their wings, when extended to their full length, spread above the compass of a Fathom: They wou'd come, and very tamely sit down upon the Ship, and suffer themselves to be made Prisoners, without any endeavours to fly away.

* *Note*, While our *Dutchmen* are here advancing towards a new Discovery, we are obliged to be so curious as to shew how the Wind blew them along every step of their way, till they came into the new Streight.

The 26th they made 57 degrees, and were Entertain'd here with a Flying Storm out of the W. & S. W. the Water were also very high and blue: They still held all this Day their Course to the Southward, but changing it at Night for a N. W. one; in which Quarter they discover'd very high Land.

The 27th, they were under 56 degrees 51 minutes, the Weather very cold, with Hail and Rain, the Wind W. and W. by S. They went a Southern Course, and then cross'd Northward with their Main-Sails.

The

The 28th, they hois'd up their Top-Sails, and had great Billows out of the West, with a West, and then a North-East Wind, and therewith held their Course South, and then W. & W. by S. which brought them under 56 degrees 48 minutes.

The 29th, they had a N. E. Wind, and held their Course S. W. which gave them the Prospect of two Islands beset round with Cliffs, and lying W. S. W. from them; they got up to them at Noon, but cou'd not sail above them, and therefore held their Course to the North. They gave them the Name of *Barnevels Islands* (*i*), and found their Latitude to be 57 degrees South. Taking a N. W. Course from hence, in the Evening they saw Land again, lying N. W. & N. N. W. from them; this was the high hilly Land, cover'd with Snow, that lay Southward from the *Magellanick Streights*, ending in a sharp Point which the call'd *Cape-Horne* (*k*), and lying in 57 degrees 48 minutes. They held their Course now Westward, in which Course they found a strong Current that ran that way too; yet had they the Wind in the North, and great Billows tumbling out of the West upon them.

(*i*) *Barnevels-Islands.*

(*k*) *Cape-Horne.*

The 30th, the Billows and the Current still ran as before; and now they gather'd a full assurance from hence, that the way was open into the South-Sea: This Day made the Latitude of 57 degrees 34 minutes.

The 31st they sail'd West, with the Wind in the North, and made 58 degrees; but the Wind turning to the W. and W. S. W. they pass'd *Cape-Horne*, losing all sight of Land, and still meeting the Billows working out of the West; which, together with the blueness of the Water, made them quickly expect the Main South-Sea.

Feb. 1. a storm blowing out of the S. W. they sail'd with their Main-Sails lying N. W. & W. N. W.

The 2d, with a Westerly Wind, they sail'd to the Southward, and made 57 degrees 58 minutes, the variation being there 12 degrees Northward.

The 3d, they made 59 degrees 25 minutes, with a hard West Wind, but saw no signs of any Land to the South; and the next day 56 degrees 43 minutes, turning to and fro, with very uncertain S. W. Winds, and finding 11 degrees of N. E. variation.

The 5th, by reason of a strong Westerly Current, and a hollow Water, they cou'd bear no Sail, but were forc'd to drive with the Wind.

They see the *Magellan-Streights* to the East of them.

The 12th, they plainly discern'd the *Magellanick Streights*, lying East of them; and therefore, now being secure of their happy New Discovery, they render'd Thanks to good Fortune in a Cup of Wine, which went three times round the Company. And now this New-found Passage had a Name given it, which was that of *Maire's Streights*, tho' that Honour (in Justice) ought to have been done to *William Schouten*, by whose happy Conduct the *Streights* were discover'd. And 'tis observable, that all the time of their Sailing through these *Streights*, and about the Southern *Newfoundland*, they had a settled Course of bad Weather, a thick and foggy Air, and strong Currents; all which put together, did make their Sailing to be really in the *Streights*. But the Joy of this Discovery, and the Hopes of a farther Improvement of it, together with the Auxiliary Comforts of the Bottle, help'd to carry off the sence of all that tedious Voyage, and the many mortifying Dangers of it.

The 27th, they made 40 degrees South Lat. having fair weather, and held their Course Northward.

The 28th, they determin'd for the Island of *John Fernando*, to give their sick and weary Company a due refreshment; and that Day they made 35 degrees 53 minutes. In the Evening they made but small Sail, fearing to fall upon the Land; which effectually to avoid, they sail'd N. E.

(*l*) Island of *Fernando.*

March 1. they saw the Island of *Fernando* (*l*) before them to the N. N. E. and about Noon got up to them under 33 degrees 48 minutes. Both these Islands are very high, the smallest lying most Westward; is a very barren and rocky place, but greater to the East; tho' it be full of Hills, yet is well shaded with Trees, and fruitful. The Island it self affords plenty of Hogs and Goats, and all the Coast about it such excellent Fishing, that the *Spaniards* think it worth their while to come hither; from whence they Transport vast quantities of Fish to *Peru*. The Road lies on the East Point of this Island, and they shap'd their Course not as they shou'd to the Eastern, but the Western side of it; by which means, they were reduc'd to the inconvenience of not being able to get near enough the Land to Anchor. This made them Dispatch their Boat to sound the Depth, which gave them an Account of 30 and 40 Fathom, sandy ground, close by the Land; which lessen'd still to 3 Fathom; very proper to Anchor in. They told too of a very lovely Valley full of Trees and Thickets, refresh'd with streams of water running down from the Hills, and variety of Animals feeding in those pleasant places; all which they saw in this greater Island. They brought good store of Fish along with them, most of them *Corcobadoes* and *Steenbrasses*; and reported, that they saw a great many Sea-Wolves. The two next days successively, they repeated their Attempt to come up and Anchor close by the Island, but were still frustrated, whatever endeavours they used to accomplish it. But still their Men followed the Fishing-Trade, which they managed so successfully, that they took almost two Tun of Fish only with Hooks, in the small time that some of the Company went to fetch Water. Finding the Island thus inaccessible, they determin'd to pursue their Voyage.

Fishing at the Island *Fernando.*

The 11th, they pass'd the Tropick of *Capricorn* the second time, holding their Course N. W. Here they had the general E. & E. S. E. Wind, and held their Course N. N. W. to the 15th day, when they made 18 degrees; then they chang'd that Course, and sail'd West.

April 3. they made 15 degrees 12 minutes, and had then no variation of the Compass, but a considerable variation of the temper of their Bodies from a good state of Health, by reason of the Flux, which had seiz'd the best part of the Company.

The 10th, they saw a little low Island at 3 Leagues distance, which they got up to at Noon: Here they cast out their Lead, but cou'd find no bottom, and therefore put out their Shallop. The Men that went ashore found nothing for refreshment, but some Herbs that tasted like *Dutch* Twinkars; but gave an Account of a very silent sort of Dogs they had seen there, that wou'd neither Bark nor Snarl, nor make any noise at all; and for this reason they call'd it *Dog-Island* (*m*). It lies in 15 degrees 12 minutes; and they judged it 525 Leagues distant from the Coast of *Peru*. The ground is so low, that at High-water it seems, for the most part, to be overflown; and it has nothing round about it, but a sort of a Ditch beset with Trees, between which the Salt water breaks in in several places.

(*m*) *Dog-Island.*

The 14th, they sail'd W. & W. by N. and the same day, *P. M.* they saw a large, but low Island, reaching N. E. & S. W. a considerable way. At Sun-set, being about a League from it, an *Indian* Canoe advanced to meet them, the Men naked, with long black Hair, and their Bodies of a reddish colour. They made signs to the *Dutch* to come ashore, and call'd to them in their Language; and tho' they answer'd them in their own, the *Spanish*, *Moluccan*, and *Javan* Tongues, yet the *Indians* understood them not; so that both sides were in the dark as to each others Minds. When they got up to the Island, and Sounded, they found no bottom, neither was there any change of Water, tho' they were within a Musket-shot of the shore. Here the *Indians* and they had another unintelligible Conference, but they wou'd not be perswaded to come up to the Ship by any signs the *Dutch* cou'd make to invite them to it, as neither wou'd the *Dutch* go ashore to them, tho' still they kept pointing and talking to one another, while neither side understood one word that was spoke by the other.

Another Island.

Leaving these People therefore to others that cou'd understand them, they sail'd away S. S. W. to get above the Land: And having made that Night 10 Leagues, in a S. S. W. Course, the 15th, A. M. they sail'd close a'ong by the shore, on which stood several of these naked People, calling to them (as they gues'd) to Land. Presently after one of their Canoes came towards the Ship, but won'd not come near it; yet ventur'd to the Shallop, where the *Dutch*, and these *Indians*, fell to their Mysterious Conferences again. The *Dutch* gave them Beads and Knives, and several things that pleas'd them; which kindness emboldened them at last to come a little nearer the Ship, but still they wou'd not go aboard her, but got back into the Shallop. Neither had they any great reason to be fond of their Company there, for they are a parcel of light-finger'd Fellows, and have much the same degree of Conscience and Honesty with them at the *Ladrones*. They love Iron as the *Ladronians* do, and they love to steal it like them: The very Nails in the Cabbin-Windows, and the Bolts upon the Doors, cou'd not keep their places for them but they wou'd have them off; this they found to be true, by one of them, who had cunningly slipp'd into the Ship, and pull'd out all the Window-nails, which for securities sake he had struck into his Hair. Nay, they are so very impudent, that whatever they lay Hands on is their own, (tho' the Owner look on all the while) if he does not recover his Right by force. When the *Dutch* gave them some Wine, they drunk the Liquor and kept the Cup; so when they threw out a Rope to bring them to the Ship, they wou'd neither use the Rope nor return it. And their Qualities are not more odd than the Figure they make; for (besides that they are all naked, except the

Thievish People like the *Ladrones.*

Pudenda,

Pudenda, which are cover'd with a piece of Mat; their Skin is all over figured with Snakes and Dragons, and such like Vermine; which are very significant Emblems of their own subtle and mischievous Natures.

The *Dutch* having a mind to try, if any thing were to be done with them, or to be gotten in the Island, sent their Shallop with eight Musketteers, and six Swords-men, besides other Company of the Ship. They were no sooner landed, but thirty of these People rush'd out of a Wood upon them, arm'd with great Clubs and Slings, and long Staves; they wou'd have seiz'd the Shallop, and taken away the Soldiers Arms; but the Muskets letting fly amongst them, kept them from the Sin of Robbery at that time, and forced them to be honest whether they wou'd or no. This Island they call'd the Isle without Ground, because they cou'd not Anchor there: It is not broad, but something long, and full of Trees, which they guess'd to be Coco's and Palmito's. It is a white sandy Ground, and lies in 15 Degr. South Lat. and about a hundred Leagues from *Dog*-Island. Seeing nothing to be done here, they set sail, and held their Course W. to the Seaward. Here having but a slight Water, and no Billows, as the Day before, out of the South, they guess'd that Southward there was more Land.

Islands without Ground.

The Sixteenth they came to another Island that lay Northward, and was about fifteen Leagues distant from the other. This appear'd to be all drown'd Land within, tho' on the sides well set with Trees: And here also they found no bottom for Anchoring. It yielded them nothing for Food, but a few Herbs like those in *Dog*-Island, with some Crabs, and other Shell-fish, which were well-tasted Meat; but it afforded them some good fresh Water, which they found in a Pit not far from the Shoar. The Pottage made of the Herbs they gather'd here, prov'd very serviceable to those of their Company that were troubled with the Flux. They call'd this Island, *Water*-Island, because it supplied them with Water; they left it presently, and sail'd Westward, making that Day 14 Degr. 46 Min. South Lat.

Water-Island.

The Eighteenth they came to another Island, lying to the South West, about twenty Leagues distant from the last, and stretching out North West, and South East, a considerable way. The Boat being dispatch'd to sound the depth, brought word, That they had found a bottom (by a Point of Land, from whence there came a gentle Stream of Water) at twenty five, and forty Fathom, about a Musket-shot from the Land. This News of Water made them send their empty Cask in the Boat, in hope to have it well fill'd. But after they had taken a great deal of pains to land, and had been a good while beating up and down in a Wood to find some Spring or other to supply them, the sight of a wild Man frighted them away, and put an end to their enquiry after Water for that time: And quickly after they were got into their Boat, there came five or six more of those Savages, and shewed themselves upon the Shoar; but seeing they were gone off, presently retired into the Woods.

Wild Men.

But tho' they got clear of these more formidable Adversaries, yet there were others very troublesome, that stuck close to them; of which they brought many Millions along with them out of the Woods. These were a sort of black Flies, of which there were such prodigious Swarms thereabouts, that they came home cover'd over with them from Head to Foot; their Hands and Faces so beset, that there was no seeing what Complexion they were of; their Cloaths entirely hidden by the Multitudes of those Animals crawling upon them, which did themselves compose another sort of Apparel, and give the poor Men (shrewdly against their Wills) Coats, Breeches, Stockins, and Shoes, of Flies: Besides, their very Boat, and Oars, were all over in the same Dress with themselves. And out of this their Abundance, they did, when they came back, very liberally communicate to their Companions: And now the Plague of Flies began to rage in the Ship, and every Man was busie to defend his Face and Eyes as well as he cou'd. 'Twas the best part of the Day's-work to be flapping the Flies away; and 'twas hard for a Man to open his Mouth, either to speak, or to eat, without taking in a Mouthful of these Vermine at the same time.

Swarms of Flies.

This direful Persecution lasted about three or four days, in which time the Flaps did such execution, that their Sufferings were pretty well at an end, and few of the Flies were left alive, to torment them. They call'd this Island, with very good Reason, *Fly*-Island: And by the help of a good Gale of Wind, did fly away from it as fast as they could.

Fly-Island.

The 23d, they were under 15 Degr. 4 Min. and there again had great Billows out of the South, which continued also the next Day. Here they concluded, that the *Terra Australis*, which they sought for, lay yet Two hundred and fifty Leagues further.

The 25th, the hollow Billows out of the South still continued, such as are commonly in the *Spanish* Seas, out of the N. W.

May the 3d, they sail'd Westward, and made at Noon 15 Degr. 3 Min. And that Day they saw several great Doradoes, which were the first they had seen in the South Sea.

The 9th they made 15 Degr. 20 Min. and guess'd they were then 1510 Leagues from the Coast of *Peru*. The same Day they perceiv'd a Bark coming towards them, which they went to meet, and gave her a Gun or two to make her strike. But those that were in her, either not understanding the Language of the Guns, or refusing to do what they commanded, the *Dutch* sent out their Shallop, with ten Musketeers, to reduce her; upon which she endeavour'd to make her escape, but the Shallop intercepted her. Some of her Men, in a very great fear, threw themselves overboard, and dispos'd of their Goods the same way that they did their Bodies. When they had boarded her, those that were left made no manner of resistance, but quietly resigned themselves to the disposal of the Conquerors, who used them very kindly; dressing those that were wounded, and saving the Lives of some that had leap'd over-board, and entertaining all of them in their Ship. There were besides the Men, eight Women, and several Children, so that the whole Number amounted to about Twenty three.

A strange Bark taken.

They were a cleanly neat sort of People, of a reddish colour, quite naked, except the obscene Parts, which were cover'd: The Men had long curl'd black Hair, and the Women short like the Men in *Holland*.

The People aboard her.

The Bark they were in, was of a very peculiar Figure and Structure: It consisted of two Canoes fastned together in the midst of each of which were laid two broad Planks of Red-wood to keep out the Water, and several others went cross from one Canoe to the other, which were made very fast and close above, and hung a good way over on both sides. At the end of one of the Canoes on Starboard-side, there stood a Mast with a Fork in the end of it, where the Yard lay; the Sail was made of Mats, and the Ropes of such Stuff as the Fig-frails in *Spain* consist of. They had no Compass nor Chart, nor any Furniture for the Seas, but only a few Fishing-hooks, the upper-part of which was Stone, and the other black Bone, Tortoise-shell, or Mother of Pearl. They had no need to lade their Vessel with fresh Water, for they satisfied themselves with the Liquor of a few Coco-Nuts; and when that was spent, they had recourse to the great Ocean for a supply, themselves, and their smallest Children, drinking the Salt-water very heartily. The *Dutch* sent them all back to their Vessel again; where the Women welcom'd their Husbands with joyful Embraces; and thus happily freed, they sail'd away to the South East. But to our Discoverers.

The Bark.

The Tenth they held a W. and S. W. Course; and that Day saw very high Land on Larboard, lying S. E. and by S. about eight Leagues off; but tho' they had a good Gale, they could not reach it that Day.

The Eleventh A. M. they came up with a very high Island; and about two Leagues Southward with another much lower: And the same Day sail'd over a Bank of fourteen Fathom deep, and a stony bottom, lying about two Leagues from the Land, which being past, they cou'd find no more Ground. About this time, another of the aforesaid Barks came up to them, which had (as they generally have) a loose Canoe in her, to put out upon occasion. She sail'd at that rate, that few *Dutch* Ships cou'd outstrip her; her Men steer'd behind with two Oars, in each Canoe one; and when they had a mind to wind her, they row'd before: But all these Vessels will wind themselves, by only pulling the Oars out of the Water, and letting them go.

Sending their Shallop to sound by one of these Islands, they were inform'd, that there was Ground, tho' shelvy, at twelve, fourteen, and fifteen Fathom, about a Cannon-shot from the Land; so they resolv'd to Anchor there. The Negroes, indeed, by Signs directed them to go to the other Island, and sail'd thither before them; but they anchor'd at the end of the former Island, at Twenty five Fathom, sandy Ground, a Cannon-shot from the Land. This Island lies in 16 Degr. 10 Min. It is one entire Mountain, and looks like one of the *Molucca's*: 'Tis all over cover'd with Coco-Trees; for which reason they call'd it *Coco-Island*.

Coco-Island.

The other Island is much lower than this, but longer, lying E. and W. Being at Anchor, there came three Ships, and nine or ten Canoes (which had three or four Men apiece) about them, some of which had put out

White

White Flags, in Token of Peace, as they did the like. The Canoes were flat before, and sharp behind, hewed out of one whole piece of Red-Wood, and wou'd sail exceeding swiftly.

When they came near the *Dutch* Ship, they leap'd, some of them, into the Water, and swam to it, having their Hands full of Coco's, and Ubes Roots; which they barter'd for Nails, and Beads, giving four or five Coco's for a Nail, or a small String of Beads; so that the *Dutch* traded that Day for One hundred and eighty Coco's. And this Trade bringing so many of them aboard, that they knew not how to stir their Ship; they sent their Shallop to the other Island, to see for a more convenient place to lie in. But the Shallop being just got out, was presently beset by a huge number of Canoes, fill'd with a mad sort of People, arm'd with great Clubs, that forthwith boarded her, and attack'd the Men. They firing their Muskets upon them, were laugh'd at by the Savages, in that with so much noise, they had done so little harm; but the next touch, when one of them was shot through the Breast, they had done making sport with the Muskets, and learn'd to keep their distance a little better for the time to come. They were lusty, well proportion'd Men, and good Swimmers; but naked, thievish, and very fantastical in the dressings of their Hair: Some were it short, others long, some curl'd, and others plaited and folded up in several Fashions.

They trade with the Natives.

The Twelfth they came in their Canoes again, laden with Coco's, Bananas, Ubes Roots, Hogs, and fresh Water. There was a great Contention amongst them, who shou'd get first to the Ship; and those that were behind, being shut out by them before, since they cou'd not leap over their Heads, they jump'd into the Water, and swam under the Canoes, holding Bunches of Coco's in their Mouths, and climbing up the sides of the Ship like so many Rats, and that in such Swarms, that they were forc'd to keep them off with Staves: The *Dutch* barter'd with them that Day for Twelve hundred Coco's, which made twelve to every Man's share, they being Eighty five in all.

The Negro's wondred very much at the Strength and Greatness of the *Dutch* Ship; and some of them crept down under it, and knock'd upon the bottom of it with Stones, to try how strong it was.

The Negro-King comes to the Ship.

The King of those Barbarians sent a black Hog to the Ship for a Present, charging the Messenger to take no Reward; and quickly after he came himself, in a large Ship of their fashion, attended with Thirty five Canoes; when he was a little way from the Ship, he began to call and cry out aloud, and all his Company did the like; this being their way of bidding Strangers Welcome. The *Dutch* received them with Drums and Trumpets, which mightily pleas'd and surpriz'd them; and they to testifie their Sence of the Honour that was done them, us'd all their Ceremonies of bowing their Heads, and clapping their Hands together over them, which they are accustom'd to upon such Occasions. The King, out of his Ship, sent them a Matien for a Present; which Kindness they requited with the Gift of an old Hatchet, rusty Nails, Glass-Beads, and a piece of Linen Cloth; things which His Majesty was highly pleas'd with, and made many a fine Bow for. He was not to be known from his Subjects, by any Tokens, but the Reverence they shew'd him; for as they were all naked, so he had no other Apparel, but that which Nature gave him. He wou'd not be perswaded to come aboard, tho' the Prince his Son did, and was well-entertain'd there.

The Thirteenth, A. M. the Ship was surrounded with a whole Armado of Ships and Canoes, the King himself being there in Person; and in the Twenty three Ships, and Forty five Canoes, that compos'd the Fleet, no less than Seven or Eight hundred Men.

They pretended at first to come only upon the Design of Trade; and told them by Signs, that they were their very good Friends; and wou'd fain have them sail to the other Island, where they shou'd find a much better Accommodation in all Respects.

The *Indians* assault the Ship.

But notwithstanding all these fair Pretences, they suspected some Mischief was hatching by these Barbarians. Neither were their Suspicions unjust; for they quickly began to cast themselves all round the Ship, and enclos'd it on every side, and then with a great Outcry, upon the Alarm of a Drum, they gave the Assault. The King's Ship was the fore-most in the Action, and rush'd in with such a force at the *Dutch* Ship, that the Heads of the two Canoes before it, were dash'd all to pieces, with the violence of the Shock: The rest came on as well as they cou'd, and shower'd in great Stones upon them. But the *Dutch* threw in such Quantities of Pellets amongst them out of their Muskets, and three great Guns loaded with Musket-shot, and Nails, that all those in the Canoes, that lay within reach, were glad to leave them, and seek their Refuge in the Water. Being thus put to the Rout, they dispers'd themselves, and shifted for their Lives as well as they cou'd.

These treacherous People were the Inhabitants of the lower of these two Islands; which therefore they call'd *Traitors Island*.

Traitors Island.

They set sail from hence the same Day, and held their Course W. and W. by S. And the Fourteenth came to another Island, about Thirty Leagues distant from the former. They call'd this *Hope Island*, because they hop'd here to meet with some Refreshment. But finding no Ground at the Island, they sent out their Shallop to sound along the Shoar; which return'd with the News of a stony bottom at forty Fathom, about a Musket-shot from the Shoar, sometimes twenty five, and thirty Fathom; and at a little distance again, no bottom at all.

Hope Island.

The *Indians* came here with ten or twelve Canoes, to barter: They brought a small parcel of flying Fishes, for which they had Beads in exchange: And whatsoever the one gave, or the other receiv'd, was conveyed on both sides, by a Rope let down from the Stern of the Ship. But these same *Indians* went from this Trade presently to another which was worse, *viz.* robbing the Shallop; which they found employ'd in sounding, at some distance, from the Ship. They offer'd to board her, and drag her away; but they in the Shallop, with their Guns, Pikes, and Curtlasses, gave them such an Entertainment, that having seen two of their Company kill'd, they were glad to hurry away as fast as they cou'd: And while these were beaten and maul'd upon the Water, their Friends stood and cried for them ashoar.

This Island was full of black Cliffs, that were green on the top; 'twas well stock'd with Coco-Trees, and several sorts of Herbs: There were several Houses along the Sea-side, and a great Village close by the Strand. There was no convenient Anchoring here, it being extreamly rough near the Island; upon which score they left it, and sail'd away South West, intending to pursue the Discovery of a Southern Continent.

The Eighteenth, they were under 16 Degr. 5 Min. where they had very uncertain W. Winds: And now they began to consult about the future prosecution of their Voyage.

William Schouten, the Master, told them, That they were now at least Sixteen hundred Leagues Eastward from the Coasts of *Peru*, and as they had not yet discover'd any part of the South Land, so neither was there any likelihood of their doing it. That they had sail'd much farther Westward than they first intended; and that going on in that Course which they had hitherto pursu'd, they should certainly fall Southward upon *New Guinea*, where if they found no passage, they must unavoidably be lost; since 'twould be impossible to go back Eastward again, by reason of the Easterly Winds that blow continually.

Upon these, and other Accounts, he propos'd it as the best way to alter their Course, and sail Northward, so as to fall in Northward upon *New Guinea*.

This Proposal back'd with so many good Reasons, was embrac'd by all the Company, so that they immediately determined to hold a N. N. W. Course.

They alter their Course, and sail Northward.

The Nineteenth, their Course Northward, they had 2 Islands at Noon, about 8 Leagues distance from them, lying N. E. and by E. and that seem'd to be a Cannon-shot distant from each other. Upon this they steer'd N.E. intending to sail about the Land, having fair Weather, but a small Gale to bring them along.

Other Islands.

The Twentieth, they continued still labouring to get to the Land.

The Twenty first, being about a League from the Land, they were visited by two Canoes, to whom, tho' they gave no manner of provocation, yet they were rudely insulted by some of them, who began to hollow, and threatned to dart their Wooden Assagayes at them. But upon the Discharge of the Guns from the Ship, these bold Hectors began to scamper, and that in no little haste and confusion, leaving behind them two of their Company dead, and a Shirt which they had stolen out of the Ship, and had now no Stomach to carry away with them.

The Twenty second, there came more of them to the Ship, but upon very friendly and peaceable Terms, bringing Coco's, Ubes Roots, and roasted Hogs, which they barter'd for Knives, Beads, and Nails. These People were all as curious in the Arts of Swimming and Diving, as those in *Traytor's* Island, and as well vers'd in those of Cheating and Stealing too; which they never fail'd to do, if an opportunity were given them.

Their Houses stood all along the Strand, which were cover'd with Leaves at the top, and had a sort of a Pent-

House of the same to carry off the Water. They were 10 or 12 foot high, and 25 in compass, furnish'd with nothing but a Bed of dry Herbs, an Angling-Rod or two, and a great Club: These were all the Ornaments even of the Palace, and the King himself had no more. The *Dutch* found here good conveniences for watering.

They go aboar. The 24th, they sent 3 of the principal Men of the Ship to Establish a Friendship with the *Indians*, and to be as Hostages amongst them, having in their room 6 *Indians* of Quality aboard, whom they made very welcome there. And the *Dutch* ashore had very great respect paid them by the King; he made them a Present of 4 Hogs, and if any of his People came but near the *Dutch* Boat to disturb them, while they were fetching Water, he wou'd drive them away himself, or order some of his Men to do it. His Subjects all stood in very great awe of him, and were fearful of having any of their Crimes made known to him; for one of them having stole a Curtlass, and complaint being made to one of the King's Officers, the Thief was pursu'd, and soundly drubb'd, for the wrong he had done; and besides, forc'd to make restitution. And more than that, the Officer signify'd that he came off very well too, for if the King had known it, he wou'd certainly have had his Head off. These People were extremely frighted at the noise of the Guns, and upon any discharge wou'd fly like so many Mad-men: Yet the King having a desire to hear one of the great Guns let off, and being set under his Canopy, with some of his Courtiers about him, in great order, upon the going off of the Gun, he leap'd out of his Seat, and set up a run into the Woods, with all his Courtiers after him, and no perswasions of the *Dutch* cou'd possibly stop them.

The 25th and 26th they went ashore again, to Barter for Hogs, but could get none, the *Indians* being reduc'd to some straights themselves, having nothing but Coco's, Bananas, Ubes-Roots, and a few Hogs, left: Yet the King continued his wonted respect and kindness to them; and he and his Lieutenant pull'd off their Crowns from their own Heads, and set them upon the Heads of two of the Company. Crowns of Feathers. These Crowns were made of white, red and green Feathers, which their Parrots and Doves do supply them with: The Doves are white upon the back, and black every where else, except the Breast; and every one of the King's Council has one of these sitting by him upon a Stick.

The 27th and 28th, they got all their Water aboard; at which time, the Master and the Merchant went ashore, with the Trumpets, which prov'd a very diverting Musick to the King. Here he told them of his Wars with them of the other Island, and shew'd them several of the Caves and Thickets where they us'd to place their Ambuscades, and lay lurking for Advantages against each other. They plainly found that he was fearful they had some Design upon his Country, for to draw them off from thence, he wou'd fain have engaged them in a War with the King of the other Island; nay, he offer'd to hire them to be gone, telling them, That if they wou'd go in two Days, he wou'd give them 10 Hogs, and a good parcel of Coco's. Yet, notwithstanding his Suspicions, he made them a Visit aShipboard, Praying when he enter'd the Ship, and Praying in every Cabbin he came into; as also, he always did when any of the *Dutch* came ashore to him. His Men carry'd it with a mighty deal of Submission to them, kissing their Feet, and laying them cross their Necks, with all the tokens of awe and fear that they cou'd express.

The King of the other Island comes. The 30th was made a Day of Solemnities, by the coming of the King of the other Island to Visit the King of this. He came with a Train of 300 of his naked *Indians*, that had bunches of green Herbs stuck about their middles, of which they prepare their Drink: And that he might be sure to be welcome, he brought 16 Hogs along with him too. When these two Princes were within sight of each other, they began to bow and scrape, and Their Ceremonies in Saluting each other. mutter'd out certain Prayers to themselves: When they met, they both fell down with their Faces flat upon the ground, and after several very strange gestures us'd, they got up upon their Legs, and walk'd away to the Seats provided for them; where, after they had chop'd out some more of their Prayers, and bowed very reverently to one another again, with much ado they sate down under the King's Canopy. And now to make the strange King the more welcome, a Messenger was dispatch'd to the *Dutch* Ship, to get their Drums and Trumpets ashore; so the Trumpets sounded, and a March was beat up, to the very great Entertainment of the two Kings. After this, they prepar'd for a solemn Banquet, and in order to it, began to make ready their Liquor, which they did in this slovenly manner: There comes into the Presence a Their Drink, company of Fellows, with a good quantity of Cana, (which is the Herb of which they make their Drink) each of which having cramm'd in a Mouthful of it, they began to chaw all together; having chaw'd it a while, they put it out of their Mouths into a large Wooden Trough, and pour'd Water upon it, and fell to stirring and squeezing on't, and having press'd out all the goodness, they presented it in Cups to the two Kings. They were so civil likewise, as to offer the *Dutch* some of it, who were ready to Vomit at the sight of the Preparation. As for the Eating part of the Entertainment, it consisted of Ubes-Roots roasted, and Hogs dress'd after a very Their Meat. nice manner. They had ripp'd up the Bellies, and taken out the Guts of them; and then putting hot Stones into their Bellies, and singing off the outside Hair, without any farther dressing, or cleansing, they were fit for the King's Table. They presented two of these Hogs to the *Dutch*, with all the Form and Ceremony which they use to their Kings, laying them first upon their Heads, and then kneeling, with much humility, left them at their Feet. They gave them, besides, 11 more alive; for which they receiv'd a Present of Knives, old Nails, and Beads, as pleasing to them as far better things. These People were of a dark yellow colour, strong and well-proportion'd Bodies, so tall and big, that the largest amongst the *Dutch* wou'd have been match'd by the least of them. They wore their Hair, some curl'd, some The Manners of the People. frizl'd, some tied up in knots; some had it standing bolt upright upon their Heads like Hogs-bristles, one quarter of an Ell high. The King, and some of his Courtiers, had long Locks hanging down below their Hips, bound up with a knot or two, but the Women were all cropp'd close; and besides, were very ugly Figures, being short and ill-shap'd, and their Breasts swagging down to their Bellies like Satchels. Both Sexes went naked all to the *Pudenda*: They seem'd to be a People wholly void both of Devotion, and all Worldly Care and Prudence, living just as the Inferiour Animals do, upon what the Earth it self produces, without the solicitations of Art and Industry. They neither Sow nor Reap, Buy nor Sell, nor do any thing for a Livelihood, but leave all to the Care of Nature, which if it fails at any time they must starve. And they have as little regard to the Laws of Decency and Modesty too, as to those of Civil Prudence and Policy, for they'll make use of their Wives openly, in the greatest Assembly; ay, and before their King too, as much as they reverence him.

This Island they call'd *Horne-Island*, from the Name of the Town from whence they came; and the Bay where *Horne-Island.* they Anchor'd, *Unity-Bay*, after the Name of the Ship. *Unity-Bay.* The Bay lies upon the South-side of the Land, in a Dock under 14 degrees 16 minutes.

June 1. they set Sail from hence, visiting no Land till the 21st, when they made towards a very low Island, that lay S. S. W. & W. from them, and in 4 degrees 47 minutes. Near it were several Sands that stretched N. W. from off the Land, as also 3 or 4 smaller Islands, and very full of Trees. Here a Canoe came up to them, of the same odd fashion with those before describ'd, and the People in it much of the same sort, only blacker, and Arm'd with Bows and Arrows, which were the first they had seen amongst the *Indians* of the South-Sea. They told them, by Signs, that there was more Land, and good Conveniences for a Ship, to be had Westward, where their King dwelt; upon which Information, they held a Western Course again.

The 22d, they sail'd W. & W. & by N. under 4 degrees Several Islands. 45 minutes, and that Day saw at least 12 or 13 Islands, one close by another, lying W. S. W. from them, and reaching S. E. & N. W. about half a League, but they left them a Larboard.

The 24th, the Wind S. they saw 3 low Islands a Larboard, lying S. W. from them, the one very small, the other two each of them two Miles long, all very full of Trees. They call'd them the *Green-Islands*; the shore *Green-Islands.* about was ragged and cliffy, and allowed no Anchoring. Another high Island presented it self with 7 or 8 Hovels forth right, lying W. & by N. which they sail'd by the 25th, St. *John Baptist's Day*, and therefore call'd it St. *John's-Island.* At this time they saw very high Land to the *St. John's-Island.* S. W. which they thought to be the Point of *New-Guinea*; they reach'd it by Noon, and sailing along by it, and finding no Anchoring, sent the Shallop to Sound, but no bottom cou'd be discover'd. Here 2 or 3 Canoes of barbarous People assaulted the Shallop with their Slings, but the Guns carried the Day, and quickly dispers'd them: They were very black, entirely naked, and spake a Language quite different from the former. They kept fires upon their Coast all that Night, and some of them in their Canoes came lurking about the Ship; and tho' the *Dutch*, when they had discover'd them, did all they cou'd to oblige

lige them, yet they wou'd understand none of the Signs they made for Provisions, but answer'd all with horrible noises and outcries. They Anchor'd this Night at 45 Fathom, uneven ground, in a Bay about the Point of the Land; the Country was high and green, and afforded a pleasant Prospect, and lay (as they guess'd) 1840 Leagues distant from *Peru*.

The 26th, *Ante Meridiem*, there came 8 Canoes up to the Ship, well fill'd with these *Barbarians*, and they as well Arm'd, after their manner, with Clubs, Wooden-Swords and Slings. The *Dutch* treated them kindly, and gave them several Toys to procure their Favour, or at least Peace, and freedom from any disturbance by them, but the Villains were not to be conquer'd by Kindness, nor taught by good Manners, by any thing but the great Guns, for presently they assaulted the Ship with all their force, and continu'd it obstinately till the Cannon-shot had gone through 10 or 12 of them: Then they began to fly to their old Refuge, the Water, to dive and swim for their Lives, but the Shallop pursuing them, knock'd some on the Head, took 3 Prisoners, and 4 of their Canoes, which made firing for the Ship. And now they cou'd understand Signs, and procure Hogs and Bananas, for those of them that were Prisoners, to Ransom themselves, but before they did not know what the *Dutch* meant by their Signs. And tho' the *Dutch* were so Generous as to give one wounded Man his Liberty, yet they were so wise too as to set another, in a better condition, at ten Hogs Ransom, which undoubtedly was the full value of him.

This Island afforded a sort of Birds that were all red, and North of it lay another Island, of which they made no other Discovery, than only its position to this. They concluded these People to be Papoos, because of their short hair, and particular Diet of Betele mix'd with Chalk.

The 28th, *Post Merid.* they set Sail from hence, and the next Day held a N. W. & N. W. & by N. Course, with a shifting Wind till Noon, and then a Calm. They had the Point of the Island in view till the Evening, tho' they sail'd along by the Land, which was very full of Bays and Turnings, and reach'd N. W. & N. & by W. and the same Day they saw 3 high Islands more, that lay Northward from the great one about 5 or 6 Miles, being then in 3 degrees 20 minutes.

Black *Indians* no better than the others.

The 30th, *Ante Meridiem*, several Canoes of the black *Indians* came up to them, and Boarding the Ship by permission, brake Staves over the *Dutch* in Sign of Peace. Their Canoes were finer than the others, and themselves appear'd more Civil and Modest, covering the *Pudenda*, which the others did not. They rubb'd their Hair over with Chalk, affecting to have their black Locks Powder'd: They pretended to be so Poor, that they came to Beg, and not to bring any thing to the Ship; yet those four Islands, from whence these *Indians* came, afforded good store of Coco's.

July 1. *Ante Meridiem*, they Anchor'd between an Island of 2 Miles long, and the firm Land of *New-Guinea*, and quickly were surrounded with 25 Arm'd Canoes of the same People, who, the Day before, in Token of Peace, had broke their Staves over their Heads, and now came intending to brake them upon them. The *Indians* were not tedious in their Ceremonies before they enter'd upon the work they came upon, 2 of them fix'd themselves upon 2 Anchors that then hung out of the Ship, and with their Girdles began to tug the Ship, thinking to draw her ashore; the rest lay about the sides of her, and gave a brisk Onset with their Slings, and other weapons, but the everlasting plague of the *Barbarians*, the great Guns, shatter'd Men and Canoes at that rate, that they were forc'd to retire, with the loss of 12 or 13 kill'd, and a far greater number wounded. After this fight, they sail'd peaceably along the Coasts, having a good gale, and holding a W. N. W. and a N. W. & by W. Course.

The 2d they were in 3 degrees 12 minutes, and saw low Land a Larboard, and right before them a low Island; they sail'd gently W. N. W. with a slight Current off to the Water E. N. E.

The 3d, they saw high Land bearing West, about 14 Leagues from the other Island, and in 2 degrees 40 minutes.

The 4th, as they were passing by the 4 Islands aforemention'd, they had a sudden prospect of 23 others, great and small, high and low, which they left the most of them a Starboard, and only 2 or 3 a Larboard. They were some of them a League, some a Cannon-shot distant from each other, and lay in 2 degrees 30 min. little more or less.

The 6th, with very variable, and some stormy weather, they had, *Ante Meridiem*, a very high Hill before them, bearing S. W. and this they thought to be the Hill *Geomenapi* in *Banda*; but a nearer approach discover'd three Hills more like it, that lie to the North, about 6 or 7 Leagues distant, and this sight determin'd that Hill not to be that of *Banda*. Behind it lay a large Tract of Land E. & W. and reaching E. S. E. of a very great extent, and very uneven; this they guess'd to be *New-Guinea*, but held off from it that Night.

The 7th, A. M. they sail'd towards these mighty Hills they had in prospect the day before, and found some of them to be *Volcanos*; for which reason they nam'd the Island *Vulcan's-Island*, there being so good a representation of his burning Forge. The Island was well Inhabited, and full of Coco's, but there was no conveniency of Anchoring there: The People were naked, and extremely fearful of the *Dutch*, and their Language so very different from all thereabours, that none of the *Blacks* they had with them cou'd understand them. There appear'd more Islands to the N. & N. W. but they held their Course to a very low one that lay N. W. & by W. from them, which they reach'd that Evening. The Water here they observ'd to be of divers colours, green, white and yellow, which probably was the effect of the mixture of some Rivers, because it was far sweeter than the Sea-water, and was full of Leaves and Boughs of Trees; some of which had Birds and Crabs fasten'd upon them.

Vulcan's-Island.

The 8th, they held a W. S. W. & W. N. W. Course, having a Starboard a high Island, and another something lower on Larboard: They reach'd the Land, *Post Merid.* the same Day, and Anchor'd at 70 Fathom, in a good sandy bottom, about a Cannon-shot from the shore: This Island was in 3 degrees 40 minutes, seem'd to be an unhealthy place, and yielded nothing considerable but a little Ginger. 'Twas Inhabited by Papoos, whose ridiculous Fancies in the Matters of Dress superadded to their own natural Deformity, made them appear little short of Monsters in Humane Nature. There were hardly any of them but what had something odd and strange, either as to the bigness, or position of their Limbs; but then the Strings of Hogs-teeth, that hung about their Necks, and their perforated Noses, with Rings fasten'd in them, together with short frizled Hair, and very ill Faces, all put together, wou'd have offended an Eye not extremely curious. Neither was the beauty of the Houses much greater than that of the Inhabitants, being all mounted up upon Stakes, 8 or 9 Foot from the ground.

Deformed People.

The 9th, *Ante Meridiem*, they Anchor'd in a more convenient Bay, at 26 Fathom, in a Sandy bottom mix'd with Clay. There were two Villages of the *Indians* that lay near the shore, from whence some of their Canoes brought Hogs and Coco's, but held up both at so dear Rates, that there was no Bartering with them. And now, tho' they had Sail'd so long by this New Land, yet they were still unable to resolve themselves whether it were *New-Guinea* or no: Their Charts did neither agree with one another, nor the Land they had in Prospect, which for the most part run N. W. & by W. sometimes more Westerly, and sometimes again more Northerly; yet for all this scruple, (which they cou'd not remove) they still held a W. N. W. Course, along by the Coast, with a quiet, tho' dull sort of Weather; and so by the help of the stream, that set them about the West, (as it does all along that Coast) they made 2 degrees 58 minutes, the 12th at Noon.

Uncertain where they are.

The 13th and 14th, they kept Sailing by the Coast, having sometimes very high, and at others very low Land, beside them.

The 15th, pursuing the same Course, they reach'd two low Islands, about half a League from the Main-Land, about 2 degrees 54 minutes S. L. Here they had good Anchoring, from 5 and 6, to 40 Fathom; and seeing the Country well stored with Coco's, the Boat and Shallop, well provided for an Attack, were dispatch'd, with Orders to Land and get some: But the *Indians*, it seems, had observ'd them, and accordingly prepared for their Entertainment when they Landed; and they gave them, perhaps, the warmest Reception, with their Bows and Slings, that ever they met with, wounding at least 16 of them, and forcing them, notwithstanding their Muskets, to retire.

The 16th, *Ante Meridiem*, they Sail'd in between both the Islands, and Anchor'd at 9 Fathom, in a very good place. The same Day they Landed upon the lesser Island, burnt some of the *Indians* Houses, and brought as many Coco's as made three to every Man's share. The Barbarous People became more gentle, and good-natur'd, upon this Treatment, for the 17th they came to make their Peace with Offerings of Coco's and Bananas, Ginger, and yellow Roots used for Saffron; they yielded to trust the *Dutch* so far as to come aboard their Ship, where the Quarrel

was perfectly made up, and the Hearts of the *Indians* (won by a few Nails and Beads which they gave them) were intirely theirs.

The 18th, they continued Bartering for Coco's, Bananas, Cassanie and Papede; of the two former they got as much as came to 50 Nuts, and 2 Bunches of Bananas, a Man, of the two latter not so much. This Papede and Cassanie are also *East-India* Commodities; and the latter, particularly, is admirably good in the *West-Indies*, and far beyond that which they met with here. The People made all their Bread of it, and Bak'd it into large round Cakes for that purpose. They call'd the Name of their own Island *Moa*, which was the most Easterly, the other over-against it *Fuson*, and the farthermost (a very high one, and about 5 or 6 Leagues from *New-Guinea*) *Arimea*. These People had probably been Visited by some *Europeans* before, for they had *Spanish* Jarrs and Pots amongst them; they were not surpriz'd at great Guns, as the others usually were, nor so curious in looking into the Ship, as absolute Strangers to such a thing must be suppos'd to be.

Cassanie Bread.

Moa, Fuson, Arimea Islands.

The 21st they Sail'd along by the Land N. W. and at Noon made 1 degree 13 minutes. The stream drove them to a cluster of Islands, where they Anchor'd at 13 Fathom, with Storms of Rain and Thunder, that Night.

The 23d, *Ante Meridiem*, setting Sail from thence, six great Canoes overtook them a little from the Land, bringing dry'd Fish, Coco's, Bananas, Tobacco, and a small sort of Fruit like Prunes. *Indians* from another Island also brought Victuals, and *China*-Porcelane, to Barter.

These People, like most of the *Barbarians*, were vastly fond of Beads and Iron-work; but they were remarkably distinguish'd from those of the last Island, by their larger size, and more Orange-complexion. Their Arms were Bows and Arrows, and their principal Ornaments glass Ear-rings, of several colours; and by these, as well as by other Signs, it appear'd that the *Dutch* were not the first *Europeans* which these People also had seen.

The 24th, being under half a degree, they Steer'd N.W. & W. & S.W. along by a very pleasant Island, on which they bestow'd their Masters Name; and the West Point of it they call'd the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Schouten's Island.

The 25th, they saw a huge Tract of uneven Land on Larboard, lying S.S.W.

The 26th, they spied three Islands more, the Coast reaching N.W. & by W.

The 27th, they were under 29 minutes, and having a sight of much Land to the Southward, some very high, and some as low, they past N.W. along by it.

The 29th, at Night, they had an Earthquake, which shook the Ship at that rate, that the Men run frightned out of their Cabbins, expecting to find her run a-ground, or jolted against some Rock; but, upon trial, they found a depth of water that was unfathomable, and as plainly saw they were clear of all danger of Rocks and Shelves; so that 'twas manifestly the effect of a violent concussion of the Alveous and Submarine Regions, which caus'd and propagated a tremor all through the water, and thus disturb'd the motion of the Ship.

Earthquake.

The 30th, they put into a great Bay, out of which finding no opening, they return'd to a Northen Course again: Here the Ship trembled again, with loud and horrible cracks of Thunder, and the Lightning was so like to set it a-fire, that in all probability it must have flam'd, had not the Clouds, that furnish'd the pernicious fire, afforded water also, in prodigious showers of Rain, for the extinguishing of it.

Horrible Storms.

The 31st, with a Northern Course, in the Evening they pass'd the Æquator a second time; and being encompass'd with Land all round almost, they Anchor'd at 12 Fathom, good ground, near a desolate Island that lay close by the firm Land.

They pass the Æquinoctial a second time.

August 1. they made 15 minutes North Lat. and in the Evening, with a hard stream, went close to the Land; and because of the Calm, Anchor'd, tho' in a shallow water, and very rugged bottom.

The 2d, they drove along with the stream, W. & W. & by N. with very rainy weather.

The 3d, being still becalm'd, they Steer'd as before, and found a Bank so far in the Sea, that they cou'd scarce see the Land, being in some places 40, in others 20, and so to 12 Fathom, sandy ground; and the stream there went W.S.W.

The same Day they made 35 minutes North Lat. and saw several Whales and Tortoises, with two Islands lying to the Westward of them; and now they gues'd they were at the end of the Land of *New-Guinea*, having Sail'd 280 Leagues along by the Coast. The Rains and Calms still continued.

The 5th, *Ante Meridiem*, several Canoes came up to them, bringing *Indian*-Beans, Rice, Tobacco, and two Birds of Paradise; they Barter'd for one of these fine Birds, which was all white and yellow.

These *Indians* spoke the *Ternate*-Language, and some of them the *Spanish* and *Malaian*; which latter Tongue, *Clawson*, the Merchant, was well skill'd in. They were all of them finely Cloath'd about their Wastes, some with loose Silks, others with Breeches, and some Silken Wreaths about their Heads, which were the *Mahumetans* of the Company; all of them in general had Coal-black Hair, and good store of Gold and Silver Rings upon their Fingers. They Barter'd with the *Dutch* for Beads, and other Toys, but had much more mind to Linen Cloth. They appear'd to be very fearful and suspicious of them, to that degree, that they wou'd not tell them the Name of the Country; yet they judged that they were now at one of the three Easterly Points of *Gilolo*, and that these People were Natives of *Tidore*, which afterwards they found to be true. *Gilolo.*

The 6th, *Ante Meridiem*, they set forwards, holding a Northerly Course, intending to Sail about the Northern Point of *Gilolo*.

The 7th, they saw the North-East Point of that Island, called *Moratay*, which then lay S.S.E. from them. *Morataq.*

The 8th, at Noon, they made 4 degrees 3 minutes North Lat. had there very stormy Weather, and a Current that run Northward.

The 9th and 10th, they had variable Winds and Weather, and made 3 degrees 50 minutes.

The 11th, they had a prospect of the Point *Moratay* again, which they design'd to have reach'd, but the Current drove them off from the Land Northward.

The 13th, they made 2 degrees 58 minutes, the Winds continuing still to shift about, and the Rains falling pretty plentifully; and so to the 17th.

This Day, with much toil and trouble, they got under the Land, and Sail'd along by the Coast with fair Weather; in the Night they saw several Fires upon the Land.

The 18th, with still Weather, they continued driving along by the Land, and at Noon were Saluted by two Canoes of *Ternateens*; who, to shew their peaceable Design, had hung out a Flag of Peace, as a Symbol of it.

They inform'd them, that they came from the Village *Soppy*, where, very lately, had been an *English* Ship, as also a Pinnace of *Amsterdam*, that had lain there three Months, for a Lading of Rice; and that some of them wou'd Conduct them, the next Day, into the Road of *Soppy*. *Soppy.*

Sept. 19. with a good gale, they directed their Course to *Ternate*, spying a good Sail making thither too, which, afterwards, they understood to be the *Morning-Star* of *Rotterdam*, a Ship of 300 Tun, and 26 Guns. Their Shallop had lain in the Creek of *Sabou*, with that Ship, three Nights, and from thence brought then an Account, That there were 10 *Dutch* Ships, very well furnish'd, at the *Manillas*, that waited there for an opportunity to Attack the *Spanish* Fleet coming to *Ternate*: That *Peter Bot*, in his return homewards, with 4 Ships, was wreck'd upon *Mauricius-Island*, one Ship of the 4 only escaping the fury of the Storm.

October 28. they pass'd by *Jacatra*, and Anchor'd without the Island: Here they found three *English* Ships, and three of *Holland*.

The next Night, Death (which had forborn them all this long and tedious Voyage, which neither by the Ministry of the devouring Waves, by infectious Diseases, by the Darts of *Indians*, nor the far more cruel stroke of Famine, had as yet made any fatal Impression upon them) now came and Visited their Ship, and Summon'd one of the Company to begin a Voyage for the other World. 'Tis true, indeed, that two others had died out of the other Ship, the *Horne*, lost long before, but the *Unity* still kept its Company intire to this time, and now had it lessen'd but by the number of its Name; which was very strange, for Men who had Death ever before them, in so many Forms and Shapes, and cou'd not live (in their way of Life) out of continual danger of a surprize. But their own Country-men, it seems, were more severe in their treatment of them, than this the most formidable Enemy of Mankind: Death had Arrested but one of the whole Company, and this too a poor Weather-beaten Traveller, fatigu'd with a long and toilsome Voyage, might possibly be a great kindness, but for Men to be

stripp'd,

stripp'd at once of all the Fruit of so many costly Labours, to sail round the Globe for a small parcel of Goods, to scape Rocks and Winds, and boisterous Seas; and after all be swallow'd up by their own Country-men. This was worse than Shipwreck, and to be thus disappointed, a more horrible Punishment than dying. Yet this was the Fate of our worthy Discoverers: For Ship and Goods were all seiz'd, by Order from the President of the *East-India* Company, who came from *Bantam* to *Jacatra*, while they were there. Their Complaints signified nothing, and 'twas in vain to alledge the Injustice or Dishonesty of the Fact; but they were told, if they found themselves griev'd, they might go to *Holland* and seek their Satisfaction there.

The base Usage of the worthy Discoverers, by their own Countrymen.

'Twas observable here, that the Discoverers were a Day behind the other *Dutch*, in their Reckoning of the Days of the Weeks, so that when the latter counted *Tuesday* the Second of *November*, the former reckon'd *Monday* the first of *November*. And the Reason was, because the Discoverers sailing Westward from their own Country, and consequently following the Sun while they surrounded the Globe, they had one Night, or Sun-setting, the less, for that Reason: As contrarily those that shou'd sail Eastward, shou'd thereby gain a Day more: The Space of Time being the same on both sides, but the Computation of Day and Night different, on the score of the one's going against, and the other with the Sun.

Having now lost their Ship, they dispos'd of themselves divers ways; some entring into the Service of the *East-India* Company; and the rest preparing for a Return to *Holland*, with two Ships that were going thither, *viz.* the *Amsterdam*, and the *Zeland*, under the Command of Admiral *Van Spilbergen*.

They set Sail from *Bantam* the Fourteenth of *December*; and the Thirty first their principal Merchant, *Jacob le Maire*, died.

January the first they lost sight of the *Zeland*.

The Twenty fourth they Anchor'd under the Island *Mauricius*, and refresh'd there for six Days. *A. D.* 1617.

March the Sixth they pass'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, as they guess'd, but saw it not.

The Thirty first they were under the Island of St. *Helena*, and there found the *Zeland* at their Arrival.

The Sixth of *April*, having supplied their Ships with fresh Water, they set sail together.

The Twenty fourth, they pass'd the Equinoctial the third time.

And the Twenty eighth saw the North Star, which they had not seen in twenty Months before.

July the first, the *Amsterdam* came into *Zeland*, whither the Ship of that Name had come the Day before.

And thus they perform'd their Voyage in two Years, and eighteen Days; having made a Noble Discovery, and lost their Ship and Goods for their Pains.

Navigations, and Voyages, OF ENGLISH-MEN, ALONG THE *Coasts of Africa*, to the *Cape of Good Hope*; And from Thence to The RED SEA, the ABASSINE, ARABIAN, PERSIAN, INDIAN Shores, Continents, and Islands.

The Second Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the first English *Voyages to the* East-Indies, *before the Establishment of the* East-Indian *Society. Of* Sighelmus, Mandevile, Stephens, Fitz, *and other* English-mens Indian *Voyages and Journeys.*

WE have seen the Ships of the most Celebrated Nations of *Europe*, piercing into the remotest Seas, and traversing the unknown Parts of the Globe. We have followed the *Spanish*, *English*, and *Dutch* Circum-Navigators, through all the Parts and Steps of their several Voyages, and at last seen them put safely into their own Ports.

The Brave *Maglianes*, the Renowned *Drake* and *Candish*, *Van Noort*, *Spilbergen*, and *Schouten*, have drawn the Lines of a Complete Navigation before us, and mark'd out our way through the Northern and Southern Hemispheres.

But leaving them with those several Characters of Glory, which their Discoveries have deservedly fix'd upon them; we are now to enquire into the Performances of others: Which tho' they don't reach the Fame of those first Discoveries, have yet been of as considerable Advantage to their respective Countries, as the others to the World in general. Those that have open'd the rich Mines of *Guinea*, that have brought the Spices of the *Indies*, and the Jewels too, with the costly Drugs of the Happy *Arabia*, to their own Country; have made themselves worthy to be taken Notice of, tho' they have not found out any new Lands, nor survey'd the mighty Globe from one Pole to the other. And what other Nations have attempted of this kind (and how their Diligence has been rewarded) their own Histories must testifie to their Praise; but we have now the Performances of the *English* Nation, peculiarly lying before us; which how profitable and successful they have been, the following Book will in some measure discover.

'Tis true, that since the Establishment of the *East-Indian* Company, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the *Eastern* World has been more curiously search'd, and the Advantage of a Correspondence with it more effectually proved by Experience: But that Society did not make the first *English* Travellers, nor introduce our first Converse with Foreign Parts.

Sighelmus (*a*) Bishop of *Shireburn*, in King *Alfred*'s time, was sent by that devout Prince, into the *East-Indies*, to visit the Sepulchre of St. *Thomas*, by whose means the *English* Nation had an early View of the Riches of those Countries, in the Spices and Jewels which the Father brought back with him. *Sighelmus's Travels to India. A. D. 883.* (*a*) *Wil. Malm. de Gestis Reg. Angl.*

And after that, another (*b*) of our Nation, travelled almost over all the *Eastern* World, bearing the *Tartars* Company, in their many famous Expeditions. There's no need of mentioning Sir *John Mandevil*, and his many Years Travels through the *East*, since they are extant, written by himself, and the famous Geographer *Ortelius*. (*b*) *Matth. Par. A. D. 1243.* *Mandevil.*

And in those times, while the Holy War was maintain'd against the *Saracens* and *Turks* (in which we know the *English* had a leading part), there's no doubt but several of them being drawn thither, did visit other parts of the *East* besides. But even in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, before the forming of that Society, there were several *Englishmen* that perform'd very considerable Voyages.

First we have that of *Thomas Stevens*, from *Lisbon* to *Goa*, by the Cape of *Good Hope*: Written by himself at *Goa*, and dated *Nov.* 10. 1579. *Stevens.*

Then the Voyage of (*c*) *Ralph Fitz*, through *Syria* and *Babylonia*, to *Ormus*; and so to several other parts of the *East*. This was begun *A. D.* 1583. and continued to 1591. *Fitz.*

Also the Voyage of *George Raymond*, and *James Lancaster*, to divers parts of the *East-Indies*, with Three Ships, the *Penelope*, the *Merchant Royal*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*: Of which the second was sent back from *Soldanha*, near the Cape of *Good Hope*. And the other two were afterwards parted by a Storm, near Cape *Corientes*: So that the *Bonaventure* alone finish'd the Voyage. *A. D.* 1591. *George Raymond.* *James Lancaster.*

In the next place we may reckon those *English-men* that accompanied the *Dutch*, in several of their Circum-Navigations; as *Timothy Shotten*, *Thomas Spring*, *John Caldwel*, with several others. And 'tis observable, that the *English* by frequent Visits, had made themselves so well known, and had procur'd so much Esteem in those *Eastern* *English-men in Dutch Voyages.*

ASIA
Nova Zembla
Artick Circle
Samoiede
Siberia
Moscovy
Tartaria
The Desarts of
Desart of Xamo
Europe
Little Tartary
Pontus Euxinus
Black Sea
The Caspian Sea
The Mediterranian Sea
Part of Africa
Arabia
The Red Sea
Persia
Mogul
India
The Ganges
The Bay
China
Iapon
Formosa I.
Luconia I.
Philipina or Tandaya I.
Borneo
Iava I.
Celebes
New Guinea
Terra dos Papous
Oceanus Oriental
Indin Sea
New Holland
Maldive Isles
Nubia
Mecca
Medina
Cairo
Alexandria
Constantinople
Rhodes
Cyprus
Astracan
Tobol
Samarcand
Tibet
Pekin
Nanking
Canton
Macao
Malacca
Cochin
Goa
Zanzibar
Mombaze
Melinda
Quiloa
Strait of Sunda
Strait of Malacca
Pemba
The Land of Jeso
Amoer R.
L. Baycola
Lop
Cabul
Kachemire
Delly
Agra
Surat
Bengala
Pegu
Siam
Cambodia
Tonquin
Ava
Ceylon
Sumatra
Mindanao
Timor I.
Banda
Amboina
Gilolo I.

ſtern Parts; that the *Dutch*, in their firſt coming thither, thought fit to aſſume the Name of *Engliſh-men*: And ſo began to Trade upon the Stock of the *Engliſh* Fame and Reputation.

Beſides, we have *John Newberry*, another *Engliſh-man*, that beſides his Voyage with *Fitz* to *Goa*, had before that travell'd to *Ormus*; and then by Land through *Perſia*,
A. D. 1580. *Media*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Natolia*, to *Conſtantinople*; and thence by the Banks of the *Euxine* croſs the *Danube*, and ſo through *Walachia*, *Polonia*, *Pruſſia*, and *Denmark*, into *England*.

Next to theſe, we are to look upon ſome others of a more Modern Date ſtill; which, tho' they follow'd in the ſame Generous Attempts, yet wanted (ſome of them at leaſt) the Succeſs and Good Fortune of thoſe that went before them.

CHAP. II.

The Unhappy Voyage of Mr. Benj. Wood, *into the* Eaſt-Indies.

A. D. 1596. A Fleet of three Ships, equipp'd principally at the Charges of Sir *Robert Dudly*, was put under the Command of Mr. *Benjamin Wood*. The Ships were the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp*, and the *Benjamin*: And the Merchants employ'd in this Voyage, were Mr. *Richard Allot*, and Mr. *Thomas Bromfield*, of the City of *London*. Theſe Perſons intending to pierce into the remoteſt Parts of the *Eaſt*, and ſo viſit *China* before they came home, obtain'd Queen *Elizabeth*'s gracious Letters to the Great King of that Country, on their behalf. The Letter began in this manner: *Elizabetha Dei*, &c.

Letter writ to the King of *China*, by Q. *Elizabeth*. ——But yet Her Majeſty's Recommendations cou'd not protect them from Dangers and Diſaſters abroad, nor make the Winds and Waves favourable to them; ſince not only the whole Fleet was miſerably loſt, but the particular Relation of thoſe Tragical Adventures miſcarried too. But yet ſome Light into this Buſineſs was afforded, by a Letter happily intercepted in its paſſage from the *Weſt-Indies*, written by *Licentiate Alcaſar de Villa Senor*, Auditor of the Royal Court of St. *Domingo*, Judge of Commiſſion in *Puerto Rico*, and Captain-General of *New Andaluſia*.

This Letter was directed to the King, and the Royal Council of the *Indies*; an Account of which, as much as relates to the preſent Buſineſs, is here ſubjoyn'd: Tho' the thing is ſo imperfect, and the main Buſineſs of the *Engliſh* Fleet ſo obſcurely touch'd, that 'tis not eaſie to pick any thing ſatisfactory out of it. In ſhort, the Sum of the Story this *Spaniard* tells his Maſter, is this:

Account of a miſs Letter about the Engliſh Ships. *That the three* Engliſh *Ships before-mention'd, met with three* Portugueze, (then the King of *Spain*'s Subjects) *one of which Veſſels came from* Goa; *and had, amongſt other Rarities, a very fair Jewel, particularly deſign'd for that Prince, together with a vaſt deal of Money, and very valuable Goods.* All this Prey fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*: The *Spaniards* ſay, *They robb'd the Ships*; and calls them *Thieves* for't; But he might have been more Civil in his Expreſſions: For *England* and *Spain* were then at War; and the Robbery was no more, than what all Nations in the World do allow and practice at ſuch times as that. After this, the *Engliſh* Fleet was ſo peſter'd with Sickneſs, that (as he relates) they all died to four; which ſmall number of Survivors, put themſelves, with all their valuable Plunder, into a Boat, and ſo came to the Iſle of *Utias*, three Leagues from *Porto Rico*, from whence the Letter was dated.

But what became of the three Ships, or how theſe Men bound for the *Eaſt-Indies*, came to wander to that Iſland in the *Weſt-Indies*, is left wholly in the dark; the beſt way is to make a Miracle on't, and ſay, That they were brought in there to be puniſh'd for the Sin of Robbing the Catholick Ships.

When they were come to *Utias*, they brought all their Goods aſhoar; but liv'd, it ſeems, in very ill Circumſtances there, and hardly knew how, or which way to diſpoſe of themſelves.

Going from thence to *Porto Rico*, for a Supply of Water, they left one of the Company behind them at that place; whether by chance, or out of Deſign, is uncertain; but however, he took it ſo ill, that his Fellows had abandon'd him, that he diſcover'd the whole Buſineſs to a certain Gang of *Spaniards*; and told them where they might find the three *Engliſh-men*, and all the King's Treaſure, upon the Iſle of *Utias*.

Theſe Loyal *Spaniards* reſolv'd not to loſe this opportunity of cheating their King, went directly thither, and having with falſe Pretences of Friendſhip, trepann'd the *Engliſh-men* into a Parley with them, they perſwaded them to reſign themſelves, with all their Booty, into their hands, which they took poſſeſſion of; and ſo dividing the Money amongſt them, they left the Jewels, the Gold, and the Plate, in a ſure Repoſitory under ground. But yet taking care to leave out ſome little matter of Silver Bars, and other Goods, to give a colour to their own Story; they firſt of all ſet upon the three *Engliſh*, contrary to their Promiſe given, murder'd two of them; but the third happily ſcap'd their hands: And to make all the ſurer, poyſon'd the fourth, that had given them the firſt Information, when they came back to *Porto Rico*.

Being come thither, they gave the Governour an Account of their Adventure at *Utias*; that is, as much of it as was for their purpoſe to diſcover. They ſwore they had found no more Treaſure than what they then came to tell of: And that they were forc'd to kill three *Engliſh-men* in fight, before they cou'd come to be Maſters of that.

They laid their Plot as deep, and manag'd it as cunningly as was poſſible: It wanted no help of Lying and Perjury; no Aſſiſtance from Subornation, Cheat, and Forgery, but what it had in abundance; never any Plot had a better Title to the Devil's Protection, for the bigneſs of it, than this; becauſe he never had more Concern in any. But all wou'd not do; and the ſurviving *Engliſh-man* was the means of their Ruine. He made a ſhift to ſwim a-ſtride a Timber-log, from *Utias* to *Porto Rico*; and there diſcover'd at large the Vertues of thoſe good Catholicks, who had murder'd his Companions, robb'd their King, put a trick upon the Government, forſwore themſelves ſo luſtily as they had done; and after all, had Braſs enough to ſtare the Evidence in the Face, and deny all. At leaſt they denied the moſt material Particulars of the Fact; and as they began with Lying and Perjury, ſo they went through-ſtitch with their Buſineſs, Lying and Swearing on to the end of the Chapter.

The Governour laid them in Irons, till all the Proofs that cou'd be pick'd up, were brought in againſt them; and ſome of them not thinking fit to lie there in Priſon till that time came, broke Jail, and left the Governour, to look his Priſoners where he cou'd: But whether the Villains fell into the Hands of Juſtice, and were hang'd afterwards or no, is not worth ones while to enquire. However, this paſſage is ſufficient to aſſure us, that the Queen's Letter to the King of *China* did miſcarry; and this firſt Fleet ſet out for the *Eaſt-Indies*, did not reach their deſired Port.

This Letter was dated from Porto Rico,
October 1. *A. D.* 1601.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Travels of Mr. John Mildenhall *into the* Indies, Persia, *and the* Mogul's *Country. Written by himself, in Two Letters; the valuable Remarks of which are here inserted.*

Begun in *May*, *A. D.* 1600.

AFter the first of these Letters, the Reader cannot be long entertain'd here, since the Writer has not furnish'd Materials for it. He only gives us in a very few Lines, a Scheme of his Journey from *Constantinople*, to *Candahor*. And since he either neglected making due Observations by the way, or at least met with nothing that he thought worth his Observation, the Reader must be contented; neither is there any Course to find out the Cause of this defect, but by taking a Journey after him, and going his Road between *Constantinople* and *Candahor*, to see whether it affords any thing that deserves Notice or no. He only gives us an

Lake of *Van*.

Account of the great Lake of *Van* (a very strong City in *Armenia*), which he says he himself has curiously survey'd, and rowed all round about. The Lake is all Salt Water, so deep that 'tis Navigable, and nine Days Journey in its Circumference. Once a Year at the Descent of the Snow-water from the Mountains, one particular end of the Lake swarms with Fish; they regularly observe that Season, and (as it should seem, that place too) and then the Country People come down in great numbers from all the adjoyning places, to follow this Sport of Fishing, which turns to very good Account. These Fish are about the bigness of a Pilchard; and being salted and dried, are kept all the Year round for a constant Provision. From this Lake of *Van*, in *Armenia*, Mr. *Mildenhal* is so suddenly slipp'd away to *Candahar* in *India*, doing no more than just telling the Miles upon the Road, that it appears to no purpose to follow him any further, but rather to find him out in some other place, where he may have something more material to tell us.

Contents of the Second Letter. Dated from Casbin, *in* Persia, *Octob.* 3. *A. D.* 1606.

MR. *Mildenhall*, when he writ this Letter, was (as he seems to intimate) upon his Return for *England*; he had been at the Court of the Great *Mogul*, and was in his way homewards as far as *Casbin* in *Persia*; when he gave the World this Account of his Proceedings. The Letter is the more valuable, because we have here the Relation of a very early Visit made to the Great *Mogul*, and the Original, as it were, of our Correspondence with that Country.

A. D. 1603.

He tells us, That being arriv'd at *Labor*, he sent a Dispatch to the Court at *Agra*, to give Notice of his being there; as also, to desire leave to come and treat with that Prince, about the Business that brought him into *India*.

Mr. *Mildenhall* goes to *Agra*.

His Letters were quickly answer'd, and Orders sent to the Governour of *Labor*, to provide him with a good Guard, and all other Necessaries, for his Journey to *Agra*. Within two or three Days after his coming thither, he had Audience of the Great *Mogul*: But this was no more than the making his first Compliement, and delivering * a Present; a very necessary thing, in order to the successful Management of Business in those *Eastern* Courts. All that he pretends to, is the *Mogul*'s kind Acceptance of his Present, and the good Humour he express'd upon that occasion.

* The Present consisted of a parcel of fine Horses, and some Jewels.

But he was quickly sent for, to give an Account of his Business and Design in coming thither, to the King and his Council: Which having done in all the several Particulars of it, relating to Trade and Commerce; according to his Orders, he insisted upon the Grand Point between the *Portugueze* and us. He urged, That Her Majesty of *England* having then Wars with the *Spanish* and *Portugueze*, desired leave for her Subjects to treat them as Enemies in his Ports, as well as other where; that they might seize their Ships, and do all other things in pursuance of a just War, without giving him any Offence.

All this was heard, and committed to writing, and an Answer promis'd in a short time. But the Great *Mogul*, instead of consulting with his Council, fell to asking the Jesuite's Advice, about an Answer to Mr. *Mildenhall*'s Proposals. This was undoing the Business to all intents and purposes; and it had been as good for the *English* to have had the King of *Spain* himself consulted in the Case.

The Jesuits Malice and Calumnies.

The Jesuits, without scruple, told him, That the *English* were a People of a very bad Character, in the Western World; that wish'd no Good to any Princes, whose Friendship and Correspondence they courted: But in all Attempts of that Nature, studied only their own Interest and Advantage; which they wou'd not stick to pursue by any Methods, howsoever prejudicial to the Countries where they came. Besides, that this *English-man* now crept into his Court, was but a Spy upon him, sent thither by his designing Country-men, to wheedle and insinuate himself into His Majesty's Favour, by that means to open some Door for them to enter into the Country by; which if they once did, he wou'd be put to a great deal of trouble before he wou'd be able to get rid of them again.

These Stories did the Business effectually; and the Jesuites telling them with an Air of Seriousness, and a seeming Concern, that they were forc'd to make such ill Reports of a Christian Nation; it turn'd the *Mogul* quite out of the Road of kind Thoughts and Designs towards them, and produced this flat Resolve, *The English Demands shall not be granted*. Yet all was carried very fair to Mr. *Mildenhall*; and tho' Matters were thus positively concluded against him, he had no Notice of it, but by the private Hints of his Friends at Court.

The *Mogul* sour'd by the Jesuits.

Sometime after this, the Case being call'd over again (and the Jesuites, 'tis probable, not in the way to countermine those favourable proceedings), the King order'd some Articles to be drawn up, and sent to Mr. *Mildenhall*; which whatsoever Points of Privilege they contain'd (for he does not distinctly tell us) yet offered nothing as to the Main Concern about the *Portugueze*.

This Grand Omission made him another Walk to Court, to demand the inserting of those other Articles too; the Subject Matter of which was equally a part of his Commission with those relating to Trade.

In Answer to this, he had good Words, and fair Promises: But the Council was to be consulted again, before the Matter cou'd be absolutely determined. In short, the Council was so tedious and slow in coming to a Resolve, that a vast deal of precious time was consum'd in attending them: The Business was continually adjourn'd, and put off from one Season to another; and so 'twas like to run on without ever coming to an issue. Yet in this Interval did the *Mogul* send once or twice for Mr. *Mildenhall*, and in a friendly manner, chide him, for not coming oftner to Court; telling him at the same time, that his Business should at last be done to his Content.

Grants for, but not all.

The Favours that he had receiv'd all this time from this Prince, were but the common Present of Apparel, and about 500 *l.* sent him in dry Money; which Sum wou'd go but a little way, in carrying a Man through the Expences of such an Employment. Well, he had now once more a Prospect of Success; but still it prov'd but a Prospect: He liv'd six Months longer in the Faith of this Promise; but then his Vertue was Jaded, and wou'd carry him no further. Besides, the Jesuites had so circumvented him on every hand with their Policies, that he was not able to make one step towards his Deliverance. They had fill'd the Hands of the Court-Officers with *Portugal*-Money, to that degree, that there was no room for *English* Coin, when he came to try that Method; but the worst of all was, they brib'd his Interpreter, so charmingly too, that when the Business requir'd his Assistance, the Rogue fell out with him, and run away. Here was a Man left in a sweet Case! His Business urgent upon him, his Adversaries caballing and prating about his Ears, and himself ignorant of the Language he was to answer them in. This was almost as bad as cutting his Tongue out, or sewing

The Jesuits out-bribe him.

up

up his Mouth; nay, 'tis the same thing in this Case: For a Man without an Interpreter, can do no more than he that's gagg'd, or has lost his Tongue.

Mr. *Mildenhall* had now but one way left to retrieve himself, and his declining Affair; and that was, to study the *Persian* Tongue himself, under the Direction of some good Master, which he did very hard; and in six Months got so much Skill in it, as to be able to speak it with a good measure of fluency. Now he stood in need of no other assistance, and the Jesuites cou'd not prevent his speaking, without they robb'd him of this Interpreter that he carried always about with him.

Thus furnish'd with *Persian* therefore, and able to speak his own Mind, away he went to Court, and in as gentle Terms as he durst, reproach'd the Great *Mogul* with his unkind Credulity, in believing the slanderous Reports of the Jesuites; desiring to stay no longer in the Country, than till he had given back the Lye to the Teeth of those Men, in the Presence of His Majesty, and all the Court.

A Day of Hearing fix'd.

So a Day of Audience was appointed; and there was a vast Assembly of Nobles, to hear this Controversie managed between the *English-man* and the Jesuites. In short, Mr. *Mildenhall* made it appear, That the Jesuites had abus'd the *English* Nation, in the Character they had given of it; in that they were not so base and despicable as they had represented them; nor so injurious to those Princes and Countries where they were settled: And all this, by shewing the Correspondencies the *English* kept abroad, and what considerable Princes both in *Europe* and *Asia*, were fond of their Friendship, and ready to Court it. He added farther, That he wou'd easily prove the Jesuites, (for all their Flatteries) to be no Friends to His Majesty, as indeed to no other Princes, being Men of such Principles, as no Government cou'd be easie with, that knew them perfectly well. And because they seem'd to be so mighty careful of His Majesty's Profit, he ask'd them publickly, What they had done, or procur'd that way? And how many Presents had been made to the King, by them, or their Friends, in all the twelve Year that they had followed the Court? The Fathers cou'd make no Answer to this unhappy pinching Question: But however the young Prince step'd out, and answer'd for them at this dead lift, telling all the Company; It was most true, they had been a very barren Soil to His Majesty, and had never yielded him in all this eleven or twelve Year, the least Fruit, upon any Account whatsoever. The Jesuites knew 'twas all Matter of Fact, and so held their Tongues, without ever offering to use them in their own defence; but all the Assembly was diverted with the sport on't, and the King had now some profit by them in his Mirth.

Obtains his end at last in the King's Complete Grant.

To conclude, the King after some farther Conference, was so well pleas'd and satisfied, that he gave peremptory Orders for the immediate Dispatch of Mr. *Mildenhall*'s Affair, commanding the several Articles of Privileges he insisted upon, to be drawn up with all the Particularity and Exactness that cou'd be, and deliver'd to him without farther delay.

Having receiv'd these Writings (as he did in a few Weeks after), and now compleated his Victory over the Jesuites, he went away for *Persia*, and there writ his Successes.

CHAP. IV.

The Voyage of Captain John Davis, *to the* East-Indies: *Pilot in a* Dutch *Ship. Written by Himself.*

A.D. 1598. *March* the Fifteenth, we set out of *Flushing* with two Ships, the *Lion*, and the *Lioness*; the former of 400 Tun, and 123 Persons aboard her, the latter of 250 Tun, and about 100 Persons. The Owners and Adventurers were *Mushrom*, *Clark*, and *Monef*, of *Middleburgh*: And our chief Commander was *Cornelius Houteman*, who had a Commission from Grave *Maurice*.

The Twenty second we anchor'd in *Torbay*, with very rough Winds.

April the Seventh we set sail; and the Twentieth we had sight of *Porto Santo*.

A. D. 1599. The Twenty third we fell in with Island *Palma*; and the last we came to the Isles of Cape *Verd*.

May the First, we anchor'd at St. *Nicholas*, one of those Islands, in 16 Degr. 16 Min. N. L. We water'd here the Seventh; and setting sail the Ninth, we fell in with St. *Jago*.

June the Ninth, we fell in with the Coast of *Brasil*, in 7 Degr. South Lat. And not being able for the unsteady Winds, and bad Weather, to compass the doubling of Cape St. *Augustine*, we shap'd our Course for the little Island *Fernando Loranha* (*a*), in 4 Degr. South Lat.

(*a*) Isle Fernando Loranha

The Fifteenth we anchor'd upon the North-side of it, in 18 Fathom.

This Island is very fruitful, and exceedingly well served with all Conveniences for Life: Here is good Water, Beefs, Goats, Hogs, Hens, Melons, *Guiney*-Corn, plenty of Sea-Fowl and Fish. There's no scarcity of any thing but Inhabitants, who are wanting to taste the Blessings and Pleasures of the place, and to sit down at the well-furnish'd Table, which Nature has here spread. There were but twelve Negroes, eight Men, and four Women, to be found here; and these the *Portuguese* left to Till the Ground, and to do necessary Country Business.

(*b*) Cape St. *Augustine*. *Abrolhos* Sands.

August the Twenty sixth, we left this Island; and the last of the Month we doubled Cape St. *Augustine* (*b*).

September the First, we past our most apprehended Danger, the Sands *Abrolhos*: These lie off from the Coast of *Brasile*, a good way into the Sea, and are in *21 Degr. South Lat.

*Between 18 & 20 Degr. by some Maps.

(*c*) *Soldania* Bay.

November the Eleventh, we anchor'd in the Bay (*c*) of *Soldania*, in 34 Degr. South Lat. and 10 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*; and here we found three good Rivers. We traded with the Natives at very cheap and easie Rates, having fat Sheep and Oxen for old Nails and pieces of Iron, a Penny-worth of which Metal, would purchase the bravest Ox in the Country. These Animals have some Peculiarities in their make in this Country: The Oxen have a great Lump of Flesh, (like the Bunch upon a Camel's Back) between the Shoulders; and the Sheep have no Wool, but long shaggy Hair, and mighty Tails (all entire Fat) which weigh twelve or fourteen Pounds. The Natives are of a dark Olive Complexion, their Hair black and curl'd, like the Negroes of *Angola*, their Faces painted with several Colours, and all naked, except a short Cloke of Skins, and Sandals upon their Feet.

They are a strong active People, and very swift Runners. Their way of speaking is rude and strange, and hardly Human: You hear nothing but a parcel of ungrateful inarticulate Sounds; and if one can compare it to any thing, it is like the Clocking of a Brooding Hen. Such as they are, they are Subjects to the Great King of *Monomotapa*; and seem to be as much unfurnish'd of the Helps of Art for Soldiers, as they are ill made by Nature for Orators, having no Weapons at all but Wooden Darts, which notwithstanding they can manage to some mischievous purposes.

Some Accounts of the People of the Bay.

Tho' they are so very rude and brutish a People as they are, yet they are subtle enough to understand an Affront, and to lay a Plot to Revenge it, and conceal their Revenge too in a very deceitful manner, till they have a fit time to execute it.

One of the *Dutch* having some way disgusted them, they absented themselves from us for three Days, and in the mean time gave the Alarm to the Country, by great Fires made upon the Mountains. The Plot being ripe for Execution, down they came in vast Multitudes from the Hills; and that we might not suspect any ill Design, they brought huge Troops of Cattel along with them. Matters appearing thus with a Face of Trade, and not of War, and we busie in viewing our Bargains of Cattel; they made a sudden and furious Assault upon us, and threw in their Hand-darts so thick, that thirteen of our Company was lost in a trice, and the rest began to run away in great disorder, the Barbarians pursuing them at the Heels. In this Hurry, our Captain, (who did not think fit to venture himself in the Skirmish) sent us a parcel of Weapons from the Ships; Swords, Targets, Pikes, and Muskets: But not being able to send Courage along with them too, these Arms in the Hands of Cowards did

Their Revenge.

little good, and the Burden of the Action lay moſt upon one *Engliſh-man* more, and my ſelf. But at laſt the Rabble retired, and we went all aboard that Night; only our Maſtiff-Dog would not go along with us any more; as if the Generous Creature deſpis'd us, and was aſham'd of ſuch Cowardly Company.

The Country hereabouts has a good Soil, and a pleaſant Air; it abounds with uſeful Plants, as Mint, Calamint, Plantane, Ribwort, Trefoil, Scabious, *&c.*

The Twenty ſeventh, we ſet Sail, and the laſt of this Month we doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*.

(d) Cape *das Aguiles*, where the Compaſs Varies not.

December the Sixth, we doubled the Cape *das Aguilos* (*d*), which is the moſt Southern Promontory of *Africk*. It lies in 35 Degr. South Lat. and here the Compaſs has no Variation.

Madagaſcar.

January the Sixth, we fell in with the Iſle *Madagaſcar*, ſhort of Cape *Romano*: We ſpent all the reſt of this Month in attempts to double that Cape; but not being able to do it, we bore room with the Bay St *Auguſtine* (*e*), on the South Weſt part of *Madagaſcar*, in 23 Degr. 50 Min.

(e) Bay St. *Auguſtine.*

February the Third, we anchor'd in the Bay, and upon our landing all the multitude of People that ſtood upon the Shore, preſently diſpers'd and fled. The occaſion of which avoiding of us, was, that our Captain in a former Voyage, had abuſed the People there, and put one of the Natives to Death in a very barbarous manner. Yet after ſeven Days waiting, and ſome means uſed to temper their Choler, ſo juſtly ſtirr'd up and enflam'd by that Outrage, they came ſome of them to us, with ſome Milk, and one Cow (which we bought), and then took their final leave of us.

The People of St. *Auguſt.* Bay fly, upon the Account of former Injuries.

Theſe People have ſtrong and well-made Bodies; their Skin is Cole-black, their Speech ſweet and pleaſing; they uſe no Clothes at all, nor any Weapons for defence; and all that they have for the offenſive part, are Half-pikes headed with Iron.

Tamarind Trees.

The Country is ſufficiently fruitful, and produces great ſtore of *Tamarind*-Trees, and a ſort of Beans (that grow upon high Trees) the Pods of which are two Foot long, and proportionably big, and make a very good Food: As

Chameleons.

for Animal Rarities, the Chameleons are the moſt conſiderable; which are no Rarities here, by reaſon of their plenty. Having endured Diſtreſs here by Hunger, (the affronted Natives refuſing to come to us with any Supplies) we ſet Sail from *Hungry-Bay* (as we term'd it, with good Reaſon), ſhaping our Courſe to the North-ſide of the Iſland.

(f) Comoro Iſles.

The Twenty ninth of *March*, we came up with the Iſlands *Comoro* (*f*), which are five in number, *Magotta*, *Auſame*, *Magliaglie*, St. *Chriſtopher's*, and *Spirito Santo*, and lie between twelve and thirteen Degrees, South Lat.

A. D. 1600.

The Thirtieth we anchor'd at *Magotta*, cloſe by a Town, where we met with a very ſociable and friendly People, that were glad of our coming, and brought us Proviſions. Our Captain being invited aſhoar by the King, went with three Drums beating before him, and was met by the King with a fine Retinue, all richly dreſt in long Silk Embroider'd Garments, after the Turkiſh Mode. After many Civilities paſt, His Majeſty diſmiſs'd him with a Letter of Recommendations to the Queen of *Auſiame*.

(g) *Auſiame.*

April the Nineteenth, we anchor'd at *Auſuame* (*g*), before the City *Demos*, the Ruines about which beſpeak it to have been formerly a place of Strength and Grandeur: The ſmall Remains of it were as big as *Plimouth*, and all the Houſes built with Lime and Free-ſtone. Her Majeſty wou'd not honour us with a ſight of her, but yet uſed us with great Friendſhip.

The People are a ſort of Negro's, but ſmooth-hair'd like *Indians*: They are *Mahometans*; and the beſt provided for War of all hereabouts, having Swords and Targets, over and above the common Weapons of the Barbarians. Theſe Iſlands are pleaſant and fruitful, yielding Rice, Oxen, Goats, Coco's, Banana's, Oranges, Limons, and Citrons. All Iron Ware wou'd be a good Commodity here; and Paper alſo, which is a thing the Natives are extreamly fond of.

(h) Iſles *Maſcaranhas.*

The Twenty eighth we ſet Sail, and paſs'd by the Iſlands *Maſcaranhas*, and the Shoals *De Almirante* (*h*).

(i) *Maldive* Iſlands.

May the Twenty third, we fell in with the (*i*) *Maldive* Iſlands; which are ſo low, cloſe by the Water, and ſo cover'd over with Coco's, that nothing but a Face of green Trees appears. Being at Anchor here, we had many *Indian* Boats paſs'd by us, but none wou'd come up to us; which mov'd our Captain to give Orders for the taking one of them.

The Twenty fourth our Ship-boats brought in one of them a Priſoner: She was co ered all over with Mats, like a cloſe Barge, and had in her two Perſons of conſiderable Quality, as appear'd by all the Ornaments of their Dreſs, but much more by thoſe of their Noble Deportment. Theſe Iſlands are reported to be no leſs than Eleven thouſand in number. Their plenty of Coco's brings them a good Trade, ſince they make Bread, Wine, and Oyl, Ropes, Sails, and Cables, of the ſeveral parts of that Fruit.

The Twenty ſeventh we ſet Sail, and happily ſtruck into the true Channel called *Maldivia*, which lies in 4 Degrees, 15 Min. North Lat. and where the Compaſs has 17 Degrees of W. Variation. There are vaſt numbers of Ships from all parts, that go through this Channel, which is the only ſafe Sailing, it being generally fatal for a Ship to miſs it.

June the Third, we fell in with the Coaſt of *India*, in 8 Degr. 40 Min. North Lat. near about *Cochin*; and coaſting this Shoar, we ſhap'd our Courſe for Cape *Comorin*, and from thence for *Sumatra*.

Anchor at *Achen* Bay.

The Thirteenth, we ſaw the Coaſt of *Sumatra*: And the Twenty firſt we anchor'd in the Bay of *Achen*. Here we found ſome Barks of *Arabia*, and *Pegu*, that came for Pepper; and three or four *Portugueze* from *Malacca*, that came (as we found afterwards) to fruſtrate our Intentions of Trade. Our Captain (having made the King a ſmall Preſent) was ſent for to Court, and a Nobleman left as a Hoſtage to ſecure his ſafe return. His Majeſty, beſides a very Civil Entertainment, made him the Promiſe of a free Trade, and gave him, as a Mark of his particular Favour, the Cryſe of Honour. This is a ſort of Weapon like a Dagger; it has no Croſs nor Hilt, but the Haft and Handle are of a Metal valued more than Gold, and richly ſet with Rubies: 'Tis Death for any Man to wear it, but as the King beſtows it; and he that has this Favour, has an unlimited Power to command, or do almoſt what he pleaſes.

The *Sumatran* Cryſe, a Mark of Honour and Power.

At his return he brought a Boat-load of Pepper along with him, and told us very ſtrange things of his own good Fortune, and kind Reception at Court; but at the ſame time made it appear, that he had done no good Offices for us *Engliſh-men* there, being hardly able to forbear abuſing our Nation to our own Face, and therefore to be ſure did not ſpare it behind our backs. Our Merchants went aſhore with their Wares, having a Houſe prepar'd by the King's appointment.

Not long after, the Captain being at Court again, the King diſcover'd the treacherous Deſign of the *Portugueze* to him; but gave him a ſure Promiſe to ſtand his Friend, and never to ſuffer any thing to be done by them, or any others, to his prejudice. He enquired whether he was an *Engliſh-man* or no; and when he told him, he was of *Flanders*; he replied, 'twas a Country he had never heard of; but the Fame of *England* had reach'd thoſe Parts for ſome time before. And when he heard that there were ſome *Engliſh-men* in the Ship, (tho' to the Diſparagement of our Country, 'twas ſaid, that we had our Education in *Flanders*;) yet to the Captain's further mortification he told him, that he muſt needs ſee ſome Men of that Country. As for the Buſineſs of Trade, His Majeſty made this Agreement with us at that time, That we ſhou'd aſſiſt him in his Wars againſt the King of *Jor*; and in conſideration of that Service, ſhou'd have a full Lading of Pepper.

The King of *Achen's* Enquiry after *England* and *Engliſh-men.*

Auguſt the Twentieth, the King expreſs'd ſome Reſentments, that none of the *Engliſh* (eſpecially the Pilot, which was my ſelf) had yet been brought to wait upon him; and reproach'd the Captain, as if he intended to march off, and quit the Service he had covenanted to perform. Upon this I was preſently ſent for aſhore; and the Twenty ſecond waited upon the King, with whom I ſtay'd four or five Hours, in all the Pleaſures that a noble Banquet, and a very free Converſation, with ſo great a Prince, cou'd give. He made the Sabandar dreſs me after the *Sumatran* Mode, with a Roll of white Linen round my Head, and a Saſh of the ſame embroider'd with Gold about my Waſte, then an under Veſt of white, and over that one of red. The greateſt part of his Diſcourſe was about *England*, and our Queen; whom he greatly admired for her Wars with the King of *Spain*; which Prince he imagin'd to be abſolute Monarch of all *Europe*.

Mr. *Davis* Entertainment by the K. of *Achen*

September the Firſt, we had Orders to take in Soldiers and Ordnance, and to prepare for the Battery of the City of *Jor*: And to colour the Deſign that was going on the better, the great Galleys were brought out of the River, and the Sea all about us was cover'd with Praws and Boats, loaded with armed Men. Some of the chief came aboard us, with a good Company of Soldiers, appointed with all ſorts of Weapons; and tho' they pretended only a Carouſe with the good Liquors they had brought, yet we ſuſpecting another ſort of Entertainment, prepar'd accordingly, filling our Tops with Stones, and making faſt all

all our Gratings, and in every respect put our selves into the best posture of defence we cou'd. But these Infidels (who with all this pretext of Friendship, had resolved to cut our Throats, and that with as much ease as was possible) had, in order to effect it, mixed all the Meat and Drink they brought aboard, with a sort of Seed of a very noxious Quality; the least Effects of which are to intoxicate and stupifie a Man, to damp his Vital Heat and Spirits, and turn him into a heavy senceless Lump; but if taken in a large quantity, it so powerfully locks up all the Senses and Spirits, and abates the Vigour of every active part, that there is no recovering Nature (in this Case) from the distress. And we found the fore-mention'd Effects of it, by that time we had eat and drunk a little while; for we quite lost the due management of our selves, and began to stare and gape upon one another like so many Fools. And now they had brought us into the Condition they desired; and expecting we wou'd fight as well as play like Fools, upon a Signal given they set upon us, kill'd the Captain, and several others, and almost possess'd themselves of the whole Ship. My Countryman and I, and one more, defended the Poop, and the rest on the tops pelting them soundly with Stones, by degrees we clear'd the Ship of them, no small number leaving their batter'd Skulls and Brains, and mangled Carcases, as so many Monuments of our bloody Victory. After this, we drave away as fast as we cou'd to our other Ship, in which the same Villany had been acted, and which we found in the hands of our Enemies ready to be carried away, all the principal Men being kill'd: But we recover'd her by the help of our great Guns, which so awed the Galleys, that they dared not attempt to come within Shot, for the securing their new-gotten Prize. Besides the Hundreds of slain *Indians*, that we had the pleasure of seeing float about in the Sea, we kill'd the Sabandar, and one of the King's near Kinsmen, and some others of the principal Managers of the Conspiracy. But the News of this great loss, so inflamed the Tyrannical Prince, that he cut off the Heads of all our Men ashore, eight only excepted, whom he reserved for Slaves. Our loss amounted to Sixty eight Men, including those that were under Confinement, besides our two Pinnaces, and a Boat.

A poysonous Seed.

The Treachery of the *Sumatrans*.

During the time of our stay at *Achen*, we had gotten 140 Tun of Pepper aboard our Ships; but upon the Rupture, all the Money and Merchandize ashore, as well as the Men, were lost; by which means many young Adventurers were quite ruin'd, and I my self did not come off much better.

Products of *Sumatra*.

The Soil of this Island *Sumatra* is very rich and fertile; it produces variety of excellent Fruits, but no sort of Grain but Rice, of which they make their Bread. Here are Mines of Gold and Copper, precious Balms and Gums, Rubies, Sapphires, and Garnets, with many other valuable Commodities: Particularly Pepper grows here in such plenty, that they are able to lade twenty Ships every Year, and might many more, if they were industrious. It grows like Hops, from a planted Root, which by degrees winds it self up about a Pole, till it comes to a great Bushy Tree. The Pepper hangs in Clusters three Inches long, and one about, each Cluster having forty, or more, Corns in it. Besides these Mineral and Vegetable Productions, it affords plenty of serviceable Animals, as Horses, Oxen, Goats, Hogs, Elephants, Buffles; which last they use in the Ploughing their Ground. All these Advantages, together with a very wholsome and temperate Air in most places, the sweet Dews, and fruitful Showers, that never fail to cool and refresh the Ground, do make the place very charming and desirable.

Golden Mines and Jewels.

City of *Achen* describ'd.

Achen, the Capital City of the whole Island, stands in a Wood, and is so entirely cover'd with the Trees, that an House is not to be seen, till one is just upon it. 'Tis a very large rambling place, and the Houses stand almost like the Trees, without any thing of Order or Uniformity: They are rais'd upon Posts eight or nine Foot from the Ground, and have Walls and Coverings of Mats; so that considering the Structure and Situation of the Building, a Gunpowder Plot, effectually executed, would be a very fatal thing in *Achen*. Here's a vast Concourse of People at this City, and the three great Market-places, yield every Day the Prospect of so many Fairs. The Haven that leads to it is very small, being but six Foot at the Bar; and it has one of the worst, and most ill contrived Forts in the World: But there is a very pleasant Road for Ships near it, in which (the Wind still blowing from the Shore) a Ship may ride a Mile off in eighteen Fathom, and close by in six and four Fathom; and here is not only good Riding for Ships, but excellent Materials too for the building of them, the Country all about furnishing Timber, the best that can be for that purpose.

The King of *Achen*, and his Rise to the Throne.

The King was originally no better than a Fisher-man, tho' it seems a fortunate one, having the good luck to catch a Kingdom. His Valour and good Conduct in the Wars, recommended him to the Notice and Esteem of the former King, and by degrees lifted him up to the Honour of marrying his near Kinswoman. And tho' there was an undoubted Heir, the Grand-son of that old King, by his Daughter, married to the King of *Jor*; yet the Fisher-man (then Admiral of *Achen*, and by Marriage something a-kin to the Crown) did by the Murder of the young Prince, and of a good part of the Nobility that oppos'd him, possess himself of the Royal Dignity. He is an absolute Epicure, and does nothing but eat and drink all the Day long; and when he has gorg'd to that degree, that his Belly is ready to break, he falls to chewing Areeca, which makes a considerable evacuation by Spittle, and procures a fresh Appetite.

His whole Life is spent amongst Women, and Women manage all his Concerns. They are his Attendants and Companions, his Counsellors, and chief Ministers of State: Nay, a Woman is his Admiral, and gives Orders at Sea; such a Confidence he has in the Prudence and Faithfulness of that Sex; tho' if the former King had been of that mind, 'tis certain he had never been what he is. Yet for form's sake, and partly necessity too, he has five considerable Ministers of the other Sex, who act in Subordination to the Female Sovereigns, and execute the Laws which they make. And these Laws are so cruel and tyrannical, that no Man can call any thing his own; Life and Goods are at the King's dispose; and he is reckon'd to do no Injury, if he takes away both, or either, when he pleases. He does an Offender a Kindness, a very great Favour, if he kills him to rights; that is, tears him in pieces with his Elephant, or Impale him upon a Stake; otherwise a Man must have his Hands and Feet cut off, and so be banish'd into a desolate Island, there to pine away the remainder of his miserable Life in Famine, and extream Torments.

Manner of approaching the King.

His Palace stands half a Mile from the City, upon the River; 'tis built like the rest, but only higher and statelier, and more nobly furnish'd with Gold, Velvet, and Damask, in the inside. A Man must pass three Courts of Guards, before he comes at him: And if he approaches the Presence, he must come bare-legg'd and bare-footed, and clasp his Hands together above his Head, and so bowing with his Body, and repeating some Words of profound Respect, sit down cross-legg'd, as His Majesty does: For 'tis thus that he and all his Company sits; and 'tis only the Jewels he wears, and not his Posture, that distinguishes him from the rest, since they all sit like a Company of Taylors.

This Prince has a great Strength of Elephants, which are indeed the principal part of his Land-Forces. He has good store of Brass Guns too, as large perhaps as any in the World; but they use them without Carriages, and discharge them upon the Ground.

His Galleys (of which he has a good number) are made like a Wherry, long and open, without Deck, Forecastle, Chase, or any upper Building; the Oars are like Shovels, which they use only with the Hand, not resting them upon the Galley.

The People of *Sumatra*.

The People boast of an Original from *Ishmael* and *Hagar*, and can compute the Genealogies of the Bible; they are *Mahometans* in Religion, and yet pray with Beads as the Papists do. They have several Schools for the Education of their Children, and Spiritual Dignities and Preferments, for the Encouragement of their Studies. All sorts of Trade and Mechanical Arts flourish amongst them, but their topping Business is that of Merchandize, to which they seem entirely devoted.

In their Burials every particular Family has its place to its self, and the Corps is laid with the Head towards *Mecha*, a great Free-stone being set there, and another at the Feet: And the same Custom is observed in the Burial of the Kings, only instead of Free-stone, they have two Masses of Gold of 500 *l.* Weight each. They have an Annual Ceremony of going in Procession to meet the Messias, as they call him, (that is, the Impostor *Mahomet*) at his promised Return: This happen'd at our being there, so that we had the Opportunity of seeing the Management of it.

The King, and all the Nobility, are mounted upon Elephants, richly dress'd with Velvet, Silk, and Cloth of Gold: One spare Elephant is lead amongst the rest, with a Castle of Massy Gold upon his Back; and this is for the Messiah to ride upon. Thus they go on with Banners display'd, with Drums and Trumpets sounding before them to the great Church, where they look very formally in, as if they expected to find the Prophet in the Pulpit. But not finding him there (and no doubt they might have sav'd them

selves the labour of looking) after some Ceremonies used, they mounted again, (the King taking the place intended for the Messiah) and go back as wise as they came, to Drinking and Revelling, with which they conclude the Day.

The Trade, &c. Here's a great Resort of Merchants to this place, from all parts of the *Indies*, *China*, and *Arabia*. The Names of their Coin are Mas, Cashes, Cowpan, Pardaw, Tayell. One Mas is 1600 Cashes, and 400 Cashes make a Cowpan; 4 Mas's make a Pardaw, and 4 Pardaws a Tayell. And compar'd with our Coin, a Mas is 9 *d.* ½. They sell their Pepper by the Bhar (which is equivalent to 360 *l. English* Weight) at the rate of 3 *l.* 4 *s.* and their Pound, which they call a Cett, is 21 of our Ounces. The Weight by which they sell precious Stones, they call Masse, 10 of which make an Ounce of our Weight.

The Division of *Sumatra*. This Island is divided into four Kingdoms, all of which are Tributary to *Achen*: They are *Achen*, *Pider*, *Manancabo*, and *Aru*; and the five principal Cities are *Achen*, *Pider*, *Pacem*, *Daia*, and *Manancabo*.

But after this digression, to return to the Affairs of our Voyage: The same Day that we had that Encounter with the *Achenees*, we set sail for *Pider*, where we came to an Anchor.

September the Second, Eleven Gallies under Conduct of the *Portugueze*, attack'd us, one of which we sunk, and dispers'd the rest. But being distress'd here for want of Water, we went to the Islands *Pulo Botum*, upon the Coast of *Quedia*, in 6 Degr. 50 Min. where we refresh'd.

October the Twelfth, we came into the Bay of *Achen* again, with a design to recover our Men, if possible; but here we found ten Gallies provided to make us keep them Company in their Captivity; which after a short Fight we obliged to retire.

Tanassarin. The Eighteenth we directed our Course to *Tanassarin*, a City of very great Trade. And the Twenty fifth we anchor'd amongst the Islands in the Bay, in 11 Degr. 20 Min. North Lat. But the bad Winds not suffering us to recover the City, which stands twenty Leagues within the Bay (and besides, wanting Provisions) we sail'd away for the Islands *Nicobar*, where we anchor'd *November* the Twelfth. These Islands lie in 8 Degr. North Lat. they are very low Ground, but fruitful enough, and have a very convenient Road for Ships. The People are base and slothful, living only upon Fruit and Fish, and not in the least taking Care of the Culture of their Ground: They brought us Oranges, Limons, and some Ambergreece, which we purchas'd for a little Linen Cloth. *Isles Nicobar.*

The Sixteenth, we shap'd our Course for the Island *Zeilon*: And *Decem.* 6. took a Ship from the Coast of *Cormandel*, bound for *Achen*, with Rice, which admirably well supplied our Necessities at that time. She gave us Intelligence besides, of the great Spice-Trade at *Matecalon*, in *Zeilon*, of the richness of the whole Island in general, and particularly the plenty of Pearl, and Jewels there. Upon this, and several other Reports of the advantage we might make, by visiting that place, we beat about upon the Coast sixteen Days to recover it; but being frustrated in our Design, we discharged our Prize, and directed our Course homewards. *Matecalon*, *Matecalon*, and *Trinqu.* namall, places of Trade in *Zeilon.*

March the Tenth *, we fell in with the Cape of *Good Hope*. And the Twenty second we doubled it. *A. D.* 1600.

April the Thirteenth we anchor'd at St. *Helena*, where we had good Water, Figs, and Fish, in great plenty.

The Twenty third, we had sight of *Ascension*, where there's neither Wood nor Water, nor any green thing for the Support of Life; but 'tis all one great barren Rock of five Leagues breadth.

May the Sixth, we arrived at the Island *Fernando Lozenio*, where we water'd and refresh'd.

The Thirteenth we set Sail, shaping our Course for *England*. And *July* the Twenty third, we put into the Port of *Middleburgh*; which was doubly Welcome to us, after so narrow an escape from the many Dangers and Treacheries we had met with abroad.

CHAP. V.

An Account of a Voyage to the Isle of Japan, *through the* Magellanick *Streights; by Mr.* William Adams. *Taken out of his Two Letters written upon that Subject.*

THis *English-man* being the first, that we know of, that visited the Great Island of *Japan*, we are obliged to give his Story a hearing, and let him come in amongst the rest of the Celebrated Sea-men of our Country, tho' his Voyage was not of any Publick Consequence, as to Trade and Interest thereby procur'd in those parts.

In this Business he was not the Servant of his own Native Country, but of *Holland*; being an able Pilot, and very skilful in all Points of Marine Knowledge: He was hired by that People to go to Sea with them. His Post was that of Master-Pilot, the management of the whole Fleet, (which consisted of five Sail) being left principally to his Care and Prudence. They set Sail from the *Texel*, *June* the 24th, and made it the 21st of *August*, by that time they reach'd St. *Jago*, one of the Cape *de Verd* Isles; here they stay'd almost a Month, so long that a good part of the Fleet was sick, altogether with the base unhealthy Air of that place; and they found it true too, by Experience, (which before the *Dutch* wou'd not believe) that 'twas a very barren place, as to any manner of good Refreshment. *A. D.* 1598.

Trouble in passing the Line. *September* the Fifteenth, they pass'd the Line, tho' with trouble, because of the contrary Southerly Winds, that then distress'd them; and this was the effect of having loiter'd away too much time before they came to attempt it. They were now carried away to the Coast of *Guinea*, and coming up with Cape *de Lopo Gonsalves*, they landed their sick Company there; but this place denied Relief as well as the former, and the sick Men were forced to carry their several Wants and Distempers aboard with them again.

Dutch take *Annobon.* At the Isle of *Annobon* they met with a little better Entertainment; here were Beeves, Oranges, and other Fruits; but the Plague of an unhealthy Climate, imbitter'd the Comforts of this Refreshment, and the bad Air made them sick, as fast as the good Provisions made them well. The *Dutch* landed a Party of Men, and took the Town; a small thing consisting of eighty Houses, and like to be of as little Profit to the Conquerors, as it was Honour to them. 'Twas towards the middle of *November* before they got away from hence; so hard is it to leave a good Baiting-place, especially when the next is so very uncertain, as 'tis in the case of Sea-men.

Between *Annobon*, and 4 Degr. South Lat. they had the Winds perpetually at S. by E. and S. S. E. but about that Parallel, they came up S. E. & E. S. E. & E. Their Course was now for the *Magellanick* Streights, and they made it five Months Sailing between them and the Isle of *Annobon*. But the Miseries they endured by Hunger in that time, were extreme and in the highest degree doleful, according to Mr. *Adams*'s Relation: For a good while they had, each Man, but a quarter of a Pound of Bread a Day, with a proportionally small quantity of Wine and Water; but it came to that pass at last, that they eat the very Skins that cover'd the Ropes of the Ships; and by this unnatural sort of Diet, brought on strange Disorders and Feebleness of Body upon themselves. Through all these Difficulties they made a shift, at last, to reach the *Magellanick* Streights, coming into the first Narrow of that Passage, *April* the Sixth. But this was but still out of one difficulty into another; 'twas only altering the Scene of their Misfortunes, and coming to be miserable in another place: For the Winter was coming on here apace, the Cold began to be severe and pinching, and the great Snows began too (to make the Circumstance more completely dismal). Many a time wou'd the Wind have serv'd to have carried them through the Streights, but the obstinate General wou'd not embrace the Opportunity, at the Advice of those that perswaded it; and so was the occasion of the miserable Confinement of the Fleet here all the Winter Season. Here was Firing indeed enough for them all, about the Streights, every place abounding with Wood; but there was a worse Necessity amongst them, which this wou'd never The Winds. Come to the *Magellanick* Streights. *A. D.* 1599. Their Miseries there.

never supply, and the Cravings of the Belly were to be satisfied by another sort of Provision. Here they continued conflicting with Hunger, Distempers, and bad Weather, till *September*; so that they stood the Shock of the whole Winter at this place, and endured the Extremities of all the very worst Months of the Year. Abundance of their Men dy'd, being downright starv'd, and the rest were as near it as they cou'd well be: And now the General having had enough of the Winter Pleasures of the *Magellanick* Streights, very politickly concluded 'twas time to go away. His Men were half dead, and the remainder were almost famish'd, the dismal Winter spent and gone, and the chearful Spring coming on with the returning Sun, he thought it high time to put out to Sea again, before the Comfort of the approaching Season overtook them.

So the latter end of *September*, they set Sail out of the Streights, and being got into the South Sea, were wretchedly toss'd and beaten about in that turbulent Ocean. In short, a lusty Storm scatter'd the whole Fleet, and drove them to seek their Fortunes, every one by themselves. They had agreed before, in case of any such Disaster, that they wou'd stay for one another, at some place upon the Coast of *Chili*, in the Latitude of 46 Degr. and if the rest came not in a Month, then those that were there shou'd go on. Hither Mr. *Adams*'s Ship came, according to the Agreement, and stay'd the appointed time. The Natives were civil and friendly to them at first, and barter'd Sheep and Potatoes for little Toys which they gave them; but at last they fell off, remov'd up into the Country, and came no more at them.

Go out into the South Sea, and are separated by a Storm. Come to the Coast of *Chili*.

Their Company not coming, they went away, touching as they pass'd at the Bay of *Baldivia*, and the Isle of *Mocha*; but not coming to Anchor any where, till they did it at the Cape *Santa Maria*, which is about twenty Leagues from the Island of that Name to the Southward. Here they found a convenient Bay, and good Ground for Anchoring: There were considerable Numbers of People that appear'd upon the Shore; but their Temper and Dispositions, as they were unknown, so they were now to be tried. But they proved very cross and untoward; for at their first Attempt to land, the *Indians* looking upon them as Invaders of their Country, set themselves to oppose them, and pour'd in a Shower of Darts and Arrows upon the Boats that came up to the Shore. But they being under the Pinch of Hunger, and driven by an absolute Necessity, to endeavour some Means for the getting a Refreshment, broke through the Weapons of the Barbarians, and landed their Men.

Indians oppose their Landing.

Now they made Signs of Peace on both sides, and a Cessation of Arms being, as it were agreed on, they came to a Parley in that Language of Signs; and the *Indians* understanding what they meant, brought them Wine and Fruits, for the little Commodities the others shew'd them; and then signified to them, that they should now return aboard again; and if they came ashore the next Day, they shou'd have a farther Supply of Victuals.

Treachery of the *Indians*.

Accordingly the next Day the Captain landed with a score, or more, of Muskeeters, and they had not march'd far, before a Party of *Indians*, to the number of a thousand, that lay cunningly intrench'd, fell upon them, and cut them all off.

This was a terrible Misfortune upon all Accounts, particularly in that this Execution had scarce left them Men enough, to do the necessary Offices of the Ship. With this loss they went away from the inhospitable Cape; and came to the Isle of St. *Mary* it self. Here they found their Admiral Ship, but in much the same distress'd Condition as themselves; the Natives of the Island of *Mocha* having given them the same rude Treatment, that those at the Cape had given the others: Only of the two, the Admiral had the worst on't; for they had lost more Men by the Darts of the *Indians*, and over and above that, their General himself.

Find their Admiral at Isle St. *Mary*.

Now to get some Refreshment at this place, was the great difficulty; 'twas hard to lie still and famish a Shipboard, and 'twas as hard to venture ashore, because they had not Men for't: In short, these two Wants were so great, and so unhappily complicated in their present Circumstance, that for all that appears, if an Accident had not reliev'd them, they must have concluded upon dying here without any more adoe. But a couple of *Spaniards*, that had a design to betray them, came aboard (in a seeming friendly manner) for that purpose; and were so wise as to do it without Pledges, or making any Provision for their safe return. So when they had seen the Ship, and wou'd have gone back again, they told them, No, they were sensible of their ill Design, and would keep them Prisoners, (especially since they came entirely of their own Heads too) unless they would promise to furnish the Ship with so much Provision. One may easily imagine, the *Spaniards* were out of Humour upon't, to find themselves taken in such a Trap; but 'twas all one, 'twas to no purpose to be in a Passion there, and they were forc'd to submit to those Terms of Deliverance, and glad to escape so too. The *Spaniards* brought in their Provision according to the Agreement, and now they were once more repriev'd from a miserable Death.

Their Stratagem to get Relief at St. Mary Island.

Go for *Japan*.

After this, the two Ships set Sail in Company for *Japan*; the rest of the Fleet were given up for lost, and one of them, they afterwards heard, fell into the Hands of the *Spaniards* at St. *Jago*. Besides this, the King of *Spain*'s Fleet waited for them upon the Coast of *Peru*; and had they light of them, 'tis very probable they had both follow'd their Companion in her Fate, since they were in so very weak and shatter'd a Condition.

'Twas *November* the 25th, that they left the Island St. *Mary*, upon the Coast of *Chili*, and having pass'd the Line, had a good Wind, and fair Weather, for a good while, without any interruption by Storms and Tempests.

Anthropophagi.

In the Latitude of fifteen or sixteen Degr. N. they fell in with some Islands of Cannibals, or Men-eaters, as Mr. *Adams* calls them, without any scruple; since eight or nine of their Men, he believes, were devour'd by them. These Fellows being weary, it seems, of so long a Voyage, and willing to take up with the next Resting-place, put themselves into the Pinnace, and so run away; but which way soever the Cannibals dispos'd of them, 'tis certain they never came aboard more.

In the Latitude of 27 and 28 Degr. the Weather began to change upon them, and the Winds that had lien still and quiet so long, rouz'd and blew with a prodigious Fury; they had such a Storm of Wind and Rain, that equall'd or exceeded the most violent any Mariner amongst them had seen. In this horrible Confusion of the Weather, they lost one another, and the Admiral never came up to them more; but they follow'd on their Course for *Japan* alone, being still in hope to meet her in some part or other of that Island. Certainly, hardly ever any Men perform'd a Voyage in more distress: Our Pilot tells us, that they had, of all their number, but nine or ten left, that were able to stand or creep upon their Knees; as for the Captain, and all the rest, they were at the last Gasp, as it were, and expected to die every Hour. And this was a very dismal Case; for Storms will make the poor Sea-men bestir, and work themselves to the purpose: But how shall Nature be supported in the mean time, and where shall Men have strength to do those toilsome Works, that have not Food to keep Life and Soul together?

The Admiral lost in a Storm. Her Pilot was an *English*man too, that had sail'd round the World with *Candish*.

'Twas *April* the Nineteenth, before they had sight of the Coast of *Japan*, and by that time there was but five of their Company that cou'd go, Providence ordering the matter so for them, that they had then a Prospect of Relief, when things were run up to the highest extremity. 'Twas near to *Bungo* that they saw this first Land, and were then in about 32 ½ Degr. But Mr. *Adams*, by the way, assures us, That that Coast of *Japan* is falsly plac'd in all our Maps, Charts, and Globes; for he says, it lies in 35 ½ Degr. which makes a considerable difference from the common Account given by them of its position.

A. D. 1600.

Note, upon the North-part of *Japan*.

At *Bungo* several Boats of the Natives came up to them, and aboard them too, as they had a mind themselves; and it cou'd be no otherwise, for there was no Body to make any resistance; the Sailors were all quite spent, and if the *Japonese* wou'd have plunder'd them, or knock'd them o'the Head, they might have done it without any trouble. Yet they did them no manner of harm, as to any Violence, or any sort of Affront; but they pilfer'd and stole all that they could lay Hands on; for which some of them paid very dear afterwards.

They come to *Bungo*, and are well entertain'd.

The Vice-King of the place prov'd very kind and friendly to them, took them into his Protection, and sent a Guard (as soon as they were come to an Anchor in the Port) to see that none of the Merchants Goods were stollen: This wou'd have done very well, had it come in good time; but the Thieves were there before them. However, here they had good store of Provisions sent them in, a House provided on purpose for them; and in short, were made very much of, and began in some measure to enjoy themselves, after all the Dangers and Fatigues of the Sea. But 'twas their ill luck to meet with *Portugueze* and Jesuites here: They were forc'd to make use of them for Interpreters indeed; but they had far better been without any, and chose rather to have us'd the silent Language of Gestures and Signs, than employ'd such Interpreters as they were. For these Men gave that Character of them, that they commonly give of their *European* Neighbours (in all parts of the World where they meet them), That they were Spies, or Pirates, and not Trading Men, as they themselves pretended: And this set the *Japonese*

Malice of the *Portugueze*.

poneſe ſo againſt them, that Mr. *Adams* tells us he was apprehenſive at one time that they ſhould have had the Fate of Pirates in that Country, which is to be ſet up upon Croſſes. Now when a Company of poor Sea-men came to throw themſelves upon their Mercy, as it were in a ſtrange Country, where they were not able to ſpeak for themſelves, and where their Liberties and lives depended entirely upon the Peoples good Opinion of them, to go and ſerve them at that rate, was an unpardonable piece of Villany, and an Action ſo very inhuman and baſe, as was only fit for *Portugueſe* and *Jeſuits* to be guilty of. But 'twas not long before the Emperor hearing of this Ship, ſent for Mr. *Adams* being the Pilot to come to him: The Court was then at *Oſala*, which is about 80 Leagues from *Bungo*. Hither came our *Engliſh* Man, not knowing whether 'twas to Life or Death, to Priſon and Puniſhment, or farther Favour and Enlargement.

Mr. *Adams* goes to the Emperor.

The Emperor view'd him (he ſays) with a wonderful deal of Attention, but yet with his mild and favourable Countenance took off in a great meaſure from the dread his preſence might otherwiſe have excited. He ask'd by his Interpreters a world of queſtions about the Country Mr. *Adams* came from; the People, their Manners, their Affairs both to War and Peace, and products of it in Beaſts, Fiſh and Fowl, the Trade and Buſineſs, and Laws and Government, and in ſhort the whole Natural and Civil Hiſtory of it. More than this he purged him as to his Religion too, and would needs examin his Faith, asking him what 'twas he believed in; a queſtion which if a Man had not known the Emperors Religion wou'd almoſt have made him affraid the Jeſuits had ſet up an Inquiſition here, and that he was one of the *Tribunal*.

His talk with the Emperor.

But Mr. *Adams* puzzl'd him ten times worſe, when he ſhew'd him the Magellanick Streights, in his Chart, thro' which he ſail'd to *Japan*: The Emperor perhaps had a pretty good opinion of him before; but now he thought him a downright Lyer; the myſtery of ſuch a Voyage was ſo incomprehenſible that he had no Faith to beſtow upon it, yet ſince Mr. *Adams* affirmed it, and he could not confute him, he entertain'd it as Men do all Points of pure Myſtery, with ſilent Admiration, and humble Submiſſion of their Reaſon, to the difficulty, tho' cramp'd and tortur'd with it at the ſame time, tho' his underſtanding was affronted by it, yet his good Nature was not, and he was very good Friends with Mr. *Adams* afterward, as appear'd by his holding him in talk till mid-night. He had ſeveral other conferences with the Emperor after this, but was for a conſiderable time, notwithſtanding kept in Priſon, tho' he had all neceſſaries allow'd him, and nothing like a puniſhment, but a large confinement. The *Portugueſe* made all the Intereſt at Court they cou'd poſſibly againſt him, and by their Agents were continually buzzing ſome ſcandalous reports of him, and his Country in the Emperors Ears; but all would not do, and the Prince was ſo juſt and Generous as to tell them that the *Engliſh* having done him no miſchief, it wou'd not be fair for him to ſee them receive any in his Country; and that 'twould be contrary to all the Laws of Juſtice and Reaſon for him to ſuffer an innocent Man to be executed, meerly becauſe his Country and yours were at War.

The Emperor defends him againſt the *Portugueſe*.

Mr. *Adams*'s Circumſtances now begun to mend, and grow more favourable; his Enemies were quite diſheartened, and the Emperor expreſs'd every Day more and more good liking to him. In the firſt place, he freed him from his Impriſonment, and gave him leave to go and ſee his Ships, and Company, who were ſurpriz'd with no ſmall Joy at his having heard ('tis probable from the *Portugueſe*, who intended if ſhou'd be ſo) that he had been executed ſometime before. But here he found the Ship abſolutely plundred, and all his Goods and Inſtruments gone, and all the reſt had loſt what they had as well as he; for being all Sick and Weak aſhoar, the Goods lay ready for a Prey to thoſe that cou'd be unjuſt enough to ſeize them. When this came to the Emperor's Ear, a Search was made, in order to the recovery of them; but being gone too far out of reach, he commanded 50000 Rials of eight to be given them in part of Satisfaction; and to make ſure that this Money ſhould not be either fraudulently detain'd by his Treaſurers, nor converted to any other uſe, he ſaw the payment of it himſelf, into the Hands of one who was appointed to have the managment of their Affairs, and to give it out to them in Parcels as they wanted. After this, the Court removing to *Eddo*, about 122 Leagues from *Oſaca*, the Emperor Commanded *Mr. Adams* to move thitherwards with his Ship; and here they took the Liberty to Petition him that they might be perfectly Free, and purſue the deſign of their Voyage in going to Trade at ſome other parts; but this would not take, and the Emperor was not diſpos'd to part with them yet, ſo they got the remainder of their Money into their own Hands, and divided it amongſt themſelves, every Man his ſhare; and then they diſperſed themſelves about in the Country, chuſing thoſe places to ſettle in, that beſt ſuited their Fancies. But the Emperor ordered them beſides an Allowance of Rice, Two pound a Day for every Man, and over and above ſo much yearly as came to 11 or 12 Ducats; There was no diſtinction made between Captains, Pilots, and Common-Sailors, but they fair'd all alike.

His kindneſs to them upon the loſs of their Goods.

They ſettle in the Country.

Thus four or five Years went over their Heads, and they follow'd every Man his Buſineſs in the Country for a livelyhood; ſince 'twas determin'd, that there they muſt Live and Die. But when the term of Years was expir'd, the Emperor ſent for Mr. *Adams* to Court, and the buſineſs was, to make him a Ship; this was not his Trade, as he told the Emperor, and tho' he knew how to Guide a Ship at Sea, yet he was not uſed to the making of them; but he was ſo very urgent and preſſing to have it done, that Mr. *Adams* undertook the work, and made him a Ship of about 80 Tun. When he came aboard it, he expected a wonderful deal of Pleaſure in it, and 'twas a piece of ſervice he valued ſo much, that the maker of it roſe mightily in his Favour by this very means, beſides ſeveral good Patents, his Penſion was encreaſed too, being made as much as came to 70 Ducats *per Annum*, over and above the former Allowance of Rice, and this well managed was a tolerable livelyhood for a ſingle Perſon in that Country.

Mr. *Adams* makes the Emperor a Ship.

But that which recommended him moſt effectually to the Emperors eſteem, was his Skill in Mathematical Learning. Mr. *Adams* had a good ſhare of Knowledge, it ſeems, in the Practical Parts, and was now honour'd with having ſo great a Prince for his Scholar. He inſtructed him in ſeveral Points of thoſe uſeful Arts, and made him capable of ſolving to himſelf that myſterious problem of ſailing to *Japan* by the Magellanick Straits. He could pleaſe him at any time with deſcribing Geometrical Figures; the Emperor was plung'd in the Study, Charm'd and Conjur'd within the Circles Mr. *Adams* drew him. This latter uſed his Geometry to ſuch good purpoſe, that he diſcovered the true method of managing his Royal Pupil by it, and got the exact length of his Foot. His Word was all in all in any point of Diſpute and Controverſy; and whatever ſide Mr. *Adams* took, the Emperor was always of the ſame. He had ſo great a ſtroke now at Court, that even the Jeſuites themſelves were willing to make uſe of his Intereſt there, and courted him to be their Patron; and he declares, that by his means both *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* received ſeveral Favours from the Emperor, which they were otherwiſe in no likely way of obtaining. Being in theſe circumſtances, he thought it not impoſſible to win upon the Emperor ſo far as to procure leave to return into his own Country; and for that purpoſe renew'd his old requeſt, promiſing to do his utmoſt for the bringing both an *Engliſh* and a *Dutch* Trade to *Japan*, if he might be ſuffer'd to go home.

Teaches the Emperor Mathematicks.

But the Emperor was too much pleas'd with his Company, to hearken to any propoſal about the loſing of it. Mr. *Adams* ſhould have conceal'd his Skill in Mathematicks, kept his Geometry and Navigation to himſelf, if he had intended to have ſeen his own Country again: He was too uſeful a Man to be parted with; and there was no hopes of his Liberty, till he had quite loſt the knowledge of all thoſe Acts that had ſo charm'd the Emperor. In ſhort there is no going for him, and his Wife and Children muſt be contented without him; yet he procured leave for the Captain of the *Dutch* Ship he came in, to go, and to make his life as eaſie and pleaſant as might be: The Emperor ſetled a Lord-ſhip upon him, in which he had a Compaſs of Land to manage, and a parcel of Slaves to the number of 80 or 90 appointed to do his Country work. And this was the Courſe of our Engliſh-man's Fortune in that part of the World, as he himſelf has deſcribed them.

The Emperor will not conſent that he ſhould go.

His preferment in the Country.

As to the State of the Country, and its Affairs, he does not tell us much. He commends the *Japoneſe* largely, for their Courteſy, and Good Humour, Valour in War, Juſtice in their Civil Concerns, and the happy Conſtitution of the Government. He believes no People to be Maſters of better Politicks, than they in their Civil Government, nor have more ſuperſtition in their Religion. They have various Sects and Opinions amongſt them, and ſome of them had imbraced Chriſtianity at the time, the Friars and Jeſuits being very deligently at work to propagate it in ſeveral parts of the Iſland. So far they had gone in Mr. *Adam*'s time as to have ſome Churches, and Proſpect of a conſiderable increaſe of Convents. The Character he gives of Trade, is, that Silks and Cloths are very vendible Commodities there, and that for ready Money: And according to his Relation, the *Japoneſe* have wherewith to be very good Pay-matters, and can afford to give the beſt Rates for a Commodity, having

Account of the Country.

Gold

Gold and Silver enough in their own Country: A very happy People, to be both Rich, and Wise, and Good, and have both those advantages so eminently, Money and Wit; which do seldom meet together. He tells us the *Dutch* were admitted to a Free Trade there, and had very good acceptance with the Emperor; and had entred into an agreement with him, to send a Ship or two well laden thither every Year. To conclude as to the Geographical consideration of the Island, he assures us, that the Northern part of it reaches to the Lat. of 48 Degr. and the Southern lies in 35. that it extends 220 *English* Leagues, E. & W. and 260 N. & S. and for it's Figure, he says it is almost a Square: Which account is the more credible, in that it is given by one, who did not just come and take a view of the Country, and then away again, but spent a good part of his Life upon the Spot; and rightly pretended to have as good an acquaintance with it, as the Natives of the Soil.

A. D. 1609. and 1611.

This Letter out of which the Account was principally taken, was Dated, *October* 22. A. D. 1611.

CHAP. VI.

The second Voyage of John Davis, *with Sir* Edward Michelbourn, *&c.*

A. D. 1604. *December* the 5th, we set Sail from *Cowes* in the Isle of *Weight*, with the good Ship the *Tigre*, of 240 Tun, and a Pinnace nam'd the *Tigers-whelp*.

Teneriff. The 23d, we came to *Teneriff*, in the Road of *Aratana*.

January 16th, we pass'd the Equinoctial, and shap'd our Course for the Isle *Loronna*, and having made some three Degr. S. Lat. we met with incredible numbers of Dolphins and Bonito's, of which we took so many, that we were perfectly tired as well with the eating as the catching of them. We had sport enough too, with the Sea-fowl they call *Paskarabous* and *Alcatrarzes*: The former of these are easily taken at Night, at which time they lodge themselves in great numbers about a Ship, and will perch upon ones Head, if it be held out to them. The others are a sort of Hawks, that live entirely upon the Spoil they get out of the Water, and are equally the Persecutors of the Flying-Fish, with the ravenous Dolphins. That poor Animal it seems, can live quietly in no Element, and neither the Air, nor the Water, will afford it a secure Harbour. The Dolphins and Bonito's are continually hunting them in the Sea; and when they have no way to avoid a miserable Death, but by using their Wings, and taking a turn in the Air, then these unmerciful Birds are presently upon them, and inhospitably devour the poor Strangers driven by persecution out of their own Element.

Multitudes of Dolphins and Alcatarzes.

The 22d, we came to an Anchor at the (a) Island *Loronna*. We found it very difficult here to get Wood and Water aboard, by reason of the violent breadth of the Sea, which makes the Landing extreamly hazardous. Our own Boat was twice overset by the boisterous Waves, and some of our Men drown'd in the Attempt; and not long before us a *Dutch* Man was worse serv'd, his Boat, men and all being dash'd in pieces upon the Rocks.

(a) Isle *Loronna*.

The Island has no Inhabitants, but a few *Negroes* whom the *Portuguese* keep here as their Slaves: Their business is to kill and dry the *Cabrito's* against their Masters arrival, who generally call here in their way to the *East-Indies*.

Its Products.

And by this continual slaughter of these Beasts and the Wild-Oxen in such multitudes for the *Portuguese* service, the stock of the Island is almost exhausted, tho' formerly it was very great. But tho' there's a scarcity of these Creatures, there's good store of Fowls, as Turtle-Doves, Alcatrarzes, and many other sorts, which are very delicious meat; besides plenty of Maize, Wild Gourds, and Water Melons, and those Trees on which grows the fine Bombast.

A. D. 1605. * *February* 12. we were in 7 Degrees 5 Minutes South Lat. and here we had the surprising sight of a Sea sparkling at a wonderful rate, and appearing as if all on fire; the Light was so clear and bright at Night, that one might have read the smallest Print by the assistance of it.

The 13th, we had sight of the Island, or rather the great Rock *Ascension*.

April the 1st, we saw Land, which bore off us S. S. E. tho' by our reckoning we were above 40 Leagues distance; but yet the varying of the Compass told us that we were toward Land 30 Leagues before we saw any.

The 2d, we were hard by the shoar, which lies 10 or 12 Leagues to the North side of the Bay of *Soldania*.

The 3d we sail'd by a little Isle, which we suppos'd to be that which stands some five or six Leagues from the Bay. This for the multitude of Conies found here, was call'd (b) *Coney* Isle.

(b) *Coney Isle.*

The 8th we came to an Anchor in the Road of (c) *Soldania*, and the next day we went ashoar. The Country we found such, both for Plenty and Pleasure, as seem'd to deserve a far better sort of Inhabitants than it had. The Plains and Valleys are every where watered with wholsom streams, which the Springs upon the neighbouring Mountains do liberally impart to them. The champian Grounds are covered with Flocks and Herds, and Woods and Forests filled with all sorts of wild Game. Here one may see most kinds of Animals, that are fit either for Food, for Service, or for Sport and Pleasure; Deer, Sheep and Oxen, Antelopes, Foxes, Hares, and Coneys; and for excellent Fowl such store and variety, that that luxurious *Roman* Emperor, whose appetite could be satisfied with nothing but the Tongues and Brains of choice Birds might have feasted here to his Hearts content. And besides all the sorts of Tame Fowls, and more common ones, of those that are wild, frequenting either the Woods or the Water, or flying in the open Air; here are Ostridges, Cranes, Herons, and Pelicans, amongst all which we had sufficient, both for Game and Provision too.

(c) *Soldania.*

But the People that inhabit this excellent Country, are some of the most base and brutal in the whole Universe. Human Nature is here so rough and unpolish'd, so sordid, mean, and unlike it self, that 'tis hard to know it thro' the disguise; and certainly if there be any where a mixt Animal, a compound of the Man and the Brute, 'tis at *Soldania*. Raw flesh is their most nicest and cleanly Fare, and when they eat this, they eat like some other Barbarous Nations; but when they feed like themselves, they go some degrees lower, from the Flesh to the Guts of Beasts, which they lay to warm a little while upon the Coals, and then greedily devour with all the excrements in them, and the Ashes and Durt that cleave to them.

See *Davis's* first Voyage about the Trade for Cattel, and the description of them.

Having had a very agreeable refreshment here, we set sail again *May* the 3d; and the 7th we were 10 Leagues to the Southward of the Cape of *Good-Hope*, passing that Night the Shoals of Cape *das Aguilhes*.

Cape *Aguilhas.*

The 6th we had a fearful Storm, which raged for two Days and two Nights, at last a Flame of the bigness of a Candle appear'd upon our Main-top-mast-head, after which the violence of the weather went off.

The 24th the Isle *De Diego Roiz* (d) in 19 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat. and 98 Degr. Long. bare N. of us at eight Leagues distance. We bare room to have landed here, but the Wind growing very stiff, we alter'd our Resolution: We saw about this Island great numbers of clean White Birds, which had only two long Feathers in their Tails.

(d) *Diego Roiz.* Isle.

June the 3d standing for the Isle *de Cirne*, we had another view of *Diego de Roiz*, which when we bare room again, thinking to stay for a good Wind, but finding that we cou'd not come to Anchor without very great hazards, upon the account of the Rocks and Shoals that lie about the Isle, we resolved now to stand for the *East-Indies*.

June 15th we saw the Island *Dos* (e) *Baubes*, which lies in 6 Degr. 37 Min. S. Lat. and 109 Degr. Long. These Islands are very commonly placed in our common Charts, lying

(e) Isle *Bau-bes.*

lying considerably too much to the Westward. They afford good store of Fowl, Fish, and Coco's; but 'tis very hard to find a good Anchoring-place, there being no bottom to be met with in some places close by the Shore, and in others so many sharp Rocks, and ugly Shoals, that 'tis dangerous making the Attempt: This Inconvenience attending us, we prosecuted our Course to the *Indies*.

June the Nineteenth, we had sight of the Isle *Diego Gracieſa* (*f*), in 7 Degr. 30 Min. South Lat. and in 110 Degr. 40 Min. Long. by our Account. It appears to be about 10 or 12 Leagues long, and is so full of Coco-Trees, that looks like a perfect Wood. There's Fish and Fowl enough to be had, and if there be good Anchoring too (which we did not stay to examine) 'tis a very convenient place to refresh at.

(*f*) *Diego Gracieſa* Isle.

July the Eleventh we pass'd the Equinoctial again; and the Nineteenth descried Land, which was a Cluster of Islands lying under the high Land of *Sumatra*, and in about 2 Degr. North Lat. We cou'd not succeed in our Attempt of landing here, the Sea went with such a violent Head upon the Shoar, tho' (as we fancied) the Natives invited us to it, and signified their Minds, by several great Fires made along the Shoar.

The Twenty sixth we anchor'd within a League of the great Island *Bata* (*g*), in 20 Min. South Lat. This Island is wholly destitute of Inhabitants; yet 'tis well wooded, and water'd, and supplied with Fish. It produces abundance of Monkeys, and a kind of Fowl, which is reported to be the Bat of that Country. These Creatures are larger than a Hare, and in shape very like a Squirrel, except only that from each side there hangs down two great Flaps of Skin, which are instead of Wings, and by the help of which they skip nimbly from one Tree to another.

(*g*) *Bata* Isle.

August the Fourth, we weigh'd Anchor, and stood for *Priaman*.

The Tenth and Eleventh, standing close along the main Land, we descried several Praws riding over against *Tico*, in *Sumatra*, and were in some hope to find our Pinnace amongst them, which we lost in the Storm at the Cape. But tho' our Expectations were frustrated, yet we were in some measure comforted with the News they told us, of an *English* Ship that lay at *Priaman*, not above six Leagues distant from the Town of *Tico*. But while we went on to find her, we were like to lose our selves, our Ship coming a-ground upon a Rock of White Coral; but having a brisk Gale of Wind, we happily got her off again, without any prejudice, in a very little time. Being come into *Priaman* (*h*) Road, (to our great Joy) we found our Pinnace there, and so came to an Anchor in five Fathom Water, and very good Ground. This City lies in 40 Min. South Lat. I had the Opportunity of seeing it, being sent by our Admiral, with a Present to the Governour, and to examine the Rates that Pepper went at there. But no private Conference was to be had with the Governour, nor no Advances to be made in the Matters of Trade and Merchandize, by reason of the Wars then raging amongst them. For the old King of *Achen*, having made his youngest Son King of *Pedir*, and nominated the elder to succeed himself in the Kingdom of *Achen*, keeping him at home with him for that purpose: The extravagant Prince (angry to see a Crown on his younger Brother's Head, while his own was without one) makes bold to depose his Father, telling the People he was too old to govern; and then having the Power in his hands, immediately fell upon his Brother, to the great disturbance of the Peace and Trade of the Island: So that seeing little likelihood of doing any good here, and having gotten in all necessary Provisions, the Twenty first we weigh'd Anchor, and stood for *Bantam*.

The Ship aground.

They find their Pinnace.

(*h*) *Priaman*.

The Twenty fifth, after a Dispute of seven or eight Hours, we took a Ship of *Bantam*, bound for *Priaman*; her Lading being Salt, Rice, and *China* Dishes; but considering the *English* had a Factory there, and that this Violence might possibly expose them and their Concerns to some Inconveniences amongst so barbarous a People, we dismiss'd her in a civil and friendly manner, with all her Goods, which we did not diminish to the value of a Farthing.

But a Ship of *Guzurate*, (which we took *September* the second) did not scape us so well: She was about eighty Tun, and we secur'd her in the Road of *Sillabar*. That Road is in 4 Degr. South Lat. and is very much frequented for the Conveniences of Wood, Water, and many sorts of Provisions that are here to be had. Our Business held us here till the Twenty eighth, when we set Sail and prosecuted our Voyage towards *Bantam*.

Sillabar Road.

Marrah Road.

October the Twenty third, we anchor'd in the Road of *Marrah*, in *Sunda* Streights, where are as good Accommodations for the ease and refreshment of Sailors, as at *Sillabar*. The People here don't value Money so much as they do Callicoes, Pintadoes, and such-like Stuffs. They are very fair in their Dealings, and will use you soberly, if you do the like by them; but then you must be sure to look well to them, for their Consciences never fly in their Faces for Stealing.

The Twenty eighth, we came within three Leagues of the City of *Bantam* (*i*), which lies in 6 Degr. 48 Min. South Lat. And here we anchor'd all Night. The *English* Fleet was gone before we came; but some of our Country-men, that were Factors there, came aboard, and told us of the base and dishonourable Practices of the *Hollanders*, in blasting the Reputation of our Nation at *Bantam*. They reported, That we were a lewd Pirating sort of People, that went abroad into the World, upon no other Designs, than Robbing and Cheating other Nations: And that we were such Cowards, that we dared not come into the Road amongst them, but would be sure to keep at a distance, for fear of being beaten.

(*i*) *Bantam*.

Mischievous Reports of the *Dutch*.

Our Admiral was so provok'd at these slanderous Reflections, (and which the *Dutch* themselves well knew to be Lies too) that he sent them Word presently, That he wou'd come and ride close by their sides; and if they dared but so much as to put out a Gun, or offer the least Insolence imaginable, either in Word or Action, he wou'd infallibly sink every Ship they had, or sink himself in the Undertaking. But they were so wise as to make no Reply to this Message; and so cool and humble too, as to do what our Admiral commanded them in the point of Deportment towards us, and the rest of the *English*; for tho' we anchor'd just under their very Noses, they never stirr'd a Gun; nay, they hardly durst any of them appear ashore as long as we were there.

Novemb. 2. (having dispatch'd our Business at *Bantam*) we held our Course for *Patane*: And in the way between the *Chersoneſe* of *Malacca*, and *Pedra*, we met three Praws bound for *Java*, laden with *China* Dishes, Pepper, Benjamin, and Storax. They studiously avoided us, and refused to satisfie our just Demands of a Pilot, to conduct us to *Pulo Timaon*, and a Pilot we were not like to have, unless we fought for him, and purchas'd him by Conquest; this therefore being the Case, we attack'd them, and forc'd two of them to yield, and so furnish'd our selves with a Guide for our Ships, which was all the Prize we then sought after: This being done, we discharg'd them again, and held our Course for *Patane*.

Take some *Indian* Praws.

November the Twenty seventh, we saw certain Islands bearing N. W. from us, which neither we, nor our Pilots knew; we imagin'd them to be some of the broken Lands that lie S.E. from the Isle of *Bantam*, for they were some of them quite sunk under Water, nothing being to be seen of them, but the tops of Trees: And those of them that are not plung'd, are a perfect Wilderness, and like for ever to be so, having neither Fruit, nor any sort of Animal, for the support of Life.

Deluged Islands.

Having water'd here, *December* the Second, we continued our Course for *Patane*, as well as we cou'd, with bad Winds, which at this time of the Year are generally at N. N. W. or N. E. hereabouts.

The Twelfth we took a Junck of *Pan-Hange*, laden with Pepper, Rice, and Tin, bound for *Bantam*: Our Admiral took only two Brass Guns, and a quantity of their Rice (which yet he paid them nobly for), and a Pilot to bring him to *Patane*: The other two which we took before, tho' very unskilful, were paid for their time they had been with us, and so sent back in this Junck into their own Country. Now we began to be very much troubled with contrary Winds and Currents: For in these parts the Sea always runs Southward, from the beginning of *November*, to the beginning of *April*, and back again Northward from *April* to *November*; and the Winds for the most part observe the same Time and Course too. All Ships from *China*, *Patane*, *Jor*, and other places, which lie to the Northward, come to *Bantam*, or *Palimbam*, when the Northerly Monson is come, and they return with the Southerly, which Monsons come in the Months aforesaid.

The Winds and Currents.

The Monsons in these parts.

The Country (*k*) of *Pan-Hange*, to which this Junck belong'd, lies between *Patane* and *Jor*, and reaches on the Sea-Coast as far as Cape *Tingeron*: This is a very lofty Cape, that makes a great Figure, and is the first Land-fall that the Vessels of *China*, *Cambaia*, and *Macae*, do make, as they sail for *Malacca*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, or any parts to the Southward. *Pan-Hange* is a very plentiful Country, has good store of Shipping, and all Provisions very cheap.

(*k*) *Pan-hange*.

December the Twenty seventh, we met with a Junck full of *Japoneſe*, which had been Pirating along the Coast of *China* and *Cambaia*, and not daring to Land any where (for they are generally forbid coming ashore with Weapons, throughout all *India*, they are so fierce and desperate

rate a People) they were now making the best of their way home to *Japan*. There were no less than Ninety of them, and they all appear'd to be Men of Quality, there being (one only excepted who was their Pilot) nothing that look'd like a common Sailor amongst them. Several Civilities pass'd between us, and we presented and feasted one another; some of our Men went aboard their Junck, and some of them, to the number of Twenty six, came into our Ship. But they having before concerted Matters, and order'd all the Particulars of the Plot, upon a Signal given, set upon our Men that were in their Junck, killing most part, and driving the rest overboard. At the same time they set upon us in our own Ship, and being absolutely desperate, fought with an incredible Fierceness and Courage, madly thrusting themselves on our Pikes, and laying about them like so many Furies. After some time, we forc'd them to retire from the Half-deck down into the Cabin, where they defended themselves with great obstinacy for the space of four or five Hours, and resolving to spare neither their own Lives, nor ours, they set the Cabin a-fire, and fought with all the Flames gathering about their Ears. In short, seeing their Design to burn the Ship, and having them at this advantage in a close Pound, where we might dispatch them all at once, to put a stop to the progress of the Mischief, which wou'd otherwise be remediless, we fired a couple of great Guns in upon them, loaded with Cross-bars, Bullets, and Case-shot; which did such fatal Execution upon them, that one only out of Twenty two escap'd, the rest being torn and shatter'd all to pieces. Thus with much adoe, we freed our selves from this threatning Danger; but to do it cost us the Lives of many of our Men; and particularly that of Capt. *Davis*, whose imprudent Conduct, in not securing their Weapons at first, according to the Advice given, was very much the occasion of it.

desperate fight with the *Japoneſe*.

December the Thirtieth, we came to an Anchor by a little Island, where we were obliged to stay three or four Days to mend our Boat, and take in Wood and Water. Here we had Intelligence, by a Ship of *Patane*, of the *China* Fleet, shortly to come thither, and which we intended, if possible, to meet.

January the Twelfth, we saw two Sail making towards us, which coming up to, after a short Dispute we boarded, and brought them to an Anchor. These proved to be two of the *China* Ships; but were not the main Prize that we look'd after: They had Silks, and raw Silk aboard, and fifty Tun of *China* Silver; but because we hoped to lade our selves to much better advantage, out of those that were still behind, we took little or nothing of this and so discharged them. *A.D.* 1606. Two *China* Ships taken.

After this, we directed our Course back again to *China Bata*; but the contrary Winds wou'd not permit us to recover it; so that we put on for the Isles of *Pulo Sumatra* (*l*), where we anchor'd *January* the Twenty second. (*l*) *Pulo Sumatra* Isles.

February the Second, we met a Fleet of five *Dutch* Ships bound homewards, which gave us an Intelligence, that obliged us to take new Measures, and quit the Design we had upon the *China* Ships. Our *English* Merchants at *Bantam*, (they told us) were in very great danger, and expected every Day to feel the utmost Effects of the King of *Bantam*'s Anger and Resentment; because of our late taking the *China* Ships, by which means he had lost his Customs.

And therefore, that no After-Events of our Voyage might procure any Danger or Disasters to our Countrymen, (tho' perhaps to have prosecuted it, would have signally advanc'd our own private Fortunes and Interests) we resolved to set Sail for *England*; which we began to do, *February* the Fifth. They return for *England*.

We had sight of the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Seventh of *April*; and we arrived at St. *Helena* the Seventeenth, where we staid refreshing till *May* the Third.

The Fourteenth we pass'd the Equinoctial.

June the Twenty seventh we arriv'd at *Milford*-Haven, in *Wales*.

July the Ninth, we anchor'd in *Portsmouth*-Road, having been out in this Voyage, full nineteen Months.

CHAP. VII.

A Priviledge for Fifteen Years, granted by Her Majesty, to certain Adventurers, for the Discovery of the Trade for the East-Indies, *the One and thirtieth of* December, 1600.

ELIZABETH, *by the Grace of* GOD, *Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *To all Our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, and to all other People, as well within this Our Realm of* England, *as elsewhere, under Our Obedience and Jurisdiction, or otherwise, unto whom these Our Letters Patents shall be seen, shewed, or read, Greeting.*

The Names of the Adventurers.

Whereas Our most dear and loving Cousin, George *Earl of* Cumberland; *and Our Well-beloved Subjects, Sir* John Hart *of* London, *Knight, Sir* John Spencer *of* London, *Knight, Sir* Edward Michelburne, *Knight,* William Candish, *Esq*; Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Hollyday, John Wats, John More, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampson, Thomas Smith, *and* Thomas Cambell, *Citizens and Aldermen of* London, Edward Barker, *Esq*; Thomas Marsh, *Esq*; Samuel Bachouse, *Esquire*, James Lancaster, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Stile, William Quarles, Bartholomew Barnes, William Offly, Robert Chamberlayn, John Harvy, Richard Wiseman, William Stone, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablaster, Richard Barret, John Swynerton, *the Younger*, Thomas Garaway, William Romny, James Deane, John Eldred, Andrew Banning, Edward Loaning, Thomas Jackson, Nicholas Leate, John Wolstenholme, Nicholas Peard, William Chamber, Rowland Bachouse, Humfrey Smith, Robert Sandy, Henry Robinson, Richard Poyntel, John Highlord, William Haryson, Humphry Style, Humphry Robynson, Nicholas Ferrer, Thomas Farryngton, John Combe, Robert Offly, Roger How, John Hewet, James Turner, Morrys Abbot, James Carrell, Robert Brooke, Richard Chamblyn, George Chamblyn, Leonard White, John Cornelius, Ralph Basby, William Genyngs, Giles Paslow, Robert Bell, Thomas White, Nicholas Lyng, William Palmer, Ellis Crippes, John Mericke, Humphry Hanford, Thomas Symons, Robert Cox, William Wustall, John Humphry, Thomas Bostocke, Bartholomew Holland, Richard Cox, William Walton, William Freeman, Thomas Southacke, John Friar, Francis Dent, Richard Bull, Richard Pierce, Roger Henyng, Robert Cobb, Robert Robynson, Francis Evington, Francis Taylor, Thomas Westrow, John Midleton, Robert Gore, Ralph Gore, William Cater, George Cater, John Busbridge, Thomas Horton, William Bond, *Merchant-Taylor of* London, William Cotton, John Stockley, Roger Owfield, Augustine Skinner, Richard Wise, Robert Towerson, Richard Taylbye, Robert Middleton, Robert Bateman, Richard Gosson, Robert Waldore, Richard Wrag, John Wrag, William Dale, Laurence Waldo, Henry Brydgman, Samuel Armytage, Edward Haryson, Edward Nicolson, Clement Mosely, John Newman, Humphry Wallot, Thomas Richardson, Thomas Boothby, John Coachman, Reinald Green, Richard Burret, Robert Myldmay, William Hyne, George Chandeler, Edward Lutterfoord, William Burrell, Stephen Harry, Thomas Henshaw, William Ferrys, William Aldersey, William Hewet, William Fisher, Joseph Salbancke, Nicholas Manly, Nicholas Salter, William Willastone, William Angel, Nicholas Barnsly, John Hawkins, Roger Dy, Richard Clarke, Thomas Hewet, George Whitemore, Henry Polstee, William Greenwell, Robert Johnson, Bartholomew Huggott, Humphry Basse, Robert Buck, Ambrose Wheeler, William Hale, Richard Hull *Junior*, John Hodgson, Alphonsus Foote, Edmund Spencer, Robert Dewsy, Richard Piott, William Bonham, Edward Barkeham, George Coles, Ralph Hammer, James Colymer, Samuel Hare, George Utly, Gregory Allen, Henry Archer, Jeffry Kerby, John Cason, Richard Beale, Thomas Shipton, John Fletcher, Thomas Talbot, Robert Pennyngton, Humphry Milward, Richard Herne, Ralph Allen, John Brooke, Anthony Gibson, Robert Kayes, Hugh Crompton, Richard Washer, George Holman, Morryce Luellen, Richard Parsons, Francis Barker, William Turner,

George Utly Distranchiz'd the sixth of *July* 1601.

ner, John Greenwood, Richard Denne, Richard Ironside, George Smithes, James Dunkyn, Edward Walter, Andrew Chamblayn, Robert Startford, Anthony Stratford, William Myller, Simon Laurence, Thomas Lydall, Stephen Hodgson, Richard Wright, William Starker, William Smith, John Ellacots, Robert Bayly, and Roger Cotton, *have of Our certain Knowledge been Petitioners unto Us, for Our Royal Assent and Licence to be granted unto them, that they at their own Adventures, Costs, and Charges, as well for the Honour of this Our Realm of* England, *as for the Increase of Our Navigation, and Advancement of Trade of Merchandise within Our said Realms, and the Dominions of the same, might adventure, might set forth one, or more Voyages, with convenient number of Ships and Pinnaces, by way of Traffick and Merchandize to the* East-Indians, *in the Country and Parts of* Asia, *and* Africa, *and to as many of the Islands, and Cities, Towns, and Places thereabouts, as where Trade and Traffick of Merchandize, may by all likelihood be establish-ed or had: Divers of which Countries, and many of the Islands, Cities, and Ports thereof, have long sithence been discovered by others of Our Subjects, albeit not frequented in Trade of Merchandize. Know ye therefore, that We greatly tendring the Honour of Our Nation, the Wealth of Our People, and the Encouragement of them, and others of Our loving Subjects in their good Enterprizes, for the Increase of Our Navigation, and the Advancement of lawful Traffick, to the Benefit of Our Common-wealth, have of Our Special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer motion, given and granted, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant unto Our said loving Subjects, before in these Presents expressly named, That they, and every of them, from henceforth be, and shall be one Body Corporate and Politick in Deed, and in Name, by the Name of the Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *one Body Corporate and Politick in Deed, and in Name really, and fully for Us, Our Heirs and Successors. We do erect, make, ordain, constitute, establish, and declare by these Presents, and that by the same Name of Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *they shall have Succession, and that they, and their Successors, by the Name of Governour and Company, Trading into the* East-Indies, *be, and shall be at all times hereafter, Persons, able and capable in Law, and a Body Corporate and Politick, and capable in Law, to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, and retain Lands, Tenements, Privileges, Liberties, Jurisdictions, Franchises, and Hereditaments, of whatsoever kind, nature, and quality, soever they be, to them and their Successors. And also to give, grant, demise, alien, assign, and dispose all and singular other things, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, by the same Name, that to them shall, or may pertain to do. And that they and their Successors, by the Name of the Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *may plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and be defended in whatsoever Courts and Places, and before whatsoever Judges and Justices, and other Persons and Officers, in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Causes, and Demands whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature, or sort, in such manner and form, as other Our Liege People of this our Realm of* England, *being Persons able and capable, may, or can have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, alien, assign, dispose, plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and be defended, release, and be released, do permit and execute. And that the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, may have a Common Seal, to serve for all the Causes and Business of them, and their Successors. And that it shall, and may be lawful, to the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, the same Seal, from time to time, at their Will and Pleasure, to break, change, and to make new, or alter, as to them shall seem expedient. And further, We will, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, We do Ordain, That there shall be from henceforth, one of the same Company, to be elected and appointed in such form and manner, as hereafter in these Presents is expressed; which shall be called the Governour of the said Company, and that there shall be from henceforth, Four and twenty of the said Company, to be elected and appointed in such form, as hereafter in these Presents is expressed, which shall be called the Committees of the said Company, who together with the Governour of the said Company, for the time being, shall have the Direction of the Voyages, of, or for the said Company, and the Provision of the Shipping and Merchandises thereto belonging, and also the Sale of all Merchandises, of, or for the said Company, and the managing and handling of all other things belonging to the said Company: And for the better Execution of this Our Will, and Grant, in this behalf, We have assigned, nominated, constituted, and made, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, We do assign, nominate, constitute, and make the said* Thomas Smith, *Alderman of* London, *to be the first, and present Governour of the said Company, to continue in the said Office, from the Date of these Presents, until another of the said Company, in due manner, be chosen and sworn unto the said Office, according to the Ordinances and Provisions, hereafter in these Presents expressed, and declared, if the said* Thomas Smith *shall so long live. And also We have assigned, nominated, and appointed, and by these Presents for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, We do assign, nominate, constitute, and make the same* Paul Banning, Leonard Hollyday, John More, Edward Holmden, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Style, James Lancaster, Richard Wiseman, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablaster, William Romney, Roger How, William Chambers, Robert Sandy, John Eldred, Richard Wiche, John Highlord, John Middleton, John Combe, William Haryson, Nicholas Lyng, *and* Robert Bell, *to be the Four and twenty first and present Committees of the said Company, to continue in the said Office of Committees of the said Company, from the Date of these Presents, for one whole Year next following. And further, We Will and Grant by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, that it shall and may be lawful, to, and for the said Governour and Company, for the time being, or the more part of them present, at any Publick Assembly, commonly called, The Court holden for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, being always one, from time to time, to elect, nominate, and appoint, one of the said Company to be Deputy to the said Governour; which Deputy shall take a Corporal Oath before the Governour, and five, or more, of the Committee of the said Company, for the time being, well, faithfully, and truly, to execute his said Office of Deputy, to the Governour of the Company; and after his Oath so taken, shall and may from time to time, in the absence of the said Governour, exercise and execute the Office of Governour of the said Company, in such sort as the Governour ought to do. And further, We Will, and Grant, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, Executors, and Successors, unto us the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, that they, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy, to be one, and from time to time, and all times hereafter, shall, and may have Authority and Power, yearly, and every Year, on the first Day of* July, *or at any time within six Days after that Day, to assemble, and meet together in some convenient place, to be appointed from time to time by the Governour, or in his absence, by the Deputy of the said Governour, for the time being. And that they being so assembled, it shall and may be lawful, to, and for the said Governour, or Deputy of the said Governour, and the said Company for the time being, or the greater part of them which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputy for the time being, to be one, to elect and nominate one of the said Company, which shall be Governour of the same Company for one whole Year, from thence next following, which Person being so elected, and nominated to be Governour of the said Company, as is aforesaid, before he be admitted to the Execution of the said Office, shall take a Corporal Oath, before the last Governour, being his Predecessor, or his Deputy, or any six or more of the Committees of the said Company for the time being, that he shall from time to time, well and truly execute the Office of Governour of the said Company, in all things concerning the same, and that immediately after the said Oath so taken, he shall and may execute and use the said Office of Governour of this said Company, for one whole Year from thence next following. And in like sort We Will and Grant, that as well every one above-named to be of the said Company or Fellowship, as all others hereafter to be admitted, or free of the said Company, shall take a Corporal Oath before the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputy for the time being, to such effect as by the said Governour or Company, or the more part of them, in any Publick Court to be held for the said Company, shall be in a reasonable manner set down and devised, before they shall be allowed, or admitted, to Trade or Traffick as a Free-man of the said Company. And further We Will and Grant by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, that the said Governour, or the Deputy of the said Governour, and the Company and their Successors for the time being, or the greatest part of them, whereof the Governour, or the Deputy of the Governour from time to time to be one, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, have Authority and Power yearly, and every Year on the first Day of* July, *or at any time within six Days after that Day, to assemble, meet together, in some convenient place, to be from time to time appointed by the said Governour of the said Company, or in*

A Body Politick. The Stile of the Corporation.

A Common Seal.

The first Company for the Direction of the Affairs of the Company.

A Deputy to the Governour.

The first Day of July, or within six Days after the yearly Election of the Governour.

Every Brother to take a Corporal Oath.

The Four and twenty Committees to be yearly Elected, on the first of July, or six Days after.

in his absence by his Deputy. And that they being so assembled, it shall, and may be lawful, to, and for the said Governour, or his Deputy, and the Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputy for the time being to be one, to elect and nominate Twenty four of the said Company, which shall be Committees of the said Company, for one whole Year from thence next ensuing; The Committees shall take a Corporal Oath. *which Persons being so elected, and nominated to be Committees of the said Company as aforesaid, before they be admitted to the Execution of their said Offices, shall take a Corporal Oath before the Governour, or his Deputy, and six or more of the said Committees of the said Company, being their last Predecessors for the time being, that they and every of them, shall well and faithfully perform their said Offices of Committees, in all things concerning the same. And that immediately after the said Oath so taken, they shall and may execute, and use the said Offices of Committees of the said Company for one whole Year from thence next following. And moreover, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Governour,* If the Governour die, or be remov'd a new one to be chosen. *and Company of Merchents of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and to their Successors, that when, and as often it shall happen to the Governour of the said Company for the time, at any time within one Year, after he shall be nominated, elected, and sworn, to the Office of the Governour of the said Company, as is aforesaid, to die, or to be removed from the said Office, which Governour not demeaning himself well in his said Office, We Will to be removable at the pleasure of the said Company, or the greater part of them, which shall be present at any their Publick Assemblies, commonly called their General Court, holden for the said Company, that then, and so often it shall, and may be lawful to, and for the residue of the said Company, for the time being, or the greater part of them, within convenient time after the Death, or removing any such Governour, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as they shall think fit for the Election of the Governour of the said Company; or that the said Company, or the greater part of them being then and there present, shall, and may then and there, before their departure from the said place, elect, and nominate one other of the said Company, to be Governour of the said Company in the place or stead of him, that so died, or was so removed; which Person being so elected, and nominated to the Office of Governour of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said Office for, and during the residue of the said Year, taking first a Corporal Oath, as is aforesaid, for the due Execution thereof; and this to be done from time to time, so often as the Case shall so require. And also Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and to their Successors, that when, and as often as it shall happen, any of the Committees of the said Company for the time being, at an time within one Year next after, that they, or any of them, shall be nominated, elected, and sworn to the Office of* If any of the Committees, new to be chosen. *Committees of the said Company, as is aforesaid, to die, or be removed from the said Office, which Committees not demeaning themselves well in their said Office, We will to be removable, at the Pleasure of the said Governour and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy to be one, within convenient time after the Death, or removing of any of the said Committees, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as is, or shall be usual and accustomed, for the Election of the Governour of the said Company, or where else for the Governour of the said Company, for the time being, or his Deputy to be one, being then and there present, shall and may then and there, before there departure from the said place, elect and nominate one, or more, of the said Company, to be Committees of the said Company, in the places and steads, place or stead of him, or them, that so died, or were, or was so removed; which Person or Persons so elected, and nominated to the Office, or Offices of Committee, or Committees of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said Office and Offices, for, and during the residue of the said Year, taking first a Corporal Oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof; and this to be done from* Freedom for the Sons and Apprentices of such, as are free of the Company. *time to time, so often as the Cause shall require. And further, We do by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, Will, and grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, that they, and all that are, or shall be of the said Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and every of them, and all the Sons of them, and every of them, at their several Ages of One and twenty Years, or upwards: And further, all such the Apprentices, Factors, or Servants of them, and every of them, which hereafter shall be imployed by the said Governour and Company, in the said Trade of Merchandice, of, or to the* East-Indies, *beyond the Seas, or any other the places aforesaid, in any part of the said* East-Indies, *shall, and may, by the space of Fifteen Years, from the Feast of the Birth of our Lord God last past, before the Date hereof, freely Traffick, and use the Trade of Merchandice by Sea, in, and by such Ways and Passages already* The Place of the Freedom of this Company. *found out, or discovered, or which hereafter shall be found out and discovered, as they shall esteem, and take to be fittest into, and from the* East-Indies, *into the Countries, and Parts of* Asia *and* Africa; *and into, and from all the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Creeks, Towns, and Places of* Asia, Africa, *and* America, *or any of them beyond the Cape of* Bona Sperancia, *to the Streights of* Magellan, *where any Trade or Traffick of Merchandice may be used, or had, to, and from every of them, in such Order, Manner, Form, Liberty, and Condition, to all Intents and Purposes, as shall be from time to time at any Publick Assembly, or Court held by, or for the said Governour or Company, by or between them, of them of the said Company, or Fellowship of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *or the more part of them for the time, being present at such Assembly, or Court, the Governour, or his Deputy, being always present at such Court, or Assembly, limited and agreed: And not otherwise, without any Molestation, Impeachment, or Disturbance; any Statute, Usage, Diversity, Religion, or Faith, or any other Cause, or Matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding: So always that the same Trade be not undertaken, nor addressed to any Country, Island, Port, Haven, City, Creek, Town, or Place already in the lawful, and actual possession of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time hereafter shall be in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs or Successors, and who doth not, or will not accept of such Trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same, to be utterly against his or their good will and liking. And further, Our* That the Company may assemble in any convenient place. *Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, We do grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of* London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *and to their Successors, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said Governour, and Company, and their Successors, from time to time, to assemble themselves for, or about any the Matters, Causes, Affairs, or Business of the said Trade, in any Place or Places, for the same convenient, during the said Term of Fifteen Years, within our Dominions, or elsewhere, and there to hold Court for the said Company, and the Affairs thereof; and that also it shall and may be lawful, to, and for them, or the more part of them, being so assembled, and that shall then and there be present, in any such Place or Places, whereof the Governour, or his Deputy for the time being to be one, to make, ordain, and constitute such and so many reasonable Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them, being then and there present, shall seem necessary and convenient, for the good Government of the same Company, and of all Factors,* Authority to make reasonable Laws, by the greatest part of a General Assembly. *Masters, Mariners, and other Officers imployed, or to be imployed in any of their Voyages, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said Trade, and Traffick, and the same Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances so made, to put in and execute accordingly, and at their Pleasure to revoke, or alter the same, or any of them, as occasion shall require, and that the said Governour, and Company, so often as they shall make, ordain, or establish any such Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, in form aforesaid, shall and may lawfully impose, ordain, limit, and provide such Pains, Punishments, Penalties, by Imprisonment of Body, or by Fines, or Amercements, or by all or any of them, upon, and against all Offenders, contrary to such Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and* To punish Offenders either in Body or Purse, so it be not contrary to the Laws of the Realm. *Ordinances, or any of them, as to the said Governour, and Company, for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there being present, the said Governour, or his Deputy, being always one, shall seem necessary, requisite, and convenient for the observation of the same Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, and the same Fines and Amercements, shall and may levy, take, and have to the use of the said Governour, and Company, and their Successors, without the impediment of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, or any of the Officers, or Ministers of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, or without Accompt to Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, to be rendred or made. All and sundry which Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, so as aforesaid to be made, We Will to be duly observed, and kept under the Pains and Penalties therein to be contained; so always the said Laws, Constitutions, Orders, Ordinances, Imprisonments, Fines, and Amercements be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, or Customs of this Our Realm. And forasmuch as the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of* Freedom of Custom of Goods outwards, for four Years. London, *Trading into the* East-Indies, *have not yet Experience of the kinds of Commodities and Merchandizes, which are or will be vendible, or to be uttered in the said Parts of the* East-Indies, *and therefore shall be driven to carry to those Parts, in their Voyages, divers and sundry Commodities, which are likely to be returned again into this Realm: We therefore of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, for the better encouraging of the said Governour,*

and Company of Merchants Trading into the East-Indies, and for the Advancement of the ſaid Trade, do grant unto the ſaid Governour and Company, and to their Succeſſors, that they and their Succeſſors, during the four firſt Voyages which they ſhall make, or ſet forth for, or towards the ſaid East-Indies, ſhall or may tranſport, and carry out of Our Realm of England, and the Ports, Creeks, and Havens thereof, all ſuch, and ſo much Goods and Merchandizes, being Goods and Merchandizes lawfully paſſable, and tranſportable out of this Realm, and not prohibited to be tranſported by any Law, or Statute, of this Realm, as ſhall be by them, their Factors, or Aſſigns, ſhipped in any Ship, or Ships, Veſſel, or Veſſels, to be imployed in any of the ſaid four firſt Voyages, free of Cuſtom, Subſidy, or Poundage, or any other Duties or Payments to Us, or Our Succeſſors due, or belonging for the Shipping, or tranſporting of the ſame, or any of them. And yet nevertheleſs, Our Will and Pleaſure is, and We do by theſe Preſents ſtraitly Charge and Command, That all and every ſuch Goods and Merchandizes ſo to be tranſported out of this Realm, ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid four firſt Voyages, as is aforeſaid, ſhall from time to time be duly entred by the Cuſtomer, Comptroller, or other Officer of ſuch Port, Creek, or Place, where the ſame Goods, or Merchandizes, ſhall happen to be ſhipped, or laden, to be tranſported as aforeſaid. And alſo of Our further eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We do for Us, Our Heirs, Succeſſors, grant to and with the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that when, and as often at any time during the ſaid Term, and ſpace of Fifteen Years, as any Cuſtom, Poundage, Subſidy, or other Duties, ſhall be due and payable unto Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, for any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatſoever, to be returned out, or from any the Iſlands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforeſaid unto the Port of London, or any of the Havens, Creeks, Members, or Places, to the ſame Port belonging, that the Cuſtomers, and all other Officers for the time being of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, for, or concerning Receipts of Cuſtom, Poundage, Subſidies, or other Duties unto whom it ſhall appertain, ſhall upon the Requeſt of the Governour, and Company of the ſaid Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or any other their Agents, Factors, or Aſſigns, give unto the ſaid Governour and Company, their Agents, Factors, or Aſſigns, ſix Months time for the Payment of the one half; and after thoſe ſix Months ended, other ſix Months time for the Payment of the other half of their ſaid Cuſtom, Poundage, or other Subſidy, or Duties, receiving good and ſufficient Bonds, with Surety, to the Uſe of Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, for the true Payment of the ſame accordingly; and upon the receipt of the ſaid Bonds with Surety, from time to time, to give unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, for the time being, their Agents, Factors, or Aſſigns, their Cockets, or other Warrants, to take out, and receive on Land the ſame Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes, by Virtue thereof, without any diſturbance. And that alſo as often as at any time, during the ſaid Term of Fifteen Years, any Goods, Wares, or Mercandizes, of the ſaid Governour, and Company, for the time being laden from Our Port of London, or any the Creeks, Members, or Places to the ſame Port belonging, to be tranſported to, or towards any of the Ports, Iſlands, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places, aforeſaid, ſhall happen to miſcarry or be loſt, before their ſafe Arrival or Diſcharge in the Ports, for, and to the which the ſame ſhall be ſent, that then, and ſo often, and ſo much Cuſtom, Poundage, Subſidies, or other Duties, as they anſwer'd to Us for the ſame, before their going forth of Our ſaid Ports, Havens, or Creeks, ſhall after due proof made before the Treaſurer of England, for the time being, of the ſaid Loſs, and the juſt Quantity thereof, be by Virtue hereof allowed by the ſaid Governour and Company, their Agents, or Factors, by Warrant of the ſaid Treaſurer, to the ſaid Cuſtomers or Officers, in the next Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, that the ſaid Governour and Company, or their Succeſſors, ſhall and may ſhip, for, or towards thoſe Parts, according to the true Rates of the Cuſtoms, Poundage, or Subſidies, before paid for the Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes ſo loſt, or miſcarrying, or any part thereof. And for that the ſaid Governour and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, are like to bring into this Our Realm, a much greater quantity of Foreign Commodities, from the parts of the ſaid East-Indies, than can be ſpent for the neceſſary uſe of the ſame Our Realm, which of neceſſity muſt be tranſported into other Countries, and there vented: We for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, of Our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, do grant to, and with the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that at all times, from time to time, during the ſpace of thirteen Months, next after the Diſcharge of any the ſame Foreign Commodities ſo to be brought in, the Subſidies, Poundage, Cuſtoms, and other Duties, for the ſame being firſt paid, or compounded for, as aforeſaid, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid Governour and Company, and their Succeſſors, or any other the Natural Subjects of this Our Realm, which may, or ſhall buy the ſame of them, to tranſport the ſame in Engliſh Bottoms, freely out of this Realm, as well ungarbled, as garbled, without Payment of any further Cuſtom, Poundage, or any further Subſidy, to Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors for the ſame: Whereof the Subſidy, Cuſtom, Poundage, or other Duties, ſhall be ſo formerly paid or compounded for, as aforeſaid, and ſo provided, and the ſaid Cuſtomer, or other Officer or Officers, to whom in that behalf it ſhall appertain, for the time being, by Virtue hereof, ſhall upon due and ſufficient proof thereof, made in the Cuſtom-Houſe, of, or belonging to the ſame Port of London, give them ſufficient Cocket, or Certificate for the ſafe paſſing out thereof accordingly. And to the end no deceit to be uſed herein to Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, Certificates ſhall be brought from the Collector of the Cuſtom, Subſidy, Poundage, or other Duties inwards of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, to the Collectors of the Cuſtom, Subſidy, Poundage, or other Duties outwards of Us, Our Heirs, or Succeſſors, to the ſaid Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, have within the time limited, anſwered their due Cuſtom, Subſidy, Poundage, or other Duties, for the ſame inwards. And moreover, We of Our further eſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, have granted, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, that it ſhall and may be lawful for them, their Factors, or Aſſigns, in their firſt Voyage, or Fleet, which is now in preparing for their firſt Adventure to the ſaid East-Indies, to tranſport out of this Our Realm of England, all ſuch Foreign Coyn of Silver, either Spaniſh, or other Foreign Silver, as they have procured, prepared and gotten, or ſhall procure, prepare and get, as likewiſe all ſuch other Coyns of Silver, as they have procured, or ſhall procure to be coined in Our Mint, within Our Tower of London, out of ſuch Plate or Bullion, as it ſhall be provided for the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, their Factors, or Aſſigns, before the going forth of the ſame Fleet in theſe three firſt Voyages, ſo as the whole quantity of Coin or Moneys, to be tranſported in this their ſaid firſt Voyage, do not exceed the Value, or Sum of Thirty thouſand Pound Sterling. And ſo as the Sum of Six thouſand Pound, at the leaſt parcel of the ſaid Sum of Thirty thouſand Pound, be firſt coined in Our Mint, within Our Tower of London, before the ſame ſhall be tranſported as aforeſaid; any Law, Statute, Reſtraint, or Prohibition in that behalf notwithſtanding. And in like manner, of Our ſpecial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We have granted, and by theſe Preſents do for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their Succeſſors: That it ſhall and may be lawful, to, and for the ſaid Governour and Company, and their Succeſſors, after the ſaid firſt Voyage ſet forth yearly, for, and during the reſidue of the ſaid Term of Fifteen Years, to ſhip and tranſport out of this Our Realm of England, or Dominions of the ſame, in any their other Voyages, to, and towards any of the Parts aforeſaid, in form aforementioned, all ſuch Foreign Coin of Silver, Spaniſh, or other Foreign Silver, or Bullion of Silver, as they ſhall during the ſaid Term bring, or cauſe to be brought into this Our Realm of England, from the Parts beyond the Seas, either in the ſame kind, ſort, ſtamp, or faſhion, which it ſhall have when they bring it in, or any other Form, Stamp, or Faſhion, to be coined within our Mint, within Our Tower of London, at their pleaſure, ſo as the whole Quantities of Coin, or Moneys by them to be tranſported in any their ſaid Voyages, during the reſidue of the ſaid Term, do not exceed the Value or Sum of Thirty thouſand Pound in any one Voyage, and ſo as the Sum of Six thouſand Pound, at the leaſt parcel of the ſaid Sum, or Value of Thirty thouſand Pound, ſo to be tranſported as aforeſaid, be firſt coined within Our ſaid Tower of London, before the ſame ſhall be tranſported in any of the ſaid Voyages, any Law, Statute, Reſtraint, or Prohibition in that behalf in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And further, We of Our ample, and abundant Grace, meer Motion, and certain Knowledge, have granted, and by theſe Preſents for Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors, do grant unto the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their Succeſſors, that they and their Succeſſors, and their Factors, Servants, or Aſſigns, in the Trade of Merchandize for them, and on their behalf, and not otherwiſe, ſhall for the ſaid Term of Fifteen Years, have, uſe, and enjoy the whole entire, and only Trade and Traffick, and the whole entire and only Liberty, Uſe, and Privileage of Trading and Trafficking, and uſing Feat and Trade of Merchandize, to and from the ſaid East-Indies, and to and from all the Iſlands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforeſaid in ſuch manner, and form as is above-mentioned; and that the ſaid Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and every particular and ſeveral Perſon that

Six and ſix Months time, for Payment of Cuſtom and Subſidy inward.

If Goods miſcarry outward the Value of Cuſtom ſhall be allowed in other Goods afterward ſhipped.

The Cuſtom of Goods being paid at coming into the Realm, it ſhall be lawful for any Natural Subject to ſhip it out again upon the firſt Cuſtom within thirteen Months.

That it ſhall be lawful in the firſt Voyage, to carry out in Foreign Coin procured by the Company, or Bullion, the Value of 30000 l. ſo as 6000 thereof be coined in the Mint.

After the ſaid firſt Voyage, in all the reſt of the Voyages, they may carry out in every Voyage 30000 l. of ſuch Foreign Coin as they bring into the Realm, ſo as 6000 thereof be new coined in the Mint.

That the Trade ſhall be Traded, according to the Ordinances of the Company, and not otherwiſe.

that

that now is, or that hereafter shall be of that Company, or Incorporation, shall have full, and free Authority, Liberty and Faculty, License and Power in Form aforesaid, to Trade and to Traffick, to and from the said East-Indies, *and all and every the Parts thereof, in Form aforesaid, according to the Orders and Manners, and Agreement hereafter to be made, and agreed upon by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, or the more part of them, present at any Court, or publick Assembly, of, or for the said Company; the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputy for the time being always present at such Court or Assembly, and not otherwise. And for that the Ships sailing into the said* Indies, *must take their due and proper times, to proceed in these Voyages, which otherwise, as we well perceive cannot be performed in the rest of the Year following: Therefore we of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do grant, to and with the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, that in any time of restraint six good Ships, and six good Pinnaces well furnished with Ordnance, and other munition for their Defence, and five hundred Mariners,* English-men, *to Guide and Sail in the same six Ships, and six Pinnaces at all times, during the said term of fifteen Years, shall quietly be permitted, and suffered to depart and go in the said Voyages, according to the purport of these Presents, without any stay or contradiction by Us, Our Heirs or Successors, or by the Lord High Admiral, or any other Officer or Subject, of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors for the time being in any Wise, any Restraint, Law, Statute, Usage, or Matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided nevertheless, that if We shall at any time within the said term of fifteen Years, have just cause to Arm Our Navy in warlike manner, in defence of Our Realm, or for offence of Our Enemies, or that it shall be found needful to join to the Navy, of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, the Ships of Our Subjects, to be also Armed for the Wars to such a Number as cannot be supplied, if the said six Ships, and six Pinnaces should be permitted to depart, as above is mentioned, then upon Knowledge given to Us, Our Heirs or Successors, or by any Admiral, to the said Governour and Company, about the twentieth day of the Month of* July, *or three Months before the said Governour and Company, shall begin to make ready the same six Ships and six Pinnaces, that we may not spare the said six Ships and six Pinnaces, and the Mariners requisite for them to be out of our Realm, during the time that our Navy shall be upon the Seas; That then the said Governour and Company, shall forbear to send six such Ships, and six Pinnaces for their Trade of Merchandize, untill that we shall revoke, or withdraw Our said Navy for this Service. And We of Our further Royal Favour, and of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion have granted, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *and to their Successors, that the said* East-Indies, *nor the Islands, Havens, Ports, Cities, Towns, or Places thereof, nor of any part thereof, shall not be visited, frequented or haunted by any of the Subjects of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, during the said term of fifteen Years, contrary to the true meaning of these Presents. And by vertue of Our Prerogative Royal, which We will not in that behalf have argued, or brought in question; We straightly Charge, Command, and Prohibit for Us, our Heirs and Successors, of what degree or quality soever they be, that none of them directly or indirectly, do Visit, Haunt, Frequent, Trade, Traffick, or Adventure by way of Merchandize, into, or from any of the said* East-Indies, *or into and from any of the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforesaid, other than the said Governour, or Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *and such particular Persons, as now be, or hereafter shall be of that Company, their Agents, Factors, and Assigns, during the said term of fifteen Years, unless it be by, and with such Licence and Agreement of the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *in writing first had, and obtained under their common Seal to be granted, upon pain that every such Person or Persons, that shall Trade or Traffick into, or from any of the said* East-Indies, *other than the said Governour, or Company of Merchants of* London *trading to the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, shall incur Our indignation and forfeiture, and loss of the Goods, Merchandize, and other things whatsoever, which so shall be brought into this Realm of* England, *or any the Dominions of the same, contrary to Our said Prohibition, or the purport or true meaning of these Presents, as also the Ship and Ships, with the Furniture thereof, wherein such Goods, Merchandizes, or Things shall be brought, the half of all the said forfeitures to be to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, and the other half all, and every the said Forfeitures, We do by these Presents of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, clearly and wholly for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies: *And further, all and every the said Offenders, for their said contempt, to suffer Imprisonment during Our Pleasure, and such other punishment, as to Us, Our Heirs or Successors, for so high a Contempt shall seem meet and convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered, untill they, and every of them, shall become bound unto the said Governour, for the time being, in the sum of a thousand pound at least, at no time there after, during this present Grant, to Sail or Traffick into any of the said* East-Indies *contrary to Our express Commandment, in that behalf herein set down and publish'd. And further, for the better encouragement of Merchant strangers, and others, to bring in Commodities, into this Our Realm, We for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading to the* East-Indies, *that They and their Successours may from time to time, for any Consideration or Benefit to be taken to their own use, grant or give Licence to any Person or Persons, to Sail, Trade, or Traffick, into, or from any of the said* East-Indies, *so as such Licence be granted or given before such Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes be laid on Land, and so as such Licence be made by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies *for the time being, under their Common Seal. And further of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, we have condescended and granted, and by these presents for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, we do condescend and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *and their Successors, that we our Heirs and Successors, during the said term of fifteen years, will not grant liberty, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenour of these our Letters Patents; to sail, pass, trade, or traffique to the said* East-Indies, *or into, or from the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns or Places aforesaid, or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *or the most part of them. And Our will and pleasure is, and hereby we do also ordain, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *or the more part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy to be one, to admit into, and to be of the said Company, all such Apprentices to any of the said Fellowship or Company, and all such Servants and Factors, of or for the said Company, and all such others as to them, or the most part of them present, at any Court held for the said Company, the Governour, or his Deputy being one, shall be thought fit and agreeable with the Orders and Ordinances, to be made for the Government of the said Company. Provided always, that if any of the persons before named, and appointed by these Presents, to be free of the said Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies, *shall not before the going forth of the Fleet, appointed for this first Voyage, from the Port of* London, *bring in, and deliver to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed, or which within the space of twenty Days next after the date hereof, shall be appointed by the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them, to receive the Contributions and Adventures, set down by the several Adventurers, in this last and present Voyage, now in hand to be set forth, such Sums of Money as have been by any of the said persons, by these Presents nominated to be of the said Company, expressed, set down, and written in a Book appointed for that purpose, and left in the hands of the said* Tho. Smith, *Governour of the said Company, or of the said* Paul Bannyng, *Alderman of* London, *and subscribed with the names of the same Adventurers, under their Hands, and agreed upon to be adventured in the said first Voyage, that then it shall be lawful for the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them, whereof the said Governour or his Deputy to be one, at any their General Court, or General Assembly, to remove, Disfranchize, and displace him or them at their wills and pleasures; And the said Governour and Company of Merchants of* London, *trading into the* East-Indies *for them and their Successours, doe by these Presents covenant, promise, and grant to and with us, Our Heirs and Successors, that they the said Governour and Company, and their Successors: In all and every such Voyage, as they at any time, or times hereafter during the said Term shall make out of this Realm, by vertue of this Our Grant, and Letters Patents, the first Voyage only excepted, shall and will upon every return, which shall be made back again into this Realm, or any of our Dominions, or within six Months next after every such return, bring into this our Realm, of* England, *from the said* East-Indies, *or from some other parts beyond the Seas, out of our Dominions, as great or greater value in Bullion of Gold or Silver, or other forein Coin of Gold or Silver, respectively for every Voyage, the first Voyage only excepted, as shall be by force of these Presents, transported or carried out of this Realm, by them, or any of them in any kind of Silver above-said, whatsoever in any of the said Voyages, and that all such Silver, as by vertue of this our Grant and Letters Patents, shall be shipped or laden,*

That six Ships and six Pinnaces, shall be yearly permitted to go into the *East-Indies*, and five hundred Mariners, any restraints notwithstanding; except the Navy Royal go forth.

A prohibition to all other subjects, not free of this Company, for trading into those parts upon several pains, without the licence and assent of the Company.

Forfeiture of Goods and Ships.

The division of the forfeiture.

Imprisonment.

Entring into bond of a thousand pound.

How the Company may grant licence to others, at what time.

That Her Majesty will not grant to any others to enter into these parts, during the term of 15 years.

That the Company may admit others at their pleasure into this Freedom.

Proviso, that if any named in the Patent do not bring in his promised adventure set down, it shall be lawful for the Company to disfranchise him.

The Company do promise to bring in after every Voyage returned within six months, as great a quantity of Silver, Gold, or Foreign Coin as they shall carry out, the first Voyage excepted.

All Silver or Gold carried forth by the Company shall be shipped at the Ports of *London*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plimouth*.

den, by the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, to be transported out of this Realm in any of the said Voyages, shall from time to time at the setting forth of every such particular Voyages be shipped or laden at the Ports or Havens of London, Dartmouth or Plimouth, or at some of the same Ports and Havens, and at no other Port or Haven whatsoever within this our Realm, or the Dominions thereof, and that all and every such Silver, as from time to time, shall be shipped and laden in the said Ports of London, Dartmouth and Plimouth, or any of them to be by force of these Presents transported out of this Realm, as is aforesaid, shall from time to time, be duly entred by the Customer, Comptroller, Collector, or other Officer, to whom it shall appertain of every such Port or Haven, where the same shall happen to be shipped or laden, in the Custom Book, belonging to the said Port or Haven, before such time as the same shall be shipped, or laden to be transported as aforesaid, without any Custom or Subsidy to be paid for the same. And that in like manner, all and all manner of Gold and Silver whatsoever, which shall be brought into this Realm, or any of our Dominions, by the said Governour and Company, or any of them, according to the true meaning of these Presents, shall likewise be from time to time, duly entred by the Customer, Comptroler, or other Officer of every such Port, Creek or Place, where the same Gold or Silver shall happen to be unshipped, or brought to Land, before such time as the same Gold or Silver, or any part thereof shall be unshipped, or brought to Land, as is aforesaid. Provided always, nevertheless, and Our will and pleasure is, that these our Letters Patents, or any thing therein contained, shall not in any sort extend, to give or grant any Licence, Power, or Authority, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them, to undertake or address any Trade unto any Country, Port, Island, Haven, City, Creek, Town or Place, being already in the lawful and actual possession of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time hereafter shall be in League, or Amity with us, Our Heirs and Successors, and which doth not, or will not except of such trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same to be utterly against his, or their good will and liking, any thing in Presents before contained, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. Provided also, that if it shall hereafter appear to Us, Our Heirs or Successors, that this Grant, or the continuance thereof, shall not be profitable to us, Our Heirs and Successors, and to this Our Realm, that then, and from thence-forth upon and after two years warning to be given to the said Company, by Us, Our Heirs or Successors, under Our or their Privy Seal, or Sign Manual, this present Grant shall cease, be void, and determined to all intents, Constructions, and Purposes. And further of Our special Grace, certain knowledge, and meer Motion, we have condescended and grated, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors do condescend, and grant to the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that if at the end of the said term of fifteen years, it shall seem meet and convenient, to the said Governour and Company, or any the Parties aforesaid, that this present Grant shall be continued, and if that also it shall appear unto Us, Our Heirs and Successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be prejudicial, or hurtful to this our Realm but that we shall find the further continuance thereof profitable for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, and for our Realm with such Conditions, as are here in mentioned, or with some Alteration or Qualification thereof, that then We, Our Heirs or Successors, at the instance and humble Petition of the said Governour and Company, or any of them to be made unto us Us, Our Heirs and Successors will grant, and make unto the said Governour and Company, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other Person and Persons, Our Subjects, as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall be by Us, Our Heirs or Successors newly nominated not exceeding in Number, four and twenty new Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of England, in due Form of Law with like Covenants, Grants, Clauses and Articles, as in these Presents are contained, or with Addition of either necessary Articles, or changing of these into some other parts, for and during the full Term of fifteen Years then next following. Willing hereby, and straightly charging and commanding all, and singular Our Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Justices, Majors, Sheriffs, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffs, and all and singular other, Our Officers, Ministers, Leadgemen, and Subjects whatsoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the said Governour and Company, and to their Successors, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, Servants, Assigns and Ministers, and every of them in executing and enjoyning the Premises as well on Land, as on Sea, from time to time, when you, or any of you shall thereunto be required, any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation, or Restraint heretofore, had, made, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Although express mention of the true yearly value, or certainty of the Premises, or of any of them, or of any other Gifts, or Grants by us, or any of our Progenitors, to the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them before this time made, in these Presents is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary hereof, heretofore had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding.

If this Privilege be found unprofitable for the Realm then within two years warning given under the Privy Seal, the same shall be void, but if it shall be found beneficial, then the same to be renewd with some additions.

In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents, Witness our self at Westminster, the one and thirtieth of December, in the three and fortieth Year of Our Reign. Per brevem Privato Sigillo. f. HUBERD.

CHAP. VIII.

The first Voyage to the East-Indies, for the Merchants of London, by Mr James Lancaster, Admiral.

THE Merchants of *London*, having rais'd amongst themselves a Stock of 72000 Pounds in order, to the Establishment of an *East-India* Trade, and having besides, Her Majesties Highest Encouragement, and Letters of Commendation to the most considerable Precepts of *India*; they set out a Fleet of five able Ships, to begin the Correspondence with that part of the World. The Ships were the Dragon Admiral of 600 Tuns, the Hector Vice-Admiral of 300, the Ascention of 200, the Susan of about the same dimensions, and the Guest a Victualer of 130. They had aboard them in all 480 men, and were furnished with Ammunition and Victuals for 20 Merchants. We carried along with us to the value of 27000 pounds in Money and Goods, the other part of the Stock having been entirely spent upon the Ships, and the necessary Furniture of them.

Ed. D. 1600.

They set out from Woolwich.

Being ready to Sail, we set out *February* the thirteenth from *Woolwich* upon the River of *Thames*, and being becalm'd in the Downs, made it *Easter-Day* before we reach'd *Dartmouth*.

April the eighteenth, we came to an Anchor in *Torbay*, where the necessary Orders and Instructions were given for our better Company keeping at Sea, as also what places to have recourse to, in case any Ship were separated from the rest of the Fleet by Storms or any other accident.

May the Second, we sail'd out of *Torbay* directing our Course to the *Canaries* (a) and the fifth, had sight of *Alequanza* the most Northerly of those Islands, and so holding our Course between *Forteventura*, and the Grand *Cautery*, at the South part of it we fell into the *Calms* For the space of a whole Month afterward we were so distracted between Calms and contrary South winds, and sometimes with sudden furious Gusts and dreadful Lightnings, that we made but little way; and we had our Hands full of work to Guard our selves from those dangers that we look'd in the Face for so long together

(a) Canaries.

Beating up and down at this rate with much ado, by *June* twenty first we got into 2 Degr. of the North side the Line; and as they commonly say, 'tis a bad Wind indeed that blows no body no Good, so the Winds though they had been hitherto extreamly Cross and Contrary, yet were now so Favourable as to blow a good Prize into our Hands. She was a Ship of *Portugal* bound for the *East-Indies*, and she afforded us 146 Buts of Butter, 176 Jarrs of Oil, 12 Barrels of Oil, and 55 Hogsheads of Meal. This was a very substantial Help to us in our Voyage; and now we found that the Winds had done us no great diskindness in not sending us faster along than they did.

A Prize taken.

June the last, we pass'd the Line, and lost sight of the North Star, and holding our Course S. S. W. we doubled the Cape of St. *Augustine* some 26 Leagues to the East side.

They cross the Equinoctial.

July

July the 20th, we made 19 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat. and here we discharged our Victualing Ship, the *Guest*, taking all her Masts, Sails and Yards, and breaking down her higher building for Fire-wood, we left her floating in the Sea; holding our Course to the South-side.

They pass the Tropic of *Capricorn*.

July the twentyfourth we pass'd the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and because we had been so long about the Line (as we were forc'd to do, the time being past for a quick Navigation) and many of our Men having contracted still nearer, our Admiral gave orders to stand either for *Soldania* or St. *Helena*, that we might refresh our sick Company.

August the first, We came into 30 Degrees South Lat. and here we met with the South Winds, to the great comfort of us all, especially those that were disordered. This Wind held us till we came within 250 Leagues of the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and then it blew directly to the East for 15 or 16 Days, which made a sudden alteration in our Ship for the worse, and encreas'd mightily Distempers amongst us. Now all that were well and sound before, took their turns to be sick, and in this general Distress for want of other Hands, the Merchants themselves were forc'd to work at the Helm, and do the Offices of common Sailors.

But this calamitous Wind left us again, and another succeeded, which prov'd more favourable, brought us

(b) They arrive at *Soldania*.

September the ninth into the Road of (b) *Soldania*. At our coming in here, we had very sensible Demonstrations of the sad Effects of a prevailing Scurvy, and other sad Distempers amongst us; for the Company of three of our Ships were reduc'd to that pass, that they were not able out of a whole Ship to make up strength enough to hoist out a Boat or let fall an Anchor. Our Admiral indeed scap'd pretty well, and most of the Men aboard her maintained a good habit of Body in all that sickly time, which Preservation was imputed to the Method the Admiral took with them; which was to give them all

Remedy for the Scurvy at Sea.

round three or four Spoonfuls of the Juice of Limons every Morning fasting, and not permitting them to eat till Noon. And this course is much more effectual if people together with it will content themselves with a short and spare Diet, and especially (if the Circumstances of Provision at Sea will allow it) abstain from eating salt Meats. Our Admiral went ashoar himself to find a proper resting place, and some Materials for the refreshment of the sick Company; and meeting with some of the *Soldanians*, he oblig'd them with several Trifles brought for that purpose, and as well as he cou'd signified to them his desire to trade with them for Cattle. But it being hardly possible ever to learn or speak that Tongue, he was forc'd to use the Universal Language of Brutes, Moa for Oxen, and Baa for Sheep, and such like rude Terms taken out of the mouths of the Beasts themselves, which was all very Intelligible to these People that were so near a kin to them. So several Tents being set up

Trade with the Natives.

ashoar, and some little Fortifications made for our own defence in case any violence should be offer'd us, we expected the arrival of the *Soldanians* with their Sheep and Oxen.

The third Day after our coming, they came down from

*See *Davis's* Voyages.

the Mountains with great troops of Cattle, * and we needed no Gold or Silver to go to Market with, as long as we had any old Iron left. Within ten or twelve Days we bought 1000 Sheep, and 42 Oxen of them, which we turn'd a Grazing upon the Hills about our Tents, and we purchas'd them at such easy Rates, that I think half the stock of rusty old Iron that is commonly seen in a Country Smith's Shop would make a Man here as Rich in Cattle as any of the old Patriarchs were. But I suppose that by the numbers of Sheep we bought they imagin'd we intended to Plant amongst them, and set up for Farmers in the Country, for after this they would sell us no more, and when we made signs to them for any, they wou'd point to the Flocks that surrounded our Tents, giving us to understand they did not know how we cou'd pretend to dispose of what we had already, without we resolved to dwell there and keep them, which they did not design we should. But we having no need of any farther supply, did not press them much for more of their Cattle, and as for living amongst them, we had other designs, and besides had no very great Opinion of them for Neighbours. While we staid here, what with the good feeding and the wholesomness and clemency of the Air, all our feeble Company recovered their Health and Strength to such a degree, that we thought our selves in better case than at our setting out from *England*, tho' we had lost 150 of our men.

Having bestowed this time upon the necessary work of Refreshment, *October* the 29th we put to Sea again, going out by a small Isle (in the mouth of the Bay) so full of Seals and Penguins, that a Ship might find very good Entertainment there, if the Country it self afforded none. Over the Bay of *Soldania* stands a very high Hill, flat like a Table, and therefore bears that Name; 'tis a very good mark for finding a Harbour, there being nothing like it in all that Coast, and its Height making it very discernible at 17 or 18 Leagues distance upon the Sea.

Isle of Seals and Penguins by the Bay of *Soldania*.

November the first, we doubled the Cape of *Good-Hope*, and the 26th fell in with the Isle St. *Lawrence*, (c) to the East of Cape St. *Sebastian*: Here the varying of the Compass was about 16 Degr. and we observed in general, that the varying is of very great use in an East and West Course, and particularly 'tis so in this Voyage to the Indies.

They double the Cape.

(c) St *Lawrence* Isle.

From this time to *December* the 15th we held the directest Course to the East side we could, intending to have reached the Isle *Cirne* or *Diego Roderigues*, as 'tis called in some Coasts; but parting from St. *Lawrence*, we had ever afterwards the Wind at E. & E.S.E. & E.N.E. so that we cou'd not get up with it. Upon this score 'twas concluded that we should Sail away into the Bay of *Antongils*, especially since the Scurvy now creeping in again amongst us, required us to furnish our selves with Oranges and Limons, which we knew that place would supply us with.

December the seventeenth, we had sight of the Southern part of the Island St. *Mary*, and the 18th we Anchored between it and the great Isle of St. *Lawrence*, sending the Boats thither, to enquire after the Physick we wanted for our Scorbutick Men. This Isle of St. *Mary*, is very high Land, and full of Woods: It affords little but Oranges, Limons, and Rice, it has two or three good watering places on the North side of it, but they don't lie very conveniently for a Boat to come at them. The Natives are very Black, but tall and handsome; they seem to be well temper'd, sociable, stout and valiant People, but like the rest of their Complexion, make no scruple of going stark Naked.

(d) Isle St. *Mary*.

Having little Encouragement here as to plenty of Provision, and the Country in uncertain stormy weather, we set Sail from hence *December* the third, and the 25 came into the Bay of (e) *Antongil*, and here we Anchor'd in a very good Road, between the Small Island and the Main. Yet experience told us that there was better riding near the little Island, than that in the bottom of the Bay where the Admiral Anchored; for some of our Ships that lay under the protection of that Island, felt very little of a furious Storm that rose there upon us, and drove along the rest that lay more at a distance, with three Anchors a Head.

(e) *Antongil* Bay.

The 26th we went ashoar upon the Main Island, and had the People of the Country presently about us, who though they had but a small Stock of Provision to dispose of, yet afford to Barter with us, but at the same time held up all at the highest Rate imaginable. The Commodities they brought were but Oranges and Limons, Rice and Hens; but they made such Prizes as if instead of Rice, we had had some very costly Grain; the Oranges had been Cased in Gold, and the Hens like that in the Fable, had laid Eggs of the same Metal. Besides they had so many Tricks and Artifices in their dealing, juggling together to hold all at the same Rates, and screwing up the Buyer by little and little to an Advance in the Price, that some Days passed before we could bring them to any thing of a tolerable Trade. So that seeing the Humour of the People, and their subtle Imposing ways, we resolved to be at a certain lay with them, and to fix the Laws and Measures of the Exchange in such a manner, that if they would come up to them they might, and if not we would have no dealing with them. Thus we determin'd how many Oranges, Limons or Plantans, or what quantity of Rice, should be given for such a number of Glass Beads or any other Trifles: and so holding tightly to this way, of dealing, every Man observing the same Rules, we traded with a great deal of ease and quietness, and had no words at all made about the Matter. And though we Barter'd for no less than 15 or 16 Tun of Rice, 50 Bushels of Pease and Beans, besides Oxen, Hens, and a great quantity of Oranges and Limons, yet having brought them to this way, we did all this with less noise and scolding than before perhaps we cou'd have bought a dozen of Oranges with. We lost several Men here of the Flux, which we attributed to the Impurity of the Water we drank in that Country, it being a time of great Rains and Floods, and the Waters generally crude and unwholsome after that.

Trade with the People.

We set Sail from hence *March* the sixth, and held on our Course for the *Indies*.

The

A.D. 1601. (*f*) Rogue-Pize Island.

The Sixteenth, we fell in with the Isle *Rogue-Pize* (*f*), in 10 ½ Degr. South Lat. Here we cou'd find no safe Riding for our Ships, the Water all about being extreamly deep; but certainly had there been this Conveniency, this Island wou'd have been a most agreeable place for a Ships refreshment. For by the delightful Scents that reach'd us, as we laid along by it, it discover'd what store of odoriferous Plants, Flowers, and Shrubs, it produced; besides, there was admirable good Fishing and Fowling there, and whole Woods of Coco-Trees, which do themselves answer most of the Necessities of Human Life.

Dangerous Rocks.

March the Thirtieth, being in 6 Degr. South Lat. we were in considerable danger, by reason of a Ledge of Rocks we happen'd upon of a sudden, which lay about five Fathom under our Ships; but presently casting about, we found eight Fathom, and so held on our Course Eastward. But all our Dangers of this nature were not over; for at some thirteen or fourteen Leagues distance from thence, we fell upon another Flatt of Rocks; and casting about to the Southward, about twelve Leagues further we fell upon more; so that trying every way, we found our selves inclosed in a Pound of Rocks, tho' we had twenty, thirty, and in some places forty or fifty Fathom Water between the Flatts. And here we were shut up for near three Days, and knew not how to make our way out of this miserable Confinement. At last, making the attempt Northward, in 6 Degr. 40 Min. we found a safe passage, and so following our Pinnace, which went sounding the Depth before us, we regain'd the open Sea.

(*g*) Isles of *Nicobar*.

May the Ninth we had sight of the Isles of *Nicubar* (*g*), we bore over to the South-side of the Channel, and anchor'd under a small Island that lies near the Shore. We found the People of these Islands, very much addicted to Cheating and Cozening in their Trade; they impos'd pieces of Gum upon some of our ignorant Company, instead of Amber; and cou'd they have counterfeited the Coco-Nuts too, no doubt they wou'd have done it, 'tis a Principle so rooted in most of these Eastern People to deceive and impose upon others, where-ever they have opportunity, or can do it to any advantage.

(*h*) Isle *Sombrero*.

April 20. We held our Course for *Sumatra*, but the Winds and Current being against us, we were forc'd to make towards the Isle *Sombrero* (*h*), which lies ten or twelve Leagues to the Northward of *Nicubar*. The Inhabitants are of a tawny Complexion, and paint their Faces, with several Colours; they cover nothing but the obscene Parts, which are bound up in a Linen Cloth, going about their Wastes, and so between the Twist. They are excessively shy and timorous, and whatever we cou'd do to perswade them, they wou'd none of them come aboard our Ships. Their Priests wear a sort of streight Cloths, that are made, as it were, for a Case, just to enclose their Bodies, and no more: Their Faces are painted green, black, and yellow, and they have a large Pair of crooked Horns upon their Heads, that are colour'd in like manner, and a long Tail fastned on behind, which hangs down between their Buttocks. They say, that the Devil appears in this Dress to them at their Sacrifices, and therefore that the Priests, who are his Servants, are oblig'd to conform themselves to the Example and Humour of their Master, let him appear how he will. This Isle affords extraordinary Timber for Ship-Masts, the Trees being so large, tall, and perfectly straight and even, that they are unexceptionable for those Uses.

The Habit of the Priests.

Trees for Main-masts.

A wonderful Vegetable.

But there is a Vegetable here, which tho' not for any known use, yet for its strangeness deserves equal notice and regard: 'Tis a little Twig, which rises up amongst the Land by the Sea-side, and by degrees grows to such a bigness, as may make it be rank'd amongst the smaller sort of Trees. If you offer to pull it up, it contracts it self, and shrinks down into the Ground, unless you draw so hard as to prevent it. But if you force it quite up above Ground, you find a great Worm lying at the lower part, and so closely united to it, as if it were a real part of the Vegetable, and constituted the Root it self. 'Tis matter of Experience and Observation, that in the same proportion this Worm grows less and less, the Plant grows bigger and bigger; and that at last, when the former seems to be entirely consumed, the latter begins to spread into Strings and Fibres, and roots it self firmly in the Ground, drawing in its Nourishment by that *Apparatus* of Vessels, in the same manner that other Vegetables do. But which is most strange of all; if when its grown to maturity, you strip off all the Leaves, and the outward Cortex, and so lay it a drying, the effect of it will be an absolute Petrification; and instead of a Stick, you shall have a real Stony Body, hardly to be distinguish'd from White Coral. Of these wonderful Twigs we gather'd and brought home several.

May the Twenty ninth, we set Sail from *Sombrero*; and *June* the Fifth came to an Anchor in the Road of *Achen* (*i*), two Miles from the City. Here we found Ships of almost all the Nations of *India*, that came hither to Trade; and we had some Reason to believe, that our coming thither would not be ungrateful, since we were the Subjects of a Princess, whose Reputation was so well establish'd abroad, and the Glory of whose Victories shone with such a Lustre, even into those remote Parts of the World where we were. For as we were inform'd by some *Hollanders* that presently came aboard us, the many Successes of our Queen against the *Spaniards*, and particularly that stupendous Defeat of the *Armada*, had made such a Noise in these Parts, and given such a Character of the Bravery of our Country, that we might be sure of a large share of the King of *Achen*'s Favour upon that Account. The same Day therefore our Admiral sent five or six Gentlemen of his Company to wait upon the King, to tell him of the Message and Letters he had brought from her Majesty of *England*, and to desire the Favour of an Audience; together with his Majesty's Promise for the Security of himself and Ships, the time they stay'd at *Achen*.

(*i*) *Achen*.

The Fame of Q. Eliz.

The King heard this Message with a great deal of pleasure, and order'd a splendid Banquet to be furnish'd for the Entertainment of our *English* Gentlemen that deliver'd it. He promis'd all the Security that the Admiral desired, and bid him come to his Audience with as much Assurance of good Reception, as if he were going into the Presence of his own Queen. Besides, at their departure, he gave the principal Person of them the Robe of Honour, and the Calico Tuck wrought with Gold; which the Kings of *Achen* never bestow, but when they intend to express an uncommon Degree of Favour and Respect.

The Admiral's Entry into *Achen*.

June the Eighth, our Admiral went ashore with a handsome Retinue, and march'd towards the Court: Upon Notice of which, the King sent six Noble Elephants, with Trumpets, Drums, and Streamers, and a good Guard of Soldiers to attend him. The largest of these Elephants, (which was a matter of fourteen Foot high) had a Castle upon his back (cover'd with Crimson Velvet) in the middle of which was a Golden Bason, and into this her Majesty's Letter was convey'd with great Respect: The Admiral himself rode upon another of these Beasts, and the rest of his Retinue were dispos'd of according to their Quality. Being introduc'd with a great deal of Ceremony into the King's Presence, after Reverence done, according to the Customs of that Country, he began in a handsome Speech to open to him the Particulars of his Message. But the King having heard some time, civilly interrupted him, telling him, That Business should be done afterwards; and that now 'twas more proper for him, after so long a Voyage, to attend his own Refreshment: Yet withal assur'd him, That for the sake of his Queen, whom all the World admired, whatsoever reasonable Demands he made, shou'd certainly be granted. Then was the Queen's Letter deliver'd to him, and the Present that came along with it; a Silver Bason, with a Fountain in the midst of it, weighing Two hundred and fifty Ounces; a standing Cup of the same Metal, a rich Looking-glass, a Head-piece with a Plume of Feathers, a Case of fair Daggers, an embroider'd Belt, and a curious Fan of Feathers. The remaining part of the Day, after this, was devoted to Banquetting, Musick, Dancing, and other Entertainments; in all which the Pomp and vast Riches of this Prince, and his great Respect to our Admiral, and his Company, did signally appear. He was invested in the King's Presence with the Robe of Honour, a Girdle of fine Work was put about him, and a Pair of Cresses hung on to his Sides. And as a more particular Favour, the King's Women, (which very few have the Happiness of seeing) were sent for out of their Apartments, to give him a Dance. Thus entertain'd with all the freedom and kindness that cou'd be, he took his leave of the King, and tho' invited to chuse any Apartment in the City, he came aboard that Night again, expecting his Majesty's Thoughts upon the Queen's Letter. The Copy of which is as follows:

The Queen's Present.

ELIZABETH *by the Grace of* GOD, *Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defendress of the Christian Faith and Religion.*

To the Great and Mighty King of *Achen*, &c. in the Island of *Sumatra*, Our Loving Brother, Greeting.

THE *Eternal* GOD, *of his Divine Knowledge and Providence, hath so disposed his Blessings, and Good Things*

of

of his Creation, for the Use and Nourishment of Mankind, in such sort; that notwithstanding they grow in divers Kingdoms, and Regions of the World; yet by the Industry of Man (stirred up by the Inspiration of the said Omnipotent Creator) they are dispersed into the most remote places of the Universal World. To the end, that even therein may appear unto all Nations, his marvellous Works, he having so ordained, that the one Land may have need of the other. And thereby, not only breed Intercourse and Exchange of their Merchandise and Fruits, which do superabound in some Countries, and want in others; but also ingender Love and Friendship betwixt all Men, a thing naturally Divine.

Whereunto We having respect (Right Noble King) and also to the Honourable, and truly Royal Fame, which hath hither stretched, of your Highness's Human and Noble Usage of Strangers, which repair into that your Kingdom, in Love and Peace, in the Trade of Merchandise, paying your due Customs, we have been moved to give Licence unto these Our Subjects, who with commendable and good Desires, sail to visit that your Kingdom: Notwithstanding the Dangers and Miseries of the Sea, natural to such a Voyage, which (by the Grace of GOD) they will make, being the greatest that is to be made in the World: And to present Traffick unto your Subjects. Which their Offer, if it shall be accepted by your Highness, with such Love and Grace as we hope for, of so great and magnanimous a Prince: We, for them, do promise, that in no time hereafter, you shall have cause to repent thereof, but rather to rejoice much. For their Dealing shall be true, and their Conversation sure; and we hope, that they will give so good Proof thereof, that this beginning shall be a perpetual Confirmation of Love betwixt our Subjects on both parts; by carrying from us such Things and Merchandise as you have need of there. So that your Highness shall be very well served, and better contented, than you have heretofore been with the Portugals *and* Spaniards, *our Enemies: Who only, and none else, of these Regions, have frequented these your, and the other Kingdoms of the East. Not suffering that the other Nations should do it, pretending themselves to be Monarchs, and absolute Lords of all these Kingdoms and Provinces: As their own Conquest and Inheritance, as appeareth by their lofty Title in their Writings. The contrary whereof, hath very lately appeared unto us, and that your Highness, and your Royal Family, Fathers, and Grandfathers, have (by the Grace of GOD, and their Valour) known, not only to defend your own Kingdoms; but also to give Wars unto the* Portugals, *in the Lands which they possess: As namely in* Malaca, *in the Year of the Human Redemption 1575, under the Conduct of your valiant Captain,* Ragamacota, *with their great Loss, and the perpetual Honour of your Highness Crown and Kingdom.*

And now, if your Highness shall be pleased, to accept into your Favour and Grace, and under your Royal Protection and Defence, these our Subjects, that they may freely do their Business now, and continue yearly hereafter: This Bearer, who goeth chief of this Fleet of four Ships, hath order (with your Highness Licence) to leave certain Factors, with a settled House of Factory in your Kingdom, until the going thither of another Fleet, which shall go thither upon the return of this. Which left Factors, shall learn the Language and Customs of your Subjects, whereby the better and more lovingly to converse with them.

And the better to confirm this Confederacy and Friendship betwixt us, we are contented, if your Highness be so pleased, that you Cause Capitulations reasonable to be made: And that this Bearer do the like in our Name. Which we promise to perform royally, and entirely, as well herein, as in other Agreements and Arguments, which he will communicate unto you: To whom we do greatly desire your Highness to give entire Faith and Credit, and that you will receive him, and the rest of his Company, under your Royal Protection, favouring them in what shall be Reason and Justice. And we promise on our behalf, to Re-answer in like degree, in all that your Highness shall have need, out of these our Kingdoms. And we desire, that your Highness would be pleased to send us Answer, by this Bearer of this our Letter; that we may thereby understand of your Royal Acceptance of the Friendship and League, which we offer, and greatly desire, may have an happy beginning, with long Years to continue.

The next time the Admiral went to Court, he found the King extreamly well pleas'd with the Contents of her Majesty's Letter: He told him in general, as to the League which was mention'd, That he for his part, desired nothing more heartily than such an Union and Correspondency; but as to all the Particulars of it, he wou'd leave those Points to be setled by his two chief Ministers, whom he had Authoriz'd to act in that concern. A Day therefore being appointed for this Business, the Conference began, which was managed in the *Arabick* Tongue; and for this our Admiral was very well provided, by the means of a Jew he brought with him, who spoke that Language perfectly well.

The Conference with the King of *Achen's* Ministers.

In the Discourse, as it came in his way, to make several Demands concerning the Freedoms of the Merchants, one of the Ministers desired him to lay before them, those Reasons which he thought most proper to perswade the King to grant those Demands that were made: In compliance with which Proposal, the Admiral insisted largely upon these, and several Topicks of the like Nature:

That Merchandize and Trade, when they flourish'd in any Country, brought signal Advantages along with them; and that no Prince ever repented giving Encouragement to them.

That *England* was capable of furnishing his Majesty's Dominions with Varieties of very useful Commodities; and particularly could supply him with skilful Artificers of all sorts, who might do him very considerable Service, and propagate those Arts that were wholly unknown in that part of the World.

That her Majesty was not only an Enemy to the Common Enemy the *Spaniard*, but was able also to keep him in Awe, and cou'd put a Bridle upon that exorbitant Power, which had swallow'd up so great a part of the Western, and might possibly attempt to seize another Golden Prey in the Eastern World.

In short, that some of the most potent Monarchs of the World, were her Confederates and Allies; and her Friendship was never offer'd to any Prince, that did not joyfully accept it, and esteem it at a high rate.

These things were deliver'd to the King in Writing, and he was pleas'd to consider them to so good purpose, that at our Admiral's next going to Court, he told him, He would seal the League with her Majesty, and hold it inviolably on his part: And as for all those particular Articles and Demands, which were the Subjects of Discourse in the Conference, he would take care for his complete Satisfaction therein, and order his Secretaries to send him all ratified and signed in his Name. But he was so kind as to give the Writings himself to the Admiral, in a very few Days; and that with abundance of soft and gracious Words, expressing his Good-Will to her Majesty, and the whole Nation in general.

Privileges granted to the *English* at *Achen*.

In these Papers the *English* had the following Privileges confirm'd to them, *viz.*

1. Free Entry and Trade.
2. Custom-free, whatever Goods were brought in, or carried out.
3. The Liberty of making Wills, and Disposing of their Estates, where, and to whom they thought fit.
4. Full Security as to all Bargains and Payments, in both which respects the *Achenese* shou'd be tied to a punctual and strict observation of all the Measures of Justice, and fair dealing.
5. Authority to inflict Punishments on their own Delinquents, without Appeal to the Civil Magistrate of the Country.
6. Assurance of Justice to be done in all case of Injuries from the Natives, upon Complaint made.
7. Freedom from all Arrests upon Goods or Prizes.
8. Liberty of Conscience, and the undisturbed Exercise of their own Religion.

These Points being thus happily settled, to our own Contentment, and the great Advantage of our Nation, the Merchants began to provide for a good Lading of Pepper: But herein we lay under a Disappointment, by reason of the Barrenness of the last Year; the Quantities being so little, that we doubted some of our Ships must go back empty: And the Price too rising so much above what Merchants had been made to believe, that whereas they were inform'd, it might be had at four *Spanish* Rials of Eight *per* C. it cost us almost twenty. But understanding that we might possibly meet with a Supply (at least enough to lade one Ship) at *Priamen*, which lies about 150 Leagues to the Southward of *Achen*; our Admiral gave Orders for the *Susan* to make ready to go upon that Design.

Tho' it appear'd by our Entertainment, and the Favours shewn us, that we were very welcome to the King and People of *Achen*; yet there were others, to whom we were as ungrateful, and whom our good Fortune strongly provok'd to hate us. The *Portugueze* were sensible, that we had with little trouble gain'd those important Points of Favour and Privilege, which with all their Application and Courtship, they had never been able to procure. Besides, they saw that our growing Interest and Reputation in those Parts, was in all probability, like to be the undoing of theirs; and that if we went on, as we had begun, they had e'en as good quit their Pretensions to any Concerns there, and leave the entire possession of the Trade to our selves. There seem'd to [illegible] emedy

to prevent this Danger, that ſo apparently threatned their Intereſt, but by a diligent Craft to undermine us ſome way or other: For as for open Violence, they dared not pretend to any ſuch Courſe, as well upon the account of our own Strength, as the Aſſiſtance the King of *Achen* would have given us in that Caſe.

Portugueze Treachery. Their Embaſſador therefore at Court, curiouſly pried into all our Proceedings, and watch'd every Step we took; he did all that he cou'd to inſinuate things into the King to our diſadvantage, and to ſeaſon him with Prejudices againſt us; but it ſeems his Majeſty was too well fix'd in his good Opinion of us, to be chang'd by this Detractor, and he got no Credit nor Reſpect at all, by this invidious Undertaking.

He deſired leave of the King, to ſettle a Factory in his Country, and to erect a Fort at the entry of the Harbour, to ſecure the Merchants, as he pretended; but, indeed, to keep us *Engliſh* out. But neither wou'd this Project take; and the King, who very well underſtood his meaning, told him, That his Maſter was as careful of his Country, as if his Daughter were to be Queen of it in time; and that he ſhou'd not need to be at the Charge of building a Fort for that uſe, ſince he wou'd furniſh the Merchants with a convenient Houſe, where all their Goods ſhould lie out of danger, both of Fire and Enemies too.

But beſides all theſe Endeavours, they ſet a Spy upon us in our own Houſe; an ingenious crafty young *Indian*, *They take a Spy.* who came every Day to us with Hens to ſell; and under the diſguize of a Market-man, had an opportunity given him to make his Obſervations upon us, and our Affairs; which the *Portugueze* that ſet him a work, by this means hop'd to come to the Knowledge of. Our Admiral ſuſpecting this Perſon, and taking occaſion one Day to enter into a free Diſcourſe with him, by very kind Words, and charming Promiſes of Liberty and Reward, got the whole Truth out of him: And he told him plainly, That the *Portugueze* had not only employed him as a Spy upon the Domeſtick Concerns, but had alſo planted a very ſubtle one aboard their Ships; who being there wholly unſuſpected, had taken a perfect Draught of them, as to their Dimenſion and Furniture, and the Number of Men and Guns that every one carried. Beſides, obſerving how much their Men were weaken'd and diſcompos'd by Sickneſs, they intended to draw a conſiderable Force from *Malacca*, and ſo aſſault them as they lay in the Road. Our Admiral ſo preſs'd the Point, and manag'd Matters with this Spy, that he entirely came over to his Intereſt and Service, and inſtead of being a Tool to the *Portugueze*, he became a very uſeful Inſtrument to us, to diſcover all their Plots and Intrigues, and give us Notice of every important Affair that was carrying on in the Embaſſador's Houſe. Being ſent for to Court, the next Day, he diſcover'd all theſe Proceedings of the *Portugueze* to the King, what they had already done, and what they further intended to do; and therefore requeſted of his Majeſty, That he wou'd order thoſe Servants of the Embaſſador, that were going away from *Malacca*, to be Arreſted at ſome Port of his, where they wou'd be ſure to go in order to their paſſage; that ſo by ſeizing the Intelligence they carried, there might be a more complete Evidence, and fuller Account of their Deſigns.

This the King very kindly promis'd to do, in caſe Notice were given him when they went: And accordingly *The Portugueze Bark ſtay'd by the King's Order.* when the time came, upon a private Intelligence from the Admiral, that the *Portugueze* Bark was gone, a Frigate was ſent after them, which gave a ſtop to their Voyage, and commanded them back to *Achen* in the King's Name. The Bark was ſearch'd, and all their Trunks and Packets were open'd, but the chief Prize, the Intriguing Letters that concern'd the *Engliſh*, were either loſt in the Hurly-burly, or ſecretly convey'd over-board.

Now the Year had paſs'd over us as far as *September*, and our Admiral began to think of putting to Sea again, in order to accompliſh his main Buſineſs. But hearing that the *Portugueze* Embaſſador had his Diſpatch, to be gone in a very few Days, (and it being on ſeveral Accounts expedient, that we ſhou'd be out at Sea before him) he went to entreat the Favour of the King to ſtay him for ſome time.

The King, who was always very eaſie of Acceſs, and ready to grant any Requeſt of the Admirals, receiv'd him with a great deal of good Humour, and pleaſant Jokes, upon what had paſt with the *Portugueze*, and at laſt told him merrily, That he wou'd do what he deſired, upon Condition, he wou'd bring him a fair *Portugueze* Girl, for a Preſent, at his Return. So taking leave of his Majeſty, and preſenting two of the chief Merchants to him, that were to ſtay behind to Trade, and whom he was pleas'd to take into his particular Protection. All things being now in a readineſs, we ſet Sail *September* the Eleventh for the Streights of *Malacca*. *They go to Malacca.*

We had in our Company a *Dutch* Ship of 200 Tuns, that offer'd to bear a part in the Adventure; and by Agreement was to have an ⅓ of what was taken.

In the mean time the King did not fail to act his part, in detaining the *Portugueze* Embaſſador; and tho' he every Day urged his Diſpatch to be gone, yet ſtill he was delay'd and whil'd off, upon one pretence or another, which was a very great advantage to us; For had he ſet out before us, the Alarm wou'd have been given all about the Streights, and Care wou'd have been taken, that no Ships ſhou'd paſs that way, where 'twas likely that we ſhou'd ever meet with them; whereas now we had the opportunity of poſting our ſelves conveniently for a Prize, and lay undiſcover'd within Twenty five Leagues of *Malacca* it ſelf, in the very Streights.

October the Third, we deſcried a Sail, and thereupon ſpread our ſelves into a wide Compaſs, that ſhe might be ſure not to miſs one or other of us. She happen'd to fall in with the *Hector*; which preſently gave us Intelligence, by two or three Guns let off for that purpoſe, ſo that we *A Prize ta-* drew altogether about her: We gave her ſeveral Shot, and ſhe reply'd pretty briskly again; but the Admiral coming up, and with a Diſcharge from his Prow, ſtriking down her Main-yard, the Diſpute was at an end, ſhe not being forward to ſhoot any more; and we fearful, leaſt ſome unhappy Shot from us might ſink her, lighting between Wind and Water.

The next Morning the Captain of her came aboard the Admiral, and reſign'd his Ship and Goods into his hands: We took poſſeſſion by four of our Men, whom we ſent aboard as well to ſecure her, as to prevent the pillaging and rifling, which is very common upon theſe Occaſions, and unavoidable, when a Rout of common Sailers come where Plunder is to be had.

This Ship came from St. *Thomas*, in the Bay of *Bengala*, and was bound for *Malacca*: She was of 900 Tun Burthen, had 600 Perſons aboard her, and a Lading of 950 Packs of Calicoes, Pintades, and a great deal of other Merchandice, beſides Rice, and things that we made little account of. And now we were eas'd of that care and fear that was upon us, of returning home with empty Ships; and our greateſt concern, as the caſe ſtood, was more for room to beſtow what we had gotten, till the return of the Ships from *England*.

October the Twenty firſt, we ſet ſail out of the Streights of *Malacca*, for *Achen*; and in our paſſage were like to be overwhelm'd with one of the Water-ſpouts, that pour'd *A Water-* down very near our Ship. When theſe Spouts fall, 'tis *ſpout.* almoſt as if a great River pour'd out of the Clouds into the Sea; it puts the Ocean into a violent Ferment, and makes it foam and boil again, with the exceſſive Irritation: They are ſometimes a quarter of an Hour in falling; and ſhou'd they light of a Ship, they wou'd infallibly ſink it. But we happily eſcap'd this Waſh, and proceeded in our Voyage to *Achen*.

October the Twenty fourth, we came ſafe into the Port of *Achen*, where we found all our Merchants, and their Affairs, in very good Circumſtances; and that the King, according to his Engagement, had been a faithful and careful Guardian to them in our abſence. And to make ſome Acknowledgment for this his Favour to us, the Admiral choſe ſeveral things out of the Prize we had taken, ſuch as we imagin'd wou'd be moſt pleaſing to him, and preſented them to his Majeſty, with his humble Deſire they might be accepted, as a Teſtimony of our Gratitude: This was highly obliging to him, and he expreſs'd a great deal of Satisfaction, not only in the Preſent it ſelf, but in the occaſion of it too, our Succeſs againſt the *Portugueze*.

We had not been here long, but our Admiral gave Orders to bring all the Lading of Spice (we had) aboard, and to make ready for our going to *Bantam*, where we were like to meet with a far greater Return of Pepper, and at more reaſonable Rates than we cou'd buy it at *Achen*. So going to Court, to take Leave of the King, after a long Conference, the following Letter was deliver'd him for her Majeſty, written in the *Arabick* Tongue.

The LETTER of the King of *Achen*, to the Queen of *England*. *The King of Achen's Letter.*

GLory be to God, who hath magnified himſelf in his Works, glorified his Dominion, ordained Kings and Kingdoms, exalted himſelf alone in Power and Majeſty: He is not to be uttered by Word of Mouth, nor to be conceived by Imagination of the Heart, he is no vain Phantaſm: No Bound may contain him, nor any Similitude expreſs him: His Bleſſing

and

and his Peace is over all his Goodneſs in the Creature: He hath been proclaimed by his Prophet heretofore, and ſince that often, and now again by this Writing at this preſent, inferiour unto none. For this City, which is not ſlack to ſhew their Love, hath manifeſted it, in the Entertainment of that Society, which filleth the Horizons with Joy, and hath confirmed it to the Eye by a Sign, which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their Requeſt is juſt, with purpoſe for exchange; and they themſelves of honeſt Carriage, and their kindneſs great in doing good in general to the Creatures, helping the Creature in Proſperity and Adverſity jointly, giving liberally unto the Poor, and ſuch as ſtand in need of their abundance, preſerving the Creature to their uttermoſt with a willing Mind: Which for them now is extended unto India *and* * Arach; *ſending forth the chiefeſt Men of Diſcretion and Note, calling alſo the beſt of the Creatures to counſel herein.*

* Or Carmania.

This is the Sultana *which doth Rule in the Kingdom of* England, France, Ireland, Holland, *and* Friezland: *God continue that Kingdom, and that Empire, long in Proſperity.*

And becauſe that he which hath obtained the Writing of theſe Letters, from the King of the Kingdom of * Aſhley, *who doth Rule there with an Abſolute Power: And for that there came unto us a good Report of you, declared and ſpread very joyfully by the Mouth of Captain* James Lancaſter, *(God continue his Welfare long.) And for that you do record that in your Letters, there are Commendations unto us, and that your Letters are Patent Privileges. Almighty God, advance the purpoſe of this Honourable Conſociation, and confirm this worthy League.*

* Or Achen.

And for that you do affirm in them, that the Sultan of * Afrangie *is your Enemy, and an Enemy to your People, in what place ſoever he be, from the firſt until now, and for that he hath lift up himſelf proudly, and ſet himſelf as King of the World: Yet what is he, beſides his exceeding Pride and haughty Mind? In this therefore is our Joy increaſed, and our Society confirmed: For that he and his Company are our Enemies in this World, and in the World to come: So that we ſhall cauſe them to die, in what place ſoever we ſhall meet them, a publick Death.*

* Or Spain.

And moreover, you do affirm, that you deſire Peace and Friendſhip with us. To God be Praiſe and Thanks, for the Greatneſs of his Grace. This therefore is our ſerious Will, and honourable Purpoſe truly in this Writing, That you may ſend from your People unto our * Ports, *to Trade and to Traffick; and that whoſoever ſhall be ſent unto us in your Highneſs's Name, and to whomſoever you ſhall preſcribe the time, they ſhall be of a Joint-Company, and of Common Privileges. For this Captain, and his Company, ſo ſoon as they came unto us, we have made them of an Abſolute Society: And we have incorporated them into one Corporation and common Dignities: And we have granted them Liberties, and have ſhewed them the beſt Courſe of Traffick: And to manifeſt unto Men, the Love and Brotherhood between us and you in this World, there is ſent by the Hand of this Captain, according to the Cuſtom, unto the famous* * City, *a Ring of Gold, beautified with a Ruby, richly placed in his Sett, two Veſtures woven with Gold, embroidered with Gold, incloſed in a red Box of* * Tzin.

* Or Bandar.

* of London

* Or China.

* That is, by Computation of time.

Written in * *Tarich* of the Year 1011. of *Mahomet*. Peace be unto you.

The Preſent.

Together with the Letter, a Preſent was deliver'd too, conſiſting of three rich Pieces of Cloth, embroider'd with Gold, and a Ring with a very large Ruby: And the Admiral himſelf was preſented with another Ring with a fair Ruby in it. Before he went away, the King asked him, Whether we had the Pſalms of *David* extant among us? To which he replied, That we had; and did conſtantly ſing them in our Divine Service. His Majeſty then told him, That he and his Nobles there preſent, would ſing a Pſalm to God for their Proſperity and good Voyage; which they did: And afterwards the Admiral and his Company, did, at the King's Requeſt, do the like, to ſhew him the *Engliſh*-way of Singing: So after the Pſalm was ended, his Majeſty in great Order pronounc'd a Bleſſing upon us, and diſmiſs'd us with a Promiſe, that we ſhou'd find the ſame kind Entertainment, if ever we came into his Country again.

Pſalms of *David* amongſt the *Mahometans.*

They go from Achen.

November the Ninth, we ſet Sail with our three Ships for *Priaman*, and *Bantam*, the *Suſan* being gone towards thoſe Parts before, to get a Lading of Pepper.

In two Days time the Admiral diſpatch'd the *Aſcenſion* home for *England*, ſo that now we were but two in Company; and we held our Courſe along the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, hoping to meet with our Ship the *Suſan*, which was trading thereabouts. There are ſome very dangerous places along this Coaſt, certain very low Iſlands, encompaſs'd with Flats and Rocks, where we had like to have had a full Period ſet to our Voyage; but by a favourable Providence we got free from the danger. Having croſs'd the Equinoctial the third time, we arriv'd at *Priaman* (*k*). *November* the Twentieth, where we found our Ship, and that well towards a Lading too, being provided with Six hundred Bahars of Pepper, and Sixty ſix of Cloves. This Commodity coſt us much leſs here than at *Achen*, tho' it does not grow about *Priaman*, but is brought moſtly from *Manangcabo* (*l*), which lies eight or ten Leagues up in the Country; and is remarkable, not only for the Quantities of Pepper it yields, but the ſtore of Gold Duſt and Grains found thereabouts, which the great Rains waſh down from the Mountains.

Flats and Rocks.

(*k*) *Priaman.*

(*l*) *Manangcabo.*

Priaman, tho' it lies ſo very near the Line (as being in 15 Min. South Lat.) yet is a very healthy place, and has a curious refreſhing Air; beſides, there's plenty of Proviſion, and good freſh Water there. The *Suſan* was order'd here, to get her Lading compleated, and ſo direct her Courſe homewards.

December the 15th, we entred the Streights of *Sunda* (*m*), and anchor'd under the Iſle *Puloparſa*, three Leagues from *Bantam*.

(*m*) *Sunda* Streights. *Puloparſa* Iſle.

The Sixteenth we entred *Bantam* Road, and the Vice-Admiral went aſhoar, to certifie the King of our Arrival and Buſineſs, and to deſire his ſafe Conduct. The King was very glad of our coming, and ſent a Nobleman back with the Vice-Admiral, to bid the Admiral Welcome, and to conduct him to the Court. This Prince was not above ten or eleven Years old, being under the Tuition of a Protector, who managed the Affairs of the Kingdom during his Minority: He welcom'd the Admiral very kindly, and receiv'd the Queen's Letter and Preſent of Plate, with much ſatisfaction, referring all the Points of Trade and Buſineſs, to be adjuſted by his Council, from whom he deſired the Admiral to take his Anſwer. And the Reſult of the Conſultation was, that we ſhou'd come aſhore and trade, with all the freedom we cou'd deſire, and be as ſafe, in all reſpects, as if we were in our own Country. So we had convenient Houſing provided for us, and our Merchants brought Goods aſhore, and the Trade began, and proceeded to ſuch good purpoſe, that within five Weeks there was more ſold in Goods, than would have laded our two Ships; and that they brought away from thence 276 Bags of Pepper, weighing 62 *l.* a piece. Theſe coſt us 5 ½ Rials of Eight *per* Bag, beſides our Anchorage, and the King's Cuſtom; the former of which amounted in the groſs to 1500 Rials of Eight, and the latter was a Rial upon every Bag.

Their Reception at *Bantam.*

Trade begins.

'Tis a Cuſtom always obſerved here, that the King is to begin the Trade, and furniſh himſelf with what Commodities he pleaſes, before any of his Subjects are ſerv'd; and this is no diſadvantage at all to the Merchant, ſince he gives a reaſonable Price, and is a very good Paymaſter.

Tho' the *Javans* are reckon'd ſome of the moſt thieviſh pilfering People in the World, yet we had a tolerable meaſure of quiet amongſt them, and they did not very much diſturb us by thoſe Knaveries, conſidering how horribly they are addicted to them. But then it muſt be own'd, that 'twas more our Care and Watchfulneſs that made them honeſt, than any thing of their own Inclination: And beſides, we had a Commiſſion from the King, to execute thoſe upon the ſpot, that we ſhou'd find about our Houſe in the Night, upon any ſuch Deſign; and after we had made four or five Examples, the reſt were better adviſed, and forbore troubling us.

While we were here, we loſt our Vice-Admiral, Captain *John Middleton*. But our Trade went on ſo briskly, that by *February* the Tenth *, our Ships had their full Lading of Pepper, and were ready to Sail. The Admiral before he went, diſpatch'd a Pinnace for the *Molucca's*, to begin a Trade there, and procure a Factory to be ſettled, againſt the next return of the Ships from *England*. He made proviſion too for carrying on the *Bantam*-Trade in his abſence, leaving a ſufficient number of Men and Factors, for the diſpoſing of the Merchandice that was left.

* *A.D.* 1607.

A Pinnace ſent to the *Molucca's.*

Factory in *Bantam.*

After this he went to take Leave of the King, and to return him his laſt Thanks, for the Favours and Privileges vouchſafed the *Engliſh* Nation in his Dominions. His Majeſty was pleaſed to make him the Bearer of a Letter, and a Preſent of very fair Bezoar Stones for the Queen, and for himſelf a Stone of the ſame kind, and a curious *Java* Dagger, which is a thing very highly eſteem'd amongſt them. This Ceremony ended, we had nothing now to do, but to get a Shipboard as faſt as we cou'd, and ſet out for our Native Country.

The Twentieth of *February* we ſet ſail for *England*, with a very chearful Heart, having ſucceeded in our Deſigns, for

They ſet out for *England.*

the Service of our Country, to so good a Degree, and met with so many unexpected Advantages that had hitherto sweetned our Voyage to us.

The Twenty second, and Twenty third, we came into the Streights of *Sunda*; and the Twenty sixth got clear of all the little Isles that lie in those Streights, and so holding a South West Course, in two Days we made 8 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat.

March the Thirteenth we pass'd the Tropick of *Capricorn*, keeping still for the most part, a South West Course.

April the Fourteenth, we were in 34 Degr. supposing the Isle of *Madagascar* to be to the North of us.

The Twenty eighth, we had a Storm so furious and violent, and the Sea ran so excessively high, that we had little hopes left of escaping a dismal Burial, under those Mountains of Waters that came rushing upon us. Yet all this was but the beginning of Sorrows, a Prologue to a more black and direful Scene of Miseries, which began to open it self to us on *May* the Third. Now the Sea beat so fiercely upon the Ships Quarter, that it shook all the Iron-work of the Rudder, and quickly broke off the Rudder it self from the Stern, to the confounding of the best and most experienc'd of us all. The Sea that we were in, was one of the most tempestuous in the World, and here our Ships drive up and down like a Wreck, being entirely at the Winds disposal, and not able in the least to command, or direct her own Motions. Sometimes we shou'd be carried within three or four Leagues of the Cape of *Good Hope*; and then again driven out to almost forty Degrees Southward, into Storms of Hail and Snow, and miserable sleety Weather.

A fearful Storm.

Once we attempted to take our Mizen-mast, and put it out at the Stern-port, hoping by the help of that Device, to make a poor shift, till we cou'd reach some Harbour or other, where we might repair the Breaches of our shatter'd Vessel: But when this was tried, we had no relief, but an increase of our Danger; for the Sea being somewhat grown with lifting up the Mast, did so shake the Stern, and put all into such a threatning a Condition, that we thought our selves happy when we had got the Mast in again. And now all was desperate, unless we cou'd make a new Rudder, and bring it to pass that it shou'd hang fast in the Sea; which considering the great Burthen of our Ships, the roughness of the Sea, and the loss of most of our Rudder-Irons, was a Work of surprizing difficulty. Yet having made out of our Mizen-mast as good a one as we cou'd, and fastned it as well as our pitiful Tackling wou'd allow, having also the Comfort of a little fair Weather, we continued our Course homewards: But 'twas not long before the Sea took it off again, and put us to a great deal of trouble to save it; so that now our Fears were rais'd to as high a degree as ever. Yet after all these Discouragements, by the help of our other good Ship the *Hector*, we accomplish'd the fixing it on once more, tho' it hung very gingerly, there being but two Hooks left to hold it. And in this Case we went on, directing our Course to St. *Helena*, the Wind falling so short, that we cou'd reach no part of *Africk*; and we knowing that we had already doubled the Cape, by the Latitude we were in.

June the Fifth, we pass'd the Tropick of *Capricorn* again; and the Sixteenth had sight of St. *Helena*: Which after a prospect of so terrible Dangers, as those we had gone through, was not a little refreshing to us. We bare close along by the Shoar, the more conveniently to reach the best part of the Road, which is right against the *Portugueze* Chapel, in twelve Fathom Water. Here we fitted up our Ship, and having almost as much need of mending and repairing our selves, as our Vessel, we allow'd some time for that necessary Work, to which the Island contributed pretty well, in the good fresh Water, Hogs, and Goats it afforded us.

They arrive at St. *Helena*.

July the Fifth we set Sail, holding our Course N. W. and the Fifteenth pass'd by the barren and desolate Island of *Ascension*. From hence we continued to hold our N. W. Course, till the Nineteenth, and then we cross'd the Equinoctial.

Pass the Equinoctial.

The Twenty fourth we made 6 Degr. North Lat. being as we judg'd then, 150 Leagues from the Coast of *Guinea*.

We held a N. & W. by N. Course, till the Twenty ninth, at which time we saw the Isle *Foge*.

Isle *Foge*.

August the Seventh, we made 16 Degr. and the Twelfth pass'd the Tropick of *Cancer*, steering Northerly.

The Twenty ninth we pass'd the Isle St. *Mary*.

September the Seventh, we had the Lands-end of *England* about 40 Leagues from us.

The Eleventh we cast Anchor in the *Downs*, after all the Perils of this long and tedious Voyage.

CHAP. IX.

A Description of Java, *and the first* English *Factory there: With divers Occurrents relating to the* Indian, English, *and* Dutch *Affairs. Written by Mr.* Edmund Scott, *containing a History of those Matters, from* A. D. 1602, *to* 1605.

THis Island runs near 146 Leagues in length, E. and W. and is in the widest part about 90 in breadth, Northward and Southward. Tis comprehended between the 135th, and the 145th Circles of Long. and the 7th and 9th Parallels of South Lat. The Central Parts of it are generally very mountainous and rugged, yet not so as to hinder Travelling, and those bordering upon the Sea, are low and marshy: Together with which disadvantage of Situation, they have an impure and unwholsome Air, which generally afflicts Strangers with many troublesome Distempers; yet hereabouts all the principal Towns of the whole Kingdom lie, the chief places of Trade and Business, as *Bantam*, *Jacatra*, *Jortan*, *Chiringin*, and the rest.

Account of the Island it self.

This Soil yields nothing worth the Trading for, but Pepper, which is brought in from all parts of the Kingdom to *Bantam*, and has rais'd such a Trade there, that no Town in all that part of the *Indies* (not *Achen* it self), can pretend to Rival it in that respect. And there used to be a good Stock of this Commodity brought in from divers other Countries too; but of late Years the *Dutch* have intercepted that Trade, and by buying it up abroad, prevented its coming to *Bantam*.

This Town is three *English* Miles in length, and as populous as most Towns of its bigness perhaps in *Asia*. They are to enter here upon the Affairs of Trade, that they keep three Markets every Day; and there is such a Throng of People at that in the Morning, that one wou'd think it rather a solemn Fair, in which Business was to be done but once a Year, than a common Market that occurs every Day.

Bantam.

There are two Divisions of this Town, the one entirely taken up by the *Javans*, the Natives, and genuine Possessors; the other devoted to the use of Foreigners, and such as come thither upon the Accounts of Trade and Merchandice.

The *Javan* Division is for the most part very slightly built, the Houses being generally fram'd with no stronger Materials than Canes; destitute of all Brick and Timber-work, except some very little, in a few places, where it adds neither Strength nor Beauty to the Building. Tis water'd with several small Rivers, that run up and down about it; and there is one Branch that passes through the very middle of it up to the Court, which holds a constant Correspondence with the Sea in its ebbing and flowing, and will bring up Gallies, and Junks, of great Burthen, to the very heart of the Town. It has the Convenience of a good Road for Ships too, and 'tis defended with a stout Brick Wall, with several Turrets and Bulwarks, so that it might be made a very considerable place, if the People had the Sence to understand their own Advantages.

The *Javan* Town.

The other part, which they call the *China* Town (with respect to the Building) makes a far handsomer appearance than this, the Houses consisting mostly of Brick, but rais'd after the *Chinese* Fashion square and flat at top; with Contrivances of Boards and Canes cover'd over with Brick and

The *China* Town.

and Sand, to defend them from Fires, which together with the thievish People, are the everlasting Plagues of Merchants Houses in *Bantam*.

'Tis parted by a narrow River from the *Javan* Town; and 'tis here that all the Strangers, and Merchandizing People of other Countries do reside; particularly here are the *English* and *Dutch* Houses, which are some of the best and statelieſt built in the whole Town.

The King, and his Government.

The King of this place is now reckon'd (since the deposing of the Emperour of *Damack*) the most potent Prince of the whole Island. He Governs all by an absolute Despotick Power; and the Laws upon which his Subjects Lives and Fortunes depend, are shut up entirely in his own Breast.

Adultery is here punish'd with present Death, in both Parties that are guilty of it; but as for Murther, the Law is to pay a Fine to the King: So that his Majesty may have a considerable Revenue coming in by Blood, considering the revengeful and implacable Temper of the *Javaneſe*: For if the Friends of the murther'd Party, do kill the Murtherer, and his Friends again revenge it upon them, and so destroy one another by whole Families, there's no more to be done, but to pay their Fines; and so the King, tho' he loses Subjects, yet gets Money by the Bargain.

The People of *Java*.

The People of this Country are excessively proud and slothful, and consequently poor: They despise all manner of Labour and Employment, and think it beneath them to have a dependance upon any thing of that kind for a Livelihood. The Gentry themselves are as poor as ever they can tell how to live; and 'tis certain, that they must be so, since (besides their neglect of all Business) they keep such vast Numbers of Slaves, that they are quite eat out by them, and their Rice and Pepper can hardly grow fast enough, to maintain the huge Trains of Tenants they affect to draw after them. They are so tender of their Honour, that they are ready to measure the very Seats upon which they sit, for fear one shou'd be higher than another; and no Man will endure another Person of the same Rank and Quality, to sit one Inch more exalted than he does. They are horribly malicious and quarrelsome, and care not what they do to accomplish the Revenge of an Injury; but they generally do it in a cowardly and clandestine way, and will sooner dispatch a hundred Enemies, with a private Stab or Thrust, than meet one honourably in the Field. Stealing, Cheating, and Defrauding, seem to bear a part in their Constitution, as well as Sloth and Idleness; their Vertue is too weak to resist the Temptation of the smalleſt Bribe, and their Conscience so little, that they'll not resign a Pawn, or a Pledge, or any thing they are trusted with; nor pay any Debt, if they can possibly help it. And yet their Laws are very severe in this Case; for the Creditor has Power, not only over the Goods, but also the Wife and Children of the Debtor, whom he may sell for Slaves, if he pleases.

Their Temper and Qualities.

Their Religion.

As for their Religion, 'tis very hard to say what it is; and any other thing relating to them, is sooner accounted for than this. They have Temples amongst them, but they serve more to adorn the City, than any thing else; for the *Javaneſe* very seldom see the inside of them, upon any Religious Occasion. They say, There is one God that made Heaven and Earth; but he being so very good, that he cannot possibly hurt them, they don't make so many Prayers to him, because the fear and dread of Evil, is the main Ground of their Devotion. But as for the Devil, they say he is very wicked and mischievous, and ready to do them all manner of Ill Turns, and so they serve him in their own defence, and by way of prevention. They have some Notion of Jesus Christ, whom they acknowledge to be a Great Prophet: But their greatest Disgust against Christianity, is upon the account of its strict Prohibition of Polygamy, and the Vices that relate to Women, which all the Eastern People are wonderfully addicted to.

Their Apparel and Dress.

The usual Garb of the better sort, is a Tuck on their Heads, and a fair Pintado about their Loins, and all the rest of the Body naked: But sometimes, upon extraordinary Occasions, they wear a close Coat of Cloth, Velvet, or Chamblet, according as they can purchase it. The meaner People content themselves with a flat Cap of Taffita, or Callicoe, and about their Middles a piece of the same, a Yard broad, and commonly of two Colours. There is another sort of Clothing sometimes us'd by them, which is made of Cotton, and the Rinds of Trees; but by reason of their intolerable Lazineſs, there is very little of this made and worn. The Men take a great deal of Pride in their Hair, which is very thick and frizled, and go bare-headed, very often, a purpose to shew it: As for the Women, they always go bare-headed; the Genteeler sort tying up their Hair in Bobs, as we do our fine Horses Tails.

Their Weapons.

The Arms most in use amongst these People, are Darts, Pikes, and Targets, and some few Guns, which they manage after a very awkard manner; this is their Furniture for the Wars; but the Weapon for common use and wearing, and which does most of the bloody Executions, (which are so very frequent there) is the Crise, or Dagger, which is about two Foot long: The Blade of this is not strait and even, but crooked and waved; and the Handles, which are of Wood, or Horn, are curiously carved, and wrought into several Figures, this being all the Work the *Javaneſe* pretend to, and the only piece of Ingenuity they can boast of. These Weapons are generally tinctur'd with a Poison so very strong and pernicious, that not One in Five hundred that's wounded with them, comes off with Life.

The *Chineſe* that live in *Java*.

As for the *Chineſe* that live here, they are absolute Masters of all the Arts and Policies, that can any way serve to carry on the Design of thriving in the World, and growing rich. They make all the advantage imaginable, of the Dulneſs, Pride, and Sloth, of their *Javan* Masters: They are the Persons that manage the Concerns of Planting, Dressing, and Gathering the Pepper, and Rice; and as they do all the Work, so they suck up all the Profits, and leave the others little more than the bare Title to their Lands and Estates. They'll refuse no Labour, how mean and hard soever, if they have but a prospect of squeezing any advantage out of it; and they care not who they are Slaves to, nor what Drudgery they undergo, so they can but make their own Market, out of the Folly and Easineſs of their Masters. And then in all Points of Trade and Bargains, let a Man that deals with them, have his Wits about him, since they are not to be held by any Bonds of common Honesty and Justice, and are never sincere and fair in their Dealings, but when a Plot to cheat and play the Knave happens to be discover'd, or can't be put in practice.

Their Manners.

In the Matters of Religion, they are very near a-kin to the *Javans*, and have much the same Measures of Devotion, tho' with more foolish Ceremonies and Superstition than they.

Religion.

The Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls, obtains greatly amongst them; and they pretend to believe, that the Reward of good and vertuous Actions, when they quit these Bodies, shall be to come down again into better, and be born to great Estates, and high Preferments: But on the other hand, that if they live wickedly and baſely here, they shall, in the next Revolution of Souls, slip into some vile and despicable Bodies, be united to some Bestial Carkase, and make their appearance in the most foul and horrid Shapes of the Creation.

But if the *Chineſe* do heartily believe this Doctrine, 'tis a great wonder they don't live more just and regular Lives than they do; since if it prove true, 'tis most certain, that there's not one in 500 of them, that can expect to be any better than a Toad, or a Viper, or some very loathsome Animal, the next time they shift their Bodies.

Customs.

They have a Custom of Sacrificing every New Moon; and, they say, they do it to God Almighty; tho' their Neighbours affirm, 'tis to the Devil: But to which soever it is, the Ceremony is attended with Prayers and Singing, and at the end of every Prayer, they ring a little Bell. The Altar is furnish'd with Fowl, and several sorts of Fruits; but they eat up all this themselves, and offer up nothing by Fire, but certain pieces of painted Paper, which they value at a great rate.

There are many of them pretty well seen in Astronomy, and keep a regular Account of their Years and Months: But they have no Distinction of Days amongst them, as to any Religious Purposes; and never keep a Sabbath, but when they lay the Foundation of a House, or strike some great Bargain; any thing of which kind, sanctifies a Day with them ever after.

When any of them are a dying, they set up Lights in the Room where they lie, four above, and three under the sick Party: The Reason of which Ceremony, they are very backward to give an Account of; and say, That 'tis only the Fashion of *China* so to do. When they are dead, their Bodies are burnt to Ashes; which is put up into close Jars, and so sent home to *China*.

Plays.

They delight very much in Musick, Plays, and Interludes; which latter are not fram'd purely for Diversion, but have some Characters of Religion and Devotion upon them, as appears by the preference and concern of the Priests in the matter, the Actions of Kneeling, and Kissing the Ground, and the Sacrifices which are offer'd in the beginning of the Drama. Besides the usual time for Acting these Plays, is, when their Ships go out, and come in; which Circumstance seems to intimate, as if they did something in those Entertainments, either in hope and

expe-

expectation of happy Succeſs in their Affairs, or at leaſt in a way of Gratitude, and thankful Acknowledgment for it.

They have, beſides their ordinary Prieſts, a ſort of Men amongſt them, whom they commonly call Southſayers; Southſayers. who are in mighty eſteem, as pretending to very great matters, by a kind of Inſpiration; and (they ſay) able to accompliſh them. Theſe Fellows are ſometimes poſſeſs'd with a ſudden Fury, under the Tranſports of which, they appear and act like ſo many *Bedlams*, running up and down the Streets with drawn Swords, tearing their Hair, beating themſelves againſt the Walls, and rowling upon the Ground. While this Fit laſts, the *Chineſe* ſay, they can unriddle the darkeſt Myſteries, foretel future Events, ſhew the Succeſs of any Buſineſs or Affair that is in hand, and performs things far above the reach of other common Mortals. And as they very frequently conſult them upon all theſe Accounts, ſo they ſay, their Predictions are always juſtified by the Event: And, indeed, conſidering the horrid Impieties of that People, 'tis not impoſſible that ſome of them may have Credit enough with the Grand Enemies of Vertue and Goodneſs, to be of his Council, and to be made Partakers of ſome of his Secrets.

The *Chineſe* are ſome of the moſt effeminate, mean, and daſtardly Spirited People in the World: And as they have not the Tones, ſo neither have they the Faces of Men; being for the moſt part quite ſmooth, at leaſt very little of a Beard to be ſeen.

Their Habit is a long Gown with a Kirtle under it, Their Gar. which hangs below the Gown: Upon their Heads they wear Cauls of Silk, and the Nobility a ſort of Hoods made of divers Faſhions; but all of them have their Hair, which is very long, tied up in a Knott, upon the Crown of the Head.

Their way at *Bantam*, is, to buy Women-Slaves, by whom they have what Children they have there (becauſe they bring no Women with them out of *China*), and ſo when they go into their own Country for good and all, they ſell the Mothers again, and carry the Children with them. But if they cut their Hair when they are abroad any where, they muſt never pretend to go back into *China* more, their Cuſtoms not allowing it: And if they die at *Bantam*, all their Goods are forfeited to the King, by the Laws of the place; tho' they commonly take care to prevent the King's growing rich that way, by ſending their Effects out of his reach, home, into *China*.

Chap. X.

The Dangers the Engliſh *went through, by means of the Falſhood and Treacheries of the* Javans.

THIS related before, how Admiral *Lancaſter* had laid the Foundation of a good Factory at *Bantam*, and provided for the encouragement and carrying of the Trade, by ſeveral Merchants left there for that purpoſe.

Orders alſo were given, for the ſending of a Pinnace to the *Molucca's*, upon the ſame Deſign; which accordingly A. D. 1603. ſet Sail *March* the Sixth, with a Lading of Fifty ſix Cheſts and Fardels of Goods, but meeting with contrary Winds, after ſhe had ſpent two Months beating up and down at Sea, ſhe came back again to *Bantam*.

But in this ſpace of time, we that reſided there, had a very difficult part to play, to defend our ſelves from the Troubles by the *Javans*. fatal Effects of the Malice and Wickedneſs of the *Javans*. There being ſomething of a Feud broken out between us and them, (which was before our Ships departed) they made it their Buſineſs to ſtudy all Methods of Revenge imaginable, and were never eaſie, but when they were attempting ſome miſchief or other upon us. They wou'd ſhoot flaming Darts and Arrows in the Night, into the Houſe where our Goods were ſecured, hoping to fire it that way; and even in the Day-time, if we brought out any quantity of Goods to Air, they wou'd ſet the Town a-fire to the Windward of us, not caring what Miſchief they did, ſo we might be involv'd in the ſame.

Quickly after the going out of our Pinnace, we addreſs'd to the Work of building a convenient Publick Houſe, according to the Liberty given us: We deſign'd it Seventy two Foot in length, and Thirty ſix broad, and proceeded ſo far as to lay the Foundation, but by reaſon of ſome Changes made at Court, and the ſetting up a new Protector, a ſtop was put to this Affair for a time; and it coſt us not a little Trouble and Money too, before we cou'd remove all Impediments.

March the Twenty firſt, the Town was accidentally The Town fired. fired, and ſeveral Houſes fill'd with Goods, were entirely conſumed. We had a conſiderable ſhare in the Loſs and Damage done by it too; for amongſt others, the *Dutch* Houſe was burnt to the Ground, and there we had no leſs than Sixty five Fardels of ſeveral ſorts of Goods (which all became Fuel irrecoverably), beſides 190 Sacks of Pepper loſt in another place. But we reckon'd that Providence was very favourable to us, in permitting us to come off at ſo cheap a rate as we did, and eſteem'd it little leſs than a Miracle, that both our Houſes were preſerv'd; eſpecially one of them, which the raging Flame advanc'd within three Yards of, and threatned in a very frightful manner, yet went off at laſt in a ſurprizing and unaccountable way, doing no other harm than ſcorching the Walls and Windows, and a little diſcolouring it in the outſide.

In the time of this general Confuſion, we were forc'd to be very nice and ſtrict in our Watch; for all the pilfering Villains of the Country, almoſt, were got together about us, waiting for the Fire to make a Breach, and very ready to ſhew it the way, by throwing Firebrands themſelves. And we had ſo much to do to defend ourſelves from the Treacheries of theſe raſcally People, that we thought them almoſt as bad a Plague as the Fire it ſelf: They were everlaſtingly either plotting new Miſchief, or promoting ſome already begun; we had them continually fluttering about our Houſes, like ſo many Birds of Prey about a Carkaſe, ſtill waiting for the good time to fall on and devour us.

And then ſo aſtoniſhingly bold and impudent in the Proſecution of their lewd Deſigns too, that no Creature in the World, I think, can have more Braſs in the Complexion of it, than a *Javan* has. 'Twas a ſmall thing with them, to come and ask us, What Strength we had, and how many to guard the Houſe? This was Modeſty at *Bantam*, tho' 'twou'd be reckon'd a piece of Impudence any where elſe; but they wou'd come and examine the Doors, and look upon all the Locks and Bolts, to ſee how ſtrong they were, and ſearch about, to try if they cou'd find any Defects; and all this before our very Faces. And being thus haraſs'd as we were, what with continual Pains and Wearineſs, and Over-watching in our own Defence, againſt this barbarous Crue, we contracted ſeveral Diſtempers, particularly that of the Country, which is the Flux, and which two of us never recover'd.

April the Nineteenth, there came into the Road Nine A. D. 1604. Dutch Ships come to *Bantam*. Sail of *Hollanders*, under the Command of Admiral *Warwick*, which were diſpers'd abroad into ſeveral parts of the *Indies*: We receiv'd ſeveral Civilities at his hands, and he was very obliging to all *Engliſh-men* in general; having formerly been reliev'd in very great Extremities at Sea, by the timely aſſiſtance of ſome of our Nation.

A little after this, we loſt one of our principal Factors; and about the ſame time, our Pinnace return'd from her fruitleſs and unhappy Voyage for the *Molucca's*.

We were now forbid going on any further with the Work of our Houſe; perhaps, becauſe the new Officers that were come into play at Court, had not yet been brib'd for that purpoſe; however, upon Application made to the Admiral of *Java*, (who is, as it were, the common Father and Protector of all Strangers) he order'd matters ſo with the reſt of the Nobility, that we had a freſh Permiſſion to proceed; and ſo we finiſh'd our Houſe in a little time.

Our Company was ſtill farther diminiſh'd, by the loſs of our chief Factor, and Manager of the Trade there, in *Bantam*.

In the Eleventh of *July*, we had ſome Loſſes by Fire, which were kindled by the Villany of certain *Javans*; who thinking to get ſome Spoil out of the *Chineſe* Houſes, took that Method to accompliſh their Deſign; and as it hap-

happen'd, ſome of the Sufferers being in Debt to us, they were by that means totally diſabled from paying.

Loſſes and Danger by Fire.

But the ſucceeding Month we had like to have ſuſtain'd a far greater prejudice than the former; for having brought out ſeveral Packs of Goods to air, one of theſe *Javan* Birds ſet Fire to a Houſe juſt by us; but we diſcover'd it ſoon enough, to prevent the intended Miſchief, and had the Actor of it laid cloſe in Irons for his pains. The truth on't is, we cou'd hardly ever be at reſt, or do any thing free from diſturbance by theſe People: 'Twas our Cuſtom at Night, when we ſet the Watch, to ſing a Pſalm together, in which Exerciſe we had once like to have had our Brains knock'd out, and the Houſe it ſelf, as we thought, beat down, by a Company of thoſe Rakes, which were got together into a Yard by us, and poured great Stones ſo faſt in at the Windows upon us, that happy was he that cou'd get out of the way.

But they were not the only Enemies we had to do with, (tho' conſidering what barbarous ones they were, they were bad enough) for we began to diſcover ſome under-

Inſincerity of the *Hollanders*

mining Practices of the *Hollanders* againſt us; who tho' they carried it with a fair Face of Friendſhip outwardly, yet by ſome falſe and degrading Stories which they rais'd of us, made it manifeſt, that they bore us no hearty Good Will.

The new Protector too, pretended a great deal of kindneſs towards us; but he was a great Maſter of Diſſimulation and Flattery, and did it only to wheedle a Sum of Money out of us.

But neither did all thoſe that were Enemies to us, agree very well amongſt themſelves: For as we and the *Javans* were always at Daggers-draw, ſo did the *Chineſe* and *Javans* perpetually wrangle, and the *Dutch* often ſcuffle with them both; ſo that between one ſide and the other, there was everlaſting Scolding and Contention. Tho' the truth of it is, the *Dutch*, by their uncivil Carriage, and looſe diſorderly way of living, did procure themſelves far more trouble and enmity than they needed to have done; and at the ſame time make the Chriſtian Name very odious amongſt thoſe Heathens, who ought to have had better Examples of the Purity of it ſet before their Eyes.

But as if we had not Plagues enough in *Java*, and Enemies ſufficient to exerciſe our Vertue there, we had, *September* the Fifth, a new Sett that came from the Iſle of

Lampons Enemies to the *Javans*.

Lampon, in the Streights of *Sunda*, to torment us. 'Tis true, they came upon the ſcore of the old Enmity and Grudge between them and the *Javans*; but we being there at that time, had a ſhare in the trouble as well as the reſt.

Theſe People are ſo like the *Javans*, that they are hardly to be known from them; and this is an advantage to them in their Deſigns of Miſchief and Revenge, ſince they often paſs for the Natives of the place, and ſo ſcape the Puniſhment they wou'd otherwiſe meet with: Their way is to get into the Houſes, and cut off the Heads of all they can light of, as they did by ſeveral at that time; and had a great mind to have had ſome of ours too, at leaſt our Goods, if not our Heads, tho' we prevented them by our diligent Watch.

The Reaſon why they are for a Spoil of Heads ſo much, is, becauſe the King gives them the Reward of a Woman, for every Strangers Head they bring him; and the Rogues do very often cheat their King in this ſort of

Cruelty of the *Javan* Women.

Commodity, by opening the Graves, and cutting off the Heads of them that are newly buried. But the *Javan* Women are ſo kind, as to ſupply them with ſome of their Husbands Heads ſometimes, which they take the opportunity to whip off when they are aſleep, and they ſell them at very good rates to the *Lampons*.

But our Miſeries and Dangers (like the Waves of a ſtormy Sea, rowling in one upon the back of another) were after a very ſhort interval, revived again: For now we were inform'd by ſome of our Friends, that there was a ſolemn Combination made, for the deſtroying our Perſons, rifling our Houſes, and ſwallowing up all we had; and this not by the more ſordid rakiſh part of the Country, but Perſons of Figure and Power, who had great numbers of Slaves to aſſiſt them in the Deſign. And accordingly they did encompaſs the Houſe, and march'd round about two or three times; but ſeeing the Illuminations we had made, and the good Guard we kept, they durſt not make the attempt. However, being fruſtrated here, they turn'd their Arms upon the *Chineſe*, and aſſaulted them with the Rage and Fury of ſo many Devils; and their Houſes being at that time full of our Goods, we were oblig'd to protect and ſtand by them; and we did them very good Service with our Guns: For the ſinging of a Bullet is as terrible to a *Javan*, as the Cry of a Pack of Hounds to a poor frightful Hare. But ſtill, of all the Alarms that daily confounded us, the moſt ſcaring was that of Fire: The fear of it had made ſuch an impreſſion upon us, that that very word pronounc'd in the Night, tho' with a ſoft whiſper, wou'd frighten us out of our Sleep, and make us run to our Arms. 'Twas ſo common a Calamity in the place where we were, and had ſo often threatned us, that the horrible Idea was always freſh in our Minds, and ready to preſent it ſelf upon all Occaſions. Yet tho' the Town was fired no leſs than five times in the ſpace of three Months, and the *Javans* play'd all the Tricks imaginable, to drive the Flames down upon us, Providence ordering it ſo, that the Wind generally favour'd us, we ſcap'd the Ruine they plotted to involve us in.

But the ſly and crafty Proceeding of the *Hollanders* was not the leaſt of our Troubles, under all the other ill Circumſtances that attended us: For they having at their

Sly Practices of the *Hollanders*.

firſt coming into thoſe parts, made bold to uſurp the Name of *Engliſh-men*, and pretending all along behind our backs, that they were really of that Country, had by that means ſo poſſeſs'd the common People, that they confounded them and us together, and believ'd us to be all one Nation. And by this means they run us into a great deal of danger; for they being generally of ſo rude a Behaviour, ſo apt to affront and abuſe the Country People; and doing all this under the Notion and Character of *Engliſh-men*, they incens'd the Mobb againſt us to that degree, that we had great reaſon to fear, we ſhou'd feel the Effects of their Rage and Fury; that we ſhou'd chance to pay ſome of the Scores they had contracted; and that tho' the pretended *Engliſh-men* had committed the Crimes, yet the true and real ones wou'd go near to ſuffer for't: For matters were come to that paſs, that we cou'd not walk the Streets, nor go into the Market, but the People wou'd be all in an uproar, curſing and railing at us bitterly; tho' all the while they meant the *Hollanders*, and intended all theſe coarſe Complements for them.

To prevent the miſchief therefore that might follow upon this Miſtake, ſo induſtriouſly propagated by the *Hollanders*, and for ever to diſtinguiſh our ſelves from them, *November* the Seventeenth, our Queen's Coronation-Day, we ſet up St. *George's* Banner upon our Houſe, diſcharg'd our Ordnance and Small-ſhot, and march'd up and down with our Drum, and the little Muſter of Men we cou'd make, in Scarfs of White and Red Taffata. The Reaſon of this Ceremony we told to all the People that came about us: And when they ask'd, Why the *Engliſh* at the other Houſe did not do the like, (by whom they meant the *Dutch*) we told them, They were not *Engliſh-men*, but of another Country, and under another ſort of Government, and had abus'd both us and them, in making thoſe Pretences they had made. By this means we were ever after diſtinctly known from them, and the People began to diſcover publickly their different Sentiments of us: Now the very Children wou'd run after us in the Streets, crying, *Oran Engree*, *Sayk*, *Oran Hollanda inhad*: The *Engliſh* are good, and the *Hollanders* ſtark naught.

They diſtinguiſh themſelves from them.

Our Troubles and Confuſions were ſo many, and ſo very frequent, that Trade went on but dully, and the Year was ſpent without any Matters of great Importance done that way.

The *Dutch* Ships came in and out ſo often, that we were oblig'd to make what haſte we could to buy up all the Pepper that was good and ſaleable, which was not to be gotten neither in any great Quantities: For the *Chineſe* (thoſe honeſt and fair-dealing People) had got a way of mixing Dirt and Water with their Pepper, to help ſpin out the Commodity a little farther; and this Traſh went off very well with the *Dutch*, for they were conſtant Chapmen, and ſo greedy of Trade, that they refus'd nothing almoſt that was ſet to Sale. Let the Wind blow out of what Quarter it wou'd, it brought ſome Ship or other of theirs for Pepper; inſomuch, that the People of *Bantam*, aſtoniſh'd with the Quantities they ſwallow'd up, jeeringly ask'd them, Whether they beat Pepper into the Mortar and Plaiſtering of their Houſes, to keep them warm, in order to ſave Firing. But the truth on't is, a Houſe may be heated, and that to a very offenſive degree too, by the meer Steams of the Pepper, where there's a good Stock of it: And we found by our own Experience, that ſeveral of our Men were very much diſorder'd by the hot ſuffocating Fumes ariſing from thence, in the Houſe where we us'd to Mill and Shute our Pepper.

Dutch cheated by the *Chineſe*, in their buying of Pepper.

Effects of the Heat of Pepper.

Thus this Year paſs'd over us, which had brought along with it ſuch a Train of Miſeries and Perplexities, that one might reaſonably have hop'd the Scene wou'd now change, and Fortune look with a more favourable Countenance upon us for the future. But the New Year

* began

A. D. 1604. * began as uncomfortably as the Old had ended; and the first Scenes were hardly any thing but Murther, Fire, Wars, Plots, and damnable Intrigues: We had first of all, the Affliction of losing more of our Company, and being reduc'd to a very small number, so that of the Factors that were left for these Parts, we were now but two in that Quality, and no more than ten in all. Our Trade had a considerable Bank by the dearness and scarcity of Rials, and the cheapness of Cashies; for upon this account we cou'd not vent a piece of Stuff at half the value that it went off at at our first coming. But these were small things, in comparison of our succeeding Calamities; for we narrowly escap'd losing our selves, House and all our Wares and Furniture, and that at one stroke, by the Treachery and Hellish Contrivance of some of our Neighbours.

Javans and *Chinese* undermine the *English* House.

A Crue of these Villains had carried a Mine quite under the Foundation of our House; and their Design being to open themselves a way into the Warehouse, the Boarding of which hinder'd and stopp'd them; not being able at once to cut their way through, because they might possibly have been discover'd at their Work, they resolv'd to accomplish it by Fire, which wou'd clear the passage, and make no noise. But by that time the Fire had burnt through the Planks, and got to the Mats and Packs, of which the Warehouse was full, it rais'd so terrible a Smoak, and diffus'd such a Scent all about, that the Mischief quickly betray'd it self, and gave us the Alarm. And under the Conduct of a favourable Providence, we made shift to put a stop to the progress of it, and discovering where it had its Rise, with all the Depths of the Plot, we took effectual Care to prevent the return of the Danger that threatned us.

We were so lucky too, as to discover and apprehend the principal Managers of this barbarous Contrivance, perhaps some of the most sullen, stubborn, and obdurate Wretches, that ever that Country bred. But as they shew'd nothing of Pity, or common Humanity to us, so we had no Mercy at all on them, but with the free Consent of the Government executed them, and that in a very severe and exemplary manner.

And the truth on't is, as we endeavour'd to carry it in the most just, equal, and inoffensive manner that we cou'd, towards these People, and were ready to do them Kindnesses, when they were any thing tolerable; so we never fail'd to make them feel the Effects of our Indignation and Resentment, when they gave us a just and sufficient Provocation thereto. To be sure, they never mist a good Basting for their little pilfering Tricks, if we catch'd them in the Fact: But as for the more flaming Outrages they sometimes committed upon us, we either wounded them severely, or as it happen'd, sometimes kill'd them upon the spot, or else had them executed in a more formal way, for a Terror to others.

The English make no Bones of punishing the Javans.

But hardly any Nation dared take the Liberty we took; and we cou'd stab a *Javan* at a much cheaper rate than a *Dutch-man* cou'd give a Box on the Ear. And this was a common Observation among all the Foreigners at *Bantam*, and the matter of their very great wonder too, that that desperate, rough, unmanageable People, shou'd stand so much in awe of us as they did, and so tamely endure the Correction we gave them for their Villanies. They have often said (when they have seen us doing Justice upon those Fellows), That 'twas hardly ever known, that any *Javan* was so much as struck in *Bantam*, before we came thither; and that we in doing it, did that which none durst pretend to but our selves.

In *September* the Town being accidentally fired, the Upper-work of our three Houses was entirely consumed, to our very great danger, cost, and trouble: For now we were laid open to all the Enemies that had any Inclination to attempt us; and 'twas very probable, that they who had so often sought to make their way into our House, now the Fire had made it to their Hands, wou'd not fail to enter. However, the *Dutch* being in better Circumstances than we (as having scap'd the bad Effects of the Fire), lent us a strength of Men to guard our Goods; this, together with some of the King's Officers, which were also order'd to attend us in that extremity, was sufficient for our Security, till we had repair'd our Buildings, and to do the *Dutch* Justice, we must own that (the Matters of Trade set aside, in which they are apt to undermine, and practise against their Rivals) they were in all other Cases very much our Friends, discover'd a Generous Pity and Concern for us, in any Misfortunes, and were ready to contribute to our assistance and relief.

Dutch Kindness.

Towards the latter end of the Year, we were altogether employ'd in providing a Quantity of Pepper, against the time our Ships came in from *England*, which now we began to look very impatiently for, and wish'd some happy Gale wou'd send to us with as much speed as cou'd be.

Admiral *Middleton* comes to *Bantam*.

'Twas not long before our Desires were satisfied, and we had the chearful sight of our *English* Ships coming into the Road: 'Tis true, both they, and we too, were in uncomfortable Circumstances, by reason of the Sickness, and dying Condition of many of our Men; but yet having been so long condemned to barbarous Faces and Manners, to meet with our Country-men was a Refreshment, tho' it had been but to see, and then die together. This was *Decemb.* 22.

The last Day of that Month, our Admiral went ashore with all the Company, that Sickness wou'd give leave to attend him, to wait upon the King, and deliver the Letter and Presents now brought from *England*. These were sent in the Name of His Majesty King *James* the First, then upon the Throne, our glorious Queen having left this World some time before; the News of her Death producing a no less general Mourning abroad, than the Actions of her Life had Admiration and Esteem.

K. *James*'s Present to the King of *Bantam*.

The Present consisted of a large Bason and Ewer, two fair Standing-Cups, and some Spoons, all of Silver, guilt; six Muskets, with their Furniture; which the King very kindly receiv'd.

All the principal Officers of the Court were presented too by the Admiral; we having found by many Experiences, that Gifts in the Hands of these topping Men, are of very great advantage, and have a peculiar Influence upon the Success of Business, whenever we have occasion to make use of their Interest. Besides, the present King being a Minor, and consequently entirely under the Movement of Courtiers, by whose Eyes he saw, and by whose Motions all his were form'd; not to set them right, had been to neglect the principal Springs, upon whose favourable Motions, all the happy Events of our Affairs depended.

By that time the Admiral had been with us a little while, and we had debated all necessary Points, we came to this Resolution concerning the future disposal of the Ships we had here, *viz.* that two of them should be dispatch'd to the *Moluccaes*; and the other two shou'd take in the Lading of Pepper we had gotten, and so go for *England*.

Accordingly *January* the Eighteenth *, the two Ships set Sail for the *Moluccaes*, and the Isles of *Banda*, in bad case enough, for want of strong and healthy Men; but the others that were bound homewards, (what by the loss of their Captains and Master, and of a considerable number of the common Sailors) being thereby reduc'd to great Straits for Men, were detain'd till *March* the Fourth. Neither cou'd they then have got out upon that very account (such havock had the Distempers of *Bantam* made of our Company), if we had not hired a Sett of Guzeratts, and *Chinese* Sailors, to assist in the Voyage, to our very great cost and charge. And now we had (tho' against our Wills) a pretty long Vacation from all Matters of Trade and Business, the whole Country almost being taken up, in Preparations for the Triumphs and Shews, that usually attend the Ceremony of the King's Circumcision.

* A.D. 1605. Two Ships sent to *Banda*.

Two more for *England*, laden with Pepper.

The first Scene that entertain'd the Eyes of the Spectators (and which is indeed but preparatory to the rest), is a lofty Pageant, brought out into the Green before the Court-gate, in which are plac'd three Chairs of State, the middlemost, and most rais'd, for the King; the other two for the next Heirs to the Crown.

The King of *Bantam*'s Circumcision and Publick Shews at that time.

All round the Rails that encompass the Green, are plac'd the King's Guards, both Shot and Pikes, to the number of Six hundred, or more; and here they entertain the People with Martial Exercises, for several Days together, before His Majesty appears.

And at this time, having an opportunity to make a more nice Observation of their Discipline and Furniture, it may not be amiss to add a few Remarks to that purpose.

Javan Discipline.

The *Javan* Soldiers, when they stand drawn up in a Body, are regularly placed in Files, according to the Method us'd in other parts of the World; but when they march, they don't observe the usual ways of going so many Men a-breast, but march one by one in a single Line, carrying their Weapons bolt upright. Their Pikes are tolerably good; but they are very unskilful in the Management of Fire-Arms: And therefore to Grace this Solemnity the more, the Protector borrow'd Shot both of us and the *Dutch*.

Their Drums are huge great Pans, made of a sort of Metal they call *Tombaga*, and yield as pleasant a Noise as one may imagine a Porridge-pot, or the Bottom of a good sounding Tub wou'd do.

Their ordinary Colours do resemble ours, but their Standards and Ancients differ much: For the Stuff of the An-

Ancient is very high, and bends at the Top like a Bow, from whence the Colours which are hardly a Yard in breadth, hang down with a long Pendant. But to return to the other Circumstances of the Shows.

After all things were made ready to render the Appearance as stately as they could contrive, the King was brought forth (tho' me thoughts in something an indecent manner) sitting astride upon a Mans Neck, and in that posture was carried up to His Chair of State in the Pageant. Being plac'd, the several Companies that Compos'd, the Show began to set forward.

The Order of the Show.

First a parcel of Shot, then the Pikes, in the midst of which were ten or twelve Tombagas, which being rais'd a Note each above the other, made that sort of Musick, more like ringing of Bells than beating of Drums.

After these came a Company of Targetiers and Dartsmen, which were follow'd by a show of Beasts and Fowls, partly alive, and partly the work of Art; but so curiously done, and so much to the Life, that Art and Nature were very hardly to be distinguish'd in that Appearance.

The next was a crew of Dancers, Vaulters, Tumblers, and Players; at the Heels of which advanc'd an Army of Women, dispos'd and led on by several grave motherly old Souldiers, whose business was to order the March, and see that every one kept their assigned Places. These Women had their Hands all full of Presents, but such as were of an inferiour Degree; for after them came all the Rich and Noble Offerings made by the Courtiers, and all the Lords and considerable People of the Country; who always (such is the Custom) present the King at the Ceremony either of a Coronation or Circumcision.

The Party that brought up the Rear, were the Sons of those great Men, that had made the Presents dressed and attended after the manner of the Country, to the highest Degree of Pomp and Bravery.

These young Nobles all came up to the King's Pageant; and made their Reverences to him, and then casting their Presents at is Feet, sate down themselves upon Mats spread upon the Ground for that purpose.

After this all the Musick begins to strike up, which is intermixed with several Volleys of Shot; and in the mean time the Tumblers and Dancers perform their several parts of Activity, and the Martial-men do all their Exercises before the King. We also (to comply with the Custom) made our Presents to the King, which tho' not for the richness and costliness, yet at least for the prettiness and singularity of it, was very grateful to him and the Company, and it was brought along in this Order.

The *English* Present.

First march'd a couple of Javan Pikes, which were followed by 30 of the comliest Boys we cou'd get drest, in very rich Apparel; immediately after them was brought upon a Carriage a curious Pomegranate-Tree, taken up all entire by the Roots, and placed in a large handsome Frame. About the Roots were laid green Turfs of earth, so that it look'd as if it were still growing, and all the Branches of it were laden with Fruit, some fully Ripe, some Green, and some yet in the Bud. Amongst the Boughs sate several little pretty Birds, which we had fastned there, and notwithstanding their confinement chirp'd as merrily as if they had been rambling in the open Air. At the bottom there were several Milk white Coneys, that sate nibling the Grass and Plants that grew upon the Turfs, and some furious Serpents, that look'd as if going to seize a Prey; which though not Natural, were yet so nicely made by the *Chinese*, that any eye might have been deceiv'd unless upon very good examination. This scene of ours in which Art and Nature were both consider'd, and to the beautifying of which, they contributed their several Shares, prov'd as Entertaining as any part of the show; and I don't know but we came off as well as the best Lords in *Java*. In short the King accepted it, he was pleas'd with it, and tho' other things of some value went along with it (as pieces of rich Cloth and Stuff, and Cases of Pistols) yet this best suted his puerile Fancy and Temper; and 'tis no matter for his being but a Child, for he was a King, and that was enough to give our Performance a Reputation.

The King of *Jacatra's* Show.

The King of *Jacatra* a Tributary to him of *Bantam*, came shortly after to do Homage to his Sovereign, and to make his Presents too upon the same occasion. This Ceremony was performed with a great deal of State and Magnificence on the part both of the King that received, and the King that did Homage. The Shows presented, were very agreeable and fine, the Guards and Attendance numerous, the Presents costly and valuable; but some things there were which being extraordinary to us, deserve a more particular Mention.

Besides many strange sorts of Fowls, and as many of Beasts, which were brought in their Order: There was one Beast which they call a *Matchan*. This Creature is something bigger than a Lion, and every whit as proud and stately; it has a noble Skin, full of Red and White spots, intermixed with long black Strakes, which run down from the Back quite under the Belly. It is extreamly fierce and ravenous, and a very strong and sprightly Creature withal, and will (which I have been an Eye-witness to) leap more than 18 Foot at one single leap after a Prey. They are very often hunted by the King and Court; but considering how easie 'tis for a Creature that Jumps at that rate, to leap upon a Man's back in the middle of his Sport, it should appear to be one of the most dangerous Games in the World: and it seems they do very often make a Breakfast upon the Javans, when they catch them straging out in the Woods.

The *Matchan* strange Beast.

For works of Art presented at this time, there was a Giant of 30 Foot high, and a horrible Devil of much the same size.

An Artificial Garden.

But the most entertaining Pageant of all, was that of a Garden, adorned with all sorts of Plants and Flowers; in the middle of which was a lovely Pond, where various sorts of Fishes were to be seen playing about; and besides this, all the kinds of Fish both great and small which are known in those Countries were brought in, either in Life, or the proper artificial Representations.

After all these Shows were over, His Majesty was carried (upon a Friday, which is their Sabbath) in his own Pageant to Church, and there Circumcized according to their way. And now 'twas time for Sport and Diversion to give way to Trade and Business (which on those Occasions had been long neglected) to be reviv'd again.

In order to which (very happily) our Admiral came into the Road *July* the 24th from his *Molucca* Voyage, having gotten a good quantity of Cloves towards a lading, we not much doubting in a little time to furnish him with the rest. And we had gone on in the Course of Trade to much better purpose than we afterwards did, if some unhappy Differences with the *Dutch* had not given us a Disturbance. Many times before, quarrels had risen between us, but things never came to that Extremity that they did now, and in which posture they lasted good part of the time of our stay at *Bantam*. They cannot themselves charge us as being the Aggressours, since 'twas manifest to the whole City that they themselves were so.

Frayes with the *Dutch*.

The first thing that gave occasion to our after rough handling of them, was the abuse of some of our Men, who came home bleeding to us, and by their Wounds gave sufficient Proof of the Violence the Dutch had used towards them. Upon this our General ordered a small Party to Arm themselves, and go out into the Street to give those rude Fellows a little Correction, which was so effectually performed by us, that the Streets were quickly clear'd of them, and they were oblig'd to retire to their own House. The *Dutch* Merchants came to enquire into the Reason of this Proceeding on our part, but understanding, that their own Men were the Assailants, they seem'd to be easie, and we parted very good Friends. But when this News came to Court they had so little Pitty there, that when some about the King told that some of the *Dutch* Men were killed, Answer was made again, It had been no matter if they had all gone the same way. Yet all this passed off, and the Friendship and good Correspondence between us was as great as cou'd be desired. The *Dutch* Merchants invited our whole Company to a Dinner, and no People cou'd understand one another better than we did. The Quarrels always begun amongst the rascally underling People of both sides; the better sort had more Sence and Prudence than to fall out, because their drunken Sailors went together by the Ears.

But made up again.

September 22d our General sent to Compliment the *Dutch* Admiral lately arrived at this place from the Isles of *Banda*, and this very Day on which the Civilities were at the highest, the Squabbles and Feuds were unhappily so too. The mischief was begun by a drunken *Dutch* Man, whom, if his Liquor had laid up fast asleep in the Rack-house, it had been better both for us and them. Our General was sitting at the Door discoursing with a Man of some Fashion, when this Gentleman of the *Nether-lands* comes by pretty well blown up with the Fumes of the Rack, that the World seem'd to go round in his Head, and being no small Fool in it in his own Conceit; he very fairly comes to take his place accordingly, and so claps down upon the Bench between the General and the other Person. The General to express his dislike of this saucy familiarity, gave him a Box on the Ear and push'd him away, which his Company resolved not to put up, presently drew their Knives and Sables and came Hectoring about the Gate in a most furi-

A new Quarrel managed with Violence on both sides.

rious manner. Being thus beſieg'd, our Men were oblig'd to endeavour to raiſe it, and ſo breaking out upon them, after a ſhort and ſharp diſpute, the *Dutch* gave ground, and retired for ſhelter to their old place the Rack-houſe; hither our Men purſued them, and tho' they had fortified themſelves, yet we burſt open the Doors, and having dealt ſome blows among them, brought away ſome Priſoners to our General. But we were quickly beſet by another party of them, who came to the others reſcue, and now the point was tried by Club-Law again, and the broken pieces of Pikes, Halberds and Faggot-ſticks flew about the Streets like wild. This hot Work continued as long as the other party thought fit to ſtay by it, but they did not run to the Rack-houſe now, but to their own Houſe, which was in no Danger of being broke open. The truth on't is, the Confuſion and Noiſe was great, and ſome Blood ſhed of both ſides, tho' that that was, came moſtly from broken Pates, there being no Hearts pierc'd, or Bodies dangerouſly mangled in this encounter. Tho' 'tis certain they abſolutely concluded upon the Ruin of us all, and one of their Factious Ship-maſters went about from Ship to Ship, to raiſe Company and provoke them to land their whole force upon us. And they had at that time ſeven ſtout Ships in the Road, and we but two, ſo that the *Javans* thought us next kin to Mad-men to pretend to ſtand upon theſe Terms with the *Dutch* that had ſo formidable a Power at that time at *Bantam*.

And the Buſineſs was carried ſo far amongſt them in the Fleet, that Orders were actually given to kill all the *Engliſh* they could light of either a-Ship-board or athoar; which notwithſtanding wou'd not have been ſo eaſily put in Execution, ſince we had a conſiderable Force of Men, at leaſt ſuch as wou'd Fight luſtily, and late Experiences had taught us that our Enemies were not Invincible. But we are certain (whether they'll acknowledge it or no) that they were greatly beholding to us for letting them come off at ſo cheap a rate as they did in the laſt Battle, for 'twas manifeſtly in our Power to have cut off a great number of them, and the Blood of all the *Engliſh* was ſo throughly ſtirred at that time, that if our General had given but the leaſt word to that purpoſe, it had infallibly been done.

At the latter end of the buſineſs, the *Dutch* Admiral came with all his Company towards our Houſe, and was met by ours in like manner attended. When the matter was fairly ſtated and opened to him, he was ſo far from taking the part of his own Men, that he highly commended what ours had done: And whereas ſome of his Officers objected, That we complain'd, but their ſide bore all the Blows, as might appear by their broken Heads and Shoulders: He replied, That they were rightly ſerv'd, and for the future ſhould be made to practiſe better breeding.

This worthy Commander and our *Engliſh* General had all this while a perfect good underſtanding of one another, and ſo likewiſe all the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Merchants and Officers ſhook Hands and parted in a very friendly manner. And afterwards by mutual Feaſtings and Entertainments, we endeavour'd on both ſides to perſwade each other as much as was poſſible, that we were heartily reconcil'd. *Dutch* and *Engliſh* part Friends.

Several Fires happen'd in the Town before we cou'd get away. One of them almoſt deſtroyed the *Dutch* Houſe, the Flame coming upon it with the Advantage of the Wind; and ours tho' out of that Danger, yet was not preſerved without a prodigious deal of Labour and Trouble. Twice the *Javans* (thoſe everlaſting Incendiaries) brought us into the extremity of Danger, and as often did we by the Bleſſing of Heaven, and the unwearied care of our Men, eſcape the Miſery they deſigned for us. More Fires at *Bantam*.

Theſe people are as troubleſome while they live, as they are bold, obdurate and daring when they are to Die. They count it the greateſt Glory to receive the fatal Stroke without any marks of Fear or inward Reluctancy: And certainly they do in this as far as 'tis poſſible for Fleſh and Blood to do, and ſome People can't be leſs concern'd at the paring of their Nails, than theſe *Javans* are (to the Eye) at the loſing of their Heads. This we had particular Opportunities divers times of ſeeing both in Men and Women, and amongſt the reſt, at an Execution perform'd a little before we came off, upon a couple that had ſtolen ſome of our Goods.

October the 4th, The General, and all the Merchants went in a Body to the Court to take leave of the King and Protector.

The 7th we ſet Sail for *England*, which we did with no little ſatisfaction, conſidering what a place of Horrour and Confuſion *Bantam* had been to us almoſt all the time of our being there. Sail for *England*.

CHAP. XI.

The Second Voyage ſet forth by the Company, with four Ships, the Red Dragon *Admiral, the* Hector *Vice-Admiral, the* Aſcenſion *and the* Suſan, *under the Command of Sir* Henry Middleton, *Admiral Taken out of Mr.* Claybourn's *large Journal.*

WITH this good Fleet every way equipp'd for ſuch a Voyage, we ſet Sail from *Graveſend*, *March* 25th *St. D.* 1604. and the ſame Day of the ſucceeding Month, we came up with the Iſle of *Maie*, and went aſhoar there. The Natives were ſo rude to us as to make away with one of our Merchants, whom though we ſought with a good Force up and down the Iſland, yet we could not recover him. He ſome how accidentally fell into their Hands, and they having him faſt, betook themſelves to their ſecret lurking places, where 'tis impoſſible for any Strangers to find them out. This Iſle and *Benaviſta* bear S.W. by S. about 12 Leagues diſtance. The N. & N. N. W part of *Maio* is all very bad and foul Ground, and 'tis dangerous attempting to Ride there. Full North, from the high Hammocks there's a great ledge of Rocks from the Lands, ſome five or ſix Miles off, and a Mile without them you have 20 Fathom Water. On the Weſt ſide of the Iſle, you may borrow in 12 or 15 Fathom, till you come into the Road, where you may chuſe your depth. Iſle *Maie*, the People uncivil.

Having paſs'd the Line, we came to Anchor in the Bay of *Soldania*, *July* the 17th, we brought hither a great many ſick feeble Men, but carried them all away again ſound and perfectly recovered. The benign Air of the place, with the good refreſhment it affords, generally proves a Cure for moſt of our Marine Diſeaſes. Sick Men recovered at *Soldania*.

We made a ſtay of five Weeks here, upon the Account of which long reſting time, t'was the latter end of *December* ere we got to *Bantam*. Here we found a *Dutch* Fleet in the Road, which at our Arrival made us the Civil Complement of their Guns as we did the like to them; and nothing paſs'd either between the Admirals or Seamen on both ſides but what was very friendly and good natur'd. Our Admiral went aſhoar to deliver His Majeſties Letter, and Preſent to the King of *Bantam*, which was receiv'd with a great deal of Ceremony. Our Fleet parted Company at this place, the *Hector* and *Suſan* were left here to lade Pepper, while the *Dragon* and *Aſcenſion* ſet out upon other Voyages; the Admiral in the *Dragon*, to the *Molucca's*, and the *Aſcenſion* to the Iſles of *Banda*. Arrive at *Bantam*. King's Letter and Preſent deliver'd to the King of *Bantam*.

We that made the latter of theſe Voyages, Arrived at the Iſles of *Banda*, *February* the 21ſt, and made a ſtay there of 21 Weeks. The buſineſs done was not conſiderable, but we have theſe few Obſervations to make relating to Geography and Sailing. The Lat. of theſe Iſlands is about 4 Degr. 40 Min. S. the chief Town of all is *Nero*. From the South part of *Amboina* hither, the Courſe is E. by S. to the South ſide 30 Leagues, and the going in is to the Weſt ſide. There's a high Hill in Proſpect which is alſo a Volcano, and continually belches out Smoak and Flame: This is a very good Mark, and to Sail right, this burning Mountain muſt be left on the Lar-board ſide, and the other great Iſland on the Star-board. The Entrance is

Nautical Observations about *Banda* and *Amboina*.

is ſtrait and narrow, and not to be diſcover'd till you come within half a Mile of it. There's no Danger at all in ſtanding with the Iſle that has the Volcano upon it, even till you come within two Cables length; but on the contrary, Experience proves it to be the beſt way ſo to do, for at that diſtance you ſhall have 20 Fathom water, and ſo continuing to ſtand along ſtill about a Cables length, you ſhall have eight, ſeven, ſix Fathom, to the very narroweſt of all, where 'twill be five Fathom, and that laſt depth holds till you come into the very Road. If a Ship obſerves this Method, ſhe may go in without Danger; 'tis true 'tis ſomething ſhallow on the Star-board ſide in the narrow of the entrance, but this will eaſily Diſcover it ſelf. There are two ſmall Iſles that lie about three Leagues to the Weſt ſide of the going in, but there's no Danger near them but what a Sailor that has his Wits about him may perceive and avoid well enough; beſides they may be left on which Hand a Man pleaſes, either going in or coming out.

Puleron and *Puleroay*.

The Winds.

About theſe parts we found the Wind very uncertain, and ſhifting from the middle of *March* to the middle of *April*, and then they lie between the E. & S. E. full four Months, and ſometimes (as the People ſay) five Months; then they blow as long between the W. & N. W. and then two Months again variable; and in this manner do they fill up the Revolution of the Year. And farther as to the weather, we obſerved; That in the dark Moons 'tis moſt commonly very rainy and guſty, and a fair Day is reckon'd no other than an interruption of the uſual and ſetled Courſe of the Weather at that time.

'Twas the 21ſt of *Auguſt A. D.* 1605, that we came back into *Bantam* Road from the Iſles of *Banda*: Our Admiral who had been at the *Moluccas* met us here again, and the moſt material Circumſtances of that Voyage were to this purpoſe. When they came to *Amboina*, they found all things involved in the Confuſions of a War, which was going on between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueze*. The *Portugueze* at that time were Defendants being poſſeſſed of the Caſtle, and the *Dutch* were endeavouring to drive them out and imploy a good Force for that purpoſe. The Defendants had certainly the diſadvantage of it in one reſpect very greatly, for all the Country people were violently ſet againſt them, and heartily wiſh'd their Ruin; and as much encouraged the *Dutch* in their undertaking. Indeed they ſent for them to come to their Aſſiſtance, and promis'd if they wou'd expel their inveterate Enemies the *Portugueze*, to reſign all into their Hands. In ſhort the *Dutch* gave their Summons to the other party to yield up the place, and they as obſtinately refus'd it; they made ſeveral Attempts to win it by ſtorm, but were ſtill repuls'd; yet at laſt they came to a Compoſition, and the Caſtle was ſurrendred to the *Dutch*, by that good Fortune become the Lords of *Amboina*. Upon this Account there was no Trade to be gotten by the *Engliſh* there, and the Governour of the Town (by the Command of the *Dutch*) poſitively refus'd us. So our Admiral proceeded in his Voyage to the *Molucca's*, where Affairs were in as troubleſome a poſture as they had been in at *Amboina*. There had been a War of a long ſtanding between the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*, and it raged at this time with as much fury and violence as ever. Each party was back'd with a potent Aſſiſtance from abroad; the *Dutch* eſpous'd the King of *Ternates* Intereſt, and the *Portugueze* ſtood by him of *Tydore*. A very ſuitable Match in every reſpect, the Seconds being as hearty Enemies as the Principals; and beſides this new Quarrel having one of their own of a very ancient Date to ſet them on with the more eagerneſs. When our Ship was got up under the Land of *Tydore*, they ſpied two *Ternateen* Gallies coming with great ſpeed towards them, and making ſigns to them to ſtay; in the foremoſt of them was the King of *Ternate* himſelf, and ſeveral of his Nobles and *Dutch* Merchants all in a mortal Fear and Conſternation, upon the account of a parcel of *Tydorian* Gallies that were making out after them. They moſt earneſtly implor'd the Admirals Aſſiſtance in that Extremity, and deſired him to undertake their Defence againſt thoſe Adverſaries, into whoſe Hands if they fell, they muſt expect no Mercy. And tho' all was done that cou'd be done of a ſudden, and our Ship play'd upon the *Tydore* Gallies with her Ordnance, yet thoſe Deſperate Fellows wou'd not loſe their Prey, but got up with the hindmoſt *Ternate*, boarded her even within reach of our Guns, and put them all to the Sword in a moment. This horrible Execution ſtruck a deeper Terror into them than before; and now they promis'd that if our Admiral wou'd but be their Protector till they were out of Danger, they wou'd furniſh him with a mighty quantity of Cloves and other Commodities at *Ternate*. But theſe great Words came to little, as the event afterwards proved; and the vaſt Spicy-Mountain in promiſe, ſunk down to the dimenſions of a Mole-Hill in performance. And 'twas a good paſſage enough of the King of *Ternate* (who was by this means more beholding to us than we to him) that when he came aboard our Ship in that horrid Fright the *Tydore* Gallies had put him into, he ſhook and quiver'd at a moſt violent rate like a Man that was pinch'd with the extremity of weather; the Admiral thinking he ſhook for cold (not imagining all the while 'twas his Fear) put a rich Damask Gown over his Shoulders to give him a little Comfort; and truly 'twas ſo comfortable that the King e'en kept it on (when 'twas on) for good and all, and carried away the Gown without taking any notice of making the leaſt offer to reſtore it.

An Account of Sir. *Henry Middleton's* Voyage to the *Molucca's*.

Dutch and *Portugueze* Fight at *Amboina*.

Dutch get the Caſtle.

War between *Ternate* and *Tydore*.

Engliſh protect the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch* Merchants.

The Admiral having at preſent taken leave of this Noble Prince, went away directly to the Iſle of *Tydore*. Here he met with a cold Entertainment, and little proſpect there was of doing Buſineſs that was any thing conſiderable. At the *Portugueze* Town, the Governour of the Fort ſent him word that the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch* both had given the *Engliſh* a very ſcandalous Character, which for his own part he pretended to believe to be falſe and unjuſt. And at the King's Town he found the *Dutch* Admiral at his Arrival, who huff'd and made a noiſe that we had aſſiſted the *Portugueze* in their Wars againſt the *Ternateens* and them. This the Admiral prov'd by Witneſſes ſufficiently credible to be a Lye, and the other party was both convinc'd and aſham'd of the Slander. But the King of *Ternate*'s Civility and Gratitude was very great indeed, if he join'd with the *Dutch* in giving that baſe Character of the *Engliſh* Nation, who had deſerv'd ſo well of him. One wou'd have expected it ſhould have been a little obliging to have a good warm Gown thrown over him in a cold ſhaking fit; or if not that, yet to be deliver'd out of the Hands of the *Tydorians*, who wou'd have cut His Majeſties Head off as ſure as ever it had a Crown on. But we can't poſitively charge him, tho' there is hardly any thing of a ſincere friendſhip to be expected from theſe little *Indian* Princes as far as their Intereſt will let them go; they may practice ſome little Matters of it, but they are entirely govern'd by that, and they'll ſtrike in with every Wind and Tide that ſerves their turn.

Comes to *Tydore*.

Reports of the *Engliſh*.

Dutch threaten the King of *Ternate*, if he Trades with the *Engliſh*.

The Noble States General would not allow or bear them out in ſuch Practices.

However whether he really was or no, the *Dutch* thought him to be pretty much enclin'd to us, and therefore threatned at a barbarous rate, how they wou'd deſert his Intereſt, and join with the King of *Tydore*, if ever they found him, diſpos'd to grant us a Trade or Factory in his Country. And to diſſwade him by all the proper Motives they could think on; they told him a parcel of wretched Stories of the *Engliſh* Nation and at the ſame time magnified the Greatneſs and Power of their own King (as they call him) above all the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom put together. This was always their way to make People abroad believe they had a King in *Holland* and (to greaten the Idea of it) repreſent their Government as a Monarchy. There's no tolerable Reaſon to be given for this, and it muſt be acknowledged to be a downright Trick. 'Tis a piece of Vanity to ſay that they had no other Terms ſo proper as that of King to expreſs their meaning by to the *Indians* where they came, or that they cou'd not ſo well underſtand any other Account of their Government. The *Indians* know the difference between a Monarchy and a Commonwealth as well as they do, and wou'd have underſtood it if they had told them which theirs was. Was not there the Example (if there had been no other) of the Iſles of *Banda* before their Eyes, which were as abſolutely Commonwealths as the United Provinces? Why cou'd not they have told them plainly, without any thing of Fraud that their Government was ſuch as that of thoſe Iſlands? And, then 'tis manifeſt beyond all Exception, that the *Indians* have words enough to expreſs any difference of Governments or Governours by. Their Language is not ſo barren, and if there be but honeſt People to ſpeak it, there need be no complaints for want of more Scope or Variety, nor no pretences of not being underſtood. Amongſt the *Mahometans* beginning with the ſupreme Title *Sha*, there follows *Sultan*, *Mirze*, *Immirze*, *Chan*, and ſeveral others; and amongſt the Gentiles or *Pagans*, there's the *Rajas*; the *Pangrans*, the *Sabandars*, the *Orancajus*, and other Terms, enough to give a juſt Idea of the Degrees of any perſons Power and Authority in the Government one ſpeaks of. And the *Indians* knowing all theſe Differences perfectly well in the ſeveral Frames of their own Conſtitutions, wou'd eaſily and naturally have underſtood the Proportions of them in other Foreign Governments, if they had given them a ſincere and ingenuous Information.

But the *Dutch* as much as they hate a King at home are very fond of having one abroad, and not only ſo *, but they

they presume to exalt him to a vast height above all his Neighbours, and make all other Princes very inconsiderable puny things, in comparison to him. Yet however, to shew that notwithstanding all their endeavours to lessen the Reputation of the *English* Nation abroad, the Princes of those parts did not think our King and Country so very contemptible, these following Letters to His Majesty from the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*, (which our Admiral brought with him) may be consider'd.

The King of *Ternate*'s Letter to the King.

HEaring of the good Reports of your Majesty, by the coming of the great Captain Sir Francis Drake, *in the time of my Father, which was about some thirty Years past: By the which Captain my Predecessor did send a Ring unto the Queen of* England, *as a Token of remembrance between us: Which if the aforesaid* Drake *had been living, he could have informed your Majesty of the great Love and Friendship of either side: He in the behalf of the Queen, my Father for him and his Successors; since which time of the departure of the foresaid Captain, we have daily expected his return, my Father living many Years after, and daily expecting his return. And I after the Death of my Father, have lived in the same hope, till I was Father of eleven Children: In which time I have been informed, that the* English-men *were Men of a bad Disposition, and that they came not as peaceable Merchants, but to dispossess us of our Kingdoms; which by the coming of the Bearer hereof, we have found to the contrary; which we greatly rejoice at. And after many Years of our expectation of some* English *Forces, by the Promise of Captain* Drake, *here arrived certain Ships, which we well hoped had been* English-men, *but finding them contrary, and being out of all hope of Succour of the* English *Nation, we were enforced to write to the Prince of* Holland, *to crave Aid and Succour against our ancient Enemies the* Portugals; *and according to our Request, he hath sent hither his Forces which have expelled the* Portugals *out of all the Forts which they held at* Amboina, *and* Tydore. *And whereas your Majesty hath sent to me a most kind and friendly Letter, by your Servant Captain* Henry Middleton; *that doth not a little rejoice us: And whereas Captain* Henry Middleton *was desirous to leave a Factory here, we were very willing thereunto; which the Captain of the* Hollanders *understanding, he came to challenge me of a former Promise, which I had written to the Prince of* Holland, *That if he would send me such Succours as should expel the* Portugals *out of these parts, that no other Nation should have Trade there, but only they: So that we were enforc'd against our likings, to yield unto the* Holland *Captains Request for this time, whereof we crave Pardon of your Highness; and if any of your Nation come hereafter, they shall be welcome. And whereas the chief Captain of the* Hollanders *doth sollicit us not to hold any Friendship with your Nation, nor to give Ear to your Highness Letters, yet for all their Suit, if you please to send hither again, you shall be welcome: And in Token of your Friendship which we desire of your Majesty, we have sent you a small Remembrance, a Bahar of Cloves, our Country being poor, and yielding no better Commodity; which we pray your Highness to accept in good part.*

Fame of Sir Franc. Drake.

Quis talerit Græchos de fidentone querentes?

A Friend at a pinch.

TERNATE.

The King of *Tydore*'s Letter to the King's Majesty of *England*.

THIS Writing of the King of Tydore *to the King of* England, *is to let your Highness understand, That the King of* Holland *hath sent hither into these Parts, a Fleet of Ships, to join with our ancient Enemy the King of* Ternate, *and they jointly together, have over-run and spoiled part of our Country, and determined to destroy both Us and our Subjects. Now understanding by the Bearer hereof, Captain* Henry Middleton, *that your Highness is in Friendship with the King of* Spain, *we desire your Majesty that you would take pity of Us, that we may not be destroyed by the King of* Holland *and* Ternate, *to whom we have offered no wrong: But they by forceable means, seek to bereave us of our Kingdom. And as great Kings upon the Earth are ordained by God, to succour all them that be wrongfully oppressed; so I appeal unto your Majesty for Succour against my Enemies; not doubting but to find Relief at your Majesty's Hands: And if your Majesty send hither, I humbly intreat that it may be Captain* Henry Middleton, *or his Brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your Kingdom, bless you and all your Counsels.*

TYDORE.

Now all Business was dispatch'd, and we were ready for a Voyage homewards. But the Admiral taking his Leave at Court before he came away, a Letter was deliver'd for His Majesty, (with a Present of Bezoar Stones) the Copy of which is here subjoyn'd.

The King of *Bantam* to the King of *England*.

A Letter given by your Friend the King of Bantam, *to the King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *desiring God to preserve your Health, and to exalt you more and more, and all your Counsel. And whereas your Majesty hath sent a General,* Henry Middleton, *he came to me in Health, I did hear that your Majesty was come to the Crown of* England, *which doth greatly rejoice my Heart: Now* England *and* Bantam *are both as one. I have also received a Present from your Majesty; the which I give you many Thanks for. I do send your Majesty two Bezoar Stones, the one weighing Fourteen Masses, the other three: And so God have you in his keeping.*

BANTAM.

Our other two Ships the *Hector* and *Susan*, had got their Lading of Pepper, and were gone away in *February*; and we set out to follow them the ensuing *October*. Sail for *England*.

About the Cape of *Good Hope* we found the *Hector*, in a lamentable distress'd Condition: She was driving up and down the Sea at random, her Men all dead but ten, her Companion, the *Susan*, lost for three Months before, and was never heard of afterwards. Having refresh'd some time in the Bay of *Soldania*, we all three set Sail for *England*, and came to an Anchor in the *Downs*, *May* the 6th, *A. D.* 1606.

CHAP. XII.

The Third Voyage set forth by the East-India *Company, with three Ships, the* Dragon, Hector, *and the* Consent. *Capt.* William Keeling *chief Commander. Taken out of his, and Mr.* Finch (*Merchant*) *his Journal.*

The first part of the Voyage as far as *Sierra Leona*, we have no Account of.

[*The Voyage made by the* Consent, *comes afterwards by it self.*]

August, *An. Dom.* 1607.

'TWas to *Sierra Leona*, that we came back with our Weather-beaten Ships for some Refreshment after the several Toils and Crosses of the former part of our Voyage. Here we found the Comforts we wanted, and pleasant Experience told us, we took the wisest Course in coming hither.

Sierra Leona. The King of the Country keeps his Residence in the bottom of the Bay; he is a mighty Prince amongst the Negroes, and has several other petty Princes in Subjection to him; one whereof lives at a Town within the Second Court, and another on the other side the Bay. His Dominions stretch at least forty Leagues up into the Land; and his Tribute is paid him in Cotton Cloth, Elephants Teeth, and Gold: Himself, with some of his principal Men, decently clothed in Fustian Jackets and Breeches, and some with Hats: But the Commons nothing but a Cotton Cloth

The King of the place, and his Dominions.

Cloth about their Waſtes, and hanging down before, and the Children ſtark naked.

The Natives and their Cuſtoms.

The Men and Women do all in general race and pink their Skins, in all parts of their Bodies: They do it with a great deal of Curioſity and Fancy, and 'tis the only Ornament that belongs to them. Their Fancy is not quite ſo good in the management of their Hair. The Men indeed have no certain Faſhion for theirs; ſome wear it in Tuffs and Bunches, others cut it away in ſeveral long Paths and Roads, running this way and that way, quite croſs their Heads. As for the Women, they have but one Faſhion amongſt them, and that is to cut it all clever off, and keep it ſhaved cloſe to the Skin: They pull off all the Hair from their Eye-lids, and file their Teeth ſo ſharp and picked, that I think they could go near to conquer a Bone, and might diſpute that point with ſome of their four-footed Domeſticks.

They feed much upon Roots and Fruits, planting about their Houſes, Gourds, Potatoes, Pumpions, Plantanes, and *Guinea* Pepper: Herbs too are a part of their Fare, together with Cockles and Oyſters, which they get upon the Rocks by the Sea-ſide; and conſidering their Teeth, may eat Shells and all, without the trouble of opening. They have alſo ſome little Crops of Rice; but of this no more than juſt what's neceſſary for the Service of their Families, and that juſt by their Houſes too. Their Bread they make of a little Seed, or Grain, they call *Pene*, not much unlike the Seed of Winter-Savoury.

Their Diet.

As for Fleſh they have very little of that, all the Varieties of this kind being only a few Hens, and a piece of wild Veniſon ſometimes from the Mountains, when they can get it. Fiſh indeed they have pretty good ſtore, and they are ingenious enough in Contrivances for Angling, after their way.

Taking Tobacco.

Tobacco is as much to them as half their Livelyhood; and the Women are as violent Smeakers as the Men. They preſs the Juice out of the Leaves, when they are green and freſh, and then lay them a drying upon a Sheard over the Coals, and ſo cut them for uſe: For they intimated by Signs to us, that the Tobacco would make them drunk, if they took it with all its ſtrength remaining in the Leaves. The Bouls of their Pipes are made of Clay, and very large; and in the lower end of them they ſtick a ſmall hollow Cane, of a Foot and half long, thro' which they draw the Smoak: And this they are not contented to let come only into their Mouths, but they muſt have it down in their Stomachs too, and ſo drink Tobacco in the ſtricteſt Sence.

Towns and Houſes.

Their Towns conſiſt of about thirty or forty Houſes, ſet together all in a Cluſter, cover'd with Reeds, and incloſed with Mud-Walls, as our Hogſties generally are. They have a Mat hung up inſtead of a Door, a parcel of Billets laid croſs one another, and cover'd with Mats for Bedſtead and Featherbed; and theſe Mats are alſo the Hangings of their Rooms. The Particulars of their other Houſhold-ſtuff, is quickly reckon'd up. Two or three Earthen Pots, to keep Water, and boil Meat in. *Item*, One Gourd for the fetching of *Palmito* Wine, and another for a Quaffing-Cup. *Item*, A few Earthen Diſhes for their Loblolly. *Item*, A Basket or two to gather Cockles. And Laſtly, A Knapſack made of the Rinds of Trees, to carry the Provant, with Tobacco and Pipes.

Their Weapons.

But their Martial Furniture ought to come into the Account too; which is a little ſhort Sword hammer'd out of a piece of Iron by themſelves, a Bow and Quiver of Arrows, headed with Iron, and poiſoned, or elſe a Caſe of Javelins pointed in like manner, and ſometimes both.

They are a ſtrong, big, well-made People, have ſome ſhare of Spirit and Courage too; and for ſo rude an Education as they have, tolerably Civil, and Well-carriaged. They are very honeſt and juſt in their Dealings, puniſh Theft with preſent Death, and are more temperate than moſt People in the Love of Women, keeping for the moſt part to their own Wives, of whom they are extreamly jealous.

Conditions and Religion.

Their Religion lies ſomething more in the dark, and I could not ſee enough of it, to know what it is; I queſtion whether they do themſelves. It ſeems to be a Hotch-potch of Chriſtianity, Judaiſm, and Heatheniſm; for they have *Portugueze*-Jeſuites amongſt them, and a Chapel; yet are they circumciſed, and keep Idols of Wood in their Houſes: Which of theſe three is the prevailing Ingredient in the Compoſition, I know not; only this I find, that the Jeſuites have taught them to obſerve ſome Holidays, and given them at leaſt ſome general Notion of a Supreme Almighty Being, which they ſeem'd to expreſs, by lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and other devout Actions of that kind.

The Products of their Country.

The Country yields a delightful Variety of very excellent Fruits, and theſe Trees grow here wild, and by whole Wood-fields, that would be eſteem'd mighty Rarities, and have a great deal of Nurſing and Attendance in other Parts of the World. Orange-Trees indeed are not ſo very plentiful; but Limons, and Palmito's, are like Oaks and Elms in other Countries; and there's a vaſt long Wood of the former, juſt by the Watering-place, near the Town.

Limons and Palmitoes.

The Palmito-Wine is the Strong Drink, (for the Small is Water:) And this the Men are ſo Good-natur'd as to drink themſelves, giving very little, or none to the Women.

Their way of climbing the Palmitoes.

They are wonderfully nimble and dextrous in running up the Trees; and I think, no Cat can climb better than they: For tho' there are no Boughs, nor Branches, upon thoſe Palmito's, nor any thing for a Man to hold by, except juſt at the top, being beſides of a great height and bigneſs, yet they mount up with a ſtrange ſwiftneſs, and come down again with their Gourd of Wine, with as much ſteddineſs and good order. All the aſſiſtance they have for this piece of Dexterity, is a Withey, which they faſten about the Tree, and their own middle, and then bearing their Body a little back, they raiſe up that part of the Withy that goes about the Tree, and ſo by the help of their Feet lift themſelves upwards, after a very clever manner, as eaſie to them as it appear'd ſtrange to us.

Plumbs.

They have ſeveral ſorts of Plumbs in the Country, ſome very good and agreeable to the Taſt, of a Black and Wheaten Colour; the Black are the more eſteem'd, as being not only the larger, but the more Aromatick Flavour.

Manſamilio's.

Other Fruits are the Manſamilio's, reſembling a Wheaten Plumb, but containing a Fruit that proves very fatal to the Eyes, if any of it be accidentally ſpurted in, as is alſo that of the Boughs of the Trees.

Beningenions.

Beningenions, about the bigneſs of a Limon, and having a kind of a reddiſh Rind, a very wholſome Fruit.

Beguils.

Beguils, as big as Apples, with a rough knotty Skin, which pared off, the Fruit eats like a Strawberry, and is like it alſo in Colour and Grain.

Other Fruits.

Wild Grapes, of which there is great ſtore in the Woods; and they have a woody bitter Taſt. Beſides theſe, we obſerved a ſort of Fruit of a dark yellowiſh Colour, growing in Cluſters of ſeven or eight together, as long and big as a Man's finger, ſomewhat ſoft and downy, and having within the Rind, a Pulp of a ſweet and pleaſant taſt, but how wholeſome I dare not aver.

Poyſonous Beans.

But the moſt remarkable of all was the poyſonous Beans, growing upon great Trees in the Woods, almoſt like Beeches: We took Notice of three kinds of theſe, very different from one another. The firſt large and tall, bearing a Pod like a Bean, which contains four or five ſquare Beans, almoſt like the Seed of a Tamarind, incloſed with a hard Peel like a Shell, within which lies a yellow Kernel, which is a very dangerous Poyſon, and us'd by the Negroes for poyſoning their Darts; they call this Fruit *Ojou*. The ſecond ſort is leſs, the Pod crooked, of a very thick Rind, and ſix or ſeven Inches in the bending, and half as much in breadth, it encloſes five Beans an Inch long each. The third has Leaves like the former, but the Food much bigger, ſtanding on a ſtrong woody Stalk, thick and maſſy, a little indented on the ſides, nine Inches long, and five broad, within which are five Beans longer than the other, and called by them *Quenda*; and thoſe they ſay are alſo venomous.

Beſides theſe Beans, I have ſeen there Trees like Willows, which bear a Fruit like Peas-pods.

Fruit *Gola*.

Up further in the Country they have a Fruit, to which they give the Name of *Gola*; 'tis of the bigneſs of a Walnut, hard, reddiſh, bitter, jagged, and full of Corners, like that, and incloſed in a hard Shell. This is a thing mightily ſet by in the Country, and ſerves the two grand purpoſes, both of Money and Meat too; neither have they any other but this, which does as well amongſt them as Gold and Silver in other parts of the World. The other way they make uſe of it, is by Chewing, which they do, mixing it with the Rind of a certain Tree, which they are mighty fond of upon that account. One Man takes a mouthful, ſucking and turning it about for a while; and then he puts it into the next Man's Mouth, who plays his part with it in the like manner; and ſo it goes as far as 'twill go, all round the Company: They don't ſwallow down any part of it, but every Man is obliged to give it as entirely to his Neighbour, as he receives it himſelf, for Quantity at leaſt, whatever it be for Quality and Virtue.

Cotton.

In the inner parts of the Country, they have pretty ſtore of Cotton, of which they make a tolerable good Cloth, about a Quarter broad, for that little Covering they have before them.

Camber.

There is a Wood too called *Cambe*, which dyes a good Red, and they uſe it about their Purſes, and Mats, for that purpoſe.

It

It may not be amiſs, beſides this general Scheme of the Vegetable Variety of theſe parts, to give a more particular Deſcription of thoſe more noted common Fruits, and their reſpective Trees, which are alſo of an equally conſiderable Uſe and Service to Mankind.

Deſcription of the Limon-Trees.

The Limon-Tree much reſembles the Crab in ſeveral points, is very full of Prickles, and carries a ſlender Leaf like a Willow; it yields very plentifully, as the Crab-Trees do, the Fruit begins to ripen in *Augnſt*, and hold on upon the Tree till *October*.

Plantans.

That which they call the Plantan-Tree, ſeems to be an annual Plant, and in my Opinion, ought rather to be reckon'd amongſt the Reeds than the Trees. It is of a moderate height, and about the bigneſs of a Man's Thigh; it is not of a denſe, compact, woody Subſtance, but ſeems to conſiſt of ſeveral Orders of Leaves, or Skins, wrapped cloſe upon one another, almoſt in the manner of an Artichoke, it has nothing of Branches, but the Leaves ſhoot immediately out of the Trunk it ſelf, throughout the whole length of it, and are for the moſt part two Ells long, and one broad, having one long Rib going through the middle of them. The Plantans themſelves hang in Cluſters of ten or twelve together, each a Span long, and almoſt as thick as a Man's Wriſt, ſomewhat crooked, and bending inward; at firſt it looks very green, and then turns yellow as it ripens; and if you take them then and ſtrip off the Rinds, you'll find the Pulp within of the ſame colour, and a very pleaſant taſte. Beneath the Fruit on the ſame Stalk, hangs down a leafy Tuft ſharp pointed, which ſeems to have been the Flower; but whether there's any thing of a Seed or no, I am not certain; they give this Fruit the Name of Bannana's, and have good plenty of them. They are ripe in *September* and *October*, and will, if they are gathered green, ripen of themſelves, ſo as to be fit for eating in about ſix Weeks time, as we found by Experience.

Of the *Guinea*-Pepper.

Guinea-Pepper, a Fruit this Country ſhews too amongſt the reſt, tho' in no great plenty, grows wild in the Woods; the Plant is a ſmall thing, almoſt like Privett, or Prick-wood, adorned with little ſlender Leaves, and bearing a Fruit reſembling Barberries in form, and of the ſame colour too, when ripe, only they don't hang in Bunches as Barberries do; but here and there two or three together about the Stalk; their Name for it is *Banque*.

Of the Pene.

The *Pene* ſpoken of before, of which they make their Bread, is a ſmall ſlender Plant like Graſs, the Stalk full of Seed, not encloſed in any ſort of Husk. This ſeems to be the ſame with what the *Turks* call *Cuſcus*, and the *Portugueze*, *Tfunde*.

Of the Palmito.

The *Palmite*-Tree is very ſtraight, high, knotty in the Rind, of a ſoft and yielding Texture within, wholly without Boughs, except at the top, and thoſe rather like ſo many Reeds than real Boughs, being all Pith in the inſide, only cover'd with a rough Rind; the Leaf is long and ſlender, in manner of Sword-graſs, or the *Calamus* Flags; and thoſe Reedy Boughs on which they ſtand, are beſet on both ſides with ſharp and ſtrong Prickles, ſtanding like the Teeth of a Saw, but much longer; the Fruit is about the bigneſs of a Cheſnut, it being a tough, hard, inſipid Kernel, incloſed in a much harder and more compacted Shell, ſtreaked with Threds on the outſides; the People call the Tree it ſelf *Toball*, and the Fruit *Bele*; which is indeed good for little, tho' they eat them roaſted. When they draw the Wine of this Tree, they cut off one of the Branches, with a Span of the Head, and making ſomething of an Inciſion, they faſten the Mouth of a Gourd to the Orifice, which in the ſpace of Twenty four Hours will be fill'd with a clear whitiſh Water, of a grateful reliſh, and ſtrong enough to make the Negroes drunk.

Oyſter-trees.

I ſee nothing in theſe parts like the celebrated Plant that has gotten the Name of Senſitive: But here is a Tree that ſhews a Fruit, which deſerves to be call'd ſo, ſince it really is ſo without diſpute; 'tis indeed all the Fruit the Tree can pretend to, tho' not to be imagin'd the natural and genuine product of it. The Tree is ſomething like a Willow in make and ſize, but the Leaf very broad, and almoſt as thick as Leather, bearing ſmall Knops like thoſe of the Cypreſs. The Boughs of this hang down a good way into the Water; for they ſtand all about the Bays, and are quite overflown, as it were, by the Tide; and thus together with the Mud and Slime that ſticks to them, the young Oyſters bred thereabouts faſten on to them too, and that in ſuch vaſt numbers, that one can hardly ſee any thing almoſt but long Ropes of Oyſters.

Animals; Fiſh, Fowl, & Quadrupeds.

Having taken a View of the Vegetable Productions of this Country, we may now look upon the Animals, beginning with the Fiſh; ſince the Oyſter-Trees, in which Plant and Fiſh are united, make that Tranſition juſt and natural: Here then we find Mullets, Rays, Thornbacks, Old-wives, Garfiſh, Cavallio's, like Mackarel, Pikes, Sword-fiſh, with Snouts a Yard long, Toothed on both ſides like a Saw; Dog-fiſh, Sharks, and Sharks which are like a Shark, but have a flat broad Snout like a Shovel; Shoemakers, having on each ſide the Mouth Pendants like Barbel, and making a grunting Noiſe like Hogs.

Their Fowl, are Pelican, white and as large as Swans, with a mighty long Bill; Hearns, Curlews, Boobies, Oxeyes, with ſeveral other ſorts, whoſe Names we know not. Only their grey Parrots are not to be forgotten, as alſo their *Guinea*-Hens, a very beautiful Fowl, of the bigneſs of a Pheaſant, and party-colour'd.

As for Beaſts, the Mountains are full of Lions, Tygers, and Ounces; and the Woods of Monkeys, leaping about from Tree to Tree. And there ſhould be Porcupines too by the Quills of them, which the Negroes ſhew, tho' we ſaw none. Elephants are ſcarce here about the Bays, but up in the Country they are plentiful enough.

A ſtrange Beaſt.

The Natives told us alſo of a ſtrange Beaſt, which the Interpreter rendred a Carbuncle, very often ſeen by them, but only in the Night-Seaſon. This Creature, they ſay, has a Stone of an incredible Luſtre in his Forehead, ſo bright, that he is not only thereby rendred viſible in the darkeſt Night, but ſees alſo by the help of that Natural Torch, to find out and manage his Provender. It is a very ſhy, jealous, and timorous ſort of Creature, and furniſhed by Nature with ſo good Ears, that it takes the Alarm of the ſmalleſt Noiſe, being always in a liſtning attentive poſture. It has a kind of a Muſcular Film, or Skin, that plays forth and back over that lucid Stone, ſo that 'tis managed juſt of all the Word like a Candle in a Dark-Lanthorn, open or ſhut, as the Creature pleaſes; and this is the way of it when it hears any Noiſe, immediately the Filmor's clapp'd over the Stone, and the Light's loſt, and ſo the Animal preſerves its Liberty, by blundering its Purſuer, and leaving him in the dark.

This Account the Negroes give, with all imaginable aſſurance: And if there be ſuch a Luminous Stone as this, 'tis certain, that ſince 'tis impoſſible it ſhould ſhine by any Reflection of an external Light, that it muſt be from the Texture, Diſpoſition, and Inteſtine Motion of the Parts of that Stone, or ſome more active fiery Corpuſcles, tranſmitted into it from the Body of the Animal, and reſiding in its Pores, which upon the turning aſide of the Film, diſcovers ſuch a Phœnomenon as the Phoſphorus (or *Bolinian* Stone), expos'd to the open Air.

The Trade of the Country.

The principal Commodity of the Country, that can any way ſerve to invite a Trade, are Gold and Elephants Teeth, which the *Portugueze* have made ſometimes very advantageous Barter for; bringing only meer Toys, and Trifles, as Beads, Bells, Knives, Glaſſes, Copper, and Iron Veſſels, &c. But in this part of the Country, about the Sea-Coaſts, they will not part with their Gold at theſe rates, tho' they do up in the Heart of it, where the People live more out of the way of Converſe and Traffick, and leſs underſtand the Value of their own Commodities; here they will barter Victuals for your Toys; but I ſee no proſpect of procuring any thing elſe, that's very much to advantage.

See *Mariner Schouten's* Voyage.

The Point, or Cape, of *Sierra Liona* it ſelf, lies ſomething low and depreſſed; but the Land over it riſes extreamly high, and may be ſeen in a clear Day 14 or 15 Leagues off.

Land of *Sierra Leona*. The Rock to the Weſtward.

To the Weſtward of the Cape, ſtands the great Rock, which makes a Figure remarkable enough; you have no leſs than ſixteen, fifteen, ten, or nine Fathom Water, North and South with the Rock, at a Mile and half diſtance; and within half a Mile you have ſeven Fathom very good Shoaling between your Ship and the Rock; paſſing the Rock there's twenty Fathom, and Shoaling to eighteen, ſixteen, twelve, and ten Fathom, all the way into the Roads bordering very near the South Shore, for there's a conſiderable Sand that lies about two Miles from the Northern Shore, where the Sea breaks. We found very convenient Riding in ten Fathom Water, and good Ground, the Point of *Sierra Leona*, bearing W. by N. the N. point of the Bay bearing N. W. and the aforeſaid Breach, or Sand, N. N. E. * 'Tis to be obſerv'd alſo, That coming in we were N. & S. with the Rock, it bare with the S. Point, and with *Ilha Verd* N. by W. and S. by E. which *Ilha Verd* (by the way) is a very round Spot, and a particular Mark for all that are bound thither from the Southward.

A Sand on the North Shoar.

Note.

Obſervation on the Variation.

'Tis remarkable, that all the Obſervations of the Variation, ſince our coming from 2 Degr. North Lat. to *Sierra Liona*, proved very erroneous; and we found, in order to ſet this matter to rights, that thirty Leagues muſt be added to each Diſtance, when we have reference to any Meridian Eaſterly of that Diſtance, and ſo many ſubtracted from it, when we refer to a Weſterly Meridian,

Expe-

Experience taught us the Practice of this Rule hereabouts, and this a Man must make his surest Guide, and not lay too much stress upon his Instruments, which may deceive the most skilful Observer.

Watering. The Watering all hereabouts is very good and convenient, tho' the best Watering-place, as also the best Road too, is the Fourth Bay, to the Eastward of the Point of *Sierra Leona*. There the Course of the Water is pretty near to the W. S. W. and in the Spring-Tide it rises at Flood at the least twelve Foot.

When you have the *Ilhar Verd* bearing from you, S. E. ½ Southerly, and the Point of *Sierra Leone*, N. E. by E. ½ Easterly, and about three Leagues from you, you Tides. shall in that Distance and Position, find a strong Tide setting N. E. by N. The Road of *Sierra Leona* (by the best Latitude and Variation at *Sierra Leona*. Observation we had opportunity of making) lies in 8 Degr. 36 Min. North Lat. and the Point bears near W. from it, and is about a League or four Miles distant. The Variation here also, as far as we cou'd find, was 1 Degr. 50 Min. N. E. our Course from hence being to the Bay of *Soldania*, we observed as follows: That the *Sugarloaf* and *Penguin* Islands bear S. by E. and N. by W. from one another, the Westermost South Land, and the Point of the *Sugarloaf* bear S. S. W. and N. N. E. Between the Island and the Shore, 'tis at least seven Miles, and about half a League from the Island to the E. S. E. is a considerable Breach, as also another to the South, at a Mile distance from it: Neither is that Flatt to be forgotten, which lies half a Mile from the West Point of the Bay.

We refreshed a few Days at *Soldania*, and then proceeded for St. *Augustine's* Bay. In which Course, when by observation we were in 34 Degr. 4 Min. South Lat. by the Computation of our Ships Reckoning, we ought then to have been in 33 Degr. 14 Min. so that we were 50 Min. more to the South, than our Rules would allow of. And this was evidently the effect of the Current that we fell into thereabouts; from whence 'tis plain, that those that depend upon their dead Reckoning, and the meer Rules of Art, without due respect had to the Currents, and the Allowances to be made on that score, must needs fall into intolerable Errors; and this seems to be very good Reason why the Current should be of greater force here, where we made this observation, because the Land goes away with a very sudden fall, N. E. and S. W. and we happening to open the Gut, were so far influenced by the strength of it, as is before related; and there's as much Reason to suppose, that as a Ship goes more Easterly past the middle of the Gut, so the force of the Current will be proportionably diminished.

Variation in 33, 37 Min. South Lat. In South Lat. 23 Degr. 37 Min. the Variation was 15 Degr. 30 Min. But by a succeeding Observation more nicely made it came but to 15 Degr. 26 Min. This last Observation was made over the Land half a Degree high, otherwise the Variation would have been more; and these, especially the last, or second, seem to be such, as a Man may repose a considerable degree of Confidence in.

Tides thereabouts. The Tide here flows directly with the East; you have from ten, twelve, to twenty Fathom, between this and the Bay, but coming near the Point in the height of the Bay, you have no Ground at a hundred Fathom, till you come a great way in, and then there is from thirty to eight Fathom, tho' 'tis to be observed, that the deepest Water is upon the South side, the other being made much shallower in proportion, by reason of the Mud and Sand brought in by the Rivers which are on that side.

Depth to the Bay. The Tide at St. *Augustine's* Bay, flows pretty near E. and rises to a great heighth. It is indeed generally called Cape St. *Augustine*, but it is most certainly a Bay, and not a Cape, since it has no Point or Neck of Land, that bears out more than the rest about it. There are Breaches on both sides of it, lying about a League W. S. W. from the Main, which makes it very easie to be discerned.

Cape *Augustine*.

Note, The Author of this Journal hath said a great deal of *Soldania* too: But that place being so commonly spoken of, by almost all that go those Voyages out of whom the most remarkable things of it have been observ'd already, we therefore omit his Account.

In the bottom of the Bay there are two Rivers running, the Stream of which is so violent, that the Flood never overcomes it, tho' it flows at least two Fathom: And the Land all about these Rivers, is broken, low, sandy Ground. There's very good Fishing at this place for Smelts and Shrimps; of the former of which we catched some that were a Foot, and of the latter ten Inches in length: And the best place for this sort of Sport is on the Sandy Shore of the low Land, where all the Natives do ply with their Nets.

In the low Land, within the Woods, we found vast plenty of Water-Melons, which afford good Refreshment; But the River yield us nothing at all, the Water of them is not good; and those that go to try to fish in them, are in danger of having their Sport spoiled by Allegators. The Prospect of the Country for a Mile or two about the Bay, is homely and unpleasant, appearing rough, stony, and in some places over-run with small Woods: It does not seem neither to be over-stocked with Inhabitants, we never seeing above twenty of them together. They are a tall, lusty, well-set People, not of so ill Features as many Blacks are; nor are they so unpleasing to those that converse with them, as most of that Complexion are, by reason of that Musk-scent they carry along with them. Their black Hair is decently plaited, and frizled upon their Heads, and it is reasonably long; they have no other Covering upon that part besides their Hair, as also none for any other part of the Body, except a sort of a Girdle made of Rinds of Trees, adorned all behind with some of their Trinkets, and other odd things, which are fastned on with Allegators Teeth, and hang there partly for shew, and partly for occasional use.

The Natives of the Country about Cape St. *Augustine*.

Besides their Darts and Launces (which are their principal Weapons), they wear about them certain great Knives, like Butchers Knives, whether for common Service only, or the use of Fighting besides, I am not certain; however, they are all (as well as the other Instruments) of their own making, and there are some Discoveries of Art, and ingenious Fancy, in the Contrivance of them.

See *Davis's* first Voyage, and Captain *Keetings*.

They are a subtle sort of People in the Matters of Trade, and were not to be charmed with pieces of old Iron, as other Barbarians were. They made us pay a considerable Rate for the Cattel we had of them, in comparison to what we gave at *Soldania*, and other places: And then they would take no Payments in any Metal below Silver, do what we could. We gave them for three Kine, two Steers, and four Calves, no less than 19 *l.* the Value of which in old Iron, would have purchas'd Cattle enough at *Soldania*, to have stocked two or three good Farms: But then 'tis certain, that the Cattle here are far better than at *Soldania*, tho' the make of them is much the same, having Bunches on their Backs like Camels, as they have, only these stand a little more forwards. But besides the ordinary sort of Cattle, as Sheep and Cows, which are in this Country very large and good, there are some which it boasts of, as its own peculiar Rarities. The Woods afford great store of those Creatures, which for their Loveliness are called by some the Beautiful Beast; 'tis about the bigness of a Monkey, has a small Head, and a very long Tail; the Furr of it is extreamly fine, ash-colour'd, and streaked with black and white. We killed some of them with our Guns, not being able to take them alive.

Beasts, and other Creatures.

The Beautiful Beast.

The Camelion is also a Native of this Country; and the Experience we had of them assures us, (if there were not other Reasons for it), that the Vulgar Notion of them as Creatures that live upon the fluid Air it self, without any other Sustenance, is false, as well as ridiculous: We quickly found one of them, that we kept, a hunting after Flies, and as soon as ever he had the desired Prey in his Eye, he suddenly darted something out of his Mouth; what, I know not, unless 'twere his Tongue, but of a very ugly figure and appearance, and struck the Fly, and eat it; and all this with such speed and nimbleness, that one can't imagine any cunning Spider, to surprize with more violence and suddenness than the Camelion do.

The Camelion.

There are Bats here almost as big as Conies, headed like a Fox, and a thick hairy Furr: In all other Points like Bats: We measured the Wings of one that we killed, and found them, upon a full stretch, to be an Ell in length.

Fowl.

We saw here also good store of Bastard-Hawks, Herns of several colours, white, black, blew, and mix'd of divers together: And a sort of Birds, whose Names we knew not, of as many Colours as one can well imagine, and tufted upon their Head like Peacocks.

Lizards are very common here; and a sort of Insect that has a great number of Legs, almost like our Crabbs, and hangs about upon the Trees, enclosed within a double Cod of white Silk. In the Trees upon the Hills are abundance of large Spiders, that carry their Webs from one Tree to another; and spin very strong substantial Silk, of a yellow Colour, and that as good a Yellow as if made so by the finest Dye.

Lizards. Insects.

As for Plants, besides the Tamarinds, and the *Semper-vive* which yields the Aloes, here's a Plant something strange and peculiar; which, according to the best Judgment I can make of it, imagine to be a wild Coco-Nut: 'Tis of a shrubby Nature, and comes up with several prickled Stalks, very near two Yards long, and at the end of each stands a Leaf, indented half round like Sword-grass, and as big as that of a Cabbage: Out from the tops of these Stalks, amongst the Leaves, shot forth great numbers of woody Branches, as thick set with Fruit as ever they can stand one by another, of the colour and bigness of a

Vegetables.

Strange Plants.

large

large *Catharine* Pear, and like a Sheeps-bell in form, with a Rind bearing forth near the Head; flat at top, and ſmooth within, which Rind is hard Cortex, almoſt like the Coco-ſhell, and within that the Kernal, which tho' it be hard, yet it may be eaten, and contains about a Spoonful of a pleaſant, cool, limpid Water, pretty much reſembling that of Coco. Here's a Tree too, as large and as big as a Pear Tree, very thick ſet with Boughs and Leaves like thoſe of the Bay Tree, bearing a mighty great Fruit as round as a Ball, and hanging on a ſtrong Stalk divided by Seams through the whole length of it into four parts. The Rind is vaſtly thick and being cut when 'tis Green, it yields a ſort of viſcid Matter like a Turpentine; it contains a Kernel, of a darkiſh Colour, hard, bitter and every way ill taſted. And thus much for the Products of this Country.

The Phœnomenons of the Water here were pretty odd and ſtrange, it being at high Water very Freſh, and at low extreamly Salt again at high Water Freſh on one ſide of the Ship, and Salt on the other.

Note, that all along the Low-land from Eaſt to Weſt lies a ledge of Rocks half a Mile from the Shoar, you have two or three Fathom Water, proper for Landing, and as good Fiſhing as can be deſired. Beſides this ledge of Rocks there's a Branch four Miles from the North Point of the Bay, bearing S. S. E. and then in the Road it ſelf the Water is very deep in moſt places, and the Ground foul and full of Pits, ſo that all things conſidered, this Bay ſeems to be no place for Ships to Refreſh at.

We ſet Sail from *Auguſtine* Bay to *Zoctoara*, and in South Lat. 15. Degr. 42 Min. by the difference of the way really made, and what in Judgment might here be allowed, we found the influence of the Current, which runs pretty ſwiftly there, and as it ſhould ſeem leſs to the S. W. than to the S. For the Reaſon of this Current 'tis probable that the deep Bay between Cape *Corientes* and *Mozabigue* makes an Indraught or Eddy of ſome Streams coming either from the N. E. or more Eaſterly in at the N. E. of St. *Lawrence*, and ſo along the Land to Cape *Corientes*: Or elſe that ſtream which is reported to ſet from St. *Lawrence* N. W. meeting at the Land of *Mozombigue* may be the falling away of the Land ſo drawn that way, which ſuppoſition if it be true, then 'tis an errour for any Ship to fall with the Land before ſhe is got nearer the North of *Mozombigue* Point. And 'tis to be obſerved upon this Principle that if ſhe does not fall too much Weſterly and bring the ſaid Cape too nigh her Meridian, ſhe will feel very little or nothing of this Stream.

After ſome difficulties, we reached the Iſle of *Zoctora*, very well known in the World (and as much celebrated) for the Aloes it produces; the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil in the production of Dates is alſo no contemptible part of the Character of this Iſland. They have two Harveſts of this Fruit in a Year, the one of which fell in the Month of *July* at the time of our being there. When they are throughly Ripe, they are laid together upon Skins, and the Liquor which Diſtills from them, is that which they call Pate-wine. The Dates being thus drain'd, to Preſerve them they take out the Stones, and pack them up tirely in a Skin; or at other times they cut them and take out the Stones before they are quite Ripe, and ſo lay them a drying, which is by far the better way, and makes them eat as if they were Candied: But they muſt be open'd at ſome time or other, for whole they will not keep. When the Harveſt of Dates comes, there's a Deputy of the Kings, that's appointed to preſide over the Concerns of every Valley, ſee all be clean gathered and brought into a certain place, and till this Affair be over, no Man dare touch a Date upon pain of Death. Then when all is carried in, the whole produce of the Iſland is divided into three equal parts, Firſt for the King, another for the *Arabs*, and the Third for the *Caffars*: But tho' they make the Diviſion equal, they don't make the Diſtribution, but Arbitrarily as they pleaſe. On the Strand there grows Cotton plants in ſome places; as alſo amongſt the Stones a ſhrubby Plant call'd Eſhac; it bears a thick round Leaf as broad as a Shilling, and Fruit like a Caper, which is of uſe in Sallets, and pretty much in requeſt for that purpoſe.

There are ſome Oranges too, but thoſe ſcarce and (like Butter and other Eatables) at *Zocotora* exceeding dear.

But the moſt remarkable of all next to the *Sempervivum*, or Aloes plant, is a large Tree of the height of a Man, or ſomething better: 'Tis very groſs and thick about the Root, and grows ſo very taper upwards, that at the top 'tis almoſt compleatly picked; the Trunk is all along very ſmooth, and has no Bark to cover it, nor no Branches but at the top, and thoſe void of Leaves; but they yield a reddiſh Flower, out of which a green Fruit diſcovers it ſelf in form and bigneſs not unlike a Date, and containing ſeveral ſmall white Kernels of a bitter Tart; the Branches alſo are very bitter, and are full of a reſinous Subſtance; whether this may be the Mirtle Tree or no, thoſe that have ſeen both may do well to determine: about the Shoar there are ſeveral delicate ſorts of Shells to be found, particularly your fine Pearl Oyſter-ſhells, as alſo the common ſort in abundance, and yet not one Oyſter to be had all over the Iſland, ſo that it is plain they are driven thither by Sea.

The Animals that deſerve the moſt notice, here are the Civit-Cats, which are taken in a Trap upon the Mountains; they are very numerous, and the Country people will ſell them at any time for twelve Pence a piece. Civet Cat.

This Iſland is in the Hand of the King of *Tartach* or *Cuchem* in *Arabia Felix*, and has been in that ſtate of Subjection about 100 Years. The ſame Prince being alſo Maſter of the two *Irmans* and *Abladelcuria*.

The Inhabitants are conſequently of two ſorts, the *Arabian Mahometans*, and the *Caffars* (or *Infidels* as they call the others). The old Poſſeſſours of the Iſle the *Arabs* are well proportioned Men, Tawny, wearing their Hair long, and a Turbant or linen Cloth wrap'd about their Heads, and no other Apparel, but another about their Middles. Their Legs and Feet quite bare too, except a ſorry pair of Sandals. They have ſome few Shot amongſt them, but their Weapons elſe are only a crooked Dagger and a Target. The Gover. ment and Inhabitants

They are Induſtrious, Diligent, Fair and Civil enough in their Behaviour, though not altogether ſo Honeſt in their Dealing. They are mighty lovers of Tobacco, and they love as well to Spunge it, where they may be permitted. The better ſort of Men or the Courtiers will throw a Pinſado over their Shoulders, in the manner of an *Iriſh* Mantle, and ſome make them Skirts of white Calicoe, as others alſo a pair of Linen Breeches like the Guzerats; but this is a high pitch of Dreſs, and not the common Mode of the Country. The Women wear Calico Shifts, Red, Blew, or Dark coloured, hanging down to the very Ground, covering their Faces with a ſort of a Veil, pretending a deal of Modeſt behaviour and ſhieneſs to be ſeen, tho' at the ſame time their Tempers are jolly, open and waggiſh enough. They are much better Complexioned than the Men in general, and take not a little care to ſet off the gifts Nature has endow'd them with, by all the Advantages of dreſs and finery. All that their Husbands are worth almoſt is laid out on their Backs, the Money that ſhould be in the others Pockets is all about the Arms and Necks of thoſe extravagant Women in Chains and Rings, Carkanets, and Mavillias, and no Body knows what Gambols beſides. They load themſelves ſo with theſe things that they can't ſtir, but make a noiſe and gingling like ſo many Morice-Dancers. And I believe that one of them take her with all her Particulars, would be near enough to furniſh an ordinary Toy-ſhop. I have ſeen one of them, and that none of the beſt ſort neither, and conſequently not ſo well ſet out with theſe Fopperies, that had in each Ear at leaſt a dozen Silver Rings as big as Curtain Rings, and thoſe larger ones had as many of a ſmaller ſize hanging to them, two Chains of Silver and one of Gold Boſſes wreathed about her Neck; ten or twelve Mavillia's of Silver, each as big as ones little Finger about her Wriſts; Plates of Silver almoſt like Horſe locks upon the ſmall of her Legs, and every Finger covered with Rings; ſuppoſing all this, 'tis no wonder that the Men are poor, and want Money to buy Tobacco, eſpecially conſidering that three, four, five or ſix of theſe chargeable Creatures fall to the ſhare of one Man to maintain, or perhaps more, according to their quality, for their Religion lays no reſtraint upon them in that point. A Man had need have his Wives ſent home to him ready furniſh'd and rigg'd, and if there be no other Portion in the caſe, her Parents ſhould dreſs her at leaſt, or if the Husband muſt do it at firſt for Cuſtom, he ſhould have the liberty of undreſſing her afterwards for Conveniency, and not pinch for want of Money, when his Wife has a load of Silver upon her Back. They do indeed want a little lightning in this Sence, tho' perhaps they may want a Grain or two of a juſt weight in another. The Dreſs of the Women of Zocotra. Children.

Their Husbands are very Jealous of them, but they don't ſeem to be Jealous of their Husbands, nor ſo ſowre Tempered as they are neither. They'll turn up their Veil and glance freely upon a Stranger they like, and if he be a Merchant, and brings them Cryſtal, Amber, and Coral Beads, they'll Barter with him as long as he pleaſes, provided it be a good ſecure Place, where their Husbands may not come to ſpoil their Trade. The Arabs

Their

Products of Zocotra.

Strange Trees.

Zocotra. See after in this about the making the Aloes, as what the Practice and Trade for it, and other Commodities of the Iſland not here mentioned.

Children. Their Children (except some few of the best sort) go quite Naked, till they come to some years, for ought I know to Years of Marriage, for they Marry them here at ten or twelve Years old. These People, like the *Turks* and other Eastern Nations, eat all their Victuals upon Mats or Carpets spread upon the Ground, using neither Knives nor Forks, but Fingers, which were made before both. Their Liquor at their Meals is only fair Water: Neither have they any other but Date-Wine, with which too they'll be soundly Drunk in Private, as Zealous *Mahometans* as they are.

Way of Eating.

For Entertainment, they have a thing they call *Cebo*, which is a black bitter Drink they make of a Berry like a Barberry, brought from *Mecca*, this they sup off very hot, and 'tis reckoned good for the Head and Stomach.

Cebo a Drink.

The *Caffers*. As for the *Caffers*, they are People that live in all the Miseries and Calamities of a servile State. The *Arabs* won't suffer them to have any Arms, nor are they allowed to kill any sort of Beast for their Sustenance, so that they chiefly live upon Fish, and that share of the Dates, which the Consciences of the *Arabians* will allow them. The Men are more Swarthy than the *Arabs* are, they wear nothing upon their Heads, and their Hair is exceeding long, and only a course Cloth of Goats Hair or some other Woolien about their Middle, except something on their Feet in the nature of Scandals. They have a very rough barbarous Aspect; and look always staring as if they were Frighted.

The Women have nothing about their Heads, but wear the long Calico Shifts like the *Arabians*, and strain as far as ever their horrid Poverty will let them to be fine like them, and to ape them in all their Fashions; thus they get Mavillia's of Iron, or some such base Materials instead of Imitation of the Silver Mavillia's, and the other Womens Beads instead of Carkanets, and to make up for the want of other Ornaments they paint their Faces up and down in Patches with Black and Yellow, which makes them appear very frightful Figures. Their Language is different from the *Arabick*, which yet being the Tongue of the Conquerour they most of them learn.

Some think them originally to be a part of the Christian Jacobites.

As for their Religion they are meer Heathens as the *Arabians* say, and have all the Women in Common, observing nothing of Matrimonial Rites or Ceremonies, and besides letting out their Women to Hire without any scruple to those that will drive a Bargain with them for that purpose. How true all this is I am no judge, but this I know, that they have a Church, and there's an Altar, and two Crosses in it, and 'its certain that before the coming of the *Arabs*, the Religion of the Island was Christian or Popish at least, and that the coming of such a People as the *Arabs* are amongst them, should make them Heathens, is no very strange thing. I can't avouch any thing for their Religion, but I believe be it what it will, it can't be much less than that of their *Mahometan* Masters.

They have also one Town too (whether more or no I know not) to themselves; the Houses were built with Stone, covered over with Rafts and Palm-branches, secured with Doors and wooden Locks, pretty Artificially made.

At our first Landing thy ran all away at the sight of us and left their Town at our Disposal; the Reason was, because they took us for *Portugueze*, who had made some Inroads upon them formerly, and carried away some of them Prisoners.

In short as Matters now stand, they are a very unhappy People, and unless the Arabs would be so just as to quit the Possession of the Island to them again, they can't do them a greater Kindness than to knock them all on the Head.

The Moors *at* Delisa *give us these following Instructions,*

That upon the Coast of *Mombaze* and *Magadoxa*, there are some Years to be found lumps of Amber-grice, of an incredible Bigness and Weight.

* *Delisa* a Road on the North of *Socotra* Isle, in the *Arabian* Seas, where they were forced to stay till the *Monsons* freed them.

They reckon that the Monson of the Southerly Winds commences yearly with the Month of *May*, and continues about 100 Days. The most Boisterous Wind is in *June* and *July*, and a little way in *August*, for about the tenth or twelfth of that Month it begins to abate its Force; and soon after that, the North Wind comes on, with a great deal of Rain, which generally holds for three or four Months more. About this time 'tis that they prepare most of their *Aloes* at *Socotora*, which Drug is only the Juice of the *Sempervivum* put in Goat Skins to be dried. We gave at the rate of 150 Dollars for 125 *l.* neat of this Commodity, and traded for near 2000 *l.* weight of it.

* *Sempervivum*, the Plant from which they make their *Aloes*.

They reported farther that both the Westerly and Easterly Monsons do return each Year successively eleven Days later than the Year before, so that they make a compleat Revolution in the space of 33 Years, beginning then the very same Day of the Month precisely that they did so many Years before; so that knowing the time of their setting in any one Year, by the Allowance of the aforementioned number of Days, it may be computed for any other Year; but this Doctrine of the *Moors* seems hardly credible.

The Laws of the *Monsons*.

That as the Western Monson blows here all South, so the Eastern blows all North.

That after the 25th of *September*, no Ships can go from the *Red-Sea* to the Eastward, and that no Rain (commonly at least) falls on the Coast of *Arabia* till the 70th Day of the East Monson. 'Tis with this Monson that they begin the Computation of their year: It holds between five and six Months, and when these Easterly Winds have so done their parts, after the short interval of three or four Weeks calm and fair weather. The Westerly Winds begin to come on, so that these two Monsons (with the little Intermission between) do fill up the Compass of the Year. That in both Monsons there is an extream constant Sea-Gate upon the Coast of *Arabia*; and the Currents also conform themselves to the Winds.

Note, that at *Delisa*, the two Ships parted Company: Captain *Hawkins* in the *Hector* going for *Surat*, and Captain *Keeling* for *Bantam* in the *Dragon*.

That *Burrom*, *Mekella*, and *Ceyxem* are good Harbours for both Monsons on the Coasts of *Arabia*, but no places for Trade; on the other Hand that *Xae* is no Harbour for either Monson, but drives a Trade for Iron, Lead and such like Commodities. That 'tis very bad Riding at the entrance of *Surat* in the Westerly Monsons, and contrarily here at *Delisa* extreamly good for that very Season, tho' two Miles either East or West from the Road, there's always such a Gust of Wind, that no Ship can hold to Ride there: And this our Experience justified the Truth of.

Harbours on the Coast of *Arabia*, proper or not for the Monsons.

As for other places of Trade they informed us, That *Chaul*, *Dabul*, and *Danda Rajee puree*, were very rich trading Towns, and good safe Ports upon the Coast of *India*: As likewise that at *Saada*, *Ilbookee*, *Anjoane*, *Mootor*, four of the Islands of *Comora*, there's abundance of Rice cheap and good, and the People by a kind Temper and Disposition fit to be Traded with; whereas at *Jughejeegee* and *Malale*, two more of the same knot of Islands, both the People and the Commodity too, are so bad, that neither deserves any regard. These were their Accounts: For the Truth of which universally, we cannot avouch our own Experience, tho' as to some Particulars we know they are in the right, and may be so in all the rest.

Trading places.

We set Sail from *Socotora* in *July A. D.* 1606. directing our Course to * *India*. About 4 Degr. 2 Min. S. Lat. we had a prospect of three Islands the most Northerly of which is a large high and woody Island, and between the two Southmost there lies a very dangerous Beach about the middle way; to scape which, the best way is to steer about two Leagues from the middlemost Island, where you have a very good Passage and keep the Breach near three Leagues to the South of you.

* Note that some of the Company were set down at *Surat*, whose Relations follow after.

Notes of the Island to Sea-board of *Priaman*.

To determine it more exactly for Cautions sake, it lies (from the East end of the most Northerly of the two South Islands) full S. E. half a Channel over; and of those two Islands the Western part of the most Northerly and the Eastern Point of the most Southerly do bear just N. & S. 10 Leagues distance from each other.

Dangerous Beach.

We observe the two Hummocks of *Tecu* upon the Coast of *Sumatra*, with the High-Lands over them, to bear from each other N. and by W. and S. by E. half a Point Easterly, and the three Islands of *Priamen* to lie S.S.E. and N.N.W. being distant from each other about a Mile. Our Rates for Pepper at *Priaman* were 22½ Dollars the Bahar besides 6 *per Cent.* Custom. This Town and some of those adjoyning will yield 2500 *Bahars* of Pepper yearly, and might be bought cheap enough if the Factory were settled there for the taking of it in at the best Rates all the Year round. Their Harvest is only in *August* and *September*, and the most part of it is fetched away by the *Achenezes* and the *Javans*, the *Guzurats* being prohibited Trading there by the King of *Achen*'s express Order. It seems very reasonable upon good Consideration, that if our Ships put in at *Surat* and brought some quantities of Calicoes, fine Pintadoes, striped and chequered Stuffs to *Priaman*, that there might be a very advantageous Trade driven with these Commodities, supposing (as was hinted before) that a Factory was settled there.

Priaman Islands.

From hence we proceeded to *Bantam*, setting out the latter end of *September*. The Salt Island in the *Streights* of *Sunda* between *Sumatra* and *Java* lies (by our Observation) in 6 Degr. 6 Min. South Lat. This Island with the Point including the whole Bay, in which is *Bantam* Road

Salt Island.

lie E. N. E. and W. S. W. But the same Island with the highest South Land of *Sumatra*, and the N. W. Point of *Java*, do bear E. S. E. and W. N. W. The *Hummock* of *Sumatra*, and the Point of *Java* being about twenty Leagues distant.

The Streights of *Sunda*.

The Streights of *Sunda*, in which *Salt* Island lies, are properly made so by certain Rocks, and ragged Islands, seated in that passage between *Java* and *Sumatra*, which otherwise of it self wou'd allow a Ship scope enough to pass, without so much Caution as now is requisite. The two main Rocks bear North and South of each other, and there's at least four Miles between them: The Southermost is very near *Java*, and the Northermost more than half way, standing between the Point of *Bantam*, and another low ragged Island bearing W. S. W. with that Northermost Rock. They are both of them remarkable for the Trees that cover them; and 'tis between these two, that you are to steer your Ship in your passage from *Sumatra* to *Java*.

We got to *Bantam* the beginning of *Novembe*. Here we found the *Dutch* before-hand with us, having when we came, two Ships laden with Cloves, and two more ready to be laden with Pepper.

At this place also the Embassador of *Siam* gave us to understand how glad the King his Master wou'd be, to hold a Correspondence with His Majesty of *England*; and to what good purpose a Trade might be maintain'd in that Country. He asserted, That a Thousand Red Cloths wou'd go off there in a Day or two, all their Horses and Elephants having their Coverings and Trappings made of it. Besides, by his Report they are full of Gold and precious Stones there; and it's seldom unfortunate or disadvantageous, to have to do with a Country that affords such Commodities.

Our Ship the *Dragon* was dispatch'd from this place for *England*, whil'st we went on with the *Hector* for the *Banda* Isles.

Dangerous Beach.

In this Course we sound a very dangerous Sand, lying off the Western Point of the Isle *Pacatra*; and it's necessary, in order to sail quite clear of it, for a Ship to borrow something of the Island that stands opposite to the said Point.

If you observe the Bay of *Pacatra*, you'll find the two Points that make it to bear E. S. E. and W. N. W. four Leagues distant from each other.

About ten Leagues from *Java*, lies an Island which we find not so much to the East, as the Maps do place it: But in order to the Description of its Position as near as may be, 'tis enough to say, that the great Shoal call'd *Los Hermannes*, three Leagues from *Java*, lies N. and S. with this Island.

Nassaseres and *Celebes*.

The Island *Nassaseres* has 5 Degr. 30 Min. South Lat. and runs two or three Leagues in length N. W. and S. E. From hence to the *Celebes*, we reckon about Seventy six Leagues: As also between *Bantam* and the *Celebes*, we judge the common Computation of the distance, *viz.* Two hundred and thirty five Leagues to be pretty near the truth.

Desolam Streights.

The highest South Land of the *Celebes*, and the Western Point of the Isle *Desolam*, bear N. N. W. twelve Leagues distant, and the West-end of *Desolam*, with the low East Point of the *Celebes*, (which is the narrowest of the Streights) bears South by West, twelve or fourteen Leagues distant.

The Coast of *Desolam* runs nearest to the S. W. and the E. end of that, and of the *Celebes*, with the Islands that make the Streight, do lie in a right Line to the Eye, pretty near N. and S.

Cambina W. Point, *Button* Head-lands.

The Western Point of *Cambina* is remarkable, as being a very high and round Hill: And the Isle of *Button* no less, for the three or four considerable Head-lands which it makes.

Amboina bears from the Island *Bane*, E. by N. twelve Leagues, and lies ten Leagues long to the E. and from the Easterly part of it, the High-land of *Banda*, bears E. by S. ½ Southerly, 25 Leagues distant.

The Custom at *Banda*, is, before we begin to Trade, to agree with them upon the several sorts of Duties and Payments, as the *Reebe*, the *Scrapinang*, the *Pistelin*, which are paid either in Money alone, or partly Money, and partly Commodities. The Weights used here, are chiefly the *Cattee*, which poizes about 5 Pound 14 Ounces, *Averdupoize* Weight.

Under-hand Practices of the *Dutch*.

We made an Agreement with them of *Pulway*, for a Factory to be settled in that Island, which the *Dutch* set themselves to oppose and hinder, with all the Art and Intrigue imaginable; notwithstanding our Trade there succeeded in some measure, and we receiv'd from thence 225 ½ *Cattees* of Mace, and 1307 ½ of Nuts, in *April*, *A. D.* 1609. But having Information that the *Dutch* had a Design to erect a Fort at *Banda*, and knowing what the Consequences of that wou'd be, I propos'd to the chief Men the formal Delivery of *Banda* to us, in the Name, and for the Use of His Majesty of *England*, before the *Dutch* began their intended Work. This Proposal they seem'd to like very well, but yet deferr'd the coming to a final Resolution upon the Point so long, that we had Reason to suspect some under-hand Practices with the *Dutch*; and the preference, or at least a secret Encouragement given them in their Design of Trade: Yet at the same time did these hollow-hearted Infidels, carry it with all the specious Pretences of Friendship and Kindness to us in the World. They told us, we shou'd have the whole Spice-Trade at *Puloway*, *Pulorin*, and *Ayre Putee*: That it shou'd be Death for any Man to sell so much as a single *Cattee* of Spice to the *Hollanders*; and that if we wou'd not buy it, it shou'd all rot upon the Trees for them; for they wou'd rather die than be obliged to trade with the *Dutch*.

Treachery of the Natives.

But whether this was the Effect of a feign'd or a real Dislike or no, 'tis no matter, since we are sure, that not long after the Feud was real, and the Spleen and Hatred on the side of the *Bandanese* very strong and inveterate. 'Tis to be granted, that they are a faithless inconstant People: But then the *Dutch* carried it at a rude and insolent rate amongst them; and to all the rest, added that of the building of a Fort; an encroachment upon their Liberty, that the *Bandanese* wou'd never pardon. And not only so, but they profaned their Sacred Ground too, defaced the Sepulchres of the Dead, and carried up their Fort just by the Mosque, or Temple; all which are the highest Degrees of Abomination amongst these superstitious *Mahometans*. And as they did highly resent it, that the *Dutch* had taken these Liberties with them, so they did by a severe Revenge taken upon them, make them know, that they wou'd not endure it: For having drawn the *Dutch* Admiral, with all his Council, into a convenient place in the Woods, upon pretence of conferring there, about Matters in dispute between them, they fell upon them with a considerable Power of Men, and put every one to the Sword; and had not the Admiral's Soldiers, that attended at a little distance, been upon their Guard, they had serv'd them the same Sauce with their Master. Besides this, the People several times conspired the cutting off all of them that were there in *Banda*; nay, they did actually rise upon them, and the Plot had been executed to the utmost rigour, had not we *English-men* interpos'd on their behalf. Many a time did we rescue them out of the hands of the furious Mobb, and secure not only their Persons, but their Goods and Effects too; for which Civility we were afterwards very handsomely rewarded: For these Tumults were in the Month of *May*, and 'twas but in *June* that they began to entangle us in our Trade, and lay I know not what Restraints upon us in our Dealings with the People of *Puloway*, and *Labatacca*; as that we must carry no Provisions nor Ammunition with us thither, and that our Ships must lie open to be searched by them. And this, after a great deal of Contest, we were forced to submit to, we being but Sixty two to above a Thousand of them; and besides, their Fort commanding all at that rate, that if we fell out with them, they con'd, by the Terror of that, debar us from lading our Ships at *Banda*.

The Insolency of the *Dutch* at *Banda*.

Dutch Admiral slain.

Kindness of the *English* to the *Dutch*.

Their ill Requital.

But these things ran a great deal higher in the succeeding Month of *July*, for then we had an Order sent us in writing, signed by the Vice-Admiral, and all the residue of the Council, commanding us to withdraw our Ship out of the Road of *Banda*, within five Days after the Date thereof. Indeed, they had express'd a great uneasiness under our Company several times before, and had offer'd to take our Debts there upon themselves, and so discharge us, provided we would be gone, tho' we had not near our Lading: But now it seems they were come to a Point, and were resolv'd we shou'd stay no longer: For they pretended (in their Order), that being determined to carry on a bloody War against the *Bandanese*, in Revenge of the Barbarities committed upon their Admiral, and his Company, they wou'd not have their Enemies strengthned by *English* Powder and Shot; which they had good Reason to believe they wou'd, if we were suffer'd to lie there while the War lasted: Besides this, they absolutely forbid us Anchoring at *Nera*, *Labatacca*, or any other Roads belonging to places in their Power, during the Breach between the *Bandanese* and them. However, shortly after a Peace was concluded between these two Parties, so violently set against each other, and the *Bandanese* having no present Remedy, tamely endured the encroachment of the Fort.

English commanded out of *Banda* Road.

Peace between the *Dutch* and *Bandanese*.

The *Dutch* and we too came to an Agreement about the Time of our Stay, and the Payment of our Debts at *Banda*.

da, which by this Contract were payable to us at *Bantam*; we having Letters of Credit from the *Dutch* for that purpose.

Having dispatch'd these Concerns, and gotten all the Lading of Spice and Nuts we cou'd get from the treacherous People we dealt with; we set Sail for *Bantam*, where by the time of our coming, the Factors had made ready 3481 Bags of Pepper. Here we resolv'd to appoint a Factory, which we happily accomplish'd; and adjusting all things relating to it, address'd for our Voyage for *England*, *October* the Third.

Factory at *Bantam*.

We ran about 650 Leagues in 24 Days, after our setting out from *Bantam*; and then we had 25 Degr. South Lat. and 24 Degr. Variation.

Note.

* We find an Observation of *Linschott*'s to be very true, *viz.* That generally your Easterly Winds coming about to the Northward, if it prove Rainy, the Wind presently changes to the W. S. W. and blows there.

Donatal.

At the Western-part of *Terra Donatal*, the Variation was about 8 ½ Degr. and South Lat. 31 Degrees, 27 Min.

Mauritius Isle.

We had from some *Hollanders* this Account of the Island *Mauritius*: That there are two Havens there, the N. W. in 20 Degr. South Lat. the S. E. in 20 Degr. 15 Min. That the Island is between thirty and forty Leagues in compass, and the Variation 21 Degr. and N. W. That it is a very healthful place, and yields abundance of Turtles, Manatees, Fowl, Goats, and Hogs, tho' the latter not in such plenty as the former, the Goats having been but lately transported thither by the *Dutch*.

Near Cape *Agalhas* we have very little Variation, and the Latitude there is about 35 Degr. 26 Min. * A Man bound home upon this Coast, and finding no Weather for observing either Latitude or Variation, may safely trust himself in Sixty Fathom Water, and Shelly Ground: When he finds it Ouzy, he may conclude he is very near this Cape *Das Agalhas*; and if he loses Ground at 120 Fathom, 'tis certain he is past it, provided he be within the Latitude of 36 Degr. * Note.

We finish'd this Voyage *May* the Tenth, *A. D.* 1610; it being none of the least remarkable Circumstances of it, that as we went out, so we came in, with all our Company entire, neither Death nor Sickness (tho' both so often look'd in the Face, in the various Climates we had pass'd through) having made any Breach upon us.

CHAP. XIII.

A Relation of Mr. Finch, *Merchant, concerning his Trade and Travels in the Mogul's Country; with an Account of the most remarkable Roads and Places of Trade in that mighty Empire.*

* This was part of the Company that was landed at *Surat*, while the Ships went on to the *Banda* Isles, *&c.* as is before related. See the Particulars as to the Success of the Factory, in Capt. *Hawkins* Relation that follows.

*BEing come to *India*, we went all ashore at *Surat*, where we hoped to have an *English* Factory settled in time. 'Twas our ill luck notwithstanding, to meet every-where with People of base and perfidious Principles, to find a Knave almost in every Post and Place of Trust, from the Court to the Custom-House, from the loftiest Visier, to the meanest Officer, 'twas all alike; there were Places and Titles of Honour to distinguish Men from one another, but Honesty and Conscience made no difference.

The *Portugueze* (the proud Usurpers of Sovereignty in these parts, and very troublesome Neighbours to the *Great Mogul*, as well as other *Indian* Princes) had about this time their share of Calamities, as well as we. The *Mogul* indeed hardly dares pretend to chastise them, (so far from that, that he is forc'd to yield to all their Impositions upon his Ships, and not one can stir any way to Trade, but is obliged to take their Pass, and pay for't) but the *Mallabars*, and the *Dutch*, between them, do pretty well pay those Scores, and mortifie the Power of that insolent ambitious People, which without such Adversaries to check it, one does not know what heighth it wou'd grow to. The *Mallabars* destroy'd, sunk, and took, no less than fifty of their Frigats, in a very little time: And the *Dutch*, who were for playing higher Game with them, address'd themselves to the Siege of *Malacca*, with thirty stout Ships. In defence of this important place, the Vice-Roy of *Goa* has made all the Force that's possible; and what will be the Event of so great an Action as is like to be between them, is yet uncertain. But 'tis certain, that the last Year that place was fatal to them, and they receiv'd a most dismal Overthrow by the *Dutch* then.

Obs. Jan. February. *March, A.D.* 1609. *Malacca* besieg'd by the *Dutch*. As also the last Year.

The Matter was thus: That the *Dutch*, with some of the *Indian* Princes, their Confederates, had laid a very close Siege to *Malacca* both by Sea and Land; the Vice-Roy of *Goa* immediately came to relieve the place, and meeting with the *Dutch* Fleet, there was a long and bloody Fight between them, and great damage done on both sides; insomuch, that both Fleets thought enough done for the present, at least till they had fitted up themselves for a fresh Trial.

The Account of that Action.

The *Portugueze* however (according to their Vain-glorious boasting way) made a huge Noise of Victory, and thinking that they had quite cool'd the Courage, as well as spoil'd the Undertaking of the *Dutch*, fell to Feasting and Revelling ashoar, leaving the Fleet to look to it self.

The *Dutch*, in the mean-time, having stopp'd their Leaks, and new rigg'd at *Goa*, return'd with a Resolution to try the Fortune of a Second Battel with them, and came in good time to surprize them in the midst of all their Triumphs; so without any more adoe, falling upon the Fleet, they burnt and sunk every Ship that was there, making besides a cruel Slaughter: And if five or six of their Ships had not by chance been sent away before, the whole Fleet that came upon this Design had entirely perish'd. Besides, quickly after this, a Sickness in that City swept away most of the *Portugueze* there, and the Vice-Roy amongst the rest; so that their Pride and Greatness by all these Strokes, was considerably humbled.

And 'twas very well for the King of *Achen*, and his Country, that the *Dutch* at that time attempted the Siege of *Malacca*, and gave the *Portugueze* so fatal a Blow as they did; 'twas the most seasonable thing for them that cou'd possibly have happen'd, and no less perhaps than the Redemption of the whole Country out of the hands of those Devourers: For the King of *Portugal*, who had before resolv'd to drive the *Dutch* out of the *Indies*; as also, severely to chastise all those *Indian* Princes and States that had given Countenance and Encouragement to them (of which 'tis probable he reckon'd the King of *Achen* to be one) gave Orders to his Vice-Roy to go and begin with that Prince, and then proceed to the King of *Jor*, and so to the *Moluccas*, and about. And the *Portugueze* Fleet (wonderfully strong and well furnish'd) was at that very time before the City of *Achen*, ready to execute the King's Commands, when the News came, that the *Dutch* were assaulting *Malacca*, and all was like to be lost there. This News drew off the whole Power of the Fleet, and deliver'd *Achen*; the Vice-Roy had no time (as well as Commission) to attend the making of new Conquests, when old ones were ready to be lost, and the Interest was sinking in another place.

Achen saved from the *Portugueze*.

And 'tis not utterly improbable, that there were something more than meer lucky Chance and Contingency in this matter; and that the *Dutch* (for some Obligation or other to the King of *Achen*) might studiously give his Adversaries this very seasonable Diversion: But however, 'twas, the *Portugueze* had the worst on't, and came off with the loss both ways.

The *Mallabars* were a horrid Plague to them this same Year too, and took or sunk of them, at several times, better than sixty Sail.

The *Mallabars* spoil the *Portugueze*.

Add to all this, the loss of the best part of their new Fleet, sent out of *Portugal* to carry on the War against the *Dutch*: They were in all nine brave Men of War, and six Ships Attendants; they were scatter'd with bad Weather, about the Coasts of *Guinea*, and never met together afterwards. About five of them did make a shift to get to *Goa*, and another of the Company was set afire by her own Men, to avoid her falling into the Hands of the *Dutch*, that then rode at the Bar hectoring and challenging the *Portugueze* Admiral to come out and fight.

The *Portugueze* Fleet coming into the *Indies*, lost.

These same *Dutch* had fired two more of this Fleet a little before at *Mozambique*, (where also they had assaulted and batter'd the Castle, tho' they could not take it) and from thence they came directly for *Goa*, hoping to find the rest; which Design being frustrated, they endeavour'd to provoke the *Portugueze* to a Battel; but they were wiser than to accept of the Challenge at that time, and for all the Insults of the *Dutch*, wou'd not stir out of their Port.

But they continue still to make further Preparations on both sides; so that in all probability, it won't be long before the Grand Controversie depending between those two Nations, in these Parts of the World, will be decided: The Business of *Malacca* is now in hand, which will serve only for an Introduction to greater things.

May. But the *Dutch* and *Portugueze* were not the only Scufflers in this Country; for the *Great Mogul*, and the King of *Decan*, were carrying on a very hot and violent War. News came now, that this Prince, with a flying Army of 22000 Horse, had besieg'd the City of *Aurdanegir*, once the Metropolis of that Kingdom, and conquer'd by the brave *Ecbar*, this *Mogul*'s Father. But it seems, the Governour of that place was too cunning for the King of *Decan*; for pretending that he wou'd deliver up the City into his hands, upon Condition of withdrawing his Army some four or five Cose distance, that they might march out with Bag and Baggage more securely; instead of that, he assaulted them to right (taking the advantage of their Security and Unprovidedness), and press'd so very close upon them, that the whole Army was routed, and that with considerable loss too.

Wars between the *Mogul*, and K. of *Decan*.

* A Cose is a Mile and half *English*.

But 'tis not much doubted, but the King of *Decan* will pay this Debt with Interest before it be long; for he's a very potent Prince, and his Subjects are some of the best Soldiers in the *Indies*; and have as good a Character for Land-Service, as the *Malabars* have for that of the Sea.

On the other side the *Great Mogul* went on with his Preparations, great and mighty, in proportion to his vast Design: He was now resolved not to sit down contented with the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Decan* only, but to take in all the Countries in the Southern part of *India*; he wou'd carry his Victorious Arms all through the Continent, and fix the Bounds of his Empire at Cape *Comori*.

June.

To break the force of this mighty Storm, the Three mighty Kings, of *Decan*, *Visapor*, and *Golconda*, with all their Powers, prepare to set themselves in the way of it, intending to receive the first Shock; they resolve to stand as Barriers between the *Mogul*, and that part of *India*; so that he shall not break in there, before he has broke through all their Armies. They are now on both sides in their Tents in the Field, ready for Action; and expect only the breaking up of the Winter to begin it.

December. We had also our share of Troubles at *Surat*, occasion'd by the Rumour of a certain Adversary's approach, very formidable in these Parts: It was one *Raja Badur*, a kind of an Outlaw, that very often made great Spoil in that Country, marching up and down with a Body of Horse, and taking his Plunder where he found the Towns most liable to a Surprize.

Badur, a great Outlaw.

He was a Descendant from the Kings of *Cambaya*, and had been King himself, if the Arms of the *Mogul* had not wrested that Kingdom away from his Family: So that 'tis probable he turn'd Rapparee in Revenge, and took that Course to make himself Satisfaction, for the Wrong the *Mogul* had done him.

About two Years before this, he plunder'd and sack'd the Great City of *Cambaya*, and was now coming to do the same to *Surat*; which put all the City into a most wretched Confusion: But having Intelligence of the Strength of Men and Arms got together for the Defence of it, he went off, and did not make the Attempt.

But to leave these Affairs, I shall give an Account of my own Journey to *Agra*, and through the most remarkable Parts of *India*, together with the principal Places that occur in those Roads, with the most serviceable Observations relating to them.

January. *Surat* described.

Surat, from whence I began my Journey, may also begin the Character. It stands some twenty Miles up in the Country, upon the Bank of a very fine River; 'tis a City of the middle sort for bigness, very populous, and full of Merchants. About three Miles from the Mouth of the River, is the fam'd Bar, where Ships ride and unlade: Over this the Channel is very fair to the City-side, and able to bear Vessels of 500 Tun Burthen.

This same River runs directly to *Bramport*, and as you come up it on the Right-hand stands the Castle, considerably large, well wall'd and moated, and as well defended and provided with Military Furniture.

Before the Castle lies the *Meidan*, which is a spacious pleasant Green, with a tall *May*-Pole in the midst, about which they make their Pastimes on Festival Days. The City lies all open on the side of the Green; but in all other parts 'tis ditch'd and fenc'd, and has three considerable Gates; without one of which is a fine Grove of *Mango*-Trees, where the Citizens use to go out and Banquet. There is a good *Alphandicar*, or Custom-House, and a Market-place for Horses and Cattle; with several other Conveniences, better to be taken by Sight than Report and Description.

The most considerable Things without the Gates, are (besides the Grove of *Mango's*) the fair Pond not far off it, three Quarters of a Mile in compass, and surrounded on every side with Stone-steps, and beautiful Tombs, with a large pav'd Court, and great Trees, with an Arbour rais'd in it, where the *Indian Fakirs*, or Holy Men, sit and shew their Piety in State.

Cross the Water stands a sweet little Town call'd *Rander*, the Inhabitants of which are quite a different People, and speak another Language; they are all of them Seamen by Employment, and go there by the Name of *Naites*, which may be very well deriv'd from *Nauta*, and makes their Name and Business agree perfectly together. The Streets here are narrow, but the Houses graceful and well built, with very high Steps before every Door: But 'tis the pleasant Gardens that charm the Citizens of *Surat*, and invite them to come over and pass away so many Hours as they do at this place. I know of nothing to abate the Pleasure of these lovely Walks, but the infinite Number of great Bats that take up their Lodging in the Trees; there they hang by the Claws in the Boughs, in such vast Clusters, as wou'd surprize a Man to see; but the Noise and Squeeling they make is so intolerable, that 'twere a good Deed, to bring two or three Pieces of Ordnance, and scour the Trees, that the place might be rid of such a Plague as they are to it. The Winter begins at *Surat* about the beginning of *June*, and holds to the latter end of *September*; but not with continual Rains, as 'tis at *Goa*; but with great uncertainty, and as much variety of Weather, Wind, Rain, and Thunder. It always takes its Farewell of them with a cruel Storm, which they call the *Tuffon*; which is also uncertain as to the degree of its Violence and Fury; but for the most part, observes this stated Course to come with extremity every two or three Year.

Rander.

Multitude of Bats.

The Weather and Seasons.

The Monsons for the South serve here in *April* and *September*; for the *Red Sea*, in *February* and *March*: Ships come hither from the *South*, in *December*, *January*, and *February*: From the *Red Sea*, in the beginning of *September*, after the Rains: From *Ormus* in *November*.

Let us remove the Scene now from *Surat* to *Necampore*, one of the first Towns of great Note in my way to *Agra*. In this Road begins that long Ridge of Mountains that runs from *Amedevar*, cross this part of the Country, and amongst which *Badur* the troublesome Rebel has several Strong-holds, and has fortified himself so well, that all the Forces of the *Great Mogul* are not able to injure him; and this Series of Mountains continues it self as far as *Bramport*.

Necampore.

The next great Town is *Dayta*, encompass'd almost round with a River, standing like an Island in the midst of a most delicious Country that lies about it; and *Badur* its next Neighbour of Note, a Town as unpleasant as the former was agreeable; a Dirty Hole, a Den of Thieves, and remarkable for nothing else, but its Dirt, and Dirty People; except the Quantities of Wine made here, of the Fruit they call *Mewa*. This is a very sweet and luscious Fruit, the Wine of it pleasing enough; but my own Experience prov'd it not wholsome, unless well burn'd.

Dayta. *Badur.* *Mewa* Wine.

Several of these Towns that lie hereabouts, are under the Command of a certain Gentile *Raja*, who acknowledges the Sovereignty of the *Great Mogul*; but upon Courtesie as it were, and just as it pleases him. He lives indeed, at present, in Peace and Amity with him, and sends his Annual Presents; and besides, leaves one of his Sons at *Bramport*, for a Pledge of his Friendship: But then if he shou'd do otherwise, the *Mogul* can't help himself; for the *Raja* has such a Guard of inaccessible Mountains about him, that he may bid Defiance almost to all the Armies in the World. Besides, tho' he may be besieg'd in those Mountains, yet they can never starve him there; for there's abundance of good Pasture, Grain, and Fountains of Water, upon the highest part of them, so that if he did fall out with the *Mogul*, and take up Arms, he had Nature of his side, and the Fruitfulness of his own Territories wou'd support him in his Rebellion. But then did he let an Army pass undisturb'd, to the very Foot of his Mountains, they cou'd never get up to him; for all the Passes to his two principal Cities, are prodigiously fortified.

An *Indian Raja*, and his Strength.

fortified (there's eighty Forts at leaſt ſcatter'd up and down to ſecure them), and then they are ſo narrow, that no more than two Men can march a-breaſt: The Names of theſe two Cities are *Saliere* and *Muliere*, each of which have two mighty Caſtles to defend them.

Saliere and Muliere.

Ecbar Sha, this *Mogul*'s Father (a Soldier as capable of managing an Enemy to good purpoſe, as moſt *India* has had), found this Mountaineer too ſtubborn for him; he ſpent ſeven Years a beſieging him, and at laſt was forc'd to compound, giving him ſeveral Towns, upon Condition of ſome poor Acknowledgment of Sovereignty to him, and his Succeſſors: And this was the wiſeſt part of his Conduct in the whole Affair: For in ſhort, without this Agreement, his Merchants cou'd never have had any Security in paſſing along this Country.

Bramport.

My Journey from theſe Towns to *Bramport*, was troubleſome enough; partly upon the Account of Thieves that infected the Roads, and an ill Diſtemper (the Bloody-flux) gotten by drinking the Water of *Sindkeny* River, a Town that lay in the Road.

February.

The *Decans* alſo (who had juſt beat the *Mogul*'s Forces, and taken a ſtrong Town from them, and extreamly brisk upon that Succeſs) were abroad in Parties, making all the Spoil they cou'd in the *Mogul*'s Dominions; ſo that 'twas impoſſible to travel with any Safety, without a Guard; and this Comfort I accidentally met with, in a good Body of Horſe, that convoy'd me ſecurely to *Bramport*. This is a very great City, but has a baſe, low, unpleaſant Situation, a very unwholſome Air, and as bad Water about it: It has a large and well fortified Caſtle, ſtanding upon the Bank of the River which comes from *Surat*, which is the only conſiderable Ornament of that kind, the City has to ſhew. The Vice-Roys Gardens are indeed very fine and curious, but they lie ſome two Coſe out of the City.

Cloſe by the Caſtle-ſide, in the River, ſtands an Elephant carv'd in Stone, with ſo much of the Life, as well as all the exact Proportions of that Beaſt; that another Elephant that came down one Day to drink there, miſtook it for a real Animal, like himſelf; and accordingly running againſt it with all his force, broke both his own Teeth by the Aſſault, but cou'd make no Impreſſion upon his Adverſary.

The City was at this time as full of Soldiers as ever it cou'd hold, and the Vice-Roys Camp lay between this and *Badurpore*, extending a matter of two Coſe in length; on the other ſide, about twenty Coſe diſtance, lay the the Army of the *Decanees* encamp'd, conſiſting of at leaſt 50000 Men, threatning *Bramport*, and demanding the Surrender of it. And 'tis certain, that this place muſt have been yielded up to them, if Sultan *Perviz* (the Prince) had not come in the nick of time, with a ſtrong Army, to prevent it.

Bramport like to be loſt.

Their Forces about this place, all joyn'd together, are as good as 60000 Horſe, and 1500 Elephants; ſo that they match the *Decanees* in number; yet before I went from hence, News came, That a part of the Army was entirely routed.

We had Intelligence of a freſh Loſs the *Portugueze* had at Sea by the *Mallabars*: Their Fleet conſiſting of fifty Frigats, and two Gallies, being upon the *Mallabar* Coaſt, and in ſome meaſure diſorder'd and diſpers'd there by bad Weather: The *Mallabars* eſpying that advantage for an Onſet out of their Lurking-holes, purſued it preſently, and ſo fired, ſunk, and took the whole *Armado*.

March.

Under the Protection, and in the Company of the Governour of this place, I continued my Journey to *Agra*. Our Way lead us croſs the great Ridge of Mountains that comes from *Amadavor*; not far from which paſſage ſtands the vaſt and mighty Caſtle of *Haſſere*. It's ſtrongly ſcated upon the tops of the Mountains, has Paſtures and Ponds about it; and is it ſelf (by Report) big enough to entertain above 40000 Horſe. Were it not for one unhappy thing, it would be abſolutely invincible, and a Man that had the Defence of ſuch a Strong-hold as this, need not fear being thrown out by any Force, except that of Lightning, or an Earthquake, ſhou'd do it. It muſt infallibly tire any Adverſary in the World, if it had but the advantage of good Water; but the want of this Neceſſary will not allow it to hold out a Siege ſo ſtubbornly, as its own Strength wou'd eaſily do. 'Twas by this means that it came into the Power of *Ecbar Sha*, who elſe in all probability had never taken it: It had at that time 600 Pieces of Ordnance; and the Old *Mogul* was almoſt weary of his long Siege: But the Water bred Worms, and other Inſects, in ſuch multitudes, that the Defendants had a grievous Mortality amongſt them, by drinking of it; and ſo they were forc'd to come to a Compoſition, and deliver up the Caſtle.

Caſtle of Haſſere.

This Progreſs in the Mountains, brought us to the Ruines of the ancient City of *Mandow*, three Coſe of the way up to which, is vaſtly ſteep and ſtony, and ſo narrow, that 'tis as much as a Coach can do to preſs along. On the top, at the very edge of the Mountain, ſtands the Gate, or Entrance, of this old City, over which is a handſome Fort, and a Houſe of Pleaſure, the Walls running all along the ſide of the Mountain, for many Coſes together.

Ruines of old Mandow.

The Ruines beſpeak the City to have made a Noble Appearance when it was in its Glory; amongſt which there are ſeveral pieces of ſtately Walls, Tombs, and Moſkites, ſtill remaining. It was four Coſe long N. and S. and at leaſt ten or twelve, E. and W. and yet to the Eaſtward of all, lies good Paſture Ground, for the length of ſeveral Coſes. There are a great many fair Ponds that lie ſcattering up and down in the Mountain about the City, and Forts, too well ſituated and diſpos'd.

The preſent City.

The preſent City is but ſmall, in compariſon with what the former was; but the Buildings of it are admirably ſtrong, beautiful, and uniform, all of Stone; and the Gates ſo very high, that I believe there's nothing like them in all Chriſtendom. It has a Noble Palace, and right againſt that as fine a Moſkit, in which are the Tombs of ſeveral *Indian* Kings, who lie very pompouſly interr'd there.

The Turret that ſtands by, is 170 Steps high, built round with Galleries and Windows to every Room, beautified with ſtately Ports, Arches, and Pillars, and the Walls all inlaid with a green Stone.

The main Gate is exceeding ſtrong, and has a ſteep Aſcent to it: Without it are ſix other Gates, all very ſubſtantial, and Courts of Guard between Gate and Gate.

The Wall runs all along the edge of the Mountain, with Flankers in ſeveral places up and down, and yet is the Aſcent ſo very ſteep of it ſelf, that 'tis hardly poſſible for a Man to climb up to any part of it on all Four.

This City was taken by the preſent *Mogul*'s Grand-Father, *Hamoun Sha*; from *Sha Selim*, one of the *Indian* Kings of *Delly*, whoſe Anceſtors had enjoy'd it for above 400 Years: There was, 'tis true, Force in the Caſe; but if Treaſon and Policy had not given a good ſtroke towards it, the Race of the Old *Indian* Kings might have had their Dwelling here ſtill.

And ſince the Perſons here mention'd, were ſome of thoſe that were then upon the Stage, when that remarkable Revolution happen'd, that brought this Family into the Imperial Throne of *India*; it may be proper to give an Account of that Affair, in which the Fortunes of ſo conſiderable a Country as this is, under-went a Change ſo very great and ſurprizing.

The Story of the Conqueſt of India, by the Moguls.

The preſent *Great Mogul*, is the Great Grand-Son of *Babur* King of *Cabul*, a *Tartarian*; and as upon the Death of the mighty *Tamerlane*, that vaſt Empire had a great number of Heirs amongſt his Sons, and was divided into ſeveral petty Kingdoms and Governments; ſo 'tis probable, that this of *Cabul* was one of the Fragments of that broken Empire; and conſequently *Babur*, either directly deſcended from *Tamerlane*, or at leaſt had ſome of that Blood in his Veins. However, upon this Account it is, that the *Great Mogul* boaſts ſo highly of his Pedigree, and calls himſelf the Off-ſpring of *Tamerlane*; pretending too, that he is the Ninth, in a direct Lineal Deſcent from him.

The Old *Indian* Kings making *Delly*, for the moſt part, their Royal Seat, this *Babur*, with thirty or forty of his Nobles, diſguis'd like *Fokeers*, came to the King *Secandar*'s Court, 'tis probable, either as Spies, or in order to attempt ſomething towards the Conqueſt of the Country. They were quickly diſcover'd there by their Countanances, tho' the *Indian* King had them fully at his diſpoſe, yet he ſpar'd them, and gave them their Liberty, upon Condition of *Babur*'s Oath, not to make War during that King's Life.

Babur kept his Oath while *Secander* liv'd: but when his Son was in the Throne, thinking himſelf then diſcharg'd from it, he ſent *Hamoun*, (this *Mogul*'s Grand-Father) with a mighty Force, and ſeiz'd upon the whole Kingdom.

But the Conquerour was hardly ſettled in his Throne, before *Selim*, an *Indian* Prince of the Royal Family, took up Arms to drive him out again: And the Matter coming to be fairly tried by Battel, the *Indian* got the Day, and the *Tartar* was forc'd to fly, and take Sanctuary in the King of *Perſia*'s Court. But having obtain'd a good Army of that King, he came back again into *India*, and then by the help of his *Perſians*, carried all before him, and ever after that ſat free from diſturbance.

The *Tartar* being now poſſeſs'd of the Imperial Seat again, *Sha Selim* retir'd to the ſtrong City of *Mandow*, juſt now deſcrib'd, and there fortified himſelf, holding it out againſt

against all the Power of *Hamown*, 'till Treachery (against which there is no Guard) work'd his Ruine. But yet, tho' beaten out thence, he maintain'd his Liberty all the Reign of *Hamown*, and a good part of his Son *Ecbar*'s too, still retiring from one Mountain to another, and defeating all the Plots of his Enemies laid to take him.

This City of *Mandow*, is said to be built above a Thousand Years since, by one of the Old *Indian* Princes; and 'tis worthy of remembrance, as having been the Scene of such important Actions.

Malva. From hence we pass'd through the pleasant and fertile Country of *Malva*, where there's also a vast deal of Opium. They give the Heads of Poppies two or three scratches, from whence distils a Tear, which at first is white, but afterwards congeal'd by the Cold, turns of a reddish Colour; but 'tis a great deal of Pains they bestow in this Business, for a small Matter of Profit; for the Heads are small, and drop their Tears very sparingly.

Between this and *Gualere*, are these Places of Note and Trade:

Sarampore. *Sarampore*, adorn'd with a fine Castle, and Town-House, a large place, and famous for Turbants, and good Linen.

Cuckra. *Cuckra*, abounding with all sorts of Grain, Victuals, and *Mewa*-Wine.

Syrange. *Syrange*, remarkable for its Betele-Gardens.

Norwar. *Norwar*, a City of large Dimensions, and handsomely built; its Castle stands upon a steep stony Mountain, with a very narrow Cawsey leading to it, of more than a Mile's Ascent, defended with four strong Gates, and Courts of Guard to every one of them, beyond the fourth and last of which no Stranger is permitted to enter, without special Orders from Court. The Towers and Flankers, and other Contrivances for Defence, render it invincible by any thing but Treason; indeed, the whole Ridge of the Mountain upon which the City stands, and is five or six Coses in compass, is fortified both by Art and Nature, to a wonderful degree. This was formerly the Boundary, or Gate of the Kingdom of *Mandow*, and was in those Days much stronger, as well as more splendid than 'tis now.

Gualere. *Gualere* is a City as beautiful, and in many Respects more remarkable than the former. The ruggy Cliff upon which the Castle is seated, is at least six (some say eleven) Coses in compass, and all inclos'd with a very stout Wall: And here is the like narrow Cawsey, with Gates, Barricadoes, and Courts of Guard, as at *Norwar*; and the same Caution us'd in the Admission of Strangers. The Governour's Lodging has a great deal of Pomp and Curiosity about it; it has abundance of high Turrets gilt at the top, and the Walls all inlaid with green and blew Stone, such as I think is hardly to be seen any where but in *India*.

Prisons for Noblemen. This place is one of the three fam'd Prisons for Noblemen, and all of high Quality, that fall under the Prince's Displeasure; the other two are at *Rantimore*, a place not very far from hence; and at *Rotas*, a Castle in the Kingdom of *Bengala*.

Those that are sent to *Rotas*, are such as are condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, out of which there's very seldom any Redemption: But all that go to *Rantimore*, have the Black Mark for Execution set upon them, and never none come back from that fatal place.

And their Execution. When the Criminal has been there about some two Months, the Governour of the Castle brings him up to the top of the Wall, and gives him a Dish of Milk, which after he has drunk off, he is thrown down upon the Rocks.

There's abundance of fine Ground, and Ponds, about this Mountain of *Gualere*; as also delicate Meadows, and Gardens of Pleasure, enclos'd with a strong Wall at the foot of the Hill, which Meadows are for the secure feeding of Horses in time of War. There are several Houses too on the Town-side, entirely cut out of the main Rock, in which a part of the Trading People live; and what prodigious Labour, as well as Art and Skill, such a Work must require, to hew and form the vast irregular Cliffs, into convenient Habitations, a Man can't easily imagine. Hereabouts were, formerly, the Frontier Lines of the Kingdom of *Delly*, bordering on that of *Mandow*, as those of *Mandow* it self, about *Gualere*, on that side.

April A. D. 1610. Doulpore. Between this and *Agra*, lies the Town of *Doulpore*, the next remarkable Stage in our Journey: It has running by it the River *Cambere*, as large and broad as the *Thames*; and shews a Castle encompass'd with four mighty Walls, one within another, the way between each exceeding steep, and all pav'd with Stone; and 'tis at least three quarters of a Mile in a direct Line through, from one Gate of it to the other, on the opposite side.

I must confess, I believe, hardly any Country in the World, can shew prouder Buildings of all sorts, Palaces more magnificent, Forts and Castles more surprizingly strong, and a greater Variety of all these, than *India* can. To see all the Instances of its unbounded Riches and Greatness, and State and Grandeur of its ancient Kings, in those Monuments, and rare Pieces of Antiquity, remaining to this Day; together with all the Demonstrations of admirable Art and Contrivance in those illustrious Buildings, which it presents to a Travellers Eye, is enough to convince him, that the Country was as much wrong'd, as it must be little known, to have the Character of Barbarous so long given to it.

Agra de-scrib'd. This tedious and hazardous Journey, had now a Period set to it, by our happy Arrival at *Agra*: Here I found Captain *Hawkins*, in no small Favour and Figure, at this Court, and with not a little Work upon his hands; of countermining the Jesuites, and breaking the Measures taken by them, and their Party, for the Destruction of the *English* Interest and Trade in this Country.

The City of *Agra* (tho' now it has scarce a Rival in all *India*) has risen but very lately to this degree of Greatness and Fame; it is now an Imperial City, but 'twas an ordinary Village in *Ecbar*'s time, who removed his Court from *Felipse* hither. 'Tis vastly large, and populous, beyond measure; but the Streets for the most part narrow and dirty: There are some that may be call'd stately, as the great *Bazar*, and a few more; but the biggest part of the City is far from coming up to that Character. It lies in the form of a Half-moon, bearing out to the Land-ward some five Cose in length, and as much by the River-side; this is the River *Gemini*, which is as broad as the *Thames* at *London*, and runs with a very swift Current, discharging it self into the *Ganges* at last.

Upon the Banks stand the lofty Palaces of the Nobility, and the admirable Castle of this place, reckon'd beyond *The Castle* most of that kind in the whole Eastern World. It is between three and four Mile in compass, enclos'd with a Wall of strong square Stone, about which is cast a large Ditch, with several Draw-Bridges; besides this, 'tis defended with various Bulwarks, and regall'd with a Counterscarp without, some fifteen Yards broad: And as if this was not Guard enough, there are two more as substantial Walls as this within it. The Gates, and Courts, and Buildings belonging to it, are too many for a transient Description; the mighty Castle of *Agra* is a Subject sufficient for an almost entire Volume by it self.

To return to the City: Altho' it has the Defence of six very sufficient Gates, yet it has no Walls to complete the Strength of it, but only a Ditch, and that not broad neither, nor full of Water; but on the contrary, quite dry: Without this, lie all the Suburbs, which are very large, the City and they making one Way seven Mile in length, and three in breadth. The Houses of all the considerable People are built with Brick and Stone (with flat Roofs); but those of the Commonalty are of Wood, and have Mud-Walls, and thatch'd a great part of them; by which means Fires once kindled, do make horrid Work in those Parts of the City. And this was the Case at my *May. June.* being there; for a good while together the Fire was hardly ever out in one place or other; so that several Thousands of Houses were consum'd, besides a great number of Inhabitants and Cattle that perish'd too. *Fire at Agra.*

This Court was now alarm'd with News, of the ill *July.* Success of the War managed against the *Decanees*: *Amdavanger*, a Town in those parts, was fallen into their hands; the vast Army of the *Mogul*, which was upon the March to relieve it, being forc'd by Drought and Famine, to retire back to *Bramport*, by which loss of time the place was lost.

The fighting part of the Army was at least 100000 Horse; but then take in all the Attendants, and Hangers-on, the Managers of Elephants and Camels, (of which there was an incredible number) and 'tis reckon'd, that the whole Body of the Camp, amounted to 500000, if not six. They eat and drank up the Country as they pass'd along, the largest Stores were exhausted, and the Rivers not able to supply them with Drink; a small quantity of Water was sold for a Roupie, and not enough to be had neither.

In the mean time, the cunning *Decanees* march'd about spoiling the Country before them, cutting off all Intercourse between them and places of Supplies; and ever now and then, vexing them with false Alarms, Skirmishes, and one Stratagem or other; so that in short, the whole Army was in a very dangerous and declining State. Thus insulted by the Enemy, and besides half-starv'd in to the bargain, they were forc'd to leave the City for a Prey, and march back to *Bramport*; but well lessen'd in their Numbers by that time they got together, having lost above 70000 Horse, besides Elephants, Camels, and other Cattel.

This

This is the Fruit of such monstrous, unconscionable, great Armies: A Prince had far better forbear those needless Demonstrations of Pomp and Power, in such vast Preparations as these are, than consult his Grandeur in the giving of them, when it is likely to be attended with such fatal Consequences. So huge a Body must needs be slow and heavy in its Motions, less capable of Order and Government; and whether they fight or no, and do Service to the Country, must still be devouring it where they are.

The *Mogul*'s Affairs went cross in other places too, besides *Decan*, about this time: For *Potana*, a considerable City in the Kingdom of *Porrop*, was taken, and sack'd, and the Castle, with all the Treasure of it, surpriz'd by the Rebels: The Citizens fled, and left the King's Treasure to look to it self; for which Expression of their Care and Loyalty, some of them were sent hither to *Agra*, to receive the Rewards of it; which was to be shaven, dress'd in Womens Attire, and carry'd about the Streets upon Asses, and the next Day to lose their Heads.

The King, this Month, made a great Noise about Christianity, commending it in Publick, before his Nobles; and at the same time railing at *Mahomet*, and the *Alcoran*, as good as calling the one a Cheat, and the other a Pack of Lyes and Fables.

Perhaps his Losses put him into this Pett with his Religion, the Goodness of which he measured by the Success of his Arms, and the Sharpness of his Sword, as the first Planters of that Imposture did. However, he was so far fallen out with *Mahomet*, that he wou'd make three young Princes (his Brother's Sons) of another Flock; and therefore put them into the Hands of the Jesuites, to be instructed in the Christian Religion, in order to Baptism, which was afterwards administred in a very solemn manner.

But all this while, (to speak the plain truth) here was no Quarrel between him and his Prophet, nor no Love to the Christian Religion: The Jesuites perhaps might possibly expect another good Christening, and think of having the *Mogul* himself at the Font in a little time (who if it had been so, cou'd have had no less than the Pope for a Godfather); but they were very much mistaken in him, and all their fond hopes of his Concern about their Religion. If they have a mind to submit to the Rites of his Religion, and be circumciz'd, they may; but I'll engage (for all his Raillery upon the Alcoran) that he'll never be baptiz'd. This Action of his, was only a politick Contrivance for his own Security; he made these young Princes Christians, to make them odious to the People, and cou'd not have taken a more effectual Course to do it: 'Tis infallibly certain, by this means he has made it impossible for them ever to come into the Throne, or so much as to rise to such a degree of Popular Esteem and Interest, as to be likely to do him, or his Children, any mischief.

The *Portugueze* continued to be upon the losing Hand in these parts still; thirty of their Frigates being now cast away at the Barr of *Surat*: This was the Effect of their Over-eagerness to get out, (before the Winter was over) to catch some of our *English* Ships; those of them that escap'd the Fury of the Sea, were afterwards forc'd to crave Relief at our Doors, whom they were going to plunder and destroy.

The Affairs of Trade at this time, obliged me to make a Journey from *Agra* to *Byana*; my chief Business being to buy Indico, which Commodity that place abounds with. All along this Road from *Agra*, as far as *Asmere*, (which is 130 Coses) are Stone-Pillars erected at every Cose-end; and several fine Moholls, or Summer-Palaces, richly furnish'd and fitted for the Entertainment of the King and his Women, when they please to come to any of them.

The first place of great Note I came to, was the famous City of *Fetipore*, deservedly call'd so, tho' yet an unfinish'd, and partly a ruinous City. It was the Noble Design and Work of *Ecbar Sha*, who removed his Court from hence to *Agra*, because the Water hereabouts proved brackish and impure, and bred Distempers amongst those that drunk it: So the City now almost ready to vie with any in *India*, was left condemn'd to undergo the Decays of Time, and to moulder away into Ruines. The Wall and the Gates, hold out pretty well; but the Buildings are very much lost in the middle, and a good part of it is turn'd into Gardens.

Jam Seges est ubi Troja fuit.

And here one may see whole Fields of Indico, and other Grain, where the August Buildings of *Fetipore* once lifted up their heads.

The King's Palace and *Moholl*, (now wearing out apace) were once every way worthy the Magnificence of the Builder, if one may guess by what Time has spared: And the *Bazar*, or Market-place, half a Mile long, paved with broad Stone, and encircled with Buildings, made no less fine an Appearance.

But the Perfection of all, for rare Workmanship, and Ornament, both within and without, is the Moskit, which had it been finish'd, 'tis believed, 'twould have been superiour to most of the glorious Buildings of the *East*. Hardly any thing of that kind is rais'd higher than the Gate of it, having a matter of thirty Steps of Ascent up to it; which together with the Loftiness of the Building it self, makes it easie to see the top of it at eight or ten Miles distance; and there's scarce another Gate that yields such a Prospect in the World besides.

The Area of the paved Court within, is full six times as large as that of the Exchange at *London*, and the Piazza's more than twice as broad, and as many times as high as those of the Exchange; and which is the more remarkable, all the Pillars are of one entire Stone.

The Builder of this rare Fabrick, was not King *Ecbar*, but a Mooriſh Kalender, or Votary, that lies buried here: Besides a large Stock of Piety (which they say he had) he had so much of the Blessings of this World, as to afford to build such a Church as this, and to lay himself in a Noble Sepulchre; which besides the rich Paintings, and other Ornaments of it, is all inlaid with Mother of Pearl. This City was at first call'd *Sykary*, which signifies *Seeking* or *Hunting*; but afterwards 'twas chang'd to *Fetipore*, that is as much as to say, *A Place of Content*, or *Hearts Desire obtain'd*. The Reason of which shall be given, when we come to speak of the Town of *Asmere*, from whence the Cause of it is to be deriv'd.

Without the City is a very large Pond, which together with a deal of excellent Fish, and Wild-Fowl, affords great Quantities of that Plant which bears the Hermodactyles; and 'tis very common in all the Ponds about *Agra*, running all over the Surface of the Water. The Fruit before 'tis ripe, is soft and tender, white, and of a mealish taste, very much eaten in *India*, but certainly of a very cold Nature: 'Tis inclos'd in a woody hard Shell, three-corner'd, having at each Angle a sharp pricking Point, and is somewhat indented on the sides. *The Fruit Hermodacts described.*

Here was another sort of Fruit too, in the manner of a Goblet, flat on the top, of a soft greenish substance on the outside, and within containing six or eight small Fruits, like Acorns, each inclos'd in a peculiar Membrane, tasting like an Acorn, or Nut, and at first of a greenish Colour; in the midst is a small green Sprig, of a malignant Nature: The *Indians* call these *Camolachachery*, as they do the *Hermodacts*, *Syngana*. *Camolachachery.*

Between *Fetipore* and *Byana*, are two other Towns, *Cannowa*, and *Ouchen*, of some Note, for the Quantities of Indico they make yearly, especially the latter, which is exceeded by none in the Production of this Commodity, unless it be *Byana* it self. *Cannowa, Ouchen.*

This has formerly been a beautiful City, and of great bulk, but now lies for the most part in Ruines. 'Twas the Seat of one of the *Potane* Kings; and in its flourishing State, had its Walls extending at least eight Cose in length along the Cliffs, being defended in other places by a Natural Fortification of Rocks, so high and cragged, that 'twas impossible for any Adversary to scale them. The Inhabitants are a poor sort of People, that feed Cattel, and make Butter and Cheese; they live up and down amongst the Ruines, minding only their Dairies, and other Country Affairs. *Byana. December.* This City is call'd *Biany*, in *Selbank*'s Journey, where the Indico is slightly describ'd, but here more particularly, and at larger.

This place, like many others, affords plentiful Instances of the Magnificence of the Old *Indian* Kings, in the Tombs, Monuments, ruin'd Palaces, and other Pieces of Antiquity here to be seen: But the Ruines are not only the Effects of Time, but partly of the conquering Power of *Ecbar Sha*, who beat out from hence that *Indian* Prince *Selim* (before-mention'd) and demolish'd most of the Fortifications of it, as he did at *Mandow*.

The vast Quantities of Indico (for which this place is so famous), come off from a Spot of Ground not above twenty or thirty Cose long. And here it may not be out of the way, to run over the Natural History of this Commodity, to see it in its first Rise, and by what Steps of Management 'tis brought into that Form in which it appears to us. Indico described,

It is the Product of the Herb Nill: This Plant grows in Form not much unlike our Chich-Peafe, having a small Leaf something resembling that of Sena, yet shorter and broader than that, and set upon a very short Stalk, the little Branches that shoot out of which, are hard and woody, like those of Broom. It usually grows not above a Yard high; and the Stalk, which comes to its greatest bigness the third Year, is never much thicker than a Man's Thumb.

Thumb. The Seed is inclosed in a small round Cod, about an Inch long, bearing some resemblance to that of Fenugreek, except that it is blunter at both ends; it's ripe about *November*, and then gather'd. It carries a small Flower like that of Hearts-ease.

The Seed once sown, holds for three Years, and produces three several sorts of Indico, differing much from one another in goodness and perfection. That of the first Year is call'd *Notee*, and is a reddish weighty Indico, sinking in Water, and not yet advanc'd to its best and most mature state. That of the second Year (which they call *Cyree*) is rich and fine, of a pure Violet Colour, and swims upon the Water. The *Catteld*, which is that of the third Year, is gross, black, and weighty, by much the worst of the three; the Plant being now impoverish'd, and in a declining Condition.

The making of Indico.

The time for cutting the Herb, is in the Months of *August* and *September*, after the Rains; which Work being done, 'tis thrown into a long Cistern, where it's press'd down hard with Stones, and then cover'd over with Water, and so lies steeping there for some Days, till the Water is well tinctur'd with the Virtue of the Plant, and has got the purer part of its Substance into it. This Water they let run forth into another Cistern, where they stir it about well with Staves, and then when 'tis settled, they skim off the clear Water at top. This Operation they repeat so often, 'till there's nothing but a thick Sediment remains at the bottom of the Cistern; this they take out, and spread upon Cloths, setting it to dry in the Sun; and when 'tis a little hardned, they make it up into little Balls, and lay them to dry some time farther in the Sand. They chuse to take this Course to dry it now, because any thing else but Sand wou'd drink up the beautiful Colour of it. So also, if the Rains fall upon it, as it lies there, it certainly loses its Gloss and Colour; and thus deprav'd they give it the Name of *Aliad*.

The best Indico ought to be only that of the second Years growth, tho' there are some that mix the Crops of all the three Years, and lay them a steeping in the Water together; which is a wrong both to the Customer, and the Commodities. These things are required in that which pretends to be the best Indico, and may serve to distinguish it by: A pure Grain, a Violet Colour, a good Gloss in the Sun, to be light and dry; to yield a fine blew Vapour when 'tis burn'd, and leave but a small quantity of Ashes.

The Character of good Indico.

January.

From *Byana* I return'd to *Agra* again; the News was now fresh, that the *Decanees* had sued for Peace, and offer'd to restore all that they had taken from the *Mogul*; who yet was resolv'd to carry on the War against them, and rais'd more Forces for that purpose.

Goes for *Lahor*.

I had not rested long here, at *Agra*, before I was obliged to undertake a Journey to *Lahor*, as well to recover Moneys there owing, as to put off part of our Indico gotten at *Byana*, which there was some hope of doing to advantage.

Acabarpore.

In this Road, the first place of Note was *Acabarpore*, an illustrious City in Ancient Times, and still famous for the Antiquities of the *Indian* Gobins, or Saints.

A little short of it are several large Vaults, fill'd with Pagods, monstrous and frightful Images of Stone, much resorted to by the *Indians*, and as much ador'd and honour'd with Varieties of Offerings.

The City of *Della* was the next remarkable Stage: This stands in a delightful Plain, encompass'd with curious Gardens and Monuments; 'tis a matter of two Cose in length from Gate to Gate, and has the Fate of a great many other Noble Cities of *India*, to lie partly in Ruines. In this place the Imperial Crown is set upon the Head of the *Great Mogul*; and the Ceremony must (by the Laws of the Country) be perform'd here; otherwise the Prince is look'd upon as no better than an Usurper. Here are the Tombs of at least twenty of the Old *Potan* Kings, very fair and stately; and that also of *Hemown*, the present King's Grandfather, together with several others of his Wives and Children, that lie buried about him.

The Ruines of the Old *Delly* lie a little distance from hence, separated by an Arm of the *Gemini*, over which is a Stone-bridge of eleven or twelve Arches. Particularly there appears amongst these Ruines, the Carkase of that ancient Building call'd the *Castle*, that had to the number of Fifty two Gates; a thing of surprising Glory and Stateliness in its time, but now worn out and disfigured to the last degree. There's said to be no less than four Cities of this Name, and all within five Cose of one another; of which three were built by the ancient *Potane* Kings, and the other (where the Tombs are) by *Selim* before spoken of.

A little beyond *Delly* are the Relicks of a stately Hunting-house, built by an ancient *Indian* Monarch, which has very great Curiosities of Stone-work about it. * Amongst the rest there's a Pillar all of one entire Stone, some Twenty four Foot high, and as many under Ground (as the *Indians* say) having a Globe, and a Half-moon at top, and divers Inscriptions upon it; this, according to the Tradition of the Country, a certain *Indian* King wou'd have taken up and remov'd; but was prevented in his Design by a multitude of Scorpions that infested the Workmen. But 'tis certain, that there are a great many of those huge Pillars fix'd thus deep in the Ground, up and down in *India*; and 'tis not long ago, that there was one found buried near *Fetipore*, that was a hundred Cubits in length, which the King order'd to be remov'd to *Agra*; but 'twas broke by the way. And 'tis remarkable, that most of the *Indian* Quarries (especially those about *Fetipore*) do afford a Stone of that nature, that may be wrought almost any way by the Workman, either cleft like Logs, or sawn like Planks into vast great pieces, so as to seil Rooms, or cover Houses with it, if they had a mind.

* Some say, that the Inscriptions are *Greek*, and that this Obelisk was plac'd there by *Alexander* the Great.

Tanassar, its Sal Armoniack Pits.

About *Tanassar* begins a long Ridge of Mountains, extending towards *Lahor*, the tops of which are all cover'd with Snow: This City is remarkable chiefly for its Pagods, reverenc'd through all *India*; and its Sal Armoniack Pits, at a little distance from it.

Surinam is celebrated for the delicate Garden the King has there, which is more than four Cose in compass, yields all the Varieties of rare Plants, Flowers, and Fruits, and is rented for 50000 Roupies *per Annum*. The two main Cross-walks of it, are full forty Foot broad, and eight high, planted on both sides with Cypress's, and Water in neat Stone-Channels, running along the middle. In the Centre of it stands an Octagonal Mohol, the Centre of which is a fair Pond also, about which all the Lodgings of the Mohol are pleasantly dispos'd: The Building is of a fine *Indian* Stone, and very pompously set out with Painting and Carving in the inside.

February. Comes to *Lahor*.

Having escap'd not a few Dangers in the way, by means of the Thievish People that lie abroad for Spoil in these parts, I arrived at *Lahor*, the more Northern Metropolis of this vast Empire. This certainly is one of the greatest Cities of the East; and perhaps, when all is done to it that this King designs, it may be one of the finest. It takes in near Twenty four Cose in Circuit; and the City and Suburbs is six Cose thorough: There is a Ditch now casting up round the whole Circumference, and 'tis design'd shortly to be inclos'd with a Wall too. The Streets are fair, and well-pav'd, the Buildings lofty, mostly of Brick-work, and set out with all Curiosities of Carving about the Doors and Windows.

Its Description.

The Castle stands upon the River *Rowee*, which falls into the *Indus*, and carries Boats of sixty Tun, and upwards: It has twelve Noble Gates, nine opening to the Land-side, and three to the River. 'Tis inhabited chiefly by Trading People, *Bannians*, and Handicraft-men; but all the White People of any Note, generally take up their Lodgings in the Suburbs.

As for the Rarities of the Castle, or Palace, they are by far too numerous, as well as too glorious, to be justly represented by a short Description: The Mohols, the Courts, the Galleries, the Rooms of State, are almost endless; and to give an Idea of the extravagant Richness of the Furniture of these, it may be sufficient to say, that in the King's Lodgings, the very Walls and Ceilings are all overlaid with the purest Massy Gold; and the others are as prodigally rich and sumptuous in their proportion. There's a vast number of stately Pictures hanging up and down in the Galleries, and Publick Rooms, all drawn at full length. Here's the whole Royal Family, down from *Babur*, that made the Conquest of *India*, to this present *Mogul*. And besides these, all the principal Noblemen of the present Government, the *Mahometan Emirs* and *Cans*, and the *Gentile Raja's*, or Native *Indian* Princes, that are of any great Power or Figure about the King. For Curiosities without Doors, the King's Garden may be reckon'd amongst the chief: Here *India* and *Europe* seem to lie together in the same Spot, which presents the Eye with the Vegetable Varieties of both. And, indeed, the Country almost all along, on the further side of the River, is extreamly pleasant in this respect, yielding such a fine Prospect of Gardens, and charming Walks, that hardly any thing can be more agreeable.

May. A. D. 1[illegible]

The more Northern Parts of *India*, about *Cabul*, were very much disquieted at this time; the *Patans*, that shelter themselves in the Mountains, came down with a great Force, and sack'd that important place, carrying off a great Booty. They are a sort of People that live in perpetual Defiance to the *Mogul*, and all his Power can't tame them perfectly; but ever now and then, they will sally out from their Strong-holds in the Mountains, and spoil and ravage the Country.

The

The Wars between the *Turks* and *Persians*, put a stop at present too to the Trade about *Candahar*; the latter had raz'd the famous City of *Tauris*, and spoil'd the Country about, stopping up the Wells of Water, and laying all waste, to hinder the progress of the *Turkish* Army; upon which account the Merchants were nonplus'd, and dared not pass on beyond *Candahar*.

Account of other places of Note.

Having given this Account of my Journeys to these two principal Cities of *India*, with the most remarkable Observations of the chief places I visited as I pass'd; it may be requisite to subjoyn the Characters of some other Places of Note and Fame in this mighty Country, which lie in the great Roads to *Agra* and *Labor*, as they run from several parts of the Kingdom.

Surcrood.

From *Labor* Northwards to *Cabul*, are few places of great note or significancy: *Surcrood*, a small place in that Road, has a Medicinal River running along by it; the Water looks not of the ordinary Colour, but red; and being drunk, has the Reputation of procuring a good Appetite.

Hassanabdal.

In your passing between *Labor* and this place, you may take Notice of the Ponds at *Hassanabdal*: No Drops of Morning-Dew, are, in comparison clearer and purer than this Water; but the pleasanteſt Spectacle is that of the Fish, which have Golden Rings hung in their Snouts, and may be very easily seen with those Ornaments playing up and down, by reason of the perfect Transparency of the Water: This was the Frolick of *Ecbar Sha*; who, it seems, was resolv'd, that Ponds so rare and fine, shou'd have Fish every way as extraordinary.

Cabul.

Cabul (the first Seat of the *Mogul*'s Family) is a large and fair City; but seems to come short of the Character of the stately Cities of *India* already describ'd.

Tarchaun.

'Tis reckon'd between two and three Months Journey by Caravan, from hence to *Cascar* in *Tartary*: This is a large Kingdom, and the chief City of Trade in it is *Tarchaun*, or *Tarmancan*, from whence comes Silk, Porcelan, Musk, Rhubarb, and other Merchandize; but it comes thither from *China*. The Merchants always pitch their Tents without the Gate of this City, and lie there with their whole Cargo, sending some ten or fifteen into the City to do Business; for the *Tartars* will not permit any great Numbers to enter at once.

But to return from this little Walk into *Tartary*, to the more safe and pleasant Roads of *India*.

Cassimere.

You go almost directly Northward from *Labor*, to the fair and fruitful Country of *Cassimere*: The principal City bears the Name of the Province; a strong place seated on the River *Babat*. The Country about it abounds with Varieties of Fruits, Grain, Saffron, and (which are not to be forgotten, amongst its other excellent Products) very fine and beautiful Women: Here are made also the rich Pomberries, which go up and down all *India*. This Country is cold, and subject to great Frosts and Snows, in that part of it which borders upon *Tartary*: 'Tis separated from it by a Fence of Mountains, so steep and rugged, that no Caravans can pass this way. Yet some People a foot make a shift to climb the Mountains, and deal with the *Tartars* for Musk and Silk, tho' they are forced to carry on their Trade by the help of Engines, letting down, and drawing up their Goods to one another, from the tops of the Precipices.

Another way from *Agra* to *Surat*.

When I made my Journey to *Agra*, I went the more direct and straight way from *Surat*, to that place: But there is another Road between these two Cities, that goes something more about to the Westward, and takes in these considerable places not hitherto describ'd.

The Tomb of *Hodgee Mamdon*, the Great *Indian* Saint.

Asmere, seated on the top of a prodigious steep Mountain, strengthned with mighty Walls, and a Fort almost invincible. It shews several remarkable Pieces of Antiquity, but the most celebrated of all, is the Tomb of a famous *Indian* Saint who lies buried here. 'Tis visited with almost as much Devotion and Reverence by the *Indians*, as *Mahomet*'s is by the *Turks* and *Arabs*: Pilgrimages are made to it, Vows and Prayers liberally pour'd out over it, so great is the Reputation of this Holy Man amongst them.

The Great *Ecber*, in a Fit of warm Affection, went his Pilgrimage hither a Foot, from *Agra*; the Walk was at least 130 Cose, but his Business was urgent, and the Favour great that he had to ask. He was at that time wholly without Children, and no prospect of filling the Imperial Throne of *India* with one of his own Blood, after his Decease; and therefore to procure an Heir, he took the probable Course of visiting the Sepulchre of this Saint. And it seems it was to very great purpose; for now in a little time three Princes came to Town, and the Succession in his own Line, was put out of doubt. The present King was one of the Fruits of that Devotion, and a part of the Blessing of the Pilgrimage; but little did the old Prince imagine what a Blessing was put into his hands when he came. Cou'd he have foreseen things, no doubt (as much as he wanted an Heir) if he cou'd have had no other, he wou'd not have trudged almost 200 Mile a Foot, to pray for a Son that shou'd afterward endeavour to send him out of the World before his time. However, 'twas upon this occasion, that that Prince, to express his Joy and Content, gave the Name of *Fetipore* to that place now call'd so; and set up a Row of stately Pillars all along the Way from *Agra* to *Asmere*, the place that had been so fortunate to him: At every Cose-end is one of these Columns, and at every eight Cose distance, is a fine Mohol erected.

The Sepulchre, with the Buildings about it, is a very Noble Thing; 'tis as rich and fine as a prodigal blind Zeal and Superstition, might be suppos'd to make a thing, which it declares the highest Respect for. You pass three large Courts before you come to it, the first of which is near an Acre of Ground, and is paved with Black and White Marble; the others are proportionally large, but the nearer to the Sepulchre, the more extravagant the Pomp and Glory of them. There is such an Opinion of the Sanctity of all these Places adjacent to the Tomb, that no Person dares walk here, but with a naked Foot; you must be quite bare, or not pretend to tread any part of these hallow'd Courts.

The Castle of *Gelour*.

Proceeding in this Road, the surprizing Castle, or Fort of *Gelour* lies in your way. This is call'd the Frontier of the Kingdom of *Guzurat*, upon which it borders, and is for Strength it self almost equivalent to a Kingdom. The whole Building is no less than eight Cose in Circumference, and the Steep of the Mountain on which it stands is about three Cose; the Causey broad enough for two Men to pass a-breast, is wall'd on both sides, and guarded with Gates and Portcullis's, and all the Contrivances for Defence that can be.

'Tis now in the hands of the *Great Mogul*; but 'twas Treachery, and not Force, that did the Business; and he might, by far, sooner have built, than taken and conquer'd such a Castle as this, with all the Strength of his Empire. It has a great Pond cut down a vast depth in the solid Rock, the *Indians* say 'tis fifty Fathom deep, very clear, and good tasted Water.

A monstrous Snake.

They affirm too, that there's a Snake that lies about in the Bushes, and woody part of the Mountain, that is Twenty five Foot long, and as big as a Man's Waste; which because it does no hurt to Man or Beast, it receives none from the Country; nay, they wou'd be angry if it shou'd be kill'd, because they esteem it a Token of good Fortune.

This may not be altogether improbable, since 'tis known that *India* does afford Creatures of this kind, that are very large: However, 'twas my good Fortune, to avoid the Demonstration of the Truth of this particular Story, in the actual sight of the Monster it self.

I omit the particular mention of many stately Ruines of ancient Cities, Walls, and Palaces, the Monuments of *Indian* Kings, and other agreeable Entertainments, to a curious Traveller, which occur in this way; and pass on to *Amadabat*, or *Amadawar*, a remarkable City of *Guzuret*. It's seated on a fair River, and has as good a share of Strength and Provisions for Defence, in its Castle, Gates, and strong Walls, as it has of Beauty in its other Buildings, which are in this respect comparable to those of most Cities in *Asia*. 'Tis a place of vast Trade and Dealing, entertains abundance of rich Merchants, and excellent Artificers, for Carving, Painting, Inlaying, and Embroidery. *Amadabat.*

There is some Quantity of Indico made hereabouts, which they call *Cickle*, of a Town at a little distance; but 'tis not near so good as that of *Biana*: But tho' the Trade be slight upon that Account, yet 'tis so great in other Points, that there's Two hundred Coaches laden with all sorts of rich Merchandize, that go every ten Days hence for *Cambaya*. From *Gelour* to this City, the Way lies all through a horrid Desart, full of Lions and Tygers, Thieves and Outlaws, which may well be reckon'd amongst those Creatures of Prey, and are, by far, the worst Beasts of the number.

Cambaya.

The next Neighbour of Note to this, is *Cambaya*, the Grand Mart of *Guzurat*. 'Tis a graceful, substantial, well built City; stands by the Sea, and has a topping Trade for all sorts of Cloth, and rich Drugs: *Cambaya* Cloths are a Commodity well known, and as much valued all over the East. It has a very large Bay, but extreamly dangerous, by reason of the violent Tide, which sinks abundance of Ships: In the Neap Tides there's the least danger; but it always requires a skilful Pilot to manage a Ship hereabouts. Bay dangerous.

This place is very much infested with two sorts of Creatures, which are both alike troublesome, if not dangerous to People that come here. If you go but cros the Channel, 'tis ten to one but you fall into the hands of the Pyrating People, unless you are very well provided indeed; and then your Goods must either be lost, or by a long Dispute you may be betray'd into the Danger of the Tide, which comes so very furiously, that 'twill be an exceeding hard matter to bring your Ship off clear. Within the Town the Monkeys are as great a Plague as the Pyrates are upon the Water: You see prodigious Numbers of them climbing up and down upon the Houses, frolicking and leaping about from one House to another; and if they wou'd be contented with playing these Tricks only, they wou'd make but good Sport; but they are for uncovering the Houses, picking the Stones and Bricks out of the Walls, rattling down the Tiles upon Peoples Heads as they pass along; so that a Man hardly knows when he is safe, or where to go, upon the account of these Vermine, that are every-where ready to pelt him with Stones, Tiles, and Brick-bats.

Troublesomness of the Monkeys.

'Tis pity, the Quiet and Order of so fine a City, shou'd be disturb'd by Monkeys; and if there were not more besides these upon the Houses, the place wou'd be better managed than 'tis. You sha'l often see a Fleet of Two hundred *Portugueze* Frigats riding here at a time, 'tis a place so mightily haunted by that People, as well as by the others last mention'd.

Baroche. *Baroche* (between this and *Surat*) is seated in a River twice as broad as the *Thames*; 'tis famous for a Mine of Agats, and the rich Baffata's made here, much surpassing the *Holland*-Cloth in Fineness; it goes at fifty Roupies *per* Booke, which are not Three Quarters broad, and contain about fourteen Yards *English*.

To *Surat* you have now only the pleasant and fertile Country of *Wariaw* to pass through, abounding with vast Numbers of the wild Date-Trees, from whence they draw their Liquor they call *Tanie*: But these Trees are no Rarity here, for they are plentiful in all, or most of the Sea-Coast parts of *India*.

From Agra to Joumpore. I shall now give some Account of the principal Places in the great Road from *Agra*, to *Joumpore*, by the way of *Cannowa*; and back from thence to *Agra*, by that of *Alabasse*.

Cannowa. To begin with *Cannowa* it self, which lies to the Eastward of *Agra*, a large City, but not like the rest of the *Indian* Cities, for prodigious Strength and Defence. The *Ganges* anciently took his Course along by the Foot of this City; but now has broken it self a passage through the Valley some four Cose distant, so that but a small Branch of it now comes up to *Cannowa*. This famous River is Three quarters of a Mile breadth in its own proper Channel here at this place, but upon great Rains swells to far greater Dimensions, and overflows the Valley for ten Cose about. It has eighteen Branches, and receives the Water of thirty Rivers of considerable note. It produces Allegators in such surprizing numbers, that if it yields good Fish in proportion, it must be one of the richest Rivers in the World.

Lacanow. *Lacanow* is a place of mighty Trade in this part of *India*; but the chief Commodities it deals for, are Linen Cloths.

Oudee. *Oudee*, a City of an ancient Character, the Seat of some of the *Potane* Kings, but much defac'd by Time and Wars.

The Ruines of *Ranichand* Castle, contribute the largest share of the Fame it has now-a-days. The Bramens that live in these Ruines, record the Names of all those *Indians* that come and wash in the River hard by. It seems 'tis reckon'd a piece of Religion amongst them so to do, and there's a great Resort from all parts of *India* for that purpose. The Bramens encourage the Practice by the Argument of Antiquity; and tell the People, that it has been maintain'd for four Lacks of Years, which is 394500 Years before the World was made, according to the *European* Chronology.

There's abundance of Gold got out of the Ruines of the Castle; but the place yields a Commodity which is set at a higher Rate than Gold or Jewels either: It is the *A rare Horn.* Horn of some Beast, but what I know not, nor the *Indians* hardly themselves; tho' some say they are the true Unicorn's Horn. The more ordinary sort of them are a Commodity mightily traded for at this place, the *Indians* apply them to the Uses both of the House and the Field, making Bucklers, and several kinds of Drinking-Cups out of them.

Bonarce. *Joumpore.* In this Road to *Joumpore*, lies *Bonarce*, the principal Mart for all *Bengala* Commodities. *Joumpore*, it self, has no Rarities for Building, but Monuments, and several other Relicks of Antiquity to shew; but for Trade, it has some that are considerable: From hence come great Quantities of sweet-scented Oyls, rich Carpets, Hangings embroider'd with Silk, and all sorts of fine Linen.

From Joumpore back to Agra, by the way of Alabasse. Now to return back to *Agra* from hence, by the way of *Alabasse*; this place is the first that deserves mention, and 'tis all an entire Forest hither. The Castle is reckon'd one of the Wonders of the East, and 'twas one of the mighty Undertakings of *Echar Sha*; and that after many frustrated Attempts of the ancient *Potane* Kings to the same purpose: It's pleasantly seated, and has the River *Gemini* running on the South-side of it. It may be gues'd what a stupendious Building it will be when perfected, when 'tis told of it, that it did for many Years employ the constant Labours of 20000 Workmen, and has of late Years had more than 5000 engaged about it, and yet (tho' it has been forty Years in hand) no Body knows when 'twill be finish'd. 'Twas in this Castle that the present *Mogul* shelter'd himself, when he rebell'd against his Father; and he cou'd not have chosen a more August Building to set up for King in than this.

Alabass. *A remarkable Pillar.* In a certain Court of it there stands a Pillar of Stone fifty Cubits above Ground; but how far it goes downward, there's no discovering, it stands so deep: By the Discourse of the *Indians* it shou'd seem to have been plac'd there by *Alexander* the Great, or some other Conquerour, that was here stopp'd in the Course of his Victories by the *Ganges*, which runs but a little way off, and into which the River *Gemini* here falls.

Pagods. Here are to be seen in a low Vault, the Sculptures of *Adam* and *Eve*, *Noah*, and several others, both of the Antediluvian, and Postdiluvian Patriarchs in Stone; which are visited by great Numbers of Votaries from all parts of *India*. Before they approach these Images, they wash their Bodies in the *Ganges*, and shave their Heads, laying a great stress upon this performance, for their Purification from Moral Defilements. They are of the Opinion, that this was the place where Man was first created; or at least, that he liv'd in his Paradisiacal State, for several Years hereabouts.

A strange Tree. They shew a Tree that stands in the King's Mohol, to which they give the Title of the Tree of Life, and honour it accordingly. And the truth on't is, if their Reports be true, it may well enough be call'd the Tree of Life, since 'tis of so stubborn a Nature, that 'twill live in spite of all Endeavours to destroy it. It is a sort of a wild Fig-Tree, which having once rooted it self there, wou'd continue growing there, whatever Courses were taken to the contrary: Take away the Earth from about it, stock it up, manage it how they cou'd, yet still some spreading Roots or other which cou'd not be reach'd, wou'd send up a fresh Tree; and at this rate it held out, so that several of the *Potane* Kings, and of this Family too, who try'd at it, were forc'd to give it over as an impossible Work. The present *Mogul* has taken a Turn at it; but finding he is able to do no good, he cherishes, and makes much on't.

When the great Frosts are past in *October* and *November*, Boats may go from hence down the *Ganges* to *Bengala*; but the passage is not so safe.

Chappergat. Between this and *Agra* you come to these other places of some Character: *Chappergat*, which shews a *Saray*, (or Publick Inn) which has very few, if any in all *India*, to stand in competition with it: 'Tis sufficient to give Entertainment to a thousand Men, and the Lodgings are all very neatly built and contriv'd besides.

Ittay. *Ittay*, where the *Indians* perform a Solemn Worship to the Effigies of a Man's Face, carv'd in Stone, at the entrance of the Castle; the principal Ceremony of which is, the pouring out a great Quantity of Oyl upon it: This is the Practice; as for the Rise and Reason of it, I have no Information.

Amedipore. From hence to *Amedipore*, is a plentiful Country, and full of fine *Saraies*, for the Conveniency of Caravans: There's much of a gross sort of Indico, call'd *Cole*, made in these Parts, which is either all spent in *India*, or carried into *Tartary*, to *Cascar*, *Samercand*, and those places, none of it going into *Europe*, except it be mix'd with that of *Biana*. From hence you have but a short step to *Agra* again.

An Account of the Indian Raja's. I shall now conclude this Discourse of *India*, with an Account of some of the most considerable of the *Indian Raja's*, that lie about in the Country; the most of which maintain their Liberty against the *Great Mogul*, and all his vast Power, and will neither be subject to, nor hold Correspondence with him.

Gurchito Castle. And we may first look upon *Raja Rana*, that has his principal Seat in the impregnable Castle of *Gurchito*, standing upon the Mountains of *Marna*, that run up towards *Amadavar*. This Prince is the chief in esteem of all the Gentile *Raja's*, or *Resbouts*, as they are called. He is amongst

mongst the *Indians*, what a Pope may be in Christendom for Authority, or a Caliph amongst the old *Arabians*: His Power is not so very formidable perhaps as some others may be; but he is look'd on as the Father, or chief Patron of the ancient *Indian* Religion and Rites; and on that score highly reverenc'd by all. His Country is 150 Cose in length, and 200 in breadth some ways, in which he has several fine Cities and Castles: But his greatest Strength is the Fortifications he has about him, partly in the Work of Nature, in long Ridges of inaccessible Mountains; and partly the Fruit of Art and Industry, as in all places where Nature has left a Gap for an Enemy. 'Tis upon this Account, and that of the Character he bears, that he remains unconquer'd, and is like to do so still: The mighty and fortunate *Ecbar*, that had tam'd so many unruly Adversaries, cou'd make nothing of this Prince; his Fortune here was at a stay, and cou'd not carry him over the Walls of *Gurchito* Castle, tho' he push'd it on with all the Vigour in the World. But then the most part of the *Raja's*, even those that are in Friendship with the *Mogul*, don't care to meddle with him for the sake of his Character; and therefore if sent against him, find some shift or other to avoid hurting him, or making any Spoil in his Territories.

'Tis believ'd by some, that this Prince is the true and undoubted Successor of the Noble *Porus*, celebrated in Antiquity; that the *Indian* Blood is here preserv'd untainted and pure; and in a word, that all the genuine Remains of the old *India*, are here more than any where to be found: This is grounded upon the appearing Impossibility of making a compleat Conquest of the Country. However, 'tis reported now abroad, that the *Mogul* has courted him into a sort of a slight Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty; perhaps as much as a small Tribute may come to, which also he can withold without danger when he pleases.

Others about *Guzarat.* About the Country of *Guzurat*, lie three more of these *Raja's*, that stand upon their own defence, against the *Mogul*.

One of them is that *Badur* before-mention'd, that makes such havock up and down in the Country: This Prince has sometime appear'd with a Body of 100000 Men; as particularly when he plunder'd *Cambaya*.

The other two do (as he does) lie out of the reach of the *Mogul's* Forces, either in impregnable Forts and Castles, or inaccessible Mountains, or else in impassable Wildernesses and Desarts.

One of them is reported, to have a Breed of Horses that is not to be match'd again in all the East; they are valued each at 15000 Roupies, and are said to be far before the *Arabian* Horses for swift Running; and not only so, but they are strong to hold it too; so that a Man may ride one of them almost a full speed, a whole Day, and never draw Bit: The *Raja* has (they say) 100 Mares of this Breed.

Others towards *Lahor*, and those parts. All along the River *Revee*, Easterly, lies the Country of another great *Raja*, whose chief City is *Tem-mery*: He is a very mighty Prince, and as it happens, a Subject to the *Great Mogul*: Out of his Country come vast Quantities of the fine *Indian* Drugs, Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gum-lack, Turpentine, Costus, &c.

But his next Neighbour, another *Raja*, as potent as himself, and more secure by his Fence of Mountains, equally despises both the Power and the Friendship of the *Mogul*. His chief City is *Negercoat*, fam'd for an Idol in great request, that stands there: Multitudes of People come hither for the Redress of their Grievances, which they pretend to receive to their entire Satisfaction, at this place: But besides their other Offerings, they do (in the Transports of that wicked Zeal which acts them) make an Effusion of their own Blood, barbarously mangle their Bodies, and sometimes proceed so far as to cut their own Throats, which is indeed a full Solution of all Doubts, and Period of Trouble and Misery.

To the Eastward of these, lies another *Raja*, whose chief Seat is at *Calsery*; his Country 500 Cose in length, Northward and Southward, and 300 broad; and he is able to bring 500000 Foot into the Field upon occasion. His Dominions are rich and fruitful, but keep all shut up within themselves, communicating with none of the adjacent parts of *India*.

Farther still to the Eastward, between *Gemini* and *Ganges*, stretches out the Country of another of these *Resboot* Princes, 300 Cose long, and 150 broad, the principal City of it *Serenegar*. This *Raja* is vastly rich in Gold, and is said to have all his domestick Furniture of that valuable Metal. The Country is fertile, and happy enough in its Soil, but not altogether so in the Temper of its Climate, the Winter here being extreamly sharp, and the Snows so violent upon the Mountains, that the People, at that Season, are forced to remove down into the Valleys.

On the further side of the *Ganges* lies another *Raja*, whose Territories are so large, that 'tis not agreed where to fix the Bounds of them: *Camow* is his Capital City; but his Country runs (some say) Eastward, almost as far as *China*; however, few allow him less than 400 Cose in length, and as many in breadth. It yields a great deal of Musk, and is as liberal in the Production of Grain; it has no Force of Elephants, nor not much of Horse in comparison; tho' those it does afford are of a Noble Breed for Use and Service, and the best Mountain-climbers in the World: So that this Prince's main Force consists in his Foot, and therein perhaps may not be much inferiour to the *Mogul* himself. Horses call'd Gunts.

To the Southward of this last, athwart the Streams of *Ganges*, you come into the Country of a *Raja* vastly powerful, both in Foot, Horse, and Elephants. He has the greatest Rarity and Treasure in his Dominions that *India* affords, which is the Old Rock of Diamonds, of which he makes no small advantage. Diamond Rock.

And below him, amongst the Streams of *Ganges*, is seated a *Potane* Prince, of the Race of the ancient *Delly* Kings; who puts the *Mogul* to the constant Charge and Trouble of maintaining a Frontier Army; and all this but just for his own Defence: For he is not able to reach this *Raja*, who is as well defended against him by the Islands and Branches of the *Ganges*, as the others are by their high Walls of Mountains.

From hence all along to the Mouth of the *Ganges*, the *Mogul* commands without Controul or Disturbance; only at the very Mouth it self, there's a Gang of *Portugueze* Outlaws, that have the Protection of a Fort, that value no Prince, nor no Law, nor no People; but bidding Defiance to all, do what Mischief they can, as they have opportunity.

Chap. XIV.

A Discourse of the Affairs of India, *and of the Proceedings at the Court of the* Great Mogul. *Written by Capt.* William Hawkins, *and Directed to the* East-India *Company.*

I Kept Company with Captain *Heeling* in his Voyage as far as *Delisa*, a Road in the North of *Socotora* in the *Arabian* Sea, at which place we parted, he pursuing his Voyage in the *Dragon* for *Bantam*, and my self in the *Hector* for *Surat*.

*Capt. *Hawkins* comes to *Surat*, A. D. 1608. I came thither *August* the 24th *; and having informed the Governour of my Arrival, and the Character I came in of his Majesty's Embassadour, I receiv'd his Compliment and solemn Invitation to come ashoar, and had at my Landing an Entertainment, that if all the rest had been agreeable, would have given me no cause to complain.

'Tis to be observed that the Management of the Affairs of *Surat* lay in the Hands of two great Men; the one Viceroy of the King of *Decan*, who had cognizance of all Causes that related to Land Business and Civil Government; the other Viceroy of *Cambaya*, who presided over the marine Affairs. This was the perfidious *Mocrebchan*, into whose Hands, Merchants and Sailors, and all that are any thing a Kin to the Sea, must of necessity fall; without whom no Trade can be established, nor any Factory be setled in those parts, and who does in all these Matters just what pleases himself, and is agreeable to his own Covetous and Ambitious Humour. No Man seemingly studies more his Princes Honour and Interest than he, and none minds it less; no Man to appearance

more Loyal, Honest, and Sincere, and none that dares Practice these Vertues less; a Man that can be Wise, Real, True and Just to himself alone, and in short remarkable only for his Preferments and extraordinary ill Qualities. My Concerns falling under his Cognizance, and he being at *Cambaya* when I Landed, I was forc'd to wait till Orders came from him before I cou'd proceed in any Business, tho' in the mean time I had very civil Treatment from the other Viceroy, and the Promise of his best Endeavours with *Mocrebchan* on my behalf. When some twenty Days were expired, a Messenger came with a Letter from this great Man, wherein he gave me Licence to land the Goods I had brought, as also to buy more for my lading this present Voyage; but as to the Point of a future Trade and the setling of a Factory he could say nothing to that till he had further Orders from Court. And then at the same time he wrote to the chief Manager of the Customs under him at *Surat*, to bring all my Goods into the Publick Custom house, and secure them there till his Brother came; to chuse out such Parcels as were most fit for the King as he pretended, tho' 'tis nothing less than the King's Profit they design by all those Practices with Foreigners.

However having this Liberty I brought my Goods ashoar, getting in some considerable quantities of Money, I began to lay it out upon such Commodities as are vendible at *Bantam* and *Priaman*, and which the *Guzurats* with a great deal of Profit came thither for every Year. I accomplish'd the lading of two Barks with this sort of Merchandize in a little time, tho' not without some Noise and Grumbling from the Merchants of the Town, who now began to make publick Complaints of me, as a Person that had undermin'd them in their most profitable Trade, and craftily snatch'd a good part of their Advantage out of their Hands. But for all this having Licence from the higher Powers to Ship and Goods I had bought, I made bold to send them away, tho' as it prov'd, in the most unlucky time in the World for my self, and the most proper to gratifie the Spite and Malice of the Merchants. For the next Day I had news that both the Barks were taken with all the Men and Goods by the *Portugueze*, and that not without several Grounds of Suspicion that the chief Men I had intrusted in them, were guilty of a treacherous Correspondence with the Enemies. But the truth of the Matter was, That an absolute Plot was form'd for the betraying of them into the Hands of the *Portugueze* by *Mocrebchan*, and the Pious Jesuites of his Club; and the Reason why I was delayed so long before I could have Orders to lade and dispatch, was, That the Vessels might hit to go out just at that time that the *Portugueze* were ready to swallow them up. And under this Misfortune 'twas in vain for me to make Complaints, or so much as attempt to seek any redress. Shou'd I apply my self to *Mocrebchan*? He was the first Spring and grand Author of the Mischief; and to ask there for help, had been courting a Knave to right the Wrongs done by himself, and beging a Plaister from the malicious Hands that gave the Wound. As for the *Portugueze* themselves that did the Injury, when I demanded Satisfaction, I had nothing but scorn and spite, ill words and railing to make me amends. It was to no purpose for me to alledge His Majesties Authority and Commission, by which I was empower'd to act in those parts, with the bad Consequences of such Acts of Hostility as these were in producing a War between the two Nations. For as for His Majesties Commission they valued it not a Farthing, and they affirm'd he ought not to have sent his Subjects there without leave from the King of *Portugal*, who was the rightful Lord of those Seas; and then with all the Manners and good Breeding peculiar to that civil People, they express'd themselves concerning my Prince at such a rate, as if he had been indeed little better than one of those Fishermen, of whom they scandalously said that he was King. This was their Character of the *English* Men, because they live in an Island; but there is still a better Reason (tho' no good one to them) why the *English* should be call'd Fisher-men; and that is, because they have generally such good Fortune upon the Waters, and drag so many *Spanish* and *Portugueze* Ships within the reach of their Nets. And the only course that I cou'd take under those Affronts to vindicate the Honour of my Prince, and Country (since I cou'd not do it in a more publick way) was to offer to do it by my own Sword, and to return the Traytor and the Villain to the Teeth of the insolent *Portugueze* Captain, with a Challenge to answer me in the Field. But they it seems had more mind to dispatch me without any thing of the Ceremony of a formal Combate, and thought it a surer way to Pistol or knock me o'the Head in the next place they met me, than leave the Matter to the Issue of a Duel. And that this was their Design is evident, because all the ways were continually beset by them, so that I hardly dared to stir out of doors; and 'twas impossible for me to obey the call of Business without the manifest Hazards of my Life, by that barbarous Crue, that waited for an opportunity to Sacrifice me. They were so mad upon this Design, that they came a whole Body of them in open manner to a Feast, (where I was Invited) asking for me in plain Terms, intending without all doubt to have my head to bring up the rear of Dishes at the Table. But here was an *Indian* Captain that stood my Friend with his Company to such good Purpose, that the *Portugal* Buff-Coats were glad to make off with some hast, and for ought I know, it had been the last Feast some of them wou'd ever have been at. Nay, they did not blush to beset formally, and assault the House where I lived; and as if I had been some very odious Person, whom the Church had curs'd and consign'd over into the Hands of the Executioners of her Sentence, they came with a Priest at the Head of the Troops, to crave a Blessing upon the Attempts, to inspire the Souldiers with Courage and Resolution, and take care of the Souls that should be sent away in this godly Enterprize. And to give those Pious Fathers their due, they had their Hand and peculiar Influence in every Plot that was form'd against my Life and Liberty. When the rest of my Adversaries were dull and indifferent, they wou'd infuse new warmth and vigour into them, rouze up their sleeping Malice and Revenge, and prompt them to Action with the utmost Diligence. And if they hapned to be at a dead lift for a Plot, the never failing Invention of the Jesuits wou'd be sure to help them out with one. What between the heat of the Climate, and the inward Fire of their own Rage and Jealousie, their Wits were throughly warmed, and their Brains crowded with brisk volatile Spirits fit to work upon the fine Arts of Intriegue. They are not dull in any part of the World, nor ever to be charged with Poverty and Barrenness of Fancy in Matters of this kind. But here their Elevation was extraordinary, their Flights fine and rapturous beyond Comparison; they did not think, but were transported into happy Thoughts and Contrivances, they plotted by Inspiration.

English Barks taken by the Portugueze.

The Plot of Mocrebchan and the Jesuits.

The Portugueze refuse to give Satisfaction.

Their Design upon him.

I found it a very hard task to escape all the Snares and Ward off the several Blows these Men and their Instruments made at me. There were so many that pretended to my Life one way or other, that 'twas become a very difficult matter to keep it, and I had defended it so long, that now I began to grow weary. But besides all these things the Injuries I sustain'd by *Mocrebchan* in the Matters of Trade and Dealing were so foul and unprofitable, that I thought it high time to repair to Court and seek for Justice and Redress (as well as the dispatch of my Business) at the Kings own Hands, since 'twas impossible to have either from this vile Minister, for he took what Goods he pleas'd, and at what Rates he pleas'd, and wou'd pay me for them when he thought fit, and as long as any thing choice and good lasted, I had some of his Flatteries and dissembling Smiles, but afterwards cou'd get neither good Words nor Money. Upon this score I say I resolved for *Agra*, and therefore in plain Terms demanded his Licence and Letter to the King for that purpose. This was a Request which he cou'd not for shame deny, and therefore was forc'd to yield to it; yet to shew his good Will to me in the Case, he refus'd to let me have any Guard to conduct me thither, that so it might be the easier for me to be knock'd in the Head by the way. Whose friendly Advice this came about by may easily be guess'd, and will appear by after Circumstances; but however with or without his Guard, to *Agra* I resolved to go, and for *Agra* I prepared.

The Villany of Mocrebchan.

Having in pursuance of this Design entrusted one of my Company with the oversight and management of Business at *Surat* in my absence, I procured a Troop of Horse of some 40 or 50 (besides some Shot and Bows which I hired) from one of the Vice-roy of *Decan*'s Captains.

Captain Hawkins sets out for Agra, Feb. 1. A.D. 1609.

The Horse I had were all *Pattans* who are a very valiant People and much feared in those parts; And 'twas very well that I was so provided, since also in all likelyhood I had been intercepted in my Journey. For the *Portugueze* had laid a Trap for me in the Province of *Craly* by an *Indian Raja* who Commanded there, and was ready by their Instigation to have fallen upon me with 200 Horse: But the Terrour of my *Pattans* kept him at a distance, so that we pass'd without any disturbance. In the Province of *Dayta* (thro' part of which I pass'd next) I escap'd a more formidable because a more secret and hidden Danger; and the Instrument of my Preservation was my drunken Coachman tho' shrewdly against his Will. This fellow was hired to Murther me by the way, and had in

Pattans good Souldiers.

Province of Craly between Damani, Gueurat, and Decan.

Dayta Province.

in all probability acted his Design, had not the good Liquor made him tell Tales of himself; but being brim full of the Plot and of strong Drink too, according to the Temper of those Men, he let his Tongue run so far before his Wits that out came the Plot before he was aware. This drunken Fit of his was very luckily tim'd for me, since the thing was to have been Executed the next Morning early, when we began our Travel, which is always two Hours before Day. But tho' the little Villain would not discover the great ones that had engaged him in this Work, as my Truchman or Broker did, confessing that he also was a Tool employ'd upon the same Design, and had undertaken to accomplish that by Poison, which the other had promis'd to do by a Stab. That *Mocrebchan* had hired them to do it, but the Jesuite *Pineiro* had put this Design into his Head to prevent my Complaints at Court, since they could not (because of my Character) pretend to stop me any other way. And I doubt not but the Father wou'd have been very liberal to these Men, had they executed their Design, since he bid an extraordinary Price for me once before; no less than 40000 Rials of 8 to have me sent away Prisoner to *Daman*; a Rate far beyond that which the Chief Priests and Pharisees ever pretended to give for innocent Blood

Designs to Murther him by the way.

But after all these Difficulties under the good Conduct of the *Pattans*, who clear'd the way before me, and did me very faithful and commendable Service. I arrived safely at *Bramport*, the then residence of the Vice-roy of *Decan*, by whom I was nobly entertained. I had his very kind Letter of Commendation to the King, and all needful Assistance for my Journey to *Agra*; to which place a favourable Providence and good Guide, brought me thro' many Dangers and threatning Mischiefs, after near a Months Travel in the Prospect of them.

Comes to Bramport, Feb. 18.

My entrance into the City was not (nor could not it seems be) so private, but notice was presently given to the King; and whereas I had a Design to be incognito for a time, till I had put my self into a posture for a more publick Appearance, I was utterly prevented, His Majesty sending several Troops of Horse and Foot to find me out, and bring me to Court in the most Pompous manner that could be.

Comes to Agra, April 16.

Being introduced to his Presence (tho' I came without any Present worth his acceptance, his good Servant *Mocrebchan* having robb'd me of what I design'd for this purpose) I was receiv'd with uncommon Honours and degrees of Respect, such as I cou'd no way have conceited or hoped for.

His Reception at Court.

My Prince's Letter he received from me with his own Hands, reaching it out to that end a considerable way from the stately Throne he sate on; and tho' an old Knave of a Jesuite that stood there by to interpret it, pretended to find fault with the style of it as not respectful enough, yet he himself was very well pleas'd, and took no notice of what was insinuated by the slanderous Priest. In short he protested in a most solemn manner that he wou'd grant all the Contents of the King's Letter, and more too if it were demanded. That as he understood that *Mocrebchan* had abused me, so he wou'd take care I should have Satisfaction, and some course should be taken to prevent the like ill Treatment of me or any of my Nation for the future.

And in pursuance of this, he presently dispatch'd a Courier to that perfidious Minister at *Surat*, giving him a strict charge to deal Justly and Favourably with the *English*, and as he valued his Favour, or pretended to any Duty and Loyalty to him, that he should take care to shew it, particularly by a punctual Obedience to this Command.

The Mogul's Letter on the behalf of the English.

But besides these Favours, upon the publick Account, I had the good Fortune to enjoy many very signal ones upon my own private Score. After I had once been at Court, I could hardly ever be at rest for Messengers to bring me thither: For His Majesty understanding very well the *Turkish* Tongue, and finding me to speak that freely, 'twould be his Delight to sit and talk with me both Night and day; and none had more of his Company than I, except his Mistresses.

We went over all the Affairs of *Europe*, and particularly of *England*, and the adjoyning Countries; and after that into the *West-Indies*, which he had heard some reports of, but never receiv'd any compleat Satisfaction, till he had it from me who had been in those parts. These things pleas'd him to that degree, that he began to plot how to engage me to him for ever, and in order to it, made me the most tempting Offers he could possibly think on. I should have a certain Stipend of 3200*l. per An.* for my first encouragement, and this should be encreas'd together with his Favour every Year. But farther (and which was the most perswasive Argument to a Man that valued the Good of his Country before his own particular Fortunes) if I would yield to stay with him, he would grant me all the Privileges I could desire with reference to a Factory, and this Grant he vowed should never be repeal'd: And upon these Considerations both out of Duty to the Publick, and Respect to my self, I thought it necessary to comply with his Desire. But notwithstanding I was thus (to all appearance) securely posted under the Protection of so great a Prince, and in so high a Degree possess'd of his Favour too; I found by many unpleasant Experiences I was not got beyond vexation and disturbance, nor out of the reach of Enemies. For now the *Mahometans* began to swell with rage and envy that a Christian should be placed so near the King; and the *Jesuites* and *Portugueze* were no less then stark mad that I had flown above all their Toils and Snares into so soft and easie a Nest in the very Centre of the Court. The News that it was so, spread all about the Country, to *Goa*, to *Surat*, and wherever there was any of that Cattle to be found. And this set them all most busily at work; the Jesuites neglected their Devotion and rack'd their Brains Night and Day, they made Confederacies, they sent Dispatches from one place to another, they consulted Hell to remove me and work my overthrow. They brib'd *Mocrebchan*, their old Friend and Brother in these Villainies, to write a Letter to the King upon this Subject; to represent to him the dangerous Consequences of the Liberties and Favours he had vouchsafed to the *English*, and the Reports that went current abroad of the Design we had of seizing some of his Ports when our Shipping came. But the King (as yet kind and constant) giving no credit to this Letter (tho' 'twas seconded with another to the same purpose from the Vice-roy of *Goa*) they fell into the last extremity of rage and madness at the Disappointment; and now concluded, since I was the main Obstacle, and nothing else cou'd be perform'd to remove me out of the way by the old Catholick Method of Poisoning. They began with some of my Servants, one of which they sent into the other world; and finding by my own growing indisposition, that was so like to follow quickly after, I plainly told the King the Circumstances of extream Danger I was in. Upon this he presently sent for the Jesuits and bid them look to it, since if I died by any thing of an extraordinary casualty that afforded the least ground for Suspicion, they should every Man pay for't with their Lives. After this being at some quiet, I solicited the compleating of His Majesty's Favour, with reference to our Trade and Factory at *Surat*, whither I had obtain'd leave to go in Person with his Commission now ready for me. But the chief Vizier, an implacable Enemy to all Christians and in the same Interest with *Mocrebchan* and the Jesuits insinuated to the King several Inconveniences and Dangers, which he pretended wou'd certainly follow my going thither; by which means my Journey was stopp'd, and the Commission was sent by another Hand, tho' as full and effectual to all the Purposes of our Business as could possibly be desired.

His liberal Offers to Captain Hawkins.

The Endeavours of his Enemies to remove him from Court.

The King's Commission sent to Surat.

A little before it came, our Ship the *Ascension* was unhappily cast away there, and the Men tho' saved were forbidden by the Barbarous *Mobrebchan* to come into the City of *Surat*, where only they could expect to find Friends and Relief in their Distress. But his Majesty upon my Complaint sent fresh Orders to that ill natur'd Man, whose carriage now he began highly to resent, to take all those poor Seamen into the City and use them kindly, and not only so, but to use his best endeavours to save all the Goods of the Ship too if it were possible. Besides this being surrounded on every side with the Cries and Complaints of his Subjects upon the horrid Injustice and Tyranny of that Minister, he could no longer defend himself against them, but was forc'd to send for him up to Court, there to answer the Crimes laid to his Charge. And tho' he made his Appearance there with all his ill gotten Goods and Wealth, the Effects of many Years Extortion, Oppression and Cheating, amongst which also I shew'd the King the things I design'd for a Present to his Majesty; yet by the industrious Care and Application of his Friends, he got clear again, being only confin'd for a time and so oblig'd to pay his Debts and make Restitution. It had been happy for the *English* Nation had this Traytor (then in so fair a way for't) been brought to a deserved Punishment; but instead of that he was restor'd to his old Place and Preferments again, and reserv'd as it seems for a farther plague to us in overturning the fairest Prospects and Designs that perhaps ever will be form'd in that Country.

Mocrebchan Commanded to Court upon Complaints made against him.

But to proceed with our Affairs, tho' the King's Command had oblig'd *Mocrebchan* (very much against his own inclinations) to be Just and Honest to his Creditors, yet I cou'd not be so happy as to obtain the Benefit of that Order

Order in the full payment of the Debt owing to me. His late Disgrace and Danger had not sweeten'd nor mollified him one jot, and he came out of Prison the very same designing Knave and Cheat that he went in. He wou'd neither pay me my Money nor restore me the Goods that he had taken from me; neither cou'd I see any prospect of Satisfaction to be made me, unless a few Heathenish Promises and Flatteries wou'd have serv'd the turn. And 'tis certain that this must have been all, if I had not demanded Justice of the King, and got a positive Order for payment; notwithstanding which the Infidel cut off a good part of my Bill, and abated me 12500 *Mamedies*.

But this was a very inconsiderable Damage in comparison with that which quickly followed after. For now *Mocrebchan* being at full Liberty again, the Jesuits, the *Portugueze* and he fell to the old Trade of Plotting with the utmost Vigour and Diligence. And that now they might have all desired success, and at one stroke carry their Point for ever; the Matter was so order'd, that a Letter should come from the Vice-roy of *Goa* to complain of his Majesties encouraging the *English*, and to shew how ill the King of *Portugal* took it at his Hands. And at the same time some Merchants were made to come in and give their Evidence how much they had suffer'd in their Trade and Business upon the Account of the *English* that were in his Majesties Ports, for whose sake the *Portugueze* wou'd not permit them to have free egress and regress at theirs.

New Designs carried on.

These malicious Insinuations back'd by a charitable Speech of *Mocrebchan's* to the same purpose so effectually wrought upon the King that he quite lost his Constancy; repeal'd his former Grant, and gave Orders that the *English* should be forbidden his Ports for ever. But 'twas not long before a better Humour and more cool and sober Thoughts produced an Order quite contrary to this again; re-establish'd us in the enjoyment of our former Privileges, and made the King as much our Friend as he was at first. This was a sudden tho' a comfortable Change; and as 'twas only the Effect of the Absence of our Enemies, and a slight Present I made him, so I doubted the Foundation and Cause, was too mean and poor to produce any thing of a noble and lasting Effect. And my Presages were just and true; for the King being now got into this changeable Humour, did nothing else but alter his Mind and go from one Resolution to another.

The King revokes his Grant to the *English*.

When the Jesuits writ to him and presented him, then he wou'd be for turning us out of his Kingdom, and calling in the Commission for our settlement of Trade: And perhaps the next time I offer'd to petition him, all should be right and well again, and the *English* the most welcome People to him in the World. No less than three or four times were our hopes thus rais'd, and as many times sunk into the lowest despair: thus often did he do and undo; ruin and recover us, suffer sentiments of Kindness and Displeasure towards us to rule and act him by turns. However at last our indefatigable Adversaries carried the Day from us; the Poison of the Jesuites scour'd him beyond all Recovery by Presents or any other Means. His last Resolutions were against our Trade and Settlement in his Country; and I my self so courted and caress'd by him was left to my Liberty either to go or stay, as I pleas'd. And the Truth on't is, that as my great Temptation to stay there, was the Hopes and Prospect I had of doing my Country some good Service; so when I had lost those Hopes, I had no small Reason to be glad of a Discharge. For besides the continual Dangers that threatned my Life in a Country where so little Honour, Honesty or any sort of Vertue was practised; I had no Charm at all to bind me to this place from the Honours and Profits which his Majesty promis'd to heap upon me. 'Tis true, I was called the *English* Chan or Lord, but the Title wanted a proportionable Revenue to support the Grandeur of it; and the *English* Lord without the *Indian* Pension to maintain him, [illegible] a very poor thing.

His Inconstancy.

He determines against the *English* finally.

And this was punctually [illegible] of fact, that out of all that honourable Stipend [illegible] was at first assur'd to me, so much *per Ann.* I could never receive the full Value of 30*cl.* the rest being devour'd by the hungry Courtiers, or injuriously detain'd by the Intrigues of some of my Enemies.

A little before Matters came to this pass with me at Court, I had the happy News of three *English* Ships at the Bar of *Surat*: These were under the Command of Sir *Henry Middleton*, and with them I resolv'd to set Sail for *England*. And indeed I found it not so hard a matter by far to go away in quiet, as to live there in Peace, and without Disturbance. For tho' I make no question but the Jesuits and the rest of my Adversaries wou'd have been very glad to have prevented me by some fatal Plot, cou'd they have had a fair opportunity for the Execution of it: yet not having that, they were glad to be rid of me upon any Terms, and counted it a considerable Point gain'd to have removed out of the midst of them a Person likely to do them so much Mischief as I was.

Three *English* Ships come to *Surat*.

So taking my leave, I set out from *Agra*, *November* the 2d and went directly to *Cambaya*. From hence I pursued my Journey towards the place where the Ships lay, to which I came with all my Effects, *January* the 26. *A. D.* 161[illegible]

We set Sail out of this Harbour the 11 of *February*, and arrived at *Dabul* the 16 of the same Month. Here we took a *Portuguese* Ship and Frigat, and in them some quantities of Goods, tho' too little to make Compensation for the Wrongs we had received in *India* by their Means. We directed our Course from *Dabul* for the Red-Sea, having a just Quarrel with the *Turks*, and that sort of People to call us thither, and whom we intend now in some measure to make sensible of the Displeasure our Nation had so justly conceiv'd against them. Here we had the good Fortune to meet with three Ships of our own Country, which as we found so we also left there, directing our Course back again towards *India*, dispatching some Business at *Teca* in *Sumatra*, and from thence to *Bantam*, by which time the Year had almost finished it's Revolution, it being now the Month of *December*.

A. D. 161[illegible] He comes aboard the *English* Ship. *Dabul*. A *Portuguese* Ship taken. Come to the Red-Sea. *Teca*.

Sir *Henry Middleton* being oblig'd to stay here by the Necessities of Trade, I embark'd in another *English* Ship, *January* the 13th for my own Native Country, from which I had been absent five or six Years. Goes for *England*. *A. D.* 161[illegible]

CHAP. XV.

The Voyage of the Consent, *a Ship of the last Fleet, Commanded by General* Keeling. *Perform'd by Captain* David Middleton, *Brother to Sir* Henry.

WE have seen already the Performances of the other Ships of this Fleet, in those several parts of the *Indies* to which they went: But the *Consent* being out of the Company of the rest, has hitherto scap'd our Notice. We must now enquire what was done by her abroad; what Advancement of Trade, what Discoveries, what kind or ill Treatment from Foreigners, she brings us News of.

Cap. *Middleton* came into the Bay of *Soldania*, a considerable time before the rest of the Fleet; it was the Sixteenth of *July*, and they did not reach it till the succeeding *December*. *A. D.* 1607.

They staid here, it seems, but a little time, being uncertain when their Company wou'd come; however, they did make a stop for a few Days, to enjoy the Pleasures of this place, and the Diversions of its near Neighbour, *Penguin* Isle. This Island is famous enough for the Production of those Fowls from whence it has its Name; but they give us more strange Accounts of the Multitudes of them, than what we commonly have: That you may drive them along before you, Five hundred, or more in a Flock; and the Seals in far greater numbers all about upon the Shoar.

But

But beſides theſe, you have wild Fowl of ſeveral ſorts, good Geeſe and Ducks, Pelicans too, and many others, which they don't give us the particular Names of: So that no Man can want ſport, that goes thither for it; unleſs the too great plenty of Game prove ſomething of a hindrance, and loſes the pleaſure of ſearching out, and purſuing, which is indeed all the Life of the Exerciſe.

...gnois land, a ood place r Fowl.

From hence they went on for the Coaſt of *India*, in all which Courſe we have nothing remarkable, as far as the Iſland *Fuganas*, or *Eugano*, as ſome call it. This Iſland they place in 5 ½ Degr. South Lat. and make the Variation there to be four Degr. 13 Min. It lies Eaſterly S. and W. and by N. and is five Leagues in length, or thereabouts; the Eaſt-end is much the higher Land, and the Weſtern is woody and full of Trees.

...e Eugano.

They went away firſt of all for *Bantam*, where they diſcharg'd their Burden of Lead and Iron, and took aboard in the room of it other Merchandiſe proper for the *Molucca's*.

...o to the Molucca's

Theſe rich Iſlands were next to be viſited by them, in order to which they ſet Sail from *Bantam*, *Decem.* the 6th. They had terrible Thunder and Lightning in this paſſage, Rain, and all ſorts of ill Weather; rough and boiſterous Winds excepted. But that was their advantage, they had no Trouble nor Danger upon that ſcore; but ſail'd on through all that Fury of the Weather, very merrily and well contented, that the Wind, the moſt dangerous Enemy of all, did not engage together with the reſt againſt them. 'Twas ſo kind and favourable at that time, as to be of their ſide, affording them all along a brisk ſteddy Gale, by the help of which they reach'd the *Molucca's* in the beginning of *January*.

The Account we have of their Proceedings at thoſe Iſlands, is very ſhort and imperfect. In general, we find that near two Months was ſpent in meer Ceremonies and Complements between them, the *Spaniards*, and the *Moluccan* Princes.

'Tis true, this was better than Fighting and Wrangling all that while; and at firſt ſight it appears ſtrange, that the *Spaniards* ſhould be guilty of ſo much Civility and good Breeding towards the *Engliſh*, whom they uſed to treat after another manner. But 'tis to be conſider'd, that in this long Interval, they were concerting Matters amongſt themſelves, to ſend them packing from thence. They were reſolv'd the *Engliſh* ſhou'd not Trade there; but yet were unwilling to uſe violence, or turn them away rudely. And therefore ſome plauſible Pretence muſt be made for their Diſmiſſion, or ſuch Conditions propos'd in order to their ſtay, that they not being able to agree to, might upon a Denial be the more handſomely turn'd off. Now this being the Caſe, 'twas as good to fall a Complementing in the mean time, as not; there's no Charge in a few flattering Words, or a little diſſembling Carriage; but there's ſomething of advantage in it, becauſe 'tis a compleat Cover for an ill and treacherous Deſign. The *Spaniards*, with all their Gravity and Formality, tell our Men, They can't admit them to Trade, till the Camp-Maſter has given leave.

...ſign of e *Spaniards* o hinder ir Trade at e *Molucca's*.

And why does not the Camp-Maſter then determine the Matter, and ſay Yes, or No, plainly, without farther delay?

Why, becauſe he is contriving to do it more nearly and genteelly; that is, with more *Spaniſh* Ceremony and Circumlocution: 'Tis much the better way to query and propoſe, to offer and make Conditions (no matter how impoſſible), than to come out with a peremptory Denial, and ſay bluntly, You ſhall not Trade here.

Now the Circumſtances of theſe Iſlands at that time, furniſh'd Matter enough for this way of proceeding: For the *Dutch* and they were up to the Ears in Broils and Quarrels, and nothing cou'd be better, than to propoſe to the *Engliſh* to come into the Quarrel too, and take their parts againſt the *Dutch*. This they might eaſily gueſs was what their Commiſſion wou'd never allow them to do, nor bear them out in; but upon that Account 'tis to be ſuppos'd they made the Propoſal. In ſhort, Captain *Middleton* poſitively refus'd it; and the *Spaniards* at the ſame time deſired to be excus'd from granting him the Liberty of Trade. This was the Upſhot of the Buſineſs: And 'twas a pretty Concluſion, to be uſher'd in with ſuch a Train of Complements and Careſſes, and to lie upon hand, from the beginning of *January* to the middle of *March*. 'Tis true indeed, a free Trade was permitted at the beginning of *March*; but that Liberty expired in a very few Days again; thoſe favourable Orders were countermanded, and the *Engliſh* urged to be gone.

...eople pri- ately Trade ith them.

However, the Natives had more kindneſs for them than this came to; for they made ſhift to drive a Trade with them out of the *Spaniards* ſight; a ſign what they wou'd have done, had they had the Liberty to chooſe their own Cuſtomers. 'Twas impoſſible to do this by Day, and therefore they did it under the Protection of the Night; the *Spaniards* all the while ſuſpecting nothing of theſe dark Cabals, but frolicking it very pleaſantly with the *Engliſh* in the Day-time, as Perſons that were capable of doing them no miſchief. Thus they went on, doing ever now and then a Jobb in private with the Natives, till about the middle of *March*, when the laſt Orders for their Removal came forth.

Having left the *Molucca's*, they ſought for Buſineſs ſome where elſe, entring the Streights of *Bangaya*, *March* the Twenty third. The People hereabouts were very fond of a Correſpondence with them, and by all the obliging Behaviour that cou'd be, endeavour'd to procure it. They came with at leaſt a Hundred Praws up to them, and brought good ſtore of Proviſions, Hogs, Hens, Fiſh freſh and dry, Plantanes, Caſſatho Roots, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits beſides. They were very eaſie and reaſonable in their Terms of Dealing, and deſired only coarſe Cloth, and *China*-Diſhes in exchange for what they brought.

People about the Streights glad to Trade with the *Engliſh*.

The King of *Botun* himſelf ſent them a Refreſhment, and earneſtly deſired leave to come aboard. He had never ſeen any *Engliſh-man* in his Life, and now having a fair Opportunity, crav'd a Permiſſion to improve it for that purpoſe.

This Requeſt the Captain eaſily granted, and the King quickly came up in his Carracol, rowed with at leaſt a hundred Oars, carrying with her four hundred Men, well arm'd, and ſix Braſs Pieces. She had five more attending upon her, which had in all a thouſand Men more aboard them. The King was treated and preſented to his very great Satisfaction and Content a Shipboard: In Return of which Kindneſſes, he made the Captain a Preſent of ſome of his Country Cloth, and very civilly invited him to *Botun*, promiſing to ſend a Pilot to guide the Ship thither.

King of *Botun* comes aboard.

In the mean time, one of the *Engliſh*, who had been ſent aſhoar to get Proviſions, return'd with the News of his Entertainment by another *Indian* King, a Neighbour to him of *Botun*. This Prince had never ſeen any *Engliſh* neither; and ſome of his Subjects having brought this Perſon to him, he was wonderfully pleas'd at the ſight of him.

The King of *Cobina*.

The poſture our *Engliſh-man* found him and his Nobles in, was ſomething odd, and ſufficient to ſtrike a Terror into the Mind of a Stranger: They were Carowſing and Drinking very hard together, and the Room all about them was beſet with dead Mens Heads. Theſe were the Trophies of a Victory newly obtain'd, and they were at that time (as it were) juſt come out of the Field, reeking with the warm Blood of their Adverſaries. However, the *Engliſh-man* had no farther occaſion for ſad Thoughts, than what the horrid Spectacle gave him; the King did not offer to ſet his Head up amongſt the reſt; but after a kind and gentle Treatment, ſent him away in ſafety.

The King of *Botun*'s Pilot being come, they ſet Sail for that Town, and came to an Anchor before it, *April* the Twenty ſecond. *A. D.* 1608.

Come to *Botun*.

Here the King came out to bid them Welcome, with his whole Fleet of Carracols, gallantly ſet out with Colours and Pendants; and on both ſides the Small-ſhot and Ordnance were briskly diſcharg'd. The Captain was invited aſhore to Dine with the King, where every thing was done in the beſt manner, according to the Faſhion of the Country. The Meat was ſerv'd up in great wooden Chargers; but tho' the Diſhes were homely and coarſe, yet the Proviſions themſelves were fine; and which was better than all, the Welcome very hearty and ſincere. Their Liquor was only *Irea Pote*, a Drink of a very agreeable pleaſant taſte; not heady and intoxicating, but ſufficient to revive the Spirits, give them a due Elevation, and anſwer all the Ends and Purpoſes of Drink.

And as the Captain was feaſted aſhore, ſo the King (indeed the whole Royal Family) was again a Shipboard. They were ſeldom without one or other of them; ſo greedy were they of the Company of a People they had ſo long deſired, but cou'd never ſee till then.

There was another neighbouring petty King, that hearing the News of the Arrival of the *Engliſh* at *Botun*, came with his whole Family to be a Spectator too. He rowed round the Ship in his Carracol, and view'd it and them moſt attentively: But with all their kind Entreaties, and the Example of the King of *Botun* before his Eyes, he wou'd not be perſwaded to come aboard them.

As for the Buſineſs done here, the main part of it ſeems to be the getting a good Lading of Cloves. This was an accidental Bargain; they were brought into *Botun* by the *Javan* Veſſels, and the *Engliſh* being there at the time, happily ſecur'd them for themſelves.

Trade at *Botun*.

The

The King of *Borun* had before told them of some Quantities of Pearl he had by him, which they shou'd have the Refusal of. They don't tell us, they bought them of him; nor yet that he bought any of their Cloth, tho' by the Account they give of his looking over that Commodity, and liking it very well, 'tis probable there was some Dealing betwixt them.

Having finish'd all Business here, they took their leave of this Prince (one of the fairest and justest we have had any Dealings with in those Parts), and set sail for *Bantam*. They reach'd it *May* the Twenty second; and left it again *July* the Fifteenth, sailing then for *England*. Sail for England.

The rest of the Voyage homewards, is both barren and tedious; upon which Account we shall excuse the Reader from the trouble of it, and without any further Attendance upon the Ship, take one good Step quite cross the Sea from *Bantam* to *England*.

CHAP XVI.

An Account of the Fourth General Voyage to the East-Indies, *with the two Ships, the* Ascension, *and the* Union, *under the Command of Capt.* Alex. Sharpey: *Together with the Discoveries in the Red Sea, by the* Ascension. *Writ by Mr.* Tho. Jones.

*A.D. 1607 WE weigh'd Anchor at *Woolwich*, *March* the Fourteenth, with the two good Ships, the *Ascension*, and the *Union*; which latter Ship, had she made good her Name, and not unhappily wander'd from us, our Voyage might have been more fortunate than 'twas.

Having spent some Days in refreshing, at the Island *Maio*, we parted from thence the Sixth of *May*, in order to cross the Line. Being got out into South Lat. we quickly found the Influence of the General Trade-Wind, which blows continually between the S. E. and S. E. and by E. And we observe, that the farther we sail to the Southward, we find the Wind still more Easterly.

*A.D. 1608. Beginning the Account of the New Year, from the 25th of *March*.

July the Thirteenth brought us to an Anchor in the Bay of *Soldania*; and here we staid till the latter end of *September*, at which time the Westerly Monsons have done blowing, and the Wind comes about more between the S. and S. E.

Now 'twas, that (being out at Sea again) the Union between us and the Ship of that Name, was dissolved; and the Winds (which blew away our Companion from us) toss'd us up and down the Great Waters, till the latter end of *October*; at which time we bore up with the Islands of *Comera*, between St. *Lawrence*, and the Main. *Comera* Isle. The King of the People where we put in, were Civil to us beyond the common Rates of the Civility of Barbarians; we had Limes, Hens, and Coco's of them; but fresh Water is a Blessing they have little or scarce any of themselves, and therefore cou'd not impart it to us.

We fell in next with the Isle of *Pemba*, in 6 Degr. South Lat.; tho' our design was for *Zanzibar*, where we knew there was good Watering. This Island is Hell, for the Malice, Barbarity, and Treachery of the Inhabitants: They enticed us ashore with all the Familiarity, and seeming Good Nature in the World; but did all in pursuance of a Plot to cut our Throats. They laid an Ambush of Two hundred Men about the place where we fill'd our Water, and when we were at work, they broke out upon us. Here, tho the Odds of Number and Strength were very great on their side, yet that of Courage and Resolution was not so; these treacherous Barbarians had not Hearts brave enough to fight well; and we made a shift to carry off our Water with flying Colours. We left 'tis true, a more valuable Liquor (some of our Mens Blood) in the room of it: But our loss was small, and we felt it not. *Pemba* Isle. Treacherous People.

But the *Moors* of *Melinda* were like to do us a far greater mischief: For it being our Fortune (after we had parted from *Pemba*) to light upon, and take three Barks of theirs; we brought all the principal Men aboard us, to the Number of fifty. They let us take them (it seems) with the more ease, and submitted themselves more quietly into our hands, in hope of working their Revenge, and taking their advantage of us the better afterwards: For being amongst us, of a sudden they all drew their long Knives, and stabb'd two or three of the Company (tho' not all of them, mortally) and were going on as fast as they cou'd, to serve the rest of us in like manner; which Violence once begun on their part, was so continued and carried on by us, that of the fifty *Moors*, we sent more than forty away, to make their Complaints to the Prophet in the other World. The rest we sent home to *Melinda* to carry the News; which, as we afterwards heard, introduc'd a General Mourning into the Country. 3 Moorish Barks taken. Moors Revenge.

The Persons we had slain, were Gentlemen of the best Quality in *Melinda*, and many of them of the Royal Blood. 'Twas high time for us now to get out of those Seas; and 'twas not consistent with our Safety, after this Action, to stay any longer within the reach of *Pemba* and *Melinda*, or any other place that might pretend to a Concern in the Revenge of these *Moors* Death.

The Month of *December* was going off apace, when this Circumstance happen'd, and the Winds (unfavourable to us) kept us toiling and beating up and down at Sea, till the succeeding *January* was far spent; then we fell in with a Cluster of Islands, as secure a Retreat for us as was possible, and where we had no fear of Enemies to examine or forbid us entrance: For here indeed were no Inhabitants at all, not a reasonable Creature, civil or barbarous to be found, in all the whole Number. Desolate Islands. And yet the Islands, upon many Accounts, very well deserving the pretence of fixed Inhabitants, as well as the frequent Visits of Travellers and Sea-men: For they are like so many Groves of Coco and Palmeto-Trees; the Rivers are full of delicate Fish; such Numbers of Turtle-Doves, every-where fluttering about, and withal so very tame, that a Man may take twenty Dozen a Day only with his hands. They are at least twelve or thirteen in number, and being wholly destitute of Inhabitants, we call'd them the Desolate Islands.

The uncertain Winds, which hinder'd our brisk Progress at Sea, continu'd till *March* the Thirtieth, when the Westerly Monsons began to blow, by which means we got up with the Isle of *Socotora*, and from hence directed our Course to *Aden*, in the Road of which we cast Anchor, *April* 8. *A. D.* 1609 *Aden*.

This City acknowledges the Sovereignty of the Great Turk, and it is the Key that lets him into all the Treasures and Sweetnesses of the Happy *Arabia*. Our General coming hither in a Publick Figure, and having His Majesty of *England*'s Letters to the Bassa, was receiv'd with suitable Honours, both by the Captain of the Castle, and the Governour.

The King's Letters were sent to the Bassa, whose Residence was at *Zoman*, fifteen Days Journey up into the Country from *Aden*: And shortly after two of our Merchants, with a parcel of Cloth, were sent after them. The Bassa was extreamly kind and civil; but because they had not the Grand Seignior's Patent, he told them, He cou'd not now give them leave to settle a Factory; however, they shou'd be permitted a free undisturb'd Trade, both for buying and selling, and shou'd pay no Custom: In Consideration of which Favour, he wou'd take that Cloth they brought with them, for a good Handsel. Entertainment by the Bassa.

The Turk having been so civil to them, they were forc'd to let him be thus civil to himself; the Point of a Free Trade at *Aden*, which was gain'd, being a Consideration valuable enough to make amends for the Cloth. So leaving these Merchants to their future Successes in that place, we set Sail from *Aden* for the City of *Moha*, whither we came *June* the Eleventh. *Moha*.

This lies up higher upon the Red Sea, about forty Leagues from *Aden*: 'Tis the Grand Staple for all *Indian* Trade; whatsoever *Cairo*, and *Alexandria*, and all those Parts are furnish'd with, coming from hence.

The General was treated here in a very courteous and respectful manner, and our Occasions obliged us to lie in this

this Road till the latter end of the next Month. Then our Resolutions being fix'd for *Cambaya*, in *Guzurat*, we set out in prosecution of that Design, and putting in at *Sokotora* again, (where we had very troublesome Experiences of the strong S. W. Winds, that blow there at this Season of the Year) we made it *September* the Second, by that time we reach'd the Coast of *Din*. And now 'twas that we were guilty of that fatal Mistake, that proved so great a Detriment to the Noble Company, as well as an entire Ruine to all the Merchants and Mariners concern'd in the Ship.

Our General was inform'd (tho' the Informer was a *Moor*, and therefore perhaps not credited) that there were some particular Dangers of Sholes and Lands attending us, which required great Skill and Acquaintance with those places, as well as Care and Diligence to avoid. Besides, he was offer'd for a small matter, to have a skilful Pilot, that shou'd infallibly conduct his Ship into the Port he intended for.

The Ship lost upon the Sholes of *Cambaya*.

But unluckily for us, this good Offer was rejected, and our head-strong Master despis'd the assistance of a Foreign Pilot; and so we did (as it was foretold of us) run our Ship upon those Sholes, to the undoing of us all. We saved all the Men indeed in the Boats, tho' they were loaded to a high degree, and we had eighteen Leagues to the Shoar: But all the Goods and Treasure, and the Ship it self, were irrecoverably lost.

Providence took care of us in this Distress, and prov'd a far better Pilot to us, than (as we had laid our Design) we had been to our selves: For we did all we cou'd, to fall in with the River of *Surat*; which if we had done, we had been swallow'd up of the *Portugueze*, that lay ready with five Frigats at the Bar of *Surat*, to catch us when we came. But now instead of this Course, we slip'd insensibly into the River of *Gaudeve*, some five Leagues to the Southward of the Bar; the Governour of which Town, a *Bannian*, gave us a very comfortable Entertainment. Their escape.

From hence we travell'd by Land to *Surat*, where we had a Factory, and a Friend of our own Nation (Captain *Hawkins*), of a considerable Interest in the *Mogul's* Court, tho' at *Agra* at the time of our Arrival.

The General, and the best part of the Company, took a Journey to *Agra*, intending from thence to strike into *Persia*, and so go home that way. As for my self, and two or three more, we had the good Luck to fall in with an honest *Portugueze* Priest, who (not at all tainted with the common Prejudice and Spite of his Nation against ours) very generously undertook to provide us a safe and good passage to *England*, or at least to *Portugal*; which he as faithfully perform'd.

So after the Toil and Labour of two Years and half, (but to how little purpose, is plain, by the foregoing Circumstance) we recover'd the sight of our Native Country again, *Sept.* 17. *A. D.* 1610.

CHAP. XVII.

The Circumstances of the unhappy Voyage of the other Ship the Union, *in her way to* Priaman. *Written by* Henry Morris, *at* Bantam, *Sept.* 14. *A. D.* 1610.

WE have heard before, how the two Ships, the *Ascension*, and *Union*, were parted by a violent Storm; after which they each of them ran their several Courses of Adventures; but on both sides plunged into very great Misfortunes.

The *Union* comes to St. *Augustine's* Bay.

The *Union* having lost all hopes of meeting her Companion again, to secure her self from the fatal Effects of the Storm, put into St. *Augustine's* Bay, at St. *Lawrence*. After a Refreshment here for some twenty Days, they made away to *Zanzibar*; where they had much the same Entertainment by the People of that Island, that the other Company had at *Pemba*: First kindly used, and then an Ambush laid to knock them o'the Head. Some of the Company were lost in this Skirmish, and the rest with much difficulty recover'd their Ship again. Goes to *Zanzibar*.

After a considerable time spent at Sea, and little or no way made, (and besides a good part of the Men quite down with the Scurvy) they steer'd back again to the Isle of St. *Lawrence*, intending to stay there till their Men were recover'd; and the contrary Monsons that were then blowing, had finish'd their stated period. They fell in upon the West-side of the Island, into a very large and spacious Bay, call'd by the Natives *Canquomorra*, the Country all about which is very fruitful and pleasant to the Eye. Land of *Madagascar*.

Here the Captain, and some others, ventur'd to go ashore upon a Visit to the King of that part of the Island, and they had this encouragement to it; that many times before the *English* Merchants had done so, and had met with very Courteous Entertainment. But that little Stock of Civility and Good Manners, which was amongst these Barbarians, was, it seems, quite spent before they came: For the Natives had taken effectual Care to make them Prisoners, and they were no sooner landed, than they found themselves betrayed. And tho (as desperate Men in such an extremity) they used their utmost Efforts to break thro' the surrounding Snares, and get back to the Ship, in which Attempt they happily succeeded; yet the Danger that threatned, still pursued them; and those that were just before like to be taken out of the Ship, were now in some danger of being taken in it, Ship and all together: For by that time the Ship had taken the Alarm, and put it self into a little posture of defence, she was presently encompass'd with such Swarms of Praws and great Boats, and those so boldly making up to them, that they thought they must immediately have been taken without any more adoe. But the great Guns quickly scatter'd this Fleet of the Natives, and made the Ship more room; especially after some of their Boats were sunk, and the Men that fill'd them were tore in pieces with the Shot. This struck such a Terror into the rest, that they accounted it as much Prudence to keep out of the way for the future, as good Fortune to have escap'd the past danger. Natives beset them. They assault the Ship, and are repuls'd.

They staid fourteen Days in the Bay after this Fight; in which time the Natives made a second Attempt, follow'd with the like ill Success; which dishearten'd them to that degree, that now they wou'd not try their Fortune any more in that kind; but took their Revenge with standing all ashore and gazing upon the Ship. And they aboard seeing them in this fit posture to receive a Farewel, brought the Ship a little nearer the Shore; and so giving them a whole Broadside, which broke into the thickest Ranks, and made a horrible wide Lane amongst them, they took their Leave and went off.

Being out at Sea, the Winds prevented their reaching *Sokotora*, and the Winterly Monsons being come, for that, and other Reasons, they resolv'd not to steer for *Cambaya*: They concluded therefore to direct their Course to *Achen*, where they arrived the Twenty seventh of *July*. The King here was made their Friend by diligent Application, and good Presents; but the *Hollanders*, who aspire to the universal Trade of the *East-Indies*, made a considerable opposition: Yet Matters were so compos'd between the *Hollanders* and them, that they drive a pretty handsome Trade with the *Guzurats*, trucking our *English* Lead and Cloth for the white and black Butles, or *Guzurat* Cloth. They go from St. *Lawrence*. *A. D.* 1608. Come to *Achen*. Their Trade there with the *Guzurats*.

Some time spent here this way, they went to *Priamen*, upon the same Island of *Sumatra*; where they fell into a Trade so fine and flourishing, that the Happiness of their Settlement there, did seem to make sufficient Amends for all the past Misfortunes of the Voyage. Go to *Priaman*.

All Business ended here, and a good Lading of Pepper got into the Ship, they set Sail out of this Port for *England*; but with ill Success, and Repetition of the former, or worse Disasters.

CHAP. XVIII.

Mr. Salbank's *Journey* (*after the* Ascension *was cast away*) *through* India, Persia, *and part of* Turky, *and* Arabia, *A. D.* 1609. *Written to*, &c.

Gandeve. OUR Ship the *Ascension* being unhappily lost upon the Sholes of *Cambaya*, we made the best of our way in Boats to the Shore, and put in at the Town of *Gandeve*: This place has the advantage of a very fair and commodious Haven, which is generally fill'd with good store of Shipping, so that it seems to be a place of no small Trade and Business.

Sobay, and its Callicoe-Trade. From hence we came to *Sobay*, remarkable for the Quantities of Cotton and Callicoe Cloths made there; there being indeed hardly any other Trades flourishing in the whole place, but those of Spinning and Weaving, and what relates thereto.

Surat was our next Stage, a City sufficiently known; from whence (intending a Journey to *Agra*) we went on to *Nabon*, whose chief Commodities are all sorts of Grain, Cotton-wool, and Sugar, which grows here in great abundance. *Nabon.*

Daytaot Drugs, Callicoes. Then to *Daytaot*, where there's a great Market for Drugs, Pintadoes, and Callicoe-Lawns.

Netherberi Materials of Brass, Armour, *&c.* And from thence to *Netherberi*, that deals as much in all sorts of Brasen Ware, and Suits of Armour; besides its Drugs, Pintadoes, Cotton-yarn, and Wool; in which it comes not behind its Neighbour *Daytaot*. The coarsest Cloth bears a considerable Price here; and therefore 'tis very probable, that that particular Commodity wou'd turn to good Account, if brought hither.

Brampore. Armour and Cloth of Gold and Silver, *&c.* Passing two or three Towns of no great Importance, we made our next stop at *Brampore*. This is a mighty City, and the Trade of it as big and considerable as the Dimensions: All sorts of Armour and Weapons, are very saleable here: As also Cloths of Gold and Silver, Velvets, Broad-Cloths, and Bayes: For the City is vastly stock'd with Gentry, and People that affect the Gallantry of Apparel.

Cannou. *Cannou*, which lay next in our way, is a large City too, and vents of great deal of Armour, and Harness, and all sorts of Colours for Dyers. The Temper of the Climate will certainly make our *English* Cloths a good Commodity here; for the Cold pinches pretty hard in the Three Months of *January*, *February*, and *March*.

Cross the *Ganges.* A Day's Journey from hence, we cross'd the celebrated River *Ganges*; which rises out of the North, and discharges it self into the Gulf of *Bengala*: And now a Journey of eleven Days, through a most charming fruitful Country, lay between us and *Agra*. This City is very large and populous, the Streets wide and handsome, the Houses, for the most part, built of Stone. Here's a great resort of Merchants out of *Persia*, and all parts of *India*, trading for Silks and Cloths, and all sorts of Jewels. *Agra.*

The Diamonds are the genuine Product of the Country, and are found about *Agra*, *Delly*, and *Bisnagar*; but a great part of the Rubies, Saphires, *&c.* come from *Pegu*.

Without all doubt, our *English* Silks, Velvets, and Cloths, of the richer and finer sorts, will go off here to great advantage; because of the communication between this place and *Labor*, *Fetipore*, with many others of the like importance; which latter City *Fetipore*, (by the way) is not above twelve Miles from *Agra*, and is every whit as big as *London*.

Biamy, or *Biana*, as 'tis call'd before, lib. 2. ch. 13. From *Agra* we set out for *Hispahan*, the Capital City of *Persia*, and that by the way of *Biamy*, this being but two Months Journey; and that by *Labor* being four. This *Biamy* is the great Storehouse of Indico to the whole Country; no place in all the *East-Indies* coming near it, for the Measures of this Commodity annually produced. The Indico it self is a Vegetable Production: The Plant which yields it, is a sort of a small Bush, or Shrub, and bears a Seed almost like that of a Cabbage. When the proper Season is come, it is all cut down, and left in heaps upon the Ground to rot, for half a Year; then the Seeds are trod out from the Stalks by Oxen, and afterwards ground very fine, and so boil'd in a Furnace; which done, 'tis sorted out into several parcels, according to the different degrees of fineness.

The making of Indico something different from that before. *Ibidem.*

Between *Biamy* and *Candaba*, we pass'd through these chief Towns: *Merta*, noted for its three weekly Markets of Indico, Cotton-Wool, Yarn, and Cloths. *Merta.*

Reuree, a Town of Merchandising Husbandmen, who together with the Affairs of Agriculture, do with no small Industry equally promote those of Trade and Merchandize. *Reuree.*

Buckar, where Sword-blades are so good a Commodity that one worth but a Noble in *England*, will easily bring 10*l.* there. *Buckar.*

Close by the City runs the River *Demiadee*, which empties it self into the River of *Sinde*; which is Navigable by Barks of 40 and 50 Tun; by which means a Communication is open'd between divers of the adjacent parts of *India*. Rivers *Demiadee* & *Sinde.*

Lastly, *Suckar*, seated on an Island in the midst of the River, inhabited mostly by Dyers and Weavers, which serve all the Country round about. *Sucker.*

'Tis twenty Days Journey between this place and *Candahar*, and the way not a little difficult and dangerous, because of the vast Woods and Desarts to be passed thro'. This City is govern'd by a Vice-Roy, and is much frequented by Merchants out of *Persia*, *Turkey*, and all parts of the *Indies*. *Candahar.*

'Tis five Days Journey from hence to *Grees*, the first Town upon the Frontiers of *Persia*, after you are pass'd the River *Sabaa*, which divides these two great Empires one from another.

River *Sabaa* divides the *Persian* and *Mogul.* Between this place and *Hispahan*, we pass'd through *Vea*, noted for plenty of Felts and Carpets; *Parra*, *Pahanani*, and *Godana*, for the Quantities of Raw Silk they produce. To which also ought to be reckon'd *Gora*, a very handsome Town, which drives a mighty Trade in Raw Silks, Quilts, Carpets, and the like.

Hispahan. We came next to *Hispahan*, a City of great Extent, Trade, and Fame, and now of late, the usual Residence of the Kings of *Persia*. The People are wonderfully curious in making Velvets, Sattins, Damasks, *Ormuzine*, and *Persian* Carpets, Girdles, and Sashes. Here's a continual Trade of Drugs, Spices, Jewels, Silks wrought as well as raw. Cou'd our Ships lade with safety in the *Persian* Gulf, a profitable Trade might be planted here: For no less than Fifty in the Hundred may be gain'd from *Ormus* to *Hispahan*, and that in eighty Days Travel. The Commodities to be brought from *England* hither, should be Tin, Copper, Brasile; Kersies for the common People, and Broad Cloth for the Merchants and better sort: Camlets, Velvets, Cloths of Gold and Tissue, with fine Linen for the King's Sultans and Nobility. Besides all kinds of Warlike Furniture, which the *Persians* will be very good Customers for. Commodities for *Persia* to be brought out of *England.*

Bagdat. We went from this famous City to *Bagdat*, a Town two Miles in compass, and seated on the River *Tigris*. 'Tis very populous for the bigness of it, and a Man never fails meeting vast Crowds of Strangers and Travellers here, it being a common Road into *Turkey*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and all those parts.

Balsora. Here we embark'd for *Balsora*, a Town planted near the *Persian* Gulf, strengthned with a good Garrison, and a considerable Power of Shipping, and is very near as big as *Bagdat*. It must needs be a profitable City to the Great Turk, in whose hands it is; for the Country about it is vastly fruitful, and the Trade thither so great, that there comes into that Port from *Ormus* alone, every Month, several great Ships, furnish'd with all sorts of *Indian* Merchandize.

Bahurem Pearls. We proceeded in our Voyage from *Balsora* to *Catiffa*, on the Coast of *Arabia Felix*; and from thence to the famous Island *Bahurem*, in the mid-way between *Balsora* and *Ormus*. Here 'tis that they fish for Pearl, in the Months of *June*, *July*, *August*, *September*; and those found about this Island, are reckon'd some of the noblest and best in all the Eastern World.

Calara. Having visited *Calara*, a Town on the Coast of *Arabia Felix*; and so pass'd by Land to *Shirrif Din*, my Design was to have gone for *Aman*, to Sir *Henry Middleton*; but understanding of his barbarous Usage at *Mocha*, and that he was carried in Chains to the Bassa of *Sinan*, a considerable

Lima. siderable way up in the Country, I turn'd off to *Lima* on the *Persian* Gulf, where I embarked for *Zocotora*, but was driven by a parcel of Pyrates to land at *Soar*, a Coast-Town not far from *Lima*. But this was but out of the Frying-pan into the Fire; an escape out of the Hands of Rascals at Sea, into the power of worse Knaves at Land: For here the *Portugueze* inform'd the Governour against me, and having made him believe I was a Spy, got me to be deliver'd into their hands; and a Man's greatest Enemies cou'd hardly wish him in worse, suppose him out of the Devils.

Soar where he is taken Prisoner by the *Portugueze*.

Having me in their power, they sent me to *Muscat*, a small Island, where they have a Garrison, and some Shipping; and here I must have lain in everlasting Bondage, had not an honest *English* Jesuit I met there, procured my Release from thence.

Muscat.

From *Muscat* I was sent in Chains to *Ormus*, cross the Mouth of the *Persian* Gulf: This Island is about thirty Mile in circuit, and is certainly the driest Island in the World. All their Water, Wood, and other Necessaries, are brought out of the adjacent parts of *Persia*, which is not above twelve Mile from thence. It's famous for the Quantities of Salt it produces, and the Fishery of Pearls: There is indeed a very great Trade driven there for all sorts of Merchandize almost, Spices, Drugs, Silks, fine Tapistry, Pearls, Horses, which are from hence transported into *India*. The *Portugueze* have a Castle, and a good Garrison here.

Ormus.

After some stay here, I was sent away for *Goa*; in our passage, to *Sinde*, between the Countries of *Guadel* and *Guzurat*. The Commodiousness of the River which runs by this place, with reference to Trade, was hinted before; and there is another particular Conveniency belonging to it, which I will not omit, and that is, that the *Portugueze* have no Fort all along this River, nor cannot accomplish it, perhaps, if they attempted it, the Country People hereabouts keeping them in very great awe and subjection. The Commodities that the place does vent, are Cloths of all sorts, (especially light Colours) Tin, Lead, Iron, Spices, particularly Pepper and Cloves; then all your Calicoes, Pintadoes, Quilts, Carpets, &c. go off here in great Quantities, and at very reasonable rates. The Country yields and makes so many of these sort of Commodities, that they are extreamly cheap, and a little Stock will keep a substantial Trade of this kind going on here. Besides, you may store your self with several very good Drugs here; and a Ship-load of Opium almost (the Soil is so natural and kind to that Drug in particular) which wou'd be a very good Commodity at *Bantam*, and the parts thereabouts, as well as the Stuffs mention'd before.

Sinde, And the Trade of it.

Leaving the Coast of *Sinde*, we came to *Din*, in the Kingdom of *Cambaya*; 'tis the strongest Town the *Portugueze* have in all this Province, and sends out every Year a great number of Ships laden with Varieties of Merchandice, for *Ormus*, the *Red Sea*, and other parts.

Din.

From hence we pass'd to *Goa*, the end of the present Voyage, and the place of my doleful Captivity.

Goa.

The *Portugueze* have no more important place, no securer Retreat, no finer Spot in all the Eastern World than this. It stands in an Island thirty Miles in compass, as pleasant, convenient, and fit for Command, as any thing can do. 'Tis surrounded with several Villages, intermix'd with Gardens, Orchards, and delightful Woods; but all the while 'twas my Prison, which was sufficient to cast a Horror upon the most charming Appearances in Nature.

Chap. XIX.

The Voyage of Mr David Middleton, *to* Java *and* Banda. *Taken out of a Letter written by himself to the Company, this being the Fifth Voyage set out by them.*

Set Sail *A. D.* 1609. Come to *Soldania.*

WE Sail'd out of the *Downs* the 24th of *April*, in the good Ship the *Expedition* of *London*; and with a mixture of foul and fair Winds, which blew in their turns, we reach'd *Soldania* by the 10th of *August*.

Arrive at *Bantam.*

We pass'd from hence to *Bantam*, without any remarkable Occurrent by the way, and 'twas in the beginning of *December* that we got thither. We found the State of Affairs alter'd here for the worse from what it had formerly been; the present Governour being a very troublesome, covetous, exacting Person, encroaching upon our Privileges, and not allowing us the Liberties that used to be granted.

Having provided in the best manner I cou'd for the Quiet and Security of our Factory under that distemper'd Circumstance, I set Sail for the *Molucca's* the 18th of the same Month, putting in at the Isle of *Bengala* in the Pro-

Goes for the *Molucca's.*

secution of this Voyage, we found the Country quite empty of Inhabitants, the King and all the People with one Consent were run away, whatever Danger it was that had frighted them. And all things considered, I concluded 'twas for fear of the *Dutch*, who wou'd (it seems) have broke in upon them, and built a Fort in the Country against their Wills; but they chose rather to quit the Island and leave them the whole Dominion entirely to themselves, than live under their Command, and endure the Bondage a Fort wou'd bring them into. Loosing from hence we had the Wind and Stream so powerfully against us, and we labour'd with our Ship to so little purpose, that we were oblig'd to alter our purpose for the *Molucca's*, and so bear up the Helm for the Isles of *Banda*, towards which we were carried away a main.

Bengala. The People desert the Island for fear of the *Dutch.*

Alter their Course for *Banda.*

When we came thither (which was in the beginning of *February*) we found all things under the Command and managed according to the Pleasure of the *Dutch*. No Sail came into the Road but they wou'd take as much of the Lading as they pleas'd, and either not pay at all, or pay at their own time and price according to their own Consciences, which made it indeed next to no payment at all. And then there must be no correspondence with the People of the Country, and if a Ship brought Commodities ever so vendible there, and attempted but to land them, these impudent masterful *Hollanders* wou'd immediately play the Ordnance of the Castle upon them; and by this Means they had gotten several Juncks of considerable burthen into their Power, which came thither upon an honest design of Trade. The Inhabitants of the Town of *Lantor* were very willing to deal with me, and sell me their Spice, but they cou'd not do it without the leave of the *Dutch* with whom they were then link'd in a friendship, and to whom I must go to beg a Trade if I meant to have any. However I understood that they were at War with the Islands of *Puloway* and *Puloria*, who therefore wou'd not send me to ask leave of the *Dutch* to buy their Spices.

Tyranny of the *Dutch.*

Lantor kind to the *English.*

But then the great Difficulty was, to manage the Trade with them without provoking the *Dutch* to acts of open Violence and hostility. I had now received an express Commandment from the Governour of the Castle, and the Vice-Admiral to come in with my Ship, and not to ride in the Road where I did; which Command I did in as peremptory a manner refuse to obey, having the Examples of several Ships unjustly detain'd there before my Eyes. And farther I put my self into the best posture of Defence in case of an attack, which I had reason to expect. Yet that all things might be manag'd as fairly and inoffensively on our side as might be (especially since Interest and Policy required it to be so) I yielded so far as to write a Letter to know whether they wou'd deal with me themselves or let the People of *Lantor* do it; and if not that, then whether I might without offending them Trade with the Islands of *Puloway* and *Puloria*.

The base Proceedings of the *Dutch.*

They were so civil as to return no Answer to this Letter, but instead of that made preparations to come and try their Fortune in order to the taking of my Ship. Upon notice of this Design, I went immediately my self to the Castle, and carried my Commission along with me, being resolved to let them see the Authority that empower'd

me to act; as also to do all that might be done fairly (without a base Submission) before it came to a down right Battle. The sight of the Commission with His Majesties broad Seal to it made some Impression upon them, and this together with the offer of 1000*l.* over and above for the lading of my Ship, procured me not only a civil Treatment, but a promise also to satisfie my Desires with reference to a Trade. Yet after this they fell back from their Word, so surely pass'd and gave it me as their last Resolution, that I must pretend to buy no Spice there. This made me fix my Purpose for *Puloway*, whither I purpos'd to go in spite of the *Hollanders* and all their Force, and sent the Governour word plainly that I wou'd do so, let him do his worst to prevent me. And the *Dutch* it seems did not think fit to try to stop me, for thither I came without any opposition with my new Pinnace the *Hopewell*, which I fitted up on purpose for a Lading at that Island. Here I agreed for my Spice at the same rates as Captain *Keeling* had done before me, and got my Pinnace laded with Mace and a good large Junck with Nutmegs. And all the Spice that we bought here was carried (as fast as we cou'd lade these Vessels) to our Ship which lay in the Road of *Gelegula* at the Isle of *Ceran*, about 30 Leagues from *Banda*.

Comes to *Puloway*.

Ceran Isle. Cannibals.

This Island by report of the *Indians* is Inhabited by a sort of *Cannibals*, that lie in wait to catch the Passengers and Fishermen that come upon that Coast, whom they infallibly Devour like so many hungry Beasts of Prey. Especially if they take any Christians they bestow a good dressing upon them, and lay them down to the Fire to roast alive. The cause of which barbarous Treatment, they say is (and 'tis very likely) some Injuries which these creatures have receiv'd from the *Portugueze*, for whose sakes they handle all others thus severely that they get into their Clutches.

By the Month of *September* we had pretty well accomplish'd the lading of our Ship, which done (and the Matters of our Company settled that were to stay behind for the Prosecution of the Trade) we set Sail from *Puloway*, and directed our Course to *Bantam*, where we arrived *October* the 9th. When we came hither we found two of our principal Factors dead, and almost all the Goods we left there, as that shut up in the Ware-house; very little or none having gone off, especially of our Cloth which lay all upon our Hands. However 'twas tollerable good Fortune to have succeeded so well at *Puloway*; to have out run the *Dutch* in the point of Trade there this Year, and brought off a good lading of Spice so handsomely, before their very Faces, while they themselves cou'd not get a pound. This was so great a Pain and Mortification to them to see us still passing to and fro with our laded Ships, that they resolved to take any Course to put an end to it. They thought of coming to take the whole Island, and so make but one business on't, to plunder us of our Spice, and revenge themselves upon the People for selling it to us. And they actually brought up their Ships in order to make the Attempt, but providence fought against them in the contrary Tide, which set their Ships to the West side of the Island, and won'd not let them Land. So that for all this and their many other Plots to catch me by the way, I brought the Effects of my Trade at *Puloway* to *Bantam* in safety. The whole Amount of my Lading was 139 Tun, 6 Cathays, ¼.12*l.* of Nutmegs; and 622 Suckets of Mace, which makes 139 Tun, 9 Cathrges, ½2*l.* of Mace; besides which, I left with one of the Factors, 24 Tun, 7 Carhages, ¼ 8*l.* which cost with Charges 25071 ¼ Rials.

Arrive at *Bantam*.

I left Orders with some of our Factors to put in for a share in the Trade of Diamonds at *Succadania* in *Borneo*, and having settled that Concern as well as all others that detain'd me there, I set Sail from *Bantam November* the 16th and had a good Passage to *Soldania*, where I Anchored *January* the 21st, and from whence I made all imaginable Dispatch for *England*.

CHAP. XX.

The Sixth General Voyage set forth by the East-India *Company, with the three good Ships, the* Trade's Increase, *Admiral, of* 1000 *Tun; the* Pepper-Corn, *Vice-Admiral, of* 250 *Tun; the* Darling *of* 90; *and a Victualling-Bark of* 180. *Extracted out of the Letters and Journals of Sir* Henry Middleton, *Admiral; and Mr.* Nich. Dounton, *Capt. of the* Pepper-Corn.

May, A.D. 1610.

COming to an Anchor in the Road of Cape *Verd*, we staid there some time, to lay in a Recruit of fresh Water, and repair what was defective in our Ship-Tackling; having had some little Misfortunes of that nature by the way. And indeed, all things consider'd, I know not a more convenient Road for these purposes, and all others almost that may invite a Ship, than this of Cape *Verd* is: For besides the plenty of good fresh Fish, and the advantage of Watering here, 'tis very fit for the Dispatch of Business, and it is not at all out of the way.

Cape *Verd* Road very good.

As for our Course from hence to the Line, we concluded with one Consent, to Sail S. S. W. for about sixty Leagues, then to steer S.S.E. till we grew near the Line, and so to hale over Easterly.

July.

By the latter end of *July* we made the Bay of *Soldania*, where we found the People as beastly and brutish as they have ever used to be represented, but not near so free and ready to Trade as they formerly were. 'Twas a very hard matter to perswade them to bring any Cattel at all to us (we were forc'd to bribe and court them to it), and then those they did bring were so old, so tough, and so lean, that 'twas almost as bad as fasting, to be obliged to eat them.

Soldania Bay. The People not for Trade as formerly.

Besides, Old Iron was now no current Money amongst them, and those brave Trading Days were over, when a Man cou'd purchase a fat Ox, or two or three good Sheep, for an Iron Ring, or a few Hobnails. Copper was, at this time, all in all amongst them, and they wou'd take nothing but pieces of this Metal, cut three or four, or six Inches square; and one of these was the Price of a Sheep, which considering what they were, was dear enough.

What the Reason of this alteration shou'd be, is uncertain: Whether those plentiful Markets of Cattle they us'd to bring down from the Mountains, were Spoils taken from one another in Wars, and so they put them off to others, as they took them themselves: Which if 'twere so, then 'tis probable, that the Reason why they so highly valued Iron in those Days, was its usefulness to them in their Wars, for heading their Darts and Launces, and consequently that it grew out of Request amongst them, when a General Peace was made, and their murdering Weapons laid aside. Or 'tis possible, that the *Dutch*, by their over-great Liberality, may have possibly help'd to spoil the Trade here: For as 'tis their Humour, to consider only their own present Occasions, without consulting the Advantage or Interest of any that are to come after them; so 'tis very likely, that they by giving these People some extravagant Rates for their Commodities, may have taught them how to expect and insist upon the same with all other Customers. They have more than once spoil'd the Trade so, in other places abroad in the World, and 'tis not incredible that they shou'd do so here.

We reckon this Bay of *Soldania* to lie some fourteen Leagues N. N. E. from the Cape of *Good Hope*, and ten Leagues N. by W. from Cape *Falso*; both which Capes may be seen pretty plainly out of the Bay. But the two Capes are parted also by another great Bay besides, which is distant from that of *Soldania* about three Leagues; and all the Ground between is low, marshy, and plashy, the effect perhaps of the Water brought off from the Mountains that stand of either side. Let a Ship, when she comes in for the Bay of *Soldania*, bring the Northern Point of it to bear W. N. W.—N. W. and by W. thwart of the Ledge

The Distance and Bearing of the Cape of *Good Hope* and Cape *Falso*, with *Soldania*.

Ledge of Rocks, near the Shore, (which will then be laid in the Swamp, as it were between the Table and the Sugar-Loaf) and ſhe may find good Anchor-hold, and ride ſafely in four, five, or ſix Fathom, according to her Draught.

'Tis worthy of Obſervation too, that the Main-Land, tho' it be thirteen Leagues diſtant, yet runs away ſo to the W. and by W. that there is little more than Three Points open to let in the N. W. Sea, which is always here the moſt ſtormy and troubleſome. There's good Fiſhing about the Bay for Millets (or a Fiſh very like them) Smelts, Thornbacks, Dogs, and a ſmall ſort of Whales: And all about the Rocks, Limpets, and Muſcles in abundance. We obſerv'd a ſort of Tree growing hereabout, that bears a Fruit in bigneſs and form reſembling a Pine-Apple; the Seeds of which were all entirely eaten out of the Husks by the Birds, and the Husks left ſtanding in their Natural Order upon the Tree. Theſe Husks were more ſoft and ſpongy than thoſe of a Pine-Apple, tho' otherwiſe like them: The Tree it ſelf is low, and ſpreads into a conſiderable breadth at top, and the Leaves of it are like our *Engliſh* Houſleek, only not quite ſo thick.

Auguſt. See other Accounts differing from this in Mr. *Davis's* Voyages, *&c.* Trees with a Fruit like Pine-Apples.

I believe, with ſome good Reaſon, that the Country might be cultivated into a very excellent Plantation for all ſorts of Herbs and Trees; and that our *Engliſh* Garden-Plants wou'd thrive to much higher degrees of Perfection here than at home, to the very great advantage of all that ſhou'd refreſh here; if any wou'd be ſo generous as to begin and make the Experiment. In ſhort, Nature has done ſo much to our hands, in order to the making the whole Country a Garden, that Art has but a very little left to perform, to make it as perfect as need be deſired.

Madagaſcar. September.

We ſet Sail from hence, directing our Courſe to the Iſle of *Madagaſcar*, and came to an Anchor in St. *Auguſtine's* Bay. The People of the Country carried it to us juſt as they of *Soldania* did; and but that 'tis pretty certain, that there is no intercourſe between them, one wou'd otherwiſe have thought, that they had made a Bargain together to ſtarve all the Chriſtian Ships that come into the Roads. They are a ſtout hardy People, fit for the Wars, and 'tis reported of ſome Skill in Martial Diſcipline; but withal exceſſively treacherous and falſe; ſo that whoever comes amongſt them, muſt be ſure to ſtand well upon their Guard.

* See *Davis's* Voyages for farther Account of this place too. Trees and Plants about Cape St. *Auguſtine.*

* Beſides the Tamarind-Trees, which the Country yields in great plenty, here's a ſort of Tree whoſe Timber is as hard and firm as *Lignum Vitæ*, and very white, but carries a ſmall brown Pith in the middle of it; whether any kind of White Saunders, or no, I cannot tell. Here's alſo a Plant very like a *Sempervive*, and for all I know, might yield as good an Aloes as that does: There's a great deal to be found of it in thoſe parts, tho' the Savages have hardly any knowledge of the Uſe and Virtue of it.

Sailing from hence towards the Line again, we met with ſeveral Currents, which put us out conſiderably in the Reckoning of the Ships way and motion. Sometimes a Current ſetting to the Southward affected us, which as 'twas againſt us in our Courſe, from the more Southerly Latitudes of *Madagaſcar*, to parts nearer the Line; ſo made us fall ſhort in our true way by ſome Leagues, of what in Judgment might have been allowed. Again, ſometimes a powerful Current ſetting to the Northward, reach'd us of a ſudden; which going along with us, as much diſturb'd our Reckoning, by making us run more Leagues than the true Courſe of the Ship in ſuch a time wou'd amount to.

Currents.

October.

The former of theſe Currents was the moſt diſcernible for the two next Days, after our ſetting out from St. *Auguſtine's* Bay, when we were about 21 Degr. South Lat. but the latter, which ſet to the Northward, kept with us continually even to the Line, and after we had croſs'd the Line, till we were in more than 5 Degr. North Lat. at which time we loſt the Current, and again began to find the force of another ſetting to the Southward. This Current followed us for ſome three or four Days; and then in about 7 Degr. North Lat. another ſetting to the Eaſtward, ſucceeded in its room, the Effects of which were more or leſs diſcernible from that Latitude, till we were almoſt come up with the *Duas Irmanas*. Theſe are two little Iſlands, which bear W. by S. and E. by N. of each other; and are diſtant about 7½ Leagues from the Weſtern Point of *Zocotora*.

Duas Irmanas

We came to an Anchor in a certain Sandy Bay in the Iſle of *Zocotora*, about the latter end of this Month; and here, to our very great Comfort and Refreſhment, we met with ſuch plenty of Fiſh, as gave all our whole Fleet ſome Meals, and wou'd have given more, cou'd we have preſerv'd what we took ſweet and good.

Good Fiſhing at *Zocotora.*

We put out of this Bay into the Road of *Tamerin*, the principal City of the Iſland, and ordinary Reſidence of the King. 'Tis ſeated at the Foot of ſeveral high ragged Hills, 'tis adorn'd with a Caſtle, and the King's Palace ſtands upon the top of one of the Hills overlooking the Town. The Latitude here is 12 Degr. 30 Min. the Variation of the Compaſs 19 Degr. 18 Min. and the Road lies all open between E. by N. and W. N. W. I ſent ſome of my Men aſhore, with a handſome Preſent to the King; which he very kindly accepted, and to expreſs his Gratitude ſent me back a Preſent of Goats, with an hearty Welcome to his Country, and Invitation to come aſhore and ſee him.

Tamerin.

General *Middleton* ſends a Preſent to the King of *Zocotora.*

When I landed, I was receiv'd with a Diſcharge of his great Guns, and conducted in the beſt ſort to his Court, where I believe every thing was contriv'd to make as good a Shew, and to give me as great an Idea of the Grandeur of this little Prince as might be. The Entertainment I had there, was as good as the ſuddenneſs of the occaſion wou'd permit. But as for his Deportment towards me, I muſt ſay, that it was very free, civil, and obliging; conſidering the violent Prejudices of the *Mahometans*, for the moſt part, (and the *Arabians* eſpecially) not only againſt the Principles, but the very Perſons and Converſation of Chriſtians.

Goes aſhore, and his Entertainment.

I cou'd procure no Aloes of him, for that was all ſent away before (as he alledged) to his Father, the King of *Tartack*, in *Arabia Felix*; under whom indeed he was no more than a Vice-Roy in this little Kingdom of *Zocotora*. He granted us free Liberty to take what Water we had occaſion for here, and (which is a Favour not granted to other Nations) without paying for't too. But as for Wood, it ſeems, 'tis a very ſcarce Commodity in thoſe parts, and there he cou'd not furniſh us, without ready Money; nay, if we wou'd have any, we muſt give a very great rate.

The truth on't is, the whole Iſland is nothing but a Lump of Rocks and Cliffs, and there's hardly any room for Timber-Trees to grow, 'tis all ſo fill'd up with Stones, and a hard barren Earth, almoſt unfit for the Nouriſhment of any ſort of Vegetable. I know of none of any ſignificancy growing there, but the Plant that yields the Aloes, and the Shrub, or Tree, whoſe Tear is that Drug, which we call in *Europe* the *Sanguis Draconis*; and then the Date-Trees, which afford them indeed their chiefeſt Suſtenance. The Date-Trees, 'tis true, are pretty numerous, for they make the beſt of their Bread of that Fruit: As for the others, the whole Iſland affords no more than about a Tun of Aloes in a Year, and a very inconſiderable quantity of *Sanguis Draconis*.

Products of *Zocotora.*

The Animals that are here, are ſcarce worth a mention, except it be for the fewneſs and meanneſs of them; they are as ſorry as the Country that breeds them, and ſhew the Poverty of the Soil they live on, by the Dwarfiſhneſs of their own Bulk and Stature: And yet they are dear Pennyworths to them that will undertake to buy them, for a Cow goes at twelve Rials of Eight, a Goat at one, Sheep and Hens each at half a Rial apiece. As for the Dates, there's no having them under twelve Rials *per* Hundred; and a parcel of Wood, as much as an ordinary Man's Burden is valued at 1 *s.* and wou'd certainly inſtead of that be at 1 *l.* if *Zocotora* with that ſcarcity of Wood lay as far from the Line as *England* does.

The King ſees the ſelling of all Commodities himſelf, that any Strangers Trade for upon this Iſland; 'tis he that ſets the Price, and drives the Bargain, not leaving it to the Fidelity of any of his People, but paſſing all through his own hands. Nay, none of his Subjects dare hold any Correſpondence with Foreigners, or ſo much as ſpeak to them, till he has had Intelligence of them, and began the Correſpondence himſelf. Indeed, he has little to do with any but the *Arabs*, who compoſe his Guard, his Court, his Nobility, and are all in all about him; for as for the old Inhabitants of the Iſland, they are Slaves to the domineering *Arabs*, and live ſkulking up and down where they can find a ſure Retreat, like ſo many Outlaws, or Perſons baniſh'd, even in their own Country. But neither *Arabs*, nor any other, dare begin any Diſcourſe, much leſs a Trade with Strangers, till he has had Notice of their Arrival, and performed the Ceremony of bidding them Welcome.

King of *Zocotora's* Care and Policy in Trade.

He highly commended to us the Trade of the *Red Sea*, and the People of *Aden*, and *Moha*, for their Civil Carriage to Strangers, and Fair Dealing in all their Traffick. And this was ſo far a Motive to us (that having loſt our Seaſon for going to *Cambaya*, becauſe the Eaſterly Monſon was already come, we concluded to go and viſit theſe Trading Towns upon the Coaſt of the *Red Sea*, and make ſome Experiment of the Good Humour of the People: Tho' as Matters afterwards fell out, we had better have taken his Word for't, than have gone thither to try our ſelves.

ſelves. Whether this *Arabian* had any Deſign upon us or no, I know not; however, 'tis certain, that his Accounts of theſe places were all falſe and wrong, and that in purſuance of his Advice, we fell into the greateſt Miſeries that perhaps any Chriſtians ever endured in thoſe parts.

Go from *Zocotora* for *Aden*. *Abba del Curia*, and the two white Rocks. November. Cape *Guadarſui*.

Having bid Adieu to *Zocotora*, we had not ſail'd far, before we had ſight of the towering Rocks and Mountains of *Abba del Curia*. This is a narrow ragged Iſland, ſome five Leagues in length E. and W. ſubject to the King of *Zocotora*, remarkable for the two great White Rocks that ſtand near one another, at the Northern part of it; and which raiſing up their Heads to a mighty heighth above the reſt, diſcover themſelves a good way off at Sea. We reckon'd fourteen Leagues from the Weſtern Point of *Zocotora*, to the Eaſtern Point of this Iſland *Abba del Curia*; and from the Weſtern end of that, fifteen Leagues more to Cape *Guadarſui*, which is the Eaſtern Point of the Kingdom of *Adel*, which lies on the *African* ſide.

A few Days Sailing in this Month, gave us a proſpect of the Coaſt of *Arabia Felix*, which appear'd barren, mountainous, and rugged, without ſhew of Woods, or Fields, or any delightful Green. And whereas we now quickly expected to have a proſpect of the City of *Aden*, a Current ſet us ſo far out of our way, that when we fell with the Land, we found our ſelves no leſs than ſixty Leagues ſhort of that place; but yet ſail'd along the Coaſt without danger, having from Eight to Twenty five Fathom Water, till we came up with it. The City it ſelf ſtands in a bottom, under the covert and protection of a Mountain; yet notwithſtanding that diſadvantageous Situation makes a pretty handſome appearance. 'Tis encompaſs'd with a good Stone-Wall, defended in many places with Forts and Bulwarks; and if well furniſh'd with Ammunition, and ſtock'd with bold reſolute Soldiers, is a place certainly capable of maintaining its Liberty againſt a very great Power. It may ſeem indeed to lie ſomething open to the Seaward, it being quite dry there at low Water; but then Nature and Art have both conſulted to keep out the Danger that threatens to come that way: For there are a couple of Rocks lying there, one of which is bigger than the Tower of *London*, and ſo horribly ragged and full of Cliffs and little Precipices, that 'tis impoſſible to be aſcended, but in one particular part of it alone; and there the Path is ſo very narrow, and ſo ſteep too, that half a Dozen Men may defend it againſt a whole Army.

City of *Aden* in *Arabia Felix*.

The ſtrength of it.

But then add to the Strength and Impregnableneſs of theſe two natural Forts, the Improvements that Art and Induſtry has made, in Forts and Batteries rais'd about them, which are very well furniſh'd with all ſorts of Ammunition; and the place appears to be ſo well guarded, as not much to need the help of the Sea to ſecure it on that ſide. This City is ſupplied with Proviſion partly from the neighbouring parts of *Arabia*, and thoſe of *Africk*, oppoſite to it on the other ſide the Streight. There's a continual Trade and Correſpondence between it, and the Town of *Barbora*, which ſtands juſt over againſt it in the Kingdom of *Adel*: And from hence they bring to *Aden*, Cattle, Fruit, Incenſe, Myrrh, and ſome better Commodities too, tho' as yet to be conceal'd, till better Information gotten of the truth of it.

Coſmographical Obſervations of *Aden*.

The Latitude at this place, I reckon to be 12 Degr. 35 Min. Northerly, the Variation of the Compaſs twelve Degr. 40 Min. Weſterly. The Water riſes at the Port ſix or ſeven Foot upright upon the Change-Day, and a S. E. by E. or N. W. by W. Moon, makes a full Sea. Here we had News of Capt. *Sharpeigh*, who was at this place the Year before, and traded both here and at *Moha*; and whatever Entertainment he had, we were made believe ours ſhould be extraordinary. They told us, if we were *Engliſh-men*, we were moſt heartily welcome thither, and ſhou'd meet with as kind and civil uſage in theſe parts, as at any other place where our Nation traded. That the Baſſa that govern'd here at preſent, was a more eaſie and affable Man than the former: And as for a Trade, we needed not at all queſtion it, eſpecially at *Moha*; where there was a great Merchant reſided, who wou'd himſelf (if other Cuſtomers fail'd) take off all the Goods we had brought.

Sir *Henry Middleton* prepares for *Moha*.

They were very deſirous to have one of the Ships left in the Port to trade with their Town, while the other two went to *Moha*; promiſing to buy all ſhe had aboard, let it be ever ſo much: Which upon Conſideration I yielded to, leaving the *Pepper-Corn* there, and took the *Darling* to bear me Company to *Moha*.

The Town of *Aden* refuſes him a Pilot.

I was forc'd to attempt this paſſage without any Pilot to aſſiſt me in it; becauſe I plainly ſaw they had no mind I ſhould have any; and 'twou'd have been to no purpoſe to have ſpent time in waiting upon a Pack of Miſcreants, that vaine no Promiſes they make, and think of their Words no longer than they are in their Mouths a ſpeaking. I ſuppoſe they had a mind I ſhould fall foul upon ſome Rocks or Sands, in my paſſage to *Moha*, that ſo being ſwallowed up of the Sea, they might with the more Eaſe and Security ſwallow up the rich Ship left in the Port. It cou'd be for no other Reaſon but this, that they ſhou'd ſo often (as they did) promiſe me a Pilot, and yet never take care to ſend me any.

Streight of *Babelmandel*. Their Coaſt to and thro it.

Now the greateſt difficulty we had to encounter, was that in paſſing well the Streight of *Babelmandel*, which is about thirty Leagues diſtant from *Aden*. We ſteer'd along the Land ſometimes W. S. W. and W. by N. in 28 and 30 Fathom Water, obſerving all the Coaſt as we paſs'd to be very high Ground, and ſhooting out into the Sea with many Head-lands. We continued moſtly the ſame Courſe, haling along the Land all that Night, and the next Day betimes ſaw the great Head-land running into the *Red Sea*, riſing up like an Iſland, and about Noon we got a-croſs the Streight. It is not above three Mile broad, and the Depth between eight and eleven Fathom; on the North-ſide lies an uneven ragged Land like an Iſland; and on the South a flat low Iſland, call'd *Babelmandel*, which gives the Name to the Streight; to the Southward of which Iſland there ſeems to be a broad Entrance, or Channel.

Arrive at *Moha*.

The ſame Day we had ſight of the Town of *Moha*; and preſently thereupon (as if our Misfortunes muſt begin with the very proſpect of that place, afterwards ſo fatal to us) my Ship was run a-ground: Whether by the Unskilfulneſs, or the Treachery of my two *Arabian* Pilots, I cannot tell; for I had pick'd up a couple out of a ſmall Village by the way, near the Streight of *Babelmandel*, and under their Conduct (poſſibly by their contrivance) this came to paſs. However, if 'twas a Plot to ruine me, it did not take effect; for as it pleas'd Providence, we brought the Ship off again ſafe and ſound, to our very great Comfort. Being come hither, we had all the kind Salutations, and joyful Welcome imaginable. The Aga ſent to Compliment me aboard, and gave me full Aſſurance of as free, quiet, and good Trade here, as at *Aleppo*, *Conſtantinople*, or any other part of the *Turks* Dominions.

The Admiral a-ground, I got clear again.

His Reception at *Moha*.

I was earneſtly deſired to come aſhore, to have better Proofs of their Civility and Reſpect, than I cou'd have at that diſtance; and at my landing was receiv'd by all the great Men of the Town, and conducted with Muſick, and other Expreſſions of Pomp, and Publick Joy, to the Aga's Palace.

Here I deliver'd His Majeſty's Letter and Preſent for the Baſſa, and alſo one to the Aga himſelf; upon which, (after a ſolemn Renewal of the Promiſes before made, relating to our Trade and Security there) I had the rich Veſt of Crimſon and Silver put upon me, as a Mark of the Grand Seignior's Favour and Protection. In that Dreſs I was carried through the Streets on Horſeback, ſet out with a very ſplendid Equipage, and ſo triumphantly deliver'd in at the *Engliſh* Houſe in that Town.

Yet in all the heighths of this Careſs (as it appear'd by the ſequel) they acted in the greateſt Contrariety that cou'd be, to their own inward Thoughts and Sentiments. But the *Turks*, who are inferiour to none in the Arts of Diſſimulation, did do all with ſuch an Air of Friendſhip, and Cordial Love; they acted their Parts ſo very finely, that 'twas impoſſible for the moſt diſcerning Eye to ſee any thing but Sincerity, in that outward Deportment. But 'twas not long before they threw off the Diſguiſe, and appear'd like themſelves: They quickly paſs'd from one Extream to the other, from the heighth of Complement and flattering Reſpect, to the laſt degree of Outrage and barbarous Inſult. Without any the leaſt appearance of a foregoing Coldneſs and Indifference, any ſuſpicious Token, or Symptom of ſuch a change; and I am very ſure, without the leaſt occaſion from us: they riſe upon us with one Conſent, beſet our Houſe, and fell to knocking on the Head thoſe of us that were without Doors, as faſt as they cou'd. I my ſelf felt their Fury amongſt the reſt, being left for dead upon the Ground in the Scuffle; and beſides pillag'd of all the Money, Rings, and valuable Matters I had about me.

The horrid Barbarity & Treachery of the *Turks*.

At the ſame time that they aſſaulted us aſhore, they made an Attempt upon one of our Ships, which was moſt within their reach; but tho' they made a ſhift to get their Cut-throat *Turks* aboard her, yet they cou'd not keep poſſeſſion of her, our Men blowing them up with a Barrel of Gunpowder, without any prejudice to themſelves.

We that had eſcaped with our Lives were manacled like ſo many Slaves, and ſo led in that baſe and diſgraceful manner away to the Aga, by whom I had been receiv'd with ſo much Pomp but juſt before. And now the *Turk* had put on another Face, and his Stile was alter'd too

as much as his Looks. Now instead of a ceremonious Welcome, and a set of high flown *Turkish* Compliments, I was roughly demanded what I had to do to come thither; and how a polluted Christian durst be so bold as to offer to set his Foot upon that Country, where the City of their Holy Prophet stood? But the Burthen of the Song was, that I should write to my Men aboard the great Ship to perswade them to come all ashoar, and yield themselves and the Ship into his Hands, and he wou'd let us have the lesser Ship to carry us home again. But as I had proof enough of his Conscience and Courtesie to be a sufficient Security for my ever trusting to either again; so I did by a scornful rejecting of his Proposal, give him to understand that I thought it as Ridiculous, as I did him Impudent, for the making of it; and that I wou'd never purchase my freedom from his Chains, with the loss of my Honour and Honesty to those which had entrusted me. 'Tis true, he enforc'd his Perswasions with an Argument very Cogent in some Circumstances, but in my unhappy State it was of no power at all: He threatn'd if I did not comply he wou'd take away my Head; but the loss of that was not great enough to move me, having lost that which is more valuable than Life before. So I was carried out of his Presence loaden with great Fetters and Iron Shackles, to a filthy Dungeon where the vilest Malefactour wou'd hardly have been bestowed, and into which 'twas as bad as an Execution to go. But at the Intercession of the Consul of the *Banians* my lodging was changed; and I had the Favour to be removed into another Hole, where I had a dry tho' a hard Floor for my Bed, a great Stone for my Pillow, and good store of Rats and Mice to keep me Company.

The *Agitation* for the Admiral to be yielded to him.

Admiral *Middleton* put into a Dungeon. *December.*

In this Distress I was very often visited by the *Aga*, whose Business being to tempt me to betray my Trust, made his Presence more hateful to me than any of the Vermin of the Dungeon.

'Twas a great Mortification to him to hear our Ships were so well provided with Victuals, and that they had stock enough for two Years; for he expected that Necessity wou'd have brought them into his Hands, since they cou'd not have a Wind to go off till the succeeding *May*; but I knew that it was Matter of Fact, and 'twas no small Comfort to me in my Misfortunes that they were so happily out of the treacherous Villains reach. My Men aboard too had the Comfort to hear I was alive, contrary to the first Report spread about of our being all cut off.

There was some intercourse betwixt us also to our mutual Satisfaction, by the good Conduct and Courage of one of them, who boldly ventur'd his Life and Liberty to come and see me, and was permitted by the *Turks* so to do, hoping to make their own Advantage out of it. Now whilst I lay here continually expecting the last Scene of my Tragedy to come on, some Officers came to the Town from the *Bassha* with Orders to bring me up to him. This I knew to be but a Remove from one Dungeon to another, and only a change of Place but not of Condition and Circumstance to me. The *Bassha* was a bigger Man than the *Aga* in his Quality and Figure, but of the same size exactly as to Conscience and Honesty; and as to the Point of good Usage, it was not a Farthing matter whether I were in the Hands of the Knave the Master, or the Knave the Servant. However to breath, the sweet and pure Air, after the noisom Stench of a Dungeon was some Advantage; and 'twas better to be upon the Road for a few Days, than to lie immur'd the same time in a receptacle of Vermin.

nt for by *Bassha.*

We set out from *Moha* the latter end of *December*, being 35 of us in all, who were to make our Appearance before the *Bassha* at *Zenan*. This City is the Principal one of that part of *Arabia Felix*, distant 180 Miles from *Moha* to the N. N. W. and (according to my Observation made when there) in 16 Degr. 15 Min. N. Lat. several of our Friends amongst the *Turks* and *Arabians* themselves, who had expresst a generous Compassion for me in my Confinement, and daily refresh'd me with their Kindness, did at our departure express the like by their friendly Farewels, and hearty Wishes for our good Success at *Zenan*; and particularly by their Letters to the great Men about the *Bassha* on our behalf. Nay one of them (the Consul of the *Banians*) went thither a little before us, on purpose to mollifie the rough Temper of the *Bashe*, and act the part of a Mediator for us. The most remarkable Observations that occurr'd in our way to *Zenan*, was that of the Cold we felt; which was indeed so extream and piercing, that I think we had been all starv'd to Death, if we had not been well provided with Fur-Gowns. The Air was pretty tolerable and temperate till after we had pass'd the City of *Ties*, which is four Days Journey from *Moha*; but between that and *Zenan* it was so severe, that being forc'd to lie upon the bare Ground too, had it not been for the Defence of our Cloathing, I believe the Cold wou'd have made us too stiff to have shewn our *English* breeding, in bowing and scraping to the *Bassha* by that time we got to him. And in *Zenan* it self we had every Morning the Ground covered with a hoary Frost, and Ice of a Finger thick in one Nights freezing; and all this while we were in the *Torrid Zone*, and tho' 'tis true that the Sun was then on the other side of the Line in the South half of the *Torrid Zone*, yet I should scarce have believ'd that the Cold was so extream in these parts that lie so directly in his Road, if I had not by both these Sences had such convincing Demonstrations of it.

Extream Cold between *Ties* and *Zenan*.

The *Turks* led us into *Zenan* with a great deal of Triumph, and the *Aga* march'd by us in a very stately manner, as if he had done some very Heroick Action in betraying and leading us Prisoners, that had neither Arms nor Warning to defend our selves against his Treachery. As if we had been the Relicks of some conquer'd Army, and were brought out of a bloody Field, where the Fate of a whole Kingdom had been determin'd by the Valour and Conduct of this mighty Man; so were we brought into the City, and star'd at by the Mobble of *Turks* and *Arabians*. And the *Bassha* to contribute his Part too, to the gracing of this fooliish Scene, sent out Shots, Drums, and Trumpets to meet us; lin'd all the way to the Castle with Souldiers, and got all his great Men together about him: No less than the whole Divan being summon'd together upon this Occcasion.

When I came into the Room of Presence (which was a stately long Gallery, spread from one end to the other with *Turkie* Carpets, and as full of Grave Councellors as ever it could hold) I found the haughty *Turk* sitting in Kingly State at the upper end of it, threatning no less than Death to me and all my Company in his terrible surly Looks, and Eyes sparkling with Fury and Indignation against us. His Stile and Discourse was no less Lofty and imperious than his Looks; and I had little from him but such sort of rude and barbarous Questions, as I had from his good Servant the *Aga*. He told me however at last, that the *Aga* had done what he did by his Orders, and that they came directly from *Constantinople*; and 'twas the *Grand Seignior's* Pleasure that all Christians that came into those parts should be treated in this Manner; and therefore since we were come upon that Forbidden Ground, our Lives and Fortunes were at his Masters disposal, and we must wait till Orders came from Court either to Execute, Enslave or Discharge us. This was our Sentence, which when past we were order'd to our several places of Confinement; my Men to the common Prison, and my self to one a little better, in the Keeper's House. 'Tis true the *Bassha* was not so great, his Air so stern and sour, nor his Words so scaring; but I had Presence enough to Interpose and Argue what I thought convenient, as well in our own Defence, as Reflections upon the scandalous Treachery of *Agra*. But Innocence cou'd be no Protection here, as well as breach of Faith and Truth no Crime; and the *Bassha* and his *Aga* were so closely link'd together in the Villainy, that one must of necessity defend what tother had done. Yet I think they ought both to have spar'd the *Grand Seignior's* Reputation, and not to have brought him in for snacks in the Scandal of their own private Knaveries. They must rob Ships, cut Throats, pillage, plunder and imprison Strangers, and violate all the Laws and Customs of Nations, even those that are sacred amongst the most Barbarous; and then upon the Pretence of our being Christians, thro' all upon the *Grand Seignior's* Orders; which is to Compliment him with the Title of Patrone to Thieves and Villains, and make him so much worse than themselves as his Character and Figure is greater. And I make no Question at all, but that (we being at that time join'd in a strict League of Friendship with the Port) the barbarous Orders to use us so, wou'd have been publickly disown'd there, if the Matter had been fairly represented; and these Actions would have cost the proud *Bassha* his Place and Honour if not his Head.

Sir *Henry Middleton* brought to the *Bassha*.

Sent to Prison.

Now while we continued in these Circumstances at *Zenan* there were divers of the great Men about the *Bassha*, which continually did us very good Offices with him, and labour'd most heartily for our Release. The most considerable of these were the *Cayha Bassa* or Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, the Consul of the *Banians*, and one or two more *Arabian* Merchants; to every one of whom I must acknowledge a particular Obligation. These gave me to understand (by that time we had been some 8 or 10 Days here) that when the rest of our Company now expected were come up to *Zenan*, we should all be sent back again to *Mocha*. And after the Arrival of this part of our Company, the *Bassha* himself

Friends about the *Bassha* endeavour his Discharge.

January.

(be-

(before whom I was order'd to appear) confirm'd this
They are to be sent back to *Moha.* News to me, and told me we should all return to *Moha*, and part of us should go abroad presently, but my self and 29 more should be detain'd till all the Ships of *India* were come in, and then we should have our full Discharge too.

As for our Goods he alledged he cou'd not make a Surrender of them, for they were all put up to the *Grand Seignior*'s Account, and so was our Pinnace too, and therefore out of his Power to redeliver; but all other things belonging to us shou'd be restored, and our Liberty should be infallibly sure when the time he had fixed for our stay was expired.

February. About the middle of the succeeding Month, the time came on for our departure to *Moha*, and I went to take my leave of the *Bassa*, but a little before exalted to the high Place and Dignity of a Vizier. His Pride being encreased together with his Honour, he commanded me in a very imperious manner to look to it, that neither I nor any of my Nation came any more into those parts; and 'tis certain that he might have sav'd himself the Trouble of giving that Command, since no Man that had once been there and so entertain'd, could ever be fond of coming the second time amongst a pack of such inhuman Barbarians as they were. But when I begg'd on the behalf of my Nation, that (if any of their Ships shou'd happen to come into those parts before notice cou'd be given to *England* for the Prohibition) they might not be betrayed as we had been, but plainly told that they must not come there, that they might know what to trust to: He positively refused that they should have any such warning; which I think was a sufficient Proof of a base Design, and that he intended more the Plunder of Ships, than to shew his Respect to the *Grand Seignior*'s Orders, which were to keep them from coming to Trade there.

Description of *Zenan.* This City of *Zenan* is considerable for it's largeness, being something bigger than our City of *Bristol*, and strongly built for the most part with Stone and Lime. The Wall that surrounds it, is indeed of Earth, but 'tis strengthen'd with Turrets in every part of it, by which means 'tis made a substantial Defence to the City. Besides there are two good Castles, one to the North side, seated upon a Hill, which overlooks the Town, and defends that part from the wild Mountain People, that use to annoy it from thence; and another to the East side, which is the *Bassa*'s Palace, and inclos'd with several Walls with Turrets and Battlements. 'Tis seated in a barren stony Valley, and has not a drop of Water, but what's fetch'd out of Wells, and that they dig extreamly deep for too: And then for Wood, 'tis as scarce and dear here as 'tis at *Sokotora*, whereas the pinching Cold I am sure requires no little Plenty all hereabouts. Adjoining to the Wall of the *Bassa*'s Castle, is a large and spacious Yard, where abundance of Women and Children are kept as Pledges and Securities for the good and peaceable Behaviour of their Husbands and Parents under the *Turkish* Government.

General *Middleton* goes back for *Moha.* Within sight of this place was my Prison too, which now I was so happy as to take my leave of, and set out with my Company for *Moha*. The *Turks* have erected several publick Houses or Inns for the Reception of Travellers upon the Road; there's five or six of them between *Zenan* and *Moha*, and they are built and maintain'd altogether at the *Grand Seignior*'s Charge. The most remarkable places that we pass'd thro' in our Journey (for now we had a little more heart as well as leasure to make Observations than the first time we went this Road) were these that follow,

Damare. *Damare*, which is about 40 Miles from *Zenan*, a Town prettily built of Lime and Stone and divided into five several parts, which stand at some distance from one another like so many distinct Towns. This place is situated in a sweet and fruitful Plain, and has the Blessing of Water and all sorts of Grain in great plenty, being a kind of Store-house of the necessary Provisions of Life, from whence the poorer Neighbouring Places draw the best part of their Sustenance.

Tayes or *Ties.* *Tayes*, is a considerable City too, being half as big as *Zenan*, and wall'd with a Mud-Wall, as most of the Cities of *Arabia* (I have seen) are: 'Tis hemm'd in on every side with very high Hills, one of which has a fair and strong Castle upon the top of it. 'Tis good Travelling hereabouts, all sorts of Provision being very cheap; and the Country has the Reputation of yielding some quantities of *Indico*, but how much, or of what goodness I cou'd not learn.

Eufras March. *Eufras* is a little Town not far from *Ties*, remarkable only for the Honour of affording a Burying place to some celebrated *Arabian* or *Turkish* Saint, whose Tomb here is visited every 5th of *January* by a vast multitude of devout Pilgrims and People of all sorts. This Superstitious Company after they have performed some certain idle Ceremonies here, do all jog away together to visit the Holy City of *Mecha*.

Mousa is a Town not great but very populous, about a Days Journey from *Moha*, the Country about which, *Mousa.* likewise yields some store of *Indico*. And indeed all the Country our Travels led us thro' was very populous, and those Towns that wanted good Houses were far from wanting Inhabitants to fill them. The *Arabs* do dwell with the *Turks* in all the plain and open Country; and the *Turks* are Masters in most of those places as well as in the Maritime Towns: But in the Hilly Country the *Arabs* are absolute Lords; they despise the *Turkish* Power, and scorn the Yoke laid upon the rest of the Country, and a *Turk* dares not Travel there without a Pass from the *Arabian* Governour, in whose Territories he is.

Our next Stage was from this Town of *Mousa* to *Moha*, They Arrive at *Moha.* a place too well known to us, in respect of our many Distresses we underwent there. The common sort of People did in general discover a very great Satisfaction at our safe return; and the dissembling *Aga* himself, who thought he cou'd do no less than congratulate us upon this Occasion, did it with all the counterfeit Joy and Protestation of his innocence that could be imagin'd. He treated us, caress'd us at all the publick Feasts, fawn'd and flatter'd as he us'd to do; swore upon the Alcoran before a numerous Assembly, that his Heart was ever clear of all Malice and Prejudice, and ever should be fill'd with true Love and Kindness for us. This Town of *Moha* which Description of *Moha.* is one of the *Turkish* Keyes to *Arabia Felix*, is not above one sixth part so big as *Zenan*. 'Tis a very populous Town, but wholly without the Defence of Walls, and has an ugly situation in a Salt, Sandy, Barren Soil, close by the Sea side. All Boats that bring any Goods ashoar, are enjoin'd to Land at the Key close by the Governour's House, where they are overlook'd and watch'd, so that there's no stealing of Custom. Just by this Key there's a Platform, upon which are planted about a Dozen Brass pieces, and at the Western end of the Town, there's a Fort furnished with the like number of Ordnance, and for all that, I find this is all their strength.

Quickly after our return to *Moha*, the *Darling* came General *Middleton* goes part of his Men about. into the Road and brought me News of the good Condition of my other two Ships; and now according to the Agreement made with the *Bassa*, I shipp'd all my Company appointed for that purpose aboard the *Darling*. *April* 21. 1611. I my self and 29 more were to stay behind till the *Indian* Ships were all safe come into the Road; which they doubted would be endanger'd by us, should they send me away to Sea before.

The *Darling* having got her Company, Sail'd off to the other two Ships of our Fleet, which lay in a good secure Road upon the *Abassinean* Coast. This Road they had *Assab* Road. found out in the time of my Imprisonment at *Moha*; the Name of it was *Assab* Road, and it afforded them as much Wood and Water as they could ever need or desire, and that at no dearer rate than their labour in fetching it.

The People of the Country thereabouts are as black as the Negroes of *Guinea*; and they are *Mahometans* on the Sea-Coast, but up in the main Land Christians, and Subjects to *Prester-John*. As for these Borderers on the Sea, they go all naked, except a small Cloth about their Wastes. They were mighty free and forward to Trade with our The Ships Trade with the People on the Coast of the same Country. Ships, (tho' the *Turks* did what they cou'd to prevent their mutual Correspondence) bringing great Numbers of Oxen, Sheep, and Goats, which they sold at very reasonable Rates; first for dry Money, and afterwards for coarse Callicoes, by way of Truck; which Commodity they were more fond of, than Money it self. Tho' the better sort of them do both speak and write the *Arabick* Language, yet their own Vulgar Speech is vastly different from it, and not at all understood by the *Arabians* their Neighbours.

Their King has his ordinary Residence at a Sea-Coast Town call'd *Rahaita*, lying to the Southward, towards the Streights of *Babel mandel*. He sent some of his princi- *Rahaita.* pal Men with Presents to our Ships, and to make them the Offer of any thing his Country afforded, which cou'd any way procure their Satisfaction. I was very glad (as I had good Reason) that my Ships were in so good Circumstances, and lay so securely at that little distance from me; as also, that the Work of our Deliverance was so far gone on, as that a part of my Company was actually at liberty aboard their own Ship.

But now I began to think seriously and heartily how to accomplish my own escape also (together with the Remainder of my Company) out of this Nest of barbarous Infidels. 'Tis true, by the Bassa's Order we were to stay till the Ships of *India* were come in; but that was, if we cou'd

cou'd not get away before: And I had no Scruple of Conscience at all in the matter, of attempting to make my Escape before the time came, that he prefix'd and forc'd me to agree to. For as 'twas the highest degree of Violence and Injustice in him, to seize and detain me in that manner; so 'twas just and natural for me, or any Man in that Circumstance, to endeavour to free himself from the Wrong and Injury that's done him as soon as he can. Liberty is a Privilege granted by Nature, and I enjoy it as a Man, and to assert the Rights that belong to me in that Capacity, is to act agreeably to Reason and a Natural Law.

But the Difficulties of bringing this Project to perfection, were far harder to be removed out of the way, than any Scruples of Conscience concerning the Probity of it: And if I cou'd but once have accomplish'd the thing, I wou'd have prov'd it to have been just and righteous afterwards. Besides, I was the more obliged to look to my self, because I was inform'd by some of the Bassa's intimate Friends, that nothing but fear wou'd make him honest and true to his Word, and that if he cou'd break it without danger, he won'd certainly do it. So that considering this; besides the Kindness I shou'd do my self by escaping, 'twou'd be (I found) a piece of Charity to the Bassa too, because hereby I shou'd put it out of his power to play the Knave, and falsifie his Word and Promise.

May. *Sir H. Middleton prepares for his Escape.*

Being upon the wait for an Opportunity to put this Plot in Execution, I had a very fair and promising one put into my hands, by the absence of the Aga, who went out one Day with all the Great Men of the Town, to make merry at his Gardens, that lay at some little distance from it. And to render the Opportunity more complete too, the Sub-Bassa, our Guardian, and all the inferiour Officers, went to a Racky-house, and got drunk that Day; which Debauch of theirs, as they tim'd it, was the most kind and favourable thing to our Business that cou'd be.

Our Ship the *Darling* was the Day before come into the Road, and lay there waiting for Intelligence from us, who were Prisoners in the Town; which was also permitted and allow'd of by the *Turks*, not imagining any more than an ordinary Correspondence. Matters were thus agreed on between me and my Company, that I should by some very Politick Method be convey'd into the Boat, that was to carry our Letters (as was usual) to the *Darling*, and in that Boat take up such a part of the Company as it would conveniently hold; and the rest should go and possess themselves of another Boat, that lay ready fitted for their Service at one end of the Town, and so all make towards the Ship as well as we cou'd. And this was not extreamly difficult to be put in practice, since my Orders observ'd of their not going all together in a Body, but dispersing themselves by two and three in a Company, there wou'd be no manner of suspicion of any such Design, because they had all their free Liberty to walk up and down about the Town at pleasure. As for my self, I cou'd not stir without a Guard to attend me, so that 'twas impossible for me to go to work that way; and there was no means for me to get aboard, but by putting some very fine Trick upon my Keepers. And all things consider'd, I cou'd light of no better a one than this, to put my self into an empty Cask, and so amongst other Lading be tumbled into the Boat. 'Tis true, I had here a very close and straight Prison on't; but yet as stifling as 'twas, it was better than that at *Moha*; because here was some hopes of coming out again. So into my Barrel I went, and being out upon the Water, I forc'd out the Head on't, to have liberty of Breathing, and Providence guided me so happily, that I came without Impediments to the place where my Company attended me, and took them in.

The General's Contrivance to get away.

Comes aboard.

The other Party also managed their Business successfully, and got out to Sea without disturbance, and we all met aboard the *Darling*. A small Number indeed of our Company by their own negligence, delay, and ill management, gave such an Alarm to the Town, that they were discover'd and intercepted in their passage to the Boat where they shou'd have been taken in; and so being carried back Prisoners, were like to have lost their Heads by the extravagant Fury of the Aga; who now return'd from his Diversion, was like to run mad with the Confusion and Trouble which this Escape gave him. However, to add to his Ease and Contentment in this Juncture, I sent him a Message to this effect: *That if he did not speedily send me the rest of my Men, and make Satisfaction for Damages receiv'd, I wou'd fire all the Ships in the Road, and batter the Town about his Ears.*

Demands Satisfaction for the Wrongs receiv'd.

And as Circumstances now happen'd, I had Opportunities enough to take my Revenge; for there were some considerable Ships in the Road already, and others that came fresh in, whilst I lay in that threatning posture before the Town. Now all the Merchants and Great Men of the Town that before despis'd me, complemented and courted me, address'd me in the most humble manner imaginable, for the sake of their Ships, and labour'd earnestly with the Aga to bring him to Terms with me. A Day hardly pass'd too, without some Present or other from him; to keep me quiet, and to stop the Mouths of my great Guns, which were now ready to speak a Language to him he did not care to understand. Even the Bassa himself (now forc'd to be honest whether he wou'd or no) sent me his Commendations, and assur'd me he was sorry I was gone away in so obscure a manner, because he had design'd to have discharged me in a way more honourable and befitting my Quality and Character. *June.*

I heard all this *Turkish* Dissimulation with Scorn, but having it now in my power to right my self, I gave them my last Resolutions so to do; and as the Wrongs I received there were real and substantial, so in short, I let them know, that I wou'd have another sort of Reparation than by Flattery and Caress. My Demands were to have all my Men return'd safe aboard to me; to have my Pinnace (which they had seized restored; and 70000 Rials of Eight, in Consideration of the Losses I had sustain'd, by the means of the Treachery and Violence there offer'd me.

The two first Particulars were easily agreed to and perform'd; but the latter (of the Payment of so much Money) wou'd not go down with them. However, at last, after many Conferences and Debates on both sides, I yielded to take 18000 Rials, and so a Peace was concluded betwixt us and them for two Years, from the Port of *Moha*, to that of *Cananor*, upon the Coast of *India*; but this for our better Security I wou'd have confirm'd by a Writing under the Bassa's own Hand and Seal, which was promis'd, but never perform'd: And this was a Proof clear enough, that tho' necessity had compell'd them to make a Peace with us, they intended to break it as soon as they had opportunity.

Peace and Agreement made.

Having thus dispatch'd all our Concerns at *Moha*, we sail'd away for the Road of *Asseb*, where our Ships had met with so good Entertainment before, and where when we now came, we had plenty of Provisions brought in by the Country People, and Messengers from the King, to congratulate our safe and happy Escape from *Moha*. *July.* *Come into Asseb Road.*

Here we pass'd the time in a pleasant Correspondence, and mutual Acts of Kindness and Civility between these People and us, till the latter end of this Month, when we rouz'd, to go look after a *Turkish* Prize; a rich Galleon that comes yearly from *Suez* to *Moha*; which I had the more mind to take, because the Bassa and the Aga were considerably concern'd in her. But in this pursuit, having the Wind very much against us, and running into some Dangers, which our want of a Pilot expos'd us to, we were oblig'd to give over that Design.

We went on now to the Streights of *Babelmandel*; in prosecution of our *Indian* Voyage. And here in this passage we detected at once the Falshood and the Design of that Report, made by the *Turks* and *Arabs* concerning this Streight, *viz.* that the Southern Passage between the Island and the Coast of *Africk*, is not navigable for Rocks and Shoals, and other terrible things; and that a Ship that will go into the *Red Sea*, must go the Northern Passage between the Island and the Coast of *Arabia*, or not at all. *Go on for India. August.* *No danger in the Southern Passage of Babelmandel.*

I doubt not but the *Turks* do wish 'twere unnavigable, or wou'd make it so if they cou'd; but that Nature has actually made it so, is as false, as to affirm no Passage at all that way.

Our *Darling* went between the Island, and the Coast of *Africk*, and found the Passage at least three Leagues wide, and forty Fathom Water for ¾ part of the way, and not the least appearance of danger in the whole passage. But the *Turks* wou'd make the World believe the contrary, because the other Streight is not a Mile and half over; which may be so fortified, that no Ships shall come into the *Red Sea*, without either asking them leave, or standing the Shock of their Ordnance.

The beginning of the next Month brought us into the Road of *Delisha*, in the Isle of *Zocotora*, where I furnish'd my Ships with Water, and traded with the King for what Aloes he had; which I think he made me give dearer for than some of our Nation before, that had dealt with him for the same Commodity. A few Days ended what Business we had to do here; and so holding our Course for *Surat*, we came (without any remarkable Occurrence in the way) to an Anchor in *Swally* Road, the latter end of the same Month. *September.* *Arrive at Swally Road.*

The Tides in Swelly-Road.

According to our Observation here, the Water flows E. N. E. one quarter N. and W. by S. one quarter S. by the Moon, and by this time the Flood holds five Hours, and the Ebb seven: The Reason of which difference is from the abundant Rains which do help to strengthen the Current of the River, and so far overcome and shorten the Flood-streams; whereas at other Seasons, tho' the Streams do ever go strong, yet the Flood and Ebb are equally six Hours apiece.

The *Portugueze* oppose their Landing.

Here we had Intelligence, that a whole Fleet of *Portugueze* Frigats, to the number of twenty, and very well provided with all things, as well to offend us, as defend themselves, lay waiting for us at the Bar of *Surat*. These had, it seems, Notice of our being in the *Red Sea*, and of our Design for *India*; and therefore came out with a Resolution to dispute the Point with us, and, if possible, to hinder our Trade either at *Surat*, or any where else, upon that Coast.

We now found our selves in a Circumstance of some Difficulty and Distress; go back and lose our Voyage we wou'd not, and we saw no probability of getting into *Surat*, without forcing our way through the whole *Portugueze* Fleet. They kept so strict a Watch, that no Boat cou'd either go to, or come from the Shoar, with Intelligence to us, but they must of necessity fall into their hands; and if they had any thing worth the taking, to be sure were plunder'd. And upon this pretence they took occasion to rob divers Ships, and Boats, alledging, (whether they did or no) that they held a Correspondence with their Adversaries, and were bringing Supplies to us, upon which score all their Lading was confiscated and seiz'd. All Communication between us and the Land being thus cut off, and no Provision possible to be brought to us, our Men began to grow very weak and distemper'd, and Matters grew to such a pass, that 'twas necessary for us in a very little time to break this Chain, or resolve all to starve or be eaten out with the Scurvy a Shipboard. I did

Gen. *Midd.* sends to the *Portugueze* Admiral.

therefore desire, by Letters directed to their Admiral, that these Matters might be amicably compos'd and adjusted, and that I might not be compell'd to have recourse to violent Methods, to procure that Liberty which I had as great a Right to in that place as themselves; both by the Authority of the King from whom I came, and of the King to whose Country I came, who had very kindly entertain'd our Nation there, upon the Designs of Trade. But as for them who value no Laws, either of Nature or Na-

His Answer.

tions, nor no Authority but that of their own Prince, they insisted upon the old Topick of the King of *Portugal*'s Prerogative in those Seas, and concluded that I shou'd not be admitted to come there, without I shew'd an Order from him. This, with many base Reflections upon our Country, and other Expressions of Scorn and Contempt, was all the Answer I cou'd get from them.

October.

And 'twas not only in the Matters of Trade that we were thus insulted by them; but they barbarously denied us those common Liberties, which might have been safely granted us, without any prejudice to themselves: For whereas we had several of our Country-men and Merchants ashore, whom I wou'd have taken aboard, they wou'd not allow this; but told us scoffingly, they wou'd carry them to *Goa* along with them, where they shou'd

The Insolence of the *Portugueze.*

have as good Usage as any *Jews*, and *Turks*, ever had among the *Portugueze*: And from thence they wou'd send them home as they saw fit.

The Governour of *Surat* sends to the General.

I had shortly after a Civil Message from the Governour of *Surat*, who offer'd all the Kindness he cou'd do for us; but complain'd that the *Portugueze* were an Impediment in his way, that he cou'd not do what he desired and intended; but withal, advised me to sail out of this Road to *Goga*, where I might ride nearer the Shore with my Ships, and the *Portugueze* Armado cou'd not hinder my landing; and besides, 'twas nearer to *Cambaya*, where I shou'd find much greater advantage for Trade than here. But as I had for several Reasons no Inclination to follow this Counsel, so I was the more particularly determin'd against it, by an Advertisement which came from some of our Country-men ashore, by which (amongst other things) I understood, that Capt. *Sharpigh*, with some others, were coming from *Cambaya* to *Surat*, in order to go along with me. Thus neither to desert my Country-men, nor give my Adversaries an occasion to reproach me, with flying out of an apprehension of their Power, I continued in that Road, and anchor'd near the North Point, a-thwart the Bar, at the entrance of the River of *Surat*. Being now resolv'd to Command my Landing, in spite of the *Portugueze*, we put on for the Shoar with our Ships, in the best order that might be: The *Portugueze* likewise advanc'd in Order of Battel, and stood in between us and the Shore. 'Twas not long before some of their Frigats began to make the Onset, which were follow'd by the whole Power of the Fleet; and 'twas as little a while before our Shot (which we bestow'd pretty liberally amongst them) obliged them to retire further from us, and leave us not only the Liberty of the Shore, but the possession of one of their Frigats, which we took in the Skirmish.

General Middleton defeats the *Portugueze* Fleet.

Now we had a free passage open'd between our Ships and the Land; and tho' the *Portugueze* laid several Ambuscades to cut off our Retreat when we went ashoar, we had the good Luck to avoid the danger of them all, and convoy safely aboard all the Company we expected from *Surat* and *Cambaya*.

And takes all the *English* aboard.

But the greatest Concerns, which were those of Trade, lay all this while unminded; the Difficulty and Trouble made us by the *Portugueze*, having hitherto rendred any progress in those Matters impossible. But now the Governour of *Surat* (who had given me a Meeting once or twice on the Shore) assured me, That *Mocrebcban*, the Governour of *Cambaya*, wou'd come to confer with me about those Points, in a little time; and in the mean space the Country shou'd be order'd to bring in their Provisions for the Supply of our Ships.

November. A Market upon the Strand.

So a Market was kept upon the Strand, by *Swelly*-Road, to which the *Indians* brought in Beasts, Fowl, Butter, Cheese, all sorts of Fruits, dried Fish, and Palmito-Wine. Besides, the more common Fruits which we meet with every Day, they had a sort of Peascod, which they call *Paupey*, and a Fruit as big as a small Crab, of a grateful taste, mixt of sweet and sour, having one small round Stone in the midst of it, to which they give the Name of *Gindus*.

This part of the Promise perform'd, was very quickly follow'd with the accomplishment of the other, (so much did the Fidelity of the *Indians*, at this time, transcend our expectation;) for now *Mocrebcban*, with a mighty Train,

Mocrebcban comes to the General, and goes aboard.

came to the Conference I so earnestly desired. Having past the first Complement ashoar, I invited him to go aboard my Ship, where I deliver'd His Majesty's Letter directed to him, and caressed him in the best manner the short Warning we had of his coming wou'd allow. But as for his part, his great Business when he was there, was to search and look all about the Ship, to find out all the little Toys that pleas'd him, and to beg them when he had done. There was not a Chest, nor a Box in the whole Ship, that cou'd scape him, but he wou'd have it open'd; and if he took a liking to any thing he saw, he wou'd either ask for't, in plain Terms, or signifie his Mind by such broad *Innuendo's*, that I cou'd not avoid giving it him. And thus he went picking up of Toys and Gambols from one Ship to another, without ever coming to the Main Business in hand; and if I offer'd to propose any thing of that kind to him, he wou'd put it off with one Excuse or another; so that I plainly saw, he had no Mind to do any thing. To do him Justice however (tho he did us so little) he was our Chapman for some Commodities; as Knives and Glasses, and some Chests of Sword-blades: But no Money paid, nor no Time prefix'd when it shou'd be so; and yet at the same time that we must give him this Credit, he was pleas'd to repose so little Confidence in our Honesty, as not to trust us with the keeping of his Bargain till he was got ashoar, but wou'd see all sent away before he went himself.

Mocrebcban's base Dealing with Sir *H. M.*

And to make himself the better Customer to us, he pick'd out of the Parcels of Sword-blades we sold him, all that were very fine and good, and sent me back the rest without the Money too, or any Consideration for that Disadvantage; tho' I had let him have a much cheaper Pennyworth upon that very account, that he took all one with another.

Thus having got what they cou'd out of us, they remov'd their Goods and Tents, both he and the Governour of *Surat*, and went away; and not only so, but made Proclamation, That no Provisions should be brought to us, and that under a very severe Penalty (the loss of the Nose) to be inflicted upon the Delinquent in this Case. Yet at the same time that I was thus abus'd in my Commodities, and they were endeavouring to force me away by Famine from the Country, did this covetous, sordid-spirited Infidel, send a Messenger to beg a fine Spaniel-Dog, and my Perfumed Jerkin off from my Back; as he had but a few Days before begg'd my Bever-Hat off from my Head, and wou'd then fain have had the other too. Which I mention not for the Value of the things given him, which were inconsiderable, but to shew what ill Circumstances a Man is in, that deals in these Countries, with People of such insatiable Avarice, of such griping, squeezing Tempers, that will never leave a Man by their Good Will, as long as he bleeds one drop of any thing that's agreeable to them.

December.

But they had a mind, it seems, to more of our *English* Commodities, and therefore after a few Days past came down

December. Traffick with the *Indians.*

down again with several Packs of *Indian* Cloths, and other Goods. They pretended they wou'd deal with us for our Lead, Quicksilver, Vermilion, and Velvets, which latter *Mocrebchan* had a very great Inclination to; but then they wou'd Trade upon such Terms, that they wou'd gain Fifty in the Hundred, tho' our Commodities were brought to their own Doors, and we were at the Charge and Trouble of so tedious a Voyage to come to theirs. However, at last, we agreed upon the Prices, and some part of the Goods were deliver'd, and the Lead, and the rest, were brought ashore as fast as we cou'd, in order to their weighing.

Difference between their Weights and the *English.*

But here a fresh Difficulty was started, which had well nigh put all in Confusion again: For they were for weighing with the Weights and Beam of their own Country, and we insisted upon the use of ours; and there appear'd upon Trial so much difference between them, that had we gone by their Beam, they had pinch'd us at a very fine rate; for in every five Pigs there was ten or eleven Maunds difference, every Maund being Thirty three Pound *English* Weight.

And upon our refusing to comply with their Humour in this matter, the old Governour of *Surat* flung away in a Rage, and declared we shou'd pay for his Goods, half in Money, and the other in our Commodities, or else the Bargain should be void, and he wou'd turn all we had landed upon our Hands again.

And I doubt not, but had we been left entirely to his Mercy, we shou'd have come off considerable Losers; but as it fell out, we were able to make our own Terms with him, and bring him to a reasonable Conclusion: For I had at this Juncture, two Men of very great Figure aboard my Ship, one of which was the new Governour of *Surat*, whom (tho' they came upon a Civil Visit) I made bold to detain, (with all the Entertainments my Ship cou'd give them) till I had brought the Matters of Trade into a better Condition. And I think we were beholding to these Pledges for so fair and reasonable a Conclusion of the Business as we did come to; for after this we went on without any more of those Disputes and Brangles that we had before; and we bargain'd for a matter of forty Packs more of their *Indian* Cloths.

Mocrebchan and *Hoia Nassan* turn'd out of their places.

'Twas about this time, that an Order came from Court to turn out *Mocrebchan* from his Government of *Cambaya*, and *Hoia Nassan* from his of *Surat*: This latter was he that held that Post at our first coming hither, and that managed the Trade so unfairly with us, putting us to so much trouble, as to keep those two Persons before-mention'd in safe Custody, till we had done Right and Justice to our selves. And whatever the timely removing of this Person wou'd have signified, I believe, if *Mocrebchan* had been remov'd some Years before, the Interest of our *English* Nation in those Parts wou'd have fared much the better. For as he was a Man that valued not the Service of his Prince, or Profit of his Country, any farther than either was consistent with, or made for his own private advantage; so he was a particular Hater of our Nation; he was a Friend to the *Portugueze*, their greatest Enemies; did all their Business, and carried on all their Designs at Court, which were directed to the utter overthrowing of those happy Beginnings of a Trade and Factory in this Country, under the Conduct of Capt. *Hawkins*.

January.

And 'twas at this time, that that worthy Person, and faithful Agent for his Country, having seen the frustration of all his Hopes and Desires, partly by the Inconstancy of the *Mogul* himself, the Malice and Diligence of the Jesuits, the Bribes of the *Portugueze*, and especially the invidious Representations made of our Nation by *Mocrebchan*, was preparing to return to *England*, no more Service being to be done here. A Factory was absolutely and peremptorily denied, and all *English-men* were commanded to be gone out of the Country, being not allowed so much time as Justice and common Honesty wou'd have allotted them for the gathering in of their Debts. This being the Case, I sent to all our Country-men to repair as fast as they cou'd, with their Goods, to our Ships, that we might go all together, and leave a People so fickle, base, and inhospitable, for some other that might give us better Entertainment. And they very readily taking the Alarm, being now as weary of the Country, as the Country was of them, in as little a time as their Affairs won'd allow, came down with all their Effects, bringing the Two Captains, *Sharpeigh*, and *Hawkins*, along with them.

All the *English* go away from *Surat.*

And come aboard.

February.

We now understood the Reason of this so very sudden a change, and why our People were expell'd the Country in such a hurry, not being permitted so much as to call upon their Debtors before they went away. The Jesuits, it seems, had sent a Letter to *Mocrebchan*, wherein they signified, That if they receiv'd the *English* into a Friendship and Trade in those Parts, the *Portugueze* wou'd come and burn all the Towns upon the Sea-Coast, and rifle all their Ships they met any where abroad. Such a degree of Pride and Insolence, is that rude and domineering Nation now come to, that they must pretend to govern the Countries of other Princes, prescribe their Interests and Alliances to them, and fix the Bounds of their Trade and Correspondence as they think fit.

We had, to our very great disadvantage, worn out no less than One hundred thirty eight Days in this Country; all which time was fill'd up with nothing on the part of the *Indians*, but Tricks and Delays, and Breach of Promise; and on ours with vain and fruitless Expectations of a profitable Trade.

Go to *Dabul.*

Being therefore, on all accounts, high time to be gone, we set Sail for *Dabul* about the beginning of *February*, and came thither the middle of the same Month. I had some hopes of doing something to the purpose here; however, at worst, 'twas but shooting one Arrow more, after several others lost before.

I reckon the Latitude about the Bar of *Dabul*, to be between 17 and 18 Degr. N. and the Variation at the same place to be 15 Degr. 34 Min. W. So I make by my Account and Observation, near 4 Degr. in Latitude, and about 1 Degr. in Variation, less, at this Bar of *Dabul*, than at that at *Surat*, or in *Swally* Road, within the Bar.

Trade at *Dabul.*

The Governour of the place sent me a Present at my Arrival, and promis'd a very Friendly Correspondence, and a Free Trade: Upon which the Merchants were sent ashore, with several sorts of Commodities. But tho' they made a Noise at first of fine Cloths, Indico, and Pepper, which they wou'd barter for our Wares, yet we cou'd find nothing of that forth-coming; and all that they dealt with us for, were some of our Broad Cloths, and Kersies, of the best and lightest Colours, and some Quantities of Lead in Bars.

Take a *Portugueze* Ship and Frigat.

While we lay here, the *Portugueze* made us some small part of an Amends for the many Damages they had done us, by bringing (tho' against their Wills) a good Ship and Frigat of theirs within our reach.

The Ship was of 300 Tun Burthen, belonging to *Cochin*, and bound for *Chaul*, and her Lading was Coco's, Tin, Sugar, Racka Nuts, *China*-Dishes, Spices, Wax, Alom, and bast Ropes.

The Frigat was of 60 Tun, bound for *Ormus*, and laden with Rice and Tamarinds; out of all which we took what we thought convenient, and cou'd well bestow in our Ships. We wou'd fain have found their Bills of Lading, if possible; but they had either none at all, or else had secur'd them, where we cou'd not come at them.

March.

And now we began to think of leaving *India*, and sailing back again towards the *Red Sea*. We were induc'd to this Course, upon Consideration of the Opportunities we might there meet with, of putting off those Goods which still lay upon our hands, to those Ships of *India* we shou'd find thereabouts: Partly to take some further Revenge upon the *Turks* of *Aden* and *Mocha*; as also to prevent the Danger which threatned a Ship of our Country gone a Year before into those parts; of which we had Notice when we were at *Surat*.

Set sail for the *Red Sea.* Come to *Zocotora.*

So discharging the *Portugal* Ship and Frigat we set Sail from *Dabul*, directing our Course towards the Coast of *Arabia*. And the latter end of this Month brought us to the Isle of *Zocotora*.

From the Coast of *India*, to this Island, we continually found our selves carried farther to the Southward, than by our Course we cou'd expect; especially when we were thwart the entrance of the *Persian* Gulf; which I impute to the Influence of some Current setting thence to the Southward.

As we coasted along by Cape *Guadarfui*, and *Monte Felix*, the Country People came to us with Sheep and Goats, and some parcels of Olibanum, and Gum-Arabick, which we bought of them at reasonable Rates.

But this Civil Correspondence and Traffick with us, was all over the fruit of a mistake; for they still took us for *Mahometans*: And had they known us to have been otherwise, 'tis very much to be doubted, whether they wou'd not have been for giving us the same Treatment that their *Arabian* Neighbours did.

April, A. D. 1612.

Being now come into these parts, that we might the better accomplish the Designs we came for, both of securing our own Country Ships that shou'd come that way, and taking Satisfaction from all *Indian* and *Turkish* ones, for Wrongs received; I set one of my good Ships, the *Peppercorn*, to guard the Passage towards *Aden*; and my self, with the other, went to keep the Passage of the

Streight of *Babelmandel*. And I had now Intelligence from *Zocotora*, that Captain *Saris* Commander of a Fleet of three *East-India* Ships, notwithstanding the Writing I had left at that place some time before, to advise him to the contrary, was already gone into the *Red-Sea* to Trade, hoping for better Entertainment than I had found there, because of the Protection of the *Grand-Seignior*'s Pass which he had gotten. This Advice I had by our own Ship the Darling, which we had dispatch'd a little before the rest of our Fleet to *Zocotora* in our coming hitherwards, to enquire concerning any *English* Ships that had come that way; and there our People saw the Letter left by Captain *Saris*, giving an Account of his past Voyage, and future intended Progress to the *Red-Sea*.

Captain *Saris* gone into the *Red-Sea* some time before General *Middleton* Arrived.

We had not been long expecting in the Streights, before some scattering Prizes fell into our Hands: First a Ship of *Besano*, and then a Ship of *Din* bound for *Moha*: I forc'd them both to come to an Anchor by me, and took out of them whatsoever Goods were for our purpose.

Two *Indian* Ships siez'd.

My Letters directed to Captain *Saris* at our first putting into the *Streights*, were it seems honestly deliver'd, tho' a *Turk* was the Post; for he quickly came with all his Ships to Anchor by me upon the News of my Arrival; so that our Force in the *Red-Sea* by this conjunction of the two Fleets was pretty considerable. The Captain told me that my coming thither in that hostile manner had spoil'd his Trade at *Moha*, which he believ'd otherwise would have been very good, because of the *Grand-Seignior*'s Pass. For my part I believe that Pass would have signified little in the latter end, and that such arrant Villains as those *Turks* of *Moha* are, would have found some way or other to have eluded it when 'twas for their Advantage. Besides we were now in a Condition to do our selves and our Nation more Service by other Methods, than falling into a Trade with the base and knavish People of *Moha*, or *Aden*, or any other Town upon those Coasts. And Opportunities of this Nature came thick and threefold upon us, and we had almost as much work in sicizing and stopping Ships as we could well manage. For before the end of this Month, we had gotten no less than 11 or 12 *Indian* Ships more into our Power, which were all bound for *Moha* and *Zidda*, and laden with Pepper, Rice, and other *Indian* Commodities; some of them were very large Ships too, as particularly the *Rhemy* of *Surat* (belonging to the old *Mogul* Empress) of 1500 Tun, and others of 600, 400, 200, &c. but none of them all inconsiderable either for their burthen or their lading. So that now we were in a capacity of forcing the *Turks* to make us ample and compleat Satisfaction for the many Injuries and losses we had sustain'd from them; and they dared not refuse coming even to our own Terms, since we had 13 good Ships in our Hands, in which the Town of *Moka* was so deeply concern'd, and whose loss would have been no less than a breaking to the whole place.

Captain *Saris* comes with his Ships.

More *Indian* Ships taken.

But this was not the whole of our Success neither, for the *Pepper-Corn* left to guard the Passage to *Aden*, had her share in this kind of Sport too, getting three or four good *Indian* Ships within her reach, out of which she furnished her self with some quantities of useful Commodities. This Ship having done her work, came to us in *Assab* Road, which was the common place of Rendezvouz, whither our united Fleets, and all our Prizes repair'd, after we had done our Business in the Province we had undertaken.

May.

Here we receiv'd a solemn Visit from the King of *Rehita*, who came splendidly attended with all his Guards and Nobility to bid us welcome and congratulate us upon our Success.

And now also Commissioners came from *Moha* to treat with us about the Redemption of the Ships, as the Sabander or Governour, the Captain of the Gallies, and an *Aga*, who were order'd by the *Bashe* to come to a Conference with us upon that Subject. My Demands were (as at first) 100000 Rials of Eight, a Sum they did not well know how to accomplish the Raising of, and besides could not agree to till they had heard the *Bassa*'s Resolution upon the Matter. This concern was a long time a debating and the Captains of the *Indian* Ships being horribly disgusted that their Ships were thus arrested upon the *Turks* score, and consequently backward to advance any thing towards the payment of their Debt; it came to no head, and a whole Month was consum'd to little purpose. And all this while our People were busie in romaging the *Indian* Ships, opening and packing of *Indian* Cloths fit for our turn, and giving them English Commodities in lieu of them. This was the least Justice we could do our selves as to them, considering the foul dealing we had met with in their Country, and many tricks put upon us in Trade, and the Debts claimable there, which we had reason to look upon as desperate, if in this Juncture we should neglect the Opportunity of doing our selves right. As for the *Turks* we plainly saw by their Delays, and refusing to come to a positive Conclusion, that they intended to abuse us farther, and shuffle us out of Payment, if we did not by some method speedily compel them to it.

The *Turks* come to compound with General *Middleton*.

June.

And therefore moving with the whole Fleet out of *Assab* Road towards *Moha*, I signified to the *Indian* Commanders, that the *Turks* not being minded to make me that just and full Satisfaction which I demanded, I had no other way at present to be revenged of them so effectually as to spoil their *Indian* Trade. And therefore tho' I had done what I thought fit in consideration of the Injuries received in *India*, yet I must carry all their Ships away with me out of the *Red-Sea*, to cut off all Commerce between the *Turks* and them for this Year, that the latter might not receive any Benefit by them.

July.

Go from *Assab* Road towards *Moha*.

The *Indians* who saw this Season would be wholly lost to them, if their Ships should be thus forc'd away, and being unwilling to carry back what Commodities they had again into *India*; they resolved to compound for their Trade this Year, and pay every Ship such a Summ of Money that they might not be disturb'd in the free Vent of their Merchandize amongst the *Turks*. And this Offer of theirs upon deliberation I accepted of, leaving the fuller Satisfaction due from the *Turks* till another time; so every Ship paid in its Quota, the great *Rehemy* of *Surat* allowing for it's part 15000 Rials of Eight, she being equal in value to four other good Ships.

The *Indians* agree with General *Middleton* for their Trade.

August.

This Affair thus adjusted (which was the Occasion that brought us to and detain'd us in these Seas till this time) we were now ready for the pursuing of Business in other parts of the World.

Captain *Saris* having first dispatch'd one of his Ships, in a few Days sail'd away himself out of the *Red-Sea*; and we staid no longer behind than the middle of this Month of *August*.

They all get out of the *Red-Sea*.

We had sent away our Ship the *Darling* as long ago as *May* for *Tekoa* in *Sumatra*, in which Voyage she was presently after follow'd by the *Thomas*, a Ship of Captain *Saris*'s Fleet, and now my self with the other two, the *Trade's Increase* and the *Pepper Corn*, set Sail in prosecution of the same Voyage. After we had pass'd the Straits of *Babelmandel* the *Currents* (which we then lay open to) began to render our sailing something doubtful and perplexed. While we were yet within prospect of the *African* Coast, a Current setting to the S.W. did considerably abuse us in our reckoning; afterwards, when farther out at Sea, we were most sensible of one setting the contrary way, *viz.* towards the N. E. We easily discover'd our approach towards the Coast of *India*, by the numbers of Snakes which we met swiming in the Sea, this being a never failing Token of it, as the Experience of all Sailors do justifie. These creatures in a fair and calm Season are a very common sight in the Water about those parts, but there are hardly any of them to be met with, if the weather be any thing foul and boisterous. As we sail'd along the Coast of *India*, we observed the Sea for the most part thick and muddy, but sometimes intermixt with spots of clear transparent Water, so that here it look'd like dirty puddle, and there bright and pure, as if without any defiling mixture; and this change from one extream to the other was sudden and all at once, without any thing of an orderly Transition from one Degree to another, or finding any Tokens of such an alteration as appear'd.

General *Middleton* goes to *Tekoa*.

Snakes swiming in the Water, a sign of being near the Coast of *India*.

September.

The Month of *October* was more than half gone by that time we came to our desired Port of *Tekoa* in *Sumatra*. Here we found our Ship the *Darling* and her Companion the *Thomas*, but little Business done by either of them, the quantities of Pepper they had gotten being very inconsiderable, and no more to be had till the next *April* or *May*.

October.

Come to *Tekoa*.

This Disappointment made me think of a Remove from hence to some other place, where something might be done worth my stay and attendance; for I plainly saw that the Civil Wars (which raged in this place at the time of our being here) would be an invincible Obstruction in the way of our Trade.

Sir *Henry Middleton* goes to *Bantam*.

So after a few Days I set Sail from this place for *Bantam* in the *Pepper-Corn*, leaving my own Ship the *Trade's Increase*, to finish the little Business that was yet to be done there, with Orders to repair to *Bantam* as soon as those concerns were over.

This Ship having a Misfortune to receive some prejudice by a Rock in her way, was so disordered when she came to *Bantam*, that I found it most advisable to dispatch the *Pepper-Corn* away for *England* to give some Satisfaction to the Adventurers, till she had received a new strength for the Voyage her self, and cou'd bring me to give a fuller Account of those Matters.

Stays at *Bantam* till his Admiral Ship is mended.

A P-

APPENDIX *to the former Journal, extracted from Captain* Downton's, *concerning those Particulars of the Voyage which happen'd in his several Partings from Sir* Henry Middleton: *Commencing from the time of their Separation at* Aden, *where he was left by the Admiral, who went with the other two Ships from thence to* Moha.

November. WE had not been long in the Port of *Aden* before the General enticed by the false and flattering Accounts given here of the Trade and People of *Moha*, set sail for that place leaving me to manage the Business at *Aden*, and that not without the very earnest intreaty of the Governour and Inhabitants for my stay amongst them. And they soon made it appear for what Reason 'twas they desired our Company there; they could not contain themselves long without beginning to express the Fondness and Kindness they had for us. The very next Day after the Generals departure, three of our Merchants going ashoar to treat with the Governour about the points of Trade, were very fairly derain'd there, and not suffer'd to come back to the Ship. This was the first Instance of their Humanity and vertuous Disposition, and they had no Pretence nor Colour for this Proceeding, but only to secure the payment of Anchorage and other Duties, which as they were in no Danger of losing by us, so they needed not have taken this Method to have been sure on't. The Spring of Knavery and Treachery thus once open'd, run on amain, and held it's Course for the whole time of our abode at this place; and after their Hands were once in, by this initiating stroke, they did nothing else but juggle and put Tricks upon us. Their great Design was, to draw us to land our Goods, which no doubt they would have made as welcome, as they did our Merchants.

English derain'd ashoar at Aden.

But if their former deceitful dealing with the General had not been enough to have prevented my trusting of them, these latter Abuses wou'd have done it; and I should never have question'd their Robbing me of my Goods, that had in so villainous a Manner robb'd me of my Men. Besides I had my general positive Orders not to venture any Concerns amongst them, but make them come and pay for what they had a Ship-board or not deal with them, he had seen so much of them before he went, and had entertain'd (not unjustly) so good an Opinion of their Conscience and Vertue. However they labour'd mightily to court us into a Compliance with their Designs in this Point, told me they would send to the General at *Moha* for his Permission to land our Goods, which once done the Merchants would pour in from all parts of the Country to buy them up, and we should have our Hands as full of Business as we cou'd desire. And to make us believe that they were a People of very great dealings in the World, and their Town much frequented on that score; whenever any Strangers came, they told our Men they were all Merchants that waited for their *English* Commodities, when for the most part these Merchants were no other than Souldiers and cut Throats drawn thither from the adjoining places to execute the Plots they had laid against us.

They would have the English bring their Effects ashore.

The ill Stratagems for that purpose.

And indeed as for their Pretences to Trade and Business, a little Survey of the Town it self was a sufficient Confutation of them. For tho' formerly it has had a good share of concern with Merchandizing People, yet at this time 'twas in a very low and poor Condition; there were no considerable Shops in any part of the Town, nor none hardly to be seen that deserved the Title of Merchants. But their Ignorance of Money made the matter much plainer still, for when our People offer'd to change a Rial of Eight amongst them, they gave it about from one to another and star'd upon't as a strange thing they had never seen before; which is a very ill sign in a Town that pretends to Trade and Dealing. Our Men under confinement were at first very kindly dealt withal, even to compliment and caress it self: they hoping by this Means to work themselves into our good Opinion and Esteem, and by a soft Chain of Flatteries to draw our Ship a little nearer to them. But afterwards they began to give them a finer *Turkish* Entertainment; and when they found we were not charm'd and taken with the Bait, they made our poor Prisoners feel the sharpness of the Hook with which they fish'd for us. They did not proceed to the inflicting of any corporal Punishments, but they order'd it so, that they shou'd be pinch'd in the Matters of Provision; they were hardly allow'd a Belly-full, and forc'd to pay the Messenger (every time they eat) as much for bringing their Victuals, as the things themselves cost.

Aden in it's decayed state.

The English Prisoners us'd hardly.

The treacherous Governour endeavour'd by good Words to keep them in Heart, telling them that as soon as the Trade open'd they shou'd have their Liberty without the payment of any Money in consideration either of that, or any Duty or Custom formerly demanded. But still all the Civility promis'd was made an Introduction to a farther proposal of sending to the General about landing the Goods.

I had indeed sent some Letters to him at *Moha* (tho' I was well assur'd he would never alter the Method he had resolved to pursue in dealing with the People of *Aden*) but these Letters were either not delivered, or the Answers to them by the juggling *Turks* stopt and intercepted. And now more of my Men unluckily fell into their Hands, and went to bear their fellows Company in a doleful Imprisonment at *Aden*. *December.*

I had craved leave of the Governour for some of them to do a little Business belonging to the Ship in safety in a convenient place under the Town Wall; which Request was granted with all the ease in the World, and Security from all Treachery faithfully promis'd. But in the mean time he set his Smiths a work to make Shackles for them as fast as could be, and so seiz'd them in the midst of their Business, laying them all fast in Irons, and besides grievously abusing them several other ways. 'Twas no less than 20 that they took all together at this time, amongst which were some of the most useful and necessary Men in the Ship, whose Company and Assistance there I dearly wanted. *The Turks take more of the English Prisoners.*

But it being impossible for me to right my self and redeem them at present, and no hopes of ever coming to a fair Trade with these People, I found it to no purpose to stay here any longer. Besides 'twas dangerous upon many Accounts; for if we staid till we wanted Water, we could not go ashoar to get that without losing our selves; and then in this Season the Wind and Sea are both so troublesome there, and the Shoar of *Aden* lies so low, without any thing of a Fence from the Violence of the Billows, that a Ship would be forc'd from the Road into some Shelter near the Town, and so lie at the Mercy of their Ordnance. *The Inconveniency of Aden Road in the Winter.*

Upon these Considerations I set sail for *Moha*, hoping when I came to find my Generals Entertainment there better than mine had been at *Aden*. I pass'd the Streight of *Babelmandel* between the Isle and the Coast of *Arabia*, where I found a strong Tide setting thro' the middle, and about ten Fathom Water; there is a good broad Channel on the other side of the Isle, between that and the *African* Coast; but the Water is deep, and not so fit for Anchoring. *Goes for Moha.*

When I came to *Moha*, I found our *Admiral* Ship there, and understood too soon of the horrible Misfortune befallen us, in the loss of our General by the Treachery of the *Infidels*. Presently after my Arrival came in the *Darling* too, which by the Generals Order had been dispatch'd towards *Aden*, to give me information of all these Matters, and to prevent my coming to *Moha*, tho' the bad weather had hindred her Voyage, by which means I was kept in the dark as to these Accidents, till I came to inform my self.

Being now all together, we set sail out of *Moha*-Road, intending to ply up towards *Babelmandel*, or somewhere that way, as well to find out a convenient Watering-place, and a Road where we might lie securely, as in hope to meet the *Indian* Trading Ships, whom we resolv'd to stop, till the *Turks* had releas'd the General, and made *January.* *They find a good Road on the Abassine Coast.*

us

us Satisfaction for all Injuries. So ſtanding over to the *Abaſſine* Coaſt, after ſome ſearch, we happily found out the convenient Road of *Aſſab*, where we had all the Security and Advantage for Water and Proviſions that we cou'd deſire.

The Country People were very friendly to us, and ſo honeſt and ingenuous, as to confeſs, That the *Turks* had put them upon knocking us in the Head, if we came there, giving them their Example and Warrant for that Practice. But as they found no Reaſon from our Carriage amongſt them, to offer us any ſuch violence, ſo they entertain'd us after a very different manner from what the *Turks* encourag'd them to. Whether they knew us to be Enemies to the Superſtitions of *Mahomet*, (which they embrace all hereabouts, and how 'twould have been with us then, I cannot ſay;) but as Matters were, they carried it fairly and civilly to us; we paid them Money, and had our Bargain punctually, and without deceit.

Crab Iſle, by *Aſſab* Road. Near this Road where we lay (perhaps ſome three Leagues diſtance) lies an Iſland, which we call'd *Crab-Iſland*, for the multitude of great Crabs we found there. We wanted nothing where we had poſted our ſelves, but the Preſence of our General, and the reſt of our Company under Confinement with him. And this, after a multitude of wicked Delays on the *Turks* part, and as many fruſtrated Expectations on ours, was happily accompliſh'd by his own Contrivance and Reſolution, in the Month of *May*, after we had lain in this Road more than four Months.

The General having now brought himſelf and his Company all off clear, went away to *Surat* and *Dabul*, whither I accompanied him; and from thoſe Parts I came back with him again into the *Red Sea*, where we arreſted the *Indian* Ships, in order to bring the *Turks* to a Compoſition.

This Affair ended in the *Red Sea*, we went away with both our Ships for *Tekoa*, in *Sumatra*; at which place we found ſo ſmall Encouragement for Trade, that the General wou'd not ſtay there, but went, changing Ships with me, to *Bantam*; whither I had Orders to follow him, as ſoon as I had diſpatched at *Tekoa*.

Cheating in the Pepper at *Tekoa*. Here I was moſt horribly abuſed by the raſcally Natives, in the Pepper I bought; for when I came to weigh it, we had ſeveral Bags of rotten decayed Pepper; and in ſome there was Paddy, Rice, ay and great Stones cramb'd in too, to help make up the weight. But there was no Remedy for this Miſchief, and ſo we were forc'd to abide by the loſs.

The Ship runs upon a Rock. Sailing from hence for *Bantam*, we were like to have been all undone by the ſetting of our Ship upon a Rock, into which danger the Current helped to bring us. We made a ſhift, by God's aſſiſtance, to get her off again, and ſet her afloat; but yet that Encounter had done her ſo much prejudice, that we were obliged (as the ſurer Courſe) to return back again to *Tekoa*, to ſtop her Leaks, and repair the other Defects of her.

December. Comes to *Bantam*. But our Attempt at the ſecond ſetting out, proved more ſucceſsful, and we came without any more ſuch Encounters, in ſafety to *Bantam*.

Goes for *England*. The General ſtaid here till his Ship (injured in the Voyage from *Tekoa*) was new careen'd; whilſt my ſelf in the *Pepper-Corn* was diſpatch'd from thence for *England*; my Voyage commencing in *February*, and ending (without any conſiderable Adventure) the following *October*.

CHAP. XXI.

The Seventh Voyage ſet forth by the East-India *Company, with the* Globe, *under the Command of Capt.* Anthony Hippon; *extracted out of the Journals of* Nath. Marten, *Maſter-Mate, and* Peter Williamſon Floris, *Cape Merchant.*

A. D. 1610. WE ſet ſail out of the *Downs*, in the good Ship the *Globe*, the Fifth of *February*, and came into *Soldania* Bay (a place frequently viſited by our *Engliſh* Ships) the Twenty firſt of *May*. 'Twas then Winter in this part of the World, the Sun being taking his appointed Turn on t'other ſide the Equator. The Mountains were cover'd over with Snow, the Trees naked and bare, the Fields in all the Rudeneſs of a Winter-Dreſs; the whole Face of Nature (here at other times ſo charming and bright) appeared with a ſullen gloomy Air; the Heavens were dark and cloudy, and the Earth ſeem'd to mourn at the abſence of the chearful Sun. Little good Entertainment was to be had from the Country at this Seaſon of the Year, and the Rains that fell made it ſo bad travelling, that we cou'd not go far to get what it wou'd have afforded us.

A. D. 1611. Come to *Soldania*. *May.*

The Root *Niugim*, at *Soldania*. We took ſome pains to find out the Root *Niugim* at this time, and our Labour muſt have been quite loſt, if we had not receiv'd ſome Inſtructions in that matter; becauſe the new Leaf was now but juſt peeping out of the Ground, and the Plant does not come to its perfection till the depth of our Winter.

Here were two or three *Dutch* Ships that came to make the ſame enquiry, and one of them firſt diſcover'd this Root here; whether by chance, or any foregoing Information, I am not certain, nor is it much material. The *Soldanians*, in their barbarous and brutiſh Speech, call this Root *Canna*, by which Name it muſt be enquired after amongſt them; tho' 'tis poſſible they may be ſo ſpiteful and ill-natur'd, as to refuſe to put Strangers in the way of finding it.

Auguſt. *Ceylon* Iſland. We left the *Dutch* in the Bay, bartering for Skins and Hides, and making Train-Oil, and ſail'd away for the *Indies*, getting ſight of the Iſle of *Ceylon* the firſt of *Auguſt*, and ſo coaſting along towards *Negapatan*, upon the Land of *Coromandel*.

Miſtake in placing of *Negapatan*, in the Maps, and *Punta de Gal.* 'Tis worth our while to correct ſome Miſtakes commonly made in Maps, as to the Situation of ſome remarkable places hereabouts, by the Obſervation we have made of them.

Punta de Galla, the moſt Southern Point of the Iſle of *Ceylon*, is ordinarily placed in 4 Degr. North Lat. whereas indeed it lies in 6 Degr. neither is the Iſland ſo broad as 'tis often drawn in the vulgar Maps.

Then *Negapatan* is not much leſs than 28 Leagues diſtant from that Situation we gueſs'd it to have had; and as the *Dutch* have been blunder'd by this Miſtake as well as we, ſo 'tis fit it ſhou'd be taken notice of, becauſe the Effects of it may be dangerous to a Ship ſailing by contrary Meaſures.

Lanagupatan. Coaſting along by *Coromandel*, we paſs'd the Town of *Lanagupatun*, (where the *Dutch* have a Factory, but are weary of holding it, they have ſo little Buſineſs to do; and then *Majapor*, which is eaſie to be known by the remarkable Token of a very high Hill.

Majapor.

Paleacatte. We came next to *Paleacatte*, where we hoped to meet with ſome Trade; and accordingly having a ſafe Conduct from the Sabander, we landed Men for that purpoſe: But we quickly found our good Fortune here ſpoil'd and prevented by the Intereſt and Footing the *Dutch* had got in this place; and it ſeems they were ſo well fix'd, that the Sabander highly pitied us for the Miſchance of our coming hither; as ſo much unprofitable loſs of time, and endeavour to no purpoſe. The *Dutch* Preſident very fairly deſired us to be gone; and for that purpoſe ſhew'd us an Inſtrument in Writing, given them by the King of *Narſinga*, wherein the *Dutch* only were allow'd to Trade upon all that Coaſt; all others beſides them, or ſuch as cou'd not produce Prince *Maurice* his Parent, being ſtrictly prohibited attempting any thing of that nature. We who thought the King of *England*'s Patent as good and ſufficient as Prince *Maurice*'s, were willing however to have tried what we cou'd have done; but the Intrigues of the *Dutch*, and the Influence they had upon the People, were ſuch Obſtructions in our way, that we muſt have hazarded the loſs of the Monſon for *Patane*, and ſo mightily prejudiced our main Concerns, to have ſet about the removing of them.

Privilege granted to the *Dutch*, by the King of *Narſinga*.

The *Engliſh* can't Trade at *Paleacatte*.

The Town of *Paleacatte* lies in 13 Degr. 30 Min. North Lat. The Variation has been obſerved here to be 1 Degr. 15 Min. tho' about the Road it has been made 13 Degr. 10 Min. a very great and ſurpriſing difference. The Marks

Marks for finding this Road, are the Round-Hill, and the *Hollanders* Fort. About two Leagues to the South side of the Town there's a Shoal, but if you keep in 10 or 12 Fathom, there's no fear of running over any part of it.

Trade at Petapoli.

Being able to do nothing here, we set sail for *Petapoli*, where we found room to come in for a little share of Trade. We agreed with the Governour for 3 *per Cent.* Custom, and so sent our Goods ashoar: We left two of our Factors to carry on the Trade at this place, and went on with the Ship for *Masulipatan*, where there was a better Road. The varying observ'd at *Petapoli* was 12 Degrees, 27 Min. and the Mark to go in over the Bar, is a Set of Palmito-Trees, on the Bank on the Northern end of the high Cliff.

'Tis to be observed, that six Leagues from the High-land of *Petapoli*, you see another High-land before you, which is a Pagod. You may, if you will hale in with it into five Fathom, when the Hill is N. N. W. but then you must go off E. for it. And beware (in going off) of a lowness of Sand, and come no nearer it than twelve or thirteen Fathom, till you are certainly past it.

Masulipatan.

A fine Fetch of the Governour's to justifie his Knavery.

At *Masulipatan*, the Governour bids us Welcome to a Trade; but as it appear'd, 'twas because he had a Design to cheat us, if he cou'd. We agreed with this Man for Custom at 4 *per Cent*; and yet contrary to the most express and plain Terms of the Bargain, he wou'd have it, that we concluded upon 12 *per Cent*: And he had no other Reason to prove it by, but this, That he was a Descendant from the Prophet, and had the Blood of *Mahomet* running in his Veins; and therefore his Race being so pure and holy, his Word ought to be taken before that of a Christian, and esteem'd more just and true. But notwithstanding the Sanctity of his Pedigree, we wou'd not lie at the Mercy of his Conscience; and if 'twas true, that he was a Branch from such a Root as *Mahomet*, he was the more likely to be a cheating Knave, and not fit to be trusted; and upon that Score we threatned him into a compliance with us, upon fair and reasonable Terms.

December.

Observations of the Sun and Stars.

January.

The Geographical Observations we made at *Masulipatan*, and *Petapoli*, were these: The Variation of the Compass at *Masulipatan*, is 12 Degr. 22 Min. the Point is in 15 Degr. 57 Min. North Lat. and the Road in 15 Degr. 36 Min.

The Town of *Petapoli* lies in 15 Degr. 49 Min. the Star call'd the Ships Stern, we had in 21 Degr. 29 Min. the Foot of the Crosiers in 12 Degr. 54 Min. the Flank of the Centaur in 15 Degr. 32 Min. and the Foot of the same in 14 Degr. 41 Min.

Go for Bantam. February. April, A. D. 1612.

Having clear'd all Accounts at these two places, and invited by the opportunity of a good Monson, we set sail from these parts for *Bantam*, where we happily arrived the latter end of the succeeding Month of *April*. When we came hither, we found the *Dutch* ready to march away for *Jacatra*, not being able to endure the new and unwonted Exactions of the Governour; neither cou'd we settle Matters with him without a great deal of Dispute and Jangling; however, at last we agreed with him for 3 *per Cent.* Custom.

Factory at Succadania, in Borneo.

We had some Account at this place, of the Factory first settled at *Succadania* in *Borneo*, by Capt. *David Middleton*, and that the Management of Affairs there, at this time, was not so fair and regular as cou'd be wish'd, in order to the Publick Benefit.

Our Concerns at *Bantam* being not great, we had no occasion for a long stay there: Our Course from hence lay to *Patane* and *Siam*, places not so frequently visited by our *English* Ships, and where we now went to make our Nation's first Court for a Trade. We took care in this Course to come no nearer the Point of *Mompyne*, than 3 ½ or four Leagues, because of a Ledge of Rocks that lie two Leagues off the Easternmost Point of *Sumatra*, being the seventh Point of the Streights; this Ledge of Rocks bears pretty near E. and W. with the two ends of it; and when you have got *Mompyne* S. E. of you, then you are clear of all danger from the Rocks.

June. Go for Patan and Siam. Note.

We came into the Road of *Patane* before the end of this Month, and having gotten Information of the Manners of the Country, we went ashore in a full Body, with as much State and Greatness as we cou'd, to deliver His Majesty's Letter, and a Present to the Queen.

Go ashore at Patane.

The Letter was carried in a Bason of Gold, upon a Noble Elephant, usher'd along with Flags and Musick to the Court; the Present amounted to the Value of 600 Rials of Eight, and no small Preparation was made at Court for the Reception of both these. We had not the Honour of seeing the Queen at this time; however, we were handsomely treated by Her Majesty's Order; but the best part of our Entertainment, was the doing the great Business that we came about, accepting His Majesty's Letter, and granting us a free Trade there, paying only the same Duties that other People did. The most hard dealing we had here, was in the Price they made us give for the Ground of a Publick Warehouse, which was 4000 Rials of Eight; but this Imposition we submitted to, in hope of making more advantage than that came to afterwards.

Free Trade allowed at Patane. July.

There's a great Enmity and Heart-burning between the *Japonese* and the People of this place; and the former do never fail to take all the Opportunities that can be to ravage and spoil the Country: Within less than the space of six Years, they have come up twice to the Town of *Patane*, and set it a-fire.

Anguil.

The Factory being establish'd, some of us stay'd to mind the Affairs of Trade at this place, whil'st the Ship, with the rest of the Company, went away for *Siam*, to try the Temper and Inclination of that People to a Correspondence with us. In the mean time we had a very ill Market for most of our Commodities, (especially our Lawns) at *Patane*; whereas some few Years ago there has been so quick a Vent, that there was more fear of Disadvantage by wanting Stock, than by having any part of it lie upon one's Hands. And the Reason of it is, the *Portugueze* bringing in such Quantities to *Malacca*, and the *Dutch* filling *Bantam* and the *Molucca's*, together with the Trade of the *Moors* at *Tanasserin* and *Siam*; then the *Guzurats*, and those from *Negapatan*, together with our selves, do all help to cloy and over-do the Market.

Dull Trade at Patane.

Reasons of it.

September.

At this time we cou'd not make 5 *per Cent*, when it was easie some time ago, to make in the same Market, four of one.

Some part of the Country was involved in the Troubles and Calamities of War too; the Kings of *Jor* and *Pahan* (both upon the same Continent with *Patane*) being together by the Ears, burning and destroying one another's Territories, and Trade never thrives in a Country pester'd with Wars and Factions.

The Inconsiderableness of Business here, was an Incitement to us to attempt to find better somewhere else; for which purpose we sent away a Cargoe of Goods for *Macassar*.

October. A Cargoe sent to Macassar.

November. An Account of the Globe's Success at Siam.

Our Ship the *Globe* having now been absent three Months, return'd from the *Siam* Voyage, making but eight Days in her passage between that place and *Patane*, and she brought us the following Account of her Voyage, Entertainment, and the State of Affairs in that Kingdom.

Having cast Anchor in the Road of *Siam*, they gave Notice of their Arrival to the Town, which lies some thirty Leagues up along the River. The King sent two Men of considerable Figure to bid them Welcome, to receive His Majesty of *England*'s Letter, and to bring them to Court.

When they came into his Presence, he heard with pleasure the Account of their Business and Design, and without any delay promis'd a free Trade; adding besides as a Token of his Favour, the Gift of a piece of Cloth, and a little Cup of Gold to every one of them. But as the Courts of all Princes are troubled more or less with a sort of hungry covetous Officers, that are for selling their Princes Favours as dear as they can, and taking all unjust Methods to make a Purse for themselves: So here the Mandarins must be gratified and brib'd to give their Consent to what the King had freely promis'd; and thinking we had our Privilege too cheap, wou'd pretend to oblige us to drive a Bargain with them. To find a Remedy in this Case against the Extortion and Oppression of these insolent Courtiers, our People made their Application to the King, openly complain'd of the Injustice of the *Mandarins*, and crav'd His Majesty's Protection from them. This succeeded so well, that the Mandarins were curb'd and silenc'd, and all our Goods carried peaceably to the Publick House appointed for them; with an Order for all those Persons to forbear molesting us, that had pretended either to take any Bribe from, or impose any Burden upon us.

The covetous Mandarins oppose the Liberty granted to the English.

The King's Order to secure it.

But notwithstanding all this Encouragement given to Trade, it went but poorly on at this time; and tho' the Prince had bid it Welcome into his Country, that was not sufficient to make it flourish. And the reason is, because the Country was all embroil'd in the Mischiefs of War, Faction, Treason, and Rebellion; the present King was young, hardly well fix'd in his Throne, and some of his revolted Tributaries combining together to pull him out of it.

Trade low at Siam, and the Reason of it.

How matters came to this pass, will be seen in the following short Account of the State of that Kingdom, and the several Risques of Fortune it has run for some Ages past, which it may not be altogether ungrateful or useless to set down.

Siam

Story of *Siam.*

Siam was once a very large and potent Kingdom, giving Laws to the greatest part of its Neighbours round about, and bearing an absolute Sway, far and wide, in the *Indian* Continent, on that side the *Ganges*. This Imperial Glory had shone bright at *Siam* for some time; when by the powerful Disposals of him who destroys one Kingdom and sets up another at his pleasure, it began to fade and darken there, and discover its Lustre in another place. *Pegu* of a sudden becomes a Rival to *Siam* in Power and Pretensions to Command, and quickly from a Rival became its Mistress, obliging *Siam* to wear its Yoke.

And as 'tis usual for the Sons of Tributary Princes to be kept in the Court of the Grand Sovereigns as Hostages, or Securities for their Father's Duty and Obedience; so were the Sons of the King of *Siam* carried to receive at once their Education and Confinement in the Court of *Pegu*.

But the Scene was quickly ready to change, and *Pegu*, so suddenly risen to the Heights of Fortune and Glory, must sink down again, and relapse into its former State and Vassallage.

The old King of *Siam* dying, left two Sons behind him, bred up in the King of *Pegu*'s Court; the eldest of which, upon his Father's Death, made his escape into his own Country, and by the help of the *Portuguese*, got into the Throne.

The *Peguan* presently attacked the new Prince with a formidable Army, which was entirely routed by the other, and the young Prince of *Pegu* slain in to the Bargain; in Rage and Madness for which loss, the King sacrificed a vast number of his Lords and common Soldiers, not at all guilty of any Treachery against him.

This ill Success in his Wars and cruel usage of his Subjects consequent upon it, put his whole Government into a Confusion, and made his Tributary Princes (of which he had no less than twenty) fall off from him every Day. And the *Siamese* apprehensive of the advantage this Disorder gave him, now requited the King of *Pegu*'s former kindness, carrying the War into the Bowels of his Country; shutting of him up, and almost starving him in his Capital City of *Pegu*.

The Siege was broke up after two Months continuance, and the King of *Siam* having done no more than the Pounding of his Adversary, return'd into his own Country; however, the *Peguan* was so far weakned, that he was forc'd to put himself under the Protection of the King of *Tangu*; especially to avoid the Danger threatned by the King of *Arracan*, who now broke into the Country too, and laid all waste before him.

These two Kings of *Tangu* and *Arracan*, agreed together to share the King of *Pegu*'s vast Treasures and Dominions amongst themselves; and also (to be easie and quiet) they sent him out of the way by a violent Death.

Amongst other things that fell to the King of *Arracan*'s part, was the King of *Pegu*'s * White Elephant, look'd upon as one of the greatest Curiosities in the World, and valued by him almost as much as all his other Treasures.

* Some of our *English* saw this Elephant at *Arracan.*

Thus was the famous Empire of *Pegu* swallowed up, and *Siam* deliver'd from so powerful a Rival, began now to swell again into the Bulk and Dimensions of an Empire; † reducing the Kingdoms of *Cambodia*, *Laniamh*, *Jagomai*, *Patane*, *Tenesserim*, and divers others, into its Subjection.

† *A.D.*1600. or thereabouts.

That Prince who first threw off the *Peguan* Yoke, dying without Issue, left his Brother to succeed him; who was call'd the White King, as the other had the Title of the Black. The White King left several Sons behind him, but the Eldest being murder'd by a Villainous Plot of a certain Lord of *Siam* (who intended to have aspired to the Crown himself), the Second Son of the White King was invested with the Regal Dignity; and this was he then in the Throne when our Ship was there. But from hence sprung up horrible Confusions and Dissensions; for the present King revenging his Brother's Death upon that fore-mention'd aspiring Traytor; all his Slaves presently run to Arms, broke into the Court, got the King into their hands; and having forc'd him to sign a Writing with his own Blood, they spar'd his Life, but went off with a deal of rich Plunder, in spite of all Opposition, and contrary Endeavours of the King's Guards.

This Tumult at Court gave rise to many others abroad in the Kingdom; the Countries of *Laniamh* and *Cambaya* immediately broke out into a Rebellion, and the other Tributary Princes, began to think of following their Example. So spreading was the Contagion of those baser Slaves Treason, and such a notable Precedent did it prove to those of a greater Figure, who thought scorn any longer to obey a Sovereign, that had been insulted and trampled on by the Dregs of his Court. And 'tis said, that some of these petty Princes now broke loose from the Bonds of Duty and Subjection, have resolv'd to joyn their Powers together, and come and visit the King of *Siam*, with a very numerous Army, the next Spring. For all which Combinations and Leagues, he may sit secure and easie enough in his Throne, if domestick Treason and Contention does not set in with the Endeavours of a Foreign Power to accomplish his Ruin.

This was the State of Affairs at *Siam*, when our Ship was there; and being so, 'twas our Misfortune to come in so troublesome a time, when the whole Nation living in expectation of a sudden War, had little Disposition to mind Trade and Business.

Upon this Account we determin'd to spend our Winter here at *Patane*, to do what might be done at this place, and also to be ready to hold a Correspondence with *Siam*, if any favourable Opportunities shou'd invite us to it. While we lay here, we saw the Queen, and had Conference with her several times. She was a comely, grave, majestick Person, so handsome and stately, in spite of her Old Age, that we saw very few *Indians* that came up to her Measures of Beauty.

They Winter at *Patane*, *December.*

This Winter Season the Rains were so violent, and the Floods rise so high hereabouts, that one might truly say, this part of the *Indies* was deluged: The Cattel in the Fields were wash'd away, the Houses beat down in many places by the strength of the Torrent, and a great deal of harm done in many respects.

Floods about *Patane.*

In *January* we had good News from *Siam*, that our Factor left there, had sold off the better half of his Goods, and that the King himself had taken a considerable quantity: And hereupon, to follow these flattering Beginnings of a Trade, we dispatch'd the *Globe* away in *March* for that place, with a fresh Supply.

January.

March. The Ship goes for *Siam* again.

The *Hollanders* about this time sustain'd a great Loss at *Paleacatte*, by the Violence of the *Portuguese*, who came with a Power from St. *Thome*, took their House in that Town, kill'd all their Men, and carried away their Goods.

The Country hereabours too was all in War and Confusion; the King of *Jor* falling upon him of *Pahan*, and the *Achenese* upon the King of *Jor*; and the King of *Borneo* preparing also to support the King of *Pahan*, while those of *Achen* distress'd his Adversary.

On the other side, the Queen of *Patane* struck in with the Enemies of the King of *Pahan*, her Neighbour, and Brother-in-law; the Ground of the Quarrel being only this, That he had married her Sister; and whereas she had often requested, by solemn Embassies, to see her at *Patane*, her Husband wou'd never let her come. This was taken so very ill by the Queen, who was resolved to bring her Sister by force, since she cou'd not by fair means, that she sent out her Fleet against the King of *Pahan*, and did all she cou'd to spoil the Trade of his Country, till she had distress'd him into a Compliance with that reasonable Demand, of bringing his Wife to *Patane*.

We had now a Continuation of the Good News from *Siam*, by a fresh Advice, informing us of the safe Arrival of the *Globe* there, and the profitable Sale our Factors had of their Commodities. And soon after as bad Tidings from *Bantam*, of the great Losses our *English* receiv'd by Fires there; in which Calamities the *Dutch* also had a share with them.

May, *A.D.* 1613. Good Trade at *Siam.*

The War begun by the King of *Jor*, proceeded to such an extremity, and drew so many Misfortunes upon him, that he was by this time rendred incapable of disturbing the Quiet of any of his Neighbours. The *Achenese* pursued him so close, that they brought their Fleet under his very Walls; and after a streight Siege, took the City, rifled it, carried away a great Booty of Slaves and Ammunition, and forc'd the miserable Prince himself to fly his own Country, and seek a Refuge in some Foreign Territory.

July.

The King of *Pahan* too was not in a much better Condition, his Country being horribly wasted by War and Famine; and he himself now at last reduc'd by the Arms of the Queen his Sister-in-Law, to submit to her Terms, and lie at her Mercy.

This Prince came to *Patane* when we were there, and invited us very civilly to a Traffick with his Country; which, alas, was at this time too much embroil'd, and impoverish'd, to give Merchants any Encouragement to come thither. The Queen indeed treated him civilly; but he was a meer Jest and Laughing-stock amongst the *Patanee* Nobility; and the only Point of Respect that was shew'd him, was the killing all the Dogs in the Country when he came; he having a particular Aversion to that sort of Animal.

Our Affairs at *Macassar* went but badly on, and our Factors there were ready to come away, being able to do nothing to the purpose; but in that Juncture an *English* Ship

August.

Ship arriv'd with a good Lading of Cloth to settle a Factory there, which oblig'd them to stay longer. This Ship was the *Darling*, one of the three that went into the Red Sea, under the Command of Sir *Henry Middleton*; that worthy Person himself being lately dead at *Bantam*, and his Admiral Ship, the *Trade's-Increase*, yet lying there in very ill Circumstances, as well as the Company left in her. The *Dutch* who a little before were getting Ground in the *Molucca's* upon the *Spaniards*, and had taken the Castle and the Island of *Solor*, were now like to lose all at *Banda*, sinking faster here than they rise in the other places. The *Bandaneses* had as we understood confin'd their Government to the Castle, and kept them in such awe that they dared not give an ill Word; a good part of their Men were gone off to the Natives, and become *Mahometans*; and the whole *Dutch* Power in that Island signified no more at this time than just to tyrannize in the Castle a little, and command the Junks that rid there with their great Guns.

Sir Henry Middleton Dead at Bantam, and the Trade's-Increase in bad Condition there.

September.

The Dutch under Hatches at Banda.

The latter end of this Month the *Globe* came back from *Siam*, having finished her second Voyage thither: Our Factors there had sent a Cargason of Goods to *Jagomai*, but had no News of the Success of it when the Ship came away; the Wars between the People of *Ava* and *Lanianh* having cut off all intercourse between those places.

The Globe returns from Siam.

Patane had now it's share of Misfortune amongst the rest, tho' not by War, yet by Fire, an Enemy more mercyless and outragious than the Sword. This came about almost by the Villainy of the *Javans*, who are the never-failing Plagues of all Countries where they come; and Practise the same tricks of firing Towns and Houses abroad with as much desperateness as they do at home. We and the *Dutch* were oblig'd to join our Forces together for our common Security in the midst of this hurly burly; for the Town was all in Flames about our Ears; and these cut-Throats were roaming about in a full Body, murdering all that came in their way, and rifling Houses as fast as they could. And they were just coming to make us a visit, when we (resolv'd to be before hand with them in Civilities of that Nature) had set out to meet them, which they having Intelligence of, and finding our Strength, were so wise as to run away and shift for themselves, and so leave us to the Labour of driving them. Thus we did our selves a Kindness, and so much Service to the Town too, that we purchas'd the name of it's Defenders thereby. We had staied by this time so long at *Patane*, as to set the Wheels of Trade a-moving there and at some other places about; which Business done we prepar'd to return back to *Masulipatan*.

October. Patane almost destroyed by fire.

In our Course from hence, we came to the dangerous Riff, which falls off from the Point of *Jor* four Leagues into the Sea, and we pass'd it not without some Difficulty and Hazzard, having the Point with the three little Islands W. S. W. from us. But 'tis best to keep towards the Sea till you bring those little Islands shut in with the Point of *Jor*, and *Pedra Bianca* open with the Isle of *Bantam*. This *Pedra Bianca* is a great Rock, upon which vast numbers of Fowl do live, and covering the Clifts of it with their Dung make it look very white, from whence it has that Name.

Go for Masulipatan.

November.

We understood by the way that the King of *Achen* having routed out the old King of *Jor* had settled a new one in his room, Nephew to the former; and had given Orders for the rebuilding the Fort and City, so, that that Country was like to be in a thriving Condition again, after so many Calamities, especially since the King of *Achen* (by an Alliance with this new King) has as it were engaged himself in the Defence and Protection of it.

We arriv'd at *Masulipatan* the middle of *December*, and found here a Ship of our own Nation (the *James*) waiting for us, being sent directly to Second us in our Voyage.

December. Come to Masulipatan.

We agreed with the Governour at 4 *per Cent.* Custom, and fell to lading of Goods; but the *James* was sent away for *Petapoli*, and from thence for *Bantam*.

News came to us here from *Pegu*, that the King of *Ava* (a Country lying about a great River of *Pegu*) had taken the Fort of *Siriangh*, and slain all the *Portugueze* that kept it. This Town or Fort of *Siriangh*, stands in an Island below the Mouth of the aforementi-on'd River of *Pegu*; and 'tis to be noted that when the King of *Arracan* had (according to the former Relation) made himself Master of the Kingdom of *Pegu*; he put this Town and Fort into the Hands of the *Portugueze*, who behav'd themselves there (as they do in all other places) after a very insolent and domineering Manner; and particularly to require the Kindness of the King of *Arracan*, they shortly after took his Son Prisoner, and extorted a vast Sum of Money and a huge Quantity of Rice for his Ransom. This in gratitude to their Benefactors was very well punish'd by the King of *Ava*, who it seems broke in upon them with a good Force, and routed them entirely out of that Nest. This Prince pretends to restore the decayed Empire of *Pegu* to something of a Lustre again; having call'd in all the dispers'd *Peguans*, and given Orders for the Rebuilding the old City, with many fair Promises of Quiet and Protection there. The *Moors* at *Masulipatan* were highly pleas'd at these Actions of the King of *Ava*, because they hope they shall now get the Trade of *Pegu* into their Hands again, which the *Portugueze* lying thereabouts had in a great measure deprived them of. But whatever Sentiments of Pleasure the King of *Ava*'s Actions excited in the *Moors*, the King of *Narsingas* were no less agreeable to us: For now that mighty Prince sent his Embassadours to us to excuse the former Neglect of Correspondence with us when we were at *Paleacatte*, and to invite us to settle a Factory in his Country where we pleas'd our selves; and all this sweeten'd with the Promise of what Privileges we would desire.

Tidings from Pegu. January.

A. D. 1614. July. King of Narsinga's Offer to the English.

Indeed the Complaints of the People went a great way towards the procuring this Favour for us; for they were netled to see our Ships passing by them every Year, and not have the Liberty of Trading there as the *Dutch* had. And tho' the *Dutch* did all they could to keep us out, yet the Country was sensible that they were not so much their Friends as their own, in endeavouring to exclude us; and therefore they never left the King, till he had in this friendly manner invited us to a Trade there. His Letter brought to us was written upon a Leaf of Gold, and together with it, was deliver'd his Cave or Safe Conduct, and his Abestiam, or the Token of our Privilege, which was a white Cloth, upon which the King's Hand was Printed in Saffron.

The King of Narsinga's Letter and Caul.

In the Month of *August*, the Country about *Narsapur peta* and *Golconda* was laid under Water in a most frightful manner. Many Thousands of Men and Cattle were swept away, whole Towns were ruin'd, and all the Fruits of the Field destroyed; Plants and Trees were carried along with the Flood, and the Water lay three Yards high above the Level of the Ground. The City of *Golconda* suffer'd very greatly in it's Houses and Bridges by this inundation; 4000 Houses were wash'd away to rights, and two very fair Bridges rais'd at least three Fathom above the ordinary height of the Water, were now three Foot under Water; and tho' exceeding strong, as being built of Stone and consisting, the one of 19 and the other of 15 Arches, yet there were six Arches of the biggest entirely carried away with the Force of the Stream.

August.

Strange Floods.

The Superstitious *Indians* might possibly esteem this to be ominous, and not think themselves mistaken, when presently after (in the space of a few Weeks) so great an event follow'd as the Death of the mighty King of *Narsinga*. At the Celebration of his Funeral, three of his Queens burnt themselves quick with the Corps, in Testimony of their Love and Constancy, after the manner of that Country. Very great Troubles were now like to follow upon this stroke, and all Foreigners were oblig'd to look to themselves and their Concerns in that Country as well as they could. As for our parts we endeavour'd to get in our Debts with all speed, and for that end sent to the Governour to come and clear all Accompts with us. But that deceitful Minister did nothing but abuse and trifle with us, put us off with frivolous Pretences and Excuses, till he had delay'd the Business so long, that it would have been very injurious to us to have lost any more time.

October. King of Narsinga dies.

And therefore seeing nothing was like to be done by fair Means, we were forc'd to use other Methods; by which tho' we might seem to run a very great Risque, and do an Action which all the World would call desperate in these Countries; yet our Circumstances which was little less than desperate would admit of no other Remedy.

November.

Having secretly convey'd some Weapons ashoar (for they will not let Foreigners appear with any publickly) and concerted all Matters relating to the Execution of our Plot; we went directly to the Custom-House at a convenient Season, intending to sieze either the Governour, himself, or his Son, and so keep the Prey a Ship-board in safe Custody till the Debt was discharged. All things fell out as well as could be; and concurr'd to render our Attempt easie and prosperous. The Governour's Son was there with a very slight Guard; we siez'd the Souldiers Weapons, arrested him and got him into our Brat, and so row'd away to the Ship with as much speed as we could. We were indeed quickly pursued by a vast number of Boats, and the whole Posse of the Town was rais'd upon us; but with our Fire-Arms we made good our Retreat, and deliver'd our Prisoner quietly in at the Ship, and that in the sight of Three or Four thousand People.

An adventurous stroke of the English, in seizing the Governour's Son.

Some of our Men were left ashoar to give the Reasons of this Act of Hostility on our part, and to gather in the scattering Debts; who tho' they might seem very much expos'd to the Fury of the provok'd People in this case; yet they had a good Protection, for the Governour himself took particular Care to secure them from all Harm, because his Son was in our Hands, and consequently in Danger of feeling the Effects of any Wrong that should be offer'd to them ashoar. The Governour was now under a Necessity of doing us Justice, and that in a very little time too, if he lov'd his Son's Life; not that we intended to offer him any Violence, but his own Superstition would have given him Death without any Remedy. For it seems he was a *Bramen*, and all of that Character are forbidden by the Laws of their Sect to eat or drink any thing but what they provide themselves. All animal Food is an abomination to them, and they have so many peculiarities of Diet (and then being oblig'd to be their own Cooks too) that the poor *Bramen* was like to starve a Ship-board, keeping a longer and severer Fast than perhaps his Religion ever put him upon. He would not touch a bit of any thing we had, and tho' Nature struggl'd hard, and made heavy Complaints for Relief, yet Conscience restrain'd and curb'd her, silenc'd all that Noise, and got the Victory; so that the young Man must certainly die in a very short space, unless he could either over-rule his Conscience, or perswade his Father to shew a little in paying a just Debt.

Superstition of the Bramens.

The Governour pays the Debt.

His Son set at Liberty.

And this being the Case, the old Governour disputed the Business no longer; the Sence of his Sons Danger softned and overcame him, and to avoid being his Murderer, he discharged the incumbent Debt, and balanc'd all Accompts with us: So we sent back the mortified Prisoner again, having fasted now some four or five Days, enough to make a Man hate that Superstition, and forswear being a *Bramen* any longer.

But yet how ridiculous and idle soever the Doctrine of the *Bramens* be in the Theory, 'twas very useful and profitable to us in the Practice of it; for if we had not got a *Bramen* into our Hands, a Fellow that must be presently redeemed, or else would starve himself out of Conscience, we don't know when we should have got our Money.

We desired the People to make this use of what had pass'd, to learn thereby to deal justly and honestly, and not pretend to Wrong our Nation, nor any other any more in that nature; And also by Letters directed to the new King, to desire him to order Matters so for the time to come, that more quick Justice may be done by his Ministers to those that come to Trade in his Country. *Decem.*

After this we parted in a fair and friendly manner, and all Business being done we took leave of *Masulipatan*, and went away for *Bantam*, where we arriv'd the beginning of *January*. We found some *English* Ships here, and particularly the *James* our Second, lately come from *Patane*, and had notice of our other Affairs at *Macassar*, *Siam*, &c. which at this time went on but dully because of the Commotions in those Countries, *Go to Bantam. January.*

Captain *David Middleton* coming in hither the next Month with three *English* Ships more (all in very good case) a Council was held for ordering the several Dispatches of these Ships, which by Agreement were dispers'd to various parts of the *Indies*, to *Sumatra*, *Ambriva*, *Patane* and *Japan*, to inspect the Trade, and visit our Factories in those parts. *February.*

As for us in the Globe we left *Bantam* the latter end of this Month ‡ (having sent the *James* sometime before us) and holding our Course for *England*, after * five Months sailing or little more, had the happiness to Arrive there in safety. ‡ *August. A. D.* 1611. *Note that by the Observations made in this Voyage, the Isle of St. Helena is 100 Leagues more to the West than the Common Charts do make it.

CHAP. XXII.

An Account of a Voyage to the East-Indies, *in the* Pearl, *Commanded by Captain* Samuel Castleton. *Written by Mr* John Tatton, *Master of the same Ship.*

August, A. D. 1611.

THis Ship set out from *Gravesend* the 22d of *August*, *A. D.* 1611. But the Accounts of the former part of her Voyage having nothing considerable and entertaining in them, we shall omit them upon that Score. We will let her pass the *Canaries*, the *Azores*, and the Isles of Cape *de Verd*, call in at *Soldania*, and turn the most Southern Point of *Africk*, making her way up to the Equator again. 'Tis to no purpose to attend her, while she only casts Anchors, Sounds the depth of the Water, or Bartars a little old Iron, for a few Sheep and Beeves, with the Barbarous People as she Sails along.

At the *Indian* Coasts we fell in with her again: Here she begins to do Business and furnishes matter something worth Observation.

Pearl at Priaman and Teco.

In the first place therefore we find them Trading upon the great Island of *Sumatra*; *Teco* and *Priaman* are places fam'd enough for their Pepper, and here our Ship was busie for some time, 'tis to be presum'd upon that same Account, tho' we are not told what particular Concerns she had there.

August. A. D. 16 2

From hence she went towards the Island of *Ceylon*, putting by the way into the Bay of *Ayrebangye*. This Bay receives it's name from a Town so call'd, lying a little to the South side of it, and 'tis in Eight Min. North Latitude. At the entrance into it there's a Shoal, all round about which there's nine Fathom Water; but between it and the main is the best Channel with a North Wind, because the Point of the Isle lies Shoal a good Cables length off to the N. side. So again about two Miles of the shear, athwart the Western Point lies another, where there is but 8 or 9 Fathom at most, and very Rocky too. But then all over between that Land and the long Island in the Offing, that lies about seven Leagues distance, there is 28 and 60 Fathom.

Ayrebangye Bay described.

Pattahan Isle a good River. September.

They proceeded next to the Island of *Pattahan*, the great River of which they describe as very good and commodious. The Water of it is excellent, and a Ship may advance into it six or seven Foot upon the Barr. They reckon the Latitude here, 28 Min. to the North of the Line; and tell us that the Coast hereabouts is Ouzie all along the Shoar, except in some few places where 'tis Shoally. Some 25 or 26 Leagues to the North of *Pattahan*, and in 1 Degree 40 Min. North Latitude they came to a pretty big Island, which deserves to be mention'd, in that 'tis a kind of a Guide to the finding out of a very lovely Bay.

The Island is about two Miles from the Main, has two other small ones to the South of it, and a high round Hummock standing between it and the Main. Upon the N. W. side of it there's a Fresh running down a steep Cliff like a River, and may be seen by the white Appearance it makes at a matter of seven or eight Leagues distance. By this Description the Island it self may be found, and then the Bay so commended is easily discover'd; for 'tis but looking upon the North side of this Island and there you find it. Going fair along by the Island, you have good Depths in most places, and so also within it, and close up to the very Main, all Ouzie Ground, and your Anchor over both Flooks. *A great Island with a fair Bay.*

When they had visited this Island and Bay, they sail'd on to the *Nicobar* Islands, where they met with very good Refreshing, and the People as much dispos'd to Trade and Deal with them: Nay, when they went from thence the *Canoes* follow'd them for some time, and kept the Trade still going on. Their Course from these Islands was towards that of *Ceylon*, an Island not much visited by our *English* Ships. The South Point of *Ceylon* call'd *Diundra*, they place in the Latitude of six Degrees, or thereabouts; for when they made that Latitude by the Suns Meridian Altitude, *Diundra* at the same time bore due East of them. The varying hereabouts, or rather in 5 Degr. 32 Min. was 13 Degr. and 24 Min. *Nicobar Islands. October.*

They sail'd directly into *Velegam* Bay upon this Island seeing a great many Boats there, and hoping to find good watering. And since they were strangers to these sort of People, *Ceylon Island. Velegam Bay.*

People, and were uncertain what kind of Treatment they should find amongst them, they would not presently go ashoar amongst them, but sent out their Skiff with a Flag of Truce.

November. The Natives seem'd insensible of their meaning, and made signs that they did not understand the *Portugueze* Tongue in which they spoke. Upon this they sent the Boat to the other side of the Bay, where there were a parcel of Houses built by the *Portugueze*, who were planted there amongst these People, for all they pretended so much ignorance of their Language. Here they could talk *Portugueze*, tho' they could not at the other place; at least one of them did do so, and 'tis likely that others might as well as he. This Person who was the Spokesman for the rest (as they pretended) told the *English*, that they could not be supplied with any thing there till the King had given leave, and that the next morning they should have the King's Answer about the Business at the same place.

Treachery of the Natives and Portugueze. In short 'tis probable enough that some of these were *Portugueze* in disguise, or at least were set a work by them to wheedle and draw our Men into their snares. For at the same time they espied by chance a party of *Portugueze* lying very close together ready for an assault, which in all probability had been made then if they had held in talk much longer; but having discovered those Preparations, they spoil'd the Design by making off from the Shoar. However to try what the event would be, a few Days after they sent their Skiff again towards the Shoar, but under the Protection of their Boat, which was provided for it's Defence. The People ashoar kept themselves close and still, but dispatch'd one of their Company to talk with the Skiff, promising them Water if they would pay for't, which the *English* did not desire to have upon any other Terms. This fellow having acted the part he was sent for, by a sudden retreat away from them, gave the appointed sign to the Ambuscade, who immediately discharg'd a mighty Volley of Shot upon them; and having done that, presently sally'd out of the Bushes, running into the Water, as far as they could to lay hold of the Skiff. But the Boat that was her Guardian played so briskly upon them with her Shot, that they were quickly forc'd to get out of the Water and retire into the Bushes again.

And thus being fully convinc'd of the Treachery and ill Designs of these People; as also that nothing of Refreshment was to be procured here, they left them, continuing notwithstanding to coast along the Isle. We don't hear of any thing of a Trade they met with any where upon this Island; they indeed once propos'd to go to *Maticalo* (a considerable City) for that purpose; but since they say nothing of it, 'tis likely that the Proofs they had of the base unhospitable Temper of the People, did put a stop to that Design. The *Portugueze* also were so great amongst them, that no good was ever to be done by our Men.

Colombo Fort. They have a Fort there called *Colombo*, and are encroaching farther and farther upon the Peoples Liberties, every Day, as they have opportunity. All the Natives we saw were an old sort of People; huge great holes in their Ears, and their Hair (many of them) tied up in a Knot upon their Crowns. They have no covering, but a piece of Cloath, which hangs down before as low as their Knees. And after all, their Minds are by far more naked and unpolish'd than their Bodies; they are void of all Principles of Vertue and Humanity; a sly subtle intriguing People, naturally dispos'd to Villanous Actions, and ready to take all Advantages to commit them.

People of Ceylon.

March. Nothing to purpose being to be done upon this Coast, they set sail homeward again; in which Course they met with various Currents and strange Ripplings of the Water from 4 Degr. 30 Min. South Latitude, to 13 Degr. Sometimes those Ripplings were so great, that they would make a Noise like Over-falls; this was especially in the Parallel of *Pedras Brances* to the West of it. They had also once 24 Degr. 26 Min. varying, the greatest they ever had in all the Voyage, and this was in 13 Degr. 7 Min. South Latitude; again in South Latitude 16 Degr. 50 Min. they had varying 23 Degrees 10 Minutes, so that the varying heightned going Southward. On the North side of the Line about the Coast of *Ceylon*, they had no higher than 12 and 13 Degrees and some odd Minutes varying, as far as five and six Degrees of Latitude.

Rippling Water.

Pearl Island, and the Products of it. Being come into 21 Degrees South Latitude they discover'd an Island of a very high situation, good anchoring all about it, in a fine black Sand; and from forty to four Fathoms close in to the Shoar. The North East Point of it very high and steep; and a little to the S. East there's low Land, refresh'd with a very good running Water; a Boat can't go into it, but notwithstanding 'tis a very compleat convenience for Watering. They call'd this Island *Pearl* Island, according to the Name of the Ship that discover'd it; and a very choice and valuable one 'tis too, tho' it has hitherto scaped falling into the Hands of any particular Master or Possessour. 'Twas wholly destitute of Inhabitants; which sure must be, because it had lain conceal'd, and no body had the luck to hit of it before; for so fine a Spot as this could never have been despis'd, and if it had not been seiz'd for a dwelling, yet at least it would have been known and visited sometimes. It is all over most delightfully shaded, and appears more like a Thicket (standing in the Sea) than any thing else. Here are land *Tortoises*, so many, so large and so good, that few places can shew the like. Of Fowl there are Geese, Ducks, Doves, Parrots, and a white Fowl as big as a Turkie, extreamly Fat, and so short winged, that it cannot Flie. They are all strangely tame and familiar, and may be easily taken without the help of Ginns and Snares, or any devices of Art. They have liv'd here calmly and quietly by themselves, never us'd to any thing of Noise and Violence, or expos'd to the out-rages of their fellow Creatures. Here had been no Fowlers to Hunt and Persecute them from one place to another, no Guns to molest and Terrifie them, and make them afraid of Mankind. There was no appearance of any ravenous sort of Fowl neither amongst them, that by preying upon them, and disturbing their easie peaceable Life, might help to make them shie and frightful. Upon this Account they discover'd all the Boldness and Freedom of that innocent undisturbed Life they had always been us'd to; they knew not what Injuries meant, and therefore fear'd none, and so suffer'd themselves very tamely to be taken. Our *English* Men 'tis probable were the first that ever invaded their free and quiet State; that began to exercise Dominion and Arbitrary Power amongst them, in Sacrificing some of their Lives to their Necessities. But Tyranny being a perfectly new thing to them, they were easily brought under the Yoke; so easily, that they say ten Men may with little difficulty get Fowl enough to serve forty People a whole Day.

As for Fish they tell us of none but Eels, some of the largest and fairest in the World. Strike them with a Pike, and they'll move a Yard or two, and then lie still and be taken; as if the Fish were tame as well as the Fowl; having been always free from Vexation and Fright, by the Plots of busie Anglers and Poachers, the everlasting Plagues of their Element. The North part of this Island is finer and more pleasantly beset with Trees than the South side, tho' that be charmingly shaded too.

Having refresh'd here to their Hearts content, they set sail homewards *April* the 1st, *A.D.* 1613. All that they met with remarkable in this Course, was the considerable quantities of the Saragossa, a Sea Weed with a small long Leaf, and white Berries of the size of a Pepper Corn; 'tis called the Sea of *Grass*.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Eighth Voyage set forth by the East-India *Company, with three Ships, the* Clove, *the* Hector, *and the* Thomas, *under the Command of Capt.* John Saris: *His Course to, and Actions in the* Red Sea, Java, Molucca's, *and the Isle of* Japan, *where first began and settled an* English *Trade. Taken out of his own Journal.*

April, A. D. 1611. Augst. WE sail'd out of the *Downs* with the three good Ships, the *Clove*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*, *April* the Eighteenth; and the First of *August* put in at the Bay of *Soldania*, where we refresh'd for some Days. For some Weeks Sailing after, we had pass'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, * we found nothing of the Monsons of Westerly Winds, which are so commonly talk'd off; but on the contrary had North Easterly, South Easterly, and Easterly Winds, with furious Storms of Rain, Thunder, and Lightning: Yet in the beginning of *September*, the Weather so very fair and hot, that some ensuing Calms were very much to be doubted. The same sort of Winds continued most constantly throughout the whole Month, except some little Touches of a S. W. or S. S. W. Wind, tho' that very seldom.

* Note concerning the Winds.

September.

Currents. We were sensible of no sort of Current, till having had sight of St. *Augustine's* Bay, on the Isle of St. *Lawrence*, we were got beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn* to the Northward; and then we found a very strong one setting S. S. W. And holding on our Course towards the Isles *de Angoxa*, we had for the most part those Southerly Currents working against us, in some places more violently, in others less, as the Observations of the Latitude, and the Ships way did assure us; only coming up about a Seven Leagues distance from the Isles *Angoxas*, we had the Current setting the quite contrary way, *viz.* to the N. N. W. for we cou'd perceive by the Land, that we ran very fast to the Northward; yet making a nearer approach to them, the Current setting to the Southward, took place again.

Angoxa Isles

Observations of the Isles *Angoxas.* These Isles of *Angoxas* are many in number, and for the most part falsly plac'd in the Plats; for whereas they generally stand there in 15 Degr. 40 Min. South Lat. we find them to be in 16 Degr. 20 Min. and the Variation to be 13 Degr. Westerly.

There's a very bad Shoal that lies East of the North-part of the most Northerly of these Islands, at the least three Points into the Sea, having a dry Splat of White Sand between it and the Main. We sounded, and had Ground at 30 Fathom, red Stones like Coral, with grey Sand and Shells: And finding the Current setting so strongly here to the S. W. by W. and such uncertain Shoaling besides, we stood off for St. *Lawrence*, steering N. E. N. E. by E. and E. N. E.

A remarkable passage about the Isle *Juan de Nova.* And in this Course, (the next Day after our parting from *Angoxas* Isle) we began to look out for the Isle *Juan de Nova*, which *Linschoten* advises Sailors to take care of coming near in a small Moon, and which Rule we were forc'd to transgress by an absolute necessity that lay upon us, of getting out of the Current, and other Inconveniencies that then attended us. We had no prospect of any thing like the Isle *Juan de Nova*; but on the other hand, after a continuance of the E. N. E. Course for two Days more, to our very great wonder we saw Land lying to the Westward, some four or five Leagues off, where we so little expected to see any, that we waited only for a prospect of *Juan de Nova* to the Eastward, which we reckon'd cou'd not be above six Leagues to the Southward from us. And this Land that surpriz'd us, what shou'd it be, but the Northermost of the Isles *das Angoxas*, which we parted from a few Days before; which did so effectually disappoint, and at once discourage all our Mariners, that they began to conclude, there wou'd be no proceeding in the Voyage this way.

Now the Reason of all this, we suppose, to be some Counter-current, which in the Small of the Moon sets E. N. E. and W. S. W. from the *Pashella*, or Point of the Shore, which lies N. E. by E. of the Northermost part of *Juan de Nova*; and this Current meeting with the common N. N. E. Current, did certainly carry us thus away to the Westward. And from hence 'tis plain, that if there be any such Island at all as this *Juan de Nova*, it does not lie so far Westward as *Daniel's* Plats do make it, but certainly is posited nearer to the main Island; for otherwise we cou'd not have missed the sight of it.

Those of the Fourth Voyage made in the *Ascension*, assured themselves, that they pass'd to the Eastward of this Island, and St. *Lawrence*; which thing the *Portugueze* pretend to be impossible; saying, that it stands so near the main Island, that there's no passage, but a little narrow Channel, which one of their Ships was once forc'd to put through; but no Ship, either before or since (as they have heard of) has ever done the like. To speak the plain Truth, the *Portugueze* seem to have abus'd the World in this matter, and to design (by placing such an Island so far to the Westward), that those that sail hereabouts, being not so well experienc'd as themselves, should fall into the Snare of the strong Westerly Current. And therefore 'tis necessary for all that are bound this way, to be upon the Coast of St. *Lawrence* by the first of *June*, and from the Cape of St. *Augustine* till they come into 12 Degr. to keep up to the Eastward, and not make their way to the W. of the N. or N. by W. for fear of the S. W. Current, which (with Calms and 14 Degr. 2 Min. Var. Westerly) will certainly set them over upon the Coast of *Sofala*.

Trick of the *Portugueze* the wrong Position of *Juan de Nova.*

Caution.

Besides, in *August* and *September*, you shall have here such violent N. W. Winds, that if you wou'd stand it over for St. *Lawrence*, you shall not be able to fetch it without danger of the Sholes of *India*, (that is, if you be to the North of the said Sholes), neither can you stop upon the Main to keep your Latitude; for 'tis broken Ground, and very deep Water.

After many of these Difficulties we came to an Anchor between *Sofala* and *Mozambique*, where we had Latitude 16 Degr. 32 Min. Longitude 76 Degr. 10 Min. Variation 11 Degr. 50 Min. W. We anchor'd under an Island near the Main, at which place we had neither fresh Water, nor People to direct us to any; so leaving that uncomfortable Harbour, we put out to Sea again, and were toss'd up and down between the variable Winds, and the old N. E. Current, till the latter end of *October*, when we came to an Anchor at *Moyela*, which is one of the Isles *Comora*, and in 12 Degr. 13 Min. South Lat. Here we found both People and Provisions too; the Inhabitants were kind and free, and brought out all their Stores to us. As Nature had been frank and liberal in her Favours to them, so they did with an open hand pass over her Bounties to us.

October.

Come to *Moyela.*

In exchange for little Haberdashry Ware of a trifling value, we had Bullocks, Goats, Hens, Fish, Eggs, Milk, Sugar-Canes, Tamarinds, Coco's, Plantans, Pomegranates, Papanes, Limons, Rice, and almost whatever we cou'd have occasion for.

Products of the place.

The People. The People have all the Characters of Negroes in their Colour, Feature, short curl'd Hair, and Dress; about their Middles they wear a Pintadoe, and white Caps on their Heads, tho' those of them that are *Mahometans* wear Turbants. And this is the prevailing Religion of the Island, at least amongst the better sort: The King himself is a Disciple of *Mahomet*, and at the time of our being there kept his *Rammadam*, or *Lent*, according to the Laws of his Prophet. 'Twas for this Reason that he cou'd not accept of a Banquet we provided to entertain him; the Sun was above the Horizon, and he cou'd not eat then without affronting his Religion. Yet he had so good a mind to the Entertainment, and his Appetite was charm'd so far, that I doubt he broke the Commandment in his Heart; for he carried all the best of the Victuals home along with him, and resolv'd to eat it there as soon as the Sun was down. This Prince cou'd speak a little *Arabick*; and his Devotion having

The King of *Moyela.*

having once carried him a Pilgrimage to *Meccha*, had purchas'd thereby the Title of *Xeriff*, a Term of Honour, affected by the most stanch and zealous Princes of the *Mahometan* Sect.

His Apparel was only a white Cotton Coat, a Turbant upon his Head, and a *Guzurat* Pintado about his middle.

The People in general are more desirous of Trading for dry Money, than by way of Barter for other Commodities; only if it be for any Commodity that's eatable, they'll barter as long as you please, and bring them but Crimson Cloth, *Cambaya* Cloth, red Scull-Caps, and Sword-Blades; and you may have any thing of that nature that the Island affords, and good Bargains too.

His Note for Friendship. At our departure the King gave me a Note under his own Hand, written in *Arabick*, as a Testimony of his Friendship, and requested my Letter of Commendations, to shew to any others that shou'd come thither; for a standing Evidence of his fair Dealing and Civility towards us, and an Encouragement to those that shou'd visit him afterwards.

I found a *Dutch* Admiral that had been here, had given such a Testimony, and so follow'd his Example with another; only adding a Caution privately, that Strangers shou'd not be off their Guard here, nor trust these People too far: For how fairly soever they carry it, when Care and Vigilance won't allow them to do otherwise, yet one does not know what they might be, or do, if by a secure presuming upon their Honesty, one shou'd give them an Opportunity to play the Knave.

November. Thus we parted in a very Friendly manner from *Moyela*, directing our Course now to the Isle of *Zocotora*. We made the Main-land of *Melinda*, (coming up within four Leagues S. E. of the Bay of *Formosa*) when by our Reckoning we were more than 48 Leagues distance from it: And hence conclude this Land to lie more Easterly than 'tis placed in our Plats; for otherwise we cou'd not have fallen with it so soon.

Note concerning the Main Land of *Melinda*, *Decemb.* We had frequently a fearful rippling Water, sometimes to such a degree, that 'twas like the Fall at *London*-Bridge; and this too out of the sight of the Land, and where we cou'd find no Ground at a Hundred Fathom Water. These Ripplings shew just like Shelves, and are very uncertain as to the Measures of their Greatness or Smallness, tho' in this Course we met with them very often in a Day. They make as much Noise by the Ship's side, as if she ran five Leagues a Watch, when at the same time she scarce goes a-head. The Southerly Current, and these Ripplings, for the most part, went together, and when the one went off, the other grew inconsiderable likewise. Being off from the Main, we had almost a continual Calm, and the further we went, still the less Wind.

A Rippling Sea.

Useful Observation. The latter end of *December* we found our selves put back into 5 Degr. 25 Min. South Lat. when a Month before we were 1 or 2 Min. to the N. of the Equator, close by the Shore; and therefore it may be useful for all that are bound to *Zocotora*, at this time of the Year, to observe this Method. Let them hold to the Eastward of *Pemba*, 200 Leagues East by N. the Variation, there increasing Westerly, which will bring them the more Northerly; and so keeping the Isle of *Zocotora* open, between the N. by E. and the N. N. E. they shall be in a Condition to make the best use of those Winds, which blow near the Main, with a constant Gale between the E. by N. and E. by S. tho' off at Sea about the Isles *Mascarenha's*, they are generally at N. E. N. and sometimes at N. W. W. and W. by S. with Varieties of Weather, sometimes calm, and at other times Storms of Thunder and Lightning, with a fearful Rippling of the Water. And observe, that tho' the N. E. and N. Winds, are but indifferent Helps, yet you'll have this advantage, that by how much the more Easterly you are, by so much the more you shall recover to the Northward of the Line, before you meet with the Main; and if you can avoid the Main, 'tis best to do so in the time of the Easterly Monson, till you are got into 10 Degr. North Lat. whereas in the Westerly Monson you must keep the Shore aboard, still remembring that it lies more to the East than the Platts do represent it.

January. Having made the Cape *Das Baxas*, upon the Main of *Magadoxa*, (which we did the first of the New Year) we had much Wind and Current Southerly, and made the Main of *Doara* (up higher upon the Coast of *Africk*) about the middle of this Month: A sandy barren Country 'tis, (and not very high,) as indeed 'tis mostly along from *Magadoxa* hither.

Doara.

February. The next Land that came within view, was Cape *Defui*, which appears very high and barren by the Sea-side: And we had some Reason to take Notice of it, because the Current setting to the N. W. which began to play its part with the Ships about the Coast of *Doara*, did work us about so effectually, that after we had parted from Cape *Dorfui*, and been out at Sea some eight or nine Days; this N. Westerly, or rather perhaps W. N. W. Current, brought us within sight of it again, when we thought of forty five or fifty Leagues distance from it. As for the Variation in general, for a Direction to those that shall sail this way, they may take Notice of what Experience has taught us, *viz.* That tho' the Variation observes no certain proportion, yet in running to the Eastward, we have Variat. Westerly increasing, and standing in to the Shore N. W. our Variation was Westerly decreasing; so that reckoning according to the Plats, we found our selves much further off the Land, than the just proof by Variation wou'd allow. This is a Truth that we are sure of, and our so often falling with the Main, gain'd us that Point of Knowledge, which others may make use of to their advantage.

Cape *Defui*.

Observation of the Var.

Come to *Tammarin*. We came to an Anchor in *Tammarin* Road, in the Isle of *Zocotora*, the latter end of this Month, having by the hindrance of Winds and Currents spent, at least fourteen or fifteen Weeks in our passage between *Moyela*, and this place.

The King gave us a very Friendly Entertainment, and together with a Present, sent me the Letters left there by Sir *Henry Middleton* for me. These gave an Account of his horrible Usage at *Moha*; and in short, the whole Series of the Misfortunes attending the Fleet under his Command in the *Red Sea*; together with Advice to us, to make the best use of those Examples, of the perfidious dealing of the *Turks*, for our security and defence.

But since there was no Business to be done upon this Island, the King having no Aloes to furnish us with; and then no going for the *Indies* till the end of *September*, because the Monson wou'd not serve till then; for those Reasons, and several others, we concluded notwithstanding to sail away for the *Red Sea*. Besides, we had the Grand Seignior's Pass and Safe Conduct, which we had Reason to believe, wou'd have some Influence to procure us a Civil Treatment at least in those parts. Or if matters came to the worst, and no Trade was to be had there, we shou'd be in a Condition to defend our selves, from any Violence the *Turks* cou'd pretend to offer; and also to take some Course for revenging the Affronts our Nation had receiv'd from them.

Go for the *Red Sea*.

At our departure the King counsell'd us, if we went to the *Red Sea*, to be sure to ply to the Southward of *Abba del Curia*; because keeping to the North-side, we shou'd be put over to the *Arabian* Shore, and not be able, without great difficulty, to fetch Cape *Guardefui*; and by proof we did find it best to keep the *Abassine* Shore aboard, according to the purport of his Direction. About the Bay of *Monte Felix*, we had excellent Fishing, and plenty of Water and Wood at the Town, but not in the bottom of the Bay: The passage up to the Town is so large, that three Ships may go a-breast without danger, and the going in is between the high Hummock, and the low sandy Point. This place affords excellent good Gums, which are a delicate Perfume when burnt; and curious Mats, which are greatly in request at *Aden*, *Moha*, and the *East-Indies*.

March.

Note.

Felix, or *Felick* Town.

We had not seen a Drop of Rain for above four Months, when now, a little before we came up with the Streights of *Babelmandel*, we had a light sprinkling, and that was all.

Come to *Moha*. We came to an Anchor in *Moha* Road, the middle of this Month of *March*, having had better Luck at our coming in, than the *Trades-Increase* had, by avoiding that fatal Shole, where she stuck, to her very great danger for twenty four Hours.

This Shole will discover it self by the Colour of the Water, and you must bring the Steeple of the high Church in the Town E. N. E. Easterly, before you can be clear of it at your coming into the Road. We were soon saluted by a Messenger from the Governour, to know what we were, and what we pretended to in coming thither: By whom I return'd Answer, That if the Governour wou'd send an equal Pledge to stay aboard in my room, I wou'd come ashore, and satisfie him my self *. The State of Affairs was, it seems, now alter'd at *Moha*, much for the better, and 'twas quite another place than what 'twas when General *Middleton* was there: For the barbarous Aga, that so rudely handled our *English* then, was thrown out of his Government, and another fix'd in his place, a Man, as 'twas reported, of a good Temper, courteous to Strangers, and a zealous Promoter of Trade. 'Twas possible at this time to go ashore without fear of being ritled, plunder'd, or knock'd on the Head, by a parcel of rude *Turks*; there was something of Justice and Civility in the place, which in the time of *Regib*, Aga, were absolutely banish'd hence.

* Thus it was reported to them.

A better Governour at *Moha*.

Having

Having satisfied the Governour however who we were, and the Warrant we had from the *Grand Seignior* for our coming hither; I received a very courteous Welcome from him, both by Word of mouth and Letter. He promis'd a sufficient Pledge for my safe return if I pleas'd to land; plain and open dealing in all points, without any thing of that plotting Fraud and Treachery, that had so abus'd our Nation before; only as to the main Business of a fixed Trade he could not determin it till the *Bassa*'s Orders (which he expected) were come, but if in the mean time any of my Men came ashoar they should be well us'd, and buy or sell without molestation. And whether it were Conscience or fear of Revenge I know not, but the *Aga* was in all respects to a Punctilio as good as his Word: Our Men that went ashoar were feasted and caress'd in the highest degree, vested in Cloth of Silver, and carried up and down the Town, with Musick playing before them to shew the People how welcome they were.

The General goes ashoar.

Shortly after he sent three Persons of considerable figure to remain as Pledges in my room, upon which Security given I went ashoar with all the Merchants; being receiv'd by a Body of the great Men, with the *Turkish* Musick and several Volleys from the great Guns of the Castle. My reception at the *Aga*'s Palace was agreeable to all the rest of the Scene; every thing appear'd stately and magnificent, express'd welcome and respect, and afforded pleasure and delight, only the Complements of the *Turks* were troublesome, and that very formal ceremonious way they use in their address to Strangers was some allay to the rest of the Entertainment.

The *Aga* receiv'd our King's Letter respectfully, but the *Grand Seignior*'s Pass he took with a Reverence and Devotion almost Religious; kissing and laying it on his Head, as he would have done his Alcoran. He made a world of excuses for the Wrongs done to Sir *Henry Middleton* laying all the blame upon the drunken Soldiers, and the ill humour of the late *Aga* who had acted beyond his Commission, and had received a due Punishment for his Insolence by a disgraceful remove from his place; by all which discourse it was very manifest that they suspected a design of Revenge, and fear'd we would call them to a reckoning for those past Injuries.

Their Entertainment at the *Aga*'s.

After this a noble Dinner was prepared for us; which yet (had the Liquid part been proportionable to the rest) would have been much more entertaining, especially to Sea-men; but our Drink was only pure Element, or else (for variety) a kind of decoction of a certain bitter Herb, which made it an absolute Dose, and was ten times worse than the Water in it's own pure naturals.

Their way of Eating.

Their way is to serve up all the several Dishes together, and set them down at once, before the Guests fall to Eating; and then they don't place them upon a Level as we do; but pile them up one over another, story upon story, a matter of a Yard high; so that sitting (according to the manner of the *Turks*) cross legg'd upon a Carpet in the Floor, the highest Dishes were almost above our Heads. These Dishes are also made with Feet that they stand hollow above one another, and the meat in any of them may be come at conveniently enough (if one can but reach) without removing them out of their places.

And Perfuming.

After Dinner the *Agas* little Boys came in with their Chaffing-dishes, and several rich Perfumes, as Ambergriece, Lign-Aloes, *&c.* to gratifie that Sence as well as the rest: This is a Ceremony they use in all their great Entertainments, and it being the Custom, we submitted to it, and held our Noses down over the Chaffing-Dishes. And 'tis true those Odours were very grateful and pleasant; yet I think at the rate that Liquor went in the *Aga*'s House, we had no need of Fumigations at that time, and could have gone back soberly enough to our Ships, without the help of Ambergriece, or any of those fine Scents to set our Heads to rights.

For a Conclusion of the whole Caress, a rich Suit of Apparel after the *Turkish* Mode was brought forth, the Vest of Cloth of Gold, the Turbant suitable, and a curious Damaskeen or Scimeta, all which the *Aga* put on with his own Hands.

Captain *Saris* led thro' the Town in great Pomp.

This as he told me was the *Grand Seignior*'s Present, and I must needs walk in this Garb with the great Officers through the Town, that the People might all see the Marks of the Emperor's Favour conferr'd upon me. I should have ridden indeed, for that's the Custom, and a stately Horse was provided for that purpose; but I chose rather to walk, that I might have more opportunity to make a nice Observation of the Town.

Return to their Ship.

This Ceremony over, I returned to the Palace, and took my leave of the *Aga*, who still most earnestly desired that all past Offences might be put up; and those Thoughts of Revenge so justly awakned in us, might give way to Sentiments of perfect Love and Friendship for the Future. Thus we went back to our Ships with the Respect and Applause of the whole Town of *Moha*, and being come, we discharged the Turkish Pledges. Mention being made before of the *Grand Seignior*'s Patent, and it being all our Foundation and Security in this Attempt upon a Trade with these parts; it may be worth while to incert here a Copy of the same exactly taken from the Original *Arabick*.

The *Great Turk*'s Letters Patents *Englished*.

YOU that are My most Laudable, Fortunate, Wealthy, and great Vice-roys *and* Beglerbeys, *that are on the way from My most Happy and Imperial Throne (both by Sea and Land) unto the Confines and Bounds of the* East-Indies, *Owners of some part of Dignity, and those unto whom belongeth to give aid, help, and succour in God's cause, and* Mussulmanical *Religion, upon their Emperious beck, The Wealth and Greatness of whom let it continue for ever. Likewise unto ye My most Laudable and Valiant* Saniacq Beys, *that are under the above-named* Beglerbeys, *owners, and hope of future greater Dignities, and those unto whom belongeth dutiful Aid and Help in God's cause and Religion, upon their Emperors Direction: the Honour and Dignity of whom be ever continuing. And unto ye My most Laudable, Wise, and Prudent Justices of Peace, Judges and Ministers of Justice, that are within the Precincts of the said* Saniacq Beys, *whose Judgments, Justice, and Words do flow, as from a Fountain of all Wisdom and Prudence: The Worthiness and Greatness of whose Dignity and Function, let it continue for ever. Also unto ye My Laudable, Great, and most Worthy Captains and* Reyses *of all Our Navies and Shipping that swim upon the Face of the Sea. Unto ye my laudable Captains of the Castles, Cities and Towns: And unto ye Worthy and Laudable Customers, dwelling upon the Sea-Coast, upon Rivers, Bridges, and all other parts of Our Dominions, and thereunto adjacent. Upon sight of this My most High and Imperial Commandment, in conformity of your most Bound Duties, ye shall arise, and do Obeisance and Reverence thereunto.*

Hereby ye shall understand, that the Embassadour of the King of Great Britain *that resideth in Our Happy and most High Port, hath given us to understand by his Supplication; That forasmuch as some of his Masters the King of* Great Britain *his Subjects, have with great Charge and Labour, discover'd a Trade in the* East-Indies, *and withal understand of Wealth, and likelihood of Trade in some Parts of Our Dominions by the way to be had in their Passage to the said* Indies, *being therefore desirous to visit those places for the better enlarging of their said Trade. To the end that such Men may in so good and laudable Enterprises have all Favour, Aid, and Help, (so far as lawfully and conveniently may be granted) Hath requested us in the Name of his said Master the King of* Great Britain, *to vouchsafe them our safe conduct and recommendations. In conformity of whose Request, as also in regard We and our Predecessors, are and have been for the space of many Years in strict League and Amity, with the afore-mentioned King of* Great Britain, *and the Subjects of that Kingdom, who long have had, and at this present have free Traffick and Trade in Merchandizing in our Dominions and Provinces through the* Mediterranean *Seas. We therefore do Command, and expresly charge ye all, and every of ye, our above mentioned Subjects and Officers, that ye will not only kindly and lovingly entertain and receive the said Merchants and Subjects of* Great Britain, *coming or passing through or by any of our Dominions, especially intending to Trade to the Dominions of* Yemen, Aden, *and* Moha, *and the parts adjoining thereunto. Assisting and relieving them with all things needful for themselves, their Men and Ships: but also freely to permit them by Land or by Sea, to go or sail, outward and returning, even as their Occasion shall require, and to remain in any of our Dominions, Countries or Cities, granting them such liberty of Traffick and Privileges as shall be reasonable, without giving or suffering any let or hindrance, injury or molestation to be offered or done unto them. Yea, ye shall yield unto them such Offices of Benevolence and Humanity, as shall be meet and convenient to be yielded unto honest men, and Strangers, undertaking so long and laborious a Voyage. And if so be that We shall understand, that contrary to the Capitulations, the Amity and League, which is between us and the King of* Great Britain, *ye do offer them the least wrong, and any way molest and trouble the said Merchants in their Traffick, and ought else: Know ye for certain, that ye shall not only incur Our high displeasure, but ye shall be punished for example unto others: and therefore carry your selves conformable to this My Imperial Commandment, and give credit to this My Imperial Ensign. Written at Our Mansion*

Guard.

Guard at Constantinople, *on the fifteenth day of the Moon called* Zilkigie, *Anno.* 1019.

Some little time after this came the long expected Messenger from the *Bassa*, and word was accordingly sent me from the Captain of the Town that the Orders of the Patrent would be inviolably observ'd, and a free Trade establish'd. And yet at the same time I had some private hints given, intimating that the *Bassa* had spoke another Language in his Letter to the *Aga*; that matters if they did not run against us, were not order'd to our Advantage, and that we ought to take care and not come ashoar without Pledges; no tho' the *Aga* and all his Officers should swear all round upon the *Alcoran* for our Security; (for as our Informer told us) they were Souldiers, and had Consciences of so strong a digestion, that no Perjury in the World would sit uneasie upon them.

Deceitful Tidings.

April, A. D. 1612.

Some *Indian* Ships came in the beginning of the next Month, laden with Indicoes, Calicoes, Pintadoes, Ambergrice, and Spices, all very good and vast quantities of each, and these we held by us in our own Defence, in case any Injury should be offer'd ashoar. And there was a great deal of Reason to suspect that some Mischief was hatching, because the Governour all this while had taken little notice of the *Bassa*'s pretended Licence for our Trade; at least only in such obscure and general Terms, as would rather have excited than silenc'd a Suspicion of some perfidious Design; but on the other Hand was very earnest for me to come ashoar again, and then I should understand more of the Business.

The *Turks* fly off from their Promise.

But for this Point of Civility I begg'd his Pardon and Excuse, having no mind to make any more Visits at *Moha* as matters stood; but I sent one of my Company, who tho' he went without Pledges in his room came back again as it happen'd, and brought Word of the appearing Frustration of our whole Design; that the *Turks* gave no hopes of performing their Promise, and that the *Aga* concluded we must send some of our People to the *Bassa* at *Zenan*, and get our Dispatch immediately from himself.

Sir Henry Middleton comes with his Ships.

And this Course (since there was no other left) I had certainly pursued; when by the sudden Arrival of Sir *Henry Middleton*, and a Summons from him to quit the place as soon as was possible, the whole Scene was changed, and all Designs of that kind for ever laid aside. We had done now courting the false and perfidious *Turks* for a Trade; the General was come back from the *Indies* with a full Design of Revenge, and the *Infidels* that had hitherto abus'd us were no longer to be excus'd from making Satisfaction. These were his Resolutions; tho' I could have wish'd first to have seen what the *Turks* would have done with us, and what would have been the Result of our Personal Application to the *Bassa*; whether they would have granted us a fair and quiet Traffick, according to the Intent of the *Grand Seignior*'s Letters, or have gone on in the same Road of Cheat and Abuse to the end of the Chapter. There were several strong Suspicions of ill Designs a-Foot; and for all I know the *Turks* might have given our Nation in this Affair too, a second Demonstration of their surpassing Skill in the Arts of Tricking, Wheedling and Dissembling; yet the Captain of the Gallies now sent positive word that the *Bassa* had commanded the *Aga* to shew all the Kindness imaginable to us, to let us have a publick Ware-house in *Moha*, and a Factory settled there without any more ado; and besides to take care for the safe Conduct and good Accommodation of those *English* Merchants in their Journey that design'd to come to *Zenan* to him. But a Man is ever at a loss that has to do with People of such a Principle and Disposition as the *Turks* are; A People that can Flatter and Deceive so perfectly, hide an ill Design so artificially, deal so rudely when out of Fear and Danger, and speak so very fairly when under any uneasie Apprehensions.

Note this Story of their Dealing with the *Indian* Ships is in General *Middleton*'s Voyage, and therefore not to be repeated here. Only the bare Account of what concern'd Capt. *Saris* in particular.

In short these flattering Methods of the *Turks* now did no good; and as Sir *Henry Middleton* persisted in his Design of forcing Satisfaction from them; so I concluded to joyn with him in so just an Attempt, and in pursuance thereof, got clear from *Moha*, and came up with my Ships to his. The Agreement made betwixt us, was, That both Fleets shou'd joyn to Trade with as many of the *Indian* Ships as we cou'd meet with; and Sir *Henry* to dispose of Two thirds of the Goods that shou'd be barter'd for, and my self the other One third. The whole Cargason of Commodities I barter'd for with the *Indian* Ships in this place, amounted but to 46174 Rials of Eight, as I make appear by the Discharges and Acquittances given by the Captains of those Ships.

While I lay here at *Moha*, I order'd my Men ashoar to take an Account of the Measures and Weights, in use at that place, and also of the Prizes of several Commodities most in vogue. The most common Weight here us'd is the Juen, which contains two Rottala's, each Rottala being One Pound weight of theirs; and Ten Junes, which make Twenty Pound of their Weight, comes to Twenty three Pound of our *English Averduppize*; or Twenty four Pound sometimes, as the weigher has a mind to befriend you. Indico is sold by the Charl, which is in their Weight 150, and in ours betwixt 166 and 170 Pound. Cotton Wool is sold by the Bahar, which is 300 Rottala's, and makes between 332 and 344 Pound *English* Weight, at Eighteen Rials *per* Bahar very good and clean. Their Measure of Length is call'd a Peck, and is about Three fourths of our *English* Yards.

The Weights and Measures at *Moha*.

I had also at this time the following Account of the state of Trade at *Surat*, and the Prizes of Commodities there but a little before. Broad Cloth of Twenty three Pound, a Cloth of several colours at Twenty Mamoodies the Conido; the Conido is a measure of 35 Inches *English*, and the Mamoodie is in value One fifth part of a Rial of Eight. Kersies at 84 Mamoodies the piece, which was less than ours cost in *England*. Lead, the great Maund, which contains Thirty three pound *English*, at Seven and One third Mamoodies. Tin, the lesser Maund, containing Twenty five Pound *English*, at 5 ⅓ Rials of Eight.

How the Trade stood at *Surat* at that time.

At *Dabul*, Iron went at 21 Rials the Bahar, which is about 360 pound *English* Weight. Pieces Damask'd, from Twelve to Eighteen Rials the Piece. Elephants Teeth at Sixty five Mamoodies the greater Maund. Indico of *Cirkesa* (whereof there's three sorts) the best at Fourteen Roupies the greater Maund, the second sort at Twelve, and the third at Eight; and Fourteen of these Roupies make about half a Rial of Eight. Indico of *Lahor* (which is the best of all, and of which also there's three sorts) the best at 36 Rupies, the biggest Maund of 55 pound, the second sort at Thirty, and the third at Twenty four Roupies. The Charges of bringing it to the Water side was 10 in the hundred for *Cirkesa* Indico, and 20 in the 100 (Custom) for that of *Lahor*.

And at *Dabul*.

Having seen the last result of our Affairs in the *Red-Sea*, we set sail in prosecution of our *Indian* Voyage, directing our course first of all to *Bantam*. We put in by the way at *Zocotora* for a Bargain of Aloes, it being about this time of the Year that the King of that Island had told us he should be able to furnish us with a quantity. He held it up at a very high rate, demanding Forty Rials of Eight *per* Rintal, which is 104 pound weight, alledging that the *Portugueze* courted him to let them have the refusal of it, and would be glad of it at that Price. We agreed with him at last at Thirty Rials for one parcel, and Thirty eight for another, and so took of him the quantity of 4067 pound, which cost us to the value of 1418 ½ Rials of Eight; but we found him false both in his Word and Weight too, tho' we made no breach with him upon that score for the sake of future Trade.

August. Captain *Saris* goes for *Bantam*.

September. Take in Aloes at *Zocotora*.

After we had parted from this Island we were one night surpriz'd with a strange sparkling and glaring of the Water all about us. 'Twas but just before so dark that one could not see half the length of the Ship any way round, and now there was such a clear Skie on every side, as would have serv'd to have read by tolerably well. And this was not a sudden flash of light that gave a short glare, and then was gone again presently, but it held us for a matter of half an hour sailing; and when all came to all, and the Philosophy of the whole Fleet was puzzl'd to find out the cause of it, 'twas a parcel of Cuttle Fish swiming about us that made this appearance, and were so kind as to afford us the Assistance of their Light in the dark Night, when the Stars denied us theirs.

A remarkable Phænomenon.

When we came up with Cape *Commorin*, upon the *Malabar* Coast, we found by Observation that it's erroneously placed in the common Plats, lying considerably more Northerly than they make it; for whereas the Latitude is generally reckoned six Degrees ten Minutes, we find it to be 7 Degrees 42 Minutes to the North of the Line. Besides we had no sight of several other Islands mentioned in our Plats; particularly we light of none of the *Maldives*, which are so very numerous, according to the vulgar Accounts, neither indeed did we descry any Land till we saw the Main of *Malabar*.

The deceit of the Plats in the Posicion of Cape *Commorin*.

October Being in sight of the Island of *Sumatra* (the East part of which did then bear E. N. E. 14 Leagues distance) and in 4 Degr. 49 Minutes South Latitude, we found a very strong Current setting to the South side, which put us forcibly off from the Land.

From hence it may be proper to give this caution to those that are bound for the *Streights* of *Sunda*, that they keep *Sumatra* aboard after they are come into 1 Degree 30 Minutes South Latitude, because there the Current begins; and for distance, that they hold a matter of 30 Leagues off with good looking out, because there are several

Note of the Current near *Sumatra*.

several Cayos 15 or 20 Leagues off, which by Reason of the Current we did not see.

Come to *Bantam.* We came to an Anchor in *Bantam* Road the latter end of this Month, finding here several Ships of our own Nation, and the *Dutch's*, and more of ours every Day expected. The Arrival of all these Ships, and the expectation of so many more, made a strange alteration in the Price of Commodities; those in any Request being hoisted up to three times the Value of what they were sold for but two Days before. Cloves which went but at sixteen Rials of Eight the Peecul, were now risen to above forty; and the Price of Pepper encreased in a far greater proportion; this Peecul tried by our *English* Weights, bears about 132 pound. At the time of our being here the Protector was all in all in the Country; the King tho' of Age did nothing but fill up the Throne, and enjoy his Pleasures, committing all Business to the sole management of the Protector.

November. Trade for Pepper. The Main of the Business done here this Season was the laying in Twelve or Fourteen thousand Sacks of Pepper for the lading two of my Ships quickly, to be dispatch'd from hence to *England*; and this we had at several Prices, from 160 to 125 Rials the 100 Sacks, and all of the *Chinese* Merchants who are the great Dealers here. Besides this, we took in 700 Sacks of the same Commodity for a trial how 'twould go off at *Japan*; for thither I was bound from this place, going to make the first Attempt at settling an *English* Factory upon that Island. One of our Nation (Mr *William Adams*) was at this time in very great Repute and Favour with the Emperour there; he had been in *Japan* ever since the Year 1600, and liv'd in very good Circumstances, and from him Letters came to us at *Bantam*, giving us very great Hopes of a good Reception, and profitable Trade at that Country.

January. My two Ships the *Hector* and the *Thomas* being sent away laden for *England*, I weighed out of the Road for *Japan* with my biggest Ship the *Clove*. The very next Day a Misfortune overtook us, that had like to have oblig'd us to put back to *Bantam* again, to the very great Prejudice of our intended Voyage. For having *Pulo Lack* on our Star-board, and passing within two little Islands that lie to the East side of it, we run aground, and stuck fast for some Hours in a very forlorn case. The Mischief that reduc'd us to this Distress, was a Shoal lying in that Passage, which has not above six Foot on the Top of it, nor is above half a Cable's length every way; hard aboard it there's ten Fathom, and the next cast on ground, as we found by sad experience. Observe, that to go clear of this Shoal, you must keep close to the Islands and not to the Main, for that's all Shoald. In the Course from hence to the Island *Celebes*, we had the Current changing two or three several ways: Not far from the watering place call'd *Ting Ina*, which is about fourteen Leagues from *Bantam*, you shall find it setting to the E.S.E. which you must allow for, as you have the Wind; we had it as we steer'd near the East of those two Islands, that lie over against the Watering place, and are about five Miles distance from the Point of *Jacatra*. In the Latitude six Degrees nine Minutes (after having pass'd the Isle *Pulo Labuck*) the Current run directly (at least pretty near) to the West side, and within sight of the *Celebes* (the East part bearing East by North six Leagues off, and Latitude five Degrees 52 Minutes) it set to the North West side.

Danger near *Pulo Lack.*

Currents.

Here we took in our Sails to keep short of the Streights of *Desalon*, and keeping our Lead all Night, we had first 20 Fathom, and then drove into 33 and so to 47 Fathom, fearing a Shoal, which lies almost a League from the *Celebes*, and at low Water plainly discovers the breach upon it.

Passage by the *Celebes* dangerous. On the *Celebes* side 'tis very dangerous, and full of sunken Ground; and for that Reason, we haled over for *Desalon* side, having for a Mark the piked Hill, which is next to the Sea side, and rises up like an Island. When this Hill bears N. by W. then you are thwart the East end of the Shoal, and when 'tis North you are thwart the West end of it, and then will the Island which you leave on your Star-board side, bear E. N. E. so that you may boldly steer our in the middle between the two Islands. Observe also, that the East end of *Desalon*, shews like an Island, and will go near to deceive you till you come to it; but when once you have brought the North end of the Point to bear E. N. E. half a Point Easterly, then you may go securely on, for you are clear of all Dangers from the aforementioned Shoal.

Directions to sail there.

February. About four or five Leagues distance from *Cambina*, we found the Current carry us to the North side, and near the Island *Tingalesse* to the N. E. which is a near Neighbour to the considerable Isle of *Botun*.

Straits of *Botun.* From the East Point of *Botun* the Land falls away suddenly, with two or three great Bays to the North Westwards, by which the three great Islands, that lie to the North side of *Botun*, are the Streights so call'd made. 'Tis requisite to observe concerning these Streights, that the Passage is not above a League broad, and the entrance is of the North side of the Island, and if you come from the West side, when you are athwart the N. W. Point, your Course is E. N. E. and E. by N. up to the Road, and no Danger but what you may easily see; but then you must leave the three Islands to the North side of you, and yet not go between any of them; and when you fall with the West end of *Botun*, don't go between it and the two long Islands that lie off it; but leave them on your Star-board side, because 'tis all broken Ground between them and *Botun*. But if the Wind serve you, then hale to the North side of all the Islands, either between *Botun* and *Cambina*, or else to the North side of that too, and so you may keep the Coast of *Celebes* safely enough.

Direction past the Streights.

The latter end of this Month, we came up with the Island of *Bachig* (call'd by our *English* Sailors *Halebolin*) which is one of the *Mobucca's*, and very easily known by the Prospect it yields, being a high copped round Island, and very different in shape from any other Islands to be seen thereabours. The Point of this Island bearing E.N.E. four Leagues of, and Latitude one Degree 16 Minutes, we found the Current setting N. E. and the high Land of *Machian* bearing N. by E. and Latitude 51 Minutes. We had it setting to the N. N. E. *Bachian* has been famous for the production of Cloves, and would still have maintained it's Reputation for the same Commodity, did not the unhappy Commotions there disturb the Labours and industrious Endeavours of the Natives.

Come to the *Molucca's.*

They are altogether by the Ears in a Civil War; and whilst they are forming Plots and Stratagems to run down and destroy one another, the Clove-Tree stands neglected, and the noble Spice rots upon the Ground. The *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* (who both make their Pretentions to this place) stand by and see those Contentions of the *Bachians* with no small Pleasure; and if they did not at first make the quarrel between them, yet they do all they can to foment and encrease it. They sit secure in their strong Forts, diverting themselves with the Prospect of the Spoil these People make of one another; and for fear their Passions should cool, and the raging Fit go off, they loo them on with all the eagerness in the World, and continually inspire them with fresh Jealousies and Suspicions, so that the Feud holds up to its height, and must be immortal while these Incendiaries are amongst them, at least while there is a race of People left that will be so foolish as to hearken to their Suggestions. These Foreigners are too cunning to meddle at all in the Matter, but think it the better way to leave them to work it out by themselves; that is, they have too little Honesty and good Nature to do any thing towards the making of Peace, and bringing the contending Parties to a good understanding, at least by affording a just Assistance to the weaker and injured side, to help to bring the Aggressours to reasonable Terms: this won't answer their Design, for the inverted Sence of the Proverb is true as well as the direct, when honest People fall together by the Ears, the Knaves that stand by lay hold of their Right; let the Natives murder and dispatch one another, and then the Island is all their own, without any farther cost or trouble. The poor Natives groan under these Calamities, and would be heartily glad to be rid of the troublesome Company of the *Dutch*, as they freely confest to me, wishing that the *English* were planted here in their room. The King would fain have come aboard the Ship, but the *Dutch* oblig'd him to forbear; and the People would have sold us Cloves too, but the terrour of the *Dutch* kept them in such awe, that they declar'd 'twas a hazarding of their Lives to do it.

Wars in the Isle *Bachian.*

The ill Design of the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* in *Bachian.*

And yet the Strength of the *Dutch* is inconsiderable there too, if they did not busie themselves, as I did not think they would in matters of this nature; for according to the Report of their Captain himself, their Fort (tho' strong and substantially built) is not furnished with above thirteen Pieces of Ordnance, and thirty Souldiers, a trifling Power to strike such a Terrour into a whole Country; but the great Guns are the main Business, and a small number of Men with a Train of Artillery on their side, may command a vast multitude furnish'd at no better rate than these *Indians* are. But 'tis to be hoped that the *Dutch* will be stronger in time, and have a Troop of Souldiers of their own breed to Fight the *Bachians*, for they have taken care to furnish their Fort well with Women, some of their own Country, and those of so huge and large a size, that they were a good Garrison themselves; fit to defend the Fort without any more Assistance, and certainly cannot fail of bringing very lusty Souldiers into the World.

The *Dutch* Force small in *Bachian.*

This

This Band of *Amazons* follow'd the *Dutch* Captain to our Ship, and presently falling to the Victuals with the common Sailors, gave so good Proof of their Ability that way, that if it be answerable other ways, the Men may e'en go to sleep, and turn over the Fort to the Care of these Females; one of which is almost big enough to stop up any Breach an Adversary shou'd make in the mean time.

The Road before the Fort

The Town of *Bachan* stands hard by the Fort, and any that shou'd have a mind to come to Anchor out of the Command of the Guns, may do it on the East-side of the Bay, in twelve, sixteen, and twenty Fathom, hard Coral Ground, at the opening or going out near a little Island, taking care of a Shoal that lies to the Southward of the Fort, about three Cables length, in Lat. 50 Min.

March.

The Variation of the Compass here, is 4 Degr. 48 Min. Easterly.

Sails for *Machian*.

The State of this Island not allowing any Trade, we sail'd away for *Machian*, another of the *Molucca's*; the rather, being invited thereto by a *Moor* of Quality in this place, who promis'd good store of Cloves there, and furnish'd us with Pilots for the Voyage.

The Prospects of *Machian* and *Tydore*, are something like that of *Bachian*, being high copp'd Islands, only *Tydore* is not so high Land as that of *Machian*; it is shut into the Point of the Western-side of the outwardmost Isle of the three that lie in the going out, two of them being without the Narrow or Streight, and the Third makes the Streights it self, tho' there are more Islands on the Eastern-side.

The Streights the passage *Machian*.

The Island call'd *Tanally Bachar*, is one of those that contributes to the making of the Streights, on the Southern-part of which is a Shoal reaching over to the Southern-part of *Bachian*, having three Fathom on the Skirts, and is dry at low Water.

We reckon it five Leagues from the Streights of *Nerrorat*, and fourteen from the Road of *Amasane* to this Passage. About the little Island that lies in the Streight's Mouth, you have Anchoring from eighteen Fathom and upwards: And a touch both of a Southerly and a Northerly Current, before you pass the Streights, the latter especially, towards the Streights themselves. We found the Sound clear of all Islands between *Bachian* and *Gilolo*, S.E. and N.W. and 'tis all very broad; but there are Islands lying on the Starboard-side, as you go to the Northwards.

The Channel between *Bachian*, *Machian*, and *Gilolo*, lies N. by W. and S. by E. and is six Leagues over in the narrowest part.

Machian wrong plac'd

Passing between *Gilolo* and *Caia*, we had by Observation North Lat. 17 Min. so that *Machian* is not truly plac'd in the Plats, since the Equator there cuts it in the middle, and we find it to lie five Leagues more Northerly.

The Variation of the Compass where this Observation was made, was 4 Degr. 58 Min. Easterly, and a Current in the same place setting to the Southward.

Tabona Road very good.

About the middle of this Month, we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Pelebere*, hard by the Town of *Tabonec*, in *Machian*, where there's the best Riding of the whole Island (tho' very near the Shore) and free from all danger.

The same Day we came, we took in a quantity of Cloves, the Price at 60 Rials of Eight *per* Bahar, the Bahar containing 200 Cattees, and each Cattee amounting to the Value of three Pound five Ounces *English*.

The *Dutch* angry at their coming

The *Dutch* were highly disgusted at our coming hither, and as inquisitive to know who directed us to this place; threatning all with Plagues and Death, that had been concern'd in the matter, if they cou'd find them out; and particularly, that they wou'd treat those with the utmost Severity, that shou'd offer to bring any Spice to us. They pretended to have conquer'd this Country by just Arms, and to have a good and lawful Title to it; and therefore told us we were injurious to come and pretend here, where they had so fairly planted themselves.

The Natives forward to Trade.

But as these specious Pretences wou'd never prove them to have a just and sufficient Title to this Country, or such a Property in it as to exclude all others from Trade, and consequently were little regarded by us; so all their Threatnings were as little valued by the Natives: They found us to be their Friends, Persons that came not to attempt any thing to the prejudice of their rightful Liberties and Privileges, but only to establish a Commerce to the mutual advantage of both Parties; and therefore they wou'd not be curb'd by the *Dutch*, but declar'd they wou'd come aboard us, and bring Spice, notwithstanding their imperious Orders to the contrary. And they were as good as their Word, maintaining the Trade with us, in spite of the insolent *Hollander*; we barter'd *Cambaya* Cloth for Cloves with them, and some we sold for ready Money.

But the industrious Malice of our Adversaries quickly oppos'd it self by more effectual Methods to overturn this good Correspondence; and the Natives, who saw it, inform'd us of it, and at the same time repin'd at their ill usage, and that they were not able to relieve themselves or us.

The Methods took by the *Dutch*, to prevent their Trade at *Machian*.

The *Dutch*, it seems, got an Order from the Prince of *Ternate*, commanding all the Islanders upon pain of Death to forbear bringing any Cloves to us; and to make sure on't, they guarded all the Avenues and Passes of the Island, by which 'twas possible that any Communication shou'd be held between us and the Shoar. They drein'd all their Forts and Garrisons, and brought out their whole Power to watch upon the Coasts, and attend the Motions of the Natives, and our Ships; nay, more than that, they sent to *Tydore* for a couple of their great Ships to come and beat us out of the Road: And now the Natives (who knew no better) expected to see us driven away with a Vengeance.

In the mean time the Prince of *Ternate* (whom I had before endeavour'd to qualifie by a good Present) came to give me a Visit a Shipboard, and there in the midst of the good Entertainment, very frankly promis'd to stand our Friend in the matter of Trade, to revoke that invidious Order the *Dutch* had extorted from him to our prejudice, and give the Natives a full License to bring their Spice to us.

But this Prince (as the Event proved) was afraid to displease the *Dutch*, and durst not be honest and true to his Word; tho' to do him Justice, I believe he had a mind to be so. The Coasts were all fast lock'd up; and the Spies upon the Sea so diligent and curious in their Watch, that all the Arts that cou'd be used to deceive the quick-sighted Jealousie of our Adversaries, were to no purpose. The *Dutch* Ships kept close to us, but made no offer to assault us; and since to have gotten the Trade, we must first have sunk them at Sea, and then have beat all their Forces at Land too (which if we cou'd have effected, 'twas more Violence than we intended) the matter being thus, we left the *Dutch* to enjoy their Repose here, and sail'd away out of the Road.

April A. D. 1673. Go out of *Pelabery* Road

We observ'd the Latitude in this Road of *Pelabery*, to be 26 Min. to the Northward, and the Variation of the Compass 3 Degr. 28 Min. But good Luck, which was not over ready to come to us while we staid there, began to follow us when we went away: For as we sail'd along, the Natives, (who watch'd for an Opportunity as heartily as the *Dutch*) having their Cloves ready, whipp'd them aboard in a trice; and they held doing so for a pretty while, as fast as ever we cou'd weigh and pay for them. The *Dutch* followed, and perhaps were sensible of this, but were not able to prevent it; for we were got so far to the Windwards of them, that the Bargains were all made and concluded, before they cou'd come to the spoiling of them. We bought thus at parting a considerable quantity of Spice, and had done a great deal more, if the People had not been frighted at the sight of a *Dutch* Vessel passing by: However, 'twas pretty well, and so much the better, in that it was wrested out of the Hands of those that would unjustly have engrossed the whole Commodity to themselves.

A Trade as they go away.

We directed our Course now to the Isle of *Tydore*, the two *Dutch* Ships still plying after us.

About the Isles *Motiere*, *Machian*, and *Marro*, the passage between, or on any side, is free from all danger; but between *Marro* and *Gilolo*, you have a dangerous Shoal stretching N.E. and S.W. which requires the Pilot to look well about him: The Water looks whitish about it, and when 'tis Flood, the Shoal is even with the Water, but at Ebb 'tis easie to be discern'd; and the best way to escape it, is to keep close to the Islands: It ebbs about this place six Foot, and the Tide sets six Hours to the Northward, and as many to the Southward.

Dangerous Shoal.

Come to *Tydore*.

The *Spaniards* Fort at *Tydore*, stands on the East-side of the Island, all whereabouts the Water is very deep, and no good Anchoring, tho' there is a particular place about ½ a League from the Fort, where a Ship may ride well enough. At our first coming within sight and reach of the Fort, we were welcom'd with a Shot or two made at us; which tho' it did us no harm, yet obliged us to be upon our Guard. The *Spaniards* it seems mistook us for *Flemings*, and notwithstanding our *English* Colours wou'd not believe the contrary, till they had sent out a Boat to parley with us, and satisfie themselves from our own Mouths.

The Policy of the *Dutch*.

And the Reason of this was, because the *Dutch* had sometimes cheated them, by hanging out *English* Colours instead of their own, and so had got by the Fort under the Protection of those Colours, which otherwise with their own they wou'd not have done: For the *Spaniards* wou'd beat their Ships in pieces, before they'd let them pass here.

The *Spaniſh* Friendly Carriage in appearance.

After this diſcovery who we were, the *Spaniards* were extreamly civil to us; the Captain-General ſent his Pilot-Major to bid us Welcome, and bring the Ship into the beſt Anchoring-place; they ſent us Preſents, and came to Treats a Shipboard; and there was ſuch a reciprocation of Kindneſſes betwixt us, as if our two Nations had never fallen out, and we had been all of a piece, both in our Civil and Religious Intereſts.

They promis'd moreover, to diſpatch Letters to the Maſter de Camp at *Ternate*, for his Orders to Trade with us, and earneſtly deſired my ſtay till the return of the Meſſengers; and when News came that thoſe Orders were arrived at *Tydore*, the Captain-General, and another Great Officer, ſent word, They wou'd come aboard me the next Day to do Buſineſs. We made ready to receive them, and by the noiſe of the great Guns, thought verily they had been coming; when we found that ſhooting to be for the Arrival of the Warlike Prince of *Tydore*, who was come home in Triumph with the Heads of a hundred *Ternates*, and amongſt them the Head of the Prince of *Ternate*, whom we had careſs'd at *Machian*.

The Slaughter of the *Ternates* by the Prince of *Tydore*.

This Prince of *Ternate* was call'd over to *Machian* by the *Dutch*, on purpoſe to keep the Country People from ſelling their Cloves to us; and the *Tydorians* who attended their Motions in going back, and lay in Ambuſh for them, cunningly drew them into their Snares, and making a ſudden and furious Aſſault upon them, cut them all off to the number of 160 Men: The young Prince himſelf underwent the Fate of War amongſt the reſt, and his Head was brought in a very triumphant manner, for a Preſent to his Siſter, Wife to the Conquerour, Prince of *Tydore*.

Beſides this, there were two other Royal Victims which fell at that time, by the raging Sword of the *Tydorian*, the younger Brother of that Prince of *Ternate*, and the King of *Gilolo*: The *Dutch* have often felt the Effects of the Force and Courage of this Prince, and 'twas but a little before this, that he ſurpriz'd and took one of their Men of War.

We were oblig'd now to keep double Watch and Ward, and be in all the readineſs imaginable to withſtand an Aſſault, having this daring Prince ſo near us: Beſides the *Spaniards* increas'd their Forces, and ſeem'd to be providing for ſome attempt; all which appear'd very doubtful and ſuſpicious, and were Symptoms of ſo ill and threatning an Aſpect, that I reſolv'd to prevent the Danger that might follow, by a ſudden Remove away from them. 'Tis true, the Prince of *Tydore* promiſed a good parcel of Cloves, if we ſtaid a little while longer; but thoſe Cloves might poſſibly have coſt us too dear; and ſuch a Deſperado as he, with the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*, might have ſold us a very bad Bargain; upon which ſcore we left him to ſell his Cloves to other Chapmen, being reſolved to take none upon thoſe Terms.

State of Trade, &c. at the *Molucca's*.

It may not be amiſs here before we take our leave of theſe *Molucca* Iſles, to give ſome Account of the Original of the *European* Intereſt there, the Fortune of the Country under its ſeveral Maſters, and the Civil Circumſtances of it, as to Trade and Commerce, at the time of our being there.

* See the Circum-Navigators, *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

The * *Portugueze*, we know, were the firſt *Europeans* that found the way to theſe Iſlands; at leaſt, that open'd a Correſpondence with them: When they came hither, they found a dreadful War commenc'd between the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*. Theſe two Princes had drawn their Swords, and the whole Intereſt of the *Molucca's* being divided between them, either as their Subjects or Confederates, all the other Iſlands were up in Arms, and became Seconds in the ſame Quarrel. The *Portugueze*, for the better ſettling of themſelves, joyn'd themſelves to neither Party, but pretended to be Friends to both; and conſequently having no Work upon their Hands, while the others fought, they fell to building of Forts and Caſtles upon both the Iſlands of *Ternate*, and *Tydore*: They left the two Kings to diſpute which ſhou'd be Maſter of the other's Country; and in the mean time took care, that neither of them ſhou'd be ſo, or rather to make both their Vaſſals. By this means they got the whole Clove-Trade into their hands; the *Molucca's* were abſolutely at their Command and endured the Yoke of their domineering Power, till the Year 1605.

Portugueze, *Spaniſh*, and *Dutch* Poſſeſſors of the *Molucca's*.

But the *Dutch* who were charm'd with ſuch a Proſpect as the *Molucca's* yielded) then took their Turn for a Taſte of the Profit and Pleaſure of them, drove out the *Portugueze* by main Force, and planted themſelves in their room. But they were ſcarcely well-ſeated here, before the *Spaniards* came to deſire them to remove, and by the ſame Law that they ſucceeded the *Portugueze*, they forced themſelves to be the *Dutch's* Succeſſors, in the enjoyment of theſe Iſlands.

The *Spaniards* were gotten into the *Philippine* Iſlands at the ſame time, that the *Portugueze* were at the *Molucca's*, but they wou'd not pretend to diſplace them, being not only Neighbours in Country, but Brethren in Religion, and Sons of the ſame Holy Church together with themſelves: But the great thing was, that the Pope had commanded them not to meddle; the Church gave Orders to the contrary; otherwiſe, if the Mother had not interpoſed her Authority, 'tis likely enough that theſe good Children of hers might have ſquabbled, and gone together by the Ears, about ſo fine a Toy as the *Molucca's* were. Whereas the *Dutch* had hardly time to look about them, before the Catholicks came from the *Philippines* to drive them out; they had no Pope of their ſide, no Intereſt in the Motherly Care and Protection of the Church; and therefore as a Spurious and Baſtardly Race, were to be expell'd, and not ſuffer'd to ſhare the Inheritance of thoſe parts with her own Genuine Off-ſpring. However, the *Dutch* (who value not the Rattling of the Keys, the Snarling of the Pope, nor the Curſes of the Church; that fear no Storms but thoſe at Sea, nor no Excommunication but that from a good Trade) were ſome time after that even with them; working themſelves ſo effectually into theſe Iſlands, that all the Endeavours of the *Spaniards* have not been able to remove them ſince. They have Forts more or leſs upon every one of the Iſlands, and ſome of them ſtrong and well furniſh'd too; ſo that now they ſeem to be ſo well fix'd, that unleſs the Church can drive them out by her Prayers, and other Spiritual Weapons, for all that appears, they are like to ſtay there.

The Quantities of Cloves produced by ſeveral Iſles.

Of all theſe Iſlands, *Machian* is the moſt rich and fruitful of Cloves, and yields in the Year of the great Monſon (as they call it) above 1800 Bahars. *Ternate* yields 1000; *Tydore* 900; *Bachian* 300; *Motiere* 600; *Meau* 50; *Batta China*, or *Gilolo*, 35. Theſe are the Proportions, according to the Accounts of the Inhabitants, one Year with another. Every Third Year is conſiderably more fruitful than the two foregoing, and this is call'd the Year of the great Monſon, when Nature ſeldom fails by an extravagant Bounty, to make amends for her Sparingneſs at another time.

The *Dutch* pretend a Contract of perpetual Obligation with the Natives for all their Cloves, at the Rate of fifty Rials of Eight *per* Bahar: As for our parts, we were willing to give ſixty, in order to the having a quick Lading; and that increaſe of the Price of 10 Rials in the Bahar, made the People ſo ready to furniſh us, that if the *Dutch* had not perfectly ſcar'd them, and kept them in by force, I ſhou'd have had my full Lading in one Month's time.

Our Trade was moſtly by way of Barter with them, and that chiefly of your Cloths of *Cambaya*, and *Coromandel*. The Sorts requeſted, and the Prices they went at, were as follows:

The Commodities traded at the *Molucca's*.

The Candakeens of *Barochie*, for ſix Cattees of Cloves.
The Candakeens Papang, or flat, at three Cattees.
Selas, or ſmall Baſtas, ſeven and eight.
Your Patachere Malayo, ſixteeen.
Dragam Chere Malayo, the ſame.
Fine Caſſas, at twelve.
Courſe of that kind, eight.
Betellias, or Tancoulos red, forty four, and forty eight.
Saraſſas-chere Malayo, forty eight and fifty.
Sarampouri, thirty.
Chellos, Tapſiels, and Matafons, twenty and twenty four.
White Caſſas, or Tancoulos, forty and forty four.
Drougerius, fine of that kind, twelve.
Courſe of the ſame, eight and ten.
Pouti Caſtella, ten.
Ballachios, the fineſt, thirty.
Pattachere Malayo of two Fathoms, eight and ten.
Great Potas, or long, four Fathom, ſixteen.
Parcallas white, twelve.
Salalos Ytam, twelve and fourteen.
Turias and Tappe Turias, at one and two.
Patolas, of two Fathoms, fifty and ſixty.
Thoſe of four and one Fathom, in like manner.

Rice goes here at the Rate of one Rial of Eight for twenty eight Pound.

Sagu, which is a Root they make their Bread of, and is the chiefeſt Food through the Country, is ſold in Bunches, and is worth one fourth of a Rial *per* Bunch.

And to conclude, all Velvets, Sattens, Taffata's, *China* Stuffs and Silks, are in very great requeſt at theſe Iſlands.

Having ſtaid now ſome time at *Tydore* to no purpoſe, and our longer ſtay there being likely to be attended with more

Go from the Molucca's.

more Danger than Profit, we went on with our Voyage; calling in at *Ternate* by the way; where we found as little good to be done as at *Tydore*.

Between the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards*, all those Islands are so managed, that they themselves alone have the entire advantage of them; they devour all, and then are so spiteful, that they wou'd rather chuse to see the Commodities spoil'd and confounded, (as the Spice is now by their means partly) than suffer any others to take them at a good Price.

Doy, a great Island, and its Products.

Sailing along from *Ternate*, we had an Easterly Current continually, till we came up with the great Island *Doy*; and all about the Northern Point of that Island, the Current set very strongly the same way. We found a very large Bay here, where there's Anchoring good enough, but pretty deep; and off the Northern Point lies a great Sheal half a League into the Sea. We found no People upon this Island, but other Creatures in some plenty, which we had more occasion for at that time: There were a very large sort of Swine and Deer, Pheasants, Woodcocks, and Wood-pigeons, the latter very plump, and large bodied like Hens. It yields likewise good store of Cokers, Penangs, Serie, and Palmita's; and the tops of these Palmita-Trees, dress'd with Beef, are as good and sweet as any Cabbage in the World: And that nothing might be wanting to our complete Refreshment at this

May.

place, we had Water and Wood enough, not only for the Supply of a present Necessity, but to make what Provision we pleas'd for future Wants.

Tho' no People appear'd, yet upon enquiry ashore, we found the Ruines of Houses, and certain old Pieces of Houshold-stuff; so that 'tis certain the Island had been inhabited, as it very well deserv'd to be, tho' the People, by some Calamity or other, were destroy'd or driven away from their Habitations.

This *Doy* is the North Eastermost Island of *Gilolo*, or *Battachina*; the Latitude here is 2 Degr. 35 Min. N. and the Variation 5 Degr. 20 Min. Easterly. We refresh'd at this place for the better part of a Month, and then pursued our Voyage to *Japan*.

June. Isles *Dos Reyes Magos.*

Having pass'd the Tropick of *Cancer*, we had sight of the Isles *Dos Reyes Magos*, which lie along N. E. and S. W. They are small Islands, and at least ten or eleven in number, with broken Ground and Breaches, reaching over to each Island, so that we cou'd discern no Passage to the Westward.

We had sight of various other Islands (in our passage from these) which were wholly unknown to us; but the next Land that came in view, that we were certain of,

Ximo Isle, or *Mashma.*

was the great Island *Ximo*, to the Southward of *Japan*, and a part of that Empire, call'd by the Inhabitants *Mashma*. Here some of the Natives that were abroad a Fishing came

Japonese Fisher-boats.

up to us with their Boats, in the Contrivance of which we found some Curiosity worth our Observation. They were about five Tun a piece Burthen, fitted with one Sail, which stood like that of a Skiff, and skull'd with four Oars of a side: Their Oars rested upon a Pin fastned on the top of the Boat's side, the Head of which Pin was so let into the middle-part of the Oar, that the Oar hung in an exact poize, giving thereby much less trouble to the Rower in the management of it, than otherwise it must be. Besides, the Rowers perform their Work standing, as ours do sitting, and so take up abundantly the less room in the Boat; and as they take up less room, so they do less time too, for they row at a far swifter rate than we can pretend to. We agreed with some of these to Pilot us to *Firando*; which they very willingly agreed to, and as

Arrival at *Firando.*

honestly perform'd, bringing us safe into the Road, before the middle of this Month.

The King of *Firando* comes aboard

For our first Welcome hither, we had a Visit a Shipboard from Persons of no less Figure than the Old and the Young King of this Island of *Firando*; which is one of the Particulars of the large Empire of *Japan*. The two Kings came attended with a great shew of Boats and Gallies, which when they were near us, fell back, and made way, in a very decent manner, for the two principal Gallies to come up to the Ship.

Their Habit.

They were both of them dress'd in Silken Gowns girt to 'em, with a fine Shirt, and a Pair of Flaxen Breeches next to their Bodies; they had no Stockins on, but a sort of Shooes or Sandals; the forepart of their Heads very close shaven, and their Hair behind long, and tied up in a Knot, which was all that part had either for Ornament or Defence, they wearing nothing of Hats, Caps, or Turbants, as other People do. They had each of them two Cattans (or Swords of that Country) girt by their sides, the one of half a Yard, the other a quarter long; a desperate kind of Weapon, and nothing inferiour to the *Indian* Crises, or *Turkish* Scimitars.

The manner of Saluting Strangers in *Japan.*

Their manner of Salutation was thus: First they put off their Shooes, then clapping their Right-hand within the Left, they put them down towards their Knees, and so in that stooping posture they waved their Bodies, sideling to and fro, inclining this way and that way alternately, and all the while crying out, *Aigh, Augh*, which is a Word of Complement and Welcome amongst them.

They were very highly pleas'd with the Entertainment we gave them, and our *English* Musick made no small part of their Diversion and Pleasure a Shipboard; they made no scruple of promising all the Encouragement and Kindness that Country cou'd afford us, especially upon the presenting of our King's Letters, which they receiv'd with a wonderful Joy and Satisfaction. This Letter the King wou'd not pretend to open, till he had sent for *Auge* (as he call'd him) to interpret it to him: This *Auge* signifies in their Language a *Pilot*; and the Person intended by it was no other than Mr. *Adams*, our Country-man, and Friend, and at this time a Man of no little Note and Significancy in *Japan*. A Dispatch was sent away immediately for him; as likewise to the Great Emperour up in the Country, to give him Notice of our Arrival and Business.

The Nobility come and bring them Presents.

After these two Great Personages had been with us, all the Lords and Great Men came aboard us in a full Body; they came with such a Train, that we hardly knew where to bestow them; they made a perfect Crowd, and there was scarce any stirring to and fro in the Ship, for Noblemen and their Attendants. But they were so far from coming to spend upon, or be chargeable to us, that they brought their own Entertainment along with them, (at least as much as it was worth) every Noble-man made his Present, some in Venison, some in Wild-Fowl, others in Fish, Fruits, or something or other very acceptable and good. They mightily admired the Structure and Contrivance of the Ship, view'd it in all its parts, and survey'd it from one end to the other, with so much Attention and Curiosity, that we thought they wou'd never have had enough of the sight.

Multitudes of People come to see them.

But we had more trouble with the common People, who were our next Visitants, and quickly supplied the place of the Lords, when once they were gone. There was no possible keeping of them away, the Ship was such a Wonder to them: And when we were as full as ever we cou'd stand wedged by one another, the rest contented themselves with gazing upon the Ship out of their Boats; some admired the Head, and some the Stern, and others the Tackling; and at the same time crowded so thick about her, that she cou'd no more stir for Boats, than we cou'd that were in her for Swarms of People. In short, I believe, if the Ship had been big enough, the whole Nation wou'd have come aboard at once; and as it was, if the King's Orders had not prevented them, they wou'd certainly have taken their Turns all round the Country, and never left till every Body had seen it. 'Tis true, the People were very civil, and far from offering any thing of Rudeness or Violence; they pretended to no more than a little staring and peeping about; but that Curiosity of theirs was so unwearied, and grew so troublesome to us, that we were forc'd to desire the Presence of an Officer of the King's, as well to prevent any Disorder that might happen in such a promiscuous Multitude, as to give us a little Respite from these tiresome Visits.

I can't but take Notice of an odd Mistake, in a matter of Devotion, made by some of the *Japonese* Gentlewomen, whom I admitted into my Cabin. These were some whom the *Portuguese Jesuits* had been at work upon, and had receiv'd from them some little Matters of Christianity, about as much as the saying of a few Gibberish Prayers, or the cringing before an Image or Picture might come to.

The Mistake of the *Japan* Christians.

The good Women being in the Cabin, chanc'd to cast their Eyes upon a Picture of *Venus* and *Cupid* that hung there; at which sight they were immediately seiz'd with a Fit of Devotion, and clapp'd upon their Knees without any more adoe, tumbling out all the Religion they had learn'd of the Fathers; and very zealous they were in their Addresses to the two modest Deities there painted before them. The Business was, they mistook this Pair for the Blessed Virgin *Mary* and her Son, whom the Jesuits had given them so very slender an Account of, that they knew no difference between them, and *Cupid* and *Venus*. A very strange thing, that the Reverend Planters of Christianity in these Parts, which make two thirds of the Religion they teach, to consist in a Concern with Pictures, shou'd do that Work so sleevelesly: That they shou'd not make their Converts perfect in such an important Point, as knowing the Picture of the Blessed Virgin, especially from that of a lewd Strumpet, that's always drawn with an Air of Looseness and Immodesty, and plainly discovers her self at the first Glance: 'Tis to be fear'd, such *Japonese* Christians as these, are no profound Scholars in the Do-

ctrines of Religion, when they han't learn'd the Introductory Leſſon of Pictures; and that the Jeſuits, that have not ſhewn them the difference between *Venus* and the Virgin *Mary*, han't labour'd very hard at teaching them their Catechiſms.

The King's Women, and their Skill in Muſick.

Quickly after the King came aboard again, and was ſo complaiſant and free, as to bring ſome of his Miſtreſſes, and Ladies of Pleaſure along with him: An Argument of the very great difference between the free, open, and jolly Temper of theſe *Japoneſe*, and that ſour, moroſe, and jealous Diſpoſition, that prevails all over the *Mahometan* World; where the Women are cloiſter'd up in Seraglio's, and live like ſo many Priſoners of State, inviſible to all Human Eyes, except thoſe of a few Eunuchs, and their Paramours. Theſe Ladies had, all of them, very good Complexions, comely and graceful Features, and extreamly well Carriag'd; a nice Judge of Beauty might have ſaid, they were defective in Stature, and a ſize too low, and perhaps wanted Bluſh in their Faces; yet their other Graces excuſed well enough their want of height; and as for Colour, they fetch'd in aſſiſtance from Art, and painted themſelves, ſince Nature had not done it.

Their Habit was Silken Gowns, girt cloſe about them; no Stockins, but a ſort of Buskins bound with a Ribbond about their Inſtep; their Hair, which was very black and long, handſomely tied up upon the Crown of their Heads, but no where ſhaven as the Mens was.

They ſung very finely, and play'd upon ſeveral ſorts of Inſtruments; one of which was very much like our Lute in the ſhape of it, and fretted like that, only longer in the Neck, and had but four Strings, which were not Wire neither, but Gut-ſtrings; and then in their Play they don't ſound the Inſtrument with their Fingers, but touch the Strings with a little piece of Ivory, as we do when we play upon a Cittern with a Quill. They have their Songs for Vocal Muſick, and their Leſſons for Inſtrumental, orderly prick'd down in their Muſick-Books, as we have; and thoſe Books have the Diviſions of Lines and Spaces for the ſeveral Notes, much after the rate of ours, tho' what particular and leſs material Differences there may be between the Muſick of this Country, and ours, I can't pretend to tell.

The King having invited us to come aſhore, and fix upon a Houſe for the Entertainment of our ſelves and our Goods, we went to do that piece of neceſſary Buſineſs, as alſo to pay a reſpectful Viſit to the King himſelf, who had made us ſo many, and that in ſo familiar a manner; beſides, we had the very good Errand of delivering a Preſent from our King to him, which was of the Value of about 140 *l.* This was taken with extream kindneſs, and a Noble Feaſt (after the *Japan* manner) was made, to expreſs how Welcome the Bringers of it were.

Goes aſhore to viſit the K. of *Firando*.

They ſit at Meat in the ſame poſture that moſt of the Eaſtern Nations do, croſs-legg'd, upon rich Carpets and Mats; and I think they are as good Drinkers as moſt of the Eaſtern Nations too, at leaſt they'll do it when a Health is call'd: The Old King, notwithſtanding his Age, turn'd off his Cup (that held near a Quart) of Spirits diſtill'd from Rice, every whit as ſtrong as our *Aqua Vitæ*, and this without ſtopping till he came to the bottom; and all the *Japoneſe* Lords there preſent did the ſame; and I my ſelf, for Company, was obliged to do the like, it being a Health to the King of *England*.

July. How Matters of Trade went at *Firando*; with their Meaſures and Weights, *&c.*

Having a Houſe now agreed upon and provided for us, we brought part of our Effects aſhore, and attended the Beginnings of a Trade. At our coming hither, we found Broad-Cloths of fifteen or ſixteen Pound a Cloth, to be ſold by the *Dutch*, in *Firando*, at forty eight Rials of Eight, which is eight Pound Sterling the Matt, that being two Yards and a quarter: But we deſirous to keep up the Price of our Cloth, and finding the *Dutch* had good ſtore of them, came to this Agreement with them, that we wou'd of both ſides ſet Rates upon the Cloths we had, and be punctual in not ſelling any under the Prices determin'd by us.

Ill Dealing of the *Dutch*.

But they very eaſily broke the Bonds of this Agreement, and preſently ſhipp'd off great Quantities of Cloths for ſeveral Iſlands thereabouts, ſetting them at baſe low Prices, for the more ſpeedy Vent of their own, and glutting the places before ours came.

Your *Bantam* Pepper ungarbled, which coſt at *Bantam* 1 ¾ of a Rial of Eight *per* Sack, was worth here at our coming ten Tayes the Pecul, which is a hundred Cattees, and makes about 130 *l. Engliſh*; and the Taye is 5 *s.* Sterling. A Rial of Eight in ordinary Payment, goes but for ſeven of their Maſſes, which amounts to about 3 *s.* 6 *d.* in our Money. Tin went at thirty Tayes the Pecul, Elephants Teeth at eighty, Iron caſt Pieces at ſix, Powder at twenty three, Aloes Succotrina at ſix Tayes the Cattee, Fowling-pieces at twenty Tayes a-piece, Callicoes, and your *Cormandel* and *Guzurat* Commodities, at uncertain Prices, as they were in goodneſs.

At the Iſle *Maſhma* (or *Ximo*) there ſeem'd to be a good Vent for moſt of the Commodities we generally bring into theſe parts; tho' 'twas not ſo much upon our own Experience, as that of the *Dutch*, we came to underſtand this: For they did all they cou'd to conceal the Trade at that place from us, and wou'd not be known to have ſold a Penny-worth of Goods there: But we had Notice, that they did not only make a good Market there, but return'd alſo good ſtore of Bars of Silver; which they endeavour'd to keep as ſecret as they cou'd. And they were pleas'd too, to uſe that cunning Fetch in theſe parts, which they have done in ſeveral other parts of the World, for their own advantage, but not at all to ours; and that is, to call themſelves *Engliſh-men*; expecting more Reſpect, and better Treatment abroad under that Name, than otherwiſe as *Dutch-men* they cou'd ever pretend to.

Now 'tis odd, that any People ſhou'd behave themſelves ſo, as to be aſham'd of owning their own Country, leaſt it ſhou'd be ſaid that Country yields a Pack of Knaves; but 'tis much worſe, that another Country ſhou'd be ſtigmatiz'd, and lie under a Diſreputation for it, that *Dutch-men* ſhou'd do diſcommendable things, and *Engliſh-men* bear all the blame.

The Report of the Jeſuits concerning the *English* in *Japan*.

But the *Engliſh* Name has been much more ſullied and blacken'd by the ſcandalous Reports of the *Portugueſe* Jeſuits; the *Japoneſe* knew us long before we came hither; but 'twas as a parcel of Pyrates and Rovers, that lived only upon the Spoil of other People, and were the Plagues of all the Seas in that part of the World. And they had inſinuated this Notion ſo far into the *Japoneſe*, that they had made a Song of us to that purpoſe, the ſinging of which they uſed to accompany with ſeveral Actions and Geſtures, ſhewing how we ſeize and plunder the *Spaniſh* Ships. And thus ſinging and acting the *Engliſh*, they us'd to ſcare their froward brawling Children out of their noiſe and troubleſomneſs, and make them quiet; juſt as the *French* did theirs, with the Name of the Lord *Talbot*; and the *Turks* theirs, with that of *Scanderbeg*.

But when we came upon the Spot, the *Japoneſe* ſignified by all the Particulars of their moſt obliging Carriage to us, that we had been unfairly, and very diſproportionally repreſented to them; that the Jeſuits had given them a falſe Pourtraicture of us, and that their Picture was as much unlike the Original it ſelf, as the Picture of *Venus* to that of the Virgin *Mary*.

Cuſtom in puniſhing Criminals, and the manner of their Execution.

The Laws of this Country are horribly ſtrict and ſevere in many Particulars, and Offenders are no where treated with more Bitterneſs and Rigour than in *Japan*. Duelling is here an unpardonable Crime, whether in the Natives, or Foreigners that ſtay here but for a time; the Laws will take hold of all of them alike: And the *Japoneſe* will not allow the Stain of any Bloodſhed in that manner to lie upon their Country. Nay, if a Man does but draw a Weapon in Anger upon another, the Cattans are preſently at work upon him, and he is cut in pieces without any farther Ceremony, tho' he has done no harm, nor given no Wound to him he threatned: But if any Miſchief be done, not only the Aggreſſor himſelf, but all his Family are involved in the Puniſhment, and the Law (which I confeſs is barbarous) exerciſes the ſame Severity upon them, as on him.

To ſteal a Slave from another Perſon, is Death without Mercy alſo: Or if the thing wrongfully taken from another, be of ever ſo trifling a nature, if the Fact be clearly proved, there's no Reprieve, nor Mitigation of the Sentence of the Law, as far as I can find.

Their ſolemn Executions are perform'd with theſe Ceremonies following:

In the firſt place marches a Man with a Pickaxe, who is follow'd by another with a Shovel, to dig the Grave of the Malefactor, (if at leaſt that Favour be permitted him, as in the Caſe of ſome Crimes it is not) next to theſe comes a Perſon carrying a ſmall Table, upon which the Offence for which the Party dies is written, and expos'd to the view of all; then follows the Criminal himſelf, having his Hands bound behind him, and unto him is faſtned a ſort of a little Banner, upon which his Offence is likewiſe written; the Executioner brings up the Rear, with his Murdering Weapon by his ſide, holding in his Hand the end of the Cord with which the condemned Man is bound, and on each ſide of him walks a Soldier, reſting his Pike on the Shoulder of him that is to die, to prevent his attempting to make an eſcape from Juſtice.

And in this manner I ſaw one led to Execution, who at the ſame time carried it with ſuch an Air of Courage, appear'd ſo abſolutely intrepid, and above all the Horror of his Circumſtance, that I ſhou'd hardly have thought (had I not ſeen it) that Human Nature cou'd ever have arriv'd to

to that degree of Triumph over the Fears of Death, which are so natural to it.

Common Women allow'd in Japan, and their Prizes set.

But notwithstanding the Rigour of the *Japoneſe* in some cases, they are loose and slack enough in others; a Thief must die, but a Whore or a Bawd may live, and have the Law of their side: A Man must not steal two or three handfuls of Rice, tho' it be to keep Life and Soul together; but a Man may throw away his Estate upon Wenches, and ruine his Family at a naughty House. They have a great number of Men amongst them, whose Business and Profession is nothing but pandering and furnishing those that want Whores. Every one of these has such a stock of Women of his own, bought for the most part with his Money, and according as Nature has made them finer or courser, so he rates them, and puts down the several Prices at which they shall be let out; 'tis left to his own discretion to settle this Point at first, but after he has once set his Price he can't raise it, fall it he may; but if he offers to exact any more, upon complaint made, he certainly dies for it. Now when any Man is dispos'd for an Entertainment of this kind, he has nothing to do to consult the Inclination of the Female, whether she likes him or no, much less to make any Bargain with her; all the difficulty lies in settling the Price with the Master Panders, which once done the Women are obliged to fulfil the Conditions of the Agreement. And at this rate the greatest Noble-men in *Japan* make no scruple of sending for these lewd Fellows to their publick Inns when they are upon the Road, and agreeing with them for such a number of Wenches as they have a mind to, and that in the most open manner in the World, as if they were driving a common bargain, or treating of the most innocent matter in the way of Trade.

These publick Women are the Actors of their Plays too many times.

The *Japoneſe* abuse the dead Bodies of the Panders.

But the Panders tho' in so very great request while they live, are of all men us'd with the most contempt after they are dead; they are not allow'd Burial like other Men, but as the vilest creatures in the World, are first dragg'd about the Streets and thro' every Kennel, and then loaded with filth and mire, are left to rot upon some Dunghill in the Fields. A plain intimation that the *Japoneſe* think the Employment scandalous and odious, and yet they support it by their lewd Practices, without which it would fall of course.

The King of *Goto's* Invitation of the *English*.

In this Month a certain petty King of a neighbouring Island came to *Firando* upon the fame of our being there: It was the King of *Goto*, who hearing the news of us and our Ship, came with an earnest desire to see both, which he did to his very great Satisfaction, and heartily invited us to come and Trade at his Island, where he promis'd us as kind a Welcome as we had at *Firando*.

Go for the Court. *August.*

But it was now time for us to go and wait upon a far greater Prince, even the mighty Emperour of *Japan* himself; a Command was come for our Journey to Court, in order to which we prepar'd the several Presents that were to be made to the Emperour and the great Persons about him. The old King of *Firando* furnish'd us with a Gally, and all things necessary for our Passage; the best part of my Company was left there to inspect the Affairs of the House and Ship in our absence, some few only going along with me to this Grand Audience. Before we went we had the Comfort of seeing our Country Man Mr *Adams*, who was come to interpret our King's Letters to the old King of *Firando*: He still gave us the same Encouragement concerning a Trade in this Country, and the same Character of it's good disposition thereto by word of Mouth, that he did by his Letters send to *Bantam*.

Fuccate a great City.

Having set sail from *Firando*, we pass'd by divers Islands, the most part of which were very well Inhabited, and had fair Towns upon them; but the first of note that we put in at was *Fuccate*, a very large and considerable place, not much less than *London* within the Walls, very well built, and so even and uniform, that one might see from one end of a Street to another. It has a strong Stone Castle, a good Ditch and a Draw-Bridge, all kept in very good repair, but no Souldiers nor Ordnance: As for Ordnance indeed I did not so much wonder to find none, since there was no such thing at *Firando*, and 'tis a sort of Military Furniture that the *Japoneſe* are wholly without.

No Ordnance amongst the *Japoneſe*.

All along this Coast and so up to *Ozaca*, we found Women that liv'd with their whole Families upon the Water, getting their livelyhood by Fishing, at which they were very great Artists. But they had two Strings to their Bow, and 'twas next to impossible for the Fish to escape them; for what they miss'd with their Lines and Nets they would dive for, and catch that way without fail; and this they would do with ease to the depth of 8 Fathom. These Women were very easie to be known from all others, for by continual diving their Eyes were strangely alter'd, and look'd as red as Blood; and by this Token the diving Women are distinguish'd in *Japan*.

Women Divers.

When we had pass'd the Streights of *Xemina-ſeque*, the next Town of note we came to was *Oſaca*, nothing inferiour to the former in Compass and Dimensions, and one of the Principal Sea-Ports of the Empire. There's a River comes up to it as wide as the *Thames*, and several very fine Timber Bridges laid over it; it has a Castle very extraordinary for bigness and strength, with very deep Trenches about it, and several Draw-Bridges artificially made, and Gates so strongly plated with Iron, as may seem to bid defiance to any battery in the World. The whole building of the Castle is of Free-Stone, and the Walls are of the same, but a matter of seven Yards thick, and put together without any thing of Mortar or Cement, the Stones being so nicely cut as to lie perfectly close together, and need no other binding; only if there happens to be a void space any where, they throw a little Earth in to fill up the crevice, and that's all they do. 'Tis regularly contrived, strengthned with Bulwarks and Battlements, with good store of loop holes for small Shot and Arrows, and various Passages for the throwing out of Stones upon those that should come to attempt it. And one would easily believe it to be a mighty strong and secure building, without having a particular Account of it, when one hears what use the Emperor puts it to, and of what importance the Jewel is here kept in safe Custody. In short here lives (lock'd up in this Castle) the true and genuin Heir of the Empire of *Japan*; here I say he lives, but so happy as to be ignorant of his real Quality, Rights, and Just Pretensions, tho' at the same time so unfortunate as to be excluded from all. The truth of the matter is, The present Emperor is an Usurper, and stept into the Throne in a way not only contrary to the Laws of that Kingdom, but the more sacred ones of eternal Justice and Reason. The old Emperor Father to the Prince (at our being there a Prisoner in the Castle of *Oſaca*) when he died left his Son, then an Infant, to the Care and Tuition of four principal Noble-men, whereof *Ogoſhoſamma*, the present Emperor was One and Chief. The other three Governours, Men of intrigue and ill Principles, and fonder by far of flattering their own Pride and Ambition, than discharging the Duties of a sacred Trust committed to them; made Pretentions to the Sovereignty, and put in for the Crown themselves. In opposition to whom, as also to assert the Rights of the Royal Pupill, *Ogoſhoſamma* took up Arms, and having entirely routed the other Pretenders, had the supreme Power, suddenly clap'd all into his own Hands. And now (perhaps not thinking of any such thing before) the charming Opportunity told him he had e'en as good be Emperor himself; all his Competitors were remov'd out of the way, the true Heir was incapable of understanding and redressing his case, all the Power was his own, and he wanted only the name of an Emperor, which was so very small a thing that he resolved not to be without that any longer. The young Prince he kept always about him, and in perfect Ignorance of himself and his relation to the Crown, suffering him to know no other but that he is his Son; all that are about him being such as the present Emperor has brought up from their Cradles, and so not able to give him any better information. And to make all sure when he was grown to Years, he married him to his own Daughter, and so confin'd them to the Castle of *Oſaca*, where they live like the Children of an Emperor, as to all points of State and Grandeur, only Liberty, that sweetens all the rest, civil policy is pleas'd to deny them.

Oſack a large Town, and a Sea Port.

A strong Castle.

The Story of the Prince of *Japan* kept in *Oſaca* Castle.

Over against *Oſaca*, on the other side of the River, lies another great Town call'd *Sacay*, a place of very great Trade for all the Isles thereabouts.

Sacay

At *Fuſhimi* to which we came next, we found a Garrison of 3000 Souldiers appointed for the keeping some of those parts in good order; this Garrison is shifted every three Year, and the change happening when we came thither, we had the advantage of seeing something of the Rules of their Millitary Discipline. They generally march no more than five a Breast, and to every ten Files there's an Officer deputed, who regulates the March, and keeps all in perfect Order. Their disposition according to the quality of their Arms is thus. First of all march their Shot, that is Calievers, for Muskets they have none, neither will they use any; then follow Pikes, then Cattans and Targets, Bows and Arrows, Waggadashes or Hooks, and lastly Calievers again close the March; and amongst all these they have no Colours, Drums, Trumpets, nor any sort of Warlick Musick.

Fuſhimi.

The Discipline of the *Japoneſe*.

Their Companies consist of uncertain Numbers, from 150, to 500, and in the midst of every Company, they have spare Horses led along, very nobly trapp'd and furnish'd.

The

The Captain comes last of all on Horseback, but riding in such a posture as would better befit a Mountebank, or a Market-man, than a Commander of Soldiers: His Bed, and all his Necessaries, are pack'd up upon his own Horse, and over them is spread a red *China* Felt for a Covering; and so the Captain sits mounted up a high upon his Pack, with his Legs upon the Horses Neck, much after the rate that our Butter-Women sit upon their Paniers, and truly as handsomely.

As in the parts of the same Troop, or Company, those Files that march next the Captain, are more pompous in their Furniture than those that are remoter; so 'tis in whole Troops, those that come nearest the General, who is last of all, are much more bravely accoutred than those that went before: The Glory of the Army sinks and falls by equal steps, from that part where the General is, and where it shines with the brightest Lustre: A good hint for the General by the way, and may serve to put him in mind, that he ought to be indeed the Glory of the Army; and to answer his Character and Trust, shou'd outshine all the rest in Military Vertues, as much as he does in visible Pomp and Splendour.

The *Japonese* Horses are not great and tall, but of the size of our middling Nags, small Headed, and extreamly mettlesome, and in my Opinion far beyond your *Spanish* Gennets, both in stately Carriage and Stomach too.

Their good Orders. Their Soldiers observe very good Orders upon the Road, and are so exactly govern'd, that they are as welcome at the Publick Houses as any Guests whatsoever: No Man is in the least disturb'd, or discommoded by them, they take what they find, as other People do, and pay for't, without any quarrelling. The Roads are very well stock'd with Houses of Entertainment; and when there are Soldiers upon the March, they provide Victuals ready for them, so that they have at an instant's warning what they want, and that at very cheap Rates, a Dinner of good wholesome Food, and enough, from Two Shillings downward to a Penny.

The Diet in *Japan*. The Diet generally used through the Country, is Rice of divers sorts, (the white being counted the best;) Fish, fresh and salted; Herbs, Radishes, Beans, Duck, Teal, Pheasant, Partridge, Quail, and Hens: Of Beasts, they have all sorts of Deer, Wild Boars, Goats, and Kine: Cheese also in great plenty, but Butter they make none, neither will they eat any Milk, because they esteem it as the Blood of the Animal; and for what Reason I know not, they will not touch a bit of any tame Beast, tho' they have them in abundance.

Their Wheat ought not to be forgotten, which is as plump and good as any our Nation can shew, but all of the red Colour. We did, in our Travels in the Country, buy Rice at a Half-penny per Pound; Hens and Pheasants the best and fattest, for Three-pence a piece; Pigs very large, for a Shilling; a fat Hog for Five Shillings; a good Beef at Sixteen Shillings; and a Goat at Three Shillings.

The Drinks in request in the Country, are only the Spirits distilled from Rice, very strong, and of the Colour of Canary, and common Water, which is all in all amongst the poorer sort of People, that can't reach to the Price of the other Liquor: They always drink their Water warm, and say, that 'tis good to kill the Worms in the Maw; which I should be very ready to believe, provided they put good store of Salt in it.

They travel by Land. Our Motions being directed to *Suranga*, where the Emperor then kept his Court; by the latter end of this Month we had gone as far as our Way lay by Water; and now being to finish the remainder of our Journey by Land, we were furnish'd with Horses and all Conveniencies for that purpose at the Emperor's Charge. I had also a Palankin, or one of their Sedans, provided for me; and a fresh supply of Men drawn out of every place successively, for the Office of carrying me therein, when I was tired of my Horse, and for the greater State, a Slave appointed to run with a Pike before the Palankin: The King's Harbingers also went before, and took up our Lodgings upon the Road.

September. The Goodness of the High-ways in *Japan*, and the Conveniencies of them. This part of the Journey was very pleasant and easie; the Way for the most part was exceeding even and plain, and where-ever there was any rugged mountainous Ground, a smooth level passage was cut through it. This Road (which is the great one of all this part of the Country) is all along good Sand and Gravel; 'tis divided into Leagues for the benefit of Travellers, and at every Leagues end, are two small Hills rais'd of either side one, and upon each of them a fair Pine-Tree planted; the Design of which Marks, is to make Travellers competent Judges of the length of their own Journeys, that so they may not be abus'd by the Hackny-men, and those that let out Horses, and pay for a greater number of Miles than they have rode.

All along the Road, you meet with a World of People passing to and fro, and ever and anon Towns and pleasant Villages, Farms, and Country-houses; and sometimes Temples, standing at a little distance, in shady Groves, with the Habitations of the Priests all round about them.

Dead Bodies of Malefactors upon Crosses. The most unpleasant sight we had, was the dead Bodies of Malefactors, fastned upon Crosses near all the Great Towns where those Executions had been performed: Crucifying is a very common Punishment in *Japan*; and as they manage it, 'tis some sort of a Punishment to Travellers too, to pass by a multitude of noisome putrifying Carkases; and besides the Horror of the Sight, to have the Disturbance of the Smell those Bodies yield. And we had the worst Trial of all of this kind, when we came to *Suranga*; there were Crosses, Scaffolds, and Gibbets, Heads, Carkasses, and Limbs, hanging about in so many places without the City, that our Pleasure in going along was wonderfully lessen'd.

Come to *Suranga*. *Suranga* seems to be full as big as *London*, taking in the whole Compass of the Suburbs too: The outer parts of it we found entirely taken up by Mechanicks and Artificers of all sorts, who are plac'd there for the ease and quiet of the Genteeler People, that don't care to be disturb'd with the Noise and Bustle the others make in their Trades.

Audience of the Emperor. After a Repose of a Day or two, I went with all my Company in a Body, to the Castle, to have Audience of the Emperor, and deliver the Presents intended for that Court. I was introduc'd by two of the greatest Men then in Attendance, the Emperor's Secretary, and his Admiral: These led me first into a very fine matted Room, where we sat down for some time, according to their Custom, upon the Matts, then they brought me into a Chamber of Presence, where stood an empty Chair of State, to which I was oblig'd to do Reverence; after some short time, word was brought, that the Emperor was come into the Room of Audience, to the Door of which these Courtiers brought me, but durst not presume to look in themselves. The Custom is, for all the Presents that are brought, to be plac'd in order upon the Mats of that Room into which the Emperor comes; and accordingly when I came in, I found them all in a very orderly manner laid before him. He receiv'd His Majesty's Letter with the Civility of that Country, lifting it up towards his Forehead, and then, by his Interpreter, bid me Welcome. He desired me to go and see the King his Son at *Eddo*, (with all the Necessaries for which Journey, he wou'd take care to furnish me) and by that time I return'd, his Letters shou'd be ready for our King.

The Articles relating to the Matters of Trade and Privilege, which we requested His Majesty's Confirmation of, were all easily granted by him, one only excepted, respecting the *Chinese*. The Tenour of it was to this purpose, That whereas the *Chinese* had refus'd all Trade and Commerce with the *English*, if we cou'd take any of them abroad at Sea, it might be lawful for us to bring them into *Japan*, and make Sale of the Goods so taken, in His Majesty's Dominions. This the Emperor granted at first, but his Mind was alter'd afterwards, by a Conference with the Leiger of *China*, and he refus'd to allow it: The rest all past under his Great Seal; which is not of Wax, like ours, but stamp'd like a Print, and colour'd red. The Secretary wou'd take no Present, nor any thing like a Gratuity from us; the Emperor, it seems, had commanded the contrary, and 'twas as much as his Life was worth to do it.

Having seen this Business done, we set out from *Suranga* for the Great City of *Eddo*, where the Emperor's Son, the young King, keeps his Court. The Country is well inhabited between these two Cities, the Towns and Villages lie thick, and the *Fotoquis*, or Temples, scattering up and down in good numbers too.

The Idol *Dabis*. There's one mighty Image (which they call *Dabis*) that stands in this Road, at which all the *Japonese* stop to pay their Devotions when they go this way: It is made of Copper, all hollow within, tho' very thick; 'tis in the shape of a Man kneeling on the Ground, with his Buttocks resting on his Heels, and his Arms extended; he is represented wearing of a Gown, and notwithstanding that bending posture, is twenty two Foot from the Level of the Ground, and all the Body proportionably large. Some of our Men went into the Body of it, and there fell a hollowing and hooping; the Noise of which, out of the wide Mouth of the Image, was much such agreeable sort of Musick, as, I believe, was made by *Phalaris*'s Brazen Bull. It stands conveniently to entertain the Devotion of Pilgrims in their passage to the celebrated Temple of *Tencheday*; they always make a pause at *Dabis*. But this is but a slight Ceremony, 'tis at *Tencheday*'s Temple the Great Work is

to

Tencheday's Temple.

to be done, and the Pilgrims expect to receive the Reward of their Travel: And here one may meet all sorts of People, rich and poor, sound and distemper'd, continually coming and going thither, and that by Night as well as by Day, and that all the Year round.

The Stories told by the *Japoneſe* of this their God *Tencheday*, are too unaccountable to be related with any measure of Confidence; ſo that inſtead of their Accounts, (which I ſhall abſolutely wave) I ſhall only offer what Mr. *Adams*, our Country-man (who has been at this Temple) told me as Matter of Fact, and of his own Knowledge.

Strange Cuſtom.

He ſays, That there is conſtantly, every Month, one of the loveliest Virgins that the whole Country will afford, brought into this Temple, in a very neat Apartment of which, ſhe is ſhut up all alone; and that at certain times *Tencheday*, as they call him, comes to her in a viſible Form, and having known her carnally, reſolves any Doubts or Queſtions ſhe puts to him, according as the Prieſts inſtruct her; and at his going away, leaves behind him a ſort of Scales like thoſe of Fiſhes. Mr. *Adams* ſays, 'Tis certain a freſh Virgin is taken in every Month: But what becomes of them, and how they are diſpos'd of, he is utterly ignorant: As to the other Circumſtances of the Story, there's no opportunity for any Body but the Prieſts and the Virgins themſelves, to be ſure of the Truth or Falſhood of them; and therefore the Credit of them depends ſolely upon their Report, as far as I ſee: For Mr. *Adams* does not pretend ever to have ſeen any of thoſe Appearances, or the ſurprizing Effects of them mention'd. In ſhort, if *Tencheday* be the Devil, his Frolicks in *Japan* are very unaccountable, and different from what they are in other places; but if *Tencheday* be one of the Roguiſh Bonzes, or Prieſts, 'tis no ſtrange thing that he deſires a Monthly Sacrifice of Virgins, conſidering what an Aſcendant the wanton Planet has all over that Country.

Arrive at Eddo.

About the middle of this Month we came into *Eddo*, a City much larger than *Surunga*, nobler in its Buildings, and every way more glorious in its Appearance; the very Tiles of the Houſes are gilded, and the Poſts of the Doors ſet off with a ſhining Varniſh: They have no Glaſs-Windows, but all of Board, which open in Leaves, and are very delicately painted.

There's a Cawſey runs clever thro' the chief Street of the City, which Street is as broad as any in *England*, and a fine River paſſes along by, or rather underneath the Cawſey; at every fifty Paces there's a Well-head ſubſtantially fitted up of Free-ſtone, and ſerv'd with Buckets for the People to fetch Water with, in caſe of any danger by Fire.

The Caſtle of this City is a much ſtronger and nobler Edifice than that at *Surunga*; and the young King lives in much greater State, and has a more pompous Attendance than the Emperour his Father.

Entertainment by the young King.

He receiv'd us in a very courteous obliging manner, taking the King's Letters and Preſents with a wonderful Satisfaction and Content, and giving us all the Welcome imaginable. He gave us Letters for our King, and a Preſent of two entire Suits of *Japan* Armour, finely varniſh'd; and a long Sword and Waggedaſh for my ſelf: 'Tis to be noted, that the Cattans are a common wear; but the Tatches, or long Swords, are worn only by great Soldiers, and Perſons of the beſt Account.

'Tis ſaid to be no leſs than Twenty two Days Journey by Horſe, from this City of *Eddo*, to the Northermoſt part of *Japan*; which makes it a Country of a vaſt extent. Our Buſineſs here being no more than the paying of a Complement; that being done, we had no further occaſion of ſtaying here: And ſo having got this Prince's Letters and Preſents for the King of *England*, we went back for *Surunga*, *October.* where we arrived again at the end of this Month.

We had not been here long, before the Emperor's Letters to our King were ready for us; as alſo the Grant, or Inſtrument of Privilege relating to our Trade and Settlement in *Japan*; the Tranſlations of both which, as near the Original as may be, are here ſubjoyn'd.

To the King of *Great Britain.*

YOur Majeſty's kind Letter, ſent me by your Servant Captain John Saris, *(who is the firſt that I have known to arrive in any part of my Dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to underſtand of your great Wiſdom and Power, as having Three plentiful and mighty Kingdoms under your powerful Command. I acknowledge your Majeſty's great Bounty, in ſending me ſo undeſerved a Preſent of many rare things, ſuch as my Land affordeth not, neither have I ever before ſeen: Which I receive not as from a Stranger, but as from your Majeſty, whom I eſteem as my ſelf. Deſiring the continuance of Friendſhip with your Highneſs: And that it may ſtand with your good liking, to ſend your Subjects to any Part or Port of my Dominions, where they ſhall be moſt heartily Welcome, applauding much their Worthineſs in the admirable Knowledge of Navigation, having with much facility diſcovered a Country ſo remote, being no whit amazed with the Diſtance of ſo mighty a Gulf, nor Greatneſs of ſuch infinite Clouds and Storms, from proſecuting Honourable Enterprizes, of Diſcoveries, and Merchandiſing: Wherein they ſhall find me to further them, according to their Deſires. I return unto your Majeſty a ſmall Token of my Love (by your ſaid Subject), deſiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoyceth in your Friendſhip. And whereas your Majeſties Subjects have deſired certain Privileges for Trade, and ſetling of a Factory in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the ſame unto them under my Broad Seal, for better eſtabliſhing thereof. From my Caſtle in* Surunga, *this Fourth Day of the Ninth Month, in the Eighteenth Year of our* Dary, *according to our Computation. Reſting your Majeſty's Friend. The higheſt Commander in this Kingdom of* Japan.

Subſcribed,

Minna. Mourrono. yei. ye. yeas.

Privileges granted by *Ogoſhoſamma*, Emperor of *Japan*, unto the Right Worſhipful Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knight, Governour; and others the Honourable and Worſhipful Adventurers to the *Eaſt-Indies*.

1. IMprimis, *We give free Licence to the Subjects of the King of* Great Britain, *viz.* Sir Thomas Smith, *Governour, and Company of the* Eaſt-Indian *Merchants and Adventurers, for ever, ſafely to come into any of the Ports of our Empire of* Japan, *with their Ships and Merchandizes, without any hindrance to them or their Goods. And to abide, buy, ſell, and barter, according to their own manner, with all Nations: To tarry here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleaſures.*

2. Item, *We grant unto them Freedom of Cuſtom, for all ſuch Merchandices as either now they have brought, or hereafter ſhall bring into our Kingdoms, or ſhall from hence tranſport to any Foreign Part. And do Authorize thoſe Ships that hereafter ſhall arrive, and come from* England, *to proceed to preſent Sale of their Commodities, without further coming or ſending up to our Court.*

3. Item, *If any of their Ships ſhall happen to be in danger of Shipwreck, we will our Subjects not only to aſſiſt them, but that ſuch part of Ship and Goods as ſhall be ſaved, be returned to their Captain, or Cape Merchant, or their Aſſigns. And that they ſhall, or may build one Houſe, or more, for themſelves in any part of our Empire, where they ſhall think fitteſt. And at their departure to make Sale thereof at their pleaſure.*

4. Item, *If any of the* Engliſh *Merchants, or other, ſhall depart this Life, within our Dominions, the Goods of the Deceaſed ſhall remain at the diſpoſe of the Cape Merchant. And that all Offences committed by them, ſhall be puniſhed by the ſaid Cape Merchant, according to his Diſcretion; and our Laws to take no hold of their Perſons or Goods.*

5. Item, *We will that ye our Subjects trading with them for any of their Commodities, pay them for the ſame, according to Agreement, without delay, or return of their Wares again unto them.*

6. Item, *For ſuch Commodities as they have now brought, or ſhall hereafter bring, fitting for our Service and proper uſe: We will that no Arreſt be made thereof, but that the Price be made with the Cape Merchant, according as they may ſell to others, and preſent Payment upon the delivery of the Goods.*

7. Item, *If in Diſcovery of other Countries for Trade, and return of their Ships, they ſhall need Men or Victuals, we will that ye our Subjects furniſh them for their Money, as their need ſhall require.*

8. *And that without other Paſs-port, they ſhall and may ſet out upon the Diſcovery of* Yeadzo, *or any other part, in or about our Empire.* The Diſcovery of *Yeadzo* to the Northward.

From our Caſtle in *Surunga*, this Firſt Day of the Ninth Month, and in the Eighteenth Year of our * *Dary*, according to our Computation. Sealed with our Broad Seal, &c. * Or Reign.

Under-written,

Minna. Mourrono. yei. ye. yeas.

The

The Language.

The *Japonian* Language seems to agree with the *Chineſe* in this, That they expreſs whole Words compendiouſly, by their ſeveral proper Characters, not compounding them of diſtinct Letters and Syllables as 'tis in other Languages; the Character is very different from that of the *Chineſe*, and they read beginning at the Right hand and ſo downwards perpendicularwiſe in the ſeveral lines. They take a wonderful deal of care to ſpeak and write in the ſhorteſt and conciſeſt manner that can be; they are not given to flouriſh and inlarge upon a Subject, but deliver their Minds in very pertinent, exact and comprehenſive Terms, contracting a great deal of Sence into a little Compaſs. The Letters and the Inſtrument were both written in it very fairly after their manner, and the firſt rarities of that kind that our Nation I believe ever had.

Thus was all our Buſineſs at *Surunga* finiſhed too, upon which we took leave of the Emperor and Court, and ſet out for *Firando*. Our way lay by land as far as *Oſaca*, and in paſſing thither we took *Meaco* in our way; this is abſolutely the greateſt City in *Japan*, and a place of mighty Trade. All the Trades-men dwell in a part of the City by themſelves, and all of ſuch an employment in ſuch a Street by themſelves; the *Japoneſe* think it very unſeemly and irregular to have men of ſo many ſeveral Profeſſions and Buſineſſes mixt and huddled together in ſuch a confus'd manner as they are in other places, they are for making all of the ſame Trade (who are fitteſt to converſe together) neighbours to one another; Birds of the ſame Feather to be all in a diſtinct Flock by themſelves, that a Man that looks may know where to find them. And the plain Truth on't is, this Order is not without it's Beauty and Conveniency, and it added methoughts a peculiar grace to the City, which all it's other Advantages would not have given it.

Go from *Surunga*.

Meaco.

The Order of the Trades at *Meaco*.

The moſt magnificent Temple of the whole Country is here at *Meaco*, built of Free-ſtone and as long as St. *Pauls* in *London* from the Quire, arch'd, adorn'd with mighty Pillars, and as lofty as that. It has one peculiar Altar, at which they make their Offerings of Rice and ſmall Money (call'd Cundries, twenty of which make a Shilling) for the maintenance of the *Bonzee's* belonging to it; and by this Altar ſtands the great Idol *Mannada*, made of Copper, and of the ſame form with *Dabis* before mentioned, but much higher, reaching up to the very Arch.

The Great *Fotquet*.

Idol *Mannada*

The Temple ſtands advantageouſly upon the top of a high Hill, and upon each ſide the Aſcent you have a long row of Columns of Free-Stone, about 50 in each Series, ten Paces diſtant from one another, and upon the top of every Pillar is a Lanthorn, the Lamps in which are lighted every night, and make a very glaring ſhew. There are divers other Temples beſides this, but this vaſtly exceeds all the reſt in all Points of Beauty and Grandeur: 'Twas juſt finiſhed at our being there, the Foundation being laid by the fam'd *Taicoſania*, whoſe Horſe (in memory of him) is kept in an apartment hard by, and is to be maintain'd here in a Life of perfect eaſe and reſt as long as nature will allow him to hold it out.

Jeſuits College.

The *Portugueze* Jeſuits have a ſtately Colledge in this City very well furniſhed with men of that Society; they breed up abundance of *Japoneſe* Youth, reading Philoſophy and the Popiſh Divinity to them, making a great many them Preachers, and I ſuppoſe at laſt Jeſuits too. There's no doubt but they endeavour to make them as good as they can, and amongſt other Arts teach ſome of thoſe that are peculiar to their Order.

New Teſtament in the *Japan* Language.

They have the New Teſtament tranſlated into the *Japoneſe* Tongue, and beſides this hopeful fry breeding up in the College, there are reckon'd five or ſix thouſand that profeſs Chriſtianity in *Meaco*, While we ſtaid here we receiv'd the Emperor's Preſents for our King, which were ſent after us; *viz.* Ten Beobs or large Pictures to hang a Room of State with.

November.

From hence we travell'd to *Oſaca*, where the Gally that ſet us down before was attending our return, to tranſport us to *Firando*; and this at the charge of the brave and generous old *Foyne*, the King of that place. This Prince was extreamly glad at our return to his Iſland, as alſo of the ſucceſs of our Affairs at Court; and had carried it with the ſame ſteady and even hand of Kindneſs to our Company left there that he did to all of us when together. But yet the Trade amounted to little or nothing in our abſence, the *Japoneſe* had been no good Cuſtomers, tho' we had come from tother end of the World to take their Money. One reaſon of this was, becauſe it was not yet certain that we were to be allow'd in the Country, and till the Trade has it's publick Warrant from the Emperor, as no Stranger may offer to ſell, ſo no Native may dare to Buy. But another thing (and of no inconſiderable prejudice to us) was this; the moſt part of our Commodities we intended for theſe parts were broad Cloaths, (which had not long before been ſold here at forty Rialls of Eight *per* Mat which is two Yards) a ſort of Ware the *Japoneſe* were now almoſt out of conceit with, becauſe we did not take care to recommend the goodneſs of it by our own wearing.

Come to *Firando*.

The *Japoneſe* find fault at our not wearing our own Cloth.

You (ſay they) cry up your broad Cloths to us, and at the ſame time hardly wear a rag of it your ſelves, but are all for your Silks and Stuffs, and any thing in the World, except juſt what you would have us buy of you. And the truth on't is, the *Japoneſe* are in the right, and their Objection not eaſily to be anſwer'd; we ought to be more fond of our own Country Commodities, and tell other Nations they are valuable by the uſe of them we make our ſelves. Forreigners won't be ſo ready to believe us if they ſee we don't order our Faſhions ſo as to give a Reputation to what we recommend abroad in the World; and for all I know other Nations may tell us as well as the *Japoneſe* of not wearing our own broad Cloth, may reproach us with the neglect of our own Commodities, and deſpiſe them till they ſee us do otherwiſe our ſelves.

This *Firando* is a very good place for our Ships to put in at with reſpect to the Point of Victualling and all that, but it is not ſo proper for Trade becauſe it lies off from the main Iſland of *Japan*, where are not only the moſt, but the moſt conſiderable People, capable of giving an encouragement to Trade, which in theſe little by-Iſlands is to be not expected.

Oringgaw the beſt port for our Ships.

We might, I don't queſtion, be welcome at any of them all, and the Kings of two of theſe petty Iſlands gave us a formal invitation; but there's few of them can afford a Buſineſs that will turn to account, and defray the Charges of a Settlement. Therefore my Advice is, that our Ships that come to Trade here would ſail not to *Firando*, but to *Oringgaw* upon the main Iſland, and about 15 Leagues diſtance from *Eddo*, where they will find very good Riding and a much greater proſpect of Advantage. This place indeed is not capable of giving ſo good an Entertainment as may be deſired, Proviſions are not altogether ſo plentiful here as at *Firando*; but that want may be ſupplied by a Correſpondence with the circumjacent Country. Chriſtianity makes no conſiderable Figure comparatively any where in this Empire, but at *Meaco* and *Langaſacque*, a Town ſituated upon the Sea-Coaſt, about eight Leagues from *Firando*. It had 'tis true gotten footing in *Eddo*; but the Emperor upon ſome pique taken againſt the Chriſtians baniſh'd them all from thence, and confin'd them to *Langaſacque*; and as a prevention of it's creeping into the Court, and rooting it ſelf any where near him; he made it death to any that ſhould offer to build a Church or ſing Maſs within ten Leagues of the place where he reſided. This change was but a very little time before our going to *Eddo*, notwithſtanding which, the Religion is otherwiſe indulged; the Chriſtian *Japoneſe* at preſent have (as far as I ſee) the ſame Protection and Privilege with the others, and the Jeſuits ſeem to enjoy an unreſtrained Liberty in the making of Proſelytes.

December

The Foundation of a Factory being now firmly laid in the Emperor's full Grant to that purpoſe, we proceeded to build upon it, being the rather encouraged to it, in that we were now aſſur'd that *Engliſh* Factories were actually ſettled at *Siam* and *Patane*, as alſo that the *Dutch* made ſomething of their Buſineſs here, and we had reaſon to believe we had not a leſs ſhare in the Good Will and Eſteem of this Country than they. We therefore appointed ſome of our Company to reſide here upon this Affair, with inſtructions alſo to make what Diſcoveries they could upon the Coaſt of *Corea*, *Tuſhmay*, and other parts adjoining againſt the next return of the Ships.

Factory ſettled.

By exact obſervations made during our ſtay here, we determine the Latitude of *Firando* to be 33 Degrees 14 [illegible] North, and the varying of the Compaſs two Degrees 30 Minutes Eaſterly. When we took our leave of old King *Foyne*, he gave me a Letter for our King written in the Chineſe Language, out of which it was by two *Chineſe* Merchants tranſlated into the *Malayan*, and from thence into *Engliſh* as follows.

Go from *Firando*.

To the King of Great *Britain*, &c.

Moſt mighty King, how acceptable your Majeſties loving Letter and bountiful Preſent of many worthy things ſent me by your Servant Captain John Saris *is unto me, I cannot ſufficiently expreſs, neither the great happineſs I eſteem my ſelf to be in, by enjoying your Highneſs friendſhip: For which I render you many thanks, deſiring the continuance of your*

your Majesties love and acquaintance. I am heartily glad of your Subjects safe arrival at my small Island, from so long a journey. My help and furtherance they shall not want to the uttermost, for the effecting of their so worthy and laudable enterprises of Discovery and Merchandizing, greatly commending their forwardness therein: referring their hitherto entertainment to the report of your Servant, by whom I return unto your Majesty an unworthy token, wishing your Majesty long life. From my Place of Firando, *the sixth day of our tenth Month.*

Your Majesties loving Friend,
Commander of this Island
Firando, in Japan,

FOYNE. SAM-MASAM.

Setting sail from hence we resolved to keep along the Coast of *China* (our Course directed to *Bantam*) in doing which we came to feel the great Current that shoots out between *Corea*, and the Main of *China*, and makes a very great Sea. The Islands that lie along the Coast of *China* we find to lie more Southerly than the Plats represent them; and there's not a less material mistake in their placing the Land of *Camboia*, which lies not so far to the East as they make it; the Land lies here S. S. W. and N.N.E. with divers Rocks like Islands, some one League, some one League and a half off from the Main, besides which there's no other Danger that we could discover. 'Tis worthy of note too that here we found the Winds trade along the shoar, for from *Firando* hither we did go large, finding the Winds to follow us as the Land trends.

Errors of the Plats.

And to give *Hugen van Linschoten* his due praise, it must be said that the Observations of his Book are very true and just as far as we had opportunity of reducing any of them to a Trial; for in plain Terms we directed our Course solely according to his measures ever since our setting forth from *Firando*. The like Character is to be given of the Plat made by *Janson Mole* a *Hollander*, for we find the position of those Islands, that make the Streights of *China Bata* (or *Pulo Bato* as 'tis call'd by some) to be as he has plac'd them; and the Shoal that lies in the entrance of the Streights to be rightly plac'd, and a true account given of it's depths.

Linschoten Observations true, and *Mole's* Plat.

The beginning of this Month we came to an anchor in *Bantam* Road, where we found the best part of the Men left in the Factory at our going to *Japan* dead, and the Survivours had as good have been dead too for the Service and Business they did in our absence: There was nothing of a lading got in readiness, no Pepper laid in, and the Commodity rising every day, and nothing more certain than that, we that were homeward bound, and must of necessity procure a lading, should be made to pay for what we had to the purpose.

January, Come to *Bantam*.

Besides, we found a disadvantage in having so many several distinct Factories as we had in this one place; for by this means it came about that one party endeavouring to out-bid another on the account of their own particular Voyage, the prises were rais'd, and so the publick Interest was still a sufferer by it. To redress this therefore, we reduc'd all the several Factories at *Bantam* to one Government, and fix'd them in one House together, and lessen'd the number of Ware-houses, taking care to regulate the placing and disposing of our Goods with more discretion for the time to come. I bought here of the *Chinese* Merchants Four thousand Sacks of Pepper at thirteen Rials of Eight *per* ten Sacks, the Basse three in the Hundred.

All the Factories reduc'd to one.

Before we went away we had the misfortune of seeing very near the whole City of *Bantam* laid in Ashes; how the fire begun is uncertain, but when once 'twas kindled the Wind carried on the Flame with that irresistible fury, that the whole Town almost was presently consum'd, the *English* and *Dutch* Houses only excepted (which were providentially spared) and some very few more; but as if these few must of necessity follow the rest in their fate, a succeeding Fire two or three days after devour'd them too; only the *Dutch* and *English* Houses had still the same powerful and kind Protection, lifting up their Heads when all the other Buildings of the Town were levell'd with the Dust about them.

Bantam burnt to the ground.

February. May A. D. 1614.

Thus leaving these two Houses to bear the name of the Town till it rose out of it's Ashes again, we set sail homewards, coming to an Anchor in [illegible] Bay by the middle of the succeeding *May*, where we found the *Concord* of *London*, the first Ship that was ever set out by the Joint Stock.

The Natives here were grown excessively rude and treacherous, and tho' they never had good Manners, yet they used not to be so forward to shew their ill Manners and barbarous Temper; both the Concord and we felt the effects of their Treachery, and we for our parts had like to have lost all the Men that kept the Skiff by a sudden and furious assault of theirs while the rest were ashoar; nay, they had perish'd every Man if they had not immediately hurried themselves out into the Water. Some reports have been, that the Beef of this Country wont take Salt well tho' all allow it to be very good meat; but by the experience we had of it in a good quantity, which we powder'd, it seems to take Salt as well as any meat of that kind in the World.

Concord the first that went for the United Stock.

We finish'd this long and tedious Voyage the latter end of *September*, when we came safe into *Plimouth* Road; here the Winds and Weather were more severe upon us than in all those vast and mighty Seas that we had pass'd; we were actually in more danger than we had seen in sailing above half the Globe, and fear'd we were come from *Japan* to *China* to be wreck'd at our own very doors: This tempestous weather held for five or six Weeks, and then went off.

September. Arrive at *Plimouth*.

I have thought fit to let this Account of *Yedzo* (which I had from a *Japonese*, who had been twice there, at my being at *Eddo*) attend the former Journal.

Intelligence concerning Yedzo, *receiv'd at the City of* Edo *in* Japan, *from a* Japonese *that had been twice there.*

THis Intelligence says, that *Yedzo* is certainly an Island lying on the N. W. side of *Japan*, and about some ten Leagues distance from it. That the People are of a fair Complexion, good manner'd enough, far more humane in their temper and conditions than their outward aspect and appearance, being all over rough and hairy almost like Monkeys, yet their Skin (as before hinted) white and clear. The Weapons us'd amongst them are Bows and poyson'd Arrows: Those in the Southern parts are the much more understanding People, and fit for Commerce, having the knowledge of Weights and Measures, which in the middle parts of the Island they are entirely ignorant off.

Yedzo an Island.

The Natives.

That up in the Northern parts are a People which seem to be different from the rest of the Island, and of quite another race, being so extreamly low and short that they may be call'd Dwarfs in a strict and proper Sence, whereas the *Yedzoes* are commonly of the stature of the *Japonese*. They have none of them any sort of Apparel but what is brought them from *Japan*, and so the most part of their Rice (if not all they are supplied with) is brought from thence too; but then they have that amongst them, which will make other People think it very well worth their while to come and bring them these necessaries; they have a great deal of Silver, and a sort of Sand-Gold, in which they make all their payments to the *Japonese* for what they take of them.

Dwarfish People to the Northward.

The Commodities mostly transported hither are Rice, Cotton, Cloth, Iron and Lead; but of all things, necessarie for the Back and Belly, are the most welcome and acceptable to these People; particularly Rice carried from *Japan* to *Yedzo* has yielded four for one.

Commodities carried thither

The chief Meat-Town where the *Japonese* reside and trade is call'd *Matchma*, where they have also a Fort, and at least 500 Families of that Nation constantly dwelling there. In *September* the Natives come down in vast numbers to buy and lay in their Winter stores, and in *March* they bring Salmon, and several sorts of dried Fish (besides other Wares) which they barter with the *Japonese*. This *Matchma* is the chief Town for Business known to the *Japonese* upon the whole Island, and they have no manner of concern or settlement any where but here.

Ma. Tow.

The Winds hold the same Course here for the most part that they do in *Japan*, *viz.* The Northerly begin in *September* and end in *March*, and then the Southerly succeed them, and begin their course. And as a conclusion of the whole Account, there sets a very violent Current between *Yedzo* and *Japan*, which comes from *Corea*, and goes away to the E. N. E.

The Winds and Currents.

A Supplement to Chap. XXIII.

Concerning divers Cuſtoms of the Japoneſe, *and ſome Remarkable Occurrences at* Firando. *Taken out of the Relation of Mr.* Richard Cocks, *Cape-Merchant, and chief Reſident in the* Engliſh *Factory there.*

Japoneſe Feaſts.

'TIS common enough every-where in the World, for Friends to meet and make merry together, for kind and good natur'd Neighbours to make much of one another, and ſtrengthen their Friendſhip by mutual Entertainments: Now in this point the *Japoneſe* go beyond all the reſt of Mankind, and make ſuch Feaſts as hardly any other People, I believe, dare pretend to the like. We ſhou'd think it very odd, for a parcel of People in one Country, to invite their Friends in another two or three thouſand Leagues off, to come and take part of a Collation; for a Man in *England* to ſend to another in *Japan*, or the remoteſt parts of *Tartary*, to come and Dine with him ſuch a Day. But the *Japoneſe* are far more extravagant than this comes to; and deſire their Friends to take a much longer Journey: They look out into the other World for Company; give Invitations to the Dead, and call at the Grave's Mouth for Gueſts at their Entertainments.

Strange Gueſts invited.

When the Seaſon for this Solemnity is come, very great Preparations are made all over the place; the Streets are ſwept clean, and Gravel is laid in a decent manner before every Man's Door; at Night too there are Illuminations, and Candles are hung out every-where: This muſt be either for a Token of Joy and Welcome to their Friends at their Arrival, or elſe to give them a little Direction, and prevent their being Blunder'd by the Way. All things thus ſet in order, in the dead of the Night they march with abundance of Lights to the Graves and Tombs, carrying all their Proviſion both for Eating and Drinking along with them; and here they ſet to it, and are exceeding merry, enjoying all the Pleaſures of Good Fellowſhip at this rate, for ſeveral Nights together. At the breaking up of the Feaſt, they go up and down the Town in Companies, with Flags and Banners, beating upon Great Pans, and dancing very briskly to that fine Muſick, before every Great Man's Door, and at all the Temples and Sepulchres. This is the Concluſion of the whole Solemnity, and now the airy Gueſts are diſcharg'd till the next Invitation.

They are ſo very ſtrict in obſerving the Orders of this Feaſt, that 'tis made Capital for any Man to neglect his Duty here: 'Tis Death not to ſweep a Door, and hang out a Candle, upon this occaſion; and that was the Fate of one poor *Japoneſe*, at the time of our being at *Firando*.

Maſquerades

Beſides this, the *Japoneſe* are mightily given to another ſort of Night-Diverſion, and that's Maſquerading, in which the Kings, and the Noble-men, act the moſt conſiderable parts: All the Streets are now enlightned with Candles again, and the Muſick plays the Company along with all the Jollity imaginable; they march ſometimes to one great Houſe, and ſometimes to another, according as the Frolick works, and ſpend perhaps the beſt part of the Night in the Dancings, and other Comical Parts of this Entertainment.

New Teſtament in Japan Language

The Nights hardly paſs away any where, I think, more merrily, than at *Firando*; when other People are a Bed and a Sleep, they are at the Balls and Publick Dancings, perhaps Maſquerading up and down the Streets, or Carowſing in ſome Great Man's Houſe, at one of their Midnight-Feaſts. This is their common Trade, and the old King *Foyne* is as good at it as any of them all, has as much Air and Youth in all Diverſions of this kind, as the young King his Grand-ſon: 'Tis the Temper of this People to be airy, jolly, ſociable, love Entertainments, and Publick Meetings, chuſe rather to wear away the melancholy Night in the Company of their Friends, than ſpend it in Solitude, and upon dull Repoſe.

Shooting Exerciſes at Firando.

There is not leſs Feaſting and Doings of all ſorts, at the time of their Publick Shooting-Matches. The Kings, and all the Nobles then appear on Horſeback, and are followed by all the whole *Poſſe* of Slaves, Pikes, Bow-men, and Small-ſhot. The Exerciſe is chiefly managed by the Archers, who ride full ſpeed, and diſcharge their Arrows in the Career at a Buckler, that hangs up againſt a Wall. 'Tis perform'd in the Street before their great Pagod, or Temple; and the Deſign of it (I ſuppoſe) is to encourage that ſort of Dexterity, and make them skilful Marksmen, that they may be able to do better Service in the Wars.

Japoneſe Plays.

And amongſt other Recreations in uſe in this Country, thoſe of the Stage are not to be forgotten; for the *Japoneſe* are not ignorant of theſe things, and have both Air and Life, Carriage, and Wit enough, to make a handſome appearance in a Drama. The worſt part of the whole Entertainment, is the baſe Muſick that attends it; I know not what Influence it may have upon the Spirits of the *Japoneſe*, or how agreeable it may be to them, but there's nothing of Sweetneſs or Harmony in it to an *European* Ear: 'Twas all Diſcord to us, ſo harſh, flat, and confus'd, that one wou'd think it ſhou'd rather diſcompoſe the Audience, and prejudice their Temper, than excite any pleaſing ſuitable Paſſions in them, and give a reliſh to the Play.

This Muſick (at leaſt what we ſaw) was a ſort of Tabors made in the form of an Hour-glaſs, great at both ends, and ſmall in the middle; they beat upon one end with one Hand, and ſtrain the Strings with the other, proportioning the Sounds as they pleaſe to their Voices which accompany it; beſides which, they have ſomething of a Fife, or Flute; but Tabor, Voice, and Flute, are all dull and unmuſical. Some of their Women indeed, ſing and play ſweetly enough upon the Cittern of their Country; but the Muſick of the Stage, where it ought to be fineſt, is there the moſt ordinary and courſe.

In ſome Circumſtances it muſt be own'd, that they go beyond us; for in all their extraordinary Plays, the Actors are no leſs Perſons than the Kings themſelves, and the top of the Nobility; ſuch who by heighth of Birth and Blood, and an Elevation of Mind and Temper anſwerable to that of their Fortune, are very well qualified to act a Real and a Natural Part, and to give the utmoſt Degrees of Life and Strength, to thoſe Repreſentations of Heroical Vertue, that are contain'd in the Play.

The Subject Matter of thoſe Drama's, is always ſome important Affair of their own Country; they don't concern themſelves with any Foreign Stories, but ever draw the Scene for ſome place within the Bounds of *Japan*: They run over (at ſeveral times) the whole Hiſtory of the Country, the various Fortunes of it, the Wars and Valiant Actions of their moſt Renown'd Anceſtors; by which means they keep up a lively Remembrance of them amongſt the People, and provoke them to a generous Imitation of thoſe Vertues they ſee repreſented, with ſomething more of Advantage, than if the Perſons of the Play were abſolute Strangers to them. Nay, they come down from Antiquity to the preſent Times, and bring the Life and the Fiction ſometimes together; making thoſe Circumſtances the Subjects of the Drama, that were real to themſelves, and thoſe Perſons Actors, that bore a part in the Life. And in this Caſe, no doubt the Performance muſt be very agreeable, becauſe Nature has here ſuch a part to play; and the very Hero's themſelves, who can moſt decently excite and manage their own Paſſions, are brought upon the Stage to do it.

The Feaſtings after the Plays.

All theſe great Plays, in which the Courtiers are concern'd, conclude with as Noble an Entertainment; and whatever be the Prologue, a good Feaſt to be ſure makes the Epilogue. The Nobles all ſend in their ſeveral parts of the Proviſion, and do every thing to make it as pompous as can be: And then all the People that come to ſee, are Royally Feaſted, and made very much of, both ſmall and great, without exception. There is no excluſion of any, either from the Play or Entertainment, but as many as the place will contain, are admitted: And there's ſome Reaſon for it too, ſince the moſt of them that are any thing ſubſtantial, contribute to the Feaſt as well as the Nobles. They are very merry at theſe times, but yet in their decent civil way.

Tho'

Superstition of the *Japonese*.

Tho' the *Japonese* can be very Civil and Friendly to Christians, and the Religion is entertain'd by some of them themselves, yet the Country in general, seems to be possess'd with some sort of strange superstitious Prejudices; the Effects of which are such, as represent Christians (if not Christianity it self) to be despicable amongst them. Thus if a Christian dies there, as they have a Burying-place to themselves, so the Corps must never be brought in sight of any of their Pagods; if the place of Interment be but at the end of a Street, or hard by, if there be a Church of theirs in the way, the Funeral must go two or three Mile about, unless there be any shorter Cut, by which 'tis possible to avoid the Street where the Church stands.

Thus they serv'd us, when one of our Company was to be buried; we were forc'd to carry the Corps by Water I know not how far round, because the foppish Priests wou'd not suffer us to bring it along the Street, sanctified by the Presence of one of their Idol-Temples. And if we had had no Boat or Skiff of our own, to convey a Corps by Water, we must e'en have buried our Companions upon the spot where they died, or have flung them into the Sea; for they won't suffer any of their Boats to touch the dead Body of a Christian. Nay, more than that, they won't be hired, any of them, to dig a Grave; so that in this Country we are forc'd to be Sextones to one another, having none else to do that Office for us: For the *Japonese* will rather endure the stench of a putrifying Body, than set their Hands to the laying it under Ground.

The Bonzees and their Sugglings.

The Bonzees of this Country are mighty Pretenders to the Knowledge of Future and Secret Things, which they say are reveal'd to them by their Oracle: Thus they pretend to resolve all sorts of knotty, dark, mysterious Questions, to determine the Circumstances of contingent Events; in short, to give an account of all those Things, which cannot be accounted for, but by supposing them to have some supernatural Intelligence. But the mischief on't is, they very often shoot besides the Mark; their Predictions and the Events very seldom agree: Upon which account (since it is not to be suppos'd that they have those false Informations from any good Spirit), 'tis past all doubt, that either the Devil tells them Lyes, or they tell Lyes of the Devil.

Fires at *Firando*.

They very often put the Town into a dismal Fright about Fires, which they say positively shall happen such a Day; and then all the People are in a hurry, providing Tubs and Buckets, and filling Water against the fatal time comes; and at last perhaps they have their Labour for their Pains, and may e'en throw their Water out again, for any use they have for it at that Season. 'Tis true, the Town is very often fired; and I think it may be almost compared with *Bantam*, for the frequency of that Calamity: But then 'tis very seldom so, when the Bonzees tell of it; that they had better either quite hold their Tongues, or lay their Plot so sure, that the Town may be set on fire without fail: For we make no doubt at all, but the Bonzees are either the Incendiaries themselves, or at least some employ'd by them; and that partly out of hopes of getting Plunder, when the People are in a Confusion, and of establishing the Reputation of their Predictions, by making the Event answerable. So that when a Fire does happen as they foretel it, there's no necessity of supposing any Magick in the Case, or that an Oracle reveal'd this Mystery to them: For a Villain may foretel his own leud Actions, without being call'd a Conjurer if they come to pass.

The matter stands thus: The Bonzees can't have their desired Spoils, without setting the Town a-fire, nor they can't be Prophets, except they tell on't before-hand; but Spoil they will have, and Prophets they will be too, and therefore to answer both these ends, they have no other way, but to form the Plot themselves, and tell the People before-hand, that the Devil will put it in execution at such a time. And when it is done, it is really perform'd with so much slyness and subtle management, that there is hardly any finding the Authors of it; I don't remember of all the Fires that happen'd at *Firando* at our being there, (and there were several) that there was any discovery or seizure of a Villain made: They have been seen indeed sometimes at a distance, and pursued; but there are so many sly places, and cunning holes, for Rogues to lie skulking about in, that 'tis almost impossible to catch them. Otherwise it might be suspected, that the Bonzees laid the Saddle upon the right Horse, and that some evil Spirit indeed was concern'd in the mischief; but the pursuit of the Villains takes off that; and besides, there are Crowds of pilfering People lying about the Town, that break very often into Houses, and rob and spoil, and offer Violence of all other sorts; where there are such sort of Cattle, there's no need of going farther a-field, to fetch the probable Authors of such Villanies as these.

Good Orders establish'd at *Firando*.

In order to the future more effectual prevention of these Disturbances, we (whose share of dread and danger by the Fires was not the least) made a Motion to the King, That an Edict might be publish'd, enjoyning a most strict and particular Watch to be every-where kept; that no Man shou'd be suffer'd to be out late, but what cou'd give a very good Account of himself, and his Business; and besides, always to have a Light before him, that he might be seen what he was. And these Orders were accordingly put in execution with all diligence: So that now there's hopes, that the Town, and the Merchants in it, will enjoy a more undisturb'd Repose: For the plain truth on't is; what with the terrible Apprehensions of the Fire, the Hurry of the Town those Nights 'twas expected, and the Noise and Bellowing of a parcel of Fellows in the Streets, that go about to give Warning, and bid People have a Care of their Houses, there was no Rest to be had, and a Man liv'd continually in all the Extremities of Confusion and Haring at such times as those: Besides, the Calamity was likely enough to come, and the Bonzees Emissaries, we know, wou'd not fail of the utmost Care to give a Reputation to their Predictions.

A most fearful Tempest at *Firando*.

In *September*, at which time Captain *Sarn* was gone upon his Journey to the Emperor's Court, we were surpriz'd at *Firando*, with the most horrible Tempest that perhaps ever any Man saw: We that had been at Sea, and in all the Extremities of Weather in that unquiet Element, never saw any thing comparable to it; and the oldest *Japonese* then alive, declar'd it the greatest Prodigy ever seen in their Country.

The Airy Regions were all over in a Hurly-burly; and as one wou'd have imagin'd (by the furious Motions they were then put into) commencing a War that shou'd end in an Universal Confusion. The Noise of the Wind (raging above the degree of a Tuffon) was accompanied with a Discharge of Thunder and Lightning sufficient to have shaken the most fix'd and steddy Courage in the World; the Rains fell at the same time, in a most violent manner, which tho' perhaps an advantage in respect of the Lightning, yet added exceedingly to the Horror of the Storm. The Winds beat so fiercely upon the Town, that above a hundred Houses were presently overthrown; a great part of the rest were untild and laid open, and all trembled, as if the Earth it self had suffer'd a Convulsion. The Sea at the same time feeling the Effects of the general Commotion, and not able to keep within its usual Bounds, broke into the Town, undermin'd the Great Wharf, beat down the Stone-Wall, and sunk and shatter'd in pieces above fifty Barks that then lay in the Road. God be thanked, our Ship escap'd in this common Calamity, and came off with the loss of one of her Anchors only.

This Storm did more Mischief at *Langasaque*, than here at *Firando*: All the while it continued, the superstitious People run up and down the Streets with Firebrands, a Ceremony, I suppose, intended to pacifie the angry Deity that sent that bad Weather: But this in all probability had set the Town a-fire, if the Rains had not done something by way of prevention.

CHAP. XXIV.

Observations made by Capt. John Saris, *relating to the Universal Trade of the* East-Indies, *the most remarkable Places, the Commodities they afford, or are chiefly in request in every one of them: with the Rates, Prices, Customs, and Impost, every-where observable.*

Rules for the Choice of certain Drugs, with the Places from whence they come.

Lignum-Aloes. LIgnum *Aloes*, (call'd by the *Malayans Garroo*) the best of it comes from *Malacca*, *Siam*, and *Cambaya*, and is in large Sticks, and very massy, black, and mix'd with Veins of an Ash-colour. 'Tis bitter if tasted; and laid upon the Fire, yields a most delectable Smell, and fries away till it be quite consum'd, much after the rate that Pitch does.

Benjamin. *Benjamin*, (call'd by the *Malayans*, *Minnian*;) the best sort comes from *Siam*, which is a very pure, clear, and white, with little Streaks of Amber-colour. There is another sort which comes from *Sumatra*, which is very good, but not so white and fine. And a third sort, particularly from *Priaman*, and *Barrowse*, which is very coarse, and not valued in *England*, tho' at *Bantam* it goes off well.

Civet. *Civet*, the best is that which is of a deep yellow Colour, inclining to that of Gold: If it be of any considerable Age, and looks white, 'tis a sign 'tis adulterated; but if it be newly taken, 'tis natural for it to look something whitish, with bright Colour, by degrees, wears away into a yellow.

Musk. *Musk*, there are three sorts of it, black, brown, and yellow; of which the first is stark naught, the second good, and the third best of all: It ought to be of the Colour of the best Spikenard (that is of a deep Amber) and inclosed within one Skin only, and not with several one over another, as 'tis many times seen to be, and not over moist neither, which increases the Weight, but is no sign of the Goodness of the Commodity; 'tis best to chuse that also, that has some few Hairs like Bristles, little Stones, Pieces of Lead, or other Trash mix'd with it (for all this is natural) and of so strong a Scent, as to be rather offensive than otherwise; especially if tasted when the Fumes of it seem to pierce violently into the Brain, and search the Head at a wonderful rate: If it be right, a bit of it taken into the Mouth, will not be presently dissolved; as neither on the other hand, ought it to remain undissolv'd any considerable time. You must take care not to keep this Drug near any of your fine scented Spices, least it lose its own Odour thereby.

Bezoar. *Bezoar* is of two kinds, the Occidental, and the Oriental Bezoar; which latter is worth full double the Price of the former. The Forms of both sorts are various, some round, others long, like Date-stones, others like Pigeon-Eggs, others again in the shape of a Kidney, or like a Chesnut; but all, for the most part, not sharp and picked, but blunt at the ends. There is as much Variety in the Colour too; for there is a light Red, a Honey-colour, a dark Ash-colour, but for the most part 'tis of a Waterish Green. The Oriental Bezoar (or that from the *East-Indies*) consists of several distinct Peels, or Coats, lying one over another, as those of an Onion. They all of them appear bright and shining; but the inner one's still more resplendant than the outer: They are thicker or thinner, in no certain proportion, but mostly according to the largeness of the Stone, and the largest are the most valuable, and best for Sale.

A certain way to try the Goodness of your Bezoars, is to put the Stone into the Water for three or four Hours (having first taken the exact Weight of it), then taking it out, observe if the Surface of it be whole, and even as before, not divided by Cracks and Chinks; as also, at the same time, take the Weight of it again pretty nicely, and if it weighs ever so small a matter more than it did at the first Trial, you may build upon it that it is not good. In this way of proceeding, I have seen several Bezoars at *Bantam* (that have promis'd very fair to the Eye) dissolve into a perfect Chalk, and discover nothing but trashy matter in the inside. The places that afford them are *Patane*, *Bemermassin*, *Macassar*, and *Soocadanna*; but those that come from this last place, do oftner impose upon us, and prove naught, than those that are yielded by any of the other places.

Amber. *Amber*, if you respect the Colour, is of various sorts, as Black, White, Brown, and Grey, of which the Black is usually the basest; and the Grey, or at least the Ash-colour mix'd with White, is the best and purest. 'Tis a Characteristick of this fine and clean sort, that being put into the Water, it does not sink but floats upon the Surface; and tho' this may also possibly agree to some Amber that is abused and sophisticated; yet 'tis certain, that all that is good and pure must swim; and if it does otherwise, it may be pronounc'd base and adulterate.

The Characters of the chief Towns of Trade in the East-Indies, *the Commodities they afford, and desire from Foreign Parts.*

Bantam. *Bantam*, upon the Isle of *Java Major*, is a Town of very great Resort, and equal Trade, for divers sorts of Commodities. The genuine Products of the place it self, are chiefly Cotton-wool, and Pepper; but the great numbers of Foreign Ships that come hither, bring other Materials for Trade besides.

The Measures. Their Harvest for Pepper is in the Month of *October*, and the Quantities gathered in at a time, may be some 32000 Sacks (or Timbangs as they call them). Now two Timbangs is a Peecul, three Peeculs is a small Bahar, and four and a half a great Bahar, which makes 445 Cattees and half; so that the Sack contains 49 Cattees and a half, and every Cattee amounts to 21 Rials and a half *English*. The *Javans* not being perfect in the use of the Beam, most commonly deal by the Coolack, which contains seven Cattees and a quarter, which is one Cattee and a quarter more than the Beam allows, and indeed there ought to be no difference; but the Weighers at *Bantam* being always *Chinese*, they manage the matter so as to favour their Country-men when they see good, and will fit them with a bigger or a smaller measure, according as they are gratified and pleas'd. Deceits in Weight and Measure at *Bantam*.

Coyn of *Bantam*. The King has no Coyn of his own, but what comes from *China*, which is call'd Cashes, and is melted out of the Dross of Lead; they are round thin Pieces, made with Holes for a String to go through them, in which manner they are deliver'd up and down in Payments. A String with a thousand of these Cashes upon it, is call'd a Pecoo, which is of divers Values, according as Cashes rise or fall. They make their Accounts thus: Ten Pecooes is one Laxsan, ten Laxsans a Cattee, ten Cattees a Uta, ten Uta's a Bahar.

Deceits in Payment. By the Law of the Country there ought to be a full thousand Cashes upon a String; and if the number falls short, the Person that makes Payment is to allow accordingly; and the *Javan* Strings are indeed, for the most part pretty honest and just; but the *Chinese* are horribly deficient, and if you don't look to them very well, they'll cheat you of 150, or 200 Cashes sometimes in a Pecoo. Always upon the going away of the Ships and Juncks the Cashes fall, and you may get thirty four or thirty five Pecoos for a Rial, which before the next Year comes about, you may put off again at more than one third profit; but then the great danger in this case of engrossing is Fire, which as 'tis a very common Calamity at *Bantam*, so 'twill make bad work where it comes amongst the Leaden Coyn of this place. Profit to be made by engrossing the Cashes.

The Weight. The Weight in use here for weighing Bezoars, Gold, and Civet, is call'd a Tail, which makes 2 ¼ Rials of Eight, or two Ounces *English*: This is the *Javan* Tail; but the *Malayan* is 1 ¼ Ounces *English*, and the *Chinese* 1 ⅞ Ounces *English*: So that the *Chinese* Tail is ⅞ of the *Javan* exactly.

The

Commodities vendible at *Bantam*.

The Commodities which find the best Sale and Acceptance here, are these following of our own and other Countries:

Iron, long and thin Bars, at six Rials *per* Peecul.
Lead in small Pigs, at 5 ½ Rials *per* Peecul.
Powder fine, round, corn'd, at 25 Rials *per* Barrel.

English Trade

Pieces square and sanguin'd, of six Foot long, ten Rials *per* Piece.

Pieces square and damask'd all over, of 6 ½ Foot, fifteen Rials.

Broad Cloth of 10 *l.* the Cloth, of a *Venice* Red, three Rials *per* Gass, which is ¼ of a Yard.

The best Opium, eight Rials *per* Cattee.

Amber in great Beads, 6 Rials *per* Tail *Malayan*.

Coral, in large Branches, five and six Rials, by the same Weight as the Amber.

But above all things, Rials of Eight are the best Commodity you can bring hither.

This is mostly the *English* Trade; but then in the Months of *February* and *March*, there comes constantly

China Trade.

three or four Junks very richly laden from *China*, with all these sorts of valuable Commodities, *viz.*

Your Raw Silk of *Lamking*, which is the best, and goes at 190 Rials *per* Peecul.

Raw Silk of *Lauton*, which is coarser than the former, at 80 Rials.

Taffata in Boults, holding 112 Yards in the Piece, at 46 Rials the Corge, which is 20 Pieces.

Velvets of all Colours, 13 Yards, at 12 Rials.

Damasks of all Colours, 12 Yards at 6 Rials.

White Sattins, 12 Yards, 8 Rials.

Burgogues, 10 Yards long, at 45 Rials *per* Corge.

Sleeve Silk, the best made Colours, 3 Rials *per* Cattee.

Musk, the best, at 22.

Sewing Gold, the best, 15 Knots, every Knot 30 Strings, at 1 Rial.

Velvet Hangings, embroider'd with Gold, 18 Rials.

Sattins embroider'd, 14 Rials.

White Curtain-Stuffs, 9 Yards the piece, at 50 Rials *per* Corge.

White Damask flat, 9 Yards the Piece, at 4 Rials.

White Sugar very dry, at 3 ½ Rials *per* Peecul.

Sugar-Candy very dry, at 5.

Porceline Basons, very fine and broad, 2 Rials a piece.

Callicoe-Cloth, coarse, white and brown, 15 Rials *per* Corge.

Benjamin, very white and good, at 30 and 35 Rials *per* Peecul.

Lignum Aloes, at 80.

Alom, as good as our *English*, at 2 ½.

Coromandel Trade.

All your *Coromandel* Cloths are topping Commodities here; but the most vendible sorts are the Gobarees, the Pintadoes, the fine Tappies of St. *Thomas*, the Ballacho's, *Java* Girdles, Callicoe Lawns, Book Callicoes, and White Callicoes, made up in Rolls.

The Measure that takes place in these Commodities is the Hasta, which is about half a Yard, or as much as from the Elbow to the extremity of the Middle-finger: And some of these Cloths are more, and others less in length, tho' none above 34 Hasta's; and in general, all sorts of *Malayan* Cloths are ordinarily 8 Hasta's long: And to conclude this Head, all kinds of Cotton Cloth which are broad, and hold out a good length, are in very good esteem at *Bantam*.

Custom and Impost, &c.

The Customs taken at *Bantam* are of several sorts; the King's Custom call'd *Chukey*, is eight Bags upon the Hundred, rating Pepper at 4 Rials of Eight *per* Sack, what Price soever it bears.

Then there is that call'd *Billabilian*, which is thus: If any Ship come into the Road laden, the King is to be immediately acquainted with the Sorts, Quantities, and Prices of the Commodities in her, before any part can be landed; upon which he sends his Officers to the Ship, and takes of all the sorts what he likes, perhaps at half your Price, or it may be something better, according as you can agree. So if you lade Pepper according to the Law of this Duty, you pay for every 6000 Sacks, 666 Rials, or else are obliged to be the King's Chapman for as many thousand Sacks, at one half, or three fourths of a Rial more than the Current Price of the Town.

The *Dutch* indeed go a more compendious way to work, and to avoid the trouble of the Duty, agree with the King so much in the gross, for the Lading of a Ship, which is generally about seven or eight hundred Rials. And 'tis to be noted, that tho' you have ever so prudently provided before-hand Lading to dispatch your Ships, yet you shall not be excus'd from this sort of Duty; for if you pretend to dispute, or refuse it, they'll stop the Lading of your Ship.

The *Rooba*, at *Bantam*, is a Duty for Anchorage, and 'tis 500 Rials of Eight upon 6000 Sacks. The Sabandars Duty is 250 Rials upon 6000 Sacks. And the Weighers Duty is 1 Rial upon 100; and the same of the Weighers belonging to the Custom-House.

The Town of *Jortan*, upon the same Island, pretends mostly to Victuals, Cotton-wool, and spun Yarn. There is also some little matter of Spice, Pepper, by the Juncks of *Jambi* that come hither, and some Mace and Nutmegs by those of this Town that go to the Isle of *Banda*. *Jortan.*

Macassar, at the *Celebes*, affords great store of Bezoar-stones, Rice, and other Provisions, with a small quantity of Spice, by means of a Correspondence with *Banda*. *Macassar.*

Balee, an Island to the Eastward of *Mackassar*, in 8. Degr. South Lat. yields plenty of Rice, Cotton Yarn, coarse White Cloth, a good Commodity at *Bantam*: Those that this place requires, are the smallest sort of Blew and White Beads, Iron, and coarse Porceline. *Balee* Isle.

Timor is a very large Island, lying to the Eastward of *Balee*; 'tis famous for the Production of the White Saunders, the greatest Logs of which are esteem'd the best, and are worth at *Bantam*, twenty Rials of Eight *per* Peecul, at the coming in of the Junks: It yields also great plenty of Wax, which is made up in large Cakes, and goes at *Bantam* for eighteen, and so to thirty Rials *per* Peecul, as the time serves; there's a great deal of deceit, very often, in this Commodity; and to be sure that you are not cheated, the best way is to break it, and see whether it looks agreeably within. *Timor.* The Trade there.

The Wares to be carried hither, are Chopping-knives, *China* Frying-pans, *China* Bells, small Bugles, Porcelines, colour'd Taffatees, but no Blacks, Pieces of Silver beaten flat and thin, and of the breadth of one's Hand. There may be good Profit made of the Trade to this Island; for the *Chinese* have given four for one, to some of our *English* that ventur'd with them thither.

Banda Isles are celebrated for their Mace and Nutmegs, with the Oyls of both those Spices. The Harvest comes three times a Year upon these Islands, *viz. July*, *October*, and *February*; but the greatest gathering in is, in *July*, which is call'd here the *Monson Arepotee*. *Banda.*

Some report, these Islands were once in Subjection to the King of *Ternate*; but whatever they once were, now they are a sort of a Common-wealth; yet is there one Supreme Officer, whom they call a Sabandar, that appears at the Head of the State, and has the Trouble of Managing, but not the full Power of Disposing of any Publick Affair, without the good Liking, and intervening Approbation of the People. The Trade there.

Their way of Dealing is by Bahar and Cattee: The small Bahar is ten Cattees of Mace, and a hundred of Nutmegs; and the great Bahar a hundred of Mace, and a thousand of Nutmegs. And the Cattee here is 5 Pound 13 Ounces *English*; the Prices variable.

The Commodities requested here, are *Coromandel* Cloth, Cloth of *Cambaya*, and all sorts of the *Malayan* (or *Cherra Malaya*, as they call it), Broad Cloth, Stammel, Callicoes black and red, *China* Boxes, Basons without Brims, light colour Damasks, Taffatees, Velvets, Gold Chains, Plate Cups gilt, Head-pieces damask'd, Guns, Sword-blades, but not such as are back'd to the Point. There's a great deal of Profit in bringing Gold Coyn hither; for you shall have that for the Value of 70 Rials in Gold Coyn, that will cost you 90, if you pay in Rials: And 'tis not to be forgotten, that Rice good and fair, is as vendible a Commodity as most at this place.

* *Siam*, (in 14 ½ North Lat.) the Capital City of a mighty Empire, is possess'd of no small advantage to encourage a Trade. You have at this place some of the best *Benjamin* perhaps in the World, and in great plenty; and the glorious Gems of *Pegu* shine here likewise: There's a vast quantity of Silver in Bullion, that's brought hither from *Japan*; but Rials of Eight are more in request, and will bring in Bullion ¼ of a Rial Profit. Their Tayle is 2 ¼ Rials of Eight. * See the Trade of, and at the *Moluccas*, stated in Capt. *Saris's* Voyage, *ch.* 1. of this 4th Book, and so is here omitted. *Siam*, the Trade there.

All your broad *Stammel* Cloth, Iron-works, and fair Looking-Glasses, are things that take exceedingly here; and all sorts of *China* Commodities, are much cheaper than at *Bantam*.

The Juncks from *Guzurat* come to *Siam* in the Months of *June* and *July*, touching first at the *Maldive* Isles, and then at *Tenassere*, from whence the Merchants may go over Land to *Siam* in twenty Days space.

Borneo, the principal City of the Isle of that name, is rich in Gold and Bezoar Stones; abounds in Wax, Retans, Cayulacca, and Sanguis Draconis; and no less Trade for all these things at *Bemermassin*, a Town upon the same Island. *Borneo.*

The Commodities desired here, are much the same with those for the Isles of *Banda*: Bezoar Stones are likewise

sold

sold here by the Tayle, as they are at *Bantam*; but the Tayle is different from that, it being 1 ½ Ounce *English*; and the Stones go at five or six Rials the Tayle.

Soocadanna, and its Diamond Trade

But the great place of Note upon this Island is *Soocadanna* (in 1 ½ Degr. South Lat.) and ever will be so, while it has the Reputation of yielding the best and noblest Diamonds in the World. All the Trading part of Mankind being fond of this precious Commodity, the place consequently never wants a crowd of Ships, Praws and Junks, that come to Trade for them. The Riches of the Country in this kind are inexhaustible, and *Soocadanna* is never unprovided of Diamonds for them that visit her upon that Account: But yet the greatest quantities are met with in *January* and *April*, and tho' they are at no time scarce, yet then they are more than ordinarily plentiful, and the place is in the height of it's charming Lustre. And the Reason why they have more in those Months is, because the Rains which fall with an excessive violence in *July* and *October*, and some of the latter Months, are then well gone off, and their Effects upon the Rivers abated too; they are sunk by this time to their usual depth, and the streams became more slow and plocid, so that the Divers may venture upon their Work, without fear of being carried away and lost. For all these Diamonds are gotten as Pearl are by Diving; and the River most celebrated for the search and discovery of them is the River *Lane*; such a one as which, any Prince that had it in his Dominions, would not have very much cause to complain, if it yielded the Country no Fish.

Commodities in request here are *Malacca* Pintadoes, Coromandel Cloths, Callico Lawns, light colour'd *China* Silks, Sewing Gold, Slane Silk, Stammelly and broad Cloth, Bugles of all sorts.

Concerning which 'tis to be noted, that the blew Bugles made at *Bantam* in form of a Tun, and of the bigness of a Bean, and which you give there at the rate of a Rial of Eight for 400, are worth a Mass the 100 at *Soocadanna*, the Mass being three fourths of a Rial of Eight. The Advantage of trading with Gold is considerable too here, for you shall have a Stone for one Rial in Gold, which you shall not have for one Rial and half, or one Rial and three fourths in Silver.

When a Ship is bound for this place the best way is to go first to *Bemermassen*, and there barter what Commodities she has (proper for this Island) for Gold, which may be had for three Cattees Cashes the Malacca Tayle, which is nine Rials of Eight: and then bring it to *Soocadanna* it may be put away for Diamonds and four Cattees Cashes the Tayle, which is one Rial and seven eights in weight, so that you shall gain three fourths of a Rial upon a Tayle. But the Principal Gain must be in the Diamonds, which are of four several Waters, White, Green, Yellow, and a Colour betwixt both, or mixt of Green and Yellow; of all these the White Water Diamonds are the best.

Weights at *Soocadanna*.

The Weights in use here are the Mass, the Coopang, the Boosuck, and the Pead; four Coopangs make one Mass, two Boosuck make one Coopang, and one Pead and half is a Boosucks, by which proportion of these Weights to one another, and the above mentioned value of a Mass in Rials, the value of any of these may be easily expres'd in Rials likewise. The Tayle at this place is sixteen Mass, and one fourth of the Tayle they call a Pahaw, by which they generally weigh not only Diamonds, but Gold too.

China Trade at *Lankin* and *Cnnton*

The Towns upon the Coast of *China* that make a great Figure in Trade are *Lankin*, *Canton* and *Hocchu*. Your raw Silks of *Lankin* are worth there 80 Rials *per* Peecul, the *Hocchu* Taffata, 30 Rials *per* Corge, the *Canton* Damask 50 Rials *per* Corge. Sewing Silk 100 Rials *per* Peecul, Embroidered Hangings the best ten Rials of Eight a piece; Sewing Gold is sold by the Bundle, each containing ten Papers, and every Paper five Knots, and the best has 36 Threads in a Knot; this goes at two Rials *per* Paper; Sattens the best at one Rial the piece, great Basons, three for a Rial, White Sugar the best at half Rial *per* Peecul, Porceline of the small sorts, the best one, Rial *per* Cattee, Pearl-boxes, the best five Rials a Piece, Velvets of nine Yards long five Rials of Eight a Piece, Sleeve Silk the best 150 Rials *per* Peecul, Musk seventeen Rials *per* Cattee, Cashes sixty Peecoes for a Rial, broad Cloth, which is three fourths of a Yard, worth seven Rials, Looking-Glasses very large ten Rials a piece, Tin fifteen Rials *per* Peecul, Wax the same, Musket Barrels twenty Rials a piece, Japan Sables eight Rials a piece, Elephants Teeth the best and greatest, 200 Rials *per* Peecul, the small half of that, White Saunders the best in great Logs, worth forty. The Custom of Pepper inwards is a Tayle upon a Peecul, but outwards there's no Custom at all; and they look very narrowly that no Ammunition of any sort be carried out of the Country.

China Trade to the Manilles.

In *March* the Juncks bound for the *Manilles* set out from *Chauchu*, and return in *June*: Their lading outwards is raw and wrought Silks, far better than those they carry for *Bantam*; but they come home laden only with Rials of Eight, perhaps forty of them in a Year, and so slightly guarded, that a Ship-boat may take them without any trouble. This Voyage from *China* to the *Manilles*, is about ten days sail.

Japan Trade.

As for the Noble Island of *Japan*, there is hardly any sort of Commodity but what is vendible there somewhere or other; and the Trade there being of a later date, and much less known than at other places before mention'd, it may not be amiss to add this particular Account of it.

The sorts of Coin current here, are principally Masses and Canderins, the Canderin being one tenth of the Mass; and 'tis by these that the Prices of Commodities are most ordinarily Measur'd.

Your Broad Cloths of all sorts, *viz.* Black, Yellow, Red, &c. which cost in *Holland* eight or nine Gilders the *Flemish Ell*, is worth here, three, or four, and so to five hundred: Where note that Cloth of a high Wool is in no request, but such as is low shorn; so also your fine Bays of the aforesaid Colours, but not according to the *Portugueze* wear, but those that are well Cotton'd.

Then *India* Goods of all sorts are in esteem, together with Damasks, Silks, Sattens, Velvets, Taffata's, and your Silk Grograms, Turkey Grograms, and Chamblets, Sayes, Rashes, Bourats single and double.

All *Holland* Cloths from fifteen to twenty Stivers, and not above, Diapers and Damasks; which the better branch'd and flower'd the more acceptable.

Then Pictures, Carpets, Painted and Gilded Leather of all sorts, especially with small and fine Flowers, are very much valued; only as to Pictures, the larger they are the better, but they are not so much for Faces; as Landskip, representations of War, amorous Intrigues, some remarkable Story or comical Fancy, as the Painter's Invention guides him.

Then all the serviceable Metals, Copper in Plates, Lead in Sheets and Barrs, Tin in Loggs, Iron, Steel and Quick-silver are very good Commodities.

For Drugs, *China* Roots, *Collomback* Wood, Saunders, Sapon or Red-Wood, Amber, Camphire, Roach Allom, Elephants Teeth, Rhinocero's and Harts horn; to which add Honey, *Spanish* Soap, Sugar Candy, Pepper, Nutmegs, Salt, all sorts of Leather, and Wax-Candles.

Then hardly any thing that serves for Houshold Use or Ornament comes amiss in *Japan*, no sort of Instrument or Utensil, but what will find some Customer or other that will have a mind to it: In short 'tis a place of so general a Vent, that I believe 'twill be hard to find out a Commodity of any significancy that will not take there.

Note here that the *Chinese* will commonly truck for your Silver, and give you Gold of 23 Carrats, from fifteen to twenty the Ounce Silver; but sometimes there comes too much and other times too little.

Commodities to be bought in *Japan*.

The Commodities *Japan* affords, are Hemp very good, 10 Cattees (which is 120 pound *Holland*) worth from sixty five to seventy.

Eye Colours for dying Blew near as good as *Indico*, made up in round Cakes and pack'd 100 Cakes in a Fardel, worth from 50 to 60 *per* Fardel.

Dying for a while, enclining to Red, made in Fardels or Balls of fifty Gautins Malio's worth from five to eight.

Rice very white and good, worth 8 ½ *per* Tare; and of a worse sort worth 7 ½ *per* Bale.

At *Eddo*, *Succaio*, *Osaca*, and *Meaco* is the best Furniture for all sorts of Colours, and for Gilding too.

Brimstone costs here seven *per* Peecul.

Salt-Peter one and a half.

Cotton-Wool ten.

These are the Commodities of most note which this Island yields, of all which kinds tho' it produces those that are good; yet the greatest excellency it pretends to, seems to lie in the Materials for Gilding and Colouring, wherein perhaps it has not many places that can pretend to Rival it.

An

An Account of some remarkable Occurrences, and divers things relating to the State of the English *Trade in* Japan, *taken out of the Letters of two* English-men, *a long time resident there, Mr.* Cocks *and Mr.* Sayer.

These Letters being some of them long and tedious, and besides intermixt with abundance of very vulgar, frivolous, and unprofitable Matters, we shall not impose upon the Reader the ungrateful Task of going over them in their full length, but endeavouring at once both to shorten his Labour and make his Entertainment better, by presenting him with a faithful and as concise an Account as may be, of the most material Things, separated from the other Impertinences.

An Account of a Letter of Mr. Cocks, *Dated from* Firando *in* Japan, December *the* 10*th* A. D. 1614. *Sent to Captain* Saris.

Wars between Ogosho-sam, and Fidaia-sam.

AS to the Affairs of *Japan*, the Writer of this Letter gives us an Account that they were at that time in a very dismal and unquiet Condition; a Civil War being ready to commence, that threaten'd very great Calamities to the whole Country.

The Prince's name was Fidaia-sam, Son of Tico-sam the Old Emperour.

We have heard before that the rightful Heir of this mighty Empire was shut up in the strong Castle of *Osaca*, where 'twas design'd he should live in perpetual Ignorance of himself, and his just Title to the Crown; or at least if he should by any means come to the knowledge of his true Quality, should by that close Confinement be depriv'd of all Opportunities of giving any disturbance to the present Possessour But the usurping Emperor's Plot (it seems) did not take the desired Effect; the young Prince some way or other came to know himself, and accordingly took up Arms to assert and maintain his Right. He converted his Prison into a strong Garrison, and instead of other Keepers, got quickly about him an Army of 100000 Men, bold, resolute, hardy Souldiers, most of them Outlaws, Exiles, and Male-Contents, which flock'd in to him from all parts of the Empire, and will spend their Blood to set him in the Throne. Besides this Force of Men he had laid in as good a strength of Provision, having furnish'd the Invincible Castle of *Osaca* with Victuals for three Years. This was the alarm which *Ogosho-sam* ever dreaded the hearing of: Nothing could look with a more threatning, malignant Aspect upon his State and Power, than a black Cloud gathering about the Castle of *Osaca*. However to maintain his own Pretensions, he was march'd in Person with an Army of 300000 Men towards the Prince, and some little bickerings had pass'd between parties of both Armies at the time of the writing of this.

But now the whole Empire expected the result of a pitch'd Battle, in which that controversy should be solemnly decided, which of these two Pretenders should finally wear the Crown Imperial of *Japan*. The one is resolved to pursue his Right, and the other as much to maintain Present Possession, which being the case, the Dispute between them is like to be very violent, and as stubbornly maintain'd on both sides. 'Twas not long before this that the Emperor declar'd himself a publick Enemy to the Christians, giving order for the banishing all Jesuits, Friars, Nuns, and their adherents out of *Japan*, pulling down their Churches and Monasteries, and to make sure work with them, not only ordering their Banishment, but actually shipping them away himself, some for *China*, and others for the *Manillia's*.

A strange Tuffon at Eddo.

And in a short space after this Persecution a very great Confusion happen'd at *Eddo* (one of the largest Cities of the Empire) occasion'd by a most dreadful Tuffon which raged there. The City was almost demolish'd by it, a great part of the Buildings being broke down, and the Sea beating in at the same time threatn'd to swallow up all the rest; so that the Inhabitants were forc'd to quit the place, and run up into the Mountains for shelter. The *Pagan* and the Christian *Japonese* are very contrary to one another in their Opinions and Assertions concerning the cause of this horrible Commotion. The latter say 'tis a Judgment of God upon the Nation for the Affronts offer'd to the Christian Religion; particularly for the Emperour's Banishing it, with all the Pious Jesuits that preach'd it, away from his Court at *Eddo*, as he lately did; so that the Circumstance of the Calamity with respect to the place, clearly (as they say) expounds the Cause of it. On the other side the *Pagans* say 'tis Witchcraft, and that the Jesuits upon their Banishment fell a conjuring, and rais'd that Storm to plague the Country in revenge.

At the time of Captain *Saris*'s being in *Japan*, 'twas thought that if any other *English* Ship came into those Ports, the Goods might immediately be sold off, without the formality of making and carrying a fresh Present to the Emperour; but 'twas afterwards found to be otherwise, and every Ship that came in, was under a necessity of doing it, paying its Custom that way. More than this they could have no Liberty, so much as to set out a Junk, without the Emperours Licence were annually procured; for 'twas made death for any *Japonese* Mariner to stir out of the Country without leave; only their own Ships might go in and out freely, whenever they had occasion.

Attempt for a *China* Trade.

A good Project was set a foot for beginning a Trade upon the Coast of *China*, at a Town near *Languin*, to which place a Ship might sail from *Firando* with a good Wind in three or four Days time. This was first propos'd and undertaken by some considerable *Chinese* then in *Japan*, who labour'd very hard in the matter, and made no question of accomplishing it so far that three *English* Ships should have a Vent for their Commodities every Year at that place. The Endeavours of the *English* Factory (setled at *Firando*) towards a Trade from *Tushma* into *Corea* prov'd ineffectual, very little to any Purpose being to be done there.

No Trade at *Corea*.

There was no vent for any Commodities but Pepper only, and not much of that; then the Weight is much bigger than that of *Japan*, tho' sold at something a better rate. By all Circumstances it seems to appear, that the *Coreans* are not at all dispos'd to a Correspondence with them of *Tushma*, since they'll allow them but to come into one little Town, and forbid them to go without the Walls of that upon pain of Death, ever so little a way up into the Country; and that the King of *Tushma* is no Subject to the Emperour of *Japan*, so that there was no Danger of this latter Prince's getting any footing amongst them by the opening of a Correspondence with the former. Yet the *Coreans* are possessed with such Jealousies and Fears of the *Japonese*, that they'll not indulge any of their Neighbourhood in any manner of Liberties by which it may be possible to fasten any hold upon them. And the Truth on 'tis, they are not fearful and mistrustful without a cause, if at least former Attempts upon their Liberty may be a Reason why an Adversary that made them, should be distrusted for the future.

Tico-sam invaded *Coina*.

Now this was the Case; for *Tico-sam* the Emperour before this did actually make an Irruption into *Corea*, intending to have carried on his Conquest to the very Gates of *Peking*, and surpriz'd the *Chinese* Emperor in his Palace; but he was in the midst of that Career of Fortune prevented by a *Corean* Noble-man, who to serve his Prince and Country in that extremity gave the Conquerour his Death in a Cup of Poison, dying himself with him at the same time. By this means the *Japonese* lost all that they had gotten in *Corea*, and left *China* to the after Conquest of the *Tartars*, which was very like at this time to have fallen to their own share. Now 'tis very probable that this is the Reason of the horrid and inveterate Prejudices these two People do entertain one against the other; the *Japonese* were the Invaders of the *Coreans*, and the *Coreans* robb'd the *Japonese* of a glorious and fortunate Prince.

But

But yet that Prince how dear ſoever he was to the *Japoneſe*, he was an Invader of the Juſt Rights and Liberties of the *Coreans*, and they had no Reaſon tamely to give way to a Foreign Power, that pretended to enſlave and trample upon them, if they could find any means either by Force or Policy to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of it. However 'tis certain that the *Japoneſe* do mortally hate the *Coreans*, and can never be poſſeſſed with Sentiments of Tenderneſs and Friendſhip for them as long as the World ſtands, unleſs the humour of the Nation ſtrangely alters. They cannot with any Patience bear the ſight of a *Corean*, and thoſe People they take for ſuch cannot walk the Streets without a whole rabble at their Heels, houting and pelting them with Dirt and Stones. Thus 'twas with Captain *Saris* in ſeveral Towns in *Japan*, where the People did not know what the *Engliſh* were; there was hardly any paſſing along, the Mob was ſo very rude and clamorous, nay, the very Children had it in their Mouths as well as the reſt, *Corè*, *Corè*, *Cocorè*, *Warè*, you *Coreans* with falſe Hearts! The *Japoneſe* are the civileſt and moſt well bred People in the World, only they cannot poſſibly be civil to a *Corean*, or any Man they think to be ſo.

The Bogs ſailing Waggons and Commodities of *Corea*.

'Tis ſaid that there are very large Cities in this Province of *Corea*, and alſo towards the Sea a great many Bogs impaſſable by Horſe or Foot, almoſt ſo that they uſe the ſailing Waggons, which are furniſh'd with Wheels as other Waggons are, but much broader and flatter, that they may not cut deep into the Mire, and have alſo Sails like a Ship, by which contrivance obſerving their proper Winds, they paſs all thoſe Bogs eaſily.

The Country affords Damaſks, attens, Taffata's, and other Silks as *China* does; but they carry moſt of their Goods up and down in thoſe Sailing-Waggons.

The Contents of another Letter, written by the ſame Perſon, from Firando, *bearing Date the ſame Year and Month as in the laſt. To Sir* Thomas Wilſon.

The growing Power of the *Dutch*.

ACcording to the reports of this Letter, the *Hollanders* made a very conſiderable Figure, and as great a ſtir with their Shipping and Sea-forces at this time in the Eaſtern World. They had quite cow'd the *Spaniards* in the *Molucca's*, broken the Heart of their Trade and Power there, encroached ſo far upon them, that the next ſtep was like to be a compleat ejection of them, and conqueſt of thoſe Iſlands to themſelves. They had made ſuch Preparations to accompliſh this Deſign, that the *Spaniards* were forc'd to ſend an Embaſſadour to the Emperor of *Japan*, to ask leave to take up all the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* in his Dominions, for the Service and Defence of the *Molucca's* and *Philippine* Iſlands, which they expected the *Dutch* would very ſhortly attempt too: The Emperor refus'd to grant this Requeſt, urging, that his was a free Country and none ſhould be forc'd or preſs'd out of it againſt their Wills, tho' all that had a mind to go might uſe their Liberty. The *Portugueze* alſo ſtood in ſuch fear of them at the ſame time, that they paſs'd the Seas up and down under the moſt terrible Apprehenſions imaginable of being ſurpriz'd by the *Dutch*. But 'tis not only *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* that they are ſuch a Plague to, but the *Chineſe* themſelves, who are not their Rivals in any Points of Conqueſt and Dominion as the other are, nor cannot be ſo much in matters of Trade; they rifle their Ships and make a vaſt ſpoil of them, which Conduct of theirs ſeems to be very unaccountable, and muſt certainly prejudice them in their future Pretentions to a *China* Trade (if ever they make any) without good Satisfaction. And no doubt but they'll treat the *Japoneſe* after the ſame manner if there comes to be a rupture between them, which is not improbable, ſince the Emperor not long ago refus'd to accept the Preſent they ſent him, or to ſpeak to the Meſſengers that brought it, and that carriage is no prognoſtick of a very good underſtanding between them for the future. The Emperor carried it much after the ſame rate likewiſe to a *Portugueze* Miniſter, that came upon the ſame Errand a ſhort time after.

Reports of the *Engliſh* in *China*.

The Character of the *Engliſh* Nation was ſo good in *China*, that the hopes of the Trade there were much confirm'd. 'Twas particularly a very great recommendation of them to the Favour of that Prince and People that they had been ſuch a Scourge to the *Spaniards*, whoſe Ambition, Cruelty and ill Manners had render'd them odious in ſo many parts of the World. This the *Chineſe* Merchants ſay has been a very entertaining ſubject of Diſcourſe at the Court of *China*, and that the Emperour himſelf and the *Mandarins* have heard it with a great deal of pleaſure.

The only impediment that appears is the ill management of the *Dutch*, whom they look upon to be our Neighbours and Allies; they rob their Ships, and 'tis poſſible that we may pay for't with the loſs of our Trade. The *Chineſe* ſeem to be very inquiſitive whether the King of *England* won't reſtrain the *Dutch* from doing them thoſe Injuries; and as deſirous that we bring along with us no *Padre's* as they call them (that is Jeſuits) the very Name of which Men they abhor, and ſay that when they came formerly amongſt them, they quite wearied them out with continual craving and begging one thing or other of them.

Diſaſters of the *Engliſh* at *Cauchin in China*.

We have an Account here alſo of the ill ſucceſs of ſome of our Merchants, who were ſent to *Cauchin-China* to deliver a Preſent to the Prince of that Country, and carry on a Trade there. The Preſent was kindly accepted, and the *Engliſh* were entertained with all the ſeeming Courteſy in the World; which the *Dutch* ſeeing they would needs put in for a ſhare too, as they did, and to appearance were made very welcome. But in ſhort, quickly after the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* chief Merchants with their Interpreters and Attendance were ſurpriz'd and all kill'd; and this the *Chineſe* and *Japoneſe* affirm to be the King of *Cauchin-China*'s Revenge, becauſe the *Dutch* not long before had burnt one of his Towns, putting Man, Woman and Child to the Sword: And the Reaſon why they did this, was, becauſe ſome of their Factors had fallen Sacrifices to popular rage and fury there at *Quinham*; but then they kindled the Flame upon themſelves that devoured them; they cheated and abus'd the People with falſe Money, and ſo provok'd them to that Out-rage; ſo that the Cauſe of all theſe Miſchiefs trac'd up to it's true Original, does at laſt appear to be their own lewd and diſhoneſt Practices.

The Contents of another Letter, by the ſame Perſon, bearing Date from Firando, February *the 15th*, A. D. 1617.

THe *Hollanders* (as this Letter informs us) perſiſting in their Deſign of making all the Encroachments poſſible upon the *Spaniards*, ſail'd away with a good Fleet from the *Molucca's* to the *Philippines*, in order to fight and drive them out from thence. The *Spaniards* ſeeing the *Dutch* ſo ſtrong, politickly kept themſelves within their Ports, chuſing rather to bear the Inſults and bold Defiances of their Adverſaries, than expoſe themſelves to a fatal over-throw. The *Dutch* upon this very imprudently divided their Fleet, ſending away a part to go and rob the *Chineſe* Ships; which they did too (as the *Chineſe* declar'd) all under the Name of *Engliſh-men*: But in the mean time the *Spaniards* came out and fell upon the other part of the Fleet, ſinking two good Ships beſides their Admiral, and the reſt hardly eſcaping. But they in their Succeſs being guilty of the ſame imprudent Conduct with the *Dutch* before, that is, to divide their Strength in purſuit of the *Dutch*, were alſo over-match'd by ſome *French* Ships that came in upon them, which coſt them the loſs of their Vice-Admiral.

This Acti was in A 1616.

Dutch a *Spaniards* fight.

The Vice-roy of *New-Spain* ſent two Friars in the quality of Embaſſadours to the Emperour, with good Preſents too, by this means to inſinuate themſelves into his Favour and Protection in that Country again, but the Emperor would neither receive their Preſents, nor vouchſafe them that brought them the Honour of his Preſence; but ſent them Word that they ſhould be gone out of his Dominions, for he had ſome time ago baniſh'd all Men of their Coat, and he continued ſtill in the ſame Opinion.

The Emper rejects the Vice-roy o *New-Spain* Preſents

†This Letter intimates too the reſult of the Grand Diſpute between the Emperour and the Prince *Fidaia-ſam*, upon the Important Subject of the Crown. Might (it ſeems) overcame Right in this Matter, and the Prince's cauſe did not ſucceed according to the Juſtice and Merit of it. The Blood of 400000 *Japoneſe* has been ſpilt in the quarrel on both ſides, but it ſeems now to be fully ended, and the Prince is either killed or retired into ſome very ſecure ſhelter

† We take the main A count of th Battel out another Le ter which h wing ende elſe valuab in it, it that Relat wholly c red, tho' th preſent Le gives a hi of it too.

Shelter. However, our Affairs cannot suffer, but may rather be in a better Condition by his losing the Victory, than by his giving of it; for 'tis reported, that he had promis'd the Jesuits to settle them in full Liberty in *Japan*, if he prov'd Conquerour; and then 'tis past doubt, that we had been all expell'd from thence. 'Tis possible, that this Promise was a Bribe to the Jesuits, to pray for his good Success in that Battle; but the Fathers either forgot the Business, or else did not employ the right Saint to sollicit and manage that Affair above.

The Contents of another Letter by the same Person, bearing Date from Firando, *March* 10. *A. D.* 1619.

THE Persecution in this Country, which before proceeded no further than Banishment, and loss of Civil and Religious Liberties, has since (as this Letter tells us) run up to all the Severities of Corporal Punishment. The Christians suffer'd as many sorts of Deaths and Torments, as those in the Primitive Persecutions; and such was their Constancy, that their Adversaries were sooner weary of inflicting Punishments, than they of enduring the Effects of their Rage. Very few, if any at all, renounc'd their Profession: The most hideous Forms in which Death appear'd (by the Contrivance of their Adversaries) wou'd not scare them, nor all the Terrors of a solemn Execution, overpower that Strength of Mind with which they seem'd to go through their Sufferings.

They made their very Children Martyrs with them, and carried them in their Arms to the Stake; chusing rather to resign them to the Flames, than leave them to the Bonzees to be educated in the Pagan Religion. All the Churches which the last Storm left standing, this had entirely blown down and demolish'd, and Heathen Pagods were erected upon their Ruines.

Horrid Persecutions in *Japan*.

The Dead were persecuted too, as well as the Living; the Graves torn open, and the Bodies and Bones there inclos'd, thrown out into some baser Receptacle. So that now if Christianity ever flourishes again in *Japan*, it must be upon a Second Plantation, the First Stock seeming at this time to be compleatly pull'd up by the Roots. There were other Troubles and Stirs, besides these in *Japan* at this time; another dangerous Rebellion was rising at *Frusoma*; but the Prince of that place, happening to be at that time in the Court, the Emperour commanded him, either to write to his Subjects to lay down their Arms, or immediately to rip up his own Belly: He chose rather to do the former, and so the Tumult was at an end. But he was turn'd out of that Government, and sent into a Corner in the Northern part of *Japan*, and the great Castle of *Frusima* (bigger by Report than the City of *Rochester*) levell'd with the Ground: All the Stones being carried away to *Osaca*, to rebuild that Noble Piece, which the last Emperor, *Ogosho-sam*, destroy'd, after his routing the Army of the Prince *Fidaia*. For it must be noted (tho' our Author does not expressly tell us of it), that the Emperor spoken of in this Letter, was not *Ogosho-sam*, but some other his Successor, of whom we have no other Account, than these Actions of his give us.

'Tis said also, that the Prince *Fidaia* was gotten safe out of the great Battle, and lay *Incognito* somewhere about *Meaco*: But this our Author hardly credits, it having been often reported so before.

Unreasonable Insolence of the *Dutch*.

Lastly, He gives us an Account of the horrid and barbarous Deportment of the *Dutch* towards the *English*, then residing in *Firando*. Without any manner of Provocation they openly proclaim'd War against them, declar'd they wou'd burn their Ships and Effects, and destroy their Persons where-ever they cou'd meet them; and this they did solemnly by Sound of Trumpet, both ashore, and aboard all their Ships. And to be as good as their word, they broke into the *English* House with all their Force, and had actually sacrificed every Person there, if the *Japoneses* had not come in and fought vigorously in their defence; for the odds was vastly great, and one *English-man* had at least a hundred *Dutch* to deal with.

All this, and much more of this kind, they did; but for what Reason it cannot be imagin'd, unless because they wou'd be Masters every-where, and have the whole World to themselves.

One passage only, which shews their Modesty in those parts of the World, is not to be forgotten, and the rather, because 'twas in the Presence of the Great Emperor of *Japan* himself, and all his Court.

Our Author being there to do his Duty to the Emperor, upon the coming in of the *English* Ships, found in the Presence a certain boasting *Dutch-man*, that told the Emperor strange Stories of his own Country, and extoll'd his King of *Holland* to the Skies, as the greatest and most potent Prince in all that part of the World; together with a vast deal of such Stuff as that. But he who understood the *Japan* Language, tho' the *Dutch-man* thought he had not, told him before the Emperor, He need not have told His Majesty so loud and broad a Lye as that, since all the World knew, they had no King in *Holland*, but only a Stadt-holder; who did not so much govern the People, as the People govern'd him. And whereas he had the Forehead to say, That his King, as he call'd him, held all other Princes of Christendom in Subjection; 'twas well known the King of *England* had been his Country's Protector, or they had never been in a Condition to come and make a Noise abroad in the World. The *Dutch-man* was, it seems, pretty much confounded to lose his King so all of a sudden; but there was no help for it; and the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, that were there at the same time, well knew the Truth of what was said. Upon the whole, our Author adds, that the Company were extreamly diverted with this passage; and that there was old Laughing, especially amongst the *Europeans*, to see the *Dutch-man* so bewilder'd to find out his King, which they very well knew he cou'd never do.

CHAP. XXV.

The Tenth Voyage by the East-India *Company, with the Two good Ships, the* Dragon *and* Hosiander, *(accompanied with the* James *and* Solomon, *for other Voyages.) Taken out of the Journals of the Captain, Master, and others employ'd in the same Voyage,* Tho. Best *chief Commander herein.*

February, A. D. 1611. *Juan de Nova.*

WE have few Remarks of Note to offer upon that part of our Voyage, as far as the Isle *Juan de Nova*, from whence therefore we shall begin our Account.

July, A. D. 1612.

Some Doubts have been started by modern Sailors, about the right placing of this Island in the Plats, which many have miss'd in their sailing this way, or perhaps not found where they expected it, according to the Direction of those Charts they went by. And 'tis very probable, that some Charts may give a very different Account of it from what others may do; however, this we can alledge, that the Island which goes by the Name of *Juan de Nova*, was situated both for Latitude and Longitude, upon the Globe, much in the same manner that the Plats we follow'd had fix'd it: And its Latitude we determine upon a nice Observation to be 17 Degr. to the South of the Line, and Long. 19 Degr. 40 Min. from the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Sign of coming near *Juan de Nova*.

The multitudes of Sea Fowl you see, is a certain sign of your approaching to this Island, and this may be trusted to universally: They are some of them black, and others white, which latter have also their Wings painted with black Spots.

We cou'd perceive no danger here, only a ſmall Breach at the S.S.E. end of it, about a Mile's diſtance; and there's no fear (being bound this way) of haling in ſight of it, but there is rather danger of falling in with the Southern Current, by haling over for the Main; and therefore to avoid that Inconvenience, let it be a ſtanding Rule, not to hale much to the Weſtward of this Iſland of *Juan de Nova*, ſince you may go in ſight without any real ground of fear, and ſo miſs the Current.

Mal-Ilha one of the Iſles *Comoro. Anguil.*

Our Courſe from hence was to *Mal-Ilha*, which is one of the Iſles *Comoro*, the next to *Comoro* it ſelf, and diſtant from it about twelve or fourteen Leagues to the S. E. The Latitude here is 12 Degr. 30 Min. Long. 23 Degr. 2 Min. Variation, 15 Degr. 20 Min. This Iſland is very properly call'd *Mal-Ilha*, or *Mala Inſula*, for it's certainly one of the moſt dangerous places a Ship can come to. At the North-end of it you have a Rocky Sea for a matter of eight or nine Mile, quite along from the main Iſland, to another that lies on the Northern ſide; ſo going along the Weſtern-ſide, you have another great Ledge of Rocks that continues till you have brought the high Iſland (at the Northern end of *Mal-Ilha*) S. E. of you, and then it ends; and then you may ſteer in with the Land, keeping the Iſland fair aboard, or directly put into the Bay, where you have good Anchoring.

A dangerous place.

The Town a good place.

But 'tis better to go to the Town which lies a Mile Weſtward of the Bay, and affords ſome of the beſt Conveniences for refreſhing, that are to be had in all theſe parts: The People are Good-natur'd, and they can furniſh you with as good Beeves, Goats, Hens, Limons, and Coco's, as need be wiſh'd for; there's very good Water to be had too, and the Air has the Character of being exceeding healthy and proper, to recover ſick and weakly Conſtitutions. The beſt way to come to it, is to ſail along upon the S. E. ſide of the Iſland, but have nothing to do, if poſſible, on the Northern-ſide, where you have ſo many, and ſo threatning Dangers on every part of you; remembring alſo to keep off the Shoal that lies to the Eaſtward, in coming from the long Ledge of Rocks, and is about five or ſix Mile from the Iſland it ſelf, and no Ground between them at forty or fifty Fathom, that we cou'd diſcover.

September. Come to *Surat.*

We ſail'd from hence to the Coaſt of *India*, and came to an Anchor at the Bar of *Surat*. The People expreſs'd a great deal of Satisfaction at our Arrival, and a very promiſing appearance there was of good Trade and kind Uſage amongſt them; the Governour of *Surat* ſending his Certificate aboard for our aſſurance in that point. However, to go upon the ſureſt Grounds that cou'd be, we concluded to ſend a Diſpatch to *Agra*, to know directly from the *Great Mogul* himſelf, whether we ſhou'd be permitted to have a Free Trade, and to ſettle a Factory in his Country, which otherwiſe we wou'd immediately depart. And the Reſult of it was this; that in a very little time the Governour of *Amadavar* came to us with full Power to treat upon that Subject, and to enter into ſolemn Articles with us, which were to be ratified with the Seal of the *Great Mogul*, in forty Days after, or elſe to be null and void.

Octob.

By this Agreement we had the Privilege of ſettling Factories, and trading in any City within the Compaſs of the *Mogul*'s Dominions; an Account of which is here ſubjoyn'd, as it was concluded between us and the Governours of *Amadavar* and *Surat*, in *Swally* Road.

The ARTICLES Agreed upon, and Sealed by the Governour of *Amadavar*, and the Governour of *Surat*, and four principal Merchants, and to be Confirmed by the Seal and Firme of the *Great Mogul*, within Forty Days after the former Sealing, or elſe to be void; for the Settling of Trade and Factories in the Cities of *Surat*, *Cambaya*, *Amadavar*, *Goga*, or in any other part or parts of this Country, within the *Great Mogul*'s Dominions. Witneſſed under our Hands and Seals, the One and twentieth of *October*, 1612.

The Articles of Agreement for Trade.

1. IMprimis, *That all which concerneth Sir* Henry Middleton *be remitted, acquitted, and cleared to us: That they ſhall never make ſeizure, ſtoppage, nor ſtay of our Goods, Wares, and Merchandices, to ſatisfie for the ſame.*

2. *That they ſhall procure from their King, the* Great Mogul, *at their proper Coſt, his Grant and Confirmation of all the Articles of Agreement under the Great Seal of his Land, and ſhall deliver the ſame unto us for our Security and Certainty of perpetual Amity, Commerce and Dealing with them, within Forty Days after the Sealing hereof.*

3. *That it ſhall be lawful for the King of* England *to keep and continue his Embaſſador at the Court of the* Great Mogul, *during the time of the ſaid Peace and Commerce, there to compound and end all ſuch great and weighty Queſtions, as may any way tend to the Breach of the ſaid Peace.*

4. *That at all times upon the Arrival of our Ships in the Road of* Swally, *there ſhall be Proclamation in the City of* Surat *three ſeveral Days together, That it ſhall be free for the Country People of all ſorts to come down to the Water-ſide, there to have free Trade, Dealing, and Commerce with us.*

5. *That all* Engliſh *Commodities ſhall pay Cuſtom, according to the Value or Price that it beareth at the time that it is put into the Cuſtom-Houſe, after the Rate of Three and an half the Hundred.*

6. *That all Petty and Pedlarly Ware be free of Cuſtom, provided that it exceed not in value Ten Rials of Eight.*

7. *That we ſhall have ten Manu for our Manuda, carried from the Waters-ſide to* Surat; *and after the ſame Rate back again: And for Carts we are to repair to the* Moccadam *of* Swally, *to ſend for* Surat, *and at* Surat, *to repair to the Broker for Carts down again.*

8. *That if any of our Men die in thoſe Parts, that then neither the King, nor Governour, nor Under-Officer ſhall make Title or Challenge to any thing that to the Dead belonged, nor demand Fees, nor any kind of Taxes, nor Cuſtoms.*

9. *That if all our Men die here in theſe parts, between the times of the coming of our Ships, that then by ſome Officer thereto appointed, juſt and true Inventory, Notice and Knowledge be taken, of all ſuch Moneys, Goods, Jewels, Proviſions, Apparel, and what elſe to our Nation belongeth: And the ſame ſhall ſafely preſerve and keep, and deliver to the General, Captain, or Merchants of the firſt Ships that ſhall hereafter arrive: And to receive a Diſcharge from the General, Captain, or Merchants, to whom ſuch Goods and Moneys ſhall be deliver'd.*

10. *That they ſecure our Men and Goods upon the Land, redeeming all ſuch both Goods and Men, as ſhall happen to be taken upon the Land by the* Portugals; *and ſhall deliver both Men and Goods again to us free of all Charges, or the Value of our Goods and Men inſtantly.*

11. *That as in all Kingdoms there are ſome Rebels and diſobedient Subjects; ſo in our Nation there may be ſome Pyrates and Sea-Rovers, which may happen to come into theſe parts, and here may rob and ſteal: If any ſuch ſhall happen, then will not we by our Trade and Factory here, be liable or anſwerable for ſuch Goods ſo taken, but will aid them with our beſt means that are ſo grieved, by Juſtice to our King, for redreſs and reſtitution unto them.*

12. *That all ſuch Proviſions of Victuals as ſhall be ſpent during the time that our Ships ſhall remain here in the Roads of* Surat *and* Swally, *ſhall be free of Cuſtom: Provided it do not amount unto above a thouſand Dollers in Money.*

13. *That in all Queſtions of Wrongs and Injuries that ſhall be offered unto us, and to our Nation, that we do receive from the Judges, and thoſe that be in Authority, preſent and ſpeedy Juſtice, according to the Quality of our Complaints and Wrongs done us, and that by Delays we be not put off, and wearied, either by Time or Charges.*

The Buſineſs brought to this Iſſue, the Preſents for the *Mogul* were laid out in a readineſs to be deliver'd, as ſoon as the Writings had paſt his Seal.

November. The vaſt Trade of the *Portugueze.*

At this time there ſail'd within ſight of us, a Fleet of *Portugueze* Frigats, to the number of 240 Sail, all Merchants, and bound for *Cambaya*: And ſuch a Fleet as this, goes every Year for that place; from whence they bring the greateſt part of the Lading, which the Carracks and Galleons carry away for *Portugal*: And from hence 'tis plain, that the Concerns of the *Portugueze* in theſe parts of the World, turns to no little Account to them.

The *Portugueze* Fleet comes to fight the *Engliſh.*

But now we were alarm'd with the News of another Fleet of them, that was coming to give us a Welcome into the *Eaſt-Indies*; for tho' the *Great Mogul* had granted us Liberty of Trade, yet the *Portugueze* were reſolv'd it ſhou'd not be ſo, and therefore came with four great Galleons, and twenty ſix Frigats from *Goa*, to drive us away out of thoſe Seas. The Action between us was not finiſh'd all in one Day, or at one ſingle Trial, but made 3 or 4 ſeveral diſtinct Fights one Day after another. In the firſt Bruſh was concern'd no more than the Admiral Ships of both ſides: Our *Dragon* going on to meet their Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, wou'd not be provok'd to ſhoot till ſhe was got betwixt them both, but then ſhe ſaluted each of them with a Broadſide, and a Volley of Small-ſhot, ſo heartily, that they immediately took their Leaves of her, and the Fight, for that Day.

The next Day, after ſome Hours fight, the *Dragon* having play'd with her Great and Small-ſhot very fierce and hot,

hot, upon three of the Galleons, forc'd them a-ground upon the Sands, a-thwart the Bar of *Surat*; and there the *Hollander* perfectly danced the Hay about them, while they kept all out of sight, and did not dare to shew a Man upon Deck.

The same Day after the Galleons were recover'd by the help of the Frigats, the Fight was renewed again betwixt us, but no considerable damage done on either side.

December. But the fourth and last Trial, (which was after ten Days Refreshment) was that which ended the Dispute, and gave the *Portugueze*, as well as the whole Country besides, a sufficient proof, that it was not so very easie (as they had made it by their Noise and Bragging) to force two *English* Ships to a disgraceful Flight.

This Fight was well managed, and stubbornly maintain'd on their parts as well as ours; but (Providence favouring our Cause) the happy Conclusion of it was, that the *Portugueze* not able to hold it any longer, cut their Cables, and fled away from us with all the speed and confusion in the World: And 'twas the more remarkable, in that there was at that time, a whole Army drawn up upon the Shore, that were Spectators of the Action, and very joyful Witnesses of our Victory. The *Indian* General that commanded that Army then upon the Sea-Coast (employ'd in the reducing of a certain Castle there by), gave an Account of this Action afterwards to the *Mogul* himself, who was not a little amaz'd at it, considering the Reputation the *Portugueze* had all over that Country, to be invincible at Sea.

The Losses on both sides. The *Portugueze* own themselves to have lost 160 Men in this Fight, but the Country reports very near 500: We had not six Men in all killed and wounded; our greatest loss was Powder and Shot, there being spent sixty Barrels of Powder, Six hundred and eighty Great Shot, and Three thousand Small Shot; tho' we hope to some good purpose, as well for the increase of our Nation's Reputation, as the chastising the Insolence of so proud and daring an Adversary.

January. The *Mogul's* Firman is brought. Having waited here at *Surat* some time, the *Mogul's* Ratification of the Articles came; which was deliver'd to us by the Governour in a very solemn manner, and accompanied with many Professions of that Princes Good Will to our King and Country.

This Affair now brought to its desired end, we proceeded in our Voyage to *Sumatra*; and observe in that Course, that all the way from *Daman* to *Goa*, the Shore is very fair, good Shoaling, not without sixteen or seventeen, nor within ten Fathom, and sure Anchoring all along the Coast: Likewise from *Goa* to *Cochin*, we never had above 20 Fathom, at 4 or 5 Leagues from the Land, and at 2 or 3 Leagues distance we had 10 and 12 Fathom.

From the Latitude of 11 Degr. 30 Min. as far as *Cochin*, you have very low Land by the Sea-side, but very high all along up in the Country; and as a Mark it may be observ'd, that four or five Leagues short of *Cochin*, you have a very high piece of Land, mounting up like a Table in the Country before you; and to the Northward of that a Ridge of long Hills or Mountains.

February. The Road of *Beringar*. About some twenty six Leagues short of Cape *Comori*, is a little Town call'd *Beringar*, at which we anchor'd and refresh'd. And it is certainly a most agreeable place for that purpose, there being a good plenty and variety of Provisions, a good Road and good Water, and the People of a free, harmless, and courteous Disposition, ready to entertain and trade with Strangers, and (which makes them much the better) very great Enemies to the *Portugueze*. From this place to Cape *Comori*, the People are Christians all along the Sea-Coast, and have a Friar constantly resident amongst them.

Note. A Ship may sail along this Coast of *Malabar*, even to the Cape, without fear of danger, observing only a Point of Care and good Conduct, about a Neck of Land some eight Leagues distance from the Cape. You see there this Point of Land, from which the Coast trents away E. S. E. with the Cape *Comori*; and here 'tis that you are to be cautious, and avoid that Point as much as may be, because of two great Rocks that lie under Water about four Mile from it: Your danger is to come within 22 or 24 Fathom; but if you keep in 28, or thereabouts, you go clear of them. But then you must be sure not to go beyond the Limits of 35 or 40 Fathom, because of the Current that sets off South with the *Maldive* Islands; and which taking, you may bring your Ship into considerable danger, by forcing her in amongst those Clusters of Islands. You shall know whereabouts this danger from the Rocks lies more exactly by this; that thwart the forementioned point of Land, are plac'd two very large Rocks, a good heighth above Water, and then a League off directly from the Eastermost of these two extant Rocks, are the other two sunken ones, the fatal Mischiefs we warn you of.

Cape *Comori* it self is very low Land; but the Country about is remarkable enough by high Crags and Rocks: The Latitude of the Cape is 7 Degr. 50 Min. Longitude, 57 Degr. 20 Min. from the Cape of *Good Hope*. Variat. 14 Degr. 30 Min. W. Cape *Comori*.

As we Coasted along the Isle of *Ceylon*, we sent some of our Company ashore; but the People there wou'd have nothing to do with us, nor suffer us to have any manner of Provisions, alledging that our Nation had wrong'd them, and formerly taken one of their Boats. We were beholding to the *Dutch* for this kind usage, for they took the Boat, and very probably told the Natives they were *English-men*; as we know they have often done. We determine Lat. of *Colombo* upon the same Island, to be 6 Degr. 30 Min. or near upon; and that of *Tenadare* (which lies E. S. E. from *Punta de Galle*, some ten or twelve Leagues) to be 5 Degr. 30 Min. *Marsh.* *Ceylon Ilse.*

Linschoten's Observations of the Sands about this Coast, seem true; we saw one of them that lies two Leagues from the Land, over-against which is a great high Rock like a Tower, by the help of which Mark it may be avoided.

From hence we sail'd away directly for *Achen*, where the greatest of our Concerns lay, and the most important Business (we had now remaining in the *Indies*) was to be transacted. The Custom here is for every Ship to present the King immediately upon the landing of her Men, in requital of which, an Entertainment of Meats is always sent back by the King. The same Ceremonies past on both sides at our Arrival; and after this Introduction, we were sent for to make our solemn appearance at Court. The Letters and Presents of Foreign Princes, (especially such as he pays the highest Respect to) are brought to the King of *Achen* with a great deal of Pomp; they are carried in Golden Basons, upon an Elephant richly furnish'd, as His Majesty's of *England* now was, and as it had been done before. *April*, *A. D.* 1615. Come to *Achen*. See Sir *James Lancaster's* Voyage.

The Contents of the Letter we brought, were highly pleasing to this Prince, and he readily promis'd to do all things to procure the Satisfaction of our King and Country; and particularly to ratifie all the Articles of the Treaty agreed on formerly between his Predecessor, and Sir *James Lancaster*, sent to that Court by Queen *Elizabeth*. He is one of the best accomplish'd Princes that Country perhaps has had; the King and the Gentleman do equally discover themselves in his Person and Carriage, and while he shews you all the Greatness and Majesty of the one, he does no less charm you with the Civility and Good Breeding of the other. And he is no less a Soldier in his Martial Aspect and brave Spirit, than he is either of the former; and it appears by his Victories and Successes, that the Qualifications of a good General do as well belong to him, as those of a fine Prince.

Sports at the King of *Achen's* Court. He was mighty free to shew us all the Sports and Diversions of his Court, and wou'd hardly take any publick Pleasure, but what our General must share with him in. Thus we were very often invited to see his Elephants fight, sometimes his Rams, and at other times his Buffles; which encounter'd one another with an extraordinary fierceness, and 'twas work enough for sixty or eighty Men sometimes to part them, when they were hotly engaged, and that not without great Ropes fastned on to their Hinder-Legs, to pull them asunder neither.

'Twas one of his beloved Diversions too, to go a Swimming, for which he has a delicate Pond, at five or six Miles distance from his Court, into which none but himself, and the Lords, or other Great Persons and Favourites (which he invites) do go. Hither he carried our General; and after some time spent in the Sports and Exercises of the Water, he gave him a Noble Banquet; which was all brought into the Pond, serv'd up, and eaten there upon the spot; neither wou'd the King let any of the Company stir out of the Water, till all was clear'd, tho' there was a matter of Five hundred Dishes, and a proportionable quantity of Rack, and other strong Liquors. He always call'd the General by the Name of *Orancaia Puto* (that is, the *White Lord*), and granted him free Access to his Presence at all times, without the Ceremony of waiting for his Creese; which is ordinarily sent forth by the Hands of some Great Minister, to introduce all those that come before the King. The King of *Achen's* Banquet in the Pond.

He earnestly desired the General, to recommend him to the King of *England*, and tell him, He wou'd be very glad to have a Couple of fair Women out of his Country; for then (says he) if I get a Son by one of them, I'll make him King of *Priaman*, and all that Country from whence you fetch your Pepper; and so you shan't need to come to me, but may go to your own *English* King for these Commodities.

The Letter he sent to our King was very finely set off with Painting, and curiously written in the Character of that Country; the Stile of it lofty and swelling, stuff'd with high Titles, and splendid Characters of his own Riches and Greatness; according to the manner of these Eastern Princes, who ever fill up half almost of their Letters, and Publick Writings, with pompous Enumerations of this kind.

The Copy of it is here added, as well to shew a signal Example of the Ostentation, and Vain-glory, which appears to be so natural to these Parts of the World, as to discover the Acceptance and Welcome of our Nation at that time in this Country, and the prospect of a happy Commerce between both.

The Letter is thus Englished:

The King of *Achen's* Letter. *July.*

PEducka Sirie Sultan, *King of Kings, Renowned for his Wars, and sole King of* Sumatra, *and a King more famous than his Predecessors, feared in his Kingdom, and honoured of all bordering Nations; in whom there is the true Image of a King, in whom Reigns the true Method of Government, formed as it were of the most pure Metal, and adorned with the most finest Colours; whose Seat is high, and most complete, like to a Chrystal River, pure and clear as the Chrystal Glass; from whom floweth the pure Stream of Bounty and Justice; whose Presence is as the finest Gold, King of* Priaman, *and of the Mountain of Gold,* viz. Solida, *and Lord of nine sorts of Stones, King of two* Sombrieroes *of beaten Gold, having for his Seats Mats of Gold; his Furniture for his Horses and Armour for himself, being likewise of pure Gold. His Elephant with Teeth of Gold, and all Provisions thereunto belonging: His Launces half Gold, half Silver, his small Shot of the same; a Saddle also for another Elephant of the same Metal: A Tent of Silver, and all his Seals half Gold half Silver. His Vessels for Bathing of pure Gold, his Sepulchre of Gold (whereas his Predecessors had all these half Gold half Silver), his Services complete of Gold and Silver. A King, under whom there are many Kings, having taken the King of* Arrow: *All the Country of* Priaman, Tecoo, Barouse, *being subdued by him, is now under his Command: Seventy Elephants, and much Provisions carried by Sea, to make his Wars at* Arrow, *where God gave me more Victory than any of my Predecessors.*

This Great King sendeth this Letter of Salutation to James, *King of* Great Britain, *viz.* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *to signifie the great Content he hath received by his Highness's Letter, delivered by the Hands of* Arancaia Pulo, Thomas Best, *His Majesty's Embassador, at the Receipt whereof, his Eyes were surprized with a Celestial Brightness, and his Spirits ravished with a Divine Joy: The opening thereof rendred a Savour more fragrant than the most odoriferous Flowers, or sweetest Perfumes in the World. For which cause, I the Great King of* Sumatra, *do profess my self to be of one Heart, of one Mind, and of one Flesh, with the most potent Prince* James *King of* England; *and do earnestly desire, that the League begun, may be continued to all Posterities. And herein I take my greatest Felicity, there being nothing in the World more pleasant or joyful to me. And for a Testimony of my Desire, that the League and Amity begun may be continued betwixt us, I have returned this Letter unto your Majesty, making also my Prayers unto the Great GOD, for the continuance of the same. And it shall be my greatest Honour to receive Memorial from so great a Potentate, and so remote a Nation. And for a Pledge of my Love and Honour, and Continuance of our League, I send your Majesty a Creese wrought with Gold, the Hilt thereof being beaten Gold, with a Ring of Stones, an Assagaya of Swass, half Copper half Gold, eight Purslan Dishes small and great, of Camphire one Piece of Sowring-stuff, three Pieces of Callicoe-Lawn: Which your Majesty accepting as from a Brother, I shall rest satisfied, and much honoured. And so with my Prayers to the Great GOD, Creator of Heaven and Earth, for your Majesty's long Life, with Victory over your Enemies, and Prosperity in your Land.*

Given at our Palace of *Achen*, the 1022 Year of *Mahemet*, by the Account of the *Moors*.

Having laid now this happy Foundation for a Trade, in the procurement of the King's Grant for that purpose; we went away from *Achen* towards the other Trading Places of this Island; in order to the building and proceeding thereupon. We had free Liberty to go to *Teco*, *Priaman*, *Passaman*, or any where; having the King of *Achen*'s Letter along with us, no place dar'd deny us Trade and good Entertainment.

Our first Course accordingly was to *Teco*, from whence the *Hosiander* was dispatch'd to *Priaman*, and another Company to *Passaman*, upon the same Design: But this last place prov'd so very unhealthful to us, that we were quickly forc'd to come away, and quit our Pretensions to a Factory there. The Air has so much malignity in it, and the Water so very bad too, that 'twere better for our Nation to blot the Name of *Passaman* out of the List of her Trading Places, than for a little advantage (which may as well be gotten other where), to expose so many Lives, which might do good Service in a more benign Climate. Go to *Teo*, *Priaman*, &c. *Oct.*

The *Dragon* traded at *Tecoo* for 120 Tun of Pepper; from whence she went for *Bantam*, while the *Hosiander* staid there to make Sale of the *Surat* Commodities. *Dragon* to *Bantam*.

At *Bantam* the same Ship traded for 17000 Bags of Pepper, at 13 Dollars *per* Bahar; and having finish'd her Concerns, sail'd directly from thence for *England*, coming into the *Thames* the same Day six Months, that she set Sail out of *Bantam* Road. Sails home, *A. D.* 1614.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Twelfth Voyage set out by the East-India *Company, with the good Ship the* Expedition, *under the Command of Capt.* Christopher Newport, *Written by Mr.* Walter Payton.

[*This is subjoyn'd in the next place after the former, because the Eleventh is wholly omitted, as not offering the Reader any thing much worth his Notice.*]

January. A. D. 1612.

WE set Sail from *Gravesend* in the beginning of *January*, having aboard us Sir *Robert Shirley*, the *Persian* Embassador, and Sir *Thomas Powell* then going into *Persia*, with their several Retinues; all which were to land upon the Coast of that Country, and so pursue our Voyage to the *East-Indies*.

July. A. D. 1613.

Having visited the several usual Places of Refreshment in this Voyage, along the Coast of *Africk*, and the Isle St. *Lawrence*, we sail'd from this last directly to the Isle of *Moyela*, which is commonly reckon'd one of the *Comora* Islands, a place of good Entertainment, and the People very civil and courteous to us. They seem'd to express a very great Aversion for the *Portugueze*; and pretended, that they wou'd infallibly cut the Throats of all that Nation that came thither; and tho' I don't doubt but the Deportment of the *Portugueze* may be rude and bad enough to deserve such a Treatment as that, yet I believe at this time, the People had not altogether so much Choler and Indignation against them as they pretended; but rather did it because they knew we hated them, and thought we shou'd be easier in our Dealings with them, to find them such inveterate Enemies to our Enemies. For at the same time, to the best of my Observation, they traded with the *Portugueze* up and down, tho' they did it very slily, and in the dark; and 'tis very probable, that so violent an Enmity as they pretended, wou'd have rooted out all Inclinations to Traffick, and common Correspondence with them. But they are *Moors*; and that not only in Complexion, but Religion too; and a Grain of Dissimu-

Moyela Isle. See Captain *Saris*'s Account of this Island and People.

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lation is to be allow'd them at leaſt, upon each of thoſe two Accounts.

Some of the better ſort of them ſpeak the *Portugueze* very well (which by the way is a good proof, that they are no Strangers to one another); and 'twas by the aſſiſtance of this, that we had any Converſe with them; for their own Tongue is a kind of a corrupted *Moriſco*, difficult to learn, eſpecially not to be any thing tolerably attain'd in ſo ſhort a time as we ſtaid there: Yet I took notice of theſe following Words, which may be of uſe to thoſe that go thither, to call for common Proviſions, when a Man does not either underſtand the *Portugueze* himſelf, or elſe is concern'd with the ordinary People, that are ignorant of it too.

Some common things in the *Moyela* Tongue.

A Bullock, they call *Gumbey*; a Goat, *Buze*; a Hen, *Coquo*; Oranges, *Tudah*; Limons, *Demon*; Water, *Mage*; Coco-Nuts, *Sejavoye*; Plantans, *Figo*; Pines, *Quename*; Paper, *Cartaſſa*; Needles, *Siuzano*; Bracelets, *Arembo*; the King, *Soutan*: Which ſeems to be only the corruption of the Word *Sultan*, the common Term for a Prince all over the *Mahometan* World.

Others of them alſo ſeem to be broken *Latin*, and *Arabick* Words; as *Cartaſſa*, from the *Latin*, *Charta*; and *Mage*, from the *Arabick*, *Moia*. And 'tis probable, that the whole Tongue, at preſent, is nothing but a Medley of *Arabick* and *Portugueze*, (with a ſhare of their own barbarous *Moriſco*, or whatever it be) ſince their Religion has concern'd them with the former of thoſe Languages, and their Trade in the World with the latter.

So they did of Capt. *Saris.*

'Tis Cuſtomary for them at this Iſland, to deſire the *Europeans* that come to Viſit them, to leave behind them a Letter of Commendations of their Entertainment there; this Favour they requeſted of us; and we obliged them in granting it; adding only ſome neceſſary Cautions to thoſe that might come after us, not to expoſe themſelves to any ſort of danger, by an over-great Confidence in the *Moyelians*.

Iſles *Curia Muria.*

We deſign'd to have ſail'd from hence to *Zocotora*; but having miſs'd that Iſland, we went on for the Iſles of *Curia Muria*, in 18 Degr. North Lat. lying over-againſt the Waſte of *Arabia Felix*. Through this whole Courſe, the Horrible Fogs *Anguſt.* Air was ſo horribly thick and dark with Fogs, that we had not the leaſt Glimpſe of Sun or Stars, and cou'd not ſee half a Mile before us upon the Water. We had no way poſſible to help our ſelves in this diſtreſs, but by the Lead, and Obſervations of the changing Colour of the Water, and ſometimes the Weeds and Graſs that floated upon the Surface of it; by this means we made a ſhift to gueſs our way towards the Land, which at laſt prov'd to be near the City of *Doffar*, in *Arabia Felix*. The Weather clearing up too, we diſcover'd a good Road to Anchor in, which was at *Reſoit*, a little Town not far from *Doffar*. The *Arabs* of theſe places were exceeding kind and friendly to us, giving us all the Entertainment and uſeful Inſtructions, about the Country, that we cou'd deſire. The Governour of *Doffar* came down, and carried on the Civility, bringing all the Varieties of Proviſion along with him that the Country wou'd afford; he expreſs'd much Joy that he had ſuch an Opportunity to teſtifie his Reſpects to us, and gave us full Liberty to go aſhore any where in the Country within the Bounds of his Juriſdiction.

Doffar.

Reſoit.

Cape *Reſoit*, that takes its Name from the place adjoyning, is in 16 Degr. 38 Min. North Lat. there's good Anchorage there, and freedom from all Winds, except from E. to the S. by E.

Here alſo we were deſired to leave a Teſtimony of our courteous Entertainment, for the Reputation of the Country, and the Encouragement of other Ships that might come thither; which reaſonable Requeſt we willingly complied with.

From hence we went Coaſting along the *Arabian* Shore towards *Perſia*, hoping to find ſome ſafe and convenient place thereabouts, for the landing of the Embaſſadors.

September.

Mazira Iſle.

We obſerv'd in this Courſe the Iſle *Mazira*, lying cloſe to *Arabia*, to be in 23 Degr. 30 Min. North Lat. and the Variation 20 Degr. 10 Min. The Eaſtermoſt part of *Arabia Felix*, call'd Cape *Raſalgat*, in Lat. 22 Degr. 34 Min. Variation 19 Degr. 20 Min.

Cape *Raſalgat*

Being got into the Gulf, we had quickly ſight of the Coaſt of *Perſia*, having at that time 25 Degr. 10 Min. Lat. and Variation, 18 Degr. 30 Min.

Country of the *Baluches.*

Coming near the Shore, a Company was ſent out to make ſome Diſcoveries of the Country; by whom we receiv'd Information, that the Country before us was call'd *Getche Macquerone*, and the People *Baluches*, under the Government of a King that was Tributary to the *Perſian*, and had his chief Reſidence at the Port of *Guador*. The Natives told them alſo, That their King wou'd ſee the Lord Embaſſador ſafely conducted to the King of *Perſia*'s Court at *Spahawn*; but adviſ'd us for that purpoſe to ſail on to *Guador*, which was beſides the beſt and moſt convenient place for the landing of our *Perſian* Company. This Account was ſo harmoniouſly given by all the People about upon that Coaſt, that we reſolv'd to proceed directly to *Guador*; tho' we cou'd procure no Pilot amongſt them, and were not well acquainted with that Coaſt our ſelves.

Sailing on thitherwards in the beſt mann r we cou'd, we got ſight of two great *Teradas*, or *Baluche* Boats, which were ſailing along the Shore to *Ormus*; to theſe we ſent out our Skiff, with nt other deſign than only to get a Pilot out of one of them, by fair means, if poſſible; but if not, by force. *Teradas*, great Boats.

The *Baluches* wou'd not let the Skiff come near them, nor return any Civil Anſwer to the common Salutations of the Sea; and when our Men fired a Piece at random, with a deſign to fright them into a little more compliance, they return'd it with another direct Shot at the Skiff, and a whole Shower of Arrows in to the bargain. Upon this the Skiff was forc'd to return, and the Boat was diſpatch'd to manage the Point with the *Teradas*; which ſhe did ſo effectually, that one of them was driven a-ground, the moſt part of her Men deſperately flinging themſelves into the Sea: The other had had the ſame Fate too, if the Boat had not ſav'd her, and brought her off. The Maſter of this *Terada* (his Life and Fortune being in our power) we eaſily perſwaded, upon reaſonable Terms, to be our Pilot to *Guador*; we obliging the *Terada* at the ſame time to go along with us thither, that ſo the News of our being in theſe Parts, might not be ſpread about the Gulf, and alarm the *Portugueze*; who might poſſibly (had they been rouz'd) have come with a Force, that might have given us a fatal diſturbance. Rudeneſs of the *Baluches.*

The *Portugueze* abſolute Commaund of the Seas.

'Tis to be noted, that the *Portugueze* do hold all the Country hereabout in ſtrange Subjection, and not a Ship or a *Terada* dares ſail without their Licence: Nay, more than that, they have it fix'd in their Paſſes, what places they ſhall go to, what Commodities they carry, how long the Paſs ſhall continue in force, and all theſe things are regiſtred in their Offices at the Caſtle of *Muſcat*: This we diſcover'd by the peruſal of a *Portugueze* Paſs, which this *Terada* that we took carried along with her. All this while our Apprehenſions of the Place and People (we were going amongſt) continued the ſame that they were upon the former repeated Teſtimonies of the Natives; for our Pilot, and all the *Baluches* aboard us, ſpoke exactly the ſame Language with them, and had they all laid their Heads together in one Plot, they cou'd not have been more nicely in one Tale than they were.

Come to *Guador.*

With our firſt Thoughts and Hopes therefore we arriv'd at *Guador*; and here the Governour told us (by a Meſſenger) the ſame Story as before, together with ſo much Welcome and Careſs in to the Bargain, that we were now paſt all doubt of being come to the right place that was to ſerve our purpoſe.

But to lay the finer Varniſh over their Deſigns, he ſent to Complement the Lord Embaſſador in a very ſolemn manner, promis'd him a Guard to *Spahawn*; order'd ſeveral Preſents and Proviſions to be brought aboard; and all this he declar'd, the King his Maſter was very glad to do, as well out of reſpect to the Embaſſador, as to expreſs his Loyal Regard to the King of *Perſia* his Sovereign.

All theſe things looking with ſo good an Aſpect, the Embaſſador was ſo far influenc'd by them (being inſtigated too by an earneſt deſire to make what haſte he cou'd to the *Perſian* Court), that he forthwith ſent the beſt part of his Treaſure and Carriage aſhore with the *Baluche*-Boats that came for that purpoſe.

The Treachery of the *Baluches.*

The whole Cargoe was beſtowed in a Tent, particularly erected for the Reception of it, and ſecured there by ſome of his Lordſhip's Retinue, till he came himſelf in Perſon, which he intended to do the ſame Day.

It happen'd that while the Goods were carrying into the Tent, ſome of the *Baluches* ask'd the Embaſſador's Servants, Whether there was all or no? To which, when 'twas replied, That there was no more behind but Jewels, which wou'd come with the Embaſſador himſelf: Some of the Villains made Anſwer to their Fellows ſtanding by, That 'twas no matter, for there was enough already for Plunder for the Soldiers.

This was over-heard, and underſtood by a *Perſian* of the Retinue; and 'twas the firſt Step of the Plot diſcover'd: But immediately after that, it was reveal'd in its full length, and all its Particulars, to the ſame *Perſian*, by one, who it ſeems, had more Honeſty and Good Nature than the Barbarians he lived amongſt. Their Deſign was to have ſacrific'd the Embaſſador, and all the Company, except the Chirurgeons, Muſicians, and thoſe that wou'd have been uſeful to them; and after that, with a Fleet of *Teradas* to have fallen upon the Ship; and having gotten

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that into their Power to have dispos'd of us in like manner. 'Twas a mighty happy Providence that our Skiff was at this very time a filling of Water by the shoar, so that our *Persian* taking the Advantage of that help, quickly came and prevented our farther Danger by putting a full stop to our Motions; and it was as luckily tim'd as it could well be, for the Embassadour was just then a setting out, attended with all the best appearance the Ship could make. Thus our Lives were sav'd, but his Lordships Goods were in the Hands of these vile People, and our next concern was for the redeeming of them.

Their Plot to right themselves upon the Baluches.

In order to this we therefore sent Word to the perfidious Vice-roy, that the Embassadour by reason of an illness, had defer'd his coming to the next Day, but desired that then two or three Boats might be sent for him and his Company, together with some of the Principal of the *Baluches*, and this in respect to his quality as the King of *Persia's* Embassadour. This proposal was very readily agreed to; and promise made that the Embassadour's just desire herein should be punctually satisfied. But besides this by the politick management of some of our Men, we got some of the most valuable things out of the Embassadour's Trunks ashoar that same Night, without the least discovery or suspicion, which might well be performed, since a part of his own retinue had the oversight of them till he landed himself.

And more than that, another of the richest Chests was brought off clear by as good a Stratagem; the Servants pretending a present Occasion their Lord had for something contain'd in it, and in the room of it leaving another (for all that the Baluches knew fill'd with Gold and Jewels) but indeed with Stones, Billets and Rubbish; which all pass'd well enough, and the Plotters smelt nothing of a Plot upon themselves. The next Morning the Boats came according to the appointment; and the considerable Men of the Baluches were no sooner aboard, but they desired to see the Gun-room, which fell out very well too, for that was the Pound into which we had a mind to draw them. In short having them fast shut up here, we presently siez'd all their Weapons, and then charg'd them with all the Particulars of their barbarous Design upon us, which they denied with all the forhead and obdurateness in the World, standing stoutly in it that they design'd us no mischief. However expecting another manner of Satisfaction than that, we dispatch'd some of the meaner sort of them with a Message to the Vice-roy to this effect; that if he did not return all that belong'd to us both Goods and Men within the space of two Hours, we would cut all those Baluches in pieces that we had aboard the Ship; and this sharp Message produc'd the desired Effect out of Hand; it scar'd him into a Surrender of his intended Prey, and forc'd him to be just whether he would or no. And thus by the Influences of a kind Providence upon our own good Conduct and Management, we escap'd the Effects of as villanous a piece of Treachery as perhaps was ever contriv'd. But this was no new thing it seems amongst the Baluches, neither were we the first that they had practis'd thus upon; for as the honest Discoverer of this Plot (who also totally left them, and came away to us) told us they had drawn three Ships at this rate into their snares, since he had been amongst them, and what mischief they had done before of that kind, themselves only know. And then they had impos'd upon us as much in pretending a Subjection to the King of *Persia*, as they had in all the rest of the fine Stories they told us; for they were at that time in actual Rebellion, had openly denied that Tribute which the Generations before them had all quietly paid, and such was their Spleen against the King of *Persia* that they had made it death for any Body but to name him amongst them. And the Truth of all this had this demonstration in Fact to clear it up; that the King of *Persia* had then levied a mighty Army, which he design'd speedily to employ in the enterprise of reducing those Rebels to their former Obedience.

And the success of it.

I have now done with those base People, only taking notice of *Guador* the Capital City of their Province *Macquerona*. It is a convenient Port enough, and affords good Anchorage; it stands in about 25 Degrees North Latitude, and the varying is there seventeen Degrees fifteen Minutes.

They sail forwards to India.

Our expectations of landing the Embassadour here being frustrated, we sail'd on towards *India*, and came to an Anchor near the City of *Diul*, in the Mouth of the River *Sinde*, in 24 Degrees 38 Minutes North Latitude, and our varying at the same place 16 Degrees 45 Min. Here is Lordship landed at last; the Governour entertaining him with all the Respect befitting his Character, and promising his best Assistance in furthering his Journey thro' that Country into *Persia*. And having now discharged that trust of setting him safe ashoar, we were to attend the Affairs of Trade; which if it might be procured at that place, we had Commodities ready to vend there, but if not we would only refresh and depart. This we desired the Embassadour to represent to the Governour as the Sum of our Pretentions in coming to that place; which was accordingly done at the first solemn interview betwixt them. But 'twas impossible for this place to prove kind and favourable to us since the *Portugueze* had an Interest there; the Governour in all appearance would have been friendly to us, but their Malice blasted all the Endeavours of his Kindness, and nipp'd our most promising Hopes in the end. The Embassabour zealously urging our Business was as warmly oppos'd by the *Portugueze* Ministers; very high Words pass'd between them, and they did not spare to tell him in plain Terms that he was a Pirate. This they said upon an Information from *Ormus* that we had arrested the *Baluchian Terada* in those parts, tho' 'twas without any other Damage done than what those ill People desperately plunged themselves into. And to Compliment the Embassadour a little further than this yet, they made a cheat of him too, as well as a Pirate; nay one of the worst of cheats; for when he produc'd the King of *Spain's* Pass under his own Hand and Seal; they disown'd it as a Counterfeit, and made no scruple to charge him with downright forgery. These Abuses were too foul to be endur'd with Patience by any Man that was innocent, much more by a Man that had Honour as well as Innocence to protect him from slander; and therefore as he easily justified himself, so he told so much of the History and Circumstances of the *Portugueze* Nation, as was sufficient to lessen that Opinion of their Grandeur which so many foreign Countries who knew no better had entertain'd.

River Sinde, or the Indus.

Contests between Sr Robert Shirley and the Portugueze.

The Governour to carry it as steady as might be between both contending parties, tho' he severely rebuked the *Portugueze* for their insolent Carriage towards the Embassadour; yet would come to no final Resolution about the Point of our Trade, till he had had a Conference with some of our Merchants upon that Subject. In the mean time the *Portugueze* labour'd by all imaginable ways to prevent our Encouragement and Settlement at *Diul*, sometimes promising and sometimes threatning the Governour to leave the place, and Trade there no more; and then again by abusing and railing at the *English* in all the dirty and scandalous Terms that could be, to prejudice the People, and make them think we were as arrant Thieves and Rascals as they represented us to be. On the other hand the Governour to testify his Respect to the *English* Nation, had us conducted to his Castle (where the Conference was to be) with the greatest Solemnity and Splendour that could be; and whatever the *Portugueze* had done to disgrace us, the People (as we pass'd along) express'd by many Signs that they had conceived no bad Opinion of us. But in short the Result of the Debate was this, That we could not have any Trade at *Diul* this Voyage. He freely own'd the Intrigues of the *Portugueze* against us, and declar'd at the same time he would be glad to be rid of them, if he could introduce a Trade more Beneficial to the place in the room of theirs. But this was the Case, the *Portugueze* Trade was worth to them every Year 10000 pounds Sterling; and we had at this time brought so few Commodities, that the Profits coming from us would not amount to near the former Sum; and therefore for this Year at least they must suffer considerably in their Revenues, if the *Portugueze* should desert the place as they had vowed they would. Besides he urged that he did really farm the Customs of that Port of the *Mogul* his Master, being bound for the annual payment of so much Money into the Treasury at *Agra*, whether his place yielded it or no; so that all the Deficiencies must either be made good out of his own Pocket, or he must take the Consequences of it in his Prince's displeasure, which might possibly be his undoing. But notwithstanding he promis'd that we should be admitted to a Free-Trade the next return of our Ships upon these two Conditions, that we came so provided that our Trade might make amends for the loss of the *Portugueze*, and then that we gave him an Assurance that we would commit no act of hostility upon the Persons, Ships or Goods of any belonging to the *Great Mogul*. This Treaty was confirm'd by Writings interchangeably deliver'd on both sides, in which the Governour and we solemnly bound each other to make good the Articles before specified.

Of the Portugueze endeavours to undermine them.

The conditional Treaty.

The Commodities required for that place were these: Broad-Cloths of all light Colours, Elephants Teeth, Iron, Tin, Lead, Steel and Spices. Those which we should deal for there, were Indicoes, Calicoes, Pintadoes, all sorts of *Guzurat* and *Cambaya* Goods, and several kinds of Drugs.

The Commodities.

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This was all the Business we could now pretend to do at *Diul*, which therefore being done, we set sail from thence for *Sumatra*. At *Priaman* we bear the Price of Pepper from twenty two to seventeen Rials *per* Bahar; but we bought no more than two Bahars, the unjust Governour pretending to make it the Condition of our Trade, that we should present and gratifie almost all the Officers and Merchants round the Custom-house. But being invited to *Tecoo* by one of our own Ships then there, with the Promise too of as much Pepper as we would care to lade, we went thither fill'd with Expectations of some very mighty doings. But truly we found them troubled with the same Distemper as those of *Priaman*, covetous, greedy, and gaping after Presents, horribly exacting for Anchorage, and hoisting up the price of their Pepper from 12 and 13 to twenty Rials *per* Bahar. Besides, so intolerably trickish and abuseful in their Delays too, that a Ship must be expos'd to great Inconveniencies to wait upon them and attend their leasure.

We had no way to cure them of those Distempers; but by weighing Anchor, and pretending to be gone; and then they could come after us fast enough, and bring the Pepper aboard too in to the Bargain, whereas before we could not get any ashoar.

The Praws came so thick about us, and pour'd it in so fast upon us, that we were held closely to it for four Days to weigh what they brought. We took to the quantity of 200 Bahars at eighteen Rials *per* Bahar, and two Rials Custom for the Governour upon every Bahar. *December.* Come to *Bantam.*

We proceeded from hence to *Bantam*, where we provided the rest of our Lading, and from thence set sail for *England*; having all our Company we brought out not only alive, but in a good state of Health too, which was never interrupted by any Sickness among us, till we cross'd the Line the second time in our Voyage from *Bantam*, and then the Scurvy broke out in the Ship: But we had quickly the Remedy of the comfortable sight of our own Native Country. *January.* Sail home for *England.* *July*, 1614.

CHAP. XXVII.

An Account of the Second Voyage set forth by the United Stocks of the East-India *Company. Taken chiefly out of the Journals of Captain* Nicholas Downton, *chief Commander herein, and Capt.* Thomas Elkington, *his Successour in that Post.*

OUR Fleet consisted of these following good Ships, the *New-Years Gift*, Admiral, of 650 Tun, the *Hector*, Vice-admiral of 500, the *Merchants Hope* of 300, the *Soolmon* of 200, all very well furnish'd and provided for the Exigencies of such a Voyage.

In our passage to the Bay of *Soldania*, I observed some surprising differences between the varying now, and what it was some Years ago, when I sail'd this way in the *Pepper-Corn*, which inclin'd me (when we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Soldania*) to order some further Observations to be made upon that matter. And accordingly we found upon trial one Degree 45 Minutes varying Westerly, whereas for the most part by former Accounts, the varying at this place has been reckon'd Easterly. The Reason of this may lie in the dark, but the Matter of Fact is in as clear a Light as just observation can set it. We lost here the Company of *Coree* the *Soldanian*; who having been transported into *England*, had lived there a pining discontented Life, and could never be easie till he was brought back again to the beastly Company of the *Soldanians*. All the good usage of the *English*, all the Toys and Trifles given to please him; Sports, Company, good Victuals and Apparel, signified nothing to this Brute out of his own dirty Element. Nothing could make him a sufficient amends for the loss of those agreeable Pleasures and Diversions which his Native Soil afforded him. To run about the Woods with the rest of that wild and brutish Herd, to dance and roul in the Mud, and eat raw Guts and Garbage: To be dress'd in Sheep-skins, according to his Country mode, and rubb'd all over with Grass and Cow-dung: These Enjoyments the poor Creature droop'd and quite languish'd after, and could not possibly hold out any longer in that State of cruel separation from them.

To ease him therefore of his Burthens he was brought back hither again, where we had his company for a little while, but then he pack'd up all his things, and went up into the Country, promising to be with us again, tho' we never saw him after that time. So 'tis possible that either he was so powerfully engaged by the Pleasures of his happy state then renew'd upon him, that he was not able to break loose from them so long as while he visited us; or else that the *Soldanians* knock'd him o'th Head, as one that they suspected to have lost the purity of the manners and breeding of his own Country, by a debauching Acquaintance with another.

August. Go to St. *Augustine* Bay.

When we came to St. *Augustine*'s Bay, all the People unanimously quitted their Habitations, and run away from us with as much hast as if we had come with a design to murder them. However at last they recover'd so much spirit as to come and shew themselves, and by degrees were bold enough to come and venture upon a little Trade with us, we having no farther design upon them, than that came to, in order to the procuring some Necessaries for our refreshment.

We sail'd from hence to the Island of *Zocotora*; where the King receiv'd us in a very civil manner. He inform'd us of the Stirs and Tumults in the *East-Indies* at this time; how the *Great Mogul* and the Kings of *Decan*, &c. had join'd their Powers together to root the *Portugueze* out of the Country, who had lately robb'd one of their Ships with three Millions of Treasure. The News of Captain *Best*'s, Victory over them too, was spread all about these parts, to the no little Advantage and Encrease of the *English* Nation's esteem amongst them. I dealt with the King for 2722 pounds of Aloes; and having taken the small Refreshment *Zocotora* could afford us, we pursued our Voyage to the *Indies*. When we came hither we found the Affairs of this Country in no little disorder as the King of *Zocotora* had inform'd us; the *Mogul*'s Forces had actually laid siege to *Damon* and *Diu*, two Cities held by the *Portugueze* in those parts, and Preparations were making for other Attempts against them. Only the *Mogul* having bestowed the command of his Army upon *Mocrebchan*, it look'd as if the War would not be carried on with so much warmth and vigour; that corrupt Minister being a favourer of the *Portugueze*, and one of their most useful tools for carrying on their Designs formerly at Court. He was also at this time Governour of *Surat*, and all the Country adjoining, which fell out very ill for us; he being as much the professed Enemy of our Nation as he was the under-hand Friend of th *Portugueze*. These cross Circumstances on every Hand made our Affairs not a little troublesome and intricate; the sincere Friendship of *Mocreb-chan* was hardly to be hoped for, and his pretended Kindness was as little to be esteem'd and trusted to, and yet nothing could be done without him, his Authority in all those parts being so considerable. However some Attempts were to be made, and all fair Endeavours to be us'd, to sweeten his ill Temper if possible, and make him our Friend, at least not an Adversary to our Interest and Trade. *September.* To *Zocotora.* Come to *Surat.* Wars in *India.* *October.*

In order to the accomplishing of this, I went ashoar to confer with a great Man sent down by him for that purpose; but knowing that the Humour of this Country is such, that they'll hear no Discourse of this kind that is not well prefac'd with Gifts and Presents, I made that necessary Introduction with a good Present both for himself and *Mocrebchan*. When we came to the Point, I made my Demands for the enlargement of several Privileges, and the lessening of our Custom; and particularly that we might be allow'd a Market at *Baroch*, for the Convenience of our People; and that according to the Tenor of the *Mogol*'s Firman before given. But none of all these Demands, as far as I could find, were likely to be satisfied; Conference between Captain *Downton* and the *Indian* Commissioner.

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as for the leſſening of our Cuſtom, that could not be done, becauſe the King had farm'd it out to a certain Officer that gave ſo much *per Annum* for it, who to be ſure would never yield to the diminiſhing of his own profits. As for the Market (he replied) we might have that for ſome particular ſorts of Proviſion, but not for Beefs and Kine (which was that which we only wanted it for) becauſe the *Bannians* who in their Principles are againſt the ſhedding the Blood of any Animal, had bargain'd with the King for ſo much a Year, that the Lives of all thoſe Creatures might be ſpar'd. Now this was manifeſtly to croſs and thwart us under a pretence of yielding and being kind to us; for tho' the *Bannians* are fooliſh and ſuperſtitious enough to do as much as that comes to, yet why ſhould not they be as tender of the Lives of Sheep and Goats, as of Oxen and Bullocks, and why did they pay the price of the Lives of juſt thoſe very Animals that moſt ſuited our Neceſſities, and not of the reſt that we did not care for? Beſides, I never knew that we were under any ſuch reſtraint in *India* before; and 'twas odd that the Superſtitious Humour of the *Bannians* ſhould work ſo violently juſt at that time, and at that particular place too, where the Conveniencies of our Affairs principally required a Market. But the great thing that lay upon Hand, was for us to aſſiſt them in their War againſt the *Portugueze*; if we would ſtrike in with them here, any favour ſhould be done us, and we ſhould find *Mocrebchan* as kind as we could deſire.

Some of the English Merchants go to Mocrebchan.

In ſhort, this Perſon had either no Power or no Will to grant us any thing; and therefore there was but one Card more to be played, and that was to ſend ſome of my Company (with due Inſtructions) along with him to *Mocreb-chan* himſelf, that we might hear his Sence and Determinations concerning us immediately from his own Mouth. At this Conference the ſame Demands were made on both ſides as before; on ours as to the matter of Trade, and on theirs as to the Buſineſs of engaging in their quarrel againſt the *Portugueze*. This Point *Mocrebchan* inſiſted upon with ſo much eagerneſs and concern, that all our Succeſs turn'd upon this hinge, and no other Conſideration appear'd to be of any moment in the determination of our Affairs.

Portugal was at this time ſubject to Spain, the Grand Revolt not being till about *A. D.* 1640.

Our Deputies according to their Inſtructions, told him that there being Peace at that time between us and the King of *Spain*, for us without any juſt provocation to fall upon the *Portugueze* (Subjects to that Crown) would be to act unjuſtly, and violate the Articles of that League which was eſtabliſh'd betwixt the two Countries. That in caſe the *Portugueze* came and bid us defiance, or offer'd any Violence or Affront that would juſtifie the taking up Arms againſt them, he ſhould find us not backward to expreſs our juſt Reſentments, and treat them as they deſerv'd. But in the mean time we could not with any Face of Juſtice or Reaſon, have the leaſt concern in any act of hoſtility; much leſs could we openly draw a Sword againſt them in Compliment to the *Indians*, who had done ſo.

Mocrebchan won't grant the English Demands, becauſe they won't fall out with the Portugueze.

Being therefore thus reſolved to be Friends to Juſtice, we muſt unavoidably loſe the Friendſhip of *Mocreb-chan*; for he diſmiſs'd our Men with this ſhort Anſwer, That ſince we would do nothing for him, he would do nothing for us. Not that there was any manner of Reaſon to believe that this Man was tranſported with ſo wonderful a Zeal for his Prince's Honour and Intereſt, as to be thus angry with us becauſe we would not be of his Prince's ſide; for he had no ſuch mortal hatred to the *Portugueze*, neither was he ever ſo fond of his Maſters Glory. But the Buſineſs was, that whatever Kindneſs he might have for the *Portugueze*, he had a greater for himſelf and his own Honour, and if by our Aſſiſtance he could have got ſome Victory over them, and ſo made a further ſtep into his Prince's Favour and Good Opinion, he would gladly have done it, and what cared he then for the Anger or Reproaches of the *Portugueze*? His Buſineſs was to do himſelf a good turn, and a Man of ſuch a treacherous ambitious Temper, would not ſtick at overturning *Portugueze*, or *Engliſh*, or any elſe that lay in his way, when his own Intereſt was to be ſerv'd by the ruin of others. However upon our refuſing to join in this Action, *Mocrebchan* was very greatly our Enemy, and ſet himſelf to do us all the diſcourteſies he could; he vilified the Preſents ſent by his Majeſty to the *Mogul*; he reſtrain'd our Trade, and abus'd our Merchants himſelf with ill Language, and his Guard (who durſt not do it without his Order or Connivance) by open violence. The Jeſuits too, who never fail'd to do us all good Offices of that kind, did all that could be to encreaſe his Jealouſies, that we would join with the *Portugueze* againſt him.

November.

For tho' they never uſe to ſet any value upon the Friendſhip of the *Engliſh* Nation, yet at this Juncture, to do us a Miſchief, they would pretend to it; and therefore they told *Mocrebchan* that the Vice-roy of *Goa* had ſent Word, that unleſs he made Peace with him, he and the *Engliſh*, his Friends and Allies would both fall upon him. This was a wicked Artifice, and the higheſt Expreſſion of Enmity that could be, in that Circumſtance to claim ſuch an Intereſt in our Friendſhip and Alliance. But after all theſe croſs and contrary Events notwithſtanding, the Scene changed at laſt in Favour of us: For the *Mogul*'s Firmans came empowering us to Trade, and ſo all things ran in the right Channel. Now were his Majeſties Preſents order'd to be forthwith diſpatch'd to *Agra*; the Merchants were entertain'd in honourable ſort, and preſented by *Mocrebchan*; all paſt miſ-underſtandings ſeem'd to be forgotten, and nothing remain'd but ſweetneſs and careſs. He ſent his Preſents to me a-Ship-board, and quickly after paid the other part of the Complement by his Son, who came to deſire an interview aſhoar. This friendly Correſpondence between us and the Country was renew'd in a happy time for them, conſidering the ſtorm that now threaten'd to beat upon them, and from the fury of which they had no other Protectours but our ſelves. For now certain Advices came that the *Portugueze* Vice-roy was coming from *Goa*, with all the Force of that Nation, to purſue the War begun; and 'twas certain that they had actually done great damage at *Goga*, having burnt the Town and ſeveral Villages about it, beſides ten great Ships and 120 ſmall Veſſels. 'Twas expreſly ſaid too, that the Armado was ſet out upon our account as much as the *Indians*, and that they came to drive us away as well as to chaſtiſe the others; for 'tis not at all unlikely, that the Jeſuits that told *Mocreb-chan* we were Friends to the *Portugueze*, ſent the *Portugueze* Word that we were Friends to (and would ſtand by) *Mocrebchan*. That Miſchief that was done at *Goga*, was done by a Squadron of Frigats, that came out before the main Fleet; there was about twenty two of them in all, and after that Action they came and Anchor'd in ſight of us in the Rivers Mouth. Here they did all the little villanies they could, chaſing up and down the *Indian* Boats, and firing ſome few Houſes that lay ſcattering upon the River, all which time we lay ſtill and made no Pretences to gainſay them. Some little bickering happen'd between one of our Ships and them, upon the occaſion of a Granado of the *Portugueze*; but we came to no Action, we not thinking it prudent to weaken our ſelves by ſpending upon a part, that muſt quickly be forc'd to fight the whole Fleet together.

The Mogul's Firmans come.

Decemb.

The Portugueze Fleet coming againſt us.

The reſt of the Frigats came in quickly after, and they were ſoon follow'd by the Vice-roy himſelf, with all the more formidable part of their Sea-Force. Their ſtrength conſiſted of ſix Galleons, three Ships, two Gallies, and ſixty Frigats, a very unequal match for our four Ships. But beſides the Advantage of their vaſt number, they had ſeveral others every whit as conſiderable; for out of that great Fleet the Vice-roy could ſupply his fighting Ships with Men as faſt as any were kill'd or diſabled; but 'twas impoſſible for us to do ſo, we having no more than what the neceſſary Offices of our Ships required; beſides in the *Portugueze* Fleet, there was a diſtinction between Souldiers and Mariners; they had Slaves and Inferiour Fellows to do all the burdenſome ſervile Work, the Souldiers being kept freſh and in good Heart; but with us the Souldiers and the Sailors were the ſame Perſons, Men half tired and ſpent with heaving at Capſtain, getting up Anchors, ſetting of Sails, and various other toilſome Works, which may be well ſuppos'd to unfit Men for ſo hot action as they were to be engag'd in. The *Portugueze* Fleet was no ſooner come to an Anchor in the Road, but *Mocrebchan* (terrified with the Proſpect of ſuch a Power) ſent Meſſengers to the Vice-roy to treat of a peace; and the better to perſwade him to it, urg'd him (amongſt other arguments) with that of Gifts and Preſents. This was what the Vice-roy wanted; but ſeeing the fear and deſpicable cowardice of *Mocrebchan*, he ſtood off with all the ſeeming ſtifneſs and averſion that could be; braving and inſulting ſo much the more, as he perceiv'd the other diſpos'd to cring and court him to a Peace. And *Mocrebchan* was e'en willing upon any Terms to compound and make up the matter with the Vice-roy, ſo black were his Apprehenſions of the Conſequences of this War: For he and all the Country abſolutely deſpair'd of our being able to do any thing in their defence againſt ſo mighty an Adverſary; they believ'd it would be but ſport and play to that vaſt Fleet to ſink and take ours, or do any thing to them that they had a mind to do. On the other hand, the Preſumption of the Vice-roy was as great as their deſpair, and that was one Reaſon why he rejected *Mocrebchan*'s Propoſals; becauſe

Mocrebchan would make peace with the Vice-roy.

cause after he had conquer'd us; which he made no doubt of, she shou'd appear so much the more formidable to the *Indians*, and force them to a Submission upon more advantageous Terms.

The Fight begins. As for our selves, having taken all due Measures for our Defence and Security in this difficult and disadvantageous Conflict; with the concurrent Approbation of all our Captains and Masters, as the best Course to be taken, I commanded one of my Ships, the *Hope*, at low Water, to move towards the Adversary, to prepare them for some Attempt, and stood after her with the other three Ships, upon the coming on of the Flood. The *Portugueze* presently thinking that we had been all contriving to run away, made out as the Stream wou'd permit them to stop our Motions, and the *Hope* being foremost, they immediately attack'd her with three of their great Ships, the two Gallies, and the best part of the Frigats; the Galleons also making after as fast as they cou'd for the Sands. By that time we came up to her defence, the Enemy had boarded her with a good number of Men; but they quickly found themselves in a great Streight, how and where to dispose of themselves; for they cou'd neither stay in the *Hope*, nor get back again to their own Ships, for our great and small Shot which we threw pretty plentifully in upon them. As the best course they could take therefore in this extremity, they very fairly leaped overboard, trusting to their own Ships to fish them up as they cou'd, tho' a great number of them were drown'd, and a much greater (at least the more considerable part of them for quality) lost their Lives in the encounter aboard the *Hope*.

Having thus fail'd of taking the *Hope* this way, they resolv'd, if possible, to set her a-fire, and to accomplish it, they set some of their own into a light Flame; but these flaming Ships which were intended to be let loose upon ours, drove quite from us, and run a-ground upon the Sands, where they continued burning till the next Flood quench'd them.

We had five Men kill'd, and some few wounded, and the Tackling of some of our Ships prejudic'd, which was the Sum of all the Loss we sustain'd by that Day's Action.

And tho' the *Portugueze* were as ready to leave off fighting as we, yet had it not been for the Injuries the *Hope* had receiv'd in the first Onset, I had not discharged them so, nor let the Vice-Roy have retired, before I had exchanged a Gun or two with himself.

The Country was not a little revived, to see the Dispute so successfully managed against the *Portugueze*: Thus far *Mocrebchan* was by this time indifferently well recover'd of his Fright; and now began to Bounce as the Vice-Roy did before; declaring he had no mind to make Peace with them; and he never wou'd agree upon any Terms with them, but what should be equally advantageous to us, and to themselves. He sent us in Provisions too for our own Necessities; and Timber, what we wanted, for any Reparations of our Ships; and nothing in the World cou'd be more obliging to him than this Fight was; in the Honour of which he hop'd to have share, tho' he had none in the Danger and hard Service of it.

The Jesuits attempt to poyson them. In the mean time the Jesuits took as much pains to provide our Destruction at Land, as their Friends the *Portugueze* had to ruine us at Sea; and since no other way was practicable at present, they attempted it by Poison; an Art which much Practice and Experience has rendred them very skilful in. The Governour of *Surat* was desired by them to undertake the Active Part of the Work; but the Invention and Contrivance they wou'd furnish him with; and that was to poison the Well, from whence we had all our Water. But he a Man of just and honourable Principles, detesting in his Heart so base a Villany, rejected the Proposal with Indignation, and forthwith came and told us of the Design. And that we might live secure, and know by an infallible Sign, whether the Jesuits had secretly poison'd the Water or no; he told us, he had put some Tortoises into the Well; which by dying wou'd demonstrate the abuse of the Water.

The *Portugueze* loss. The *Portugueze* all this while lay still as to any Attempt upon us; but the World was very busie at the same time, in talking of them, and their Losses sustain'd in the late Encounter. For the News came from *Damon*, that they had sent 350 Men to be buried there; and by a modest Computation, we can't allow less than a hundred more kill'd and burnt in the Ships, besides them that were drown'd.

They treat for Peace, but ineffectually. The *Persians* at this time too were engag'd against them at *Ormus*; and at *Malacca* they had their Hands full with other Adversaries: Upon all which Accounts they were now pretty well inclin'd to Peace, and 'twas high time, when the King of *Persia*, the *Mogul*, and the *English*, were all in Arms against them together.

The Jesuits eagerly follow'd the Business of making them and the *Mogul* Friends again, and wrought so far as to bring Matters to a Treaty; but the Pride and unjust Demands of the *Portugueze* ruin'd all: For whereas they had done prodigious Damages, they were so far from yielding to make any Satisfaction, that they demanded a vast Sum of Money from the *Mogul*: The Sence of which was, that they had been at some Charge to waste and spoil his Country, and they wou'd be paid what they were out of Pocket upon that Account. So that now they stood upon the same Terms with one another as before, and the Vice-Roy accordingly sent for more Supplies for carrying on of the War.

To speak the truth, that Sum of Money so insolently demanded by the *Portugueze*, if 'twas due any where, 'twas most justly due to us: For all the Stress and Burthen of the War, lay upon our Shoulders; the *Indians* quarrell'd with them, but we were to fight; they had nothing to do but to guard the Shores, and look on, while we prodigally spent our Blood for the Service and Defence of the Country.

Perpetual Liberty of Trade, is certainly the least Debt the *Mogul* owes the *English* Nation; and 'tis not immodest to say, that we have (as far as this comes to) purchas'd a Title to his Country, by being the undoubted Protectors of it.

It needs no proof, that the *Mogul*'s Force at Sea is very contemptible, especially if compar'd with that of *Portugal*, a Nation of such great Ability that way: And it is as easie to be conceiv'd, what wou'd have been the Consequences of the *Portugueze* coming down upon them at *Surat*, without meeting an adverse Power to bid them Defiance by the way.

Great Robbing in *India*. *February*. Commodities brought aboard. Some of our Company, who had been dispatch'd to several parts of the Country, upon the Concerns of Trade, had bought up considerable Quantities of Indico, as well as other Commodities. They found it very dangerous travelling, and were hardly able to pass along safe, even with a good Guard, because of the Resboots, or Gentile *Indians*, that were robbing every-where upon the Road. But notwithstanding those Thieves at Land, and the *Portugueze* watching us upon the Water, we got our Commodities safe aboard; which were (besides Indico) black, white, and blew Bastus, Candikens, Crecany, and Cotton-yarn.

Fire-ships come. But the fresh Supplies sent for by the Vice-Roy, were come at this time, and the Affairs of Trade must again be adjourn'd, and give place to those of War. These Supplies (as it afterwards appear'd), were more, and rather Fire-ships than Fighting ones; and the *Portuguese* despairing of worsting us any other way, had brought up these Machines, fill'd with all sorts of combustible matter, to burn and blow us out of the Road. They plainly discover'd, that they were too sensible of the ill Consequences of the past Engagement, to be forward to enter upon another, in a fair and open manner. For now they wou'd put up an Affront, and tamely bear to be insulted and provok'd to fight; and I very often discharg'd one of my biggest Guns, directed to the very Prow of the Vice-Roy, to try his Temper; but he wou'd not stir. The *Portugueze* plainly afraid to fight.

All their hopes of Success against us, depending upon the happy management of the Fireships, they played that part with all the Policy in the World; giving us false Alarms, and drawing our Expectations of an Assault from them towards one particular Quarter, that so while we used our chief Care in guarding that way, they might drive their flaming Ships in upon us the contrary way. But they taught us by these Tricks how to defend ourselves; and not making the Thrust home where they pretended to offer it, we were caution'd to guard a less suspected part.

And it was to very good purpose that we follow'd their Directions; for accordingly in the dark Night, the Machines having crept round about us, came driving along with the Tide directly upon us; which our Watch (bestow'd that way) discovering at a reasonable distance, we had timely Warning to prepare our selves for. They blew up as they pass'd by us, and discharg'd a vast quantity of Murthering-stuff; but (God be prais'd) did no harm to any of our Ships. They attempt to fire the *English* Ships.

They attempted us by the same Method two several times afterwards; but the Success was still the same; Disappointment on their Parts, and happy Deliverance from the Danger on ours. Thus we were hitherto triumphant, both over the Power and Policy of that injurious People.

The Vice-Roy now (weary as well of the Shame, as the Disadvantage of so many Baffles) began to think with some Concern how to disengage himself; and so great was the abatement of his Stomach, by these Disappointments, that he prov'd humble enough to make Motions for Peace. The Vice-Roy sues for Peace, and is denied.

This was a very surprizing Change; he, that a few Days before, in the sence and feeling of his own Strength, had promis'd himself so many glorious Victories, pretended to impose Laws upon the whole Country, and to be the sole Disposer of the Fate of it, was now the Country's humble Servant, and willing to be at Peace with her almost upon her own Terms.

But *Mocrebchan* (sensible of his Compliance) now took his turn to bounce and insult, and acted just the same part that the Vice-Roy had before towards himself. In short, he sent him positive word, That he wou'd make no Peace with him: As also, that since he was not able with all his Fleet, to drive four *English* Merchant-men out of the Road, he wou'd be reckon'd a much less formidable Enemy by the Country for the future.

The Vice-Roy was fain to take this Answer, since he cou'd get no better; and so leaving some of his Frigats to attend hereabouts, he set Sail with the rest of the Fleet for *Goa*, carrying along with them the Glory of their Great Actions perform'd at *Surat*.

The Vice-Roy goes away.

We had now no other Occasions to detain us here, but only to fit up our Ships (that wanted it), into a Condition for the prosecution of our Voyage to other parts. But the *Indians*, who look'd upon us as the Guard and Strength of their Country in this Juncture, wou'd not be brought to consent we shou'd go very suddenly, least the *Portugueze* having gotten more Forces together, shou'd as soon come about upon them again. We yielded therefore to their Importunity, in agreeing to stay some few Days longer, as well to oblige them, as to provide for our own necessary Occasions.

In this time I had a solemn Interview with *Mocrebchan*, who came to make his Prince's, and Country's Acknowledgment of the Benefit they had receiv'd by us. I went ashore to the Tent set up for our Entertainment, where this great Favourite of his Prince was ready to receive me, with all the Expressions of his Respect and Good Will that cou'd be imagin'd. And to return his Civility, I made him the Complement of an Invitation a-Shipboard, which he as readily accepted; seeing all the Particulars of our Fleet with a great deal of Satisfaction. He bestowed some Money amongst the Sea-men, in Token of our Victory over the *Portugueze*; presented me with his own Sword, which is the Custom of that Country, with respect to Officers that have signaliz'd themselves in any considerable Action: But we were no way in Debt, either to the Publick or himself, especially considering that we were not behind-hand with him in Presents; nor receiv'd any thing, but what we did as good, if not more than buy.

Mocrebchan comes to see the General.

All Ceremonies of this kind being at an end, and the Visits of the Great Men paid, we set Sail from *Surat*; but we were but just gone out of the Road, when we descried a considerable Fleet of *Portugueze* Frigats making towards the Town. To shew our Good Will, as also to encourage our Friends in the Town, we shot at some of them, tho' we were at too great a distance to do them any mischief.

They go away. March. Another Fleet of Frigats comes to Surat, with Galleons, &c.

They had behind several Galleons and Gallies, which made the greatest part of their Strength, and coming up, put towards the Shore; but having discover'd us, immediately began to stand after us; tho' they made so little haste, as plainly shew'd they had no mind to overtake us. I very well knew, that they durst not attempt to land at *Surat*, till they were sure we were too far off to come to prevent or disturb them in that Design; but yet neither wou'd the Season, or our other Affairs, allow us to lie there and watch their Motions, and wait till they began the Enterprize they intended, whatever it was. Our Care therefore was to endeavour to draw them after us, not only for the advantage of more Sea-room, if it came to a Battle, but also to gain so much time for the refreshing our feeble and tired Men. And this Plot succeeded according to our desires; for as we sail'd on, the *Portugueze* came after us, at their stately rate; still keeping in motion, but coming on so heavily, that to attend them any longer had been an Injury to our selves.

They follow the English.

To bring the Matter therefore to an issue one way or other, we concluded (if they wou'd come a little nearer to us), to charge them without any farther Ceremony, and for the greater Terror of the rest, to begin with the Vice-Roy himself, plying him with the Ordnance of all the Ships at once. And accordingly we making a little halt, which the *Portugueze* interpreted to be a staying for them till they came, and so a kind of Defiance or Contempt of their Power, they immediately turn'd about, and sail'd towards the Shore, desisting from any further pursuit of such an untoward Game as we proved to be.

The Portugueze retire.

They went on towards *Goa*, and were obliged to do so, because of the ill Winter Weather now quickly to be expected; so that *Surat* was secure for this Year, and we see their Danger past before we our selves were, as it were gone out of Call.

Having our Hands clear of them, we prosecuted our Voyage towards *Bantam*; in which Course we dispatch'd the *Hope* for *England*; and having doubled the Cape *Comorin*, came to an Anchor with the rest of the Fleet, under a pleasant Island to the North of the Salt Hill. Ships may ride very well there in twelve Fathom, within a Stone's-cast of the Shoar; and 'twou'd be a very good place for refreshing, if it had but the advantage of good Water, which it wants. Otherwise there are Hogs and Coco's enough to be had; but no good Water any nearer than the Island that lies beyond the burning one.

Go for Bantam.

The Green Island.

At *Bantam* we weigh'd Mace, and took in Silk to lade the *Solomon* for *Masulipatan*, which was sent thither with a considerable number of Merchants.

Come to Bantam, June, A. D. 1615.

We had Advice here of the violent Proceedings of the *Dutch*, against some of our Factors at *Macassar*; and that they threatned to come with a Force to turn the King of *Bantam* out of his Kingdom, and place another in his room.

* 'Twas as much as ever we cou'd do, to live in any tolerable Peace with them here too, they being so very ready to quarrel with us; and rather than fail, as prone to make and contrive Occasions for Contention.

* Here the brave Cap. *Downton* died, and his Account of things being interrupted, we take the remaining short Sum out of the imperfect Memorials of his Succ. for Capt. *Elkington*. Come here, *October, A. D.* 1616.

A Noble *Indian* came hither from *Puloway*, to make some Proposals to us about Trading with that and the other Islands of *Banda*. He declar'd in an Assembly of our Merchants, That those Places were so oppress'd with the horrid Insolence and Tyranny of the *Dutch*, that they were all very well dispos'd to an unanimous Attempt for their Expulsion, at least, they wou'd endeavour to force them to be more quiet and civil than they were. That if we wou'd stand by them, and furnish them with Ammunition for the carrying on such a Design, they wou'd turn over all the Spice-Trade of those Islands into our hands. But we cou'd enter into no solemn Agreement with them of this nature, till we had farther Orders from *England*, tho' in the mean time we promis'd what Assistance we cou'd, as also to send a Ship to know their Proposals at large, and what Security they cou'd give us for the performance of what they engaged to do, with respect to the putting us in possession of that Trade.

This was the Sum of our Transactions at *Bantam*, from whence we sail'd directly for *England*, being entertain'd with no remarkable Occurrents by the way.

An Appendix to Chap. XXVII.

Containing some Accounts of a Journey from India, *into* Persia, *made by two* English-men, *belonging to Capt.* Dounton's *Company.*

WE shall not follow these Travellers into every particular Inn, or Village upon the Road, nor stop with them in all their several Resting-places; we shall only observe to fall in with them, where they have any thing worth Observation to shew us upon the Way, that the Reader may not be a Traveller in a worse Sence, and grow weary before he comes to the end of his Journey.

Having determin'd to pass into *Persia* by the way of *Candahar*, as being of all the most frequented, and best for the Company of Merchants and Caravans; they set out from *Agra*, and proceeded to *Labor*; from which place the Road is well beaten to *Candahar*. There can hardly be (according to their Relation) any pleasanter Travelling in the World, almost, than between these two Cities.

March A. D. 1614.

A pleasant Journey from Agra to Labor.

Cities. The Country all about is the richeſt and moſt fruitful of *India*, and 'tis as well manur'd and improv'd by the Care of the Husbandman. At every five or ſix Coſe end, you have a fine Seray, or Publick Houſe for the Entertainment of Travellers, which are very neat Structures all of them, and yield as good Accommodations within, as they make a handſome appearance on the outſide; ſpecial Care being taken for that purpoſe by the King, and thoſe Great Nobles who were the Builders of them, that nothing ſhou'd be wanting in the Contrivance or Furniture of them, that might ſerve the Conveniencies of thoſe that were to uſe them. Beſides, you have Rows of Mulberry-Trees planted all along on both ſides the way, throughout the whole 600 Miſe, from *Agra* to *Lahor*; which is ſuch a Walk, as hardly any, 'tis preſum'd, Country, can ſhew the like.

The Rules of travelling here.

Upon this Account, if a Man does not travel in the ſcorching Heat of the Summer, he may take a great deal of pleaſure in paſſing this Road; and it is as ſafe as it is delightful, if one don't make any Night-Journeys, but be ſure to put up in the Serayes in good time, and ſo go out with Day-light again the next Morning. For if a Man does not obſerve theſe regular Hours, 'tis ten to one but he is ſnapp'd by Thieves, which are always the Plague of this Country, and of this Road too, in no ſmall degree: and therefore in all the Serayes they obſerve that Rule not to open the Gates to any Man before Day-break, and then all the whole Company ſets out together.

The good Order in the Serayes.

In all the Serayes upon this Road, the Old Saying ſtrictly obtains in practice; *Firſt come, firſt ſerv'd*: When a Man comes in, and takes up ſuch a Lodging, 'tis in vain for any other that comes after him, to have a mind to the ſame Apartment; if he can by fair means procure the firſt to exchange with him, well and good; otherwiſe he muſt take his Lot; for by the Laws of the place no Man can be thruſt out of his Lodging, when he has once fix'd upon it.

Trade from *Lahor* into *Perſia*.

At *Lahor* (which is the Centre of the whole Trade of the Country), they tell us that all the *Indian* Merchants meet together, turning a great part of their Moneys into Goods, and ſo joyn themſelves into Caravans, in order to paſs the Mountains of *Candahar*, and ſo into *Perſia*. And according to the common Accounts, there paſſes no leſs than Twelve or Fourteen thouſand Camels loaden in a Seaſon along this way, 'tis now ſo much frequented; whereas formerly there did not uſe to be above Three thouſand, all the reſt going by the way of *Ormus*.

But the Merchants are put to very great Expences in this Journey betwixt *Lahor* and *Spahawn* in *Perſia*; for they reckon that every Camel's Lading ſtands them in near 130 Rupies, by that time they get thither. For what by the Badneſs of the Way, and the Extremities of Weather, (beſides other Dangers) they commonly ſpend ſix Months, if not ſeven between thoſe two places. By this way alſo is *Perſia* furniſh'd with Pepper, and other Spices, over Land, from *Maſulipatan*.

But none made more of the Trade of this famous City, than the *Portugueze* did, (as long as they had the Wit to keep Friends with the *Great Mogul*:) For all the Merchandize they deal't for with the Foreigners, or *Indians*, at *Lahor*, was here embark'd upon the ſpot, and ſo (down the *Revee*, into the *Indus*) away for *Perſia*, *Ormus*, and thoſe parts; and then all the Merchants that paſs'd that way betwixt *India* and *Perſia*, paid them Freight. But beſides this, they drove a vaſt Trade along this River for Spices, which they bought in other parts of the *Indies*, and ſo bringing by Water up hither, furniſh'd all theſe parts of *India* with that Commodity. They had better have abated ſomething of their proud and inſolent Demands upon the *Mogul*; or taken care ſome way or other to have ſatisfied and pleas'd him again, and ſo have kept this profitable Trade in their hands: Friendſhip, and all theſe Advantages together, wou'd have been far more eligible, than to loſe and be turn'd out of all, and be beaten beſides into the Bargain.

Vaſt Trade of the *Portugueze* formerly.

But other People have no Reaſon to be angry with them for throwing themſelves out of this Buſineſs; and tho' they may be call'd Fools for their Pains, yet no Man can owe them any Ill-Will upon that ſcore. Into this mighty Figure and Reputation is *Lahor* now grown, for Trade and Correſpondence: Which is the more ſurprizing too, in that 'tis ſo little a while (in compariſon), that it has been riſing up to ſuch a degree of Greatneſs. In the time of the *Potane* Kings, it was but a trifling Village, and never made any conſiderable appearance, till the preſent *Mogul*'s Grandfather ſet himſelf to the enlarging and adorning of it. So that 'tis true of both the Grand Metropolis's of *India* at this Day, that they owe the Riſe of their Glory to this Family: For as *Lahor* grew up under the Nurſery of the Grandfather, ſo did *Agra* under * that of the Father of the preſent Monarch. From hence they paſs'd on to *Multan*, a great and an ancient City, ſeated pretty near the River *Indus*, and pretending to ſome Trade for Linen Cloth. When the *Potane* Kings maintain'd their Ground in *India*, this place was in a very flouriſhing Eſtate, whilſt *Agra* and *Lahor* lay both in the greateſt obſcurity: But now ſhe has little to pretend to, theſe upſtart Rivals have robb'd her of her Trade and Glory, and left her nothing great to ſay claim to, but the advantage of her Venerable Antiquity. The place is ſo poor, that Caravans are obliged to ſtay hereabouts eight or ten Days, whether they have Buſineſs or no, that they may do it a kindneſs, by ſpending ſome of their Money; neither will the Governour let them paſs on, till they have reſted themſelves here for as much time as that comes to. *Multan.*

In their paſſage betwen this place and the Mountains, or Streights of *Candahar*, they were very often diſtreſs'd for want of Suſtenance for themſelves and their Beaſts; the Country about them being barren, and the Water many times very brackiſh and unpleaſant. The Captains of the Mogul's Forts and Garriſons, in many places impoſing and exacting upon them, demanding ſo much Duty upon every Camel's Head, where nothing at all was due, either in Juſtice, or by the Rules of Cuſtom, but all was clear Gain to themſelves, and went into their own Pockets. Nay, they go farther than this too, in their Abuſes of Travellers ſometimes; for whereas the Mogul maintains them there to be a Guard againſt Thieves, they often prove the Thieves themſelves; but ever (whether they rob or no) are as great Villains as any of thoſe they are ſet there to keep in order.

Mountains of *Candahar.*

Theſe Mountains of *Candahar* are extreamly ſteep and rocky, troubleſome and bad for travelling. The Streights themſelves are ſo narrow, and fenc'd in with horrid Crags ſo on every ſide, that a ſmall Company poſſeſs'd of them, might maintain their Ground againſt a numerous Army. But the difficulty and danger of Travelling here, is vaſtly increas'd by the Circumſtance of the ill People that lie up and down all about theſe Mountains.

July. The *Potanes.*

Theſe are the *Potanes*, or as ſome call them the *Agwans*, a fierce and barbarous People, ſomething whiter than the *Indians*, horribly thieviſh and treacherous, and by their natural ſtrength and roughneſs, pretty well qualified for all the hard Services of that Thieviſh Life they live. 'Tis very probable, that they are ſome of the Remainders of the old *Indians*, who have either by a conſtant Succeſſion ever maintain'd themſelves in the enjoyment of theſe Territories, or elſe by ſome Inundation of a Foreign Power, were driven out of the other parts of that Country, and retired for ſhelter into theſe Mountains, where they lie ſecure and quiet.

Formerly they were far more troubleſome than they are now, and uſed to cut off whole Caravans at once, lying continually in Ambuſcades for that purpoſe; but the taſting of the Sweetneſs and Profit of Trade, has made them a little more civil; and partly too, the Awe they ſtand in of the Great Mogul at preſent, tho' it ſeems impoſſible he ſhou'd ever make an abſolute Conqueſt of them, whatever Reſtraints his Forces may lay them under. But they are not yet acquainted with ſo much Honeſty and Humanity, as to forbear injuring thoſe that happen to fall into their Power, when they can do it without running themſelves into any danger thereby. If they meet any ſtraggling Traveller, they won't fail to make a Prey of him, carrying him up into the Mountains, where he is ſold for a Slave, and condemn'd to all the Miſeries and Hardſhips of a Life of perpetual Drudgery.

This Guard of Mountains paſs'd, our Travellers came to the City of *Candahar* it ſelf. Here the Great Mogul keeps a conſtant Garriſon of Twelve or Fifteen thouſand Horſe, becauſe of the near Neighbourhood of the *Perſians*; and this place alſo is one of the main Keys of his Country. It has the Defence of a Wall only on the S. and the E. Quarters, it needing nothing of that nature on the W. ſide, becauſe of the mighty Rocks which environ it there, and defend it to much better purpoſe, than any Work of Art cou'd poſſibly do. It is no place of great Trade of it ſelf, as for any Commodities afforded by it, or the Country about it; but being the certain, and ſtated Rendezvous of all the *Indian*, *Perſian*, and *Turky* Merchants, it may challenge any City in that part of the Eaſt, for great Dealings and Concerns. Upon this ſcore Proviſions are dear there, tho' they are very plentiful at the ſame time; there is ſuch a vaſt Reſort of People, (who muſt of neceſſity all be Traders for the Belly) that 'tis impoſſible but Eatables muſt go off at good Rates, as all other Commodities do, where the Number of Buyers is ſo very conſiderable. And by this means too the place is vaſtly grown in bigneſs, and takes up a much larger Compaſs of Ground than formerly it did; People muſt have Lodgings, as well as Meat and *Candahar.*

* *May.* See Mr. *Finch*'s Journey thro' *India*, in the Deſcription of *Fatipore*.

Drink, and therefore to make room for all their Company, they have enlarg'd it so with Buildings of late Years, that the Suburbs do now vastly surpass the Dimensions of the City it self. The good Fortune of *Candahar* in all these Respects is owing to the turning the stream of the Trade into these parts, which before used to run chiefly by the way of *Ormus*. That old Channel was stopt up, and all intercourse cut off between *India* and *Persia* that way, by reason of the Wars between the *Persians* and the *Portugueze*. So that the Merchants if they would Trade into that Country must take *Candahar* way of necessity, tho' round about as to a great part of the *Mogul*'s Dominions, for it would be a far shorter cut to cross the River *Indus* about *Tatta* and those parts, and so strike directly into *Persia*; but 'tis impracticable by reason of the wild and barren state of all that tract of Land that lies between the *Indus* and the borders of *Persia*. 'Tis bad enough a great way into *Persia* it self, betwixt *Candahar* and *Spahawn*, it being hard to see any Green thing sometimes in two or three Days travel; but 'tis much worse down along the Banks of the *Indus*; and the Deserts of *Arabia* are not more troublesome perhaps than some Patches in that Country. This Account our Travellers do give us as to several parts of *Persia* that lay in their way; a scorch'd sandy Soil, no delightful shade or shelter of Trees, soft grassy Walks or Fields, as 'tis in some of the happier parts of the same Country. And besides this, the same calamity of the want of good Water afflicted them often here as it did in *India*: it was either brackish, muddy, or downright stinking, that both Man and Beast were punish'd to drink it. Neither were the King of *Persia*'s Officers (except in some very few places) much more conscientious than the *Mogul*'s as to the point of imposing Duties upon Passengers; every now and then, here as well as there, a Camels Head was to be paid for, so that at this rate, before a Man gets to his Journeys end, he may pay over and over the Price of the Beast he makes use of.

The Wars brought *Candahar* into such request.

Badness of of some parts of *Persia*.

Tatta was the first place of note they came to in *Persia*; a Town defended with a substantial Wall of Sun-dried Bricks, which are used about most of their Castles and other Buildings thereabouts. This place has the Blessing of a good Soil, and wholsome Water; the latter is so precious a thing with them, that where they have it, it is wonderful to see with what Art and Industry they manage it for the Advantage of their improveable Grounds; what Trenches they cut, and neat Devices they have for the deriving of Water to a good spot of Ground that wants it. All Merchants that go into *Persia* are obliged to stay here till the King's Treasurer has weighed all their Packs, and valued them as he thinks fit, taking three *per Cent.* Custom.

Tatta.

When they are going from hence into *Persia*, they are used with a great deal of Favour and Indulgence, for fear they should make complaints at Court, which would be very fatal to those Officers, the King having given a strict Charge for the good usage of Merchants, and threatned the contrary with most rigorous Penalties. But then when they go into *India*, they are very severe and exact upon them; for then they fear no telling of Tales, and have hardly any other Restraints to influence them, than what Justice, Conscience and Good Nature might be suppos'd to lay, which a Man would be pretty hard put to it to find any thing of amongst these out-lying Officers.

They'll allow no Man to transport Horses or Slaves out of the Country, and as for Gold or any Silver Coin but just the King of *Persia*'s, 'tis death for him that attempts to carry any thing of it abroad; and therefore here the Merchants are stripped even to the very Skin, the scrutiny is so nice and severe upon this account.

Merchants searched at *Tatta*.

Between this and *Spahawn* they pass'd thro' that barren and desolate spot commonly call'd the *Salt-desert*, which is a matter of four Days Journey. All the *Caravan* stop before they enter upon this, and refresh some Days on purpose to prepare them the better for the horrid Fatigues of that Country: But after all their Care and Provision, 'tis very often that they miscarry in it, and some Carcases or other are left in those Sands to be back'd into Mummy by the violent heat of the Sun.

Salt-desert.

September. Our two *English* Men now go directly to *Spahawn* to do Business with Sir *Robert Shirley*, for the *East-India* Company, by whom they were employ'd. And they come in good time, for that Person was then setting out for *Spain*; going thither in the quality of the King of *Persia*'s Embassadour. The design of his Mission to that Court, was, to confer about Methods for the more speedy and effectual overturning the Interest of the *Portugueze* in these Parts, and bringing in the *Spaniards* in their room. As for their Business with Sir *Robert Shirley* from the *East-India* Company, tho' there had been some misunderstandings between him and them, yet he concluded (as he was an *English* Man) to do the Interest and Trade of his Country all the faithful Service he could, and therefore procured all the Firmans to be made that they desir'd, and gave them into the Hands of these Messengers, seal'd with the King of *Persia*'s Broad Seal. That which concern'd the Privilege of the *English* Nation in common for Trading in any part of the King of *Persia*'s Dominions, ran thus, as translated out of the Language of that Country.

The Copy of the King of *Persia*'s Firman, Translated out of the *Persian*.

FIrman or Command given unto all our Subjects, from the greatest, unto what Degree soever, unto the Souf-basha *or* Constable *of our Country, to kindly receive and entertain the* English *Franks or Nation, at what time any of their Ships or Shipping shall arrive at* Iasques, *or any other of the Ports in our Kingdom; to conduct them and their Merchandize to what place or places they themselves desire; and that you shall see them safely defended about our Coasts, from any other Frank or Franks whatsoever.*

Thus I Will and Command you so to do, as you will answer to the contrary. Given at our Royal City, the twelfth of this Moon Ramassan (*October*) *in the Year of Our* Tarcag 1024 A. D. 1615.

There were three of these Firmans given out by the King of *Persia*'s Vizier; one of which was sent to the Governour of *Jasques*, a Second carried into *India* for the Benefit of the Merchants there; and the Third brought over into *England* to the Company.

As to the Trade of *Persia* they give us this short Account of it. Their chief Commodities are Carpets of all sorts, Gold, Silver, Silk, Cotton, and these mix'd together; raw Silk, of which it yields (according to the King's Books) 7700 Batmans yearly.

The Province of *Coresan* produces good store of Rhubarb and Worm-seed. The *Persian* Coins are, of Silver the Abacee, the Mahomedee, the Shashee, and the Bistee; of which the Mahomedee is one half the Abacee; and the Shashee one half the Mahomedee; and the Bistee two fifths of the Shashee; and in the value of a Rial of Eight, they reckon the Shashee to be one thirteenth of a Rial of Eight: As for their Copper Coins they are much the same with the *Tanga*'s and *Piso*'s of *India*. The Weights differ considerably in different places.

At *Tauris* the two Mahans make but one of *Spahawn* Weight, and so 'tis likewise as to the *Batman*. The Measure of Silks is generally the same with the Pike of *Aleppo*, which is about 27 Inches.

Sir *Robert Shirley* being here, brought upon the Stage in *Persia*, whereas he was left before in *India* at *Diul* in order to his *Persian* Journey, *'twill not be out of the way to shew the Dangers he pass'd in coming hither, by the barbarous Practices of the *Portugueze*: Sir *Robert Shirley* was a proper Object for their Malice and Revenge to work upon on a double account, both as he was an *English* Man, and the King of *Persia*'s Embassadour, with whom they were then at variance. These wicked People influencing the Governour of *Diul* so far, that he began for their sakes to neglect him, he being weary of that ill usage, and also of a Life of continual fear and hazard by the *Portugueze* at that place, desired leave to go for *Tatta*, which the Governour refusing to permit, he took Courage and went without his permission. But being pursued and overtaken by a Troop of Souldiers sent out to bring them all back again to *Diul*, they were worse handled than before, Sir *Robert* himself being actually imprison'd and narrowly scaping with his Life several times, the *Portugueze* were so mad a plotting to destroy him. However, not long after the Governour (not able to answer the least part of what he had done to his Master) better bethought himself, and gave him his Dispatch for *Tatta*, where he was entertain'd according to his quality, and from whence he proceeded to *Agra* as well to make his Complaints as to do emergent Business at that Court. The *Mogul* promis'd him Satisfaction, and immediately sent for the Governour to Court to answer the Crimes laid to his Charge, and there's no doubt but his ill Behaviour cost him his Head.

*See Mr. Rous's Journal before.

Sir *Robert Shirley* struck by the Portugueze.

From hence Sir *Robert*, having been very generously treated by the *Mogul*, went away to *Persia*, to his own Master.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Second Voyage into the East-Indies *perform'd by Captain* Peyton, *with the* Expedition. *Together with the* Dragon, Lion, *and* Pepper-Corn, *under the Command of Captain* Keeling, *Taken out of Captain* Peyton's *large Journal and the Observations of some others.*

THE Business of this Voyage, tho' it lay in several parts of the *East-Indies*, yet in the first place our Course was to be directed for *Surat*, where Sir *Thomas Row* his Majesties Embassadour was to be set down. Besides all the *English* Company that went upon this Occasion, we had several Foreigners aboard us, *Japoneses*, *Guzurats*, *Indians*, which had been formerly brought over, and were now going back to their respective Countries. And to make the variety still the more considerable, over and above this medley of other Nations, we had a load of the choice Drugs of our own Country; which the Law having swept out of doors at home, were to be dispos'd of up and down in foreign parts at discretion. These were a pack of Thieves and other lewd Malefactors, which Justice had some time before condemn'd to the Gallows; but the *East-India* Company interceded with His Majesty for their Pardons, that they might be sent over in these Ships to make Discoveries in those places where they should be left. But we had not lost sight of the *English* shoar before these Newgate Birds were some of them upon the Wing, and had very near flown quite away from us, and notwithstanding all our care to prevent it, one of them did break out of his Cage, and took his ramble with some other of the Ship-company, which were Birds of as good a Feather as himself, and therefore all decently join'd in the same Flock together.

Jan. A. D. 1615 Note, Sir *Thomas Row* Lord Embassadour from His Majesty of *England* to the *Great Mogul*, went over with this Fleet; but what particularly concerns him is to be brought in afterwards in his own account of his Embassy.

Having proceeded in our Voyage as far as the *Canary-Islands*, we had there an opportunity to take notice of, and rectifie a Mistake concerning the Situation of one Island belonging to that cluster. It is that which is commonly call'd *Forteventura* Island, which our Experience tells us, is plac'd no less than a whole Degree more Northerly than it ought to be; the same errour we discover'd too with reference to Cape *Bajadore*, and these Mistakes of our Plats run us into no little Danger.

March. Wrong situation of Isle *Forteventura* and Cape *Bajadore.*

When we came to the Bay of *Soldania*, we found much better Temper and Carriage in the Natives towards us, than ever us'd formerly to be. They had lost in great measure that Shiness and those frightful Apprehensions of us, that made it many times so hard to bring them to any thing of a Trade. They seem'd to put a sort of a Confidence in us, and were free and forward to converse after their barbarous way; and out of a respect to us took care nor to affront us by thieving and pilfering as they us'd to do. Nay, which was a very strange thing, some of them had so good an Opinion of us, as to be willing to leave their own Native Country, and go for *England* in our Ships when we came back. All these wonderful Alterations we attributed to the Instructions which *Coree* (their Country-man) had given them; for he himself was yet alive amongst them, and came down with some of the rest to make us a visit; and having been so kindly treated in *England*, as an Expression of his Gratitude he carried some of our Men up into the Country to see his House, and Wife, and Children, at one of their Towns, which consists of about 100 Houses, about five Miles from the Bay. Here *Coree* kept (exceeding Charity) all his Particulars that he brought with him out of *England*; here was his Copper Armour and the rest of his Furniture, which all put together made him the finest fellow in the whole Country. And 'twas upon this Account, that some of the rest were so willing to go with us into our Country; there was more Copper suits to be had in *England*, and *Coree* had sped so well that they wanted to try their Fortunes in so good a place. These People also by seeing more of the World are grown much wiser in the matters of Trade, as to what concerns their own Advantage. Time was when Iron-hoops and Nails would have serv'd the turn, but the humour alter'd from that to Copper; now they are come from Copper to Brass, and they say they must have pieces of a Foot square or more; nay, they have insisted upon Basons, Skillets, Scummers and such like Utensils for a House in exchange for their Cattel, and some of our Nation have lately dealt with them upon these Terms. But this being mostly since *Coree*'s return home amongst them, we believe he has help'd to enlighten their understandings in these matters, and shown them how little we value in *England* those things which they set so high a rate upon.

A. D. 1615. June. *Coree*'s reform amongst the *Soldanians.*

We left here a set of our condemn'd Men, turning them loose into the Country, and tho' to bring Thieves to *Soldania*, is but carrying Coals to *New-Castle*, or Rats and Mice into a House that swarm'd with Vermin before, yet for that Reason this appear'd to be the fittest place for them. Let a resolute Villain be thrown amongst the *Javans*, a cunning Cheat amongst the *Chinese*, and an impudent Thief amongst the *Soldanians*, and the Men are dispos'd of as they should be; and 'tis better thus many times than to place them in better Company, for a pack of Knaves of the same faculty may help to keep one another Honest; at least (as to the present Case) our Men and the *Soldanians* could not well debauch one another. When they were ashoar they form'd themselves into a Society, and chose a Captain to command them; so giving them each a Weapon for their defence, we left them to their future Fortunes.

Criminals set ashoar at *Soldania.*

Between the Bay of *Soldania* and the Island St. *Lawrence*, we had a farther Proof of the erroneousness of *Daniels* Plats. For instance, the Land to the West of Cape *de Arecife* (which lies to the East of the Cape of *Good-Hope*) is placed 27 Minutes more Northerly than it should be; and so when according to the measures of those Plats we should have seen the Land of St. *Lawrence*, we found an error which amounted at least to as much as 70 Leagues.

Other errors of the Plats.

We came to an Anchor next at *Moyela*, one of the Isles of *Comori*, a place of late pretty much visited by our *English* Ships. These Islands are four in number, *Nicuma*, *Angazelia*, *Juanny*, and *Magotta*, and they all lie almost East and West of one another in a parallel, except *Angazelia*, which juts out a little to the North. There's none of them all but affords very good refreshing, tho' *Magotta* has the best character upon that Account from all the *Arabians* that inhabit thereabouts; and next to *Magotta*, the Island of *Juanny* has the Reputation for the best. *Angazelia* is extreamly high Land, and moderately fruitful too as far as some of the common Necessaries of Life do go, but beyond Kine and Goats, Cocoes, Oranges and Limons it has very little to pretend to.

Jul. See Capt. Peyton's first Voyage. *Davis* in his first Voyage reckons five of these *Comori* Islands.

As for the Government of those Islands at the time of our being there, *Angazelia*, had no less than ten petty Sultans in it, *Moyela* had three, and in *Juanny* rul'd an old Sultaness that was as it were the Soveraign of them all, and to whom all the rest repair'd for Justice both in civil and criminal Causes. The Sultan that govern'd in that quarter of *Moyela*, where we anchor'd, kept all his Subjects in such extream awe, that no Man dared sell us so much as a Coco-nut till solemn leave was granted by him. To open a Trade, therefore we were obliged to send some Men ashoar in order to the procuring of it. These being landed, were receiv'd and entertain'd by a certain Governour under the Sultan, whom they found sitting upon a Mat of Straw, wrapt in a Mantle of red and blew Linen, besides which he was all bare, only a sorry chequer'd Cap upon his Head. A small Present made him, easily procur'd his Good Will and Consent to the Peoples trading with us, which he presently signified to them by Messengers dispatch'd for that purpose. While he entertain'd our Company with Cocoes, he himself sat chewing Beetle and burnt Oyster-Shells mixt with the Kernels of the Arecca-Nuts: These Nuts are hot and biting in the Mouth draw away a considerable deal of Rheum, strengthen and fix the Teeth, and 'tis all the Physick they use in these parts.

The Government of these Islands.

The Description of the Governour.

They'll

They'll make a Man that is not us'd to them light and giddy headed at the first eating, and by degrees will change the Teeth from their natural white, into a rusty black, which is one of the effects of them that the Moyelians principally admire them for, since Teeth of that hew are reckon'd a part of very great Beauty amongst them.

Fambone. The Town whither our Men went to this Governour was call'd *Fambone*, lying about some four Leagues to the East side of our Road; the People made very much of them, and gave them (after the Governour's Treat was over) an Entertainment at one of the principal Mens Houses.

Customs in Eating &c. In the first place Water was brought to every Man in a Coco-shell to wash his Hands in, and for a Towel a parcel of the Rinds of the Coco. Then they brought in boil'd Rice cover'd over with roasted Plantans, pieces of Hens and Goats broil'd; their Bread was made of Cuscus beaten and mixt with Honey, and so fried; and for Drink they had Palmeto-Wine and Coco Milk. They don't sit cross Legg'd down upon the Floor at their Meals as the *Mahometans* and all Eastern People generally do, but in a more decent manner upon Benches, all round the Table, which stands high upon Tress-ls.

Houses. Their Houses are far from being rich or stately, yet they are kept very sweet and clean, and there's as much neatness in all their Furniture and Houshold-stuff, tho' nothing at all for ornament and fine show. They are built with Lime and Stone, small and low roof'd, Plaister'd in the inside with Mortar, and without fenc'd round with Canes; at top they have only Rafters of Wood cover'd over with Leaves. They have their little Gardens adjoining to them too, which are paled in with Canes, but hardly afford any thing else besides Tobacco and Plantan-Trees.

Deman. The place where the Sultan commonly resides is *Deman*, the chief Town of that part of the Island, and distant about three Miles from *Fambone* the Governour's Town. We had no opportunity of seeing this place, tho' the Lord's Embassadour sent some on purpose to visit the Sultan; but he happening at that time to be at *Fambone*, the Journey to *Deman* was prevented. He gave these Persons a courteous Reception, and made them Dine with him very familiarly; as for any thing else he appear'd nothing greater or statelier than the Governour, and was not to be known by any other mark than that of the profound Respect which all the rest paid him. He assumes the honourable Title of *Xeriffe*, and calls himself one of *Mahomets* Kins-men; a thing that a World of the *Mahometans* do pretend to, that are no more a kin to *Mahomet* than they are to *Moses*, and are of a far honester race than they would make the World believe they are by that Pretention.

The *Sultans.* In short these Sultans of *Moyela* are very mean sorry Fellows, if one may guess by one of them that came to the Lord Embassadour; a poor bare footed Rogue, that could not pretend to any higher Trade than for a matter of four or five Rials of Eight, and when he could not get his Bargain, fell to begging of Shooes and Stockings. This was one of the High Blood of the Prophet, a Kinsman of *Mahomet*, Brother to the *Xeriff*, Subsultan of *Moyella*, and no body knows what besides; a Man would rather have taken him for some rascally Dervise or begging Saint that was going a Pilgrimage bare Foot to *Mecca*, and wanted a pair of Shooes to help him over the rugged way.

Jealousies of their Women and Churches. The People of this Country are very fearful of letting their Women be seen, and as Jealous too least any Christians should see their Mosquets or any of the Rights of their *Mahometan* Devotion. One of our Men did but go into a Village so far as to be spied by one of their Priests, who immediately fell a screaming, and made such a Noise as if a Troop of Ruffians had been come to knock them all on the Head; all the Women were shut up close within Doors, and the People were in the greatest tumult imaginable, threatning the Man if he came near their Church that they would certainly kill him. Now a Man might safely see all the Riches of their Mosquets, without being tempted to Sacrilege, as well as the best Charms of their Women, without any provocations to unchast Desires; but such is their ridiculous Fancy of a mighty Sanctity amongst themselves, and as great an Impurity in the Christians that they will not permit any thing of this Liberty.

Informations given by a *Moorish* Pilot. A certain *Mo ish* Pilot at this place gave us some Informations, which 'twould be very well worth while to enquire into the Truth of. He affirmed that on the South side of St. *Lawrence* there was good store of Ambergrice, and Cocoes of the Sea; that the chief part of his own Country (which lay in two Degrees ten Minutes North Latitude upon the Coast of *Africk*) would give us a good lading with Marfil, Amber and Tinta Roxa. That in many places along the Coast of *Africk* towards *Mozambique*, *Magadoxa*, &c. we might Trade for Gold and Silver, and particularly that of the latter, they had a great deal of Gold mix'd with Sand and Earth about the Country, which the Inhabitants made very light of. He gave also some account of the Countries names between *Magadoxa* and *Prester John's* Dominions, and by his own Chart rectified ours in some Respects, as to the distance between *Zocotora* and the Main, and rasing quite out some Islands which were laid to the South side of *Moyela*, there being in reality none such at all.

Tides and Current. The *Magadoxians* have propagated a Notion that the Current sets at this place fifteen Days Eastward, and fifteen Days Westward, and fifteen Days lies still and sets no way. But this is very idle Discourse for Sea-men; the Current does here set most certainly and constantly to the South West, that is the stated course of it. Now before the full of the Moon it had such power on the Ebb and the Flood, that we never woond at all, but at the full Moon and Spring Tides we rode upon the Flood against the Current, the Current running under, and the Tide above, and the Ebb winding back with the Current. So that this strange pretended alteration of the setting of the Current, is indeed nothing else but the influence of the Tide, which at those times high'd to a matter of sixteen Foot Water, and was powerful enough to overcome the Current; and there's no miracle nor mystery in this, that the Course of the Water should be different when the Tide prevails over the Current from what 'twas when the Current was strong enough to master the Tide. And that this is the true account of the matter is plain, because the Spring being past, the Current return'd and took it's regular course again, as we found when we were at a distance clear of all the Eddies of the Islands. For tho' 'tis true, that when we weighed from hence, we were set the first Day Eastward and the next Westward; yet the Reason of that was evidently from the Eddies of *Juanny* one Day, and *Lagazelia* the other, and being out of the reach of them, it for the future influenc'd us only to the Westward.

Varying at *Moyela* &c. The varying at *Moyela* is sixteen Degrees forty Min. and we make it to lie under the very same Meridian with Cape St. *Augustine*; and from hence conclude that the Isles of St. *Lawrence* ought to be laid to the East 39 or 40 Leagues, and so all the Coast of the Main (being broader than the Land in the Chart) ought to be set in proportion to the East; for tho' the Longitudes be ever so false in themselves, yet they are true in their Proportions to one another.

August. Winds. We sail'd away from these Islands for that of *Zocotora*. In this Course we had very great trouble with bustling impetuous Winds about *Abbadelcuria*; all the while the Moon was below the Horizon (being then in the second Degree increasing) they tore and raged after a most horrible manner, but when she rise they were quiet and still; so soveraign a Lady is she of the Weather in those parts, and so much depends upon her Influence and Presence. And therefore let those that have occasion to Anchor hereabouts in the Night time be careful to avoid standing over the rocky Ground, where the Winds will certainly force them from their Anchors; but chuse to ride where some defence may be afforded by Land against the violence of the Winds beating from the Hills. But the best way will be to touch at Cape *Guardefui*, and so sail from thence to *Abbadelcuria* the next Morning by break of Day, and when come thither to Anchor upon the West side of it in seven or eight Fathom under the low land; or if they can get no Anchorage to keep to the South side in the Night, least the Winds and the Northerly Current put them too much to Leeward before Day light. The Winds don't keep steadily to a point notwithstanding the Monson, but sometimes blow South by West, and S. S. W. but very seldom to the East of the South.

Direction about sailing to *Zocotra*.

Delisha Road. We came to an Anchor first in *Tamerin*, and then in *Delisha* Road, which very well deserves that name for the delightfulness and peaceableness of it. Between the Water and the ragged Mountains of *Tamerin*, you may bring the two little Hommocks (that lie on the low point without the Land to the East side) S. E. and the low Land (that was East by North of you in *Tamerin* Road) North West by West, and so ride very conveniently in ten Fathom within three fourths of a Mile of the shoar. Your Latitude here is thirteen Degrees five Minutes, varying eighteen Degrees twenty Minutes. The Ground white Sand, but rocky, so that 'twill be needful for the Sea-man to coarch or booy his Cables. The King of *Zocotra* gave us a very civil Reception as he does to all that are like to prove good Customers, and will lay out their Money with him.

We

...Town ...King's ...ce.

We bought some quantity of Aloes of him, which being very new, or by reason of the Sun's heat was perfectly liquid; he made us give after the rate of thirty Rials of Eight *per* Kintal (each Kintal containing by our Beam 103 pound and a half) for which reason we bought the less.

...ther Accounts of ...Isle ...b fore in *Henry Mid*...n's and ...ain *Sa*... Voyages ...se Observations were made ...none of ...m.

* One of our Company who was ashoar had the opportunity of making some Observations, which may (not unprofitably) be here annexed. The Kings Town of *Tamerin* that makes a very fair shew in the Road, makes a much less handsome appearance to a Spectator that's got into the midst of it. 'Tis built of Lime and Stone whited over, has something of ornament from Battlements, and Pinacles that look well at a distance, but within side one finds it but a poor sorry Town. The King's Palace was such too as an ordinary Gentleman in *England* might possibly make a shift with; and whatever his upper Rooms were, his lower ones were most of them Ware-houses, and Ward-robes; in which latter besides some change of Cloths, there were kept the Books of their Law, Religion, and History of the Lives of their Saints. And as for the others the Ware-houses, one must excuse the finding such apartments as these in the Palace; for His Majesty is a Merchant, and lives by his Trade as other Honest Men of that Profession do. Every Evening at Sun-set the People fall to their Devotions with their Faces turned towards the West, and in this posture the King comes and throws Water upon all their Heads; but this had not need to be in any great quantity, least the cold Water should strike a damp to the Zeal of those Religious Persons, and put out the Fire of their Devotion. And by one Passage that occur'd ashoar, it appears that their Minds are not so intensly fix'd in their Religious Exercises, but a little matter may be sufficient to divert them; for this *English* Man of our Company having obtained the Favour to be present in the Mosquet at the time of Divine Service, and happening to pull out his Watch there; the Priest having spied that fine thing, was so taken with the sight, that he had not patience to hold on in his Work any longer, but presently left off serving of God to come and stare upon the Watch.

...ery zea... Priest.

The Kingdom of *Tartach* in *Arabia Fœlix*, which is under this Prince's Father, lies all along the Coast from fifteen to eighteen Degrees, and Northward advances to the Mountains. The *Turks* have Tribute all over *Arabia*: but only from this King of *Tartach*, who lives in peace with them, and makes no other acknowledgment than this, to assist the *Turks* upon any occasion with 5000 Men, who are also to be paid by the *Turks* themselves.

...tember, ...me to *Su*...

Our little affairs at *Zocotora* being ended we sail'd away for *India*, and came to an Anchor in *Swally* Road. Here we landed and the Lord Embassadour with all the State and Ceremony befitting his quality, and he was as well receiv'd by the Grandees of *Surat*. But one base Custom of theirs occasion'd some dispute and difference at first, and that was their examining and searching the Pockets of those that came ashoar. The Embassadour's Character indeed exempted him from any thing of that nature; but then they pretended to practise it upon his retinue, which tho' he openly protested against standing upon the Privilege of an Embassadour, yet could procure no farther favour than only to have some few of the chief excused too. As for the inferiour sort they were very narrowly search'd every Man of them, both Pockets and other places, according to the rude Fashion of the Country, where a Man must pay for a Rial of Eight in his Purse, or a good Knife in his Pocket, and not only so, but if he happens to have any rarity about him, ten to one but the Governour, under the pretence of buying it, takes it quite away.

...ase Custom ...*Surat*.

Coins at Surat.

The current Coin of *Surat* is Rials of Eight, of which the old with the plain Cross are best esteem'd, and worth about five Mamudies a piece, the new with Flower-de-luces at the ends of the Cross go at 4 ½ if they be not light. The Mamudie is a course Silver Coin, containing thirty of their Copper Pice, each Pice being twelve Drams. The *English* Shilling if it be weight will yield Thirty three Pices and one half. Their Larines are much about the value of the Mamudies, but the Rupies are of several sorts, some worth half a Rial of Eight, others less, which if a Man does not mind well he may be very easily cheated.

The chief Trade is managed by the *Banians*, who must be as well look'd to as the Money, for they are very subtle cheating Fellows, whether they act the parts of Buyers or Sellers. The Weights of every City almost do differ from one another, so that to give an account of these, must be to give a compleat History of *India* in this Respect. The Trade at *Surat* takes in all manner of *English*, *China* and *Guzurat* Merchandize, Pictures, Toys, Drugs and all kind of Spices.

Go for Callecut. March

After a considerable stay here at *Surat*, we sail'd away for the *Malabar* Coast, and came to an Anchor in the Road of *Callecut*. The King's Deputy was very quickly dispatch'd to bid us welcome in his Masters Name, and to represent the earnest Desire he had to have a Conference with us upon the matters of Trade. That Prince was then at *Crangalor*, besieging a Castle of the *Portugueze*, with whom he was at War, which was one of the best encouragements that could be given to our Hope of a Happy Settlement in his Country; for as we desire no better prospect in a Foreign Country where we pretend to Trade, than to see it clear of the *Portugueze*, so there is nothing that they take for a worse omen of the decay of their Interest any where, than to see us come and sit down amongst them.

The Great Samorin of Callecut's Offers to the English. Note that it was Capt. Keeling Commander of the Dragon that went ashoar to make the Agreement with the Great Samorin.

The King of *Callecut* desiring our Company at *Crangalor*, we went thither to him; and here what favourable Grants, what Immunities and Privileges could be thought of that should not immediately be vouchsafed and confirmed to us? An *English* Factory must be establish'd in his Country; and to invite us to it (besides all the Common Expressions of Good Will to our Nation, he offer'd us a very good House rent-free, and a total exemption from all Custom, Tax, or Duty whatsoever, for all Goods both imported and exported out of his Dominions. And whereas at that time we were not able to leave any quantities of Merchandize for the Furniture and Support of a Factory, having been already at *Surat* and now going to other parts; this Objection was removed by his Declaration, that 'twas no matter for a present supply of Goods; but only that we laid the Foundation of the Factory by leaving some of our Company there, which would be a Pledge to him of our return the next Year with better Provisions to perfect the Work that was now begun. He assur'd us likewise that we might every Year have at least one Ship lading of Pepper there, and the certain vent of all our Commodities.

Factory at Crangalor.

Upon these Considerations therefore it was determin'd that a Factory should be erected at *Crangalor*, and accordingly what Men and Goods we could allow for that purpose were forthwith set ashoar. The substance of this Agreement between the King of *Callecut* and us was drawn up in a Writing, and transmitted to us by him, with this Promise over and above, That if he recover'd the Fort of *Crangalor* from the *Portugueze*, it should be put into the Hands of the *English*. We make the Latitude at *Callecut* 11 Degrees 10 Minutes North, and the varying fifteen Degrees forty Minutes.

In our passage from hence towards Cape *Comorin*, we had the luck to take two or three *Portugueze* Prizes; their principal lading was Grain, Sugar, Drugs and Bengala Stuffs; had we treated them according to their deserts we had burnt their Ships, and taken every penny-worth of their lading away, tho' to set them an example of Courtesy and Good Nature, we shew'd them more Favour than they could have expected, or would have shewn us in the like case.

Note for Brinnion.

It is proper for a Ship bound this way to ride at *Brinnion* till the end of *March*, and not double the Cape *Comorin*, because of the Calms, and the Current setting South to the *Maldives*; but then at that time the Easterly Monson ends. This *Brinnion* is about sixteen Leagues from the Cape, the Course setting South East by South, a bold and free Coast; it is a Town seated in a little round Bay, and to be known by a long white Breach to the North, and to the South all high Land, and in the same part a great red cliff near the Sea. The Latitude here is eight Degrees thirty Minutes, and varying fifteen Degrees.

May A. D. 1616. Come to Sumatra.

Having doubled the Cape *Comorin* our Ships parted Company, the *Dragon* and the *Pepper-Corn* going directly for *Sumatra*, and we in the *Expedition* first for *Bantam*. But our stay at that place now was but short, and Business quickly obliged us to follow our Company to *Sumatra*. We had some Trade at *Tecoo* and *Priaman* for Pepper, but the other Ships had furnish'd themselves with the same Commodity at *Achen*, tho' 'twas all transported thither from these places. This Pepper Trade is brought to *Achen* by the King's particular Order, and for his own particular Advantage too; for he forces the People of *Tecoo*, &c. to bring their Spice to him, and so puts off his *Surat* Commodities in truck for it, at what Rates he pleases; and so many times he sends his Merchandice to those places, and sells them off upon the spot, and then to be sure there's no buying nor selling for any other, till all his Cargo is gone off.

These places last mentioned on the Island, are celebrated only for a plentiful production of Pepper; but there are others which besides that Commodity yields others far more valuable.

Jambi,

Jambi. *Jambi* which lies on the East-side, affords a large Grain'd Pepper, like that of *Priaman*, a place not acknowledging the King of *Achen*'s Sovereignty, as do those which lie on the Western side.

Passoman. *Passaman*, besides the best Pepper upon the Island, produces the finest Gold, and in the greatest plenty; but the Temper of the Climate is so very bad, that all the Riches of its Mines, can't make amends for it.

Barusse. *Barusse*, (to the North of *Passaman*) yields good store of Benjamin; and Cotta-tinga, the same Noble Commodity with *Passaman*; and all those places are under the King of *Achen*'s Command: That is, they are really a part of his Dominion, and they'll receive his Orders with the utmost Submission, and shew of external Reverence; but they'll obey them as they think fit, at least as far as they can have their own Wills, without an open Contradiction of his.

Ill People at *Tecoo.* And this we found by Experience; for when our other Ships came hither to *Tecoo* and *Priaman*, bringing the King of *Achen*'s Letters along with them, they made an old stir with kissing the Letter, and laying it upon their Heads, to shew their Respect to it; but hardly any thing of the Contents of it wou'd the Heathens perform. And they are sometimes so wicked and unruly too, that we shall have a hundred Crises drawn upon us, if we refuse to let them have their Wills, in taking our Goods upon Trust, or at their own Rates; not to mention their Frauds and Cheats, by false Weights, Mis-reckonings, down-right Thieving, and all the Methods of that kind, that can be pursued by an Ill-minded People.

But these Disorders may be easily rectified by a Complaint to the Court of *Achen*, and the *Tecorns* had best have a care their Villanies don't make a Noise in the Ears of that severe Prince; who if he knew of their Proceedings, wou'd make nothing to cut off the Legs of a hundred of them, and this a gentle Punishment too. And in order to keep them the better in awe, he does observe that point of Policy, to plant his *Achenese* Officers up and down amongst them; but they are either too often as bad as the rest, or else are corrupted by Bribes into a Negligence of their Duty, and Connivance at the Crimes of those they shou'd reform; so that there's little Redress, many times, to be had, by an Appeal to them.

The *Thomas*'s Agreement at *Achen* for a Factory. The *Thomas*, another *English* Ship, had, as well as we, enough to do with these rude People at *Tecoo*: And tho' they had gotten the King of *Achen*'s Letters to bear upon, yet they found it pretty hard work to bring the insolent *Tecoans* to comply with the Contents of it. That Ship had agreed with the King of *Achen* for a Factory there, paying Custom as other Nations did (which was Seven in the Hundred); which put the *Dutch* into a very great ferment.

And as for our other Ships, the *Dragon* and *Pepper-Corn*, tho' they had fix'd Matters with the King for a Trade at *Tecoo*, yet the time of that Trade was limited but to two Years, after which the Merchants were to repair to *Achen* it self, which the King was resolv'd to make the main Seat of Business.

At present we seem to have the better hand of the Trade upon this Island: The *Dutch* had their share here too, but they have disgusted the King of *Achen*, and made him in some measure their Enemy. One way by which they affronted him, was, their demanding an Officer of theirs, who was entertain'd in his Service, and commanded some part of his Fleet of Gallies that were designed for *Malacca*. But then they refus'd him a Ship, which by an old Contract he affirm'd was due to him: And this heightned the Difference so far, that he forbid them coming ashore; upon which Account the *Dutch* were forc'd to comply and resign the Ship according to the Agreement.

K. of *Achen*'s falling out with the *Dutch*.

And it may be this Misunderstanding might have worn off, if by a fresh Contempt of the Laws of his Country they had not renew'd it, and stirr'd his Choler a third time.

'Tis a stated Law at this place, that none must come ashore till the King has sent them his Chop, which gives them License so to do. Now the *Dutch* Resident here at *Achen*, imagining or pretending to a much greater share of the King's Favour than it seems he had, made bold to bring a General of his own Country ashore, without that Token of his Welcome, and the King's Leave; which being known, the King sent for the Resident to Court, and had him well toss'd by an Elephant (as a Punishment for his Presumption), tho' the Fright was more than the real Damage: For those Creatures are taught how to manage an Execution so, as to give the Offender such a portion, of Punishment, more or less, as 'tis design'd they shou'd. The *Dutch-man* told the King, This was less than his Crime deserv'd; and 'twas a very Mild and Fatherly Correction that he had given him: But yet, in short, he pack'd up, and stole away from the place (out of the reach of the Elephants), being resolv'd to have no more of the King of *Achen*'s Fatherly Correctioners again.

Several of the rest follow'd his Example, and march'd off too (tho' they were taken and brought back); but however, the King took this so ill, that since they did go out themselves, he seconded them so far, as to shut the Door upon them, and to put us in possession of their House.

All Business dispatch'd at *Sumatra*, we left that Island, and went for *Bantam* once more. Here the Pepper-Trade was very brisk, and the Prices run considerably high, occasion'd partly by the number of *Dutch* and *English* Ships trading for that Commodity at that time. But the main Reason was the great Noise made by the *Dutch*, of vast Sums of Money brought over this Year by them; they pretended to have 1600000 Rials of Eight ready Money, lying by them, which tho' probably a meer Boast, and made with a Design to out-brave us) yet so far animated the covetous *Chinese*, and *Javans*, that they presently hoisted up the Price of their Commodities, and resolved to make their own advantage by it. *September.*

The ill Condition we found a great part of our Men in belonging to the Factory of this place, renders it necessary to make some little Reflection upon the most probable Cause, as well of many Illnesses here, as in several other parts of the *East-Indies*. 'Tis true, no place is, or can be perfectly free from Distempers; nor no Constitution so sound and happy, as not to lie open to an Invasion of this kind. The principal Factors receive a Force given by the intemperance of those who manage them.

In many places where we Trade, the Air is malignant and infectious; our Water tainted with some hurtful or disagreeable Quality; the Provisions we are forc'd to take up with, many times, not so nicely suted to the Temper and Disposition of our Bodies, which are used to other Methods in our own Native Climates. But tho' all this be true, and each of these Doors is wide enough to let in a fatal Distemper, yet none does it so certainly and effectually as that of Intemperance. A Man may possibly preserve his Body in good Temper in a bad Air, an unhealthy Soil, and with disagreeable Food; provided he will live soberly and regularly, and does not debauch his Health.

Now this is the common Crime of our *Europeans* abroad, in these Eastern Countries; they let loose the Reins to a licentious Appetite of Drinking, and are never well but when they are pouring down all the strong and fiery Liquors, which the Case-harden'd *Indians* themselves are us'd to. The Arack Houses are continually crowded with them, where they sit Guzzling whole Days and Nights together, making a Sea of that scalding Fluid in their Bellies, which proves more fatal to a great many of them, than that of Salt Water, from which they come.

* This is the great Drink at *Bantam* and *Sumatra*; a thing of that violent heat and strength, that 'tis a wonder how Nature does to overcome it: And certainly, if a Man's inside were made of dry combustible Matter, it would go near to set him of a light Fire. Now for People to come where the raging Heat of the Climate commands all the Temperance and good Management in the World; to sit down in the middle of the Torrid Zone, and scald their insides with burning Spirits, while the Sun is roasting them without; this is almost as likely a way to die, as to leap into a flaming Pile, or a boiling Furnace, and a Man may expect it one way as well as the other. Men ought not to live here, as they might live, were they starving in the Frosts and Cold of *Greenland*, or *Nova Zembla*; nor drink that while they are melting in *India*, that wou'd be sufficient to keep them from freezing under the North Pole.

* 'Tis commonly distill'd from Rice, which is steep'd in a Liquor taken from the Coco-Tree. This is the Arack: but the Arrack is another of their strong Liquors, as bad, if not worse than the former.

And yet after all the Lives that are thus sacrificed to Riot and Intemperance, those lewd Courses must not bear the Blame of it; the Fault is in the Air, or the Diet, or the Voyage it self; 'tis any thing kills them, but their own Extravagance and Unrulineſs, and no Man will charge his Death upon the harmless Arack. 'Twere to be wish'd, that our Sea-men and Factors abroad, wou'd more strictly observe the Rules of Morality, and Sober Living, in this respect; and not render themselves incapable of filling up their Stations, and doing Publick Business, by an Indulgence in those Liberties; which are at once a Reproach to Human Nature in general, a Damage to Themselves, a Disservice to their Country, and an Affront to their Sacred Religion.

From *Bantam* we were bound home for *England*: And considering the time of Year that we went this Course, we offer it as good Advice to all Ships coming towards the Cape at this Season, not to take up at an Anchor short *November.*

of

of *Soldania* Road at least, but rather to put in at *Penguin* Island, and Anchor there till the Wind serve them. In the Months of *December*, *January*, and *February*, the S.S.E. Winds are very furious there, from the New Moon to the Full, this is to be allowed; yet notwithstanding we esteem it dangerous to neglect this place, in hope of St. *Helena*, the finding of which is very uncertain, and thick misty Weather, and small Assistance afforded either by Sun or Moon, being likely enough to blunder the most skilful Sailor (perhaps to the loss of Men and Ships), at this Season of the Year.

In our passage between the Bay of *Soldania* and *England*, we saw great Quantities of the Sea-weed call'd *Sargossa* *, which lay in long Ridges at some distance from one another as the Wind drive, with which they continually alter'd and shifted. It has a Leaf like Sampier, but not so thick, and a yellow Berry very small: We found it scattering about from 22 Degr. 3 Min. North Lat. to 32 Degr.

We finish'd this Voyage, coming to an Achor in the *Downs* in *May*, *A. D.* 1617.

* See the Voyage made by the *Pearl*, where 'tis describ'd as having a white Berry, which therefore probably was another sort.

* Chap. XXIX.

Some further Account of the Proceedings of the Factory at Crangalor, *in the King of* Calecut's *Country. Taken out of the Memorials of Mr.* Roger Haves, *Resident at that place.*

IN the foregoing Voyage we have seen the *English* settling themselves in a new Dwelling in the Eastern Continent, and a potent Prince (hitherto a Stranger to them), giving them a kind Welcome at their Arrival. Our Nation had made her Successful Visits to all the Potentates and States almost round the *Indies*, but she had never yet made any considerable Attempt at the Friendship and Correspondence of the Great *Samorin* of *Calecut*.

That Prince, how worthy soever he might be of this Notice, yet was hitherto hardly capable of being a Friend to the *English*, because of his intimate Correspondence with the *Portugueze*, their most irreconcilable Adversaries. But that Band of Union being broke, and the *Portugueze* instead of Favourites now proclaim'd his Enemies; the Prince is prepar'd for a new Alliance, and the *English* are invited to take their places. And besides the present Distress of the War with the *Portugueze*, and the Desire of routing them entirely out of his Dominions (in which the Valour and Strength of the *English* might be of considerable use to him), there might probably be a more valuable Cause inclining the *Samorin* to this Friendly Carriage towards them. For the Noble Captain *Dounton*, the last Voyage he made into the *Indies*, (when the Vice-Roy of *Goa* was so fairly and throughly beaten by him) had made some Applications on the behalf of his Country, by the means of a *Mallebar* Captain, to the King of *Calecut*. He had desired him to move to his Prince, that a favourable Entertainment might be given to our Merchants that shou'd come into his Ports: And this, together with the encreasing Fame of the *English* in those parts, upon that signal Victory over the whole Power of *Portugal*, might dispose the Prince to yield to those Motions. And since that brave Person did not live to see the Fruit of his commendable Endeavours for the Good of his Country, the Praise and Honour of it must serve to adorn his Name and Memory, which will be far less mortal than he himself was.

The Articles of Agreement between the *Samorin*, and Capt. *Keeling*, were express'd in these Terms, and compriz'd under these following Heads.

UNderecon Cheete, *the Great* Samorine, *&c. To* James *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, *&c. Whereas your Servant and Subject*, William Keeling, *Esq; arrived in my Kingdom in the Month of* March, Anno 1615. *with three* English *Ships at the Port of* Cranganor, *in Latitude ten Degrees fifteen Minutes, and at my earnest Solliciation came ashore to see me: There was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the* English *Nation, as followeth:*

As I have been ever an Enemy to the Portugals, *so do I purpose to continue for ever: I do hereby faithfully promise to be, and continue a Friend to the* English, *and my Successors after me: To endeavour the taking in of the Fort of* Cranganor, *and to possess the* English *thereof, as their own, with the Island thereof, which is in length on the Sea-Coast nine Miles, and in breadth three.*

Provided, That I purpose to build therein a House for some of my own People, to the number of One hundred Persons.

I will also endeavour, with the Aid of the English, *hereafter to take in the Fort and Town of* Cochin, *belonging formerly to my Crown and Kingdom, and then to deliver it into the possession of the* English, *as their own proper Lands and Possessions: Provided, that the Charge of the Surprize be equally born, the one half by my self, the other by the* English *Nation: And the Benefit of the Spoils thereof, in whatsoever quality, the one half to belong me, the other half to the* English *Nation.*

Cochin promised, and covenanted, to be given to the *English*.

The Samorine *to have no Right, Title, or Interest, in the aforesaid Town, Precincts, or Appurtenances of* Cochin *at all.*

And the Samorine *doth also Covenant for himself, his Heirs and Successors, that the whole Trade of the* English, *in whatsoever Commodities brought in, or carried out, shall pay, yield, or allow no manner of Custom, Imposition, Tax, Toll, or any other Duty of whatsoever quality.*

And to these Covenants, which the shortness of time did not permit to amplifie; I the Samorine *have religiously sworn by the great God I serve, to perform accordingly; and that not only for my self, but for my Successors after me: And in Witness hereof, have laid my Hand upon this Writing.*

And the said William Keeling *doth promise, to acquaint the King's Majesty with the Premisses, and to endeavour his Majesty's Undertaking thereof accordingly.*

As for the Proceedings of the Factory (as far as appears by these imperfect Memorials) they were not so successful as one wou'd have imagin'd they might have been. Where the Fault lay is hard to determine, especially amongst so sly and subtle a People, and so perfect Dissemblers as the *Indians* generally are. The King carried it fairly to them, and the People seem'd fond of their Company, and yet some secret Obstacles prevented the growth and increase of Trade. 'Twas some time before they cou'd procure a Licence to carry their Goods to *Calecut*; however, that was permitted after many Delays, and the Factors went away to make a Trial of their Fortune at that place. *April*, *A. D.* 1615.

At their first coming thither, they were forc'd to take up in the Publick Custom-House for a Season, till a more convenient place was made ready for the Reception of them, and their Merchandice; and if the Welcomes of the People wou'd have done the Business they came for, they had undoubtedly made a very profitable Work of it. But tho' to have to do with good temper'd People be a great advantage, yet to be under the Command of an ill temper'd Governour, is a Disadvantage that in many respects overballances the contrary Advantage, and makes it of little use and significancy.

Now this was the misfortune of the *English* there, the Governour was a perfidious dissembling Fellow, a Friend only in appearance to them, but a real Well-wisher to the *Portugueze*. He did as much as he dared, or cou'd (without an open Affront to his Prince), obstruct the Designs of their Trade and Settlement in the Country; and wou'd, had it been possible, have totally dispossess'd the *English*, and restor'd the *Portugueze* to their ancient Seat and Privileges there again. Their Sufferings by the Governour of *Calecut*.

Our Factors being a little settled at *Calecut*, wou'd fain have given Notice to their Friends and Correspondents at *Surat*, of their new Establishment here; but the treacherous Governour wou'd not permit it, till all the Goods were sold off, that those at *Surat* (as he pretended) might be the better encouraged to come thither too. And when by his procurement a part of the Goods were sold off to the Merchants of *Calecut*, they were so dispos'd of, that they had as good almost have kept them still in their hands; for the Customers he help'd them to, were such as brought no ready Money; and tho' speedy Payment was promis'd, yet by their many Delays, and shuffling Tricks, the Debt appear'd to be little better than desperate. However, after this beginning of the Trade, he cou'd not defend himself any longer from their Importunities about sending to *Surat*; which was accordingly done, tho' the Attempt was attended with a very great misfortune: For the Messenger dispatch'd thitherwards, came back again with a Story, That he was beset by the way with Thieves, soundly beaten, and robb'd of all his Money and Letters: The Circumstances of which were such, as afforded shrew'd Suspicions, that the Fellow was robb'd with his own Consent, and for his own particular part lost nothing but his Honesty. The Governour too hung down the Head upon the Report, and discover'd some plain Symptoms of a guilty Concern in this matter.

Cheating Merchants.

Now all this while the Merchants of *Calecut* and *Nasapore*, were busie a buying, but it was all upon the Stock of Credit; the Trade went on, but no Money came in. And whether the Governour and the Debtors had agreed together to share the Profits of the Cheat betwixt them, or no, yet 'tis certain, that they did by Bribes procure him to get the Payment deferr'd, and put off from one time to another: So that if he was not a Knave of as great a magnitude as that comes to, yet he came as near the Proportions of such a one as he well could.

The *Samorin* himself, all the while, carried it with the same steddy Hand of Favour and Respect to them, and no convincing Circumstance appears, that renders his Fidelity suspected, or reflects any part of the Blame of the Mismanagement upon him: And if he was false, he was so with a wonderful deal of Art and Policy, and his Treachery was so fine, that (if it could be a pardonable Crime) it wou'd deserve it upon that score.

The Method they took to get their Money.

But the Governour and the Merchants were bare-fac'd, in comparison; these latter cou'd find no Money to pay their Debts, but they cou'd for Bribes and Presents to the Governour, in order to the securing his Protection and Countenance in their ill Designs. Some Course therefore must be taken, to force their Right out of the hands of these People, or they must resolve to be still put upon, in like manner, by every Knave of the Country; or else if not that, they must quite throw up their Business, and bid Adieu to all Trade at *Calecut*.

Now nothing cou'd give them a more happy advantage in this matter (had the best Fancy been set a Work to contrive one), than the foolish and superstitious Humour of the *Mallabars* *. From what monstrous Principle of Impertinence their Custom proceeded, is neither much material, nor very clear; but a Custom they had, of observing a total Abstinence from all manner of Food, and Washing, and every thing of that kind, as long as the *English* were within their Doors.

* This was a Bars length beyond the Folly of the Bramens, for they won't eat the Meat of other Peoples Dressing, but these won't eat their own, and at their own Houses.

These People indeed ought to have conceal'd, or dissembled this Custom, if they had resolv'd not to pay what they ow'd; or else they shou'd have fortified themselves in their Houses, and kept their Creditors out of Doors: For Famine is as severe a Punishment, as any the Sword of a Magistrate can inflict; and 'tis as bad every whit to be starv'd within Doors, as to be hang'd without. And tho' they were in no great danger of the latter, yet our Factors were forc'd to threaten them with the former, and that by getting into their Houses, and declaring their Resolution to stay till the Debts were discharged.

Here the *Mallabars* had three things left to their Choice, each of which was attended with its difficulty; either to pay their Debts, to deny their avowed Principles of eating with Strangers in their Houses, or else to starve with all their Provisions about them: The first was offering Violence to Temper; the second to Custom, and perhaps to Religion; the third to the Laws of Nature, and Self-preservation. In short, they chose the first of the three; Self-love prevail'd, and they agreed to pay their Debts; tho' they were not honest in so doing; no more than a Thief is honest, that resigns the Prey that will be forc'd from him; or a Rebel is loyal, that gives up a Fort, which Famine, and all the Plagues of War, will let him hold no longer.

By this Policy they pick'd up a considerable part of their Debts, tho' it came in several Driblets, a little parcel from this Man, and as much from another; still cloying them with their Company, till they cou'd hold out no longer, and then fifty or a hundred Fanos wou'd come out to procure their Release, and send the *English* going. From whence it seems likely, that the *Mallabars* did not suspect that the *English* were acquainted with that Custom of theirs, which gave them such an advantage upon them; for else they wou'd have guarded their Doors, and kept them out; had they been sure the others came with a design to make such use of it as they did.

December. This is the second deputure [departure] that the [illegible] has kept [illegible] recover. See Lord Vo[illegible] the other instance of it.

But it must be own'd, that besides their own Endeavours to recover the Money due to them, the *Samorin* himself took some care of the Affair, and employ'd some of his Nairo's to gather up their Debts for them; but these Villains, tho' they did no Business, wou'd come and demand a Reward; nay, go to the Debtors Houses, and squeeze Money out of them to put in their own Pockets, and never be concern'd about bringing away any for those that entrusted them. There was indeed at this time, hardly any Law, or Government, in the Country; and therefore no Justice, nor honest Dealing.

January. Attempt made by the Portugues

The *Portugueze*, about this time, came into *Calecut* Harbour, with a Fleet of thirty four Sail: There were only three *Mallabar* Frigats that lay there to entertain them; but they did it so well, that the *Portugueze* went off with a great deal of disgrace. Some of them that were forc'd ashore, were treated with the utmost Severity, hang'd up two Days by the Heels, and then tois'd into the Dens of the wild Beasts.

The Loyal Governour of the place had, as it seem'd, prepar'd very kindly for the *Portugueze*'s more easie Admission there; for he was gone from his Charge, most of the great Guns were lock'd up, and they had not Powder and Shot for them that were in the way, for above two Discharges.

February. Merch

The *Samorin* busie in his Wars, sent Letters to our Factors, wishing, that when the *English* Ships came, they would come to him at *Panean*; and to make them at *Calecut* easie in the mean time, bid them not be troubled about the Money that was due to them, for he would see them paid, tho' his Jewels were sold to effect it.

Here the Account breaks off, and our Factors are not so kind as to proceed to tell us, whether the King of Calecut *was as good as his Word or no.*

Some Observations of Capt. Peyton's, *concerning the* English *and* Portugueze *Trade, Factories, and Acquisitions, in the* East-Indies.

Factories settled by the *East-India* Company.

HE tells us, That when this last Voyage into *India* was made, the Company had Factories settled at these following places: At *Bantam, Jacatra, Surat, Amadavar, Agra, Azmere, Brampor, Calecut, Masulipatan, Patania, Siam, Benjarmasse, Succadania, Macassar, Achen, Jambi, Tecoo, Japan, Banda, Firando* in *Japan*.

As for the *Portugueze*, they have spread their Interest and Business into a far larger Compass than the *English* have, and take up much more room in the Eastern Parts than they; and besides have this advantage, that they are absolute Lords and Masters in many places; they stand upon a Foundation of Dominion and Property, whereas the *English* are only Traders, and whatever they do in the Western, claim no Dominion in the Eastern World. But this may appear no very great wonder, if two things be considered: First, That the *Portugueze* were earlier in their Visits to these Parts than we; they began before us, and

and having had a longer time to Work, 'tis not strange that they have done more Business.

But then they have other Ways and Methods to pursue the Enlargement of their Interest by, than the *English* Nation ever thought fit to practise, or submit too. All is Fish that comes to Net with them, and right or wrong they seize any thing that lies within their reach.

And then 'tis a fine compendious way to get the possession of a Country, to have a Bull from the Pope; and so enter to Rights upon the Privilege of Religion. 'Tis a mighty advantage to be the Sons of a Church, that has the Keys of the Nations hanging at her Girdle, and professes a Power to draw the Lines of Inheritance and Dominion all the World over. Such Helps as these (together with Force to make them effectual) may very well conduce to the propagating of an Interest, and the good Settlement of a People abroad in the World.

Portugueze Trade and Possessions in the East.

And if we consider Capt. *Peyton*'s Account, that follows, we shall find the *Portugueze* have thriven very considerably upon it. To begin from the Coast of *Africk*, and so on Easterly.

On the Coast of *Africa*.

They have a Trade upon the River *Quame*, in 21 Degr. 50 Min. South Lat. for Gold, Ambergreese, Elephants Teeth, and Slaves.

At *Mozambique* for the same.

At *Mombaza* for the same, in truck for *Guzurat* Commodities.

At *Magadexa* for the same, and several sorts of Drugs.

From all these places they drive a Trade to *Cambaya*, the *Red Sea*, and divers other parts, curiously observing the Monsons, which blow Westward in *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, *August*, and part of *September*; and Eastward all the rest of the Year; the small space intercepted between both, being either quite calm, or an uncertain mixture of many sorts of Weather.

About the Persian Gulf.

At *Ormus* they make a profitable Business on't. From hence they trade into *Persia*, *Arabia*, and *India*; they draw great Quantities of Pearl from *Balsora* hither, and with them, and other *Persian* Commodities, they send out a Ship or two yearly for *Diul*, upon the Coast of *India*, which they reach in the end of *August*, or beginning of *September*: This is as it were their Mint or Treasury too, from whence they pour out vast Quantities of Coyn (Rials of Eight), into other places where they trade: In short, next to *Goa*, 'tis certainly the best Post they are possess'd of in all the East.

At *Musket* they have a strong Fort and Castle, tho' no great Trade; they are not so much Merchants, as proud domineering Masters at this place: For here they keep all in the most servile Awe and Subjection about them, and give out their Passes and Licenses for the going up and down of other Ships.

Upon the Mogul's Country.

At *Diul*, near the Mouth of the River *Indus*, and at *Diu*, in *Guzurat*, where they have a very strong Castle.

Damon is entirely inhabited by them; and here they are fortified in a substantial Castle, and have, by Report, a Territory containing a hundred Villages taken in within their Lordship.

Serra de Bazion, which lies a little South from *Damon*, and borders upon the *Decanees*, this they are possess'd of; and between this place and *Chaul*, they have three Ports, *Gazien*, *Banda*, and *Maia*.

Upon the Coast of *Decan*.

Chaul is a large City, with a Castle, where they are well seated.

Debul has a Factory, but not any Fort.

Goa is their *Indian* Metropolis, the Seat of the Vice-Roy, and all the Gallantry of the Nation, and the general Rendezvous of all their Forces, both for Land and Sea Service. This place has a large share of Trade too: In short, here are the strongest Sinews that support and hold together the parts of their Eastern Empire, which were they cut, the mighty Body wou'd quickly fall and drop all to pieces.

Onor has a small Fort; *Barcelor* a Castle; and here they trade for Pepper, Ginger, and several sorts of Drugs.

Mangalor and *Cananor*, both strengthned with Castles, and affording the same Trade as the former.

Upon the *Malabar* Coast.

They are quite thrust out from *Calecut*; and the *Samorine* is trying to do the like at *Crangalor*, where they have a Fort notwithstanding.

Cochin is a place of considerable advantage to them; the City it self is strong, and the Castle like it; it enjoys a sweet Air, and has a pleasant Situation by the Sea-side, with a very convenient River for Ships to ride in.

Coulan, *Quilaon*, *Tuccatra*, all of them defended with good Castles, and mostly fill'd up by the *Portugueze*, either Laicty or Clergy: For St. *Laurence*, a Village belonging to one of them, is entirely a Nest of Friars and Jesuits.

We follow them next off from the Continent, but shall quickly step thither back again.

Upon the Isle of *Ceylon*.

Maner, betwixt Cape *Comorin*, and *Punto de Galla*, is a Town wholly theirs: So also is *Colombo*, and several other places upon that Island. They are working themselves in apace here; and if they hold on as they begin, the King of *Ceylon* will, in time, come to call him of *Portugal* Sovereign. Here they have a warm Trade for Cinamon and Drugs.

We now turn the Corner of Cape *Comorin*, and go up the other side of the Continent.

Upon the *Coromandel* Coast.

At *Negapatan* they have a Factory; but *Maliapore*, (or St. *Thomas*) a Walled City is their own.

Up towards the *Ganges*, they have several small Residencies, good Factories in some places, and every-where some Advantages or other, that make it worth their while to settle there.

In the Kingdom of *Bengala* they are possess'd of a good Town.

In *Pegu* they have a Factory; and so likewise in *Arracan*, and upon the River of *Martaban*.

At *Junsulao* they have a great Factory, from whence they lade vast Quantities of Tin for the *Malabar* Coast.

Upon the Continent on t'other side the *Ganges*.

At *Malacca* they are Masters of City and Castle, which are both very strong; and in being so, they are Masters of the best part of the Trade of all those adjoyning Countries: For *Malacca* has very few Cities (if any) that can pretend to Rival her all thereabouts, for the Sovereignty of Trade. But here the King of *Achen* is endeavouring to root them out; who if he succeeds, puts a Period to all the *Portugal* Greatness on this side the *Ganges*.

Coast of *China* and *Japan*.

At *Macao*, an Island on the Coast of *China*, they have a City with a Castle, and, as the Report goes, a very great Trade with the *Chinese* there.

In *Japan* they have no Fort nor Castle, but only a Factory, that Prince being so wise as to keep them off at Arms length, and not suffer them to take any manner of hold upon him.

And this is the Draught our Captain has given us of the *Portugueze* Acquisitions in the Eastern World.

CHAP. XXX.

* Note, All that relates to Geographical or Nautical Observations in this Journal, is inserted already into that of Capt. *Peyton's*, with whom the Embassador went over.

* *An Account of Sir* Tho. Roe's *Embassy to the Court of the* Great Mogul: *Taking in all the Particulars of those Transactions, with other things remarkable that happen'd during his Abode there. Collected from his own Journal.*

September, A. D. 1615. The Embassador sets out for the Court.

BEing come ashoar at *Surat*, and having repos'd there some little time, after my long and tedious Voyage, I began my Journey towards the Court of the *Great Mogul*.

The Country that lies between *Surat* and *Bramport*, as far as it fell within the reach of my Observation, is for the most part poor and barren; the Towns and Villages built of Mud, and other base Materials, and hardly a convenient House upon the Road for a Traveller to lodge in. There appear'd very little of the Pomp and Pleasure of *India*, or of its Riches and Fruitfulness, this way that I went, tho' other Roads might possibly discover more. At a certain Village call'd *Batherport*, two Mile short of *Bramport*, is their great Store-house of Ordnance; I saw abundance of Brass Pieces there, of the *Indian*-make, which seems to be very irregular, those Guns being for the most part as much too short, as the Bore of them (in proportion) is too wide.

November. Comes to *Bramport.* His mean Accommodations there.

Between this and *Bramport*, I was met by the Cutwall (or Marshal) with a good Attendance, and so conducted to the Lodging prepar'd for me. But my Apartment was so mean and scandalous, that I chose rather to lodge in my Tent, than take up with it; it consisted of four little Divisions, not so much like Chambers as Ovens, being exactly of that form, and a very small matter bigger. This sorry Treatment obliged me to send the Cutwall word, That I would depart the Town out of hand, since I was entertain'd no better: But he desir'd me to submit to it, at least for that one Night, and expressed so much unwillingness that I should go away in a discontent, that I yielded to stay there.

But there was a more powerful Reason to induce my stay, than all the Cutwall's Perswasions, and that was a kind of necessity I lay under of making a Visit to Sultan *Perusa* (the King's Second Son), who resided at *Bramport*, at that time. Here he lives almost in the same Royal Pomp that his Father does; a vast Crowd of Nobles, and a mighty Army is ever about him; and *Can Canna*, the Generalissimo of the *Mogul*'s Forces, manages all Affairs under him.

Goes to Visit the Prince, and the manner of his Reception.

I could not avoid waiting upon this Great Person, since to have past him by, would have been interpreted a very heinous Contempt of his Dignity, and an Affront to the King as well as himself. Besides, he was pleas'd to desire a Visit; and tho' that is but a civiller way of desiring a Present in these Countries, where no Prince is ever address'd without Complements of this nature; yet his Invitation added strength to the Obligation I lay under upon other Accounts. So I went to his Palace, taking with me such a Present as I thought might be grateful to him. I was receiv'd by the Cutwall at the Gate of the outward Court, in which were a hundred Gentlemen on Horseback, arm'd, and making a Lane, through which I was to pass. The Prince himself sate mounted up in a round Gallery, in the inner Court, with a Royal Canopy erected over him, and as rich Carpets spread before him. As I drew near him, an Officer came and told me, I must pull off my Hat, and touch the Ground with my bare Head; but that sort of Ceremony, tho' it might become his own Courtiers and Domesticks well enough, yet I (who was none of that number) upon the Privilege of my Character made bold to refuse it. But coming within the Rails, to the Steps of his Throne, I did him there that Reverence that I judged agreeable; in return to which he bowed his Body.

All the Grandees stood on both sides of him, in the most humble posture imaginable, with their Hands folded before them, as if they had been tied: And upon the Ascent was plac'd his Secretary, whose Business there, was to give him, in the concisest Terms, an Account of what was spoken or discours'd.

The Crowd of the Nobles and Attendants was so great, that I was willing to have gone up the Steps, and stood something nearer him; but the Prince told me, That could not be granted; and even the Great Turk himself, if he were there, shou'd not be allowed to do it. Then I desired the Liberty of a Chair; but that cou'd not be admitted neither; for his Highness assured me, That no Man, of how great Quality or Character soever, did ever sit in that place, but himself only: Yet as a more than ordinary Favour, I was permitted to ease my self, by leaning upon one of the Pillars that supported his Canopy. Upon the whole, I must say, the Prince carried it to me in a manner sufficiently courteous and obliging.

English Factory at *Bramport.*

The State and Pride of these *Indian* Princes is intolerable, and they will hardly upon any account whatsoever, abate the least Punctilio of Ceremony and Respect; but I believe I had as many, or more Concessions made me, than any of my Character, and the Prince condescended to lower Terms in treating with me, than the strict and nice Rules he usually observes, do allow of. He did the main Business I waited on him for, at the first Word, without the least scruple or hesitation; the settling of a Factory there in *Bramport*. He gave order for the Firman to be presently drawn up; which was to Authorize the Merchants both to come, and to reside there.

The Presents I made him, he took very kindly; and I had now gotten so much of his Favour, that I was invited to a free and familiar Conversation with him, in a more retired place. At that Publick Audience, and before so great an Appearance, he was obliged to consult his Greatness, and carry it with more state and distance; but he would withdraw into another Room, where all that stiffness should be laid aside, and I should have the Liberty (as he told me) of coming up to him.

But an odd Accident deprived me of this Honour: For a part of my Present to him, being a Case of Bottles fill'd with rich Cordial Waters, the Prince (who was going into the withdrawing Room) supp'd so liberally of his Bottles by the way, that he became wholly unfit for Company at that time. 'Twas a sudden turn, and the Strong-Waters were presently got up into his Highness's Head; but there they were, and that to such purpose, that he was forc'd to send an Officer to excuse his not calling for me now, and to desire my Company some other time.

Having finish'd all that required my stay and presence at *Bramport*, I proceeded in my Journey towards the Court. By the way travelling through the Country of * *Raja Ramna*, I had a prospect of the Ruines of the ancient and famous City of *Gurchito*. As the Prince himself is generally reckon'd the true Successor of *Porus*, whom *Alexander* the Great conquer'd, so this City is esteem'd to have been one of *Porus*'s Royal Seats; tho' the Old *Delly* that lies more Northward, is believ'd to have been the Capital City of the ancient *Indian* Empire. Amongst the Ruines of *Gurchito*, are to be seen the tatter'd Carkasses of at least a hundred Temples, all built of fair carved Stone, a vast number of Houses, Towers, Arches, and Pillars; of all which, devouring Time and Wars have only left so much, as is sufficient to make a Spectator guess what the place was formerly, and to lead him into some pleasant Thoughts of the Glory and State of old *Porus*'s Kingdom.

* See Mr. *Finch*'s Relation of his Travels thro' *India*, where the Castle is mention'd, tho' no Account of the City there.

Indeed, the Moguls themselves do contribute as much to the defacing and spoiling these Noble Remains of Antiquity as Age it self, and other Accidents have done. They take care to have all the Inhabitants entirely remov'd from them, and strictly forbid all manner of Reparation, and careful Endeavours of Builders, or any others, to preserve the decaying Strength and Beauty of those Buildings. The Reason of which is very hard to be imagin'd, unless it be, that they would have nothing appear great in the whole Empire, but what they themselves are the Authors and Founders of; and are willing the World should believe *India* had no degrees of Splendor and Beauty to pretend to, but what it has derived from their Family, since they became the Masters of it. Tho' if this be their Design, they are like to come short of it, unless they can bury vast Rocks and Mountains (with the Ruines of

of Cities and Castles upon them) under ground; unless they can sink those mighty Pillars (whose Foundations are so strong and deep below) quite down to the Center, or let them plunge into the great *Abysse*. For as long as any of these things are above ground, all People that have Eyes, will see what the old *India* was, and by seeing those remaining Monuments of it, will be perswaded that whatsoever this *Tartar* Family may have done towards the adorning of her, they have robb'd her of better Ornaments than they have given her; and with all the Advantages of their new and more modish Buildings, have left her far beneath the pitch of her own primitive Magnificence.

Embassadour arrives at *Asmere*, and his Entertainment by the *Mogul*. *January.*

From hence I proceeded in my Journey for *Asmere*, where the Court was at that time; and having rested some time in the Lodgings provided for me, went to have my first Audience. The Ceremonies of this were so like that of my waiting upon the Prince, the *Mogul* himself sitting in the same manner, and his Nobles and Attendants in the same postures about him, that it does not need any particular Description. It is sufficient to say that there is a lively representation of a Theater when this Monarch sits in State upon all publick Occasions. Himself and his great Men standing orderly about him upon the Ascents of his Gallery (rais'd to a considerable height) appear like the Actors on a Stage, whilst all the wondering croud below in the Pit are employing the utmost strength of Eyes and Ears, to see and hear what passes above. When I came into the presence, and had made my several Reverences to him, he was pleas'd to prevent my dull Interpreter and begin himself, bidding me heartily welcome; welcome to him who was the Friend and Brother of my Master the King of *England*. He curiously viewed his Majesties Letters, my own Commission as Embassadour, and the Presents I brought him in my King's Name. And because I had been ill a considerable part of the Journey, very kindly offer'd me the Care and Assistance of his own Physicians, and gave me a very great charge to look nicely to the preservation of my Health while I was in his Country; for which purpose he advis'd me to keep my Lodgings till I had perfectly recover'd my strength; and if in the mean time I wanted any thing necessary to my ease and refreshment, to send freely to him, whom I should always find ready to grant my Desires. If the Observations of the *Europeans* there present were just and impartial, I was receiv'd by him with more Expressions of Grace and Good Will than any Embassadour had been before. I had the Liberty granted of using the Customs of my own Country, and was not oblig'd to that very servile adoration, that kneeling and knocking of the Ground with the Head, that the *Turk* and *Persian* Embassadours can never be admitted into his Presence without. 'Twas allow'd me to pay my respects to him in the same manner that I did to my own Prince, and provided I observed those Ceremonies exactly, he would not impose those of his own Court and Country upon me.

One particular of his Majesties Present to this Prince being a fine Coach (a thing wholly new, and consequently to be presumed pleasing to him) he was so taken with it, that he got the same Night into it, and made some of my Men draw him about the Court. And his *English* Coach-man has a rare place on't, and will in all probability quickly get a very great Estate, since, besides a noble Salary which is allowed him, he seldom drives the *Mogul* any where, but he has a Present to the value of five or ten Pounds.

The Embassidour goes to see Sultan *Caroon*, and procures his orders for *Surat*.

The King's third Son Sultan *Caroon* having the Supreme Command of all things at *Surat*, the place of our principal Residence and Trade, I was for that Reason (as well as his Relation to the King) oblig'd to make him a formal visit. He is the King's favourite Son, and a most violent Enemy to all Christians; on which Account (fearing some affront) I first sent word of my design of coming to wait on him when he was pleas'd to receive my Visit. But the Prince prov'd much more courteous and complaisant than the Character of his Temper allow'd me to expect; he return'd me a promise of good Entertainment, and was far genteeler and civiler than he had promis'd to be. I deliver'd him a Present (not as from his Majesty, who was not then acquainted with his Title as Lord of *Surat*, a thing lately confer'd upon him) but as the Respect of our *English* Merchants, who did by me commend themselves to his Favour and Protection. And as he receiv'd all in very good part, so he promis'd the full and effectual Redress of all Grievances at *Surat*, and to give any Security that could be desired for the Quiet and Defence of our Factory there. This was as much as could be crav'd at his Hands, and having obtained this, I left him with no small Satisfaction at my Happy Success. And 'twas not long after before I had occasion to address the King himself (a second time) about these Affairs.

His second Audience of the King, and Firmans gotten for the *English* at *Amadanar*.

Our *English* seated at *Amadanar* had been horribly injur'd by the Governour there both in their Persons and Goods; having been imprison'd, fin'd, and strangely exacted upon every way. These corrupt Officers had got a trick of demanding new Customs at every Town as our Goods pass'd along to the Port, contrary to all the measures of Justice and the establish'd Rules of Trade. But this Burden was taken off effectually at my first Complaint; I think the Rascals escaped with their Lives, but they were strictly commanded to do Justice, and make restitution to a Farthing of all that they had so illegally extorted from the Merchants. And to make all this as sure as might be, there were two Firmans drawn up, in which was granted a compleat Release from all those new Customs, all Money or Goods taken upon that account order'd to be restor'd, and a Confirmation of all the Favours and Privileges formerly vouchsafed to our Merchants and Factors. But 'tis to be observ'd I never went to Court but I carried some Present or other, for the King always expects it, and that from every Body that comes about Business; be it ever so small he accepts it, even as low as the value of a single Rupie, and from many People it does not come to much more; so that considering this, it seems to be rather a piece of state, than any thing of the effect of an Avaritious Temper. 'Tis hard to suppose a Monarch as rich as all this noble part of the World can make him, that is able to pave his way with Gold and Precious Stones, and build him Houses almost with the same costly Materials; 'tis hard to imagine him so sordidly Covetous, as to demand a Rupie of an Inferiour or a Poor Subject, meerly for the lucre of the Money. And yet unless a Man complies with this Custom there's nothing to be done, and his Cause tho' ever so just must be ushered in with some acknowledgment of this nature, or never come before the King, for which Reason it may more probably be a Design of Policy than any base Intent to squeeze his Subjects, and rake away their Money from them, especially the poor ones, who observe the same Law in their proportion with the rest.

The *Mogul's* respect to Sir *Thomas Roe*, *March*.

What I presented his Majesty withal upon these Occasions, had generally the good Fortune to be very well liked, tho often of no great value; and the King took as much care to make those that were about him sensible of it, by several Methods in which he express'd his kind Resentments. He commonly made me stand nearer to him, and in a more elevated place than the rest of the Courtiers; and for this I needed not to wait his own Motion, or the Ceremony of asking leave, but come directly to the place appointed for me, doing all the stated Reverences by the way. Thus great and particular was his Respect to my Soveraign Lord and Master, whom he had no other way to Compliment so immediately and directly, as by his Civilities to my self who had the Honour to represent his Person there. But yet all this while the main design of my Embassy was not accomplish'd, nor in any good degree of forwardness. The King himself was kind, but his Courtiers and Ministers of State were some of them envious, ill natur'd, and Men of intriegue. There was wanting yet a more Solemn, Formal and Authentick Confirmation of the Agreement, than that by common Firmans, which were granted upon every trifling occasion, and till this was done, my Endeavours at this Court came short of their most desired Success. And some formidable Enemies stood in my way while I attempted the gaining of this. The Prince (*Sultan Caroon*) was not my Cordial Friend, notwithstanding all the Cares that had pass'd betwixt us, and the Civil Offices he had lately done me. Whether 'twas his hatred to the Christian Name in General, or any particular aversion for the *English* Nation or my self, I am not certain, but an Obstacle he was in my way, and a considerable, tho' a sly and secret one.

His Difficulties and Enemies at Court, with remarkable Passages.

But there was another whose Power was more to be dreaded than his, tho' he was the Kings Son and his Darling too; this was *Asaph Can*, the Brother of *Normahel*, the *Mogul's* most beloved Wife. This Woman was so much Mistress of his Heart, that she rul'd both him and the great Empire even as she pleas'd her self: She could command what Lives or Fortunes she would, places of Trust, Honour, and Preferments were at her disposc. To procure her Favour was the surest way for a Man to rise to any heighth of Dignity or Glory that he desired; for her Good-Will once gotten, the King's was certain and infallible, he being a perfect slave to her, and not able to deny her any thing that she ask'd. This Brother of hers was rais'd by her, from a base and sordid Condition,

to

to the ſublimeſt Poſts in the Empire, made (of an ordinary mean Fellow) a Prince, and the greateſt of Princes about the King, and which is more his Friend and moſt intimate Counſellor. Whatever Deſigns this Man had to carry on, 'twas only needful for him to engage his Siſter on his ſide; her Charms could make his way into the Kings Heart and Secrets, and diſpoſe the yielding Monarch to a Compliance, tho' Reaſon and Intereſt ſeem'd to ſtand in the way. And as theſe Perſons that are thus ſuddenly lifted up upon the Wings of Fortune to ſo vaſt a height above their own natural level, are moſt apt to forget themſelves, and take upon them to controul and govern others, ſo was this *Aſaph Can*; he preſum'd ſtrongly upon his great Alliance, ſet up for a Controuler in the Court, and pretended to have his Hand in the diſpoſing and ordering all Affairs that paſs'd. But it does not always happen that theſe People have their Wills, and carry all irreſiſtably before them: A managed Prince ſometimes comes to himſelf and takes the Reins into his own Hands, in ſpite of all the Arts and Tricks of his crafty Governours. The *Mogul* did ſo in the Buſineſs I am now going to relate; *Aſaph Can* could not keep him in order, and *Normahles* Charms were then out of ſight. I had all along truſted this Man with my Affairs, he being ſo near to, and ſo great about the King, and being wholly ignorant of his Good Temper and Virtues, I thought I might do it ſecurely. But by degrees I found I was left in the dark, my Buſineſs was delay'd and put off, and nothing but good Words and fair Promiſes came. For which Reaſon I reſolved to go to the King, and enlighten my ſelf by a plain and free Diſcourſe with him, which Honour was always permitted me without reſtraint, and the Favourite himſelf could not deprive me of it. When I came I was admitted my ſelf, but my Interpreter was excluded by the Intriegue of *Aſaph Can*, who fear'd he would interpret more than ſtood with his Intereſt for the King to underſtand. But this Plot did not take; and the King himſelf was the Confuſion of it, by beginning to enter into a Diſcourſe with me; for I was not able to anſwer any of his Queſtions, and by a Friend thereby ſignified as much to his Majeſty, adding alſo that my Interpreter was, for I knew not what Reaſons, denied the Liberty of coming in. Upon this he being call'd in, I commanded him to tell the King I deſired to ſpeak to him, which he willingly granted; but preſently the oppoſite Faction began to croud ſo cloſe about the Throne that all ſight and hearing was taken away, and one of them was ſo civil as to pull my Interpreter away by force. But I made him ſpeak ſo loud to the King that all their malicious Endeavours could not prevent his hearing, and commanding way to be made for me to my accuſtomed place within the Rails. Thus I ſtood on one ſide of my Interpreter while *Aſaph Can* planted himſelf on the other, on purpoſe to over-awe him, or bribe him into Silence, or a wrong and defective Story of the Matters he was to repreſent: This was evident by his Motions of winking and jogging, which I diſcern'd well enough, tho' the buſie Miniſter perhaps thought I had not. In a word I deliver'd my full mind to the King, and deſir'd to be at ſome certainty about the reſult of all my Endeavours and Attendance at his Court. Our Nation (I told him) could not ſettle ſecurely in his Country upon the Foundation laid at preſent, and unleſs ſomething ſurer and firmer were done, that might infallibly prevent all Diſorders for the future, our Endeavours to keep up a Trade there would be to no purpoſe. I added that I forbore filling his Majeſties Ears with Complaints (how juſtly ſoever I might do it) ſince I hoped his Royal Orders given out for that purpoſe would take away all cauſe of uneaſineſs and diſturbance for the time to come.

Naturmque furens quid Fœmina poſſit,

The Embaſſadour goes to the King to complain.

This laſt hint touch'd the guilty *Aſaph Can* to the Quick, and made him attempt to pull the Interpreter away; he knew himſelf concern'd too nearly to be quiet and patient while ſo tender a point as this was diſcuſſed. But however all his ſigns and intimations to the Interpreter to hold his Tongue would not do; it was out and too far gone to be recall'd; the King took the alarm in a violent rage, demanded who 'twas that had preſumed to do us any Wrong. He ſpoke with ſo much terrible fury and eagerneſs that I was willing to have let the Buſineſs drop, ſince I did not know what might be the effect of ſuch a ſtorm. I replied therefore that I would not trouble his Majeſty with what was paſt, but apply my ſelf for Juſtice to his Son, whoſe Favour and Protection I doubted not to obtain. But he (whoſe Paſſion had almoſt taken away the free and regular uſe of his Senſes) hearing the mention of his Sons Name, and believing I had accus'd him as one of the Plotters againſt our Liberties, began to exclaim in a more fierce manner *Mio Filio, Mio Filio,* and preſently order'd him to make his appearance and

The *Mogul* in a rage with his Son.

anſwer for himſelf. Now all the Company was in a conſternation; *Aſaph Can* ſtood by pale and trembling, and the beſt Courtiers in the Preſence did little better. When the Prince came the King reprov'd him in ſmart and bitter Terms, and would hardly give him leave to ſpeak in his own Defence. But as his Heat went off, I made him ſenſible of the miſtake; that the Prince was not accus'd nor his Name mention'd upon any ſuch diſhonourable account. And as the Prince had offer'd me a Firman before, ſo I did him the Juſtice to acknowledge it to his Father, tho' at the ſame time 'twas ſuch a one as the Conditions of it render'd wholly inſignificant; which alſo I was oblig'd to tell for my own defence from blame and cenſure. The matter carried on thus far, brought us into a very hot diſpute; *Aſaph* and *Mocrebchan* (now both come to again, and able to ſpeak after the late Fright) took the Prince's part, run down the *Engliſh*, argued for the *Portugueze*, and labour'd to prevent my Buſineſs from coming to a Head. The *Jeſuits* and all the *Portugueze* Faction put in, and all at once endeavour'd to gain the King from me. But as my contempt of thoſe Men was too great to allow me to undertake any particular diſpute with them; ſo my main care was to keep the King on my ſide, and poſſeſs him with an opinion of the Juſtice and Reaſonableneſs of what I propos'd. And in this point I ſucceeded ſo well, that all the reſt were ſilenc'd, and I had free Scope and Liberty granted me to make my Propoſals; the Sum of which was this, that for the more perfect ſecuring of Trade, Peace and all Offices of Friendſhip between the Subjects of the *Great Mogul* and the King of *England*, his Majeſty would pleaſe to order three Firmans to be drawn up, one of which ſhould be ſign'd by himſelf, the other by the Prince, and a third by my ſelf in the Name of my King.

In order to this all my Demands were to be preſented in Writing, to be peruſ'd by the King and his Council; which if they were approv'd of, the Firmans were to be made according to the Tenour of them with all diſpatch; if not, there was a compleat Anſwer given, and we knew what we had to depend upon. Thus this Buſineſs ended favourably in ſpite of all that would have confounded and perplexed it; the King and the Prince both engaged themſelves to Seal, if they found my Terms fair and reaſonable, and I did the like on the behalf of my Royal Maſter; and now the Aſſembly broke up. I can't omit taking notice of the King's mighty care and concern about the Preſents that his Majeſty of *England* would ſend him upon this ſtrict and ſolemn renewal of the League betwixt them. Methoughts it look'd a little mean and odd in ſo great a Monarch to trouble himſelf about ſuch trifling things; but the Cuſtom has obtain'd, and do it they will in ſpite of all their greatneſs that commands the contrary. To ſend him Gold or Jewels, or any rarities of that kind, which his own Country afforded in ſuch Plenty, and ſupplied the reſt of the World withal, this I told him would be to no purpoſe; but whatever things our Country yielded that were rare and excellent, and were ſtrangers to his, with all ſuch things he might be ſure our King would take care to gratify his Majeſties Fancy. And to do him Juſtice he was not ſolicitous at all about any of thoſe rich things mentioned, but was very earneſt to have a breed of *Engliſh* Horſes; and if I would procure him a Preſent of thoſe Creatures, it would be the greateſt Pleaſure I could do him. Now the difficulty of tranſportation was conſiderable upon the account of the length of the Voyage, and 'twas ten to one whether the Horſes came alive to *India* or no, at leaſt in any tolerable caſe, and fit for the uſe of ſo great a Prince; but all thoſe Objections were nothing to him, whoſe Fancy was ſtrongly ſet this way; the Horſes muſt be ſent for, and if they came lean and poor, he ſaid he would take care to fat them again.

The Embaſſadour gains his point in the Diſpute.

After this I found by ſome Intelligence that the Prince applied himſelf with great diligence to the work of ruining our Affairs at Court. He pretended to demonſtrate to the King that we were a Burden and a Detriment to the Country in compariſon with the *Portugueze*; that their Buſineſs amounted to vaſtly more than ours, and beſides brought his Majeſty Pearls and Jewels, whereas we never preſented him but with Pedlary Ware, Knives Swords and Cloth, and other Toys of little value. I concluded by this that the effects of the late Diſpute were highly diſobliging to him, and he took himſelf to be affronted by what I had done, tho' 'twas moſt evident that 'twas all a miſtake on the King's part, and there was no deſign in the leaſt of expoſing him to his Fathers diſpleaſure at that time. This *Aſaph Can* was ſenſible of, and confeſs'd to me afterwards that both the Prince and himſelf had all imaginable Reaſon to aſſert and juſtify my ſincere Intentions in that matter; but they both know

April. The Prince argues with the King againſt the *Engliſh*. *A. D.* 1615.

how

how to dissemble, and I found by their Actions that they believ'd me guilty, tho' by Words they declar'd me Innocent.

But now there was some prospect of the Removal of this Adversary of our Nation (the Prince I mean) away from the King's Ear and Councils; tho' perhaps our Circumstances would have been little mended by it upon other accounts; for tho' he was out of the way of doing mischief at Court, yet he was in the way of doing it somewhere else, and would be absolute and above controul wherever he was; and as no Complaints would signifie any thing against him while he was exerting his Power and Soveraignty any way to our prejudice; so it would be impossible ever to procure any Satisfaction for Wrongs he should do at that distance.

The Business design'd for him was the command of the Army employ'd in the *Decan* Wars, in which he was to succeed his elder Brother Sultan *Perwiz*, who was now to be recall'd from that Post. The King had consulted the *Bramens* and the Religious Men in this Affair, more than his Council and the Military Officers that were capable of giving him better Advice.

Sultan *Caroon* not loved by the Souldiers.

It was directly, contrary to all their Sence and Notions, that Sultan *Caroon* should have the Supreme Command devolved upon him; for all the Souldiers hated him for his barbarous tyrannical Humour, and the Generals themselves refus'd to stay, and declar'd they would lay down their Arms if he came amongst them. But the Council of the Holy Men prevail'd, and the Prince must go tho' all the Army runs away at his arrival; 'tis probable that those Wise Men had shewn the King some lucky Presages of Victory and Success under his management, either the Sacrifices had yielded happy Tokens to these curious Observers of them, or they had found it out in the Scheme of his Nativity. 'Twas thought by all that Sultan *Peruise* would resent his coming so high an affront that he would set himself to revenge it; and that if the two Brothers happened to meet, there would be some Blood shed on both sides before they parted again.

The King indifferent which of his Sons gets the better. *July.*

But the King made but a Jest of all this; let them fight it out (says he) and end the quarrel between themselves as well as they can, he that gets the Victory, and proves himself the best Man of the two, shall carry on the War against the *Decanees*, and the other shall come home.

But this may be of worse consequence to his State than he seems now to be aware of, and should his Sons (so violently enrag'd against each other as they are) involve the Country in a Civil War, the old Prince may have time enough to repent his easiness and indiscretion, and may wish his Affair had been more prudently conducted.

The *English* secur'd at *Baroch*, by the means of *Mahobet Can*.

Our Business at *Baroch* had about this time a favourable turn given to it, by the kind and discreet management of *Mahobet Can*, a Person of the highest rank in the Empire. He is a Man beloved of his Prince, greatly trusted by him, and seems one of the main stays and props of his Government. His good Qualities deserve all the Honours and Preferments that have been heap'd upon him, and 'tis hard to find in all this Court where the King's Favours could have been more worthily plac'd than here. The Prince Sultan *Caroon* has no Kindness for him; but as that's one Argument of his being an honest and good natur'd Man; so on the other side he neither fears nor cares for Prince, and that's as good a Proof of his Courage and Resolution. This Person made (at my first request) our Firman for *Baroch* as effectual as could be desir'd. The *English* therein had a House granted them just by the Governour's, by which means they were fix'd more out of the way of violence and treacherous usage, and nearer their Remedy in case of any Disorder. But there were all possible Precautions against any thing of that nature likewise, and severe Penalties to be inflicted upon those that should offer any Disturbance by Sea or Land. All the Customs were freely remitted; and they might buy, sell or transport any Commodities at pleasure, without the least molestation from any Man. These Privileges the Prince would never have granted, but now they were procur'd without his Favour, and so would (under the Protection of this great Man) be continued without the same. For the King who knew and lov'd his Loyalty and other Vertues, rewarded his Merit with a large and almost an absolute Power in the Country, to do and dispose things as he saw fit; so that he continuing our Friend (and there's no likelyhood of his losing the *Mogul*'s Favour) our Trade may thrive considerably, and we may be far more easie than ever.

Baroch will now be a safe retreat to us from the Injuries and Oppressions of the Prince, and by his remission of the Customs at least 1500 pound *per An.* will be saved, besides all the losses consequent upon searches into our Goods and other cheating methods practis'd by the common Officers; and lastly, our Trade and Privileges will not now stand upon so uncertain and precarious a Foundation as they must while we depend solely upon the Prince, where upon every change of Humour, or Bribe, or Story of a fawning corrupt Courtier, our Interest was shaken, and a building erected with no little cost and pains, every moment in danger of tumbling to the Ground.

By the way this Person made one discovery to me, which serves as well to evince the Integrity and Generosity of his own temper, as to shew the avarice and ill management of the Officers in all the trading Towns. The *Great Mogul* himself demands nor takes no Customs, neither is there any that way that comes into his Treasury. 'Tis the Governours do all this for their own private Advantage, they impose what Duties they please, and rigorously exact (what they think fit to demand) of all Foreigners they ha' to do with. And if the mischief stopt here and went no farther it were yet something tollerable; but are there is no bounds or their Extortion and Covetousness, so there is no end of their racking and preying upon Strangers; they ask what they will, and take what they ask, and 'tis well if they don't take more in to the Bargain. And in all these cases 'tis hard for a Man to come by a Remedy, nay, 'tis many times more chargeable and troublesome than the Disease it self; it must be only (if it be at all) by making ones own complaint in Person to the King, for there's no trusting any of the great Men about him to manage the Cause, or deliver the Sence of it to him, since 'tis infallibly certain that they'll never let him understand the Truth of it. They always observe these two Rules in discoursing of any matters of this nature to the King; either to speak what pleases themselves, and makes for the Interest of their own Faction, or else what they know will be agreeable to him and suites his Fancy and Humour, be it true or false. How unhappy (in this Respect) is the Condition of a mighty Monarch, who (while the World bows before him, and Crowns and Sceptres are laid at his Feet) is himself the most govern'd thing of all, and has his Mind and Sences under the management of others. The intriguing Courtiers that surround him keep guard upon his Understanding; measure out all his Knowledge to him, and shape and mould the Objects of it into what form they think best. Truth and Falshood both appear in the Colours they are pleas'd to dress them up in; and the Prospect of all Objects about him is presented by their Glasses, which make the Appearance such as serves their turn. The easie Prince (given up to his Pleasures) examines nothing, but takes all upon trust; all Cares and Troubles are excluded from his Happy Retirements; he gluts himself with the Joys of his own Palace, and lives trick'd and impos'd upon by the flattering Courtiers all his Days.

To finish all the Business I had to do in *India*, I wanted but such another Dispatch for other places, as I had now for *Baroch*, by the Civility of *Mahobet Can*.

But besides this Person, the King had the happiness of another very Great and Loyal Subject, as well as we our selves of a good and obliging Friend; and truly both these were so scarce in *India* at my being there (I mean Men of real Honour and Generosity, upright and disinterested in their Actions, such as dared to be truly zealous for their Prince, and just and kind to Strangers) that all we find of them may without any great trouble be mention'd. *August.*

The Civility of the Vice-roy of *Patan* to the Embassadour.

This was the Vice-roy of *Patan*; he gave me a large account of the State of the Court and Kingdom; the Interests, Characters, and Pretentions of the several Grandees that were concern'd in the Government. He did not spare the Vices of the Courtiers, but made keen Reflections upon them all; giving me all the Cautions in the World about standing upon my guard, and seeing and hearing with my own Eyes and Ears (as far as was possible) while I staid in this Court. He spoke with great Reverence and Piety of our Saviour Jesus Christ, commending his Laws and Doctrine, and expressing a high value for both. I found no Man in *India* capable of giving so agreeable an Entertainment as he, in pleasant and profitable Discourse; for he perfectly well knew the Laws and Customs of the Country, the Humours and Tempers of all People; and had gone through the Reigns of three Princes with glory, having been Favourite to every one of them. He had very often invited me to his House, and at last his more than ordinary importunities brought me to see him; and there I may say I had large Proofs how Noble, Hospitable and Courteous a Person my Host was. I could not defend my self from a liberal Present that he would needs make me, and the rather because 'twas the Product of his

own Government, in which a great deal of it is made. It was a parcel of the pureſt Loaf-Sugar, each of which Loaves weigh'd about 50 *l.* and the whole Cargo conſiſted of a hundred ſuch.

A greedy covetous Perſon might have made ſome Profit of the Converſation of this Generous, Open-hearted Man; Decency wou'd not allow my Acceptance of what elſe he wou'd have given me; but he reſolv'd to be reveng'd another way, and ſend a fit Perſon into *England* to Complement, and carry his Reſpects to my King. The place where he receiv'd and entertain'd me, was not his own Houſe (which he did not think pompous enough for the occaſion), but one of the King's Mohols, which he had borrowed for that purpoſe, as he might by his Great Intereſt with his Prince, any Palace in the Kingdom. I had not his Company at Dinner, any farther than juſt to eat Bread and Salt together, in Token of a firm Union and Friendſhip. He and his Great Men ſat at one Carpet, and I and my Company at another; for we being Chriſtians, and they *Mahometans*, their Religious Cuſtoms oblige them to this ſort of ſeparation.

This Perſon, beſides his Government of *Patan* (where he was Vice-Roy) was Lord of four Cities in *Bengala*; and for all together, he gave the King eleven Leckies of Rupies, all the Profits elſe being entirely his own, in the Diſpoſal of which he had an Abſolute Royal Authority, as indeed in moſt Caſes all over his Government. Beſides this, he had a Penſion of a thouſand Rupies a Day, and ſome ſmaller Governments and Places up and down in the Country: All which, how great ſoever it may ſeem, he aſſur'd me, that there were a great number that had double his Revenues, and above twenty that had the ſame.

* All things of this kind, and others relating to the Hiſtory of the Country, will be found in the next *Chapter*

But as to all theſe * things he had given a very full and exact Account of them in the Hiſtory of the Country during the late Reigns, compos'd by himſelf, and containing moſtly Matters of his own Obſervation and Experience.

Amongſt other things that paſs'd, he aſſur'd me, the King had a great kindneſs for me; and as a Mark of his particular Favour, had order'd *Aſaph Can* to ſend me his Picture, which I ſhould wear for his ſake. This Picture I receiv'd at my next going to Court, from the King's own hand as it were; for as ſoon as I came in ſight, he preſently call'd for't, and reach'd it out to *Aſaph Can* to deliver it me. And becauſe 'tis the Cuſtom at the receiving any of theſe Preſents, for the Party to kneel down and knock the Ground with his Head, (from which ſort of Reverences I had obtain'd Leave at firſt to be excus'd) he order'd that Miniſter not to demand any thing of that nature from me; which yet his ill Nature would have done, and ſome of the other Courtiers call'd aloud upon me to perform the accuſtom'd Ceremonies; but the King himſelf interpos'd, and ſaid poſitively, they ſhould not be urged upon me. The Gift was not worth above 30 *l.* in all, and yet 'twas five times better than what he commonly gives to his Nobles, when he would make any of them ſenſible of his greateſt Eſteem and Good Will. Theirs are commonly little Medals of Gold faſtned on to a Chain of four or five Inches long, and if they will have any Garniture for it of Pearls, or Jewels, they muſt adorn it at their own Charges.

The Embaſſador honour'd with the *Mogul's* Picture.

That beſtowed on me was ſet in a Gold Frame, had a Chain of the ſame to come about my Neck, and was beautified with ſome ſmall Pearl.

Painting is an Art in which this Prince is mightily delighted; he loves to ſee a curious Piece, and will diſcourſe of it with Skill and Judgment. And 'tis certain, that his own Country can, and does, furniſh him with Entertainments of this kind, and ſuch as a curious Fancy may be well enough pleas'd with.

Good Painters in *India*.

I could not have thought, that *India* had produc'd Artiſts ſo skilful and ingenious, as I have ſeen by ſome Pieces which His Majeſty ſhew'd me. A Picture which I preſented him, and was very confident no Workman in that Country could have tolerably imitated, was done with ſo much Art and Exactneſs, that I was puzzel'd to diſtinguiſh my own Original from thoſe Copies which were taken from it. The *Mogul* was mightily pleas'd with this, and boaſted of his Mens Skill to a high degree; he reckon'd it a kind of a Victory, and in a pleaſant way triumph'd over me accordingly. A great deal of Jeſt, and diverting Rallery, paſs'd upon this occaſion; but the Concluſion of it was, that I was to pay the Painter for his Work; and the King muſt needs know too what I intended to give him: Which matter was well enough made up betwixt us, and the Prince and the Painter both pleas'd.

So ſtrongly did his Fancy work this way, that not long after he ſent for me in great haſte to Court, and that out of my Bed too, tho' the Buſineſs was nothing but to ſhew him a Picture which ſome Body had told him, I had by me, and was worth his ſight: I roſe and carried it, and found him at that time of Night, ſitting in a very formal manner upon a little Throne, and ſo dreſs'd with Diamonds and Rubies, that there was no looking at him for the Luſtre of his Jewels. But the Beauty of my Picture ſhock'd him worſe than all his Glory cou'd have done the moſt vulgar Spectator. He ask'd, Whether ever ſo Divine a Creature lived, and that Copy had any Original in Nature to anſwer to it, or was only the meer Product of the Painter's Imagination? When I aſſured him, the living Original was well known to me, and vaſtly ſuperiour to the Picture in all Points of Perfection, his Admiration was proportionally heightned; and he then deſired that I would beſtow that wonderful Piece upon him, which he would look upon (he ſaid) as the moſt valuable Jewel he was Maſter of. A particular Obligation made me at firſt excuſe the parting with it, which I did in ſuch a manner as no way diſguſted him; but he continuing to preſs me, I freely reſigned it to him, as a Token of the profound Reſpect I had for His Majeſty, in parting with a thing ſo very dear and valuable to me. But the Prince (who ſeem'd rather to have done this to try me, than out of any real deſign to get the Picture) heartily accepted of my intended kindneſs, and refus'd to take it from me; only ſaid, His Painters ſhould take Copies of it, which his Queens ſhould wear, in Memory of ſo excellent a Beauty as the Original was.

September. The ſucceeding Day being his Birth-Day, himſelf, and all his Nobles, were very merry upon it: I was invited to the Ceremony too; and drinking his Health in a Noble Cup of Gold, ſet with Emraulds, Turquoiſes, and Rubies, he intreated me, when I had drunk the Wine, to accept of the Cup as his Preſent.

Solemnities of the Mogul's Birth Day. There were ſeveral Chargers of Rubies, and Almonds made in Gold and Silver, which were brought in, and thrown amongſt the Nobles, and them that ſtood about him. The King had Sport enough to ſee them ſcramble for them, which they did with a great deal of earneſtneſs; but as there were ſeveral in the Company that thought fit to forbear, and not tumble on the Ground for thoſe Toys, ſo I ſtood amongſt that number, and contented my ſelf with beholding the Sport. His Majeſty appear'd in all the height of Pomp and Richneſs of Dreſs that Day, and his Elephants were ſet out in all their moſt glorious Furniture too: They all paſs'd before him in great Order, and bowed very handſomely to him as they march'd along; which (all things conſider'd) I thought one of the fineſt and moſt agreeable Sights that Day afforded.

The falſe Dealing of Aſaph Can. At this time (having an opportunity) I moved *Aſaph Can* for the Diſpatch of our Privileges, which had been ſo long promis'd, and ſo unconſcionably delayed; telling him, If he wou'd not ſtir in the matter, I would immediately apply my ſelf to the King. He was very unwilling I ſhould do this; and aſſured me, I needed not trouble my ſelf ſo far, for the King had given Orders about it already; and it had been actually done and ſent to me, but that theſe Solemnities of his Birth-Day had taken them off from Buſineſs.

But theſe fair Words were only intended to keep me quiet, and prevent my carrying the Matter before the King again: This Miniſter never deſigned my Buſineſs ſhould be done by the King's immediate Orders, but reſolved to make me depend wholly upon the Prince, which he knew I was very backward (and with good Reaſon) to do. For after all this pretence, he had the Confidence to ſend me word, That he would procure nothing at all from the King, that any way concern'd that Prince's Government, as our *Surat* Affairs did; but that I ought to expect all from the Prince's Good Nature, whoſe Authority was great enough to grant Firmans ſufficient for our purpoſe.

The Embaſſador applies to the Prince. In this Perplexity I reſolved, for once, to try the Prince, and endeavour as much as could be to procure his Favour by a ſeeming entire Dependance upon him. And as an Introduction to the Concluſion of my Grand Affair, I propos'd to perfect a ſubordinate one, that related to our preſent uſe at *Surat*, for the Fleet that was now expected. I ſent in to his Secretary ſome certain Clauſes, which I deſired might be put into the Firman that was to be drawn up upon this occaſion; and quickly after went to wait upon his Highneſs, and to ſee the Succeſs of my Buſineſs. The Prince order'd his Secretary to give me the Firman, which upon peruſing I found ſhort and defective, ſeveral important things being left out, at leaſt very much alter'd and diſguis'd in the Expreſſion: Upon which Account I ſent it back again, with a Reſolution forthwith to depart the Country, and of prohibiting the landing any of our *Engliſh* Goods. But the Secretary very earneſtly per-

perswaded me to the contrary, and desired me but to gratifie the Prince's Humour a little in that one point of depending upon him, and craving the amendment of all at his hands; and I should certainly find him at last a far better Friend than I expected. Besides, he expounded the Firman in such a manner to me, that it appear'd quite another thing; with his Construction it bore my Sence very well, and when handsomely translated (and as he said, according to their true meaning) spoke the Language I desir'd.

The Prince's Firman reserved. *Bleker.*

I depended the more upon his Representation of it, because he had universally the Character of an honest and disinterested Man, and (to my own knowledge) no Lover of Bribes; which is a very rare and high degree of Vertue in this Court. I took the Firman therefore, and was at present well satisfied to have gained this Point.

The Business of the *Decan* Wars hung yet in suspence, and this mighty Monarch's Arms did not prosper in that Country. Sultan *Perwise* was now come from his Charge, and advancing near the Court, hoped to have had the Favour of kissing his Father's Hands: This the Old Prince had granted, had it not been for *Normahal*, who was employed undoubtedly by Sultan *Caroon*, and that Faction, to divert the King from shewing this Kindness to his Elder Brother.

An Instance of the arbitrary Power, and absolute Government of a Woman.

The Charms of that Woman (which could work him into any sort of Compliance), prevail'd with him at this time, to deny his Presence to a Son that deserv'd it; and to command him to a far distant Post.

Like some abject Slave, that could procure nothing but by humble Entreaties, so did this great Prince on his bended Knees beg the Liberty of seeing his Son; but the imperious Woman wou'd not grant his Request; she proudly check'd the Motions of his yearning Bowels, and commanded him in spite of Nature, to send his Son away.

Now Sultan *Caroon's* way to the Wars of *Decan* was plain and open before him; and he propos'd to himself to obtain a great deal of Glory by it. But the Great General in those parts, &c. *Chan Canna*, was so much against it, that he sent the King a Letter to forbear sending that Prince to command there; and rather (if one of his Sons must be in play) to order his youngest to undertake that Post.

The Cause of the ill Success of the Wars in *Decan*.

Now the King had as much mind to have *Chan Canna* away from the *Decan* Wars, as that General had to keep Sultan *Caroon* out. For in plain Terms, he was suspected of a treacherous Correspondence with the Enemy; and 'twas confidently asserted, that he had a Pension from the King of *Decan*: No wonder then that the War succeeded no better, and that the vast Armies of the *Mogul* had not yet beaten the *Decanees* out of the Field; but on the contrary, were continually insulted by them. The King was partly sensible of this, and therefore commanded him to come to Court: But he was so politick and civil to himself, as to desire his Majesty's Excuse; he had no mind to be poyson'd, or have his Head cut off; and going to Court in his Circumstances, had very probably been going to Execution.

Upon this the King resolv'd to send his Son Sultan *Caroon*, and to countenance his Reception, determin'd to follow himself with another great Army. But the subtle *Chan Canna*, that saw this Storm a coming, and knew where the force of it would light, endeavour'd by an Artifice to divert it, and so prevent the Danger that threatned him. He perswaded the *Decanees* (who were entirely at his Service), to send Embassadors to the *Mogul*, to desire a Peace, or at least a Cessation of Arms for some time. But this Trick would not take; and the Embassadors (tho' they offer'd very advantageous Terms) cou'd not bring their Business to bear. For the *Mogul* turn'd them over for an Answer to his haughty ambitious Son, with whom alone he had left the Power of Peace and War: And the Prince absolutely rejected their Proposals, telling them, He would enter into no Treaty till he had appear'd in the Field, at the Head of his Armies.

The *Mogul's* Eldest Son most acceptable to the Country.

All the Country dreaded the Effects of this Prince's violent aspiring Temper; the King himself could not but see it too, and yet hardly dared to controul him. His two elder Sons were discontented, as well at the Father's Easiness and Indulgence, as at the factious usurping Practices of this Son; and all Men expected that the Feuds and Animosities between these Brothers, would involve the Country in the greatest Confusion, whenever the Old Prince went off the Stage. The Wiser Part very well foresaw, that the best way to prevent these Calamities, would be to secure and establish his Eldest Sons Title to the Crown, before he left it himself. For this Prince was so much the Darling and Desire of all the People in general, (and it seems justly so for his admirable Vertues) that in case any of his Brothers shou'd endeavour to disturb him, or stand in Competition with him, his Interest in the Hearts of the People was so good and great everywhere, that no opposite Faction would be able to stand before him.

This Noble Prince (Sultan *Curseroon*) was at this time, and had been a good while, under his Father's Displeasure) at least under the external appearances of it; for 'twas thought the *Mogul* loved him deeply in his Heart, tho' he fancied the Brightness of his Vertues, and Illustrious Actions, did render his own Glory less conspicuous, and therefore condemn'd him to a Life of Solitude and Confinement.

But 'tis certain the People did not adore and love him more, than Sultan *Caroon*, and all that Party, hated, maligned him, and contrived his Ruine: But before I mention the Designs and Intrigues carried on by them against this Prince, I must digress a little into the first part of his Story, and those Circumstances in his Grandfather's Reign, that made way for some of these Scenes that appear'd in *India* at my being there.

The Story of Sultan *Curseroon*, and his Father, this *Mogul*.

When *Ecbar Sha*, the Father of the present *Mogul*, was busily employed in the *Decan* Wars, this Son of his took that opportunity to attempt the Dethroning of his Father, and fixing the Crown Imperial upon his own Head. The Old Prince, upon the News, quickly brought his Victorious Army from conquering Foreign Adversaries, to chastise this domestick and more dangerous Enemy, that was now ready to seize the Castle of *Agra*, and make himself Master of all his Treasures. Being come pretty near him, he sent him word, That he should take his choice, either immediately to lay down his Arms, and throw himself upon his Mercy; or else prepare for a Battel, and leave Matters to be determin'd by the Chance of War. The Prince accepted the former of these Proposals, thinking it safer to trust his Father's Mercy, than to stand a Trial with his well-known Valour, and therefore without any more adoe, humbled himself at his Feet; and so (after some Disgraces, and a short Imprisonment) was restor'd again, at the Importunities of his Mother and Sisters. But 'tis to be noted, that while he was thus up in Arms against his Father, the Old King, to punish him for his Rebellion, disinherited him, and proclaim'd Sultan *Curseroon*, his Eldest Grandson, Heir Apparent of his Empire. 'Twas but a few Months after all these Tumults were quieted, that *Ecbar Sha* paid the appointed Debt to Nature, and by Dying gave Life to new and worse Troubles than those he had so lately compos'd. For then his * Son (the present King) not at all regarding his Father's former Act against him, resolved to be his Heir, and by main force thrust himself into the Throne; possessing himself at the same time of all the Royal Treasures, and the Strong-places of the Kingdom.

* Some call him by the Name of *Selim*, others by that of *Gihangier*.

On the other hand, Sultan *Curseroon* presuming upon the Title confer'd on him by his Grandfather, took up Arms to maintain his Right; and flying to *Labor*, gather'd an Army there, and was proclaim'd King. His Father very quickly served him as before he had been served himself; sent a Power after him to reduce him to his Duty, which the Valiant Prince as soon gave Battel to, and entirely routed. But fresh Armies still pouring in upon him, and his Father himself marching towards him with another very great one, the Prince's Men were quite tir'd out, and were able to hold the Field no longer.

The unfortunate Prince himself fled away with a few Horse towards *Cabul*, and so for *Tartary*; which if he had reach'd, his Father would have been put to some trouble to have recover'd him again. But in his Way being to pass a River, his Over-eagerness to get out of the reach of his Enemies that pursued him, made him so liberal in his Promises of Rewards to the Water-man, that he was suspected and discover'd: His Gold betray'd him, and told that he was the Prince. The Water-man having smelt out who he was, in the middle of the Channel, leap'd out of the Boat, and swimming to the opposite side, went and inform'd the Governour of the adjoyning Town what a Passenger he had in his Boat. This was very grateful News to that base Officer, who hop'd to raise his own Fortunes by the Ruines of the Prince; and to do his Father the most endearing Service possible, by bringing back his Fugitive Son (and the Disturber of his Peace) a Prisoner to him. So he came down to the Water-side with a Troop of Horse, and there saluted the Prince with all the Humility in the World, complemented him with the Title of King, and invited him to Repose at his House: But after all, the Villain having him in his Power, lock'd him up, and put a strong Guard upon him, and then sent Tydings to the King of the Noble Action he had perform'd.

The Prince from hence was carried bound and chain'd upon an Elephant to his Father, who treated him with less of the Mildness belonging to that Character, than the Scorn and Revenge of an angry insulting Conquerour. All his Soldiers and Adherents, that encouraged or supported this Rising of his, were executed with an exemplary Severity. As for the Prince himself, the Report went, that his Eyes were put out in the place, where the last Battel was fought; but the truth of the matter was, that he was blindfolded with a Napkin, which his Father set his own Seal upon, and so sent him away Prisoner to the Castle of *Agra*.

This was the Original of the Controversie between the *Great Mogul* and his Son; this the Cause of his present Discountenance, and consequently (considering how he was loved) of the Discontent and Sorrow of the whole Country.

But his envious Brother, Sultan *Caroon*, with his Faction, thought the King had dealt too mildly with him, in condemning him only to a bare Imprisonment; and therefore (looking upon him as the Grand Obstacle in the way of their ambitious Designs) restlesly pursued and plotted his Destruction.

The Plots carried on against Sultan *Curseroon*.

He was at present the King's Prisoner; but they vigorously endeavour'd to make him theirs; and what they wou'd have done with him, could they have got him into their hands, is easily to be imagined. They knew they could not prosper, if Sultan *Curseroon* (the Glory of the Nation, the Delight of the Nobility and the Soldiers) lived; his Life would be a continual Check to their wicked Practices and Designs, and in time might prove the Punishment of them too), and therefore he must die; he must be dispatch'd out of the way, that they may do their Work without fear or disturbance.

Asaph Can, and *Normahal*, were both deep in this Plot, and there was some Reason for't too; for besides the near relation of Ill Nature and Vicious Qualities, in which Sultan *Caroon* and *Asaph Can*, were strictly united to one another; there was a Bond of Affinity between them, the Prince having married his Daughter. So that his Interest and Ambition, which both prompted him, to take all possible Measures for the fixing of his Son-in-Law upon the Throne of *India*, did consequently engage him against the Life of the brave Sultan *Curseroon*: As for *Normahal*, the Reason of her Concern is evident; 'tis enough to say, that she was *Asaph Can's* Sister, and an Enemy to Vertue and Goodness.

Asaph Can, &c. address the King for the keeping of his Eldest Son.

These pious Plotters having perfected their whole Design amongst themselves, began to attempt the King for the Delivery of Sultan *Curseroon* to their keeping. And first of all *Normahal* (his Witch) comes upon him with her Enchantments; she uses all the Arts of a Woman to soften him to her Will; she sighs and melts into Tears before him, casts a dying languishing Look upon him, and seems to be overwhelmed with Grief and Sorrow. She fears His Majesty's Life and Person are expos'd; that Sultan *Curseroon*, tho' a Prisoner, has not lost all his aspiring Thoughts, nor learn'd from his Afflictions, that Lesson of Duty and Loyal Regard to a Father, that she cou'd wish: And this puts her into an excessive Passion, she can't enjoy her self with all the Glory of her State, nor command an easie Thought, while His Majesty (who is dearer than all to her) appears to be in any danger.

The King easily understood the Drift and Design of all this; but yet since she did not express her self plainly, he was contented to be thought ignorant of her meaning at that time; had it come to a downright Request, perhaps his Constancy had been shaken.

This Attempt not succeeding, *Asaph Can*, and his Father, (a Man so like him in Temper and Qualities, that one might safely have sworn him a Chip of that precious Block) these undertook to make the next. And they went another way to work: These Gentlemen were possessed with Sentiments of extream kindness and tenderness for Sultan *Curseroon*; they studied his Honour and Safety, and therefore told the King, 'Twould be far more agreeable for him to be put into the hands of a Brother that loved him, where he might live like himself, than to be left in the Custody of an ordinary Jailor, or to have an inferiour Guard set upon him. For Sultan *Caroon* to be his Keeper (who to be sure wou'd use him well) this wou'd make his Imprisonment easie to him; whereas his present baser Confinement, did but fill him with black melancholy Thoughts, and cherish Principles of Discontent and Revenge.

The King happen'd to be very drunk at this time, and was so far from thinking, that he could hardly speak; and so between sleeping and waking he gave his Consent to what they desired; which for all he knew at that time, might have been the cutting off his own Head: But they knew his Condition at that time, and their Business requir'd Drunkenness or Distraction for the doing of it. But however having the Shadow of an Authority for their Proceedings, away they went with a strong Guard to demand the Prince of his present Keeper; a certain Raja, a Resboot, to whom the King had committed him. But he like an honest and courageous Man, refus'd to deliver him into their hands; he urged, the King had given him the Charge of his Son, and he would die in the Defence of his Trust, before any other Person but the King should take him away again. This Resolution and Faithfulness of his was highly commended by the King afterwards; and he charged him to hold it on, and take no Notice of any other Commands that should pretend to contradict his first Orders.

The Prince Keeper refuses to render him.

But notwithstanding this Baulk, the other Party prosecuted their Design with fresh Vigour, and strong Importunities. They told the King so many fine Stories, and urged him with so many Arguments, (which the easie Prince never was at the pains to examine the strength of) that at last he gave effectual Orders for the Resignation of him: The brave Raja, his Keeper, with his Soldiers, were discharged, and the Guard of that Cut-throat Faction took possession of him.

He is respected to them, as all the Court try pretends at it.

This put the Court into an Universal Mourning and Murmuring too, at the Folly and Dotage of the King, the Ladies of the Seraglio were all in Tears, and the Prince's Sisters swore they wou'd keep him Company in Death, for that they reckon'd wou'd quickly be his Fate. The King sent to pacifie these discontented Ladies, and thought *Normahal* the fittest for that work; but they curs'd and threatned her, and refused with all the Indignation in the World, to see a Person, whom they knew to have been so deep in the Plot against Sultan *Curseroon*. 'Tis not easie to imagine the Confusions and Stirs that were consequent upon this Event; the Stories that were told, the Reports rais'd and spread about, especially amongst the common People, who as they are always full of Noise and Tumult, and put into a Ferment by the least Breath of Wind that blows upon them, so they were now remarkably so, and no stormy Sea was ever more unruly.

A Persian Embassador.

But to divert them a little in this Conjuncture, there comes a *Persian* Embassador to Court, with a most glorious and splendid Equipage, and as rich Presents for the King; some said he came to mediate a Peace for the *Decances*, the Conquest of whom would be a considerable Enlargement of the *Mogul's* Power and Dominion, and consequently render him a more formidable Neighbour to the *Persian* King. But many believe 'tis for a Supply of Money for carrying on the War against the *Turk*; and 'tis not the first time the *Persian* has borrowed here; the inexhaustible Treasures of *Agra*, &c. have been often set open to him, and afforded him large and liberal Recruits. This is the more probable, considering the humble and submissive Carriage of this Embassador, and that extremity of cringing flattering Respect he pays to the *Great Mogul*; to the Dishonour of his Character, the Offence of his Nation in this Court, and to be sure (without having private particular Instructions) to the affronting of his Master. He prostrates himself upon the Ground, as before a Deity, knocks the Earth with his Head, as if he would beat his way in; and is even Religiously Devout in all his Postures and Ceremonies that relate to the King. Yet the King carries it with a great deal of State and Distance towards him; he only made a small Motion with his Body, at the Reception of the King of *Persia's* Letter, and said no more, but, *How does my Brother?* He allows him but an inferiour place in his Presence, a World of Nobles and Officers standing above him, tho' the *Persian* takes it all without dispute or murmuring; in that he carries it like a Man that knows his Prince's Occasions and Necessities, and the *Great Mogul* uses him like a Borrower.

November. Sultan *Caroon* goes to the War.

Sultan *Caroon*, about this time, began to set forwards towards the Army: Before his going he had promis'd me in the King's Presence, and that of a great Assembly of Courtiers too, That all my *Surat* Business should be done, and Content given me to the full.

But this kindness was not so much the effect of any Good Will in himself, as of the Power of the new Presents that were coming; for our *English* Ships were got into *Swally* Road, and the Prince was in hopes of being shortly gratified.

There were the King's Orders too (as well as the Prince's Engagement), That all the Goods and Presents that were to be brought from *Surat* hither, should not be opened nor examined by the way, but pass undisturbed to my hands; as also, no Custom or Duty to be exacted for any of them: The Demonstration of the Prince's Honour and Truth in the performance of all which, will be added in its place.

There

The King's Progreſs.

There had been a Talk a good while, that the King and Court would remove and go a Progreſs; and now that troubleſome time came on. The Tents were pitch'd abroad for their Reception, the Elephants, Horſes, and all ſorts of Carriages ready in ſuch abundance, that one would have fancied it almoſt the remove of a whole Nation.

The King it ſeems loves to take his Pleaſure this way; not to confine himſelf to any one certain place of abode, but to fix his Court here and there, as he pleaſes, rambling up and down, and enjoying the Delights of his Country.

All Foreign Miniſters, and Embaſſadors of Princes, are obliged to bear him Company, beſides Trades-men and Artificers of all ſorts. The King loves to march with a vaſt multitude after him; and if they are not diſpoſed to follow, he orders the * *Leskar*, where they were laſt, to be burnt, and ſo fires them out of their Tents.

* This movable Court is call'd the *Leskar*.

'Tis indeed a noble and a delightful Figure that the *Leskar* makes, when 'tis all fix'd in order; when it has the advantage of a pleaſant Situation, and the Spectator of a free and open Proſpect. I thought it a greater Rarity than any City in *India*, I had the opportunity of ſeeing; for beſides that, 'tis of a larger Compaſs than perhaps moſt Cities are (except thoſe of the very firſt Rank and Character), 'tis alſo erected and finiſh'd in ſo very ſmall a time, by the multitude of Hands that are at work, that it looks like a kind of Creation, and mightily encreaſes the pleaſure of contemplating it. To ſee a vaſt empty Plain, that ſhews nothing but the ordinary wild Appearances of Nature, in a few Hours transform'd into a regular, uniform, beautiful City; to ſee it divided into Streets, adorn'd and cover'd over with the ſplendid Pavilions of Princes and Courtiers, and all this Glory riſe up in a few Moments, and dazzle the Eyes of a Spectator of a ſudden; this excites a more delightful wonder, than to have ſeen the ſame thing advancing leiſurely and by degrees to that perfection.

Deſcription of the *Leskar*, and the Conveniences of it.

And I took notice, that this particular *Leskar* was begun, ſet up, and finiſh'd, in four Hours ſpace, tho' 'twas done with very great order and exactneſs, and was full twenty *Engliſh* Miles in Circuit, and ſome ways near ſix Mile long. All the Shops, and other Apartments of Trades-men were ſo diſtinguiſh'd by Rule, that every Man, all over the *Leskar*, knew where to go readily for the ſupply of his Wants. Every Artificer, and every Man of Quality, knows his Ground, what Compaſs, of which ſide, and how far from the King he muſt pitch his Tent. The Royal Pavilion is erected in the Centre of all, and no Man raiſes his nearer to it, than the diſtance of a Musket-ſhot, every way round about.

The King, in theſe Progreſſes, relaxes his Thoughts and Cares of Publick Buſineſs, in great meaſure: In the *Leskar* he beſtows many of thoſe Hours upon Sports and Diverſions, that are ſpent in State-Affairs when he is in his Palace. Here he hunts and hawks, and ſwims about in his Barges upon the fine Rivers and Ponds that lie in his way, inſtead of paſſing Judgment upon Criminals, and hearing the Diſputes of his wrangling factious Noblemen. In ſhort, tho' in *Agra* or *Lahor*, he may appear with more of the rich Pomp and Magnificence of a King; yet here he enjoys more of the Pleaſure of his Greatneſs, and ſits far more eaſie than upon his ſublime Imperial Throne.

An odd Cuſtom.

The *Perſian* Embaſſador, and my ſelf, were put to no ſmall Trouble and Charge, to accommodate our ſelves with Conveniences for keeping Company in this March. For the *Leskar* at *Aſmere* (from whence the Remove was) was fired by the King's Order, and in the Hurry Carriages were ſo ſcarce and difficult to be got, that we were left behind for ſome Days, in all the Diſtreſs that a ruinous (and almoſt emptied) place cou'd be ſuppos'd to be the occaſion of to us. The *Perſian* ſcolded and brawl'd moſt bitterly to be left ſo; but there was no Remedy but Patience; nay, he fought and beat about him like a Madman; but all would not do; every Body was buſily employ'd to provide for themſelves, and we that were Embaſſadors muſt do ſo too, or elſe reſolve to ſtay behind: However, we made ſhift to ſet out at laſt, and in a few Days overtook the King, who march'd but ſlowly on.

December.

One thing happen'd at the King's ſetting out, that procur'd wonder to all Men; tho' it gave as much Pleaſure to all the true Lovers of the King and their Country, as it did Vexation and Diſappointment to the wicked deſigning Faction of the Court. This was the taking Sultan *Curſeroon* out of the hands of his cruel Jailor.

Sultan *Curſeroon* fetch'd out of Priſon by the King his Father.

The King, when he came by the Houſe where he was Priſoner, order'd his Coach to ſtop at the Door, and ſent for the Prince down; and then commanded him to aſcend one of the Royal Elephants, and ride along by him. The Joy of the People was raiſ'd to the higheſt pitch, and the King procur'd himſelf a great deal of Praiſe, and many good Wiſhes and Prayers by this Action.

'Twas indeed high time to fetch him away, if he lov'd him, and deſired the continuance of his, for the Wretches about him were endeavouring to put their Plots againſt it in execution.

'Tis ſaid, that ſome Ruffians belonging to Sultan *Curoom*, his Brother, had attempted to get into his Apartment to murther him; but the faithful Porter refus'd them entrance, and ſtood upon his Guard. The Queen-Mother went and gave Information of this to the King; which 'tis probable did alarm him, and put him upon taking this Courſe to ſave the Life of his moſt valuable (and I think moſt beloved) Son.

But there was another paſſage Introductory to this Delivery, which gave the King a very fit occaſion to manifeſt at once his own Authority, as well as Fatherly Affection to Sultan *Curſeroon*. *Aſeph Can* had been lately to ſee this Prince his Priſoner; but carried it very rudely to him, preſſing boiſterouſly into his Preſence, and doing no manner of Reverence as was decent and due to the Eldeſt Son of his Sovereign. Some ſay, that he attempted to pick a Quarrel with him, and knowing the Prince's brave and generous Courage, that ſcorn'd to put up an Indignity, endeavour'd to provoke him to draw; either with a Deſign to call in his Ruffians to revenge it, or elſe to have a Story to tell the King, that his Son was wholly ungovernable, and drew his Sword to kill his Keepers, and ſo make his eſcape. But the Prince by his Patience and Prudence ſpoil'd the Deſign; he deſpis'd that ſordid inſolent Perſon, and kept his Sword in his Scabbard, only he got a Friend to acquaint the King with the Saucineſs of *Aſaph Can*.

The *Great Mogul* enquires about his Son, and rattles *Aſaph Can* ſoundly.

The next time the King ſaw this honeſt Man, (and 'twas before the whole Court too) he ask'd him, When he viſited his Charge laſt? What he ſaid to him? And what Reſpect he ſhewed him, when he approach'd him? Theſe ſtartling Queſtions confounded the guilty Man, and put him quite out of Countenance: He found the King was made acquainted with his Carriage, and therefore was forc'd to confeſs the main of the Story, only varniſhing it a little with a plauſible Lye or two, to make it as eaſie as might be on his own ſide. But the King told him for his Comfort, He wou'd make him know Sultan *Curſeroon* to be (as his moſt beloved Son and intended Heir), ſo alſo his Lord and Prince; and tho' what was paſt ſhould be forgiven, yet if ever he was guilty of any Irreverence for the future, he would make his Son trample him under his Feet.

This was a plain Diſcovery of the King's Mind, whatever his former Actions had ſignified to the World; and 'twas as manifeſt a proof that all his paſt Severities to this excellent Son, were a kind of Violence to himſelf, and the meer effect of the over-ruling Charms of his imperious *Nourmahal*.

The Court went on in their Progreſs, and travell'd over Woods and Mountains, and rough imperious Ways, that made the Journey far more a Toil and a Burden than a Pleaſure, which it appear'd at firſt to be deſigned for. Abundance of Horſes and Camels periſh'd, Coaches, Carts, and Tents, were torn and ſpoil'd, and the whole *Leskar* was put into confuſion. The King's Women were ſadly fatigued with the Difficulties of the way, and like to be left in the Woods a great many of them, the Beaſts that ſerv'd them being quite debilitated for want of Meat and Water in thoſe barren places.

But to qualifie this, it muſt be granted that ſome parts of the way we paſs'd were ſurprizingly pleaſant and charming; and the lovely Groves, Fountains, Wells, and Ponds, that lay about us, made it a Journey through Paradiſe.

We came to one very pleaſant Town call'd *Calcada*, ſeated upon the River *Sepra*, and anciently the Seat of the old Kings of *Mandoa*. One of theſe Kings formerly uſed to take a deal of pleaſure in ſitting a Drinking by this River-ſide; and it happen'd that when he was drunk one time, he tumbled into the Water, and being not at all able to help himſelf in that Condition, he very fairly ſunk down to the bottom. But a certain courageous Slave of his, and a notable Diver, loth to ſee his Sovereign thus become a Banquet to the Fiſhes, threw himſelf in, and dived after him, and brought him up again. When the King was come to himſelf, and this remarkable piece of Service the Slave had done him was related to him; for a Reward, he commanded both his Hands to be cut off, telling him, 'Twas his juſt deſert, for preſuming (a ſordid Slave as he was) to touch the Sacred Body of his Sovereign.

Not long after the King (who could not take a fair warning) was at his old Trade of drinking at the Water-ſide again, and had then only his Wife with him: And having

the same Fortune as before, to be very drunk, and fall in; the good Woman truly e'en let him dive for't, and never attempted to pull him out, tho' she cou'd have done it without the least difficulty or trouble: And when she was ask'd the Reason, Why she wou'd not save him? she told them, She had no mind to lose her Fingers: She remembred the last Bout, when the Slave had his Hands cut off, for doing the same thing, and she did not know but the same reward might to fall her share too, and therefore was unwilling to put it to the Venture. 'Tis probable the Good Wife went upon this Principle, that the Loss ought rather to be avoided, that could never be repaired again: Now tho' she might easily get another Husband, yet she could never be supplied with another pair of Hands.

Ill News from *Decan.*

'Twas discover'd by that time we had been abroad some Days, that this Progress was not undertaken meerly for a Diversion as it used to be, but that the King intended to move some part of the way towards Sultan *Caroon*'s Camp, the more to frighten the *Decances* with the Noise of his coming, as also to keep his own unquiet Army the better in order.

February. The Prince stops the Presents.

This was the effect of the Counsel of *Normahal* and *Asaph Can*, who perswaded him his going out would certainly be attended with these good Consequences. But it happen'd all wrong; for News came that the *Decances* were resolved to fight, and lay ready upon the Borders with a very strong Army to entertain his whenever they should think fit to move that way; also, that Sultan *Caroon* was advanc'd but a little space with his Forces, and notwithstanding all his bouncing at Court, was terribly afraid both of the *Decances* and of *Chanchanna*, which were sorry despicable Enemies to him before. Upon this Account the same Counsellors now advised the King not to proceed with his first Design, but to direct his Course to *Agra*, and turn the Progress into a Hunting Match: The *Decans* they thought would not make His Majesty good sport at this time, at least not so good and diverting as the Wild Beasts of the Forest would.

But worse News than this (to me) came quickly after; which was, that the Prince contrary to his Fathers Command, and all his own solemn Engagements, had stopt and intercepted all the Presents and Goods that were to come to Court. This was meerly to satisfie his own Covetous Desire of chusing first, and getting the best things into his own Hands; which (besides the Affront offer'd by it to the King of *England*, my Master, to have the Tokens of his Respect and Good Will, thus rudely siez'd and forc'd away;) was also a great piece of ill breeding to his own Father in pretending to serve himself first, and not leaving his Betters the Liberty of Choice. However after he had made sure of them, he writes a Letter to the King to tell him what he had done; that is, he minc'd the Matter, and told a Story of some Goods he had stop'd, out of a Desire to satisfy his curiosity in buying some Toys that he fancied; but he said not a Word of the Presents (the principal part of the Cargo) either out of shame, or fear, or ill design. I could not think of passing by this very uncivil Treatment without Complaints to the King, and those loud ones too. In times past I had by all the fair and soft Methods, imaginable attempted to win the Prince's Favour, and never was able effectually to oblige him; but now 'twas necessary to put an end to that Courtship, and neglect his Friendship for the future. I must appeal to the King for Justice against him, and consequently (in all probability) lose him for ever; and since 'twas certain that I must lose him, I thought it better to do it for something, and with some noise and stir too, than either to be dishonourably silent, or in a faint and fearful manner to prosecute such an Affair.

The Embassadour goes to the King and complains.

I went to the King with a fix'd Resolution to complain of the Prince's Action; when he, who guessed what my Business was, began and prevented me, telling me (in short) he had heard how his Son had intercepted the Goods and Presents, but he would order it so that nothing should be opened or searched by him; and besides, forthwith would send his Royal Command to him for the Discharge and Surrender of them into the Hands of our own People. This was done the same Night, and 'twas all the Satisfaction for the Injury I could then procure; for the King quickly after fell to drinking, and (when he was pretty far gone) to talking of Religion; tho', by the way, neither of the three Prophets he talked of would have allowed him the Liberty he then took, and his Drunkenness was condemn'd by the Laws, both of *Moses*, *Mahomet*, and *Jesus Christ*.

The *Mogul's* Humours in his Liquor.

But this Prince when he was in that Condition was generally very full of Pious Discourse; he would tumble into a Dispute of Religion, and hold it out till mid-night; and then farewell to all Business for that time (tho' ever so weighty and necessary to be debated) for when once he was got into that Vein, there was no turning of him out; nothing to be done till the Wine and the Devout Fit had both left him. Sometimes his Humours would be comical and ludicrous, he would act a Merry Andrews part more than any thing else, and do things fitter for a Player than a King: The Wine would make him exert a thousand several Passions, according to the Images which his heated Fancy presented in that Commotion; sometimes 'twas all Blood and Revenge, at other times Mirth and Jolity, Charity and Compassion, Grief and Sadness, now laugh, and then cry like a Child, and then drown his Care and Sorrow in another Cup, and so on, with a nauseous Gallimaufry of Passions and Discourses till the best part of the Night was spent. I was often obliged to see and hear more of this than was grateful; if my Business made me attend him, his importunity would keep me there; for he is vastly fond of Company in those Humours, and there is no deliverance from him, till kind sleep comes and closes up his Eyes.

The King serves himself out of the Cargo.

After some time the Cargo was brought up from *Surat*, and the King (tho' he had reprov'd his Son for so doing) was pleas'd to take it immediately into his own Hands. Such was his Curiosity and Fond Desire to see the Presents my King had sent him, yet he cou'd not stay to let me have the opening and sorting of them, and to bring them to him in a little order. So he took his choice of some things that pleas'd him extreamly well, and then sent for me to tell me what he had done, which he did with a World of Excuses, begging my Pardon, and offering to refund whatsoever I demanded. But as I was far from any Design of being so exact and scrupulous as that came to, so I only signified to him that I thought it a little hard to be debarr'd of the Liberty of making my own Prince's Presents; that as they were intended for his Majesty, so it was very free for him to keep them, and I had no other Demand to make, but only for the Restoration of some of the Merchants Goods, (which being amongst) were taken with the rest. This he readily promis'd to do, and gave immediate order about making satisfaction to me in that Particular; and over and above this, the General, he gave me the Word of a King, that I should have punctual Justice done me in all points whatsoever: My whole Affair happily concluded, and my self return'd back to the King my Master with Honour and Satisfaction.

March, A.D. 1617. The *Mogul's* desire of *English* Mastiffs, &c.

These were charming Promises, and I wanted but to see them well performed, which the King made me believe should be without all doubt; he only requir'd a certain Promise on my part, the Performance of which he told me would be as pleasing to him, as the other would be to me. This was to procure him some of our *English Mastiffs*, and the tall *Irish Grey-Hounds*, which he seem'd most passionately to desire; and farther, to get him some of our *English* Embroideries, for several things the Patterns of which he would send me in. The latter part I could undertake to promise, but the former relating to the Dogs was very uncertain, and no Man could warrant their Lives for so long a Voyage; but I told him, they should be sent, and if they died by the way, their Skins and Bones should be preserved for him (since he desir'd it) and this should be my discharge with his Majesty; which he willingly agreed to. After all this favour and familiarity it may appear something strange that the *Great Mogul* should so easily (as he did) entertain any ill suspicious Thoughts of me and my Nation. 'Tis true, a Prince can't have his Eyes too open upon his own Affairs, nor be too nice and curious in looking about him, that the many Forreigners he admits into his Country don't make any hurtful Encroachments upon him. But as I am sure the *English* had ever been very free from any Designs of this nature, so I was the more surpriz'd at his Jealousie, in that this Prince himself had often spoke a good Word for us, and been our Nations Patron and Defender (as it were) against the slanderous Charges and malicious Suggestions of our Enemies at Court. And to do him Justice I believe had been so still, even in this case also, had it not been for the violent Perswasions of the Prince Sultan *Caroon*, and some Colour for his Suspicion, which the Folly and imprudent Conduct of our own People gave him.

The imprudence of the *English* in landing a Body of Men.

There had been some kind of squabble amongst them at *Surat* (the rise and cause of which is not very clear) and to pacify this Tumult, our Ships landed Two hundred of their Musqueteers, and commanded them to march towards the Town. Some of the Mariners (perhaps Drunk, or it may be only in a meer Bravado, thinking no harm, nor having no design) cried out that the *English* were going to take *Surat*; a very likely story, that 200 Men should be so mad as to attempt a fortified Town that was able presently to furnish out a thousand Horse, and as many Shot, and besides had the guard of a River,

River, which must be passed, and that a handful of Men might with ease defend themselves against a numerous Army. But however it gave an alarm, and a great many were such Fools as to believe the *English* had a real design upon the place. Especially this being the Prince's Government, and he so particular a hater of our Nation as he was; 'twas hotly urged against us by him and his party, and the Affront aggravated to the King, with all the cunning spite and rancour in the World. Besides there was a flying Report at the same time that we had taken *Goa*, and that a vast Fleet was preparing in *England*; all which concurring, did almost effectually perswade the good easie Prince that we had some ill Design upon him. Yet he discovered nothing of his Mind in plain Terms to me; notwithstanding which, I found my self under the same pressing Obligation to take all Opportunities to remove those groundless Jealousies, and to bring him to the same favourable Thoughts that he used (or at least pretended) to have for us.

Persian Embassadour goes away in discontent.

But in all these Circumstances of Trouble, I fared much better than the *Persian* Embassadour, who after all his Pompous Entrance, his costly Presents, his base and servile Courtship, went off in Disgrace and Discontent. He could not fadge in his Business, nor work this Court into any humour of satisfying his Masters Desires. Never did any Prince and the Embassadour of another manage it so to each other at parting, as the *Great Mogul* and this *Persian* did. There was perfect huckstering between them, and they were resolved on both sides, as not to be beholding to each other, so also that neither side should get a Penny by the other. The *Mogul* had all the King of *Persia*'s Presents appraised, and paid down the Embassadour the Money for them, and at the same time sent him in a Bill of Fare, which he made to be bated out of the Sum. He reckoned him even for Plumbs and Musk-Melons, and made him pay for his common Liquor; there was an *Item* for Pins and Plantains too, but an Elephant and a Hawk or two rise up very high. And for many of these Commodities the *Persian* had far better have gone to Market and serv'd himself as he saw fit, than have taken them at the King's Rates, and stood to the mercy of a Court Reckoning. For as the King gave too low for what he had of the *Persian*, so he made the *Persian* pay sauce for what he had from him; but there was a Pet between them, the *Persian* was grown touchy and peevish at his ill usage, and the King was resolved to plague him for't. So away he went in a mighty huff (as he very well might) without the formality of an Audience of leave one may be sure; indeed without taking leave of any Body, or so much as excusing that Omission; only he sent to compliment me, and assured me he would make satisfaction for not coming himself, by double Civilities to my Countrymen in *Persia*. A great deal of time pass'd away after this to little purpose or profit; I attended the Court, but by the means of one intrieguing Person or other could do little or no Business.

The Pride and Security of this Court, that dared thus affront the great a Monarch as the King of *Persia*.

Happy Days now began to shine upon Sultan *Curscroon* and his compleat Restoration was quickly expected: 'Twill be happy for this Country and all Christians that Trade hither if he comes to wear the imperial Crown; for as his other Vertues will make him an indulgent Father to the one, so his large Charity and very favourable Opinion of Christianity will render him a kind Friend and Protector of the other. His unnatural Brother had lately been ploting against his Life; but 'twas seasonably discover'd, and the barbarous Prince sent for up to Court; not that the King intended to punish him, for he dares not, since he is *Normahal*'s Favourite; but he'll call him away from the Army where he is hated of all Men, and does more harm than good. An Enemy will never be heartily beaten by a discontented Army, nor an Army be otherwise than so, under a General they abhor.

August.

When the King's Birth-day came on, the solemnity of his weighing in a pair of Scales was performed, according to the old and annual Custom. The Basons of Nuts and Almonds and several sorts of Fruits made in Silver were thrown among the Nobles too; but when his Majesty saw I did not scramble like the rest, he reach'd out a Bason full himself and pour'd into my Cloak; all put together did not amount to five Pound, but the Nobles did not leave me forty Shillings worth, for they presently fell a snatching, and got the better part of what I had away.

September.

There is a prodigious shew of Riches, Liberality, and Charity to the Poor that Day; but (at last) what is flung away is very inconsiderable.

The next time I went to Court I made a motion to the King about our Debts: I presented the Merchants humble Petition to him, which he caus'd to be read aloud with the Names of the Debtors, Sureties and the several Sums that were owing. Upon this some Difficulty arose, for some were Dead, others Strangers, and others Insolvent; and therefore the King told me that the Merchants Accompts appear'd to him to be very arbitrary and ill stated; and as they had set down Debts at their own pleasure, without giving him any demonstration of their Honesty and Justice, by bringing a Bill of their lading before-hand, so there was no Reason (in case of Death or Insufficiency) why the Money should be expected from him. However for this once (he said) he would stand by us, and order the Money to be paid; but for the future if the *English* trusted his Servants with their Goods without acquainting him, they should stand by the loss themselves. Otherwise when their Commodities came to Court, let them first of all bring him of all, and then he would serve himself, and dispose of the rest to others that should take them off; and then if any of those Persons fail'd, he would see we should not be losers. And this is the Method that the *Persian* Merchants take, as I have seen several instances of it at this Court. The result of the Business was, that the King call'd in a certain Courtier, and commanded him to summon all the Debtors together, and by fair or fool means oblige them to pay.

The Embassadour moves for the Debts.

But this ill designing Person, partly by tedious delays and partly by his (at last) positive refusing to do Justice, provoked me again to apply my self to the King. Before I did this, I had received tidings of the arrival of some fresh Ships at the Bar of *Surat*, which gave me an encouragement to be bold at Court, since News of that nature is always very acceptable to the King; so I carried an Abstract of the Lading along with me (according to the late Order) and began to sollicit my Affair; and finding the King in a good patient gentle Humour, pull'd out my Petition that craved the Payment of the Debts. The King did not mind it when I held it out; and 'twas happy for those tardy Ministers that he did not, for that sawcy neglect of his Orders would have produced a terrible storm. That Person who was order'd to inspect the payment of the Debts, came in an agony up to *Asaph Can*, and begged him to hinder me from complaining; he saw his Danger, and found himself at the very brink of the Pit, and one jog more had push'd him in; and upon their faithful Promise of doing the Business, immediately I agreed to carry matters no farther at that time; but this put them into such a Fright, that they presently set about it, and siez'd some of the Debtors the same Night. Amongst the several particulars of Goods coming up, I had some Ropes of very fine Pearl, besides a single one very large and rich; but of these I said not a Word in publick, intending to oblige some Friend in private with a good pennyworth in them, and so make them serve for the more effectual promoting my Designs. The King indeed asked for Jewels, and I told him they were dear Commodities in *England*; but as *Asaph Can* pressed earnestly to know what rarities I had, I gave him a private sign, which he very easily understood, and so diverted him from that Discourse.

October.

Orders taken about Payments.

Upon the King's rising we withdrew together, and settled all the Particulars of the Bill of Lading, translating the Abstract into *Persian*, and making it ready to be presented to the King. But (as the principal part of my Design) I told him how it was in my power to oblige him with those choice rarities of Pearl, which I had yet entirely conceal'd, even from the Prince and King themselves, and should come into no Hands but his own, provided I should be secure of his utmost Assistance in the dispatch of my Business. 'Tis a wonder to see how any Charms of this nature work upon People of greedy covetous Minds; how they will command all their Passions and Principles, and transform them into the most different Creatures in the World. By this one Proposal of the Pearl, I had gotten as large an Interest in *Asaph Can* as I could desire; all his Enmity and ill Designs were vanish'd in a moment, and he was changed into the most diligent and zealous Friend imaginable. There was no piece of that Service he would stick at performing for us; he would procure me a perfect Reconciliation with the Prince, the powerful *Normahal* should be our Nations Friend too, and such a method be establish'd for the safety and success of all our Affairs, as should leave me no farther occasion of trouble and complaint. Such is the Power of Gain, and the strange force of an eager Appetite that way, when a Man indulges and suffers it to govern him.

The Embassadours Method of gaining *Asaph Can* and all that party.

This Person upon a sordid Hope of buying some Toys to Advantage (and perhaps of some other collateral Profit) was my Humble Servant, even to flattery, and to the betraying the Secrets of the Prince his Son-in-Law. However by this means I was sure of him, and he had in a man-

manner made him mine for ever; he could not betray me before he had the Pearl for fear of missing it, nor afterwards for fear of betraying himself, so that I reckoned I had made a purchase of him. And together with him I bought the Friendship of all the rest of that party; his Father and *Normahal* came like Paper and Packthread in to the Bargain as it were, for he himself was the main purchase. They all solicited my Affair, and pleaded with the King on my behalf, and if the Prince laid any rub in their way, they made bold to oppose him, and that with some heat too.

The opposite party turn'd about.

November. There was a mighty change now in the Face of our Affairs at Court; *Asaph Can* our Agent, and *Normahal* the Protectress of our Merchants passage to Court. The Prince too was turned about by the influence and perswasion of *Asaph Can*; he look'd after our Debts with great care and concern, granted a Firman very effectual in all points for our present ease at *Surat*, and over and above (at my motion) promised one for *Bengala*, a thing which he would never before hear of. When the Presents came the King and the Prince had their several shares to their satisfaction; *Normahal* was gratified too for her protection, and *Asaph Can* was ravish'd with the Pearl.

December.

January. The Merchants that came to Court were civilly entertained by the King, and effectual Orders were taken for paying of all the *Surat* Debts; the Prince commanded it to be cut off from his Mansibders Wages, and at the same time strictly charged all his new Officers to use us as Friends.

I had nothing now to do, but to attend the delivery of my Firmans to me, which were order'd to be drawn up in the most ample and particular manner by the Secretaries, who had received the Kings and Princes Instructions for that purpose.

Here Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Account breaks off, and his Journal does not bring us to the least result of those matters. We don't know how he parted from thence, and how closely and sincerely his new gain'd Friends adhered to his Interest But 'tis next to certain that all ended happily, and according to his Desires, since the Stile of the *Great Mogul*'s Letter to our King (which was brought by him) seems to promise all that Favour, which he had been soliciting with the toil and vexation of so many Months at that Court.

The King's Letters sent to *Selim Shag*, the *Great Mogol*, in the Year 1614. by Sir *Thomas Roe*.

JAMES, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Christian Faith, &c.*

To the high and mighty Monarch the Great Mogol, *King of the Oriental* Indies, *of* Candahar, *of* Chismer *and* Corazon, *&c. Greeting.*

We having notice of your great Favour towards Us and Our Subjects, by Your Great Firman *to all Your Captains of Rivers, and Officers of Your Customs, for the entertainment of Our loving Subjects the* English *Nation with all kind Respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may have quiet Trade and Commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c. As by the Articles concluded by* Suc Suff *Governour of the* Guzerats, *in Your Name, with Our loving Subject Captain* Thomas Best *appeareth: Have thought it meet to send unto You Our Embassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treat of such Matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly Correspondence, which is so lately begun between Us; and which will without doubt redound to the Honour and Utility of both Nations. In which Consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable Commerce, We have made choice of Sir* Thomas Roe *Knight, one of the principal Gentlemen of Our Court, to whom we have given Commission under Our Great Seal of* England, *together with Directions and Instructions further to treat of such Matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the Utility and Profit of each others Subjects: to whom We pray You to give Favour and Credit in whatsoever He shall move or propound towards the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for Confirmation of Our Good Inclination and Well-wishing towards You, We pray You to accept in good part the Present, which Our said Embassadour will deliver unto You, and so do commit you to the merciful Protection of Almighty God.*

A Copy of the Grand *Mogol's* Letter to the King.

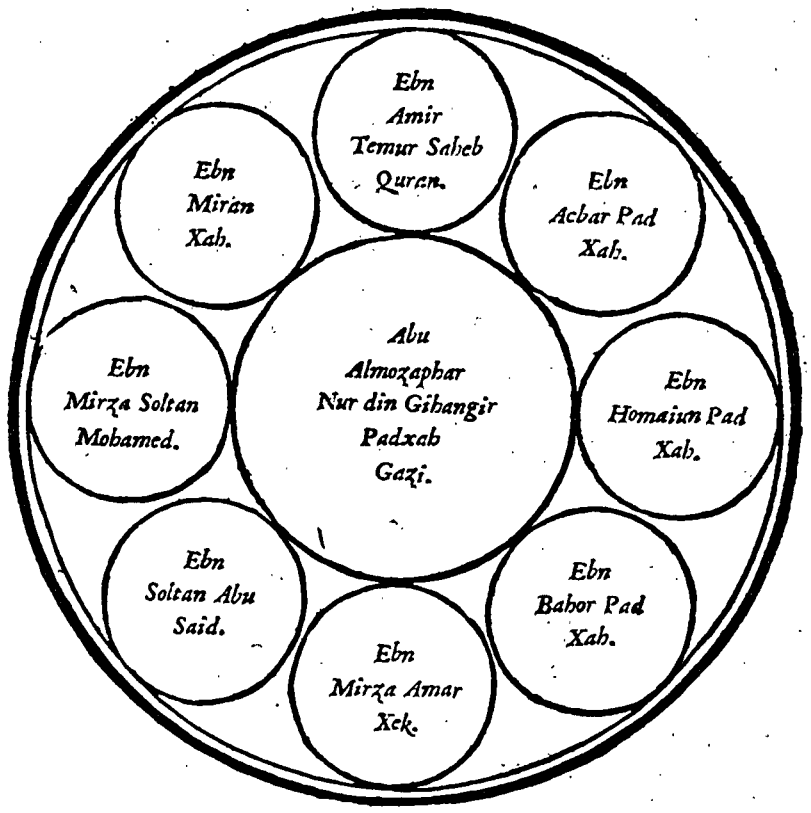
UNto a King rightly descended from his Ancestors, bred in Military Affairs, and cloathed with Honour and Justice, A Commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in Religion, which the great Prophet Christ did teach, King JAMES, whose Love hath bred such impression in my Thoughts, as shall never be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a Garden of fragrant Flowers, whose Beauty and Odour is still increasing, so be assured my Love shall grow and increase with yours.

YOur Letter which you sent me in behalf of your Merchants, I have received, wherein I am satisfied in Your tender Love towards me; and desire you not to take it ill, for not having writ unto You heretofore; by this my present Letter, I send to renew Our Loves, and herewith do certify You, that I have sent forth my Firmaunds *through all my Countries to this effect, That if any* English *Ships or Merchants shall arrive in any of my Ports, my People shall permit and suffer them to do what they will, freely, in their Merchandizing Causes, aiding and assisting them in all Occasions of Injuries that shall be offered them, and that the least cause of Discourtesie be not done unto them; as also, that they be as free and freer than my own People. And as now and formerly I have received from You divers Tokens of Your Love; so I desire your Mindfulness of me by some Novelties from Your Country, as an Argument of Friendship between Us; for such is the Custom of Princes here.*

As for your Merchants, I have given express Orders through all my Country, to suffer them to sell, buy, transport, and carry away at their pleasures, without the let or hindrance of any Person whatsoever, all such Goods and Merchandize, or other things, as they shall desire to buy, and let this my Letter as fully satisfie You in the desired Peace and Love, as if my own Son had been the Messenger to ratifie the same. And if any in my Country not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of Religion, should endeavour or be an Instrument to break this league of Friendship; I would send my Son Sultan Caroon, *a Souldier approved in the Wars, to cut him off, that no Obstacle may hinder the continuance and increasing of Our Affections.*

The

The Description of the Great Mogul's *Seal.*



This Seal contains his Genealogie from *Tamerlane*, as he is pleas'd to reckon it himself. 'Twas made only of Silver, and sent along with the Letter (unsealed) to the King; for the *Mogul* was in a distress when he had writ his Letter, whereabouts he should set his Seal; if under he should disparage himself, if over he might affront the King; as the surest way therefore, he resolved to fix it neither under nor over, but to send it to the King of *England*, to clap it where he thought best himself.

The middle and largest Circle contains his own Name, and all the surrounding ones are those of his Eight Ancestours, in a direct descent from *Tamerlane*, who is in the uppermost of all.

CHAP. XXXI.

An Account of the Mogul's *Country, and the most useful and remarkable Things relating to it. Extracted from Sir* Thomas Row's, *Mr.* Terry's *(his Chaplains) and the Observations of some others who lived there.*

WE will begin with the Division and Dimensions of this mighty Empire; see what parts it consists of, and the Boundaries that are set to it's greatness. In which Discourse we must take notice that the Account here given is such as agreed to the state of the Country at that time, that our Authors liv'd and convers'd in it. We know it is not the same now that 'twas then; the *Great Mogul* is Lord of more Ground, and has enlarg'd his Territories since that time. But we don't here meddle with any of those Modern Acquisitions, but draw the Lines of the Empire as it was in that more Ancient State.

The Division of the Country and its Provinces.

This premis'd; we are told that it contains Thirty seven large Provinces; one may call them Kingdoms, for anciently they were so, each glorying in a particular Monarch of its own. Each large enough too, to satisfie the Desires of a Prince not extraordinarily ambitious of Sovereignty; a Prince of that happy constitution of Mind (that some we read of have been blessed with) to be contented with the share which Nature and Providence have allowed him, and live free from all those unjust and intemperate Passions which render so many Princes the Plagues and Torments of their Neighbours.

The Names of these Provinces (as well as the other particulars relating to them) were taken out of the *Great Moguls* own Records, and not from the uncertain Reports of any of the People; so that one may depend upon having a just and true Account in this case.

We shall go over them in the order they deliver'd them to us.

Candahar, a fair Province that lies North, West from *Agra*; bordering upon *Persia*, to which it once belonged. The chief City bears the same name, and is very well known to the Merchants. *Candahar.*

Cabul, the Name both of the chief City and Province. It borders upon *Tartary*, and is the most Northern part of the *Mogul's* Dominions. The River *Nilob* has it's Origin here, from whence running Southerly it discharges it self into the *Indus*. *Cabul.*

Multan, that lies Southerly from *Cabul* and *Candahar*, and to the West joins upon *Persia*. 'Tis famed for excellent Bows and Arrows, and all the other Provinces of *India* do allow it the preheminence in this Art. The Bows are made of Horn, and the Arrows of small Canes or Reeds; both very neatly contrived and set off with rich Paint or Varnish. *Multan.*

Hajacan,

Hajacan. *Hajacan*, the Country of the *Baluches*, a People of good Courage and a very martial Diſpoſition. They do both look like Men and dare fight like Men; they are not as a great many ſorts of People in the *Mogul's* Dominions, that have the Spirit of a Mouſe lodged in a brave Heroick Body; great hulking Fellows (big enough almoſt to ſwallow a common Adverſary) that will be kick'd or thraſh'd and ſtand ſtill while 'tis done. This Province has no celebrated City; the Inhabitants are it's greateſt Glory, and enough too without ſplend'd Towns and Caſtles. The River *Indus* waſhes it on the Eaſt and *Lar* a *Perſian* Province meets it on the Weſt.

Buckar. *Buckar*, through whoſe capital City call'd *Suckar*, the noble *Indus* makes its way.

Tatta. *Tatta*, a very fruitful and pleaſant Country, made ſo partly by the branchings of the *Indus*, that ſpreads it ſelf into various Circlets, and forms as many little Iſlands up and down which being ſo well watered (and the Soil happy too) are as rich and fertile almoſt as Covetouſneſs it ſelf could wiſh. The main Current of this River meets with the Sea at *Sindee* a place noted for many curious Handicrafts.

Soret. *Soret*, (the chief City *Janagar*) a Province comparatively ſmall, but makes amends in its Fruitfulneſs. It lies upon *Guzurat*, and has the Ocean to the South.

Jeſſulmure. *Jeſſulmure*, joining to *Soret*, and has *Buckar* and *Tatta* to the Weſt of it.

Attack. *Attack*, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the *Indus*, which parts it from *Hajacan*.

Peniab. *Peniab* (which name ſignifies five Waters) is ſeated amongſt ſo many Rivers, all of them Tributaries to the *Indus*. It is a Province of a vaſt extent, and as rich as it is large; the Capital of it is *Lahor*, that mighty trading City and Northern Metropolis of *India*.

Chiſhmere. *Chiſhmere*, whoſe principal City is *Siranakar*, ſeated upon very Mountainous Ground; through which notwithſtanding the River *Bhat* creeps along, and ſo pours into the Sea.

Banchiſh. *Banchiſh* (the Chief City *Biſhur*) it lies Eaſt, and ſomething Southerly from *Chiſhmere*, and is ſeparated from it by the *Indus*.

Jangapore. *Jangapore*, it ſtretches along upon the River *Kaul*, one of the five that water the Province of *Peniab*.

Jenba. *Jenba*, it lies to the Eaſt of *Peniab*.

Delly. *Delly*, is the central Province of this great Empire, and ſhews a City of the ſame name, which yet in ſpite of all its Ruines and the Injuries of time will force the admiration of a Spectator. The old *Indian* Princes lie interr'd here a vaſt number of them, and ſo are moſt of the preſent Emperour's Family. The Ceremony of the Coronation is ſtill performed here, and muſt be ſo by the Laws of the Country; the *Mogul* may wear his Crown where he pleaſes, but here it muſt be firſt ſet on. Mr *Coryat* found a ſtately Marble Pillar at this place, with an old and almoſt defaced Greek Inſcription upon it; which he believes to have been erected by *Alexander* in memory of his Victory over *Porus*, who gave the Conqueror hereabouts ſo briſk a Reception, and plied him ſo cloſe, as made him ſay, *tandem par animo meo Juveni periculum*, he had at laſt met with a Danger big enough for him. (And we know that *India* afforded him another Danger too (before he left it) that was not only great enough, but very like to have proved too great for him: Witneſs that Town of the *Malli* where he ſo narrowly ſcaped the laſt effects of the juſt fury of the Beſieged; when he had thrown himſelf off from the Wall amongſt them, and ſupported himſelf againſt the Trunk of a Tree, till his *Macedonians* (in the very nick of time) came in to preſerve him). The River *Gemini* riſes at this place, and afterwards paſſing thro' *Agra* runs into the *Ganges*.

Quintus Curtius.

Bando. *Bando*, it borders the Province of *Agra* to the Weſt.

Malua. *Malua*, a very fruitful Province, whoſe chief City is *Rantipore*.

Chitor. See Sir *Tho. Rows* Account. *Chitor*, a very ancient and great Kingdom, its chief City (of the ſame name) now involved in the miſerable fate of many other great and ſtately places that have paſt their time of flouriſhing.

Guzurat. *Guzurat*, a very goodly, large and rich Kingdom; its Capital City is *Amadanas*, tho' *Cambaya*, *Brodera*, *Baroch*, and *Surat* (not much ſhort of the former) do all ſtand in the ſame Territory. It has ſeveral fine Rivers, as that of *Cambaya* (falſly ſuppoſed by ſome to be the *Indus*) the *Narbodah* which paſſes by *Baroch*, and the *Taplee* by *Surat*.

Chandis. *Chandis*, whoſe chief City is *Brampore*, a large and populous place.

Berar. *Berar*, the chief City *Shaphore*; theſe two laſt are the Southern bounds of the Empire.

Narvar. *Narvar*, the chief City *Gebud*, watered by a River that much enriches it, and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Ganges*.

Gwaliar, in the Capital City of which, the *Mogul* has a vaſt Treaſure of Gold and Silver, and a ſtrong Caſtle for the keeping of conſiderable Priſoners. *Gwaliar.*

Agra, the Province and City are both pretty well known. *Agra.*

Sanbar, parted by the River *Gemini* from the Province of *Narvar*. *Sanbar.*

Bukar, which lies on the Weſt ſide of the *Ganges*, and its principal City *Bikaneer*. *Bukar.*

Nagracot, in whoſe chief City is a Temple as richly ſet out with all ſorts of Ornaments as any in *India*; the Ceiling and Pavements are both of the pureſt Silver, and the Emboſſing and Engraving about the whole is almoſt endleſs. 'Tis the Manſion of a very celebrated Idol to which Multitudes of People do reſort; with ſo much more Charge and Pains do theſe poor blind *Indians* expreſs their Devotion and Reſpect to a dead Image, than many Thouſands of Chriſtians think fit to do to the living and true God. The Idols name is *Matta*, and the People in the Tranſports of their Zeal, cut out their Tongues and offer them to him in ſacrifice; they are very much to be pitied for being under the Bondage of ſo erroneous and troubleſome a Devotion as this is; but at the ſame time they are a reproach to multitudes that ſtand amongſt the followers of Jeſus Chriſt, who had far better imitate the example of the *Indians*, and cut their Tongues out, than uſe them as they do to the diſparagement of the Great Author of their Religion. *Nagracot.*

Siba, whoſe chief City is *Hardward*, where the famous River *Ganges* paſſes thro' a parcel of Rocks, and quickly after ſwells into a pretty full Current. The Principal of theſe Rocks has (or at leaſt the *Indians* fancy ſo) the reſemblance of a Cows-Head, a Creature they love mightily, and are very tender of. They aſcribe a Divinity to all Waters, but more eſpecially to that of the *Ganges*, which the whole Country therefore viſits upon that account. *Siba.*

Kakares, the chief Cities of which are *Dekalee* and *Purhola*. 'Tis a large Province but very Mountainous ſeparated from *Tartary* by part of *Caucaſus*, and is one of the Northern boundaries of the Empire. *Kakares.*

Gor, a very uneven hilly Country; the River *Serſilly* (that communicates with the *Ganges*) has its Head in it. *Gor.*

Pitan, watered by the River *Canda*, which falls into the *Ganges* in the Confines of it. *Pitan.*

Kanduana, whoſe chief City is *Karbekatenka*; the River *Serſilly* parts it from *Pitan*. This Province and *Gor* are the North Eaſt Limits of this *Monarchy*. *Kanduna.*

Patna, which is bounded by the *Ganges* on the Weſt, and the *Serſilly* on the Eaſt; it is a very rich and fertile Province. *Patna.*

Jeſuat, whoſe chief City is *Rajapore*; it lies Eaſt of *Patna*. *Jeſua.*

Mevat, the chief City *Narnel*; a rough mountainous Country. *Mevat.*

Udeſſa, the principal City *Jekanat*; it is the moſt remote Eaſtern part of the Empire. *Udeſſa.*

And laſtly *Bengala*, which well deſerves the Title of a Kingdom, for the large extent of it. It contains two great Provinces, *Purb* and *Patan*, the one lying on the Eaſt and the other on the Weſt of *Ganges*. 'Tis bounded to the South by the Gulph of the ſame name, into which the *Ganges* (parted into four great Streams) pours out its Water, after it has run more than 1500 Miles out right in the *Mogul's* Territories. The chief Cities are *Regamahal* and *Dakaka*; there are abundance of fine Ports and Havens in this Country, and 'tis bleſſed with all the moſt profitable and uſeful Bounties of Nature. *Bengala.*

And now for the Dimenſions of the whole in one piece, 'tis reckon'd by our Travellers to be from N. W. to S. W. above Two thouſand *Engliſh* Miles, from N. E. to S. W. about One thouſand five hundred Miles, and from North to South, about One thouſand four hundred. A fine ſpot of Ground for one Man to be Maſter of; and yet as great as 'tis, not big enough to ſatisfie the craving Deſires of its Monarch. This part of *India* is not ſufficient for him, but he muſt have *Decan*, *Malabar*, and *Coromandel* too; and that ſuppoſed, he would be as mad for *China* on the one ſide and *Perſia* on the other; then *Turky* would lie in his way, and *Europe* be a tempting bait to him, and then he would never ſleep quietly for thinking upon *Africa* and *America*. What are the bounds of Covetouſneſs and Ambition? and where is it that enflamed Appetite quenches its own Fires, and begins to grow cool and temperate? Certainly 'tis not within the Limits of this World: Had an ambitious Prince the whole Earth at his command, he would (like *Alexander*) repine and grumble that there was not more ſuch within his reach; and undoubtedly were there a Contrivance for Dimenſion of the whole

for the conveying an Army thro' the Air, the conquest of the Moon would be next attempted, and then woe be to *Mars* and *Jupiter*, and the rest of the Planets.

The temper of the Country, the nature of the Soil, and all its Products.

What the Temper of the Air in this Country is, may be easily guessed from its situation in some measure; one may expect violent heats in a Position so near the Sun's way, and those that live in *India* don't find their Expectations of this nature frustrated.

Their Rains are neither so common nor so uncertain as they are in many parts of the World; a Man can hardly be wet with a Shower except at one particular season of the Year, and then he may every Day (more or less) for three Months together. These general Rains begin about the time that the Sun comes to the Northern Tropick, and so continue till his return back to the line. They are usually ushered in with fearful storms of Thunder and Lightning, and as these are the beginning so they are also the conclusion of the rainy Season. The rest of the Year a refreshing Dew (that falls very plentifully) serves instead of Rain; this does a little cool and comfort the Earth, yet by that time the nine Months are filled up, the Ground grows horribly dry and parch'd, and all the Greens languish for a Shower. There is at that time something of the dead and barren prospect of the Desert *Arabia*; heaps of Dust and Sand, and torrified Plants and Animals; but when the Rains come on there's presently a wonderful alteration, every thing revives and shoots up, and the Fields appear in their genuine Summer Colours.

Ploughing and Sowing.

They Till their Ground with Oxen and Foot-ploughs; their Seed time is in *May* and the beginning of *June*, and their Harvest in *November* and *December* (the most temperate Months of the Year). And tho' the Ground has been hardning so long as it has by the mighty heat, yet they can work it without difficulty when they come to Plough; for the Mould is fat and rich, and its own goodness disposes it to yield to the Plough, tho' there has been no Rain to soften and prepare it. There's very little inclos'd Land in this Country, except sometimes just by Towns or Villages, otherwise it lies all open.

Hay and Corn.

They cut their Grass as they have occasion for it, either green or wither'd; but they don't Mow it and make Hay as we do in *England*. The Corn is extreamly rank, and grows as thick and close as ever the Land can bear it; and one may pass several hundreds of Acres together without seeing the least spot that's thin and poor. Their sorts are Wheat, Barley, and Rice, with some others we don't know the names of; the Wheat is plumper and whiter than ours, and makes a fine well reliſh'd Bread; and that which the common People make of another sort of courser Grain is both toothsome and wholsome, and very hearty.

With their Bread they have excellent good Butter too, tho' not of the consistence of ours, but more fluid like an Oil, for the heat of the Climate will never allow them to bring their Cream to any other Temper.

Roots, and Fruits, and Trees.

All the useful Garden Roots and Plants are common in this Country, as Carrots, Potatoes, Onions, Garlick, and several sorts of Sallet Herbs. Ginger grows almost every where about, and Sugar Canes are no rarity at all; they sow Tobacco in vast plenty, and smoak it as much. But their way of taking it is something odd and strange, tho' perhaps they don't fire their Mouths by it so much as we do; for they take a little narrow necked Pot (that has an open round top, and a Spout coming out of the Belly on't) and fill it with Water up to the lower part of the Spout; then they lay their Tobacco loose in the top of the Pot, and upon it a Coal of Fire, and so with a Reed or Cane of an Ell long (which is inserted into the Spout) they draw the Smoak into their Mouths. They say it is much more cool and wholsome to do it thus, than as the *Europeans* do, since all the Smoak falls upon the surface of the Water before it passes into the Cane. The Tobacco of this Country is thought to be as good (in the Plant) as any in the World, but they han't the Art of dressing and ordering it (to make it rich and strong) as they have in the *West-Indies*. The greatest defect as to Vegetables seems to be in Flowers, which for a great part are but like so many painted Weeds; they please the Eye with fine Colours, but give the Smell little or no entertainment at all. The Roses and some few kinds more are fragrant; one of the principal of which is a white Flower like the *Spanish Jessamin*, a thing of a most grateful and pleasing Scent, and affords them that fine Oyl, with which they are continually perfuming themselves, and makes very sweet Company. Besides these for a Perfume they have Lign-Aloes, and that neither scarce nor of the meanest sort.

As for Fruits the Country shews a very great variety; Dates, Figs, Grapes, Prunello's, Almonds, Pomegranates, Pomecitrons, Oranges and Limons; but these latter are not so good here as in other places. Here are Coco's too, and that excellent Plumb called the Mirabolan, the use and goodness of which we very well know in *England*. The Plantans grow in clusters (many times) they are long and like a slender Cucumber, very Yellow when ripe, and taste like a *Norwich* Pear, but much better.

The Muskmelons and Water-melons are so well ripen'd and digested a Fruit in this warm Climate, that they may be freely eaten without fear of any of those hurtful effects that may follow a plentiful use of them in a colder Country. The Pulp of the Fruit is spongy and tender, of a Colour mixt with Red and White, and contains in the inner part of it a very pleasant cooling Liquor. The *Mango* Trees are as large and stately as our Wallnut-trees, and the Fruit in shape and colour like our Apricocks, but much bigger; they roul them about in their Hands for a while when they are ripe, and then suck out the inside, which by that time is become like the Pap of a roasted Apple, and highly grateful to the pallet.

But the *Annana's* are esteem'd the choicest of all their Fruits, and have (tho' a very delicious) yet so compounded a taste with them, that a Man while he eats them may imagine he is eating several fine things together; they say it resembles a mixture of Strawberries, Claret, Rose-water and Sugar.

Besides these there's the * Tamarind Tree (which is known well enough) and the Tree that yields the Liquor call'd the Toddie, which is from thence call'd the Toddie-tree. This Tree has a very soft spongie Parenchyma; it grows straight and tall and without Boughs to the very top, but there spreads out into tender Branches, in shape like those that shoot out at the Root of our large rank Artichoaks, but much bigger and longer. 'Tis not so big about but it may be easily clasp'd in a Man's Arms, and tho' it has no Boughs to give any assistance to a Climber, yet the Country People will mount it with an incredible ease and celerity; but this they do by the Advantage that the roughness and crustiness of the Bark gives them, which proves some small stay to their Feet. They make an Incision in the top Branches, and receive the Liquor that distils in Gourds set under for that purpose: This without any farther preparation, is the Toddie so much talked of and used in this Country, and upon which they fix so many good Characters. In short, 'tis a fine Wine, and a good Medicine; if it be drunk fresh from the Tree in the Morning 'tis a very pleasing inoffensive Liquor; but if kept till the heat of the Day, the Sun alters it wonderfully; robs it of its fine taste, does not exhale the Spirit of it, and leave it flat and vapid, but actuates the Spirits it has, and renders them much more violent and intoxicating. The Seamen love it best in this condition, because it makes them quickly drunk; but all that don't drink for that purpose take it in the Morning, and then 'tis as smooth as new White-Wine, but much more fine and clear.

* There's some account of the *Tamarind* Trees in Mr. *Davis's* and Captain *Downton's* first Voyages.

The Vertues of it are, to provoke Urine, and give relief in the Stone; that is, it lenifies and in some measure asswages the Pain; but those that have tried it, don't tell us of any farther influence of it, in removing the Cause, or preventing the growth of the Mischief for the future.

The Plant from whence the Indico is made grows very plentifully about in many parts of the Country; and the Cotton Trees are no less common. They sow vast quantities of Ground with the Seed of it, and make very great profit. The Plant grows up like a small Rose-Bush, and bears a yellow Blossom; when these are fallen off, the Cods appear, and grow to the bigness of a Mans Thumb, the Matter within which is at first Yellow, moist and soft. As they ripen and grow bigger, they burst, and the included Matter then appears like Wool, and is fit for gathering. Amongst that Wool they find the Seeds safely wrapt up; but there's no need of sowing presently and going to raise a set of fresh Trees, for the old ones will hold on bearing their Wool for three or four Years together.

For the *Indico*, see Mr. *Finch's* Relation. *Lib.* 3. There's something of the Cotton in Mr. *Candish's* Voyage, *Lib.* 1. But this is more full and compleat.

The Spreading Tree.

There is one Tree more that deserves to be mentioned, tho' we cannot procure the Name of it, but that it may not wholly go without one, one may call it the Spreading-Tree. Out of the great Arms of it shoot forth various little Sprigs, which growing downwards reach the Ground at last, and there root themselves firmly, proving a very strong support to those mighty Boughs that sent them out. Thus the Tree spreads it self round into a vast Compass, and forms a kind of a Pavilion, capable of entertaining several hundreds of Men under the shade and shelter of it.

This is a very good Convenience for Travellers, and 'tis the better in that 'tis always ready, and in a good condition to afford them a Protection from the heat at any time, since the Trees in these parts are hardly ever strip'd of their green Furniture all the Year round. And by report there's need enough of such Retreats as these are from the Sun's violence in *India*, even at that season of the Year, when many other places would be glad to feel him a little more. For they tell us that the Sun's Meridian strength and heat in the coldest Day there, is as troublesome as that of the hottest Day in *England*; except at the times when the great Rains fall, when the Air is consequently in a good measure clear'd of the hot sulphurous Vapours, and loaded with others of a contrary nature. A soft gentle Wind, reflects from the parch'd Earth, with a heat that raises blisters upon the Faces of People not used to the Climate; 'tis like the Breath of a burning Furnace; and were not those scorching Whiffs tempered with certain cool Breezes that blow sometimes, Foreigners that have always breathed the fresh Air of other Countries, could never long hold out breathing this. Our Travellers tell us, that for a Man to go out in the heat of the Day, is to run the hazzard of being stewed almost, and that they are fain to wear their Cloaths as thin and slight as 'tis consistent with decency to do. Yet are there very sudden precipitate alterations of the Weather from one extream to another, even in the most calm and temperate Months: And when at Noon a Man is ready to melt, and a fine Shirt upon his Back is a burden, the mid-night following the Ice is about his Tent, and he would be glad of a good Rugg to cover him. In either of these Respects, a thick fence of Trees is a good Convenience for a Traveller abroad in a wide and an open Country. And Nature has admirably well consulted this in the raising such a Tree as this lately described; 'tis as good as building so many Inns upon the Road; nay, in some respects better, since these will entertain more Passengers, and a Man's at no charge nor trouble for a Lodging.

To conclude this Account of the vegetables, we may observe that very few or scarce any of those Trees that are so common with us in *England*, are seen in this Country; yet have they very strong and sufficient Timber-trees fit for any uses we can pretend to put ours to.

The Accounts of Drugs and Minerals is but short, tho' no doubt this rare Country is able to entertain an inquisitive and curious Person, with varieties enough of this kind.

Several fine scented Gums there are, and together with them good store of Gum Lac, of which they make their hard Wax.

There's a great deal of *Cassia* likewise growing in Canes. and Bezoar Stones, which they take out of the Maws of a sort of Goats. When they observe those Creatures to grow very lean (which is a Diagnostick of the growth of that Stone in their Ventricles) they presently kill them, and take out the precious Cause of that Consumption. These Goats are most numerous upon the Mountains of *Lar* in the *Persian* Territories.

Of the living Creatures.

But there is a much less diversity in respect of the Animals (tho' *India* has rarities to shew us too) for here one may see vast numbers of those Creatures that our own Country presents us with every Day.

Beasts.

Their Beefs have a great bunch that grows betwixt their Shoulders, and their Flesh is much whiter than that of ours.

The Sheep differ from ours more by their great bob Tails they have than any thing else; their Wool is ordinary and course, but their Flesh far from being so.

Cows, Goats, Sheep, &c.

Goats and all sorts of Deer are very common amongst them; the Deer are no where inclos'd in Parks, but enjoy their full Liberty as other Creatures do, and are every Man's Game that can take them.

The Buffalo has something singular in it, and 'tis a stranger to our parts. 'Tis a large Beast, and has a very thick, smooth Skin, wholly without Hair; it gives a very good Milk, but the Flesh of it (tho' it something resembles Beef) yet is neither so pleasant nor so wholsome.

Antelopes, Elks, &c.

Here are Elks and Antilopes too, which are very strong and fierce Creatures.

Monkeys, Apes and Babeons are almost as common as Dogs and Cats with us; they live mostly about in the Woods, where they are a terrible plague to the little Birds that build in the Trees, by destroying all their Nests and young Ones that lie within their reach. But the Birds are generally hard enough for them; for they build their Nests in the very utmost Twigs of the Boughs, which are strong enough to support things so very small and light, but are too fine and tender for any Monkey to pretend to tread them.

Camels, Dromedaries &c.

For carrying of Burthens and other slavish Work, they use Asses, Mules, Camels and Dromedaries, which are all Natives of this Country.

The Dromedary (with his long Legs) rids Ground apace, and travels a vast way in a Day: They are hardy, strong, patient of Labour, hunger and thirst, extreamly swift and brisk in their Motion; and therefore very proper for a quick March, or to give an unexpected assault to some remote place, which would be beyond the strength of any Horse to reach in such a determin'd time. *Ecbar Sha* made a remarkable use of them in his Wars in *Guzurat*, and 'twas owing to the swiftness of his Dromedaries, that he made so quick a Dispatch in the conquest of that Country. For marching in nine Days (with them) from *Agra* to *Amadavar*, he was upon the Backs of the *Guzurats* before they imagin'd he had been set out, which Surprize so confounded them, that they lost the Battle and their Liberty, and the Country from that time became a Province of the *Indian-Mogul* Empire.

The Camel deserves the Title of the most absolute Slave of any Beast in the World, for he is fond of his Burthen; he cries and moans at Night (when 'tis taken off) in a very doleful manner, and seems to be as much pleased in the Morning when 'tis laid on again. (There's hardly any Creature like him throughout all nature, unless it be a Man of lewd vicious habits, that sits with as much ease under the heaviest Oppressions, and counts an attempt to free him an injury).

Horse.

The Horse is a Creature here in great esteem, and therefore reserved for the noblest Services. They are only for War, or Pleasure, or meer Pomp and State; they live as easily as any of their kind in the World, and the Horses of some Countries are no better than Peasantry to them. They are brave generous Creatures, high metled, curiously made, and as well managed by the Natives. For their Colours, some are Raven black, many white and finely dappled, a great Number pied and spotted all over, and others of more light and gaudy Colours. But if Nature has not given them a Colour to their Riders fancy, they'll make it what they have a mind to by the helps of Art; they'll tinge and colour the Legs, Belly and Breast of them, so that a Horse looks as if he came out of a Diers Vatt. Their Hair is very short and soft, and lies smooth and sleek upon them, and they are so well kept that they shine again. Their main Provender is a sort of Grain they call Donna, round, and somewhat bigger than our *English* Tares; they boil it and mingle it with course Sugar and Butter, and so make it up into Balls, which they thrust into their Mouths. This is downright craming of Horses, and managing them as we do Turkies; 'tis a wonder they don't shut them up in Coops too, and let them lodge as well as feed like Poultry. And the truth on't is, they don't tie down their Horses Heads with Haulters (as we do) when they stand in the Stable, but give them their Liberty, or at most fasten a Rope on to their hinder Feet, and we know Poultry are often tied by the Legs. But after all it must be said that Horses are no where better allow'd and more dainty look'd to than here; for every individual Horse has his Man to dress and wait upon him; which is better attendance than many an honest Man can pretend to, who has neither Horse nor Man to be his Servant.

Rhinoceros.

But the Quadrupeds of most fame and wonder in this Country are the Rhinocerots and the Elephants. The former are not very common, and therefore more admired. They are very large square Beasts, much bigger than any *English* Ox of the largest size. Their Skin (which is thick, tough and without Hair) lies in great folds like Armour upon their Necks, Breasts, and Backs. They have short but very strong Horns (planted upon firm Bones) that lie over their Nostrils, and are recurve, growing upwards towards the top of their Heads. Each Rhinoceros is fortified with one of those Horns, which renders them so terrible, that most of your other Creatures void them as much as they can. They make certain Cups of these Horns, which are reported to communicate a Medicinal Vertue to the Liquor that stands some time in them.

Elephant.

The Elephant requires a larger story, as a Creature much better known, and in far greater use; but being become now so familiar and well known to the World as 'tis, the particular Description of it may be omitted, to make the more room for other Observations concerning it. Their stature is reckon'd to be from nine or ten to fourteen or fifteen Foot in height, and with all this mighty bulk they can't be imagin'd to move very fast; they do at best rather walk than pace, but make amends for their

Lowness

ſlowneſs, in their ſure and true going, for they never fall nor ſtumble.

The Females go twelve Months with their Young: 'Tis thirty Years before they come to their full growth, and they live the uſual Age of a Man.

They are the moſt governable and eaſily managed Creatures in the World; as a mighty Ship is turn'd about by the force of a ſmall Helm, ſo are theſe vaſt Frames determin'd in their Motions by a mean and deſpicable power. The Governour uſes only a ſmall Rod of Steel made ſharp and crooked at the end like a Hook; upon the leaſt twitch or pull, with which the Creature diſpoſes himſelf to Obedience. A Boy of twelve Years old may do this Office, and rule the biggeſt Elephant in *India*, provided it be not in their Madding-time; that is, when the Males grow hot with deſire of the Females.

This Fit laſts for ſome Days, and then they come to good Temper again; but while 'tis upon them, they play the Devil at that rate, that two or three Troops of Horſe is little enough to keep one of them in order. They ſtrike any thing that comes in their way, but their Keepers; and what they ſtrike they beat to Pummice, or cruſh the Bones of, be it Man, Horſe, Aſs, or Camel. They drive all the Town before them, when they break looſe in their mad Fit; the People run helter skelter, and tumble over one another, to avoid the Tread of the angry Monſter: And 'tis better to do ſo, tho' a Man gets a broken Head or Shin by it, than to be kick'd to Death by an Elephant. The only way they have to ſtop them in their Career, is, to fire a Train of Gunpowder about their Ears; this puts them into a Fright, and when they ſee the Flaſh, they'll ſtand ſtill and tremble.

All the while this Heat is upon them, they ſweat prodigiouſly, and ſtink at that rate, that a Pig-ſty is a Perfume to it: They ſay, 'tis like the rank and filthy Scent of a Boar that's a fatting, but as much worſe than that, as the Boar is leſs than the Elephant. To prevent all Miſchiefs that may be done by them in their Fury, as ſoon as ever they begin to grow diſorderly, they are fetter'd with ſtrong Chains to the Bodies of great Trees; but ſometimes the Frenzy is too ſtrong for the Iron, and the Beaſt, in ſpite of all, takes his Ramble.

But to go on with their good and commendable Qualities: There's hardly any Creature ſo much admired for his Sence, ſo docible, (and if the application of that term to a Beaſt may be allowed) ſo underſtanding as the Elephant is: All the Stories reported of them, are, perhaps, no more to be believ'd, than thoſe that are told of Foxes and Monkeys, which ſome People have made as wiſe as the moſt accompliſh'd Politicians of the Country. But there are ſome Paſſages remarkable, and odd enough (taken from the Obſervation of our Authors, and the certain and conſtant Reports of credible Perſons in the Country) that are ſufficient to juſtifie that Character of ſtrange Sence and Apprehenſion, which is commonly fix'd upon this Creature. Thus they tell us, that an Elephant will deport and manage himſelf towards another Perſon, according to the private Inſtructions given him by his Keeper. If he order him to fright a Man, the Elephant will march up to him with a ſeeming Fury, as if he meant to tread him in pieces, and when he is at him, do him no harm at all. If he be bid abuſe or affront a Man, he'll take Water up in his Trunk, and ſpout it out upon him, or Dirt perhaps, and daſh it in his Face. So alſo they are extreamly ſenſible of any Kindneſs done them, and nicely remember the Perſons that have at any time obliged them, by making much of them, or giving them Victuals.

Relations of Elephants.

At *Aſmere* (where the *Great Mogol* then reſided), there was one of his Elephants that uſed to be frequently lead through the Market, and commonly as he paſſed along, a certain Herb-woman that had a Stall there, uſed to give him a Bunch of green Herbs: It happen'd one time, that this Elephant being in his Heats, broke looſe from his Keepers, and took his way through the Market; all the People endeavouring to ſecure themſelves from him, by flying and hiding as well as they could. Amongſt the reſt this Herb-woman ran away too, and being in a great Hurry and Fright, left her young Child behind her upon the Stall. The Elephant was not ſo mad, but he ſtopp'd at the place where he uſed to have his Bunch of Herbs, and ſeeing the Child lie there, he takes it tenderly up in his Trunk, and goes and lays it down (without the leaſt harm in the World) upon a Stall of a neighbouring Houſe: When he had done this ſober Action, and thus expreſs'd his Gratitude to his Benefactor, away he went in his mad Courſe as before.

And if at any time they are miſus'd, and receive Injuries, they are as implacably prejudiced againſt thoſe Perſons that have affronted them, and ſure to revenge it, if ever they have a fair opportunity. One of them did in this formal manner, lay, and execute a Plot to be revenged of his Governour that had abus'd him.

Being upon a Journey, it ſeems, the Man was laid down to ſleep, but was poſted ſo out of the Elephant's reach, that he could not ſtrike him either with his Trunk or Teeth. However, having ſome green Canes by him, he takes one of them, and having ſplit it with his Trunk a conſiderable way, he reaches out that end of it that was ſplit, and twiſting the Man's Hair pretty ſecurely in it, by that means he dragg'd him down to him: What he did with him, is eaſie to be imagin'd, the Elephant did not play that Trick for nothing. And 'tis a very common thing for theſe Creatures to be taught and managed ſo, as to take up young Children in their Trunks, toſs and ſwing them about, and then ſet them down again, with as much Care and Tenderneſs as their Mothers could have done. The *Great Mogol* once made his own Son, a young Prince of ſeven Years old, be thus toſs'd about by one of his managed Elephants, and after the little Prince, the Children of ſeveral of his Nobles that were there preſent, and none receiv'd the leaſt Injury imaginable. From all which Inſtances (tho' a great many more may be collected up and down), a Man will ſee Reaſon enough to fall out with a *Carteſian*, with whom all theſe Creatures are ſo many Pieces of meer Clockwork, and their Actions the Effects purely of Wheel and Spring, as 'tis in common artificial Machines.

Such a Story is evidently too vain and frivolous to deſerve a ſerious Refutation; however, as long as there are any Animals alive, it will not want innumerable ones, and the *Carteſians*, by converſing with Nature, and obſerving the Actions of Animals, may eaſily convert themſelves to more reaſonable Opinions, and together with Wheel and Spring, learn to acknowledge alſo the Influence and Preſence of a more noble and ſteddy Principle in the Government and Determination of theſe Creatures Motions.

The Elephants having ſuch mighty Carkaſſes, are not to be maintain'd with a little, eſpecially if they are well kept (as all the *Mogol*'s are), 'tis very chargeable: There's none of them that are called the Royal Elephants, of which there is Three hundred, but eat him 70 Roupies a piece (a Day) in Grain, Butter, and Sugar; but they can't ſpend upon a Maſter that's better able to afford it. Take them out of their mad Fits, and they are not found to have Vigour and Courage proportional to their huge Bulk. An *Engliſh* Maſtiff boldly aſſaulted one of them, faſtned upon his Trunk, and the Elephant having ſwung him up and down a great while, at laſt threw him to a conſiderable diſtance from him, and was very glad to be rid of him ſo: This was one of the Dogs that was preſented to the *Great Mogol* by the *Engliſh* Merchants; and when this Story was told him, he was exceedingly pleas'd at it; the Dogs were entertain'd, and lived at a mighty rate, they were carried up and down with him in Palankees, had each of them four Men to attend them, and to fan away the Flies; and the *Mogol* had a Pair of Silver Tongs made on purpoſe, that he might feed them with his own hand.

To conclude the Account of this Animal, it is confidently affirmed of them by all their Keepers, that they will never uſe their Females in the preſence of any Spectator, and that in all thoſe Natural Actions they are ſo reſerved and cloſe, that they will not endure any to be near them, while they are about them: A ſtrange Inſtance of Modeſty in a Brute, and as remarkable as any of their Qualities that are known to us.

Lyons, Tygers, &c.

As for other Animals, our Accounts are not ſo particular: There are Lions and Tygers, Wolves, and Jackals, ſome of which do often ramble about in the Night-time viſiting the Tents of Travellers, and ſtealing away their Sheep and Goats: Nay, in Towns that are near great Woods, they'll come into the very Yards of the Houſes, leap a Wall, and carry off their Prey cleverly along with them.

More than this, they very commonly hunt under Ground for Prey as well as above it, the Dead can't reſt in their Graves for them, but (unleſs they are buried very deep) they'll remove them into another Sepulchre, their own hungry Bellies.

The Rats, in ſome old Towns, are very troubleſome, and in their proportion as ravenous as the Lions. Our *Engliſh-men* complain, that ſome of them were bitten as they lay in their Beds; that the Rats would fall a nibbling their Toes, or the Tips of their Ears, or ſometimes the Tops of their Noſes, or any part that lay expoſed to them. In the mean time, to be ſure, they could not ſleep very ſound, while all this Miſchief was a doing; for otherwiſe 'twould make a Man ſtare pretty ſufficiently to wake in the Morning, and miſs two or three Toes, or find his

Ears gone, when he was ſure all was ſafe and well at his going to Bed.

Inſects, &c. The other Troublers of their Repoſe are the Flies, the Muſquetoons, and the Chinches, ſome of which by Day, and the others by Night, do exerciſe the Patience of Men, whoſe Lot is caſt in this Country. The former are a ſort of Gnats, and the latter are like Tikes, and are the worſe Plague of the two by far; for they bite while they are alive, and ſtink naſtily when they are dead; ſo that a Man had better endure the Torment of their biting, than have the Poyſon of their foul ſtench.

The Scorpions are the moſt dangerous and terrible of all, and they creep into their Houſes very much, when the rainy Seaſons come on. The little Inſtrument they do the Miſchief with is very ſharp, hard, and crooked, like the Talon of a Hawk, they don't thruſt it in and out of their Bodies, as ſome other Creatures do their Stings, but it always appears in their Tails ready mounted, to give the fatal prick. The Remedy they uſe, is an Oyl of Scorpions; or if they can catch the Scorpion it ſelf that gave the Wound, they bruiſe it, and apply it to the part: This, if preſently done, ſeldome fails of giving Relief.

The Lizards run very commonly about their Houſes too, but theſe are very harmleſs Creatures, and may be allowed for Domeſticks well enough.

Thus we have taken a ſhort View of Nature in *India*; we ſhall now paſs to Matters of Civil and Political Conſideration.

The Trade, &c. For which ſee Capt. *Sarit's* Account of the Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies* and others up & down. And firſt as for the Trade of the Country, we ſhall have no need to inſiſt long upon that, the Voyages of this Book will give a very ſufficient Account of it. We may ſee by them, what the Merchants have done, what Commodities they have carried thither, and brought back from thence. In general, 'tis enough to ſay, that the moſt ſtaple Commodities of the Empire, are Indico and Cotton-Wool. They draw all their Spices from the ſame places that we fetch ours, from *Java*, *Sumatra*, the *Banda* and *Molucca* Iſles: For *Indoſtan*, as rich as 'tis, wants good ſtore of Clove, Nutmeg, and Cinamon-Trees. A little Silk they have amongſt them, which their own Country produces, but the greateſt Quantities are brought from *Perſia* and *Georgia*, which are capable of furniſhing the whole World with that Commodity.

Their beſt outward Trade is to *Moha* in the *Red Sea*, whither a Ship of an extraordinary great Burden goes from *Surat* once a Year conſtantly. The main Commodities vented there, are Cotton-Wool, and Cotton-Cloth, white and ſtain'd; and their Returns are moſt commonly all (or the moſt part) in Money, Gold, and Silver, to the Value of 200000 *l.* at a time.

The Coyn. See Captain *Payton's* Second Voyage. Their common Coyn is Roupies, and Mamoodies, both of Silver, but different in their Values; the former being between Two Shillings and Two Shillings and Six-pence, and the latter about Twelve-pence; but both of them are made in Halves, and ſome few in Quarters; ſo that Three-pence is the leaſt Piece of Silver current in the Country, and very few of them to be ſeen. The Silver Coyn is made either round or ſquare, but all ſo thick, that it never breaks or wears out; 'tis beſides very fine and pure too, having nothing of Allay: Upon this account, even in the *Spaniſh* Money it ſelf (which is the pureſt of all *Europe*), there is ſome loſs.

They have ſome Gold Coyn too, and that extraordinarily good, and Pieces of very great value; but theſe very ſeldom come abroad. All Foreign Coyn and Bullion, when it comes into theſe parts, is preſently melted down and refined, and being new coyn'd, has the *Mogol's* Stamp (which is his Name and Titles, in *Perſian* Characters) ſet upon it. All People are very welcome, that will bring their Bullion or Money in hither, and carry away their Merchandice for it; but 'tis a Crime not eaſily forgiven, to tranſport any Quantity of Money from hence.

Markets, or Bazars. In all the great Towns they keep two Markets every Day; the firſt in the Morning a little before Sun-riſing, and for about an Hour after: And the ſecond, when the Sun is as low in the Evening. 'Twould be impoſſible for ſuch Crowds of People as frequent theſe Markets, to come together without ſweltering, and almoſt ſtifling one another in the Heat of the Day: And therefore they take the Cool of the Morning and Evening to do Buſineſs in, and paſs the ſcorching Hours of the Day in their Houſes, or ſome ſhady Retreats in their Gardens, where they ſleep and enjoy the Pleaſures that Nature has afforded them.

The People, &c. Their Colour, Dreſs, &c. The Natives of this Country, are, for the generality, a handſome and well-made People. Their Complexion is Olive, or a ſad Tawny; and tho' this be not beautiful in *Europe*, yet 'tis in *India*, where Nature has made it their Colour. They don't envy the *Europeans* their white and fair Skins, nor think thoſe People ſo charming that look like Alabaſter, in compariſon to themſelves: For they ſay, all Leprous People are white, 'tis the Colour of that foul Diſtemper, and they don't care for't upon that ſcore.

There are very few crooked deform'd People amongſt them; hardly ſuch a thing as a Hunch-back to be ſeen all over *India*, a Man of undue Size, or irregular Proportions.

Their Hair is very black, but ſtreight, and not at all like that of the *Africans*: The *Mahometans* wear no Hair upon their Chins, but that on their upper Lips they ſuffer to grow as long as 'twill. And to preſerve the Colour of it, they uſe very much Black Lead Combs, which do their Buſineſs effectually, 'till Old Age begins to thruſt out Grey Hairs; Hairs that in ſpite of all the Black Lead Combs, will ſhew their Colour, and tell them 'tis in vain to uſe thoſe Arts any longer. Then they quit the uſe of the Razor, and let all the Hair of their Faces grow to its full length: But thoſe that do this, are either very Old Men, or ſome of the Prieſts, that fancy a Sacredneſs in a long Beard, and think they ſpeak with more Authority to the People, when they blow their Words out through a Thicket of overgrown Hairs. The *Mahometan Indians* too ſhave all the Hair off from their Heads, one Lock only excepted, which is left upon the Crown; and that is for the Prophet to take hold of at the Day of Judgment, and drag them up to Paradiſe by. The Heathen part (call'd Hindoes) not expecting to be pull'd up in that manner, leave no Lock at all upon the Crown, nor no where elſe, but ſhave all off: So that where-ever their Paradiſe lies, and however they get to it, they think to be fetch'd in a civiller way than that the *Mahometans* talk of.

Shaving being ſo conſtant and frequent a Practice amongſt them, there are conſequently a great number of Barbers, who make their Buſineſs and Province ſomething larger than our *European* Barbers do. In ſhort, they trim a Man from Head to Foot, pare off all his Superfluities; not only his Hair, but his Nails upon Fingers and Toes, and cut his Corns too. They carry a Steel Speculum always about with them, which is as large as a Trencher, and ſomething gibbous, and being well poliſh'd, ſerves almoſt as well as a common Looking-Glaſs; only 'tis certain, that the Convexity of it ſomething deforms the Image, and may poſſibly ſhew a Man an uglier Face than he really has. When they meet a Man that they think needs trimming, they don't ask him, Whether he will pleaſe to be ſhaved or no? But without any more adoe, whip their Glaſſes out of their Pockets, and ſhew him his Face: This they think is a better way to perſwade a Man to come into their Hands, than to make a Leg, and ask to be ſet a-work.

Their Habit both Men and Women. The Dreſs and Habit of this Country is uniform and invariable; they always keep to the ſame Mode; the higheſt Lord, and the pooreſt Peaſant, have their Cloaths made the ſame way. The former perhaps appears in his rich Silks or Embroideries, and the latter in ſome coarſe Stuff; but as for the Faſhion, the Lord and the Countryman are both upon a Level, and the one is as Genteel as the other.

Their Garb is a Coat that ſits cloſe and tight to their Bodies, and reaches to (or below) their Knees: Under this they have another ſhorter, and laſtly a ſort of Breeches like the *Iriſh* Trouſes, that come down to their Ankles, and ruffle upon the Small of the Leg. The Grandees make their braveſt Apparel of Silks, Taffata's, or Cloths of Gold and Silver; but moſt commonly fine white Callico Lawn is the wear. Their Head-Covering is ſome fine Cloth (perhaps as their Quality is, embroider'd or flouriſh'd with Silk, Gold, or Silver) wreath'd ſeveral times about, the Ends of which are ſometimes fringed, and diſpoſed ſo as to hang in ſight. About their Waſtes they wear a Girdle that comes twice about, of the ſame Stuff, and adorn'd with a Fringe. Our *Engliſh* Scarlet Broad Cloth is a thing they mightily admire, and abundance of the Great Men make it their upper Garment; but the heat and thickneſs of it will not allow it to be worn in the hot Country but in the cooleſt Weather, and that in the cooleſt part of the Day too.

As for the Womens Dreſs, 'tis not ſo eaſie to give an exact Account of that, ſince (unleſs they are either leud or poor) they are not ſeen abroad, and no Stranger has the Privilege of ſeeing them at home.

Since the Females of Quality then (whoſe Dreſs is to be ſuppos'd the Perfection of the Country in that kind) are thus retired and out of the way; we muſt turn our Eyes to the Vulgar, and ſee in what manner their Cloaths are hung on, and what they are. And here 'tis ſaid of them, that they dreſs almoſt like the Men; they wear Coats, and it ſeems Breeches too, which moſt Women would be glad to do as well as they. But the *Indian* Women wear them

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in the literal Sence universally, and abundance of them do it in the Metaphorical to some purpose; but this it seems is a Court Fashion, and the *Great Mogul*'s beloved *Normahal* sets them an example. Over their Heads they cast a Callico Veil, which covers their other Garments, and will hardly suffer their Breeches to be seen. They bore their Ears not only in the flaps, but all round about, for the conveniency of hanging a multitude of Pendants in them; their Nostrils are pierced too to receive a Ring or two that must be hung there; and upon their Wrists and the small of their Legs they wear others fitted to those parts: All these Ornaments are of Gold, Silver, Brass or Iron, according to their Ability.

Their Temper and Qualities, &c.

But to go from the outward to the inward Dress, the Temper and Qualities of their Minds. They are a People of a strong and quick Apprehension, ready Wits, and very great Fancy and Ingenuity in all manner of fine Works.

This, their delicate stain'd Cloths, their Silks, their Cotton Carpets of so many mingled Colours; in short, all their flower'd Works in Silk, Gold and Silver, are plentiful Evidences of. Then they make all sorts of Cabinets, Boxes, Standishes, Trunks, &c, with that exquisite Skill and Fancy, that they deserve to be reckon'd amongst the Master Work-men of the World in all these Respects.

Their Ingenuity, and curious Works.

They'll inlay (with Elephants Tooth, Mother of Pearl, Ebony, Tortoise-shell, or Wire) any thing that is capable of being wrought upon; they work abundance of Cups out of Agate, Cornelian and other fine Stones; polish and cut all manner of Jewels, and understand the value of them as well when they have done. They know how to buy and sell all those nice ticklish Commodities, and he that gets the better of them in a Bargain must be a very cunning Man indeed. Then in all the Arts of Colouring, Limning, Varnishing, Dying, they are Second to no People whatsoever. Faces they do admirably well; and will draw any thing immediately, either from the Life or another Copy; however 'tis all done to the Life, and he that sees their Pictures, will easily know the Originals.

Civility to Strangers.

With all this Wit and Towardliness, there goes along (at least as to the major part) a good share of obliging Humour and carriage.

They are civil and courteous enough to Strangers; and those that won't wrong and affront them, may sit as secure and easie there, as under their own Vines and Fig-trees. 'Tis true there are some of another kidney to be met with sometimes, troops of Thieves that go robbing and spoiling up and down, and observe no Law but that of enriching themselves by the plunder of others; but we are now discoursing of the People, not of the Vermin of the Country; into the Catalogue of which all such Creatures are to be brought as are hurtful and injurious to Mankind. Take the People that you converse with almost any where in the Empire, and you'll find them (very few excepted) such as won't disturb your repose if you don't first disturb theirs. Many of them are very patient, gentle, and good natur'd too, and will take Affronts tho' they won't give them.

An Instance of Patience.

There was a remarkable Instance of this in a very great Man, (no less than the Governour of *Surat*'s Brother) and one that had Power enough to have punish'd, if he had been revengefully dispos'd. This great Person was riding in State thro' the Street at *Surat*, when up comes to him an *English* Cook, that belong'd to Sir *Thomas Row*, staggering drunk, and forc'd to rest upon his own Sword to preserve himself from tumbling. His first Salutation was, Now you Heathen Dog! to which, when the Noble-man only replied, *Caca-ta, Caca-ta*, What sayest thou? The Cook endeavour'd to tell him by his Sword (since he was too drunk to talk much himself) making a sound blow at him. One would have thought the Retinue of this great Person, should have drest the insolent Cook at such a rate, as would have spoil'd his making Sauces and dressing Dinners for the time to come. However he was only siez'd and confin'd, till word was sent to the Embassadour; and tho' the Honourable Person freely resigned him to the utmost Punishment they thought fit to inflict upon him, yet he was presently sent home again, without any farther harm done him. Now the Question is, Which was the Heathen Dog of these two? the reviling drunken *English* Man, or the sober temperate *Indian*, that govern'd his own Passions under so unreasonable an Abuse?

Submission to their Superiours.

'Tis a farther just Commendation of these People, that they are generally possess'd with Principles of a most profound Respect and Veneration for their Superiours. They adore their Prince, and keep his Laws with a most Religious Zeal and Constancy. All inferiour Magistrates have the like Respect in proportion amongst them; and even in the smallest Government (private Families) the Word of the Master is a Law, which is obeyed by all his Servants without dispute or grumbling.

Cowardliness.

But after all is said, they are (for the greatest part) a timorous, cowardly and mean spirited People. They had rather by half eat than quarrel, and quarrel than fight; and they will sometimes give one another such scurvy Language (as would not go off without Blood amongst People of more Mettle) and yet neither strike a stroke nor offer to draw all the while. 'Tis common with them to stand scolding in their Armour, and with all their Weapons about them; and if one has Courage to take another by the Throat and collar him, he's a mighty Souldier for this, and the Spectators presently cry out *Sha-Abbas*; by this they mean, 'tis a Noble Action, and as well done as *Sha-Abbas* himself could have done it; that famous *Persian* King, whose Valour is the Matter of a Proverb in this Country. And the *Great Mogul* himself used to say, that one *Portugueze* would beat three of his *Indians*, and one *English* Man three *Portugueze*; so that according to the Prince's computation, the *English* Valour is to the *Indian* as nine to one. But this is not to be taken as universally true, and without all exception, throughout the whole Empire. For within the Bounds of it are the *Baloches*, which are *Mahometans*, the *Patans* in *Bengala*, and the *Resboots*, a Sect of the *Pagan Indians*, which are Men of Noble Spirits and Resolution, and will look any Adversary or Danger in the Face. These are made use of as Guards and Convoys upon all Occasions, in which Offices they are wonderfully diligent and faithful, and will die upon the spot before they'll desert their Charge. They serve at very low and reasonable rates, demanding no more than five Shillings a Month for a Man; and if you pay them these Wages duly and punctually, if you have occasion for any of their Lives, and can't be secur'd by other means, they'll freely part with them in your Service. And besides, they are generally of such just Principles too, that if they have their Pay before-hand, and should happen to be afterwards warn'd to provide themselves other Masters; they will serve out their appointed time, and you cannot get them to leave you, before they have performed their Bargain. But then you must be sure to keep touch with them, and pay them their Hire, precisely at a Day, for otherwise they'll give you warning to provide your selves with other Servants.

The Valour, Trustiness, &c.

A pleasant Story of a *Resboot*.

Thus it happen'd to some of Sir *Thomas Row*'s Company; upon a Journey to Court; their Money was gone, and a certain *Resboot* that attended them left them upon the Road, because he saw their Stock was just out, and it would not last to pay him punctually upon his Day. But however before he went away, he goes to take his leave of the Camel, that was his peculiar Charge, and made a Speech to him to this purpose, That he had tended and led him thus long, and been a very kind and faithful Governour to him (as he knew very well) but now his Masters Money fail'd, and he must be gone; but he prayed God to bless him for the remaining part of the Journey, and send him some other Governour to look after him that might be as careful and good to him as he had been. Had the Camel had the Gift of Understanding and Speech, there's no doubt but he would have said *Amen* to this Prayer, being so much for his good; but however the *Indian*, when he had concluded it, went off, and would not stay with them, tho' they were to have a fresh Return of Money in two Days.

Their Scrupulous Care in preserving the Lives of Animals.

Another thing very observable in the Temper and Humour of this People is, their strange tenderness of the Lives of all sorts of Animals; and it may be, 'tis the best way to excuse their cowardliness to account for't from hence, that 'tis a Principle amongst them not to shed Blood. 'Tis true this Humour does not spread in the extremity of it all round the Country, but lies mostly among the *Hindoes* or Heathen part, of which there are various Sects and Subdivisions; yet they are all in general tenderer of their living Creatures here, than in most places besides.

But the scrupulous Sect of them is nice and scrupulous indeed. They can't bear to see a Flie so much as haunted and persecuted by another Person; but for their own parts, they'll let them crawl into their Mouths rather than kill them. They may bite and sting them, but they'll not be provoked to be their Murderers. So far from that, that they'll pay Redemption Money for them, and buy the Lives of these vexatious Animals, at any time when they are in danger.

The *English* Boys have got many a Penny in Ransoms for Flies, and Tikes, and Musquetoons; for the Hindoes go upon a most merciful Principle, and know that

that if they were Flies themſelves, they ſhould not be willing to be ſqueez'd to death between the cruel Fingers of the Boys. (Tho' by the way, if a Man would give a looſe to his humour he might quickly ſpend an Eſtate at it, and ſtarve and beggar his own Family, by ſaving the Lives of Inſects, that will plague him when he has done) Oh! how would the Emperor *Domitian* (that celebrated Fly-catcher) have been loved by theſe People? or had the *Romans* been as tender-hearted as the *Indians* are, what good Earnings might he have made on't, by ſaving many Thouſands of innocent Lives, that have been barbarouſly ſacrificed in his Cloſet? But then 'tis not only theſe little fluttering Animals that the *Hindoes* are ſo kind to, but all others tho' ever ſo noxious and offenſive; they are mild and gentle to the very worſt upon the Face of the Earth, and won't deſtroy a Creature that may poſſibly, either poiſon or devour them. But if they are harmleſs and inoffenſive ones, they do all that can be for their Eaſe and Comfort; and therefore 'tis confidently reported, that the *Banyans* do build Hoſpitals for them, where they place all their feeble, lame, diſeaſed Animals, and uſe means to recover them to Health and Strength again. And 'tis pity thoſe Perſons that reported this, had not gone a little a farther, and told us too, what Salary the *Banyans* allow to the Governour, and Phyſician in ordinary, to one of thoſe beaſtly Hoſpitals. This would have been ſomething particular; but ſince it is denied us, we'll leave the matter as it is; the Founders of thoſe Buildings and the Doctors too, to the Thanks of the miſerable Patients that are lodged there.

Their Religion, &c.

We will now conſider the State of Religion in the Country.

It has been obſcurely hinted before upon another Occaſion, that the Inhabitants are of two ſorts, *Mahometans* and pure *Pagans*.

The former are by far the leſs number, but they are the more conſiderable Perſons; for this is the Court Religion, and not only the Prince himſelf, but almoſt all the Grandees throughout the Country are of it, at leaſt thoſe that are in places of the higheſt Dignity and Truſt.

As for the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, it came into the Country with this race of Emperours. In *Tamerlane's* time, and ſo all along till the Conqueſt, the Religion was entirely *Pagan*, and there were as many ſorts of Deities in vogue, as there were petty Princes that had their ſhares in this huge Empire. Not but that the ſame Superſtitions continue ſtill in being amongſt the *Resboots*, and the various Sects of the *Hindoes*; but at that time there was nothing elſe, 'twas all pure *Paganiſm*; there was no party amongſt them that profeſs'd the Knowledge and Worſhip of one Supreme Being (without the corruption of Images and Inferiour Deities) as the *Mahometans* do. 'Tis needleſs to go to deſcribing their Religion at large; 'tis enough to ſay that they are *Mahometans*, and that they believe and practiſe as others of that way do. The main difference is, that they are not ſuch ſtiff, rigid *Mahometans* as ſome others in the World are: Any Perſon has the liberty not only to profeſs his own Religion, but alſo to maintain it by Argument againſt theirs. This would coſt a Man his life amongſt the *Turks*, *Moors*, or *Arabs*, who will ſooner by half ſtab a Chriſtian than enter into a Diſpute with him. But the *Indians* are more cool and free in their Tempers and Principles; they will maintain the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, but at the ſame time they'll give another Man leave to defend that of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Story of *Tom Coryat*.

Tom Coryat had once a pretty warm Diſpute with one of the *Molla's*, or Prieſts; and the Queſtion that lay betwixt them was, which of the two was the Muſſulman, that is, the True Believer. And after a great many Words ſpent on both ſides, our Country-man *Coryat* ended the Diſpute with this witty diſtinction; that he himſelf was the Orthodox-Muſſulman, and the Prieſt was the Pſeudodox-Muſſulman; that is, he was the True True Believer, and the other was the False True Believer; a finer and ſubtiler diſtinction than ever was coin'd in any *Mahometan* School in *India*. The ſame Perſon did at another time as remarkably diſcover his Zeal for Chriſtianity, as now he did his happy Talent in deciding Controverſies; but what Prudence he demonſtrated by it all the World may judge. For as the *Molla's* were one Day (according to the Cuſtom) calling the People to their Devotion from the high Turrets of the Moſques, bawling out *La Alla illa Alla Mubammed Reſululla*; *Coryat* gets up upon the top of ſome very high Houſe juſt over againſt them, and ſcreams out (in a Tongue that they very well underſtood) *La Alla illa Alla Hazaret Eeſa Reſululla*, There is no God but one God, and the Lord Jeſus is the Prophet of God; beſides this, he told them *Mahomet* was an Impoſtor, and all their Religion a meer lye and a cheat, and abundance more to the ſame purpoſe, which the Zeal of this Orthodox-Muſſulman then dictated to him. Now had this mad trick been plaid in any other part of *Aſia*, he had died with all the torments that could have been invented; but the milder *Indians* paſſed it by, and beſides *Coryat* had the happineſs to be thought mad by ſome of them, and upon all theſe Accounts they let him alone.

The Moguls no ſtanch Mahometans.

But then beſides, the Princes of this Country (tho' they have been *Mahometans*) have yet perhaps ſome of them, been the looſeſt and moſt careleſs in their Principles of any of that Sect that ever were in the World. They have not ſcrupled to oppoſe and contradict *Mahomet* himſelf, to pretend to ſtand in competition with him, for the Honour of the Prophetſhip, and inveſt themſelves with the ſame Character. Thus *Ecbar Sha* finding himſelf as great a Prince as *Mahomet*, ſet up for as good a Prophet too, and made himſelf the Head of a party. And his Son *Selim Sha* propagated his Fathers Hereſie with vigour, nay, carried it higher than ever he did; for whereas he pretended but to ſtand upon a Level with *Mahomet*, the other rais'd himſelf above him; the Father was a good, but the Son would needs be a better Prophet, and thereupon he made a new Law according to his own fancy, containing the Doctrines of *Moſes*, *Jeſus*, *Mahomet*, and the *Bramins* jumbled all together. And he had his Diſciples too (at leaſt ſome that to flatter him called themſelves ſo) and was very glad at any time when any Company about him would run a diviſion againſt *Mahomet*, tho' 'twas ever obſerv'd, that he never either ſpoke himſelf or countenanc'd in any other, an indecent Word of our Bleſſed Saviour.

'Tis more obſervable ſtill (and a greater Argument of their coolneſs in the *Mahometan* Religion) that the two Princes lately mention'd have given conſiderable Encouragements to Chriſtianity. Not ſo much out of Love to that, as to Novelty, to pleaſe their own Fancies, and ſhew their Authority.

Jeſuits ſent into *India*.

The famous Jeſuit *Xavierius* was ſent from *Goa* to *Agra*, in *A. D.* 1596. on purpoſe to argue the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, before *Ecbar* (then Reigning) and the *Mahometan Mollas*. That Jeſuit ſpoke the *Perſian* and *Indoſtan* Tongues perfectly well (which was a wonderful Advantage to him) and as much a Papiſt as he was, he managed that point like a Chriſtian, and to the Honour of the Author of his Religion. The *Molla's* were able to make no Exceptions againſt that noble Scheme of the Chriſtian Religion, which *Xavierius* preſented them with. He demonſtrated the perfect reaſonableneſs of it, from the Perfections of God, and the Nature and lapſed Condition of Man; making it out in the firſt place by clear and undeniable Proofs, that the Human Nature could not poſſibly have come out of the Creators finiſhing Hand, with all thoſe ſtains and blemiſhes that are now ſo conſpicuous in it; from whence the Father inferr'd Man's degeneration from his primitive Integrity, and the neceſſity (conſequently) of a Redemption. Then he demonſtrated from all the Characters both of the Perſon, Doctrine, and Miracles of Jeſus, that as he was the great Meſſenger of God, and qualified to be the Redeemer of Mankind; ſo the World never ſaw any beſides himſelf that could, without the higheſt Blaſphemy, pretend to be ſo. In ſhort that Prince not only heard *Xavierious* patiently from one end of his Argument to the other, but kept him at his Court (to preach the ſame Doctrine to him) for a Year and a half.

But at laſt he gave him leave to return to *Goa*, and told him he would ſend for him ſome other time, to hear him reaſon again upon thoſe matters; but that time never came, and the Prince here put a ſtop to his Enquiries into the Chriſtian Religion. The good Father however had this Honour, to have born a Teſtimony to the Name of Jeſus, before the greateſt King upon the Earth.

One thing by the way is remarkable enough in this *Ecbar Sha*, whether before or after his acquaintance with *Xavierius* is not certain. And that is, that when 'twas told at the Court, that the *Portugueze* had hanged the *Alcoran* about an Aſſes Neck, and ſo whipp'd him about the Streets of *Ormus* in contempt of the *Mahometans*; and the old Empreſs his Mother came in a great rage, and demanded of him that our Bible might be treated in like manner at *Agra*; the Prince replied, No, tho' the *Portugueze* had done very ill in what they had done, yet Religion muſt not ſuffer for their Crime, and the Bible being an innocent Book, was not to be diſgraced becauſe the *Alcoran* had been ſo.

Liberties granted to the Jeſuits in *India*.

Sha Selim his Son and Succeſſour, has not leſs countenanc'd Chriſtianity than he did, (but all things conſider'd) a great deal more. For ſeveral Jeſuits having ſetled there, he gave them free leave to make as many Converts as they could

could, declaring at the same time that no Man should lose his Favour by becoming a Christian. The truth on't is, he does not greatly care what Religion his Subjects are, so they are true and loyal to him; but then Christianity setting so strong a guard upon the Honour and Rights of Princes as it does, 'tis no wonder that a Prince that knew any thing of its tenderness in all those points, should be willing to have his Subjects made Christians. And 'tis known of this Prince that he has prais'd and rewarded the Constancy of those in their Christian Profession, whom neither Threatnings nor Promises could remove from it, when he made use of those methods for trials sake. But if he found any Man play tricks with that or any other Religion, use it to serve a turn, or as a shooing Horn to any secular Interest, he would certainly punish him if he were within his reach. He hated Hypocrisie in his Subjects, and could not endure to see any of them half Fish and half Flesh, tho' he himself was reducible to no predicament; being neither *Christian*, *Mahometan*, nor *Heathen*, but a *quid Compositum* of them all; if any thing was Master in him above the rest, it was the Atheist. Yet would this Prince sometimes as strenuously defend the Christian Religion by Argument in publick, as the most zealous Prince in Christendom could have done; as he did particularly when Father *Corsi* (a *Florentine* Jesuit, and a Man of better Principles than the most of his Order then in *India*) was so hard put upon by Sultan *Caroon* in his presence.

The Jesuits Chapel it seems having been accidentally fired, and all the Furniture consumed, a certain wooden Crucifix only happen'd to scape the rage of the Flame. The King (who used this Person very familiarly) sent for him (or he went himself) to Court, where he told the story of the Preservation of his Crucifix. Now tho' this had been bu[illegible]'d about for a great Miracle, yet the Jesuit had more Sense than to use such a poor thing as an Argument to prove his Religion by; for he ingenuously told Sir *Thomas Row* by what means the thing came to be preserved, and it seems there must have been a Miracle almost to have destroyed it. However Sultan *Caroon* (a violent hater of all Christians) took up the matter and fell a bantering the Jesuit upon't, and told him that he and all the Company would be Baptized, if he would throw his Crucifix into a Fire there before the King's Face, and yield to be burnt himself if the Fire did not consume it. But when the Jesuit refused this unreasonable Trial, the Prince lash'd at his Religion severely, and spoke horrid irreverent things of the Author of it; and then 'twas that the King took him up, and argued from our Saviours Miracles, that he was the greatest of Prophets that ever appear'd in the World, and expos'd the *Mahometan* Saints (in comparison with him) as a Company of dreaming, insipid, empty Pretenders.

Their Religious Rites, and several sorts of Religious Persons.

Now after this is observed concerning the *Indian Mahometans*, the general Latitude and Easiness of their Principles, which is their main distinguishing Character, their Rites and Ceremonies may be learnt from the rest of the *Mahometan* World. They perform Pilgrimages, undergo bodily Labours and Severities, Pray five times a Day, wash before they begin their Devotion, and are Circumcized.

Their Sabbath is on our Friday; their Ramadam or Lent commences the first New Noon in *September*, and holds the whole Moon out; the last Day of which they spend in Morning for their deceased Friends, and set up great Lights all about their Houses, upon the expiring of which, the Ceremony ends, and they fall to their Entertainments.

They have also their Dervises and Recluses, that retire from the World, and give themselves to a Life of Contemplation and Prayer; these chuse the top of some high Hill, some snug place in a Wood, or natural Grotto for their Residence; and here they live like *Nebuchadnezzar*, with overgrown Hair and Nails, and feed like him too upon the wild Products of the Earth.

Their Mendicants, or begging Saints take a little more care of themselves; for they live in the out skirts of the great Towns and Cities, where they are within the reach of better Entertainment; these sleep all Night in the ashes of those Fires they make by Day, and take a Pride (for it can't be a pleasure) in having their naked Bodies appear all over besmear'd with them. They often take some strange intoxicating thing or other, which makes them talk wildly, and like distracted Men; and then the common People croud about them and say, they are inspired and have the Gift of Prophecy: Mad-Men it seems are Prophets in *India*, as on the other hand, Prophets are no better than Mad-Men in *Europe*. The *Hindoos* (as they call them) slash and cut themselves like the Priests of *Baal*; they make horrible Wounds and Gaps in their Bodies, to provoke the Compassion and Charity, or Wonder and Admiration of the common People; but they should serve them as *Plato* advis'd about *Diogenes*, standing up to the Ears in cold Water, let them alone and take no notice of them, and they'll quickly learn to forbear those Severities themselves.

Their Pilgrims and Votaries torment themselves (little less than the former) with their tedious Journeys, scorching their naked Feet in the Sand; they are all cover'd with blew Mantles, which is their Mourning Colour in those parts, and the never-failing badge of a Pilgrim; they travel a vast number of Miles in those horrid burning ways, to visit the Sepulchres of their famous Saints; and when they come thither they are as wise as they were before, but they think themselves wiser, and the vulgar are such fools as to think so too.

Their Marriages.

In the matters of *Marriage*, they take all the Liberty and Latitude that the Disciples of *Mahomet* in other parts of the World do. The Prophet by his Law permits them to have four Wives, and other Women as many as their Estates and Circumstances in the World will allow of. And they most of them go to the utmost Bounds of the Law, take their four Wives, tho' they are not able to keep one.

An *Indian* Servant of Sir *Thomas Row*'s would needs go out one Day to be Married (forsooth) and yet he had three Wives at the same time (with a good stock of Children) and but five Shillings a Month to maintain them all. This is drawing Bills upon God Almighty, without any Warrant or Encouragement to believe they shall ever be paid.

Their Marriage Rites are perform'd with much solemnity amongst them, and when they are over, they make as great a shew in the Streets; the Man with his Friends mount a-Horse-back, and the Woman with hers go into Coaches, and the Procession is led on with Drums and Wind-Musick.

Their Children are said to be bred up very hardily in their tenderest infancy; and the Mothers to have as easie times on't, being deliver'd one Day, and abroad the next taking the Air.

The Fire of Jealousie burns as furiously here, as in any part of the *Mahometan* World; and a Father or a Brother is hardly permitted to see his own Flesh and blood, except in the Company of her Husband. Those that have most Wives and Women, are commonly the most Jealous. (So the Miser that has the most and fullest Bags by him is the most sordid and covetous). Married Women that dishonour their Husbands Beds, and unmarried ones too that lose their Chastity, are condemn'd to the severest Punishments; and rather than they shall go without it, their own nearest Relations will be their Executioners, and do the bloody Work themselves. Notwithstanding this, there are lose Women enough to be found; they are publickly to be rented, and have leave given them to keep lewd Houses as many as can. But before they begin to practise, their Names are enroll'd in a List, that it may be known who belongs to the modest chaste Society, and who does not. Some of the finer and more polish'd of these publick Women, are often brought before the *Great Mogul*, to divert him with their Amorous Songs and Lessons upon some Musical Instrument, which is most commonly a Timbrel.

The *Hindoes* observe some Rules in their Marriages, very different from those of the *Mahometans*. They marry every one into his own Tribe, Trade and Profession, and preserve all their several Sects unmixt, by forbiding those promiscuous Alliances that the others permit without any scruple. Thus the Son of a *Bramen* marries a *Bramens* Daughter, a Merchant looks for a Wife amongst those of his own business, and a Plough-man's Daughter for a Husband amongst them that Till the Ground. They content themselves each Man with his single Wife, and think the *Mahometans* very extravagant for having four; and then their Wives live much better with them too, for they have liberty to go abroad when and where they please, they see other Faces besides their Husbands, and something more of the World than a Chamber. But 'tis very odd, that their Marriages commence so very early as they do, and that they join Children together at six or seven Years old, which also consumate their Marriage at fourteen or fifteen. Tho' 'tis probable the main Reason of this is, their Law of Marrying into their own Tribe; for by this means they have less variety of choice, and so are bound to snap a good Match when 'tis offer'd them. In their Marriage Shows they use no Coaches, but both Bride and Bridegroom ride on Horse-back; and very often each of the Couple is so young, that some are appointed to walk by their

Horses

lence and injustice for any to pretend to debar them of it. Horses sides to keep them from tumbling down. Their Cloaths are stuck all over so very close with the choice Flowers of the Country, that there's hardly any thing else to be seen, and it makes them both look like a couple of Nosegays stuck upright upon the Horses back.

Their Funerals.

These are the main Differences of their Marriages: Now as to their Funerals there is still as much more.

The *Mahometans* first wash and purifie their dead Bodies, and then decently interr them in Sepulchres. They bury none at all in their Mosques (for that's a prophanation of them) but in certain places devoted to that use, near some Tank or Pond, some fine Spring or Fountain, where they have Monuments erected in their life times, with a great deal of Art and Cost. The Truth on't is, these are some of their most Noble and Pompous Buildings that they have amongst them; they are some of them square, some six some eight corner'd, delicately vaulted, sometimes supported by rows of Pillars, and encompass'd with Doors on every side. Near them they build little Mosques for Divine Service, and all round about they plant Fruit (and other pleasant) Trees. The most famous of this kind, is that which was begun by *Ecbar Sha*, and finished by his Son *Sha Selim*, who afterwards was laid there himself. It is three fourths of a Mile square, and has a Spire in the midst that has seven distinct Taperings, each of which runs a considerable height, and in the top of all is the immediate Receptacle of the Body.

Ecbar's Sepulchre.

There's a stately Palace that stands close by it; the Gardens of which (walled with Marble) run up towards the Sepulchre, and both together take in the compass of three Miles. In short all the *English* Men that have seen it, say 'tis a truly Royal and August Building; it stands at *Secandra* a Village three Miles from *Agra*.

Custom at the Prince's Funerals.

Now we are speaking of the Prince's his Grave, 'tis not out of the way to take notice of an odd Solemnity that proceeds at his Funeral. The Dead Prince being laid in State in his Monument, the Prince that succeeds him, with all the Nobility in a full body come thither. Then are there all manner of Provisions brought, the finest Meats and richest Liquors, and the Company entertain themselves with both to the highest degree. The living Prince sits at his Table, enriching his own Carkass, and preparing a Noble Banquet for the Worms; in the place where at the same time they are feasting upon the (once as much pamper'd) Carcase of his Predecessor. In the Sepulchres of their Holy Men (of which there are abundance in *India*) there are Lamps continually burning, and certain Devout Persons appointed to maintain those Lights, and are allowed good Pensions for that purpose.

As for the *Hindoes*, they commit none of their dead Bodies to the Ground, but all to the Flames, and throw their Ashes into a River, if they have that convenience near them. Some small Portion of them indeed are preserv'd by the neareſt Relations in Memory of the deceased; but the main part is dispos'd of to the Water, by the rest that assist at the Ceremony.

Women burnt with their Husbands.

This burning of the dead Bodies was the Ancient Custom of *India*, as well as of other Nations; but the burning of living ones too at the same time seems to be more peculiar to this Country. This is an Immutable Custom amongst the *Hindoes*; the Women accompany the dead Bodies of their Husbands not only to the Funeral Pile, but ascend it together with the Corps, and consume in the same Flames. It is indeed their own free choice so to do; if they don't go of their own accord there's no body will drag them to the Fire and compel them to burn; but then there's Shame and Disgrace that attends them (especially if they have liv'd long with their Husbands) their Widowhood is a reproach, and their very neareſt Friends contemn and neglect them. They cut their Hair, and live retired from all Conversation, being to all the rest about them as so many strange Creatures dropt down from another Planet. For the most part therefore they chuse rather to burn than to live in such Circumstances; and by this means they think they die with a Reputation of the highest Modesty and Love, when they esteem the Torments of so cruel a Death more easie and tolerable, than the pain of living without their Husbands. And a great many of them do it most certainly out of an excess of Love and pure weariness of Life; tho' 'tis probable enough, that there are others who would live could they have another Husband, and not die but to void shame. But there's no second Husband allowed here; and some perhaps may think burning a less Misery and Punishment than living without one. But however, anciently the *Indian* Women did value this Liberty at so high a rate, and esteem it so much their Rite and Privilege, that they look'd upon it as vio-

And whether they have in these modern times maintain'd it with so much Severity in their own Principles as of old, is uncertain; but this, is sure that *Sha Selim* began to make some Innovations upon them, and put in for a share in the disposal of their Lives as well as themselves. In his time none went to the Fire at *Agra* (or any thing near where he was) but what came and petition'd him for't; just as if they had craved some very great Favour at his Hands. And that Prince would use all the Arts of Perswasion imaginable to move them to preserve their own Lives, and be contented to stay a little longer in the World, tho' generally 'twas all in vain; the inexcusable Creatures would reject all the tempting offers he made them, and stubbornly maintain'd their Resolution to die. In this case when nothing will do, he gives them leave to dispose of themselves as they think fit; and so away they go to the Pile with all the briskness and gaity of a Bride, to the joyful celebration of her Nuptials.

We have now seen several of their Religious Rites and Ceremonies, with the most observable of their Customs that fall under that Denomination: Let us proceed to look into their Domestick and Civil Affairs, and see what Rules they observe in those matters.

Their Diet and Cookery.

And first of all for their Diet; here the Difference of Opinions makes a Difference in Cookery amongst them, and their Religion is to be known by their Eating. The *Mahometans* are very sparing as to any thing of Flesh, they seldom make a Meal of it; but they never touch any part of a Swine, for the *Alcoran* has pronounced it an abomination. A small matter of Kid, or Venison, or Hens they will venture upon; this they stew with Onions, Spices, Herbs, and Roots, and make a very palatable Dish of it. But their main standing food is Rice, which they dress with green Ginger, Pepper, and Butter, and feed as heartily on it as we upon our best and most nice Dishes. Besides this at their great Entertainments, they bring in all sorts of Jellies, Sallads, Preserves, Candies, Rai[sins] of the Sun, Almonds, and Prunella's; and for something of more substance than any of these, the Flesh of Hens mix'd with Almonds, and the Flower of Rice, all bear very well together, and then sweetned and perfum'd with Sugar-candy, Rose-water, and Ambergrice.

Their Bread likewise are Cakes of the finest Wheat-flower, done up with Almonds and Sugar-candy, sometimes scented and sometimes not.

They drink little besides Water at their Tables, whatever they do in their Retirements.

The *Hindoes* feed differently, according to their various Sects.

The *Banyans* will eat nothing of Animal food; and therefore confine themselves altogether to vegetable Provisions and things made of them. Others of them again will eat Fish, but nothing else that has Life.

Some of the *Resboots* contradict them all, and eat Swines flesh heartily; others perhaps won't eat just that, but the flesh of some other Animal they like better. But in general, all the *Hindoes* abstain from Beef; that Animal is sacred with them, and they pay the *Great Mogul* so much a Year for their Redemption out of the hands of the Butchers and other People that would kill them.

To conclude, as they are (of all sorts) most commonly sober and temperate in the use of their Tables, and observe the due measures of eating and drinking; so they always bring the Scruples of their Religion along with them, and as loyal as they are, would not obey their own Prince if he commanded them to eat any forbidden Food.

Their way of Saluting each other.

These People in their Salutations never uncover their Heads as the *Europeans* do; they bow their Bodies, and lay their Right-hand on their Breast as they pass along, bestowing abundance of good Wishes upon the Person they salute. Many of the Eastern People think our pulling off Hats to one another a most absurd and ridiculous way of Complimenting; the *Turks* when they would curse their Enemies effectually, wish their Souls after death as little Rest as a Christians Hat has, because that never stands still (they say) but is continually pulling off and putting on. But whatever Notion the Turks have of their Paradise, certainly either extream is inconsistent with the felicity of it; a dull torpid Rest is as bad as perpetual Motion; and to lie as still as a *Turks* Turbant, would not be less tiresome than to move as much as a Christians Hat.

When the common inferiour People salute those of quality, they lay their Right-hand upon the Ground, and then upon their Heads; sometimes they fall down on their Knees and bow their Heads very low; but this degree of very Humble Reverence, is only to those of the highest Dignity. When intimate Friends caress one another (or at least when they would any of them express the

the sincerest mutual Respect) they take one another by the Beard or (where there is none to be taken) the Chin, and cry *Bobba*, or *Bii*; that is, Father or Brother, according as their Age is. And this (like many other of their Customs), appears to be very ancient, and of a long standing in the World: The Jews did formerly salute in this manner, and Sacred Writ gives us some Instances of it. These are the Gestures in use amongst them; their common Forms of Speech are various. The most ordinary and frequent is the *Sallam*; *Sallam Allecum*, and *Allecum Sallam*; which is the Reply to the former, and both is as much as, *I wish you well*. Sometimes as they pass along it is, *I wish you the Prayers of the Poor*; or, *May one Good after another come to you every Day*: But the Complements of inferiour People to those they have a dependance upon, is, *I eat your Bread and your Salt*; or, *I am your Creature, and at your dispose*.

Their Buildings. We will now take a View of their Houses and Buildings. In general, their common Buildings are not extreamly fine and beautiful; they don't affect to make such a Show with stately Houses, as the *Italians*, and other *Europeans* do. 'Tis true, there are Publick Edifices in *India*, as glorious perhaps as any of the kind in the World; but a good part of their Towns and Cities, are but meanly built, and as poorly adorn'd. And one Reason why they are no more solicitous about fine Houses, may be, because they live out of them one part of the Year, and take up in Tents and Pavilions, erected here and there in the open Fields, for the Pleasures of Hunting, and taking the cool Air. The most of their private Houses don't mount above two Story high, and are built with flat Roofs and Terraces, upon which they sit airing themselves Morning and Evening, when the Sun (below their Horizon) gives them an opportunity of so doing.

In their upper Rooms too, they have abundance of Doors all about them, and Lights made in the Walls, which are always free and open to let in the Air upon them.

As for Glass-Windows, there's no such thing known amongst them; neither have they any Chimneys in their Houses, because they have little or no use for Fire; they don't need it to warm them, for the Sun does that sufficiently; and there is so little a part of their ordinary Fare that needs Fire to dress it, that 'tis not worth while to make a Chimney for't; and therefore, if at any time they have an occasion, they make a small Fire without Doors, against some Stone-Wall, or Bank of Earth, as far from their Habitations as they can with convenience.

Their Materials for Building, are Timber, Brick, and Stone; sometimes (as in the Vaults and Arches of their Mosques and Sepulchres), with Marble of divers kinds and colours, and here the Work is costly and stately too. In many places they plant great store of Trees about their Houses, which keep them cool and shady, tho' it spoils the Prospect where the Buildings are any thing neat and worth a seeing: Thus at *Amedavar* (a large and populous City, and built all of Brick), the Trees stand so thick and close, that a Man wou'd rather think he were entring a Wood than a City. And then in all trading Towns and Cities joyning on to the Houses are certain Sheds or Stalls, where they make a show of their Commodities, and sell at those parts of the Day that they are not at the publick Market.

Thus much for the outside; but before we go quite away, we may take a short View of Things within Doors. And this indeed can be but short; because there is generally but a small matter to be look'd upon. Their Rooms are not adorn'd with fine Hangings, furnish'd with Chairs, Stools, Beds, and Couches; they paint their Walls neatly, and that serves instead of Tapestry, and spread rich Carpets upon the Floor, which is both Bed, Table, Chair, and Stool to them. Some of them perhaps will lie upon a hard Quilt, or else a low thing (they call a Cott) like a Bedstead, and bottom'd with Cotton-Cloth; a great many of which are made to be mov'd up and down with Ropes, that their Servants may rock them to sleep in them. But where-ever they lie, they lie without Pillow or Bolster, stretch'd out at full length, and level with the Horizon; without any thing of Covering too, but a thin Callico Veil spread all over them, so that they look like so many dead Corps laid out ready for the Funeral Rites. The most remarkable of their Publick Buildings for Civil Use and Service, are the Serraies for the Entertainment of Passengers, and the Tanks or Ponds. These Tanks are cut out in some very low places, to take in a good parcel of Water at the time the Rains fall, for the Service of the neighbouring populous places, when the dry Season comes upon them. They are some of them very large and deep, a Mile and more in compass, surrounded with good Stone-Walls, furnish'd with Steps to go down into them, and well paved at the bottom. They are cleans'd every Year before the Rains begin, and then they are fill'd for all the succeeding part of the Year, and the People out of these may have a Supply till the Rains come about again. In their Gardens likewise they have very usually Tanks of a lesser size for the Pleasures of Bathing and Swimming, and these are fed with Water convey'd through certain Canals, from Wells that are in some of the more elevated Ground of their Gardens. And here indeed is the height of all the Pleasure that belongs to them; here they have delicate Fruits, fine Shades, sweet cool Water, airy Walks and Bowers, and a charming Prospect of wild Nature (and Art together) that is far beyond all the Pomp and Splendour of a Palace.

Their Sports and Recreations. And tho' here one might well imagine them to have Diversion enough, yet they find other Recreations besides those their sweet Gardens afford them: Hunting and Hawking are very common Sports amongst them, having (besides other wilder Game) Hares and Deer enough for the one, and plenty of Partridge, Ducks, Quails, Pigeons, (and most sorts of Fowl), for the other of those Pastimes. 'Tis observ'd of the Hunting-Dogs of this Country (which are of a make like our Greyhounds, but much less), that they never open when they are in pursuit of any Game.

They have also Leopards, that they breed up for Sport, and ride abroad with for that purpose; these are wonderful nimble Creatures, and will leap a prodigious way, in which manner 'tis that they always seize their Prey; they don't run, but jump upon the Animal they have in chase; and if they once do that, they make a sure Prisoner on't, be it what it will, and there's no jumping away again out of their Clutches.

Another of their Recreations is the taking of Wild-Fowl that use the Water. They take one of those Fowl dead, and go into the Water with it, and hold it upright, as if 'twere alive and swimming; but they themselves lie all under Water, and have nothing but just their Head in sight: Then they make a Noise exactly like the Natural Tone of that Fowl, which brings the rest in a great Flock about them, and so they catch them by the Legs, and pull them down under Water, by which means they are made tame enough.

At other times they divert themselves with riding their fine managed Elephants and Horses; with shooting with their Guns, Bows and Arrows, and this they do with great Skill and Dexterity; they are something long a taking their Aim, but they shoot true, and seldom miss the Mark.

Some People of Quality, and others that are for more State and Show in their Diversions, go about airing themselves in their Coaches and Palankees. The Palankees are made almost like a Couch or Pallat-Bed, sheltred with a fine Canopy, and long enough for a Man to lie at full stretch in them; and in this posture do the Grandees place themselves in them, and so are carried about upon Mens Shoulders. Their Coaches have only two Wheels, the top and back of them is cover'd, but the forepart and sides always open; unless they carry Women, in which case they are made up very close. They will hold four People without Crowding; but two may lie in Quilts at full length in them (as they often do in their Journeys). For the drawing of them along, they use only the Service of Oxen (one Pair to a Coach), and these have their Horns neatly tipp'd with Silver, and a Collar of large Bells of the same Metal about their Necks. Their Harness is only a small Cord that goes through the Partition of their Nostrils, and so up between their Horns into the Coachman's Hand, who by this means guides them as easily and surely as with the strongest Reins of Leather. These Oxen being admirably well fed (as they always are) well shod too, will carry them twenty Mile in a little time: They are train'd up to the Work, and by continual Use and Exercise 'tis as natural to them as to our Horses.

What sort of Soldiers these People (the most part of them) make, we have hinted before; but we have not yet seen how they are accoutred: Now they are admirably well provided for the War, tho' not at all fit for't, their Furniture is incomparably beyond their Courage. To see what a terrible Figure they make a Horseback with such a Load of Weapons as they carry, would incline a Person (unacquainted with them), to think their very Aspect would get them a Victory. But their Character at best, is but to make a furious Onset, and then retire as hastily: To advance briskly, and stand one Shock, and then if their Enemies don't run, to put an end to the Dispute by running themselves.

Their Weapons. They have all sorts of Weapons that can almost be thought of, but had they fewer, 'twould be more than they use; they are like their Womens Nose-Jewels and Pendants, hung on for Ornament and Show more than

Service. To the compleat dreſſing of a Soldier, there goes a Bow and Quiver of Arrows, a Sword and Buckler, a ſhort Launce, a Faulchion, Fire-Arms, and what not?

For Martial Muſick they have Kettle-Drums, and a ſort of Wind-Muſick, that makes a moſt harſh frightful Noiſe; which if it would but ſcare away their Enemies, would be a conſiderable help to them.

Their greateſt Strength and Security lies in their Elephants: For theſe, with the Guns upon their Backs, do as much Execution as all the Soldiers beſides. The War-Elephants carry each of them one of theſe Guns faſtned in a ſtrong Frame of Wood, in which alſo is form'd a place for the Gunner; who fits faſt enough there), till ſome unlucky Shot from the Enemy comes, and beats Elephant, Caſtle, and Gunner, all down together. Theſe Pieces are about five Foot long, and throw a Bullet about the bigneſs of a Tennis-Ball.

As for the vaſt Numbers of Men this Country is able to ſet out in an Army, it may be eaſily imagin'd from the large Dimenſions of it; he that conſiders how many ſpacious Provinces the *Great Mogul* is Maſter of, will quickly conclude that he is capable of making a formidable appearance in the Field. And yet his great Numbers would ſignifie little, had he not better Soldiers in Pay than the greateſt part of his own Natural Subjects are; but he is ſo wiſe as to take in *Perſians* and *Tartars*, ſome of the beſt Horſemen in the World, and that will charge through any thing that lies in their way. Theſe do all the hot Service in his Wars, and could he have enough of them, his Neighbour-Princes would ſtand in more awe of him than they do. But he holds none of the beſt Correſpondences with thoſe two mighty Countries that border upon him (*Perſia* and *Tartary*) they are both very jealous of his growing Power and Greatneſs, and therefore in Policy will not contribute to the increaſe of it.

Their ſtrength of Soldiery.

The *Perſian* ſometimes courts him (when he wants Money), and eſpecially when he is engaged in a War with the Turk; then he careſſes the *Great Mogul*, to make ſure of his Neutrality (at leaſt), if not of his Aſſiſtance; for 'twould be a dangerous thing to live between two ſuch potent Enemies as they are, and be diſtreſſed by both of them together.

As for the *Tartars*, they neither court nor value him, but ſtand upon their Guard, and keep their Country to themſelves; they neither converſe with him, nor ſend Embaſſadors to him, tho' he calls himſelf, the Succeſſor of *Tamerlane*, the mighty Founder of their Empire: Perhaps they don't think him ſo (tho' his Family was originally *Tartarian*), and won't give that Title, where they believe their Emperors high Blood is not to be found. But now upon theſe Accounts, his Supplies of Soldiers from *Perſia* and *Tartary*, cannot be very large; they muſt be moſtly a ſort of Deſerters, ſuch as come away by ſtealth from their own Native Countrys, and upon the allurement of Noble Pay: Their reſpective Princes (the jealous *Tartars* at leaſt for certain), would never ſend their own brave Troops to increaſe the ſtrength of a mighty Neighbour, that is already but too formidable to them.

The Language, Learning, &c.

The Genuine Language of this Country, (*viz.* the *Indoſtan*) has ſome affinity with the *Perſian* and *Arabick*; but is reckoned by ſome the ſmoother and ſofter Tongue, and far more eaſie to be pronounc'd. 'Tis very ſignificant and comprehenſive, and gives the Speaker the advantage of expreſſing his Mind in a little time, and a few words. The Alphabet is very different from either of the fore-mention'd Languages; and they write as we do, from the Left Hand to the Right. As good a Tongue as it is, the King, and the whole Court, ſpeak the *Perſian*; but the *Arabick* is the Learned and Sacred Language amongſt them, upon the account of the *Alcoran* written therein. As for *Latin* and *Greek* they know nothing of them, and next to nothing of all the old Writers ſo much celebrated in theſe Parts of the World.

Something they have heard of *Ariſtotle* and *Avicen*, and the Learned Men amongſt them pretend to ſome Acquaintance with their Writings. *Avicen* 'tis ſaid was born at *Samarchand* (the Birth-place of the Great *Tamerlane*), and ſo in compariſon was their near Neighbour: As for *Ariſtotle*, tho' he was Tutor to the Conquerour of the Country, yet he hardly brought his Maſters Books along with him hither: So that their Acquaintance with thoſe Authors (*Ariſtotle* eſpecially), was a conſequent upon the mighty ſpreading of the *Arabick* Tongue abroad in the World, when ſo great a part of it became *Mahometan*, and that Language was receiv'd together with the Religion. Learning we know flouriſh'd conſiderably under divers of *Mahomet*'s Succeſſors, and abundance of the *Arabians* open'd the way for thoſe parts of the World to converſe with the old *Greek* Philoſophers and Mathematicians, and bringing their Writings into their own Language, and beſtowing large Comments upon them. *Ariſtotle* (as well as *Euclid*, *Ptolemy*, and others) had this Honour done him by the *Arabians*, to be made to ſpeak *Arabick*, the Univerſal Language of the *Mahometan* World; when the Reputation of his own Native *Greek* was ſunk, and could have carried him but a little way. Thus 'twas that he came into theſe parts; tho' the *Indian* Doctors know but little of him, and han't taken the Pains to write quite ſo many Folio's of Comments upon him, as the Popiſh Schoolmen have done.

Neither has Phyſick got much more ground in the Country than Philoſophy: There are very few that apply themſelves to that Study, becauſe the People generally think a Doctor worſe than a Diſtemper; counting the former certain Death, whereas the latter by it ſelf gives them a chance for their Lives. In all the formidable Diſeaſes that rage there (Peſtilence, Calentures, burning Fevers, &c.) very few make any uſe of a Phyſician, but perhaps preſcribe ſome ſlight thing themſelves, and leave the reſt to the Conduct of Nature. Their beſt and moſt conſtant Phyſick is to faſt luſtily, and ſtarve away the Diſtemper; if this (and ſometimes breathing a Vein) won't do, they give up the Caſe as incurable, and expect their Fate.

But they have abundantly more Skill and Knowledge in Judicial Aſtrology; that Noble Science, that ſtands upon ſuch ſure and certain Principles, and is all over Demonſtration: In which, both parts of a Contradiction may appear equally clear and probable, and when one Man predicts an Event, another may turn his Prediction upſide down, ſay it all backwards, and yet ſpeak as much Truth and Sence as the former. There is a good Stock of Profeſſors of this profound ſort of Learning amongſt the *Indians*; Men that will preach Scientifically upon Weather, Fortunes, and Conſtitutions, and ſettle the Point of the Dominion of the Planets over all the Parts of the Body, as confidently as if God Almighty had written their Names there.

Theſe have the Fortune to be in more Repute there, than they are generally in the Chriſtian World; for the *Great Mogul* will undertake no Buſineſs of Conſequence, till the College of Aſtrologers has been ſet to Conjuring upon't.

Thus the Grand Seignior too, in the weighty Matters of Faith and Religion, conſults the Venerable Mufti, and makes him give his Opinion; but if his Verdict does not ſuit the Prince's Humour, upon Second Thoughts, he can bring in a contrary one, and juſtifie it to be true by the Alcoran: And if the *Mogul* were but poſitive, he might rule the Judgment of his Aſtrologers, as well as the *Turk* the Conſcience of his Mufti. The Planets, no doubt, with good Scolding and Huffing, would be as tame and manageable things as the Alcoran. However, to do the Celeſtial Science juſtice, it muſt be own'd there are ſome Theorems belonging to't, that are moſt certainly true; nay, ſuch as carry their own Light and Evidence along with them: For inſtance, 'tis clear and certain, that all Cuckolds are under the Dominion of *Aries* or *Taurus*; 'tis no matter which of them, for the Signature of the Horns is an undeniable demonſtration.

And *Mercury* has as evident a Title to the Fortune-tellers, and Aſtrologers; becauſe Men born under that Planet, are always very honeſt, and never Cheat nor tell Lies.

But to proceed in the Account of the Sciences in *India*; beſides theſe Horoſcopers, and preſaging People, they have another ſort amongſt them, that are very near a-kin to them, and theſe are the Legerdemain-Men, Hocus Pocus's, and Mountebanks; they are all to be thrown into the ſame Family with the former, ſince they are all equally Jugglers. Theſe Fellows will teach Snakes and Vipers to dance to the Tunes they play, and get Money by ſhewing that ſport to the People. You ſhall ſee them ſet three or four broad Wicker-Baskets down upon the Ground, with nothing at all in the World in them, (at leaſt if your own Eyes are to be credited after a Search), and preſently cloſe them up before your Face, and then pulling off the Covers of them, ſhew them full of Turtle-Doves, or ſome other living Creatures, that one would think too big to be ever conceal'd by any ſlight whatſoever. Then they'll whirl thoſe Baskets round (cover'd as they are) and the Doves are gone out of ſight; but how or which way, none but the Hocus Pocus himſelf can tell.

And we are now come to the top of the Learning of this Country, having reach'd Aſtrology, and Legerdemain; we muſt deſcend therefore from theſe Heights to Matters of a leſs ſublime Nature and Conſideration.

The Inhabitants, as they are divided in their Principles and Religion, ſo from thence ſprings a Difference in their Com-

Their Account of Time, &c.

Computation of Time. The *Mahometans* (according to the eſtabliſh'd Practice of their Sect) begin their Year with the Tenth of *March*, when the Aſtrologers tell them the *Sun* enters *Aries*. The *Hindoes* (proceeding upon toher Reaſons) reckon their Year, from the firſt Day of the ſame Month; ſo that there is ten Days difference in counting betwixt them.

The *Mahometans* again divide their Year into thirteen Mouns, and 'tis according to this Diviſion that they date Letters, Payments, and all Accounts belonging to Trade. But as for the Hindoes, they ſeem rather to make twelve Months of the Year than thirteen Moons, except perhaps that they may upon occaſion alter their Computation when they deal with the *Mahometans* that uſe another Stile. But neither Hindoes, nor *Mahometans*, have any Clocks or Sun-Dials amongſt them, to give them a true and regular Account how the Time paſſes. Indeed, as for Sun-Dials, 'tis no ſuch great wonder, ſince there's no Aſtronomy in the whole Country, nor none that cultivate any of thoſe Sciences: But that ſo ingenious a People as the *Indians* are, ſo full of neat and fine Devices in other Matters, ſhould have nothing like a Clock, is ſomething ſtrange. They divide the Day into Four, and the Night into as many parts, and each of theſe Quarters they ſubdivide into Eight parts more; and for the Meaſure of theſe Parts of Time, they uſe the moſt ancient Device of a parcel of Water dropping out of one Veſſel into another; and then a Man ſtands always by to fill the Veſſel as often as 'tis emptied, and to ſtrike with a Hammer upon a Braſs or Copper-pan, to let them know the number of the Pores or Grees that have paſs'd, that is, the Fourth or Eighth Parts before-mention'd. What a Bungle of an Invention is this, inſtead of a Clock? And what a wonder is it, that a People that have Fancy enough to think of ſo many pretty things as they have ſhewn the World, ſhould never by a better Contrivance remove this Scandal to their Ingenuity.

Policy and Government of the Country.

The Conſtitution of the Government in this Country, is much the ſame that 'tis in all the Eaſtern Nations; abſolute and arbitrary; and the Repoſitory of their Laws the ſame, the Breaſt of the Ruling Monarch. There are certain Cuſtoms, which Antiquity, and the General Practice of the Country, have in a manner given the Force and Authority of Laws to; but the Prince's Power ſets him above them all, and they are liable to the ſame Alterations that his Will and Humour is. There's nothing of a ſolemn written Law, or ſtated Platform of Government to be found; every Prince that mounts the Throne with a *Sic volo, ſic jubeo*, tells what Laws ſhall be during his Reign. And the long Sword the Monarchs of this Country wear, will juſtifie them in this way of proceeding; 'tis in vain for any Man to be uneaſie or diſcontented, or pretend to diſpute the Reaſonableneſs of the Prince's Will, when the Prince carries ſuch a powerful compelling Reaſon by his ſide, that will preſently cut down all the Rebellious Logick of his Subjects.

For the ordinary Adminiſtration of Juſtice, there are two ſorts of Judges appointed; the one for Civil, and the other for Criminal Caſes; and theſe never intermeddle with the proper Affairs of each other's Provinces, nor mix or exchange Works. But the Prince very frequently ſets his own Hand to this Affair, and acts the part of a Judge himſelf: For this purpoſe, at a ſet-time every Day, he repairs to the Great Council-Hall, or ſome Place where he ſhews himſelf in publick to the People; and places himſelf in his Throne, all his Nobles ſtanding in Ranks about him, according to their reſpective Degrees. And here he hears Cauſes, determines Controverſies, does Juſtice, and orders Diſpatches of Publick Buſineſs. His meaneſt Subjects have free and eaſie Acceſs to him; they are patiently heard whatever Complaints they have to make; and as ſurely righted in any Caſe of Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, tho' the Criminal be the greateſt Man in the Empire. And it muſt be own'd, that the Government in this reſpect is highly commendable, for its exceeding Mildneſs and Eaſineſs, towards all ſorts of griev'd and burden'd Perſons.

The *Mogul* adminiſtring Juſtice in Perſon.

If a Man finds himſelf oppreſs'd, he has no more to do, but to go away to his Prince, and demand Juſtice. Here's no need of courting Miniſters of State, of ſneaking and cringing to this and the other Great Man; nor of feeing and bribing corrupt Officers to bring on a Cauſe, and procure a Man his Right. There's no need of a Golden Key to open the Doors of Courts, and the Mouths of Advocates: Juſtice has ſet, and keeps every Door wide open, that all the Wrong'd and Injured may go in; an empty Purſe is not refus'd nor ſhut out, nor Poverty Browbeaten and deſpis'd. The Plaintiff, whatever he be, may introduce himſelf to the King's Speech and Preſence, by giving the appointed Notice of his Buſineſs. He need but go and pull a Rope, and ſet the Golden Bells a chiming, which as ſoon as ever the King hears, the Perſon that gave the Alarm is ſent for in; and his Caſe is no ſooner told than conſider'd, nor conſider'd and weigh'd than Right is done, and the Burden taken off. A Cauſe does not hang in ſuſpence here for five or ſix Months together, nor is it toſs'd about from one Court to another, while the hungry Managers are doing their own Buſineſs, thriving upon the Effects of it. If a Man's Cauſe be but juſt, he is ſure to come to a ſudden and ſpeedy end of his Trouble.

And in Capital Caſes Juſtice ſurprizes the Offender as ſoon, and is as quick in proceeding to Execution, as it is on the other ſide, in aſſerting and ſecuring the Rights of the Oppreſſed.

Very few Malefactors lie a Night in Priſon, but none lie more; if a Man be brought before his Judge in the Morning, he is infallibly clear'd or executed before Night: As ſoon as the Fact is proved, the Puniſhment is inflicted; if Stripes or Whipping, 'tis done upon the ſpot; but if Death, he is lead away to the Bazar, and ſuffers immediately. Now this round and quick Juſtice helps to keep the People wonderfully in awe, and they are not ſo forward to commit thoſe very heinous Crimes, the Stains of which they know they muſt preſently waſh away with their Blood.

Their Executions.

Murder and Theft are always puniſh'd with Death, and what ſort of Death too the Judge pleaſes: Sometimes 'tis Hanging, Beheading, Impaling, to be torn by Lions, or cruſh'd by Elephants, or ſtung to Death by venomous Creatures.

This latter Death the *Great Mogul* condemn'd a certain Parricide to, and had Execution done in his own Preſence, when Sir *Tho. Roe* was at his Court. The wretched Creature was ſtripp'd ſtark naked, and the Mountebank having provok'd one of his huge Snakes, applied it to his Thigh, about which it preſently twiſted it ſelf, and faſtning upon his Groin, bit him there, the Blood immediately following; another was fix'd upon the outſide of his other Thigh, and bit him there likewiſe, after which two Wounds he kept upon his Legs for near a Quarter of an Hour, and then drop'd, tho' the Snakes were taken from him before he fell. His whole Body ſwell'd extreamly, and while his Sence continued, he cried out of a Fire that raged in every part; but by that time half an Hour more was expired, he himſelf did ſo, and had his Flame quench'd by cold Death.

In all Caſes of Suits, Debts, Contracts, and other Diſputes of Right between Man and Man, the obnoxious Party is arreſted by the Judges Officers, and brought to the Bar together with his Sureties, (if there be any in the Caſe) and there he is under a neceſſity of giving ſpeedy and ſufficient Satisfaction: The Priſon, and a heavy Load of Irons is his Fate if he does not, and ſometimes inſolvent Debtors, with their whole Families, are ſold for Slaves to pay the Creditors.

Policies uſed by the *Great Mogul* in his Government.

'Tis a piece of Policy conſtantly practiſed by the Monarchs of this Country, to remove and ſhift their Governours pretty often from one place to another. Very few ſtay in one place longer than a Year, tho' they have all the Qualifications that can be to recommend them, and diſcharge their Truſt ever ſo acceptably. This is to prevent their growing great and popular, and the Diſturbances that might poſſibly ariſe, from the Peoples exceſſive doating upon, and fondneſs for their Governours: Tho' the greateſt part of them behave themſelves ſo, that the Prince need not break his Reſt, nor fear a Rebellion for their ſakes.

Cuſtom of receiving the Noblemen that have been abroad.

When they are any of them diſpatch'd to Governments abroad, 'tis a Cuſtom with them not to cut their Hair till they come to Court again; and therefore upon their return, the King as ſoon as he ſees them, bids them cut their Hair. And thoſe that have been in places of Great Truſt and Conſequence, which they have diſcharged with Honour and Integrity, are receiv'd at Court with a vaſt deal of Ceremony, and the World is made to know at that time, how highly they are in their Sovereign's Favour. The whole Court is ſummon'd together upon the occaſion: The Prince in his Throne, and the reſt of the Nobles in their reſpective ſtations, are ready to bid him Welcome. Then comes the happy Favourite, led in by ſome of the greateſt Officers of the Empire; and having proſtrated himſelf once at the outward Rails, he repeats the ſame Reverence twice more, in his approach to the King. Being near, he is commanded to come up the ſeven Steps of the Throne, within the reach of his Prince's Embraces, who then takes him in his Arms, and hugs him with a charming familiarity before the whole Aſſembly. After this Careſs is over, and ſome words perhaps ſpoken in his Commendation; he goes down again, and takes his appointed place among the reſt of the Grandees.

On the other hand, if a Man has been tardy in the discharge of his Office, and comes to Court in Disgrace, especially if any very popular Crimes are laid to his charge; his Eyes are entertain'd with Frowns and scornful Looks, and his Ears fill'd with the Noise and Clamor of the People calling out for Justice against him as he passes along. He comes into his Prince's Presence, to hear the Reproaches which his Crime deserves, and stays there no longer than till a definitive Sentence (whatever it be) is pass'd upon him. And 'tis well for those that either manage their Business so as not to let things come to this pass, or else by the Interest of a strong Party at Court, can divert the Prince from a too severe Inspection into their Conduct: For as the Government is horribly rigorous in all Cases of Untrustiness and Disregard to the Prince's Interest (which are the greatest Crimes here, as well as in other places), so it often proceeds without any thing of clear proof of Matter of Fact, and takes away a Man's Life upon a meer suspicion or conjecture.

The Dependance of all upon the Prince.

All the Subjects of this Empire depend immediately upon the Prince for what they possess and enjoy. There's no such thing as Land of Inheritance, Property, and Succession to an Estate; every Man is a Tenant at Will, and holds all upon the precarious uncertain Title of Humour and Pleasure.

When a Noble-man, Vice-Roy, or Tributary dies, 'tis very common for all his Treasure and Goods to be seiz'd; and if the King pleases to allow any part to the Son, or nearest Relations, 'tis a Favour; otherwise it goes into his own Coffers, and he himself is the Heir. This is always the way of dealing with Pensioners, and all that receive Court-Pay; the King lends them Money for their Life-time, and pays himself when they die, Interest and Principal together. Nay, many times, a Man outlives his Fortune and good Circumstances in the World; for if he be faulty and negligent, or grows popular and suspected, his Estate to be sure goes for't, and he saves his Head, by the loss of his Lands.

A good Mass of Wealth too, or a far profitable Living is a dangerous thing under these arbitrary Princes; 'tis ten to one, if some Fault ben't discover'd in the Conduct of such a Person; some occasion started for his remove, or pretence found to purge him a little of his Superfluities. Rich Lands and Livings do often go away this out of the Hands of those that are plac'd in them, when the King finds they thrive there; for what's good for the Subjects, is good for the Prince, and what makes them rich, won't make him poor.

If any Man has a Jewel of considerable size, beauty, or fineness, he is obliged upon pain of Death to give Notice at Court, that the King may have the refusal of it. And there is hardly any valuable Stone in the whole Country, but what by means of this severe Law, comes into his hands. He keeps Guard every-where, and has Spies upon all Mens Trade and Dealings, so that 'tis next to impossible any thing shou'd scape him. But then he is as absolute in his Bargains, as he is in every thing else, and gives just what he thinks fit; and that is most commonly about a third part of the intrinsick value.

Now this being the State of Affairs in the Country, the Prince thus arbitrary and rigorous in the exercise of a boundless Prerogative, these two things do unavoidably follow upon it. First of all, a deal of base servile Flattery in his Subjects; they admire his worst and foulest Actions, praise his silliest and most impertinent Speeches; he can neither do nor say any thing, but what they'll trace out the Footsteps of some excellent Vertue in. Another Consequence is, That all they that are in good profitable places, do live as fast as ever they can, while they are in them. They spend freely, and enjoy themselves to the utmost height of their Incomes; they know the Prince takes all at last, and therefore endeavour to leave him as little as they can. As much as they flatter and adore him, they won't live meanly and sordidly for his sake: For to what purpose would it be to rake and scrape, to save so many Servants Wages, or bate so many Dishes of Meat at their Tables, and all to make up a bigger Purse for him? They had better by far take their Shares (as they do, without mincing the matter), and so resign the rest when they can hold it no longer. To hoard and lay up for a Family has some Comfort in't; but to do it for a covetous Prince, that will perhaps starve those that are left behind, is a very dull and heartless Work.

The Nobility and their Titles.

The Nobility in this Country have their several distinguishing Titles of Honour, as in other places. The most sublime of all (compatible with the Condition of a Subject), is that of Sultan; but this belongs only to the King's Sons: As his Daughters have the Titles of Sultana's. The next to this is Nabob, which may be as much as Duke. Then Channa and Chan, a Lord. To which we may add other Titles of Honour, as that of Mirza for a General, Omra for a Captain, or some inferiour Commander, and the like. But the main thing by which the Great Men in this Country are distinguish'd, is the Number of Horse which they have under their Command. The highest number of all is 12000, and there are but four in the whole Empire that have so many. Others have less and less, in proportion to their Quality, Merits, or the King's Favour; the least and lowest of all, is he that commands twenty Horse, who perhaps is no more than an Omra, or some common Gentleman. Now these Persons are all comprehended under the general Title of Mansibdars, that is, Men of Lordships, or Livings, because they have all of them certain Livings assigned them; out of the Revenues of which they are obliged to maintain and furnish out (upon occasion) their several Quota's of Horse. And by this means an Army of 200000 Horse is got together in a trice, and that without any great matter of hurry and trouble; for every Commander knows what proportion is expected from him; and not only so, but also where to go and raise his Men, who are maintain'd out of his Lordship, and ready at an Hour's warning.

The Mansibdars.

This Policy is much the same with that of the Turks in their Timariots, who out of certain Lands allotted to them, maintain every one so many Horse (as these *Indian* Mansibdars do). And these Men live nobly out of their Lordships, especially those whose Numbers of Horse rise high, and their Lands consequently large in proportion; some of them of 6 or 8000 Horse, are said to make it worth no less than 70 or 80000 *l. per Annum*; and those that are higher have above 100000; upon which account we need not scruple saying, that the *Indian* Mansibdars of the first Rank, are the richest Subjects in the whole World.

But by what was observ'd before, the Money in this Country does not lie still; there's a constant and never-failing Circulation of these Golden Streams, they run from the Country to the Mansibdars, and from them directly away, into the vast Ocean of the *Mogul*'s Treasuries.

And now after all this Discourse of the Country, and the People; before we leave it, we must take a short View of the Prince and his Court, and the Customs peculiar thereto.

The Magnificence of his Riches.

That this Monarch is to be rank'd amongst the very greatest of the Universe, will be granted without difficulty, if we consider how much Ground he is Lord of, and the vast Riches that Nature, Fortune, Policy, and Trade, do all pour in upon him. The Dimensions of his Country are consider'd already; and some of those Fountains of his Wealth touch'd upon too. We have seen how the Policy of his Government contributes to his growth in this respect, since that makes him Master of all the Treasures of his richest Subjects. Trade also brings him in the Coin and Commodities of Foreign Nations, and all Moneys that come in here, are buried here, being never suffer'd to be carried out again. Success and Fortune in his Wars, have still enlarg'd his Treasures together with his Territories; his Victorious Arms carrying all before them in *Decan*, and the adjoyning Countries, bring him in all the Riches of those parts; and 'tis very well known, that no part of the World is more extravagantly rich in the richest of Jewels, as well as of Metals (Diamonds and Gold), than that Portion of the *Indian* Continent. And what Nature contributes, is not less than any of the former. No Country perhaps in the World is more nobly endowed than his; there's no where a more fertile luxuriant Soil, a happier State and Constitution of the Earth, than in the most considerable parts of his Dominions. And besides that Fruitfulness of it that more immediately serves the Conveniencies of Human Life; there are few (if any) that go beyond it, in all those Productions that answer the ends of Pomp and Ornament. The Funds of Gold and Silver that lie under Ground, are almost innumerable and inexhaustible: And Jewels are Natives of this Country too, as well as of those that the Fortune of War has made tributary to it.

But to descend a little more to particulars, and that from the Accounts of his Revenues, and other Riches that are registred in the Castle of *Agra*. The Income of his Crown-Lands is reckon'd to amount to 50 Crous of Roupies *per Annum*. Now every Crou is 100 Lecks, and every Leck is 100000 Roupies; and taking the lowest value of a Roupie at 2 *s.* of our Money, this comes to a Sum that will enable a Man to live pretty comfortably in the World, and keep a tolerably genteel and handsome Table.

But then the Treasures in Jewels and Money that lie dead by him, are no less surprising than the former: He has seven fair Castles that are peculiarly designed to be the

the Receptacles of them; and what these contain is hardly known exactly to any but himself, and the Guardians of them.

So many Crous of all sorts of Gold and Silver Coin, so many * Batmans of Diamonds, Emeraulds, Rubies and Pearl; the Jewels of the less valuable kinds, lying by in heaps without number or measure. Then his Pearls and Jewels that are in Chains and Ropes, Cups form'd out of solid pieces of Precious Stone, Dishes, Basons, Beakers of massie Gold; in short all sorts of Furniture for a Palace, for Horses, for Elephants, and for Men; either all entire, or as far as the nature of the thing will admit, of the purest Gold, and bedeck'd with the finest Gems of *India* and other parts. To reckon up all the Varieties of his costly things, and the Sum of that vast Mass of Wealth he is possessed of, a Man had need visit the seven Castles, and be in fee with the Keepers for a sight of all.

* Note the Batman is 55 pound of our Weight.

This Prince's Attendance is very large and stately, and every way proportionable to the rest of his Greatness.

The *Mogul's* Attendance.

When he goes a Progress there is a 100000 Souldiers for a Guard; then all the Slaves and Servants of the Grandees, his own inferiour Officers and Waiters, with the mighty train of Attendants on his Women (which always compose a part of the *Leskar*) all put together make up very near 200000. The Guard that is immediately about his Person, are a sort of Horse-men call'd Haddies, to the number of about five or six thousand; besides which, the meanest of his Houshold Servants, those that are in the Gardens, Kitchin, Stables, and Armorie, are reckon'd 36000; and they have their Monthly Pay out of the Treasury from three to ten Rupies a piece.

His living Creatures that are kept about him.

After all (as a part of the Court too) we ought not to forget the other Animals that belong to it, which are kept there partly for Use and Service, and partly for Sport and Pleasure.

There are some thousands of singing Birds, that are maintain'd for the sake of their Musick; and as many that are for Game and Prey.

Of Beasts wild and tame, there are Deer, Buffalos, Dogs, Ounces, Camels, Dromedaries, Elephants, Lions, &c. But the most remarkable of all are his Elephants, of which he keeps several Thousands, but 300 of them particularly are stil'd the Royal Elephants; they are call'd so because the King rides upon them, but their Splendid Furniture and Noble Feeding would give them that Title without the other Reason. Now from this Account 'tis manifest that the *Great Mogul's* daily expences cannot be small and inconsiderable. Here is a large and numerous Family; and so many Bellies of Beasts and Men will not be filled with a little. And therefore if his Domestick Accounts be fairly stated, and the Officers don't cheat him in their long Bills, he spends every Day within the Limits of his Court (taking in the Seraglio of the Women too) the Sum of 80000 Rupies.

His Division of the Day.

This Great Prince divides his Day into several parts, to each of which he allots its peculiar Business and Employment. As soon as the Day breaks he rises to the Devotion; Religion is his Breakfast, whatever impure Meals he makes afterwards. After this he goes forth to receive the Salamets and Good Morrows of the People, that crowd about his Lodgings in vast multitudes; which Ceremony ended he retires into a Dormitory, and reposes himself till his dining time comes. His time after Dinner is divided between his Women and his publick Sports, the one or both of which entertains him till three or four of the Clock; at which time he begins to think of doing Business, and obeying the Call of Affairs of State. But 'tis a part of his daily work too to survey his Wealth, and tumble over all his rich things. His whole mighty Stock is divided into 360 parts, each of which are viewed by him in their order, and so that parcel which he sees to Day, he sees not again till this time Twelve-Month. *Selim Sha* was so exact at this, and by often reviewing had gotten so perfect a Knowledge of all his Moveables, that the least trifle could not be wanting, but he would presently find out the Loss.

He once miss'd a little *China* Cup (amongst all the thousands of that sort of Utensils that he had by him) and finding 'twas broke, he call'd for the Noble-man that had the Charge on't, and having drubb'd him to death almost, sent him away into *China* to look another. And not only so, but commanded him never to presume to see his Face, till he had found out the fellow on t, wherever he went for't, and whatever it cost him. Here was a Man banish'd from Court, depriv'd of his Prince's Favour, very near crippled, and engaged in fourteen or fifteen Months travel, and all for a *China* Cup; a plain Proof enough how little these haughty Monarches value the Happiness, Life or Limbs of a Man, in comparison with any thing that pleases their own unreasonable Humour. After publick Business, the *Mogul* fills up his Day, partly with Devotion, and partly with Sports and Entertainments. He Prays, and Drinks, sees his Elephants fight, looks over his Beasts wild and tame, and makes up the number himself. He pours in good Liquors, and chaws Opium till the World runs round with him apace, and then he says and does a multitude of fine things, which are all recorded by the Scribes that sit about him. These Pen-men put down every thing that is acted or spoken by him, drunk or sober; all his Visits to his Women, and even those to the Necessary —— are set down; a noble piece of Chronology, a very sweet and cleanly History! But such is the Custom of the Country, and these *Indian* Monarchs will have their Lives exactly written; and 'tis pity but they should, since they are so fond of it; tho' the succeeding Princes will hardly want the Examples of those that went before them, to instigate them to the practice of several of those things that are recorded.

There are two Feasts especially, which this Prince and Court observe with very great Solemnity; the one at the coming in of the New Year, which lasts about 18 Days, thro' all which time the Court appears in its utmost Splendour and Glory.

Feasts observed with the greatest Solemnity at Court.

In some spacious open place there's a Tent pitched, which with the Screens that are rais'd about it, takes up at least two Acres in Compass. How wonderful this Tent is both inside and outside for Beauty and Riches, 'tis in vain to pretend to describe; 'tis enough to say 'tis furnished that Day for the extraordinary Entertainment of the *Great Mogul*. Round about this (and the Appurtenances of it) are pitch'd the Tents of the Grandees, which take up five or six Acres more, and altogether cast such a dazling lustre, that a Man would almost expect to find celestial Inhabitants in Mansions so Bright and Glorious, tho' one quarter of an Hours stay in their Company, would make him that thought so, sensible of his Mistake. Here the King roves about from one Tent to another, guided only by Appetite, Lust, and Pleasure; he finds in every one of them Sumptuous Feasting, and Noble Presents, which every Noble-man makes him upon this Occasion. And tho' 'tis true that all his Gifts are praised and valued, that he may know in what proportion to return to the Makers of them; yet his Appraisers, who know his Avaritious Humour, set all at half Rates, so that instead of rewarding like a King, he squeezes by this means a vast deal of Wealth out of his Nobility.

That of the New-Year.

The second solemn Feast is that of his Birth-day, which comes about four Months after the former, and is observed with as much State and Pomp. But this is a more chargeable time to the Nobles than the former; for now their Presents are doubled, being made to the King and his Mother too, and then they have no recompence neither. The Royal Purse is fast tied up, and the Soil they cast their Seed into swallows up all, and returns no crop. But the Prince is charitable to the Poor at this time, and this is a cheaper Vertue than Liberality; 'tis easier to give an Alms to a Beggar, than a truly Royal Largess to a Man of Figure and quality. Now his Charity to the Poor is thus measur'd out by the help of the Balance. There's a very large pair of Golden Scales provided, in one of which he sits himself, and the other is fill'd with Gold, Silver, some precious Stones, but more Corn and Grain than Jewels by far. This is all heap'd in till his Body is exactly Ballanc'd, and then the Sum is divided amongst the Poor. Now perhaps here is sometimes the value of 10 or 12000 pound; but then his Presents from the Nobility amount to ten times as much; so that to speak the Truth, it is not so much his Charity as theirs, 'tis the Nobility and not the Prince that are at the Charge of filling the Pockets of the Poor that Day. However 'tis plain, that a Prince of a lusty, thriving habit of Body, is a considerable Blessing to the Poor of this Country. 'Tis no matter what his Head is, or any thing else that's in't; Brains weigh but light, and fine Politicks will do little good in a Scale; 'tis a large Belly, and huge massie Bones well cloathed with Flesh that are the best qualifications of a Prince, for these Charity-People. How much they are concerned to pray for his Health, is easie to imagine, and what a prejudice a Consumption would be to them, as well as Danger to himself. This Prince is sure of his Poor Subjects Good Wishes in this Respect, which is better than the case of some others in the World, who are so little loved as to have none upon any Account.

That of his Birth-day.

'Tis needless to enter into any particular Discourse of the many stately Titles the *Mogul* assumes to himself, and the great Names he calls himself by. 'Tis enough to say that the best part of the Habitable World is his, in his own imagination. And therefore he has no good O-

pinion

pinion of, nor no kindness for the Geography of the Western World, that gives him no more compass upon the Globe. He seem'd to be mightily disappointed at the prospect of his own Country, which Sir *Thomas Row* shewed him in *Mercator's* Maps; he found it too narrow abundantly to answer his own great Idea of it, and therefore gave back the Book again (tho' 'twas presented him) as a Man affronted at the rudeness of the Geographer, that had allowed him so little room. He told the Embassadour he did not understand that Book, and therefore since he did, and valued it too, he would not rob him of such a Jewel; but the main thing was, that the World was not made according to his fancy. The *Chinese* will have their Country in the very middle of the Globe, and the *Mogul* will have his all over it; and so to compliment these People, we must make a new sort of a World, which will be as absolutely imaginary as that in the Moon. But this Prince most of all Prides himself in the Title of *Tamerlanes* Successour, upon the score of whose Conquests, he calls himself sometimes (as the *Tartars* do *Tamerlane*) the Lord of the *Lorners*, and Conquerour of the Universe. And upon this account it was, that when the *Great Turk's* Embassadour had an Audience of Leave, ask'd him what Message he should carry to his Master: Tell him (says the *Mogul*) that he is my Slave, for my Ancestor *Tamerlane* carried his in Chains. There was Pride and Rudeness enough in this Answer; but had the *Turk* been a little nearer him with 100000 *Janizaries*, he must have given civiller and softer Language. *Selymus* the first, at the head of those brave Troops, that beat the *Egyptian Mamalukes*, would not have taken such a Message from him; we know he carried an Army into *Persia*, and upon such an Affront, 'tis probable, might have visited *India* too; which had he done, there's no doubt but that old stain upon the Honour of the *Ottoman* House would have been wip'd off, and *Tamerlanes* Fortune reversed.

But as for this Princes deriving his Pedigree from *Tamerlane*, it appears to be a dark and doubtful thing; he has not made it out clearly to the World, and the Ill Understanding between the *Tartars* and him, is no great sign of such a Relation.

CHAP. XXXII.

The fifth Voyage set out upon the Joint-Stock of the East-India *Company, with the following Ships; the* James Royal *of* 1000 *Tun, the* Anne Royal *of* 900, *the* New-Years Gift *of* 800, *the* Bull *of* 400, *the* Bee *of* 150 Martin Pring *Chief Commander: Taken out of his and some of the Masters Journals.*

March. A.D. 1616. *April,* A.D. 1617. Tornadoes.

WE set sail all together out of the *Downs* being (if Wind and Weather gave leave) to keep Company as far as the Coast of *India*. In this Course having made the Lat. of 6 Degr. or thereabours, the ruffling Tornadoes began to exercise us; and we were e'en ready to pass the Line, and step out into the other Hemisphere, before we got out of the reach of those furious Blasts; in 30 Min. N. L. they were quiet, and we heard no more of them. But the Fogs and dark Weather some time after did us that mischief which all the terrible Winds had not done, in losing us the Company of our *Admiral* and *Vice-Admiral*, and obliging us to go on towards *India* by our selves.

Water very white.

'Twas no small matter of Wonder to us in the way to see the Sea all about us appear pale and white, without any visible cause of such an Alteration; one might have imagin'd the *Alcones* at that time, a vast great Cheese-vat, and the Ship to have been sailing in Whey instead of Salt-Water, it carried such a milky appearance along with it. The Air and Skie at the same time look'd white and hazy, without doubt the effect of the Reflections from the Surface of the Water so dispos'd and colour'd.

August.

We had pass'd the *Comora* Islands before we were entertain'd with this Phenomenon, and the same Day that we saw this at Night, we made at noon 4 Degr. 44 Min. S. Lat. and as near as we could reckon 53 Degr. 5 Min. Lon. which is all we can say towards the Description of that part of the Globe where it happened, we being then out in the open Sea. It continued thus the space of the Evening and the whole Night, and we could find no ground nor bottom where we had this change of Water. We observed too that it held on and continued with a Current that then affected us, and as we went out of that colour'd Water, we went out of the Power of the Current too; the Current therefore was some way or other (probably) concerned in it, but how or which way, is not of so easie a Determination.

September.

The Monson that now wasted and spent apace, would not allow us to call at *Socotora*, which therefore we pass'd and made the best haste we could to *Surat*. Yet we found time to do our selves a Kindness by the way, and a piece of Service to the *Great Mogul*; the former in taking a *Portugueze* Prize laden with Elephants Teeth, and the latter by saving a Noble Ship belonging to the Queen *Mother* of *India*, from two Men of War of our own Nation that pursued her. She had a rich lading of Silver (at least 29 Tun, some say vastly more) which we secur'd her in the possession of, by putting an end to the Chase, and bringing her (together with both her Pursuers) safe into *Swally* Road.

We had not been here long before our *Admiral* and *Vice-Admiral* came in too, so that now all Fears were vanish'd on both sides. All the Ships meet again in Swally Road. *October.*

A good quantity of Coral of our own bringing, and Elephants Teeth out of the *Portugueze* Prize were quickly landed and sent up to *Surat*, in order to begin the Trade. And now there came to an Anchor at the Bar 20 Sail of Frigats from *Goa*, being sent by the Vice-roy to range the Coast, and make some Discoveries of us, and so to go on for *Cambaya*, to waft the *Cafalle*.

November.

They did not offer to make the least attempt upon us, so that we proceeded in the landing of our Commodities, Coral, Elephants Teeth, Cloth, Tin, Wine, and Strong Waters, together with the whole Cargo of Presents.

January. The Bee's Voyage to *Jasques.*

This Month our Ship the *Bee* was dispatch'd for *Jasques*, upon the Coast of *Persia*; she carried some Merchants along with her, who were there to be landed with their Wares, and so go up into the Country as far as *Moguistan*. A way had been opened into this Country before, and the Country had procur'd the King of *Persia's* Firmans for liberty of Trade at that place or any other in his Dominions.

When she came back from *Jasques*, she gave us this Account of her Voyage. That the Governour gave them a very kind Welcome, and carried it in all points conformably to the purport and tenour of his Masters Firman. That the Merchants had a very free and quiet Passage wherever they went, and prospect of making so good Business of it in time at *Moguistan*, that they believ'd it would turn to as much Account there as in any place in *India* it self.

Water was extreamly scarce about *Jasques*; they had none but what the Clouds supplied them with, and those Supplies came down but very seldom neither.

January is the time in which they lay in a stock for the whole succeeding Year; then they fill all their Cisterns and Cellars, and are as busie with their Water, as some are with their Wine at the time of vintage. In that Month it rains constantly for a Week or more without intermission, and perhaps a little in *December*, but their main dependance is on the *January* Showers, in which they have their stated Allowance, and that measure of this Grand Necessity of Life, which a Wise Providence sees convenient for them. But having it thus but once a Year,

Year, they are forc'd to drink it with all the Advantages of its foulness, rank taste, and sometimes Worms bred in it, which after so long keeping is not strange, tho' undoubtedly very disagreeable, especially to those who have been us'd to better Liquors in other places and are forc'd to take up with that at *Jasques*. 'Twas so bad in all these Respects, tharour Men were forc'd to take some course to purifie it before they could drink it, and yet 'tis a good Commodity in the Country, and goes off for four Shillings a Tun. *Jasques* has a fair Bay belonging to it; there runs no stream, but it flows a Fathom with the Spring, and at other times three or four Foot. They observed a little Fisher Town adjoining, to be in 25 Degr. 35 Min. N. L. and 10 Degr. 40 Min. Lon. from the Cape of *Diu*, and the var. to be 19 Degr. 20 Min. from N. to West. This is the Sum of the Account the *Bee* gave us at her return from the *Jasques* Voyage.

March. * This Voyage comes afterwards by it self.

She being come back, the *Ann* * *Royal* our Vice-Admiral was sent away for the *Red-Sea*, and we all set out from *Swally* Road for *Bantam* and other parts. By the way we came in sight of the *Portuguese Molucca* Fleet, being 27 Sail, Merchant-Men and Men of War, and Gallies of *Goa*. We exchanged a few Guns with one another; but they quickly grew weary and got away from us beyond our pursuit, and to make the more hast in doing so, they were obliged in part to unlade some of their Vessels, and throw Chests, Boxes, and other heavy things over board.

April, A. D. 1611. Set sail from *Swally*. Light Skirmish with the *Portuguese* Fleet.

As we coasted along by *Calecut*, the *Samorin* sent off a Boat to desire a Conference, but we were gone too far out of reach to attend him at that time.

We came to an Anchor in *Brinnion* Bay, a place of good Refreshment for Hens, Cocoes, Goats, Fish, and excellent fresh Water, which comes clear and pure out of a Rock.

People of *Brinnion*. Some of the Ships went away for *Sumatra*, while the General went for *Bantam*, to which place they came afterwards, and followed him from thence to *Jacatra*, and so came to *Bantam* with him again.

But the Inhabitants are as bad as their Provisions are good, a perfidious, imposing, unfaithful People, who seem to value no Promises nor Contracts, nor will be held by any Bonds if they have an opportunity and force enough to break them. This we had sufficient Proof of in their dealing with us; for at our coming we had made the Governour a considerable Present, besides 70 Rials of Eight in dry Money for liberty of Watering, which he very fairly promis'd and seem'd as well pleas'd. But truly being secure of his pay, and resolved if possible to mend himself still, he came down with a Force of seven or eight hundred Men to drive us away from the Spring, demanding more Money, without which we should have no Water. But as it happened we had guarded the Spring pretty well, and were in a Condition to maintain the work we were about, against the violence of this rude and unjust Governour; and this was done partly for fear of any perfidious Practices of the *Indians* in poisoning or otherways abusing the Water, tricks that a Man is always to be aware of in these Eastern Countries.

June. When we came to *Bantam*, we found an unhappy Difference arisen between one of our *English* Captains and the great *Pangran* or Protector of the Kingdom. The Right of the Cause certainly lay on the Captain's side, and the *Pangran* was unjust and partial in pretending to quarrel upon those Terms that he did. The Business was, that the *Chinese* being pretty deeply in debt to our Men, the Captain had arrested one of their Junks, in order to bring them to make payment, which sort of violent Courses a Man cannot sometimes avoid taking with such shufling People as they are, unless he resolves to submit to all their Knaveries. But this Method of proceeding was highly displeasing to the *Pangran*, and provoked him to that degree, that he seem'd utterly uncapable of being perswaded and argued into a better Temper, refusing to hear what was to be reasonably alledged in justification of the Fact; and tho' we labour'd all that could be to compose the Matter, and made a formal offer of redelivering the Junk upon condition of doing us justice (which at first he also pass'd his Word to perform) yet he flew off afterwards, and as if fond of an Opportunity of quarreling, would hear nothing in order to the putting an end to it.

Protector of *Bantam*'s injustice.

September. Agreement with the King of *Jacatra*.

We left these Matters in the same ill posture at *Bantam* that we found them, and set sail from thence towards *Jacatra*. The King of this place being pretty well disposed to favour our Business, we agreed with him to this effect. That we would pay him 700 Rials of Eight *per Ann.* for the liberty of a free Importation and Exportation of all manner of Commodities, and 500 down for a piece of Ground to build a publick House for our Factory upon.

By Letters come to us here from the *Moluccas*, we had notice of the hard usage of our *English* in those Islands by the *Dutch*; they would scarce allow them Provisions to keep Life and Soul together, and upon every Report of the coming of any of our Ships, they were presently laid in Irons.

But we had not long after the comfortable Tidings of the sudden coming of a Remedy to cure those Disorders in a Fleet of six good *English* Ships, under the Command of Sir *Tho. Dale*. *October.*

Our Business dispatch'd at *Jacatra*, we went back again to *Bantam*. Having spent some little time here, the expected Fleet came from *England*, which together with ours and some others that were here at the same time, made in all to the number of thirteen brave Sail. And instead of that it had been fourteen, had not the brave *Sun*, the Admiral of this new-come Fleet miscarried by the way. She was wreck'd at the Island *Engano*, a good part of her Company drown'd, and others murder'd ashoar by the barbarous Inhabitants of that Island, and the rest brought in a very miserable condition to the Fleet. It being certain that the *Dutch* and we were shortly to decide our Quarrel by a Fight, we had amongst other Preparations made for it, that necessary one of a Day of Fasting and Prayer, strictly observed thro' the whole Fleet; and for a prelude to the succeeding Action, we quickly after took a considerable Ship of theirs. But the *Dutch* lying with their Fleet now about *Jacatra*, it was resolved in a Council of War, that a part of ours should forthwith sail thither in order to the beating them away. Accordingly we went on with eleven sail, and came to an Anchor by *Hector* Island, the *Dutch* Ships being at the same time within sight in the Bay of *Jacatra*. And tho' we were now so near one another, yet we could not order matters so as to bring it to a Battle immediately; the *Dutch* by their shifting and winding about, plainly discovering they had no great mind to engage, and we were fain in a manner to pursue them, before we could obtain the end we came for.

The *Sun* (Admiral) lost. *December*

However at last we came up with them, and the Admiral began the Fight with theirs, our *Moon* and their *Sun*, the rest coming on in their order. The Fight continued for 3 Hours, in which time we spent 1200 great Shot upon them, and so left them for that Night. And in short they order'd their business so, that we left them for altogether; for they made all the Sail they could before us, and we had only the Honour of pursuing them thro' the Bay of *Jacatra*, which we did to the East points of it. Here we all came to Anchor; and now they had recourse to the fatal policy of a Fireship, having been able to do no good with their great Guns; they set one of those Flaming Machines a driving towards us, but we happily avoided the Mischief, having warning enough to get out of her way. So also did those that sent her get out of ours; and tho' we set a Spie upon them to observe their Motions, yet we did not think it at this time necessary to follow them any farther. Now the Reason that urged us to this so speedy an attempt upon the *Dutch*, was an unpardonable outrage of theirs committed at *Jacatra* just before.

Horrible confusion, when the Sun and Moon fell together by the ears.

'Tis evident that considering the Injuries we had received from them, we were not the Aggressours, or guilty of any unjust Action in taking that Ship of theirs a little before the Fight. But yet as if they had never given us any manner of Provocation to proceed in that manner with them, to revenge the Loss of that Ship, they immediately siez'd two of our Merchants at *Jacatra*, and laid them in Chains in a place expos'd to publick view. And not contented to have carried the Affront thus high, they proceeded to heighten it yet farther, adding several other Violences of a far more mischievous nature than that. They plaid their great Guns upon our building, set fire to it, and burnt it to the Ground. They fired into the Town, making a horrid havock in the *Javan* quarter, but the *Chinese* quarter they beat quite down, and left it an absolute heap of ruins. They kill'd abundance of People, but especially of the *Javans*; and 'tis very likely that they design'd the King himself should fare no better than the rest, for they fired into his Palace, and that's no sign that they meant him well. Upon this extravagant Provocation, that Prince rouz'd up himself to chastise them in the best manner he could; and 'twas high time to do it, for the next shot else might perhaps have made him uncapable of doing it for ever. He played his Ordnance upon that Fort, and had several skirmishes with them; but after all, tho' a brisk Man, and good Souldier for an *Indian*, yet was not able (with his Furniture at least) to manage so tough and stubborn an Adversary as the *Dutch*. He therefore sent Messengers to *Bantam* to desire our assistance, in taming the Pride and Strength of that Adversary, that had not spar'd to insult him in his very Palace, and almost beat down his Capital City about his Ears. 'Twas upon this account that we hurried away to *Jacatra*, and call'd upon

Insolence of the *Dutch* at *Jacatra*.

the

the *Dutch* to prepare for a Battle ſo ſoon; that Prince was our Friend and Allie, and beſides our own particular Wrongs, the Injuries he had ſuſtain'd were great enough to engage us to puniſh thoſe that had done them.

January. Meaſures taken for carrying on the War againſt the *Dutch* at *Jacatra.*

After this, Sir *Tho. Dale* went aſhoar to ſee the King of *Jacatra*, and to confer about the farther proſecution of the War againſt them. The King was very deſirous to have them quite beat out from thence, and to ſee their Fort demoliſh'd; which if we would contribute our Aſſiſtance towards, he would make us all the Allowances for the Advantages of our Trade in his Country that we could reaſonably Deſire. So it was concluded that ſome Ammunition ſhould be landed out of the Fleet for this purpoſe, and that Sir *Tho. Dale* the Admiral ſhould be there in the Road with eight Sail, to countenance the Buſineſs as there was occaſion. As for our ſelves it was determin'd that we ſhould go away for the *Streights* of *Sunda*, with ſix Ships to endeavour to catch the *Dutch* Fleet there. But there was no Game to be found at that time, ſo that after a little beating up and down to no purpoſe, we put into *Bantam* Road. Here we had news that (in the time of our abſence) the *Dutch* had made a Propoſal for the Surrender of their Fort at *Jacatra*. Their proud Stomach was ſo far come down, that they were willing to quit the place upon condition of a quiet departure with bag and baggage, and the conveniency of a Ship to carry them to the Coaſt of *Coromandel*.

Capt. *Pring* goes for the Streights of *Sunda*; and then to *Bantam*, *February.*

But this Agreement was rendered ineffectual in great meaſure by the baſe dealing of the *Pangran* of *Bantam*; he loved neither the *Dutch* nor Us, and as little car'd that any thing ſhould be done towards the compoſing Matters betwixt us.

The baſe dealing of the Pangran of *Bantam.*

He had a mind too to get the Caſtle of *Jacatra* deliver'd into his own hands, and ſent to the *Dutch* privately to make a Surrender of it to him, together with their Ammunition, Money, and Goods; but he was much miſtaken in his Men, and the *Dutch* were not ſo eaſie either to be commanded or wheedled out of their Pretentions. But upon the Account of this and ſome other Ill Proceedings of his, we thought it neceſſary to make him ſenſible that we looked upon our ſelves highly affronted by him, and therefore made all our Factors and Merchants, with all their Effects to remove from the Town and come aboard the Fleet. While this was a doing the *Pangran* (as if the moſt juſt and harmleſs Man in the World) ſent to know the Reaſon of ſo ſudden a Remove, profeſſing he had given us no cauſe to leave the Country in that manner; but tho' this was manifeſt falſhood and diſſimulation all over, yet that he might have no ſhadow of an Excuſe or Pretence left him for not doing us juſtice, we drew up a Remonſtrance, containing all the Particulars of Wrongs and Grievances the *Engliſh* laid to his Charge, and ſent it to him for his farther conſideration. News being brought hither that four *Dutch* Ships were come to an Anchor in the Mouth of the *Streights* of *Sunda*, I ſail'd out of this Road with four of the Fleet under my Command, to give them a meeting there. We quickly obtain'd a ſight of them, and made towards them with a Speed that ſpoke for us; we were not a little glad to have found them. And they to affront us the more effectually, and let us underſtand how deſpicable we were in their Eyes, carelеſly plied to and again with their top Sails half Maſt down, as if they were there in expectation of us, and waited till we came. We were no ſooner within ſhot, but their Admiral came up and bid us welcome with a whole broad ſide; and it will pretty eaſily appear that we were no tat all behind hand with them in Civilities of that nature, ſince they run away within two Hours time, and left us the open Sea to our ſelves. And which made it much the more pleaſant, the Admiral (that came on with all the Triumph and inſolent Bravado of a *Spaniard*) was the firſt that turn'd tail, and gave the example of cowardice to all the reſt of the Fleet. We purſued them till Night; but tho' they fought worſe, yet they ſail'd better (at leaſt ſwifter) than we, having beſides the Advantages of their far nimbler Ships, a good degree of Fear and Fright to hurrie them along; and there's nothing in the whole World that flies faſter than Fear, nor does any Man make more haſt than he that runs away from a ſound beating. But as it often happens, that an eager and over haſty flight from one Miſchief, is an unlucky running into another, ſo it had very near been the caſe of theſe *Dutch* Ships; Sir *Tho. Dale* not long after got within ſight of them, and if a Tempeſt had not interpoſ'd, they had been forc'd to another-guiſe Trial than the former was.

Capt. *Pring* goes after the *Dutch* a ſecond time. *March.*

Fight with the *Dutch* near *Palambam* Point, on the Coaſt of *Sumatra.*

April. A. D. 1619. After this Action we returned to *Bantam*, and our whole Power of Shipping (that was hereabouts) once more came all together at this place. The Buſineſs to be conſulted was, about putting in execution the Orders of the *Eaſt-India* Company, for appropriating the *Chineſe* Goods to their own uſe in conſideration of the Debts they owed. And it came to this unanimous Reſolution, that unleſs the young King of *Bantam* would throw that Ill Miniſter the *Pangran* out of his place, the Commiſſion ſhould forthwith be executed; but in caſe of that Compliance the *Chineſe* ſhould have their Junks reſtored, and be forborn ſomething longer. The Matter brought to this head, we began to think of doing buſineſs in other parts; and ſet ſail in the firſt place for the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. Being near this Coaſt, our Ships were hardly able to come up to one another, by reaſon of the ſtrong W.S.W. Winds, and the Currents continually ſetting to the E.N.E. The Beach alſo was ſo lofty on the ſhoar, that there was no venturing towards it with any of our Boats.

May. Go for Coromandel.

At laſt we conſider'd of a certain Bay upon this Coaſt in about 17 Degr. and about five Leagues to the Eaſt ſide of *Naſſapore*, where there was very commodious riding for a Weſterly Monſon, which was the only thing we now deſired, ſeeing there was no hope of recovering *Maſſulipatan*, the Winds and Tides being both againſt us. Holding on our Courſe thitherwards, having made (by Judgment) about nine Leagues, we found the Land to lie away N. & N. & by W. which gave ſome hopes of a good Road.

June.

By this point of Land there comes out a great River, the Stream of which has rais'd a conſiderable Riſe or Shoal off the ſharp of the point, extending it ſelf half a Mile into the Sea, which makes the ſmoother road about the point, for you may bring the ſaid Shoal, S. S. W. and ride in ſix Fathom and a half, ozie Ground two Mile off the Land that's neareſt you.

Cape *Comfort.*

About two Leagues to the North ſide from this Point (which for diſtinctions ſake we call Cape *Comfort*) iſſues out another branch of the former River, which makes the head land it ſelf an Iſland, and off the Mouth of this River lies a long ridge of Sand, which is quite dry at low Water. The next point of Land to the North ſide of Cape *Comfort* is diſtant about three Leagues and a third from it, and to the Eaſt ſide of this laſt point you have another Sandy Shoal: As for the var. about the Cape, we make it to be 12 Degr. little more or leſs. While we lay here up and down upon the Coaſt, we had ſome Communication with the Country, getting good ſtore of Proviſions aboard, as Sheep, Hens, and Goats, of which latter we had near 300. The chief Town towards the Sea in this part was *Vingeron*, which I went to ſee, leaving the Fleet for ſome Days: I went by Barge to the Town of *Corange*, and thence up the River for *Vingeron*, at both which places I met with an Entertainment no way to be complained of. The Governour of *Vingeron* received me with all his *Indian* Muſick, liked my Viſit very well, but the Preſent I brought him much better; ſo well, that after I was gone a-Ship-board again, he would needs come and pay me Viſit, which I knew was nothing but to Fiſh for another Preſent.

August. Death of Sir *Tho. Dale.*

Here we had news of the Death of Sir *Thomas Dale*, our late worthy Admiral; he was got before us with a part of the Fleet to *Maſſulipatan*, and died at that place: and how good News ſoever this would be to the *Dutch*, whoſe inſolence he had already chaſtized in part, it was very uncomforable to us, who had reaſon to expect ſome farther humbling of them from the Valour and Conduct of ſo able a Commander.

September.

It may be worth the while to obſerve that of the River of *Naſſapore*, we found the Current to ſet S. S. E. by Day, and N. N. E. by Night; we rode then about three Leagues S. S.W. from the Bar of *Naſſapore*, and had at the ſame time near 20 Fathom Water. When we came to *Maſſulipatan*, we found that part of the Fleet there which Sir *Tho. Dale* had brought; and now that and this joining together, thought fit to call me to ſucceed him in his late Charge of the ſupreme Command of the United Fleets. Here ſeveral Merchants that were to reſide in the Country, were ſet aſhoar, and fixed in their reſpective places; the State of the Companies Affairs was alſo at large conſidered and examined, and proper meaſures agreed on for promoting them to the beſt Advantage.

Commands at *Maſſulipatan.*

December. January. The Admiral diſcoveries here of the Shoals and Sands about *Java*, and the other parts of the Coaſt of *Sumatra* on that ſide, but you have all material things of this kind in the General Collections for *Eaſt-India* Voyages, by *Mr. Davis.* *Vide Index.*

* We ſet ſail from hence for the Coaſt of *Sumatra*, and near that Iſland had the luck to meet with a conſiderable Addition to our Strength, which was three *Engliſh* Ships more, which there came up to us. But they inform'd us at the ſame time that our Forces in theſe parts were much leſs than we imagin'd, and that by the loſs of five Ships of ours lately taken by the *Dutch* upon this Coaſt, and two more thought to be in very great Danger, if not actually loſt, they having ſent out a ſtrong Fleet to ſurprize them. This News was ſtartling; and ſo many Ships being already become a Prey to them, the remainder

was to be more warily preserved; and our Strength at present under a declension not (but upon very valuable Considerations) to be any way farther exposed.

February. Our Dealings upon the Island at this time, were chiefly for Oyl, and Rice, and Coco's: We took in 12 Hogsheads of Oyl at one time, and more of the same Commodity at another, together with 12 or 1300 Sacks of most excellent Rice, 16000 Cocoes, besides Goats and other Provisions. This came all from *Priaman*, *Pedang*, and *Cattatinga*.

From *Sumatra* we held our Course for *Bantam*, hearing by the way that there was 15 Sail of *Dutch* bestowed between that place and *Jacatra*. 'Twas uncertain whether they would attack us or no, but 'twas certain that as matters now stood, we intended not to fight, unless a very urgent Necessity compell'd us to it. But going on with these Resolutions towards *Bantam*, we met with a Ship of our own just come from *England* (a Messenger of very happy Tidings) that put an end to all Cares and Provisions about matters of that kind, by assuring us that a Peace was concluded betwixt us and them. And before we could get to *Bantam*, 'twas demonstrated to us by the *Dutch* themselves; we light of their whole Fleet coming from *Jacatra* to meet us, and give us the Joy of the new made Peace.

April, A. D. 1620.

This was a wonderful alteration in a very little time; we used to meet for other purposes than this of Caressing and Complementing one another. Now the Great Guns were discharged upon a more civil and pleasing account than lately they were, and tho' we made as much Noise and Smoke on both sides as they, yet the Salutation was far more friendly and agreeable. Thus we sail'd together with no little Triumph into *Bantam* Road, and all the *Indians* that saw us persecuting each other to the last extremity, were now the admiring Witnesses of our happy Reconciliation.

The English and Dutch Fleets salute each other with their Ordnance.

But nothing could be a greater Mortification to the Ill-natur'd Protector, than this Union was; his Choler was so stirr'd at it, that he could neither hear the Relation of it with any degree of Temper, nor return a Civil Answer to those that made it: What with his Rudeness, and what with his Passion, he pass'd it off without any farther notice, than only a saving Question, Why would the *English* be Friends with the *Dutch*? He would say nothing in answer to our desires of making a fair and amicable conclusion of the Matters in dispute betwixt us; and had he ever had any just and generous Principles, the Heights of his present Transport would have prevented the exerting of them.

The Pangran of Bantam enraged at the Peace.

If he were capable of any true Love to his Country, or could be so far a Man of Honour, as a fear or jealousie of its welfare amounted to, one would fancy he suspected some Plot upon his Country, from the united Counsels and Interests of the *Dutch* and us; that now we would fall upon *Bantam* to rights, and having no Wars between our selves, would employ our Forces in making new Conquests.

'Tis true, this might be an uneasie Thought; for he might be sure in that Case he should lose his Protectorship; and if we came to be Masters of *Bantam*, we should not suffer such a Knave as he to sit at the Helm, and manage the Affairs of the Country.

But as for our selves, tho' we had no design that any way tended to the publick or his own private prejudice, yet we could have wish'd the King of *Bantam* a better Minister of State; and have been glad, if he would have exerted his own Royal Authority, in laying aside a Person so unfit for Publick Trust as he was. But there was no Remedy at present, the *Pangran* continued in the same surly discontented Humour; and the last time we sent to treat about the Business, he denied the Messengers the Liberty of coming ashore.

I was obliged once more to leave these Affairs in the same perplexed and unsettled posture that I found them in, being now bound for *Japan*: I took this * Voyage with two Ships only, some others being to take a turn thither afterwards, which were now engaged another way.

The Account of this Voyage is a Journal of the Ships ...

As for the Observations relating to Sea-Affairs in this Course, the Mariners may take these few Memorials along with them.

Of all that whole Row of Islands that extends it self Westward from the Bay of *Jacatra*, the most Westermost is *Pulo Antikero*, distant from *Pulo Tunda* 8 Leagues, to the N. N. E. E. The Depth between the two Islands is from 16 to 26, and so falling again from 26 to 12 Fathom, Ozy Ground. *Pulo Kero* lies from *Antikero* 6 Leagues to the N. N. E. nearest. All along from *Pulo Peniang*, to *Pulo Antikero*, the Current sets us to the Westward pretty strongly; after that we had an easie, tho' an odd sort of a Current too, that did run almost upon all Points of the Compass every 24 Hours.

By an Observation of the Sun's Meridian Altitude, we made the Ship to be in 4 Degr. 45 Min. S. L. when we had *Pulo Kero* 9 Leagues from us, bearing S. ½ W. and by another at Night upon the Crosiers, we made 4 Degr. 40 Min. S. L. when the same place was by estimation S. by W. from us 13 Leagues. The S. E. end, or point of the Isle *Banca*, bearing N. by E. ½ E. at 2 ½ Leagues distance, we made the Ship in 3 Degr. 8 Min. S. L. by an Observation of the Sun, from whence the Latitudes of those places may be determined. Between this Point of *Banca*, and the Isle of *Borneo*, the Sea is full of Islands, and it appearing a desperate Attempt to venture at a passage between those Islands and the aforesaid Point of *Banca*, because of the Shoalings we had met with, we endeavour'd to pass by the Streights of *Banca*; but here the matter was little mended, and we found the Shoaldings as dangerous, if not more than before.

The greater Island of *Linga* *, we place near the Equator in 1 Degr. S. or thereabouts, and *Pulo Tingaron* in 4 Degr. 50 Min. N. L.

* One of the Islands of *Linga* is placed in *Davis's* Rules, just under the Equator.

The Isles *Pulo Rowdon*, are at least thirteen or fourteen in number, great and small; they are high Land, and a fair Depth from one end to the other on all the Eastern side; and as we are inform'd, there's a very good Channel between them and the Main.

Places between Bantam and Patane.

Off from the Point call'd the *Gurnets-Head*, the Land runs away W. N. W. and W. by N. to the very entrance of the Road of *Patane*, and is low Land all along, and lowest of all at the Point of the Road, and you have a fair Depth too till you come thither, but there you must give a good birth, because of a Shoal that lies half way over to the Western Shore: Therefore you must not borrow too near it, till you have the Shoaling of the Western Shore, and there you shall find the softest Ground. From *Pulo Tingaron* to *Patane*, you have very high Land up in the Country, and as low all along by the Water's side, with a sandy Strand, at least twenty Leagues to the Southward of the Point of *Patane*, and how much farther we know not; but this we are sure of by Experience. At *Patane* we had excellent good Refreshment, and were singularly obliged to the kindness of the *Dutch* at that place, in furnishing us with part of our Necessaries, in order to a more quick dispatch: We had been forc'd to wait longer, if their Courtesie had not freed us from that Inconvenience. We were obliged to buy at this place Oyl and Dammar for the trimming of our Ships (which we intended to do at *Japan*), those Materials being very dear there.

As you go from *Patane* to the Head of *Cambodia*, you have a Rock that lies dangerously in that passage, and just shews it self above Water: To know whereabout it is, you may observe that the high Land over *Gurnets-Head*, bearing S. S. W. ½ W. 13 Leagues off, and the low Point of *Patane* Road about 18, then the Rock will bear N. N. E. ½ E. a League off, and as for the Latitude of it, we make it to stand in about 7 Degr. 20 Min. N. Along from *Patane* Road you have (after you have made seven or eight Fathom) the Depth regularly increasing by two still, as far as 24 Fathom, till you are in sight of the Rock, and about two Leagues from it 25 Fathom Ozy.

Places between Patane and the Coast of China, &c.

The Isle *Pulo Hube* is thus to be known; at first you see a rising of the Land with one round Hill, then as you come nearer you see another shoulder of high Land rising in Hammocks, but not above two thirds as high as the Hill, yet all one continued piece with it; then you have a prospect of a smaller round Island about the height of the Hammocky Land, and which lies close aboard the greater Isle. This lesser Isle has to the Eastward of it a long Rock like the Hull of a Gaily.

By observation *Pulo Cendor* lies in 8 Degr. 42 Min. N. Lat. and all along (at least for the most part) from *Patane*, till we were in sight of this Island, we had the Wind at S. S. W. and from *Pulo Cendor*, till we were within kenn of the Coast of *Cambodia*, we had a Current setting E. by N.

The Latitude of Cape *Cessier* upon that Coast, may be determin'd by this Observation, that when at Noon we made 10 Degr. 42 Min. N. L. the Cape did at the same time bear W. N. W. ½ W. about six Leagues from us. So by a like Observation the Latitude of Cape *Varelle* is fix'd; for when we made 13 Degr. 13 Min. N. L. at Noon, this Cape bore W. S. W. 8 Leagues off. The *Chinese* call it Cape *Jentam*, which in their Language signifies a Chimney, because it has a sharp Hammock rising up upon the top of a Hill, much like a Chimney upon a House. The Latitude of the Isle *Aynam* may be settled in like manner, by comparing these Observations of the Course for two

several Days, *viz.* This Day Isle *Aynam* bears N. W. by N. twelve Leagues by the next Day at Noon, we have gone N. E. by E. 22 Leagues, and here we find our Lat. 18 Degr. ', from whence the Latitude of *Aynam* may be inferr'd.

Between this Island and that call'd the *Morocco Saddle*, a Current setting to the Northward mostly affected us. We give the latter Island the Name of the *Morocco Saddle*, upon the account of a certain deep Swamp upon the top of it, which in some measure justifies the Comparison: It lies in 21 Degr. 45 Min. N. L. and has various Islands about it, almost at every Point of the Compass.

Places towards the Coast of *China* and *Japan*.

The *Scorpion's Heart* lies in 22 Degr. 35 Min. N. L. little more or less; and that of the high Land of *Lagosse* may be determin'd by this Observation, that when we made by the Sun's Altitude, 23 Degr. 6 Min. N. L. the high Land of *Lagosse* at the same time bore N. W. by N. 11 Leagues distance. So also that of the Northern Point of the Isle *Formosa*, which bore E. S. E. ten Leagues off, when we made the Ship in 25 Degr. 40 Min. N. L. From hence to the Coast of *Japan*, the Current was almost continually E. N. E. or most certainly some Point between the N. and the E.

I shall offer the Sailors no more now of these Observations, but one upon the Coast of *Japan* it self, helping to settle the Latitudes of the great Sound of *Langesaque*, and of the S. E. part of the Isle *Goto*; namely, that when the former bore E. nine Leagues, and the latter W. by N. ten Leagues, and at the same time we made the Ship in 32 Degr. 40 Min. N. L.

July. We had not been long in the Port of *Firando*, before several others of our *English* Ships came in thither likewise. We had the same kind Welcome that others of our Nation had met with here before; and the King of *Crats* Island came aboard the *James Royal*, mightily admiring and rejoycing to see an *English* Ship of that state and bigness; and asking, Whether that were one of our Frigats? By all which we suspected, that some People at that place that bore us no Good Will, had given a very pitiful Account of our Shipping, and made them believe we were Masters of none beyond the size of Frigats. Here the *Dutch* and we joyn'd together in all our Consultations for the common Interest and Advantage of both, and being now as it were one People, Deputies were chosen, two of each side, to manage the Affairs at Court, and carry the Presents to the Emperor. We seem'd also to be equal Sharers in the Respect and Favour of the King of *Firando*, who inviting both Parties to a Solemn Entertainment, made the first Dish of each Course be presented to the *Dutch* and us.

Union of the *English* and *Dutch* in *Japan*.

August. * See the Letters from *Japan*, and Capt. *Saris*'s Voyage, for an Account of these Tuffons.

* The horrible Tuffons, which are frequent hereabouts, did our Fleet some damage; one Ship was sunk down to rights, and others endanger'd, tho' happily brought off afterwards. The Effects of these tempestuous Blasts are oftentimes as fatal, as the coming of them is sudden and surprizing; when they are violent to extremity, they bear down all before them, and 'tis in vain to attempt the delivering of a Ship, or any thing from their Fury.

Our Deputies (return'd from Court) gave us an Account of the good Success of their Undertaking: The Emperor was kind and favourable, and their Business came to its desired issue. To see this, was all that we now waited for, and therefore our Ships being here careen'd, and fitted for the Sea, we set Sail again for *Bantam*; in which passage we shall present the Sailor with one Observation only, and that is of the Isles of *Pulo Tayro*, between the Isles of *Banca* and *Borneo*. This is a Cluster of seven or eight Islands and Rocks mix'd together, the longest Tract of them runs N. N. W. and S. S. E. the Northermost of all being every way the largest and most considerable. *December.*

From this Northermost Island to *Pulo Pan*, the Course lies N. W. ½ W. nine Leagues, and all about it good Depths. The Southermost of the same Islands, we conclude we may place in 1 Degr. 16 Min. S. L. For when we made the Ship in that very Latitude, that Island then bore due E. of us.

When we came to *Bantam*, we found a *French* Ship there, to whom the Pangran had granted Trade; and the matter had been so agreed between this *French-man*, the *Dutch*, and our *English*, to preserve Peace and Quietness on all sides, that they were to share the Pepper in Thirds amongst them. But our Lading being ready for us at *Jacatra*, we went thither to take it in after a very short stay here. *January.* Come to *Bantam*, and go away to *Jacatra*.

Our Ships that had been employ'd about those parts, while we were at *Japan*, gave a very bad Character of *Cracatow*, for a sickly infectious place, which partly kill'd, partly spoil'd and disabled the best part of all the Men that went thither. The *Royal James* was laden here with Pepper, Silk, and Cloves; some Quantities of Benjamin we had too aboard her, but the main of the Cargo was the aforesaid Commodities.

This Dispatch made, we were now bound for *England*, carrying along with us a far more valuable thing than all our Lading amounted to, the Satisfaction and Advantage of a happy Peace, with an Adversary who had been not a little troublesome to us in those Parts of the World. 'Twas in our power to let our Country know, when we came home, that the *Dutch* had been civil and friendly to us abroad. Sail for *England*. Comes home *Septemb.* A. D. 16[illegible]

Appendix to Chap. XXXIII.

Containing the Result of the Voyage made to Moha, *in the* Red Sea, *by the* Anne Royal, *a Ship belonging to Admiral* Pring's *Fleet, under the Command of Capt.* Andrew Shilling. *Extracted out of Mr.* Hoynes's *Journal.*

March, A. D. 1617. IN the former Voyage we saw this Ship taking leave of the rest of her Company, and sailing alone towards the *Red Sea*; 'tis requisite now that we make some enquiry after her, and see how she fares in that part of the World amongst the *Turks* and *Arabs*, who had formerly been so very rude to some of her Country. She had, it seems, a safe and considerably quick Voyage, between the Coast of *India*, and the *Arabian*, making it not more than four Weeks between *Swally* Road, and that of *Moha* upon the *Red Sea*. *April, A. D. 1618.* Arrive at *Moha*.

The Jealousie of a Revenge upon Sir *H. Middleton*'s Account, still possess'd the Turks, and they first'd this Ship to be a Man of War.

When they were come in here, and had fix'd themselves at an Anchor, immediately a Boat was sent out from the Governour to demand their Country, Designs, and Pretensions there; which Demands when they had satisfied, they gave the Town the usual Salutation with some Pieces of Ordnance. The Governour took this in so good part, that he dispatch'd a Person of better Figure to bid them Welcome in his Name, and at the same time a liberal Present of Flesh and Fruits; but still desired more complete Satisfaction as to their Business and Intent in coming thither, as also to see some of them ashore. Our *English* (as they had Reason for't) were no less jealous and tender of their Safety, than the Turks of the Quiet and Security of their Town; and therefore sent the Governour word, That tho' they came purely upon a Design of Trade, yet they should not expose themselves ashore, without sufficient Pledges for their Security.

This the Governour quickly agreed to satisfie them in, and accordingly, with another Present, sent two Persons of good Quality to remain as Hostages a Shipboard, and promise of good Entertainment to them that came ashore.

The two chief Merchants, with their Interpreters, landed presently, and were receiv'd by a vast Crowd of People and Officers that waited for their Arrival; the former only to gaze upon them, and the latter to perform the Ceremony of bidding them Welcome. The Aga was likewise ready to receive them in his Palace, and appear'd in no small State as to his Dress, Attendance, and all the Particulars of his Furniture, and, by their Relation, carried it with much good Breeding, Civility, and Heartiness, towards them; but a Turk is a mysterious Creature, and the Aga for all his Complements is not to be pronounc'd an honest Man, till we have the Merchants The Merchants and Officers

Experi-

Experience to prove him to be so. In the whole Story of their Business and Design in coming into those parts, nothing was so obliging to him, as their assuring him, they had Orders from the *English* * Embassador in *India*, to scour all those Seas, and protect the Ports of the Country (and the *Indian* Ships that traded thither) from the Insolencies of Pirates of what Nation soever: And that they had lately done a piece of Justice of this kind, upon two Ships of their own Country, which were going to plunder a rich Ship of *India*; the truth of which the *Guzurat* Merchants would shortly confirm to him, who had not been able to come this Year, if they had not had the Promise of an *English* Guard at their return. This made the Aga say to his Company, The *English* were a Civil and Friendly Nation: That they should live perfectly secure and easie in this Country, and enjoy all the Liberties they had at others of the Grand Seignior's Ports, and have the last degree of Assurance for all this, in his own, and the Bassa's Firman.

* Sr Tho. Rew, who gave those Orders, and was principally the Cause of this third Attempt on a Trade at Moha.

The Aga's kind usage of them

But he was desirous to know of the Merchants, Why they were so shy and fearful of him at first, and would not come ashore without Pledges left in their room? In reply to which, when they mention'd the former Violences offer'd to Sir *H. Middleton* and his Company, he told them, That Aga was indeed a very ill Man, and had been disgrac'd according to his deserts; but now they should be assur'd of another sort of Entertainment; for which he gave them the most solemn Oath a Turk can take, by the Beard and Whiskers of the Prophet. And farther, that none might be ignorant of the Friendly Treatment designed for the *English* at that place, he would have their Liberties openly proclaim'd before the whole Town; by which Method all excuse and pretence for any Act of Discourtesie or Injustice, should be wholly taken away. Our Merchants deliver'd him the Captain's Present (which he took very kindly, and with many Thanks), and so went away from him to the Scrivano's House. This Person was almost as great a Man in *Moha*, as the Aga himself, both upon the account of the Port and State he liv'd in, the Figure of Authority he bore there, and the main stroke he had in the management of all Publick Business. 'Twas necessary upon all these Accounts to secure his Countenance and Friendship in carrying on their Designs; for tho' there was no danger of his open contradicting the Aga's Orders, yet a secret Grudge or Distaste in such a Person, might have done a mischief; and 'tis the best way, not to let any Great Man have cause to think himself neglected or despised.

The Scrivano sides with the *English* too.

The Scrivano quickly promis'd to undertake the Protection of their Affair, and espous'd their Interest with the same Zeal and Heartiness the Aga did; which was a great Point gain'd; for while he held their Friend, they were sure to hold the Aga fast, this latter being entirely guided in all his Counsels by the former. Now all was clear and open before them, and the next Business was to provide a convenient House in the Town for the Reception of their Goods, and their own settled Abode. They were under no Apprehensions of Fear, as to any rude Usage or Assault in walking the Streets; for besides, that the People appear'd civil and courteous, and their serene Countenances express'd a well-pleasedness with them, they had the mighty Protection of the Aga's Oath, and the Sacred Hairs of *Mahomet* to appeal to in that case.

* See something of it as to other Particulars in Sr *H. Mid.* Voyage. Description of the Town.

As for the * Town it self, they tell us, they have scarce met with any comparable to it, for the cleanliness, neatness, and decent management of it. There's no such thing as Dirt or Filth to be seen in any of the Streets; every thing of that kind being thrown into a certain common Receptacle which is constantly scoured by the Sea, and proves no offence to the Town. Every Man's Door is swept and water'd Morning and Evening, the Ground lies perfectly smooth and level, so that the Streets appear rather like so many Bowling-Alleys, than places that are expos'd to the daily tramplings of Men and Horses. The Houses are all flat-roofed, built mostly of Brick and Stone, and handsomely cover'd over with Plaister of Paris; they are not generally above two Story high, but that defect is made up by good Terraces at top, where they have pleasant Summer-Houses built of Mats and Canes. In these they pass away the Night, and the first Quarter of the Day; here they have the fresh Air, and a lovely cooling Breeze from the Sea, with which when they are well fann'd, they are prepar'd to go through the scorching heat of the remaining part of the Day.

This seems to be the greatest Burden, Foreigners (used to milder Climates) have to bear at this place; 'tis so extravagantly hot, that 'tis hard to endure the lightest Cloathing; yea, even a Shirt upon one's Back, after the cool Breathings of the Morning are over, and the Sun has recover'd any considerable height.

The Trade of this Town is very considerable, and so is the number of Trades-men and Merchants, that inhabit or frequent it; the Shops are neatly built, and well contriv'd, and in every one of them you have an Epitomy of the Decency and good Order of the Town. There's a fair Market well furnished and supplied out of the Country; and for their plenty of Provision, 'tis sufficient to say, that *Moha* is seated in the *Happy Arabia*.

Their Strength at this place is not great, and they rely more upon their Soldiers, than they do upon their Ordnance, or any sort of Fortification. There's commonly 200 quarter'd in the Town, and a Body of 500 more that lies a little upin the Country, within call, upon any occasion.

Our Merchants having thus seen the Town, went to take their Leaves of the Aga and Scrivano, before they went aboard again. And as it happen'd, this was a taking leave in another sence than they intended, or thought of; for this Aga was in a few Days to remove from that Government, and quit his place to another, who was as soon expected. However, he assur'd them, they should find his Successor in all things as kind and careful of their Interests as he was, to whose Favour and Good Management, he would bequeath them and their Affairs, and doubted not but they would confess the change was for the better.

The Aga to go away from *Moha*.

This was the first step of the Negotiation, which was happily and successfully made; and they being return'd the Turkish Pledges were discharg'd in honourable sort. These Persons lik'd their Entertainment so well, that others were willing to come and make the Experiment, that could not pretend they were sent for Pledges; the Scrivano himself did not scruple to put himself into their hands, thinking too well of the *English* to be afraid of any Treachery from them. He brought part of the Materials for a good Feast along with him, but left all the Scruples of his Religion behind him; he indulged his Genius to the height, confounded all his Prophets Distinctions of allow'd and forbidden things, and laid the Alcoran a soaking in Sack and Strong-waters.

Scrivano feasts aboard the Ship.

While they rode at Anchor about this place they tell us of a violent Storm of Thunder and Wind off from the Shore, that brought Clouds of Dust and Sand a Shipboard upon them, tho' they were then better than a League from the Land.

The new Aga was quickly come to enter upon his Government at *Moha*, our *English* Ship paying him the Civility of her Guns at his arrival: This he took extreamly well, and sent for the Merchants ashore out of hand, returning the same Pledges that were before. Here they had all the same Complements over again, that his Predecessor had made them, the same solemn Assurances of Peace and Friendship, and quiet Trade; and now the Honour of *Mahomet*'s Beard was pawn'd a second time for the performance of the Covenants. But of how valuable a Consideration soever this might be amongst the Turks, our *English-men* thought it a very poor Security, and therefore they were so free as to desire something else besides his Oath; their Business must stand upon a surer Foundation than that, since they had not that Opinion of his Prepher, and his Beard, that he had himself, tho' they did not presume to tell the Aga so much. However they insisted upon a Security that might give a complete Satisfaction both to themselves and their Country; and this he as freely promised, telling them they should have his own, and the Bassa's Firman. This was all that could be desired, and the Merchants let him know, they were fully contented.

The Merchants wait upon the new Aga.

The Aga's good Humour bringing on a very free and familiar Discourse, and amongst other things, Sir *H. Middleton*'s Name being mention'd, they took the liberty to ask the Aga, the Reason of those Proceedings, and what preference the Turks had for so unparallel'd a piece of Treachery as was then committed. He replied to this, That the Visier Bassa that then govern'd the Country, was by his own cruel and bloody Nature, dispos'd enough to such Actions as those, but that he had hardly perhaps gone so far as he did, if the Turks and *Arabs* by their Complaints of the *English*, had not added Spurs to his furious Temper, and push'd him on: For they reported, That our Men were guilty of all the lewd, indecorous Actions that could possibly be thought of, and violated the Orders and Laws of the Place (as well as those of good Manners) in so extravagant a degree, that the People could bear with them no longer. That in their Debauches they would quarrel and fight with the Inhabitants; force themselves into their Houses, and pursue their Women before their Faces; affront their Religion (as they esteem it), profane their Churches by going and pissing against the Walls and Gates of them. This was the Charge brought in against them, which if true, the *English* may blush while Infidels

The Turks Account of the Outrages offer'd to Sir *H. Midd.*

accuse them of such Crimes. One wou'd think such Men were weary of their Lives, and wanted to be knock'd on the Head; or at least that they had lost their Understanding together with their Modesty.

What People are so jealous of their Women as the Turks? And who are so tender in all those Points as they? How severe and sharp a Revenge have they many times taken, for the smallest appearance of Familiarity; for a Word, for a Glance, for a Sign, or even without any real occasion, when their own invincible Jealousie has prompted them to it? And could it be imagin'd, that they wou'd be quiet and idle Spectators of such Actions as these? That they would endure Strangers to force themselves into the Apartments of their Women, when they would as soon see them dead, as see them in any Company besides their own? Patience in such a Case is not to be expected any where, except in a Country of tame, easie, contented Cuckolds; much less is it to be expected from a Turk, that is, a Man made up of Choler, Jealousie, and Hatred to the Christian Name.

And so for pissing against their Church-Walls, and Doors: It had been perhaps a less Provocation, to have set Fire to them in another Sence, or planted a Battery of great Guns, and beat them down to the Ground; for this might have been the destruction of them, but would not have polluted or defil'd them, as the other Course did in the Turks Opinions. And 'tis no matter how absurd and foolish those Opinions are in themselves, for if they are once firmly perswaded in their Minds that 'tis so, there ought to be as much Caution us'd, as if they were ever so well grounded and justifiable; besides, 'tis a very great breach of Good Manners, and the Common Rights and Privileges of Mankind, to assault the Religion of any People, or expose any thing to scorn and contempt, that they esteem sacred, tho' at the same time their Judgments may need better Information.

Upon what Accounts 'tis likely the Turks Accusations might be false.

But after all this, 'tis to be hoped, that our *English-men* might be belyed by the *Turks* and *Arabs* in great measure; and that tho' some part of the Charge might be true, some of the most odious Particulars of it might be false. For (not to mention the Care and good Government of Sir *H. Middleton*) why were not these Crimes objected at first? Why was not Sir *H. Middleton* told when he was brought in Chains before the Aga, that 'twas for the lewd Actions of his Company, that he and they were so severely handled? The Aga and the Bassa had need of all the pretences in the World, to give a colour to that barbarous Action, and make it appear just, or at least plausible: And was it possible they could have a fairer and fuller Charge than this? Or that they should neglect it, and not reproach the *English* with these Villanies? It looks as if the Charge was not then made, but had been patch'd up afterwards to serve a turn; they were then in a hurry, and had not time for a formal Process; but after the Execution was over, they had leisure to find out the Crimes, and draw up an Indictment accordingly. And 'tis a sign, that there was more of the Injustice and Treachery of the Turks in it than they are willing to own, since that wicked Bassa was quickly after sent for to *Constantinople*, to answer those Proceedings to the Emperor; and 'tis certain, that it cost him (at least) his Place and Preferments, and that he was condemn'd to a Life of disgrace and obscurity. However, since our Merchants themselves do not scruple to own, the *English* were guilty of some Disorders there; those dismal Consequences, together with what has been alledg'd, may serve to deter all that go into those parts, from any such irregular Practices amongst the revengeful Turks and Arabs.

This Aga the same that abus'd Sir *H. Mid.*

By the way, 'twas a pretty odd Circumstance, that the Merchants should be all this while discourfing with that very Man that had before captivated Sir *H. Middleton*, and treated their Country-men like Dogs; that the new Aga should be the old Knave that had done all that mischief. Yet 'twas really so, as they found afterwards; 'twas the same Man, tho' the Scrivano solemnly denied it, and being a strange Face to them, they could not have known him, if the Aga's own honest Confession had not assur'd them on't afterwards. He that was then as rough and fierce as any Beast of Prey, was now as mild and as gentle as a Lamb; his stern Carriage was all laid aside, and some Correction ('tis probable) had taught him better Manners and Deportment. He had the good Fortune to come off upon easier Terms than his old Master the Bassa; but that's the advantage of the little Villains, they can pretend to be employ'd and set a-work, and so slip their own Necks out of the Collar, while the Great Ones go to pot.

Their Agreement with the Scrivano.

But to the more important Concerns of their Trade and Business: The Agreement made with the Scrivano for Custom, was Three in the Hundred for all Goods, both imported and exported, which was pretended much more favourable than what was commonly allow'd; and then for Gold and Silver, and all Money in general, to pay none.

And now the Firmans were drawn up with all the dispatch imaginable, and in a General Assembly of the Merchants of the Town, the Aga himself publish'd the Liberties granted to the *English*.

The Copies of these Firmans are here subjoyn'd as they were taken out of the Original *Arabick*.

A Faithful and perfect Firman, given by the Grace of God, to the worthy Captain of the English, Andrew Shilling, *to the Merchants, and to all such as are come with him at this present; and to all the Nation of the* English, *which shall come to this Port hereafter: For their good Usage, and friendly Entertainment by the Grace of God, and by the Faith we have in our Holy Prophet* Mahomet; *with the Licence of our Great Lord and King, to whom the Great God of the World give long Life: By the Fidelity, Truth, and Authority of the great Vizier of* Sinan, Mahomet Bassa; *whom the great God give strength and Power in his Kingdom: And by the faithfulness, and true meaning, and command of me* Raiab Aga, *now Governour of the Town of* Mocha; *to be given to the Great Nation of the* English, *with all faithfulness.* Mahomet Bassa. Raiab Aga.

I The Governour Raiab Aga, *do give Liberty and Licence to the* English *Nation, to come hither to this Port, to receive Friendly Entertainment, to bring ashoer their Goods, to buy and sell with all freedom; to carry such Goods as they buy aboard, without let or hinderance: And have made Contract with them, that for all Goods they land, they shall pay Three by the Hundred, not in ready Money, but in Goods; and for what they carry away aboard, so it be Merchandice, and not Provision for their Ship, as Victuals, or such like, that they shall pay ready Money at Three by the Hundred likewise, neither more nor less, but as it is contracted by our Agreement. That no Inhabitants of this Town, nor People of the Country, neither* Turk *nor* Arab, *shall injure them; but they shall have their Liberty to their Contents. And that this my Firman and Contract is given them with a good Heart, and true meaning to see it performed, I witness the Truth before the most high God, and our Holy Prophet.*

* Either the difference from this different Computation or that the Seal was differed to this Day.

Signed with my *Chop*, the Fourteenth * Day of *May*, in the Year of our Prophet *Mahomet* 1027.

The Bassa of *Sinan*'s Firman.

IN the Name of GOD. *This Letter written with the Word of Truth of the most high* GOD: *To all Nations, Governours, and Officers, over the People under my Government:* GOD *keep you all.*

Know ye, That we have given our faithful Firman into the Hands of Seignior Andrew Shilling, *Captain of the* English, Joseph Salbank, *his Companion; and to their Friend,* Edward Heynes, *Merchant; which are come to the Port of* Mocha, *for them to go and come with their Ships to the said Port, and there to buy and sell all manner of Merchandice freely, and with all content. And we do further give them by virtue of this our Firman in the Faith of the Great* GOD, *and our holy Prophet* Mahomet; *in the Faith of our Great Lord, whom* GOD *preserve; and in the Faith of Our Self, Governour of the Province and City of* Sinan; *free Licence for to sell and buy there, here, and in all other of our Ports, and Towns of Trade within our Government, as freely and quietly, without injury, let, or molestation, as any of the Traders and Merchants which come to that Port of* Mocha, *or any other, of what Nation soever. And do consent and agree with them, to pay for Custom of such Goods as they bring, Three by the Hundred, and for what they buy and carry forth, Three by the Hundred likewise. And do promise and swear, in the true way of an Oath, to keep our Word with them in this Agreement; and give you all hereby to know, that they shall pay neither more nor less. And further, That they shall receive neither injury, hurt, nor danger, nor any discontent given them, either to their Persons or Goods, but they and their Nation shall have, as from their first Ship that came to this Kingdom, now this, so ever to the last Ship, that shall arrive hereafter, the like Friendly Entertainment, and Good Usage, as we have commanded to be given them at this present. And that this is my faithful meaning, this our Firman which comes to your Hands shall be a Witness of the Truth.*

Written and Signed with my Royal *Chop*, from our Court of *Sinan*, this Eighteenth Day of *July*, in the Year of our Prophet *Mahomet* 1027.

The

The Copy of the Governour of *Moha's* Firman, given to Mr. *Salbank*, for good Uſage in his way to *Sinan*, is this.

IN the Name of the Great GOD. *This Letter of Commandment in the Name of our great Lord (whom GOD keep) to all People, Governours of Towns and Cities. Know ye, that it is our Will and Commandment, That when the Bearer hereof,* Joſeph Salbank, *or any of his People, or any of the Nation of the* Engliſh, *come to your Places of Government, you uſe them, him, and all whomſoever, friendly, and with all Courteſies: That you make them pay for Victuals, or other Neceſſaries, no more than ordinary; but rather make Proviſion for them, and aſſiſt them. And for what Goods they ſhall carry away, or bring up into the City of* Sinan, *you ſhall take no Duties of them, as is the Cuſtom to other Men, but let them paſs free, doing them neither wrong nor injury. Wherefore, all you to whom this Letter or Command ſhall come, which I have given into his hand, I commend you all, in the Name of the* Baſſa, *(whom GOD bleſs) to ſee this performed with all diligence.*

Given at *Mocha*, the Twentieth of *June*; A. 1027. of our Prophet *Mahomet*.

Mr. *Salbank* went to *Sinan*, for the Baſſa's Firman.

This latter Firman, as appears by the Contents of it, was given to Mr. *Salbank*, for his Security in his Journey to *Sinan*; his Buſineſs thither, was to receive from the Baſſa's own Hand, that Firman of his which was inſerted before, and to make ſome convincing Trial of the mighty Favour and Kindneſs which the Aga pretended he had for the *Engliſh*. And it ſeems all his Entertainment, both upon the Road, and at *Sinan* too, did very well correſpond with the Aga's Pretenſions. At his entrance into any Town of note, he was always met by a Party of Soldiers that came out to be his Guard to the Governours of thoſe places, by whom he was receiv'd with all imaginable Courteſie.

His Reception at *Sinan* was ſomething more pompous, a brave Troop of Horſe being diſpatch'd to meet him about a Mile out of Town, and a Houſe very richly furniſh'd, made ready for his Entertainment. He was firſt of all careſs'd by the principal Xeriff, and the Baſſa's Treaſurer, and after two Days reſt, had Audience of the Baſſa himſelf.

Good Sale of *Engliſh* Cloth likely about *Sinan*.

According to his Report our *Engliſh* Cloth would prove a good Commodity at *Sinan*, and the adjoyning Country. One Reaſon for which is, the ſevere Cold of the Climate, which pinches the Inhabitants for eight or nine Months; the Summer is hardly a Summer hereabouts, and under the warmeſt Rays of the Sun (he ſays) a Man might very well have endured a Furr-Gown.

But beſides this, there is a large Court at *Sinan*; and no leſs than 40 or 50000 gallant Turks belonging to it; to which add the ſeveral Armies that lie up and down in the Country, either employ'd in reducing the petty *Arab* Kings, or elſe in guarding the Turkiſh Pretenſions from their Incurſions. Theſe do all wear either high-priz'd *Venetian* Cloths, or quilted Cotton Coats, and *Indian* Pintadoes for want of good Cloth; and no doubt but our *Engliſh* ones would anſwer all the purpoſes of the *Venetian* and the *Indian*, and be very agreeable to thoſe Soldiers in their Marches through the Weather, and cold Nights Lodgings in the open Field.

In that time that this *Engliſh* Ship lay at *Moha*, the Grand Seignior, Sultan *Achmet* died, ſeveral Ceremonies being perform'd upon that occaſion in the Grand Moſque of that place: But the new Sultan was pleas'd to confirm both the Baſſa and Aga in their reſpective Places and Offices for ſeven Years longer; ſo that the *Engliſh* Trade in thoſe parts, as it had its beginning, was alſo to have its growth and progreſs under the Influences of their Government.

Upon the whole, the Turks continued fair, juſt, and civil to the laſt; they made good to a Punctilio whatever they pretended to, and did in ſome meaſure attone for former Abuſes, by the Honeſty and Obligingneſs of their preſent Deportment; tho' at the ſame time 'tis poſſible fear might have ſome ſtroke in the matter too; for the *Engliſh* were able to command and force their own Trade, and ſpoil the Turks when they pleas'd: And 'twas matter of fact, that ſome Ships had paſs'd by *Moha*, and went to *Gudda*, the Port of *Mecca*, for fear of falling into the hands of ſo much dreaded an Adverſary, and the *Mallabars* would not come in neither, but ſtay'd at *Aden*, till the *Engliſh* had given them their Paſs for Security, and good Uſage.

But the Effects were very agreeable, let the Cauſe be what it will; and if the Turks can't be juſt and true out of Conſcience, and love to Vertue, let them be ſo out of fear of power and puniſhment. They loſe the Honour of acting from a Noble Principle; but other People need not loſe the Profits of a Commerce with them upon that account.

Our Ship having done this conſiderable Service for her Country in the *Red Sea*, ſail'd away from *Moha* for the Coaſt of *India* again.

CHAP. XXXIV.

An Account of all the Proceedings between the Engliſh *and the* Dutch, *with reference to the* Banda *Affairs: Together with the ſeveral Grounds of the Pretenſions of both Parties, and the Controverſies happening thereupon. Taken out of the Journals and Letters written upon that Subject, by Mr.* Spurway, *Mr.* Courthop, *Mr.* Hayes, *and ſome others.*

AT the very beginning of this Account, we find the Relaters got out into the East-Indies; *We have no Information of the Adventures of the firſt part of the Voyage thither, but only the Events that happen'd there, without any manner of introductory Circumſtances. As we therefore find them at this diſtance, we muſt begin where they do, and take the Story in that form and length that they deliver it to us in.*

December, A.D. 1616. Go to *Macaſſar*.

HAving diſpatch'd all Affairs at *Bantam*, we remov'd from thence to *Macaſſar* (with our two Ships the *Swan* and the *Defence*) where we expected to take in 100 Quoynes of Rice. The King of this place was, and had been a long time a moſt inveterate Enemy to the *Dutch*; he would not allow any one of them ſo much as to land upon his Country, and thoſe that fell into his hands at any time were ſure never to get out again. The reaſon of this Hatred was the ſeveral Wrongs which the People of the Iſland had receiv'd from them; they had ſeiz'd and captivated ſome of the Natives, and amongſt the reſt the King of *Macaſſar*'s Sabandar, a Man of great Note and Figure in the Country; for which Affronts he vowed a ſevere Revenge, whenever he had an opportunity to take it. And ſeveral others of the petty Kings of the *Celebes* joyn'd with him in this Deſign, as having been Fellow-Sufferers and Partners with him in the Injury; they all threatned the *Dutch*, and it was their wiſeſt Courſe to keep out of the way. But notwithſtanding this, they muſt venture and try their Fortune at *Macaſſar*, and that in an abrupt intruding way too; when their Circumſtances required a great deal of application and fair means to be us'd to introduce them with any ſafety amongſt that People again.

Kings of the Oldest Enemies to the *Dutch*.

December. A large Ship of theirs comes to an Anchor, and ſends her Skiff well mann'd athore, the Company of which came directly up to our Houſe. The *Macaſſars* were preſently gather'd about them, and would have hack'd them without any farther Ceremony, had not we calm'd the Fury of that Mobb for a little time, and got the Men ſecur'd under an *Engliſh* Guard, till we went to give Notice to the King. This we did, that he might not be jealous of us, and ſuſpect any treacherous concern of ours with the *Hollanders* in this Attempt.

The King of *Macaſſar*, and ſome of his Confederates, came down immediately with 2000 Men; and here the *Dutch* had infallibly been executed after the moſt rigorous manner, if we had not ſtood their Friends, and interceeded for their deliverance. The King, at our intreaty, gave them their Lives and Liberty to return to their Ship; but 'twas partly becauſe he deſpiſ'd ſo poor and trifling a Revenge, and intended to diſcharge a heavier Blow (when he did ſtrike the *Dutch*) than that came to.

The Engliſh ſave the Lives of the *Dutch.*

But this warning, it ſeems, was not ſufficient to perſwade them to keep out of danger; for the next Day they were at the ſame work again, coming on with their Boat to the Shore, tho' they ſaw an Army of enraged Enemies ready to oppoſe them. The King having now loſt all his Patience, to ſee himſelf thus affronted again, ſent out ſome of his *Macaſſars* in their Praws to intercept them, who did their Buſineſs effectually, got between them and their Ship, boarded them and cut off every Man of them.

We were at this time commanded to keep cloſe within Doors; by which we plainly found, that there was ſome Jealouſie of a Correſpondence between us and the *Dutch* in this Deſign. And what they ſhould make this unaccountable Attempt for, unleſs to render us ſuſpected amongſt the *Macaſſars*, and ſo overthrow our Intereſt there, is not eaſie to imagine.

We ſet ſail from hence for *Poolaroon*, and had part of the way the Company of this *Dutch* Ship; we were forc'd to relieve them at Sea with our Proviſions, as well as we had done at Land with our Intereſt; and for the reward of all, they reported of us, that we were the cauſe of their Mens being kill'd at *Macaſſar*.

Come to Poolaroon.

Our great Buſineſs at *Poolaroon*, was, to treat with the Inhabitants, about the ſurrender of that, and the other Iſlands, into the hands of His Majeſty of *England*. * This was what the *Bandaneſe* themſelves had voluntarily offer'd; they were never put upon't by the *Engliſh*, but 'twas entirely their own motion: But ſince they had long courted us to it, we came now to make a formal Acceptance of their Offer, if we found them ſtill in the ſame mind.

* See Capt. *Elkington's* Relation, in Capt *Dampier's* laſt Voyage, *Lib.* 4.

All the Orankayes of the Iſlands being met together to conſult upon this Affair; that we might proceed the more ſafely and regularly, we firſt of all demanded, Whether ever they had made any Contract with the *Dutch*, or given them any Ground for Pretenſions to thoſe Iſlands? To this they replied, That there never had been any ſuch thing; that the *Dutch* were their mortal Enemies, never had been, nor never ſhould be their choſen Maſters.

We then put the Queſtion, Whether they did unanimouſly, willingly, and without all deceit, and ſecret reſerves, ſurrender theſe Iſlands to the uſe of the King's Majeſty of *England*, would ſtand by the Reſignation, and maintain what they had done? To this they anſwer'd in the affirmative, with one Conſent, declaring they deſir'd nothing more, than to be reckon'd a part of the *Engliſh* Empire.

Banda Iſles deliver'd up to the *Engliſh.*

So the Buſineſs was concluded, the Writings drawn, and ſolemnly deliver'd into our hands; and in Token of their Subjection, a Turf of Earth, and a Nutmeg-Tree preſented at the ſame time; which Ceremony alſo was to be yearly renew'd.

We on our parts were obliged to furniſh them with Rice, Cloth, and other Commodities, to aſſiſt them with our Shipping upon occaſion, and treat all their Enemies as our own.

The Copies of the ſeveral Surrenders are here ſubjoyn'd, as they were tranſlated out of the Original *Malayan* into *Engliſh*, by ſome of our own Country-men.

The Contents of the Surrender of the Iſlands of *Pooloway*, and *Poolaroon*, in *Banda*, to His Majeſty.

This was tranſlated by *Robert Hayes*, the Second ſent out of the *Indies* ſo tranſlated; the third by *Robert Hayes.*

THis Writing is for the Agreement between all the Orankayes of Pooloway, *and* Poolaroon *alſo, and the* Engliſh, *in manner as followeth: That whereas in the time that* Pooloway *was not yet ſurprized by the* Hollanders, *the People of* Pooloway, *and* Poolaroon, *had ſurrendred the two foreſaid Iſlands unto the King of* England, *and had given ground to* Richard Hunt, *Merchant there, with all ſetting up the King of* England *his Flag upon the Caſtle of* Pooloway, *and ſhooting off three Pieces of Ordnance in Token of the Covenant of the Men of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon, *between the* Engliſh *and them, when they did ſurrender the two foreſaid Iſlands to the King of* England, *and had given ground to the* Engliſh, *being done before the ſurprize of* Pooloway, *eight Days: And after that, it was taken by the* Hollanders. *And whereas at that time, there were but two* Engliſh-men *upon* Pooloway, *of weak defence, who being not able to do the Country any good, went away to* Poolaroon, *together with the Men of* Pooloway, *in one ſmall Praw, who had brought away with them Earth and Writings for the eſtabliſhing of Covenants betwixt them and the Men of* Poolaroon: *Therefore now the two foreſaid Iſlands are in the hands of the King of* England *only, according to our ſurrender. But whereas at this time through the Aſſaults of the* Hollanders, Pooloway *is fallen into their hands and poſſeſſion, if it ſhall pleaſe His Majeſty to recover it unto himſelf again, he ſhall do therein nought but Juſtice, becauſe the Inhabitants thereof have abſolutely ſurrendred it unto him: And if his Majeſty's pleaſure be to the contrary, let it be as ſhall ſeem beſt in his Highneſs Judgment. But this is ſure, that we the Men of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon, *have ſurrendred the two foreſaid Iſlands unto His Majeſty's Power, and cannot go from, or revoke our Word again even to the laſt day, and having linked our ſelves with the* Engliſh *in one Bond to live and die together. Furthermore, all the Men of* Pooloway, *and* Poolaroon, *do covenant, to ſend every Year to the King of* England, *a Branch of Nutmegs, in Token of their Deſigns, deſiring that this Offer of all the Orankayes of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon, *being once offered out of their true Love unto the King of* England, *be not had in oblivion or rejected.*

And whereas King James, *by the Grace of God is King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *is alſo now by the Mercy of God King of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon. *Moreover, we do all of us make an Agreement, that the Commodities in the two foreſaid Iſlands, namely, Mace and Nutmegs, we cannot, nor will ſell to any other Nation, but only to the King of* England *his Subjects, according to the true meaning of our Covenants, and ſurrendring of the two aforeſaid Iſlands to His Majeſty, with all that is (in) them to be ſolely at his diſpoſing, which is and ſhall be the Reaſon that we cannot trade with any others. And whereas all the Orankayas of the two foreſaid Iſlands have made this Agreement, let it be credited that it was not made in madneſs, or looſely, as the breathing of the Wind, but becauſe it was concluded upon in their Hearts, they cannot revolt or ſwerve from the ſame again. Moreover, all we together do deſire of His Majeſty, that ſuch things as are not fitting in our Religion, as unreverent Uſage of Women, maintaining of Swine in our Country, forceable taking away of Mens Goods, miſuſing of our Men, or any ſuch-like that are excepted againſt in our Laws, that they be not put in practice, being out of our Uſe and Cuſtom, that they may not prove a Blemiſh unto our Religion, and that we may receive no occaſion to deal unkindly with the* Engliſh. *Furthermore, if any* Engliſh-man *will become of our Religion, we will accept of him upon Counſel: Or if any of our People will become a Chriſtian, he ſhall be ſo likewiſe upon like Counſel, deſiring this Promiſe that ſuch things be not done in ſuch manner as may breed diſcontent betwixt us and the* Engliſh, *which we do very earneſtly deſire of His Majeſty. Finally, at this time all the Orankayes of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroon, *do again make a Covenant with* Nathaniel Courthop, *Captain of the two Ships riding here,* Sophon Cozocke, *and* Thomas Spurway, *giving Ground, and ſurrendring the two foreſaid Iſlands unto the King of* England, *being already partly in the hands of* Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke, *and* Thomas Spurway, *and that not only now, but as being done long ſince, when Captain* Caſtleton *went from* Pooloway *with four Ships, all the Orankayes of the two foreſaid Iſlands, having agreed with* Richard Hunt, *Merchant of* Pooloway, *withal, having ſet the King of* England *his Flag upon the Caſtle of* Pooloway, *and ſhot off two Pieces of Ordnance, in Token of the Covenant between the Orankayes of* Pooloway, *and* Poolaroon, *and the* Engliſh: *And as it hath been done heretofore, ſo at this time we do renew it with* Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke, *and* Thomas Spurway.

Emmon Pooloway.
Sabandar Pooloway.
Sabandar Wrat.
Sabandar Poolaroon.
Sabandar Lamecoe.
Nahoda Goa.
Hattib Ittam.
Hattib Pootee.
Sabandar Treat.
Emmon Lancecoe.
Sabandar Locon.

The

The Surrender of *Rosinging* and *Wayre* to his Majesty.

THis Writing is for the Agreement between all the Orankayes *of the Country of* Wayre, *and of the Island of* Rosinging, *and the* English *Nation in manner as followeth*, viz. *That whereas, in the time that the Country of* Banda *was in trouble, by reason of their Enemies, so that they were no longer able to withstand them, they therefore agreed with* Nathaniel Courthop, Sophonie Cozock, *and* Thomas Spurway; *thus much in effect, that is, that they do surrender the Country of* Wayre, *and the Island of* Rosinging, *unto the King of* England, *in respect that they are not able any more to stand for themselves against their Enemies; that now the said Country of* Wayre, *and the Island of* Rosinging *is only in the Power of the King of* England. *And whereas the Agreement is once made, we the aforesaid* Orankayes *cannot in our Consciences dissolve it again, but that it shall last for ever, until the last Day of doom: And that the* English *shall be as the Men of the Country of* Wayre *in all Privileges. Furthermore, the Men of the aforesaid Country of* Wayre, *and the Island of* Rosinging, *do promise and agree to send unto the King of* England *one branch of Nutmegs, as a Token of their foresaid Agreement of all us the aforesaid* Orankayes; *on condition that the said Token of our Agreement be not out of memory nor dissolved, nor we dis-steemed. And we do wish that Almighty God would vouchsafe to give Prosperity to the King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *and now by the Grace and Mercy of God, the King of the Country of* Wayre, *and the Island of* Rosinging, *and that more, we will stoop to no other King & Potentate, but only unto His Majesty; and after Him to all His Posterity. Furthermore as concerning our Trade, we do all truly agree, not to sell any of the Nuts or Mace, which the aforesaid Countries do afford to any other but unto the King of* England, *his Subjects, because we have wholly unto him surrendered the aforesaid two Countries of* Wayre *and* Rosinging, *with all that therein is, or whatsoever it doth, or shall yield, it is the King of* England's *own; and this shall stand for a Reason that we cannot trade with any other Nation. Moreover, we intreat the King's Majesty of* England *in earnest manner, that such things as are not befitting to our Religion, as unmannerly usage of our Women, maintaining of Swine in our Country, beating and abusing of our Men, or taking away of them perforce against their Wills, as if they were their own Slaves, or any other such like Attempts, that are held unbeseeming in our Laws (we say) that we do entreat his Highness that none of these or such like be put in practise by his Subjects, because they are things disallowable in our Laws, and so being committed, will redound to the overthrow thereof; and we thereby might be forced to deal unkindly with the* English *therefore. Moreover, if any of the* English *hereafter shall have an Affection to be Circumcised, and become as one of us, it shall be done upon sufficient Counsel between the rest of the* English *and Us, or if any of us will become a Christian in that Cause, the like Counsel shall be held, and this shall not be done for any Misdemeanour of the party willing so to turn; because that may breed a Dissension between the* English *and us. And whereas this Agreement was made in the Presence, and by the Consent of the King and* Sabandar *of* Wayre, *the* Sabandar *of* Rosinging, Emmon Hattib, *and all the rest of the* Orankayes, *of the Countries of* Wayre; *and the Islands of* Rosinging: *This shall be for a Testimony that it is not done in madness, or in the manner of the breathing of Wind; but that it was also as well Thought in our Hearts, as spoken with our Mouths, and therefore we cannot, nor will go from it again, but that it shall so stand until the dissolution of the World; Neither shall there any Doubts rise in our Hearts of any other, but that we the Men of* Wayre *and* Rosinging, *are only the King's Majesties of* England's *Subjects; and if any trouble hereafter do happen in the foresaid Countries, we will be contented as well to die, as to live together with the* English, *because we will be subject to one King, and this shall stand for a Reason, that any being in league with us, shall also be in league with the* English, & percontra, *he that is near the* English, *shall be near Us, because we will by no means again divorce our selves one from the other. Finally, at the time this Agreement was made, all the* Orankayes *of* Pooloway *and* Poolaroone *were Witnesses thereunto; all the* Orankayes *of* Pooloway *and* Rosinging *have unto the aforesaid Premisses set their Hands.*

The King of *Wayre.*	The *Sabandar* of *Rosinging.*
The *Sabandar* of *Wayre.*	*Emmon* of *Rosinging.*
Emmon of *Wayre.*	*Hattib* of *Rosinging.*

The *Bandaneſe* and we now looked on each other as intimate Friends and fellow Subjects; our Religion and Customs did not agree together, but we had our Reserves on both sides in all these Respects, and could enjoy those Liberties apart from each other, which we could not share in common betwixt us.

Provision was made that we might be firmly united in our Civil Concerns, tho' our other Interests were not to be mixed together. This Business was farther solemnized with the Discharge of our Great Guns, and the setting up the *English* Colours in the Islands, and now they were made *English* as much as 'twas possible for them to be, without an Encroachment upon their Privileges. But we were like very speedily to be put upon the Defence of our new Territories; the *Dutch* would not give their Consent to this Bargain, and pretended to dispute both the point of Title and Possession too.

The first touch was only a Bravado in coming up to *Poolaroon*, and hanging out a bloody Streamer, telling us thereby what we must expect from them, and that bloody doings would follow upon our Settlement there. However having given us this warning we fell to fortifying the Island as well as we could, raising two Forts, which we called by the Names of our Ships then there, the *Swan* and the *Defence*. The *Swan* Fort stands advantageously, commands the Road at pleasure to the Eastern side, where all the best riding is for the Westerly Monson. Shortly after this they came with three mighty Ships into the Road, and lay at an Anchor close by ours; this obliged us to dispatch a Messenger to them to know their Pretentions, and to offer them a little friendly Advice. 'Tis to be confess'd that our Commission ordered us to send the *Dutch* word immediately upon the Surrender, that they might not pretend ignorance of our Right, and come there to molest us as they had formerly done; and this Letter lay by us ready written, but we knew not how to convey it, for neither the *English* nor *Bandaneſe* cared to go near them, for fear of being made Prisoners. But 'twas well enough as 'twas; and now they were come themselves for't, we could easily put it into their Hands. The Letter was delivered to their Chief Commander, and the Copy of the Surrender shewn, and at the same time they were demanded whether ever the Island of *Poolaroon* was resigned to them. They could not say that any such Delivery was ever made nor deny the Evidence and Truth of this Surrender now made to us. We farther advised them to restore us the Possession of the Island of *Pooloway*, which was as much his Majesties of *England*'s Right as any of the other Islands of *Banda*, now under his Command, and not leave the matter to be determined by a bloody War, according to the intent of their Colours. And lastly, we told them their time was limited to six Glasses, and they must be gone out of the Road when they were run, or else the *Bandaneſe* would fire upon them; and indeed they would have done it at the very first sight of the Ships if we had not made them forbear. They would fain have protracted the time, and staid till next Day, but when that was denied, desired till mid-night, but the Guns were ready mounted upon the Shoar, and the impatient *Bandaneſe* would not permit them to lie at Anchor long; they love them much at the same rate that the People of *Macassar* do, and were it in their Power, they would do them the same kindnesses.

The Dutch prepare to disturb them.

The English fortify. January.

Conference between the Dutch and English.

We were since informed that they came with a design to betray us, or beat us out of the Road, and they had made the Attempt, but they saw our Strength ashoar, the Forts well provided, and the Gunners ready to give fire upon the least sign from the Ships. It had been well for us if in this difficult Circumstance we had taken a more nice care to preserve our selves from Danger and Inconveniencies; but the rashness and wilfulness of some amongst us, was a very great prejudice to us, and tended mightily to the laying of us open to the Power of the *Dutch*.

One of our Masters wanting Water, would needs go over to *Wayre* upon *Lantore* side, there to supply himself; this was not only contrary to the Opinion of the rest, but to the Minds of the *Bandaneſe* too, who fearing some Injury from the *Dutch*, offer'd rather to fetch the Water in their own Praws. But good Council and kind Offers signified nothing; so they went and watered, and coming back again were taken by the *Dutch*; our *Swan* had not above 20 able Men in her, and the *Dutch* Ship at least 160, fresh, stout Souldiers, just drawn out of the Castles of *Nero* and *Pouloway*. They carried her presently away to *Nero*, with a vast deal of Insolence, Triumph, and Boasting; and had they sunk a whole Fleet of *English*, they could not fairly have made more noise. They shewed the tattered Ship to the *Bandaneſe* as a Trophee

The Swan lost.

February. Egregiam verò laudem ac Spolia ampla refertis!

phee of their Victory, and bid them see by this how much mightier by Sea, their King of *Holland* was, than him of *England*. A very good Conclusion, and well drawn from the Premisses, because 160 *Dutch* had beat 30 *English*, half of which were Cripples. St. *George* of *England* too might be a very good Champion for all this, and not turned a Child or a Coward (as the *Dutch* said he was) tho' his Banners were not victorious at this time.

Upon the News of this Loss, we presently sent over to *Nero* to demand the Reason of their taking the Ship, and detaining Men and Goods; but could get no other Answer from them, but that time should bring it to light; yet to add to the Civility, they concluded with a threatning, to come and drive us from *Poolaroon* in a very little time. Many such comfortable Messages as these they sent us; and were continually letting off their Cannon at *Nero* and *Poolaway*, to strike a terrour into us; but still they did nothing, and we hoped for the benefit of the old Proverb, That threatned People live long. Yet since they were so free as to tell us their minds in this plain and open manner, and we had no reason but to take their Words, and conclude they spoke truth in the case; we set our selves to make all things as ready for their Entertainment as might be, whenever they should think fit to make a Visit at *Poolaroon*. There was a little Island lying close by, that was of very great concern to well be secured and fortified by us. It was wholly destitute of Inhabitants, and no way fit to be made a dwelling place of, being all over-run with Trees and Bushes; but 'twas of considerable use in time of War, and a Fort erected there would command the whole Road.

March. The English Fortify upon the little Island hard by Poolaroon, which is called Nysacky.

The *Dutch* were sensible of this Advantage, and were dabling thereabouts in order to get the Island into their own hands; which had they done, we had as good have quitted *Poolaroon* to them too, for our Ships going in or out, must still have been under the command of their Ordnance. With two or three good shot therefore we obliged them to desist from that Attempt, and make way for us to come thither our selves; and we fortified the place so far, that we believed we should be capable of giving them some Disturbance if they pretended to make an Attack upon *Poolaroon*. But what good will all the Care and Prudent Foresight in the World do, where Treachery is at work to undermine and render all ineffectual.

This was our Misfortune; our own Men prov'd Knaves and Villains to us, and did what in them lay to overwhelm us with an inevitable ruine.

We had lost one Ship before, by the rash and headstrong management of her Master, and now we lost the second by a treacherous Combination of the Mariners.

The Defence lost too.

These Villains laid their Heads together, and either cut the Cables, or let the Ship drive; but however 'twas, they went away to *Nero*, and got under the Protection of the Castle. Some of them presently landed, and went boasting to the *Dutch* of the worthy Exploit they had done, and were e'en ready to go together by the Ears, about the Principal Share in the Honour of it; they could not agree who was the greatest Rogue of the Company, and had been forwardest to betray the Interest of his Country.

Besides, they were so impudent as to carry a Kan of Wine ashoar to drink the *Hollanders* Health, and 'tis probable Confusion to us at *Poolaroon* at the same time.

Their false Sea-men discover them.

The *Dutch* examined them strictly, and there was no need of a Rack to make them confess the Secrets of our Affairs; they pour'd out all they knew without the least regret, and laid us open as far as 'twas possible we should be discover'd. This heightned the Pride and Insolence of the *Dutch*, and made them ten times more noisy than before; they threatned us bitterly, even when they saw our Strength, but their Insults were intolerable now they knew our weakness, and in what part they could most sensibly injure us. But this was like to produce a worse Effect in making the *Bandanese* grow jealous of us; this Action to them smelt of Treachery and Design, and they believed we were all in a Plot to bring their Mortal Enemies the *Dutch* in upon them.

Bandanese jealous of them.

'Twas a wonder they had not broke out into a General Mutinie, and while the Ferment of the Suspicion work'd and inflamed them, given it vent by some sudden and desperate Rising upon us. The fiery, revengeful Temper of the *Indians* seldom allows sober Arguing, Deliberating, and Examining Matters in such Cases as these, where their Liberties are threatned. They are generally for making as quick Work as possible in their own Defence; let who's will stand to debate the point *pro* and *con*, if they see a Proceeding that has an ill Aspect towards them; they'll put a stop to it as soon as may be, by involving all that have a hand in it in a certain Destruction.

We have reason to set this down amongst the other Favours of Providence to us, and think it not a little happy to have escaped so dismal a tumult as this might have rais'd. We made a shift to quiet the disturbed Minds of the *Bandanese*, and convinced them that what they thought to be our Treachery, was meer misfortune, and a Loss we bitterly resented. Matters standing thus between the *Dutch* and us, there were some Attempts and Motions made on both sides towards the bringing them into a better posture. And after several to no purpose, the method taken at last was, that we upon the receiving valuable Pledges from them, sent over a Commissioner in a Gally of theirs to *Nero*, to discourse the point there with their General. This appear'd the most probable way of ending the Difference if ever it would be ended, which yet we saw little hopes of by the Success of this Conference. For the *Dutch* carried it extreamly stiff and high, and were no way dispos'd to come to a friendly Conclusion; but upon such terms as we esteem'd base and dishonourable, and must have abus'd our Trust to have submitted to. Our Ship, and Goods, and Men could not be restored but upon the Surrender of *Poolaroon* into their hands; that is in order to the recovering a smaller Right we must yield to do an unpardonable Wrong; we must be Traytors to our King and Country, violate solemn Leagues and Engagements, sacrifice the Lives and Liberties of the *Bandanese*, and leave all at their Mercy, or else we must have no Peace nor Justice done us. A very fine Proposal; 'twas hardly consistent with Modesty to make it, but it would have been much less consistent with Honesty to Embrace it. Should not we have been trusty, loyal Subjects thus to give away the Just Rights of our Prince? What thanks should we have deserved from the *English* Nation, and those that had repos'd a Confidence in us, by betraying a Noble Trade with all the Advantages of it, into the Hands of such as were every where encroaching upon them? And could the *Bandanese* ever have forgiven us for deserting them at this rate, when they had so entirely resigned us the Command of their Country, and cast themselves upon the *English* Protection? What could be Ingratitude if this were grateful or base, and ungenerous if this Action could pass? But then 'twas not to be imagined that any People would ever receive us after this infamous Surrender; and if we courted a Settlement any where, we might expect the *Indians* to reproach us with the Business of *Banda*, and tell us, We would stay with them, but till the *Dutch* came to frighten us away. Certainly they must think we were prodigiously fond of their Favour, or in some strange need of it to bid thus high for't; to barter away Conscience, Reputation, Loyalty and Gratitude all at once, only for that, without any other Consideration or Advantage. But at the same time they laid some things to the Charge of the *English* that were as untrue as this Proposal was unreasonable. For Instance, that we had sometimes worn their Colours in our Ships, and particularly that Sir *Henry Middleton* did so in the *Red-Sea*. But our Commissioner was very able to answer and refute this Charge, being all that time aboard that very Ship which they pretended to have thus abused them, and affirming that to his certain Knowledge no such thing was done. Besides, which is the least Abuse of the two, for *English* Men to wear the *Dutch* Colours, or for *Dutch* Men to wear the *English* Name, and go abroad in the World under that Notion? The Colours are easily taken down again, but the Name is not so easily forgotten, especially if any ill thing be done to fasten the Remembrance of it.

April, A. D. 16[illegible]. Conference with the Dutch at Nero.

Their Accusations and unjust Demands.

In the last place to justifie their Proceedings hitherto, they did not stick to assert that they had the King of *England*'s Letters that empower'd them to sieze any *English* Ships they found to the East side of *Celebes*. And if this were so, their Action was just, and the Quarrel at an end; but they could not fairly expect that we should take their words for it, giving us no Demonstration of the Truth on't, by the sight of the Letters. We could do no less than offer upon the Perusal of those Letters to sit still for the future, and make no farther Demands of Satisfaction from them; and they in justice could do no less than produce them too, that the Point in Dispute might have received its full and final Determination thereby. But this they absolutely refused to do, and we as absolutely concluded 'twas because they could not; for there were so many Reasons of Advantage on their side for the doing of it, that 'tis a clear Case, and needs no farther degree of Evidence.

False Pretence of the King of England's Letters.

Now

Now is not this putting out false Colours in a worse Sense than that they accused us of? What, pretend a Prince's Hand for an Excuse to abuse and cheat his Subjects? Make him an Enemy to his own Trading People abroad, and boast of his Authority to plunder them? This is a fine Compliment to a Prince, and deserves to be in another way animadverted upon. We believe the *Dutch* Nation it self would be far from allowing their People abroad in Insolencies of this nature, and are totally ignorant of a world of their unjust and rude Dealings with us and the Natives of the Countries where they trade.

Well, here now was the result of the Conference; the Matter rested just where it did at first; the *Dutch* and we were upon the same terms, and we had as good have let this Ceremony alone. The Truth on't is, as far as appears, they seem to sit secure and easie enough in their own Minds let it go how 'twill; and if the Breach be not made up here, they make no doubt (as they pretend) of avoiding all the ill Consequences of it by their powerful Interest in *England*.

Dutch pretend Friends in *England*.

They tell us they can make as good Friends at Court as the *East-India* Company, and with a Golden Engine will overturn all the strongest Preparations that are made against them. They put a World of Confidence in the Power of their Rials of Eight; and question not finding Men amongst us, that can be base and sordid enough to take their Fees, and be retained against the Cause and Interest of their own Country. This Noise must be made undoubtedly to damp and discourage our Resolution of seeking the Redress of all these Grievances at home; but as this is too childish a Contrivance for them ever to think to stop our Mouths by; so we hope to find their other Pretences as vain and deceitful, and all *English* Men for ever invincible by their Money as well as by their Force.

In this posture of Affairs we concluded a party of us should go for *Bantam*, as well to advise about our future Proceedings, as to give an Account to our President there of what was past, and to carry the Surrenders of the *Banda* Islands. Besides our own Company, some of the Principal *Bandanese* went too, to perform the Ceremony of delivering the Earth, and Fruits of the said Islands, in token of Subjection.

Like to be taken by the *Dutch* in going to *Bantam*.

We had a very hard matter to escape the *Dutch* in this Voyage, a great Ship of theirs pursued us eagerly, and had certainly fetched us up, had not we rowed extreamly hard, and took shelter at *Botup*. The King of that place stood our Friend in this Distress, provided secure Lodgings for our selves, and a private Stowage for our Goods, and laid us up as close as we could desire. We were hardly gotten into our Shelters, but the *Dutch* landed, and came to the King to enquire after us, and the more effectually to dispose him to what they should farther demand, made him a Present three times the value of what we had given just before. 'Tis to be noted that the *Dutch* were not certain what we were, for tho' they had given us a Lease for some time, yet they were never near enough to make a Discovery; besides we had only a little *Benden* Praw, and so could not be betrayed by our Colours. The King of *Botun* humour'd the Business well enough, carrying it to the *Dutch* as if he had taken in a parcel of distressed Strangers, People he knew little about, and could give no satisfactory Account of. But this slender Pretence would not do with the *Dutch*, and perhaps they had some Jealousie who the Strangers were; however to assure themselves, they resolved to stay some Days and watch us, that so either coming in or going out they might seize the Prey. In short they stayed so many Days, that we were quite weary of being pounded up so, and contrived how to trick them and give them the slip. We left the old Praw, we came in riding where she did at first, and having got a new one ready on the backside of the Island, the King's Servants conducted us with all our Baggage in safety aboard her; and how long the the *Dutch* staid waiting upon the empty Praw we cannot tell.

King of *Botun* their Friend.

May. Come to *Bantam*. *June.*

At *Macassar* (where we put in by the-way) we exchanged this new little Vessel for one of our own Ships trading there, and took into her 180 Suckets of Mace, bought at the same place.

From hence we got to *Bantam*, without any farther Danger or Disturbance. Here the old quarrel went on between the *Dutch* and Us. We did not loose our Enemies, or leave them all behind us, by coming away from *Poolaroon*, but found a party here ready to entertain us. One Day it came to a downright Skirmish in the open Market; scolding and railing would not serve that time to give a sufficient Vent to the Passion on both sides; ill Language would draw no Blood, and therefore Swords and Clubs were call'd in to do it. By degrees the whole Posse of both Houses were engaged, the Slaves came in amongst the rest, and fought as well as the Masters. The result of it was, that we drove them before us to their own House; we saw them safe within the Walls, which was as far as we could keep them Company. No great Mischief was done on either side, tho' some Lives lost on both; but they filled the Town with the noise of the horrible Execution they would do upon us, and they did their utmost to be as good as their word, lying in wait for us with their Fire-arms in all places of Secrecy and Advantage. Thus hot and violent was the fewd betwixt us, and so outragiously angry were they that we would not quit the Possession of the *Banda* Islands to them. They might (had they acted reasonably) have forborn the making such a Demand; and consider'd that we with more Justice and Conscience could challenge them to surrender the Isle of *Pooloway* to us, which is one of the *Banda* Society too. The King of *England*'s Right to that, is as indisputable as to any of the rest, if at least 'twas in the power of the natural Possessours of the same, to confer that Right by a formal Resignation, as no body doubts but 'twas. And 'tis most clear that they actually did so, by the plain and positive Mention of *Pooloway* in the Copy of the Surrender as well as of *Poolaroon*; that Paper largely asserts His Majesty's Right, supposes the Foundation of a preceding Grant of the Island to him, and adds a new and fresh Acknowledgment of his just Title to it. Besides 'tis matter of Fact as notorious as can be, that the Island was put into the Hands of the *English*, with all the Formalities of a strict Surrender, and that they kept it till the injurious Force of the *Dutch* deprived them of it. The World knows well enough too how contumeliously they treated the *English* there; as if it had not been enough to have expelled them, without using them at the same time more like the Despicablest of Beasts than Men or Christians. 'Twas very hard measure therefore, after all this injurious Treatment, to be hectored and threatned because we would not tamely submit to more Injuries; and 'twas a very good Argument why we should surrender *Poolaroon*, that they had cheated our King of *Pooloway* before.

Dutch and *English* fight at *Bantam*.

Dutch prove their Title to *Banda* from their taking the King of *Ternate*'s Son Prisoner.

But one ground of their Pretence to the Islands of *Banda* is diverting enough, and a very good Instance it affords of just and fair Reasoning. They argue their Right from this, that the King of *Ternate*'s Son was once their Prisoner. Now to make the Consequence of this Argument appear Just and Natural, clear and compulsive of the Assent of any disinterested Mans mind, we believe will take them up more time than the compleat Conquest of those Islands would do. Especially if we take in the whole of their Assertion, and bring the *Molucca's* into the Account; for they affirm that by this Action they procured a Title to all these Islands, both the *Molucca's* and the *Banda's* too. But was the King of *Ternate*'s Son a fair Prisoner of War, or pick'd up by chance and snapt as a Prize? Was he the Prisoner of a just and righteous War too, or instead of a just War, was it meer Violence and Depredation? For this Question is to be put to a Christian People, who may be expected to have some regard to Right and Wrong, to Just and Unjust in their Proceedings. But if all this were so, it does not presently appear that they were *ipso facto*, the rightful Sovereigns of the Country. The King's Son was made a Prisoner, but the Kingdom it self had not lost its Liberty; did they make an absolute conquest of it? Did they wrest the Power out of the Natives hand, and possess themselves of it entirely? Did victorious Arms force the *Ternatees* to lie at their Mercy, and leave all at their disposal? If not, 'tis hard to conceive how the Misfortune of the Prince, should entail slavery and subjection upon the People. Besides the Throne was not vacant, the Father was alive tho' the Son was a Prisoner; and 'twas in his Power to settle the point of the Succession as he pleased, and find other Heirs to the Crown besides the *Dutch*. Might not the *English* have pleaded as good a Title from the offer the King of *Ternate* made of his Country to Queen *Elizabeth* by Sir *Francis Drake*; and the King of *Tydore* have made the same Challenge too upon the Death of the Prince of *Ternate*, whom his Son killed in Battle? But then a Right to *Ternate* allowed upon an Hypothesis, a Right to all the *Molucca's* wont handsomly nor fairly follow from thence; for *Tydore* is one of those Islands, and a considerable one too, but no Subject to *Ternate*, but her Rival in Power and Empire; and if she did once wear the Yoke of that Island, when it was in its flourishing state, the *Dutch* must examine the Grounds and Causes of the Revolt, to be sure that *Ternate* has yet a just Title to her Obedience, before they pretend any upon this Account.

See Sir *Francis Drake*'s Voyage, *Lib.* 1. and Capt. *Sarit*'s *Lib.*

But the Conſequence as to the *Banda's* lies yet infinitely more in the dark. The King of *Ternate* had nothing to do here, no more than the *Dutch* had to do there, upon their being poſſeſſed of the Royal Captive. Theſe Iſlands are near a-kin to the *Dutch* in their Civil Policy; they are all free States, up to the Ears in popular Notions and Principles, and can reliſh no Government but a Democracy. They have their Sabandars and Orankayes, or Governing Miniſters and Noble Men amongſt them, but all ſtands upon the Baſis of the Peoples Authority, who maintain the Liberties of their Conſtitution with all the Chaſtity imaginable, and are entirely their own Lords and Law-givers. Now indeed they call the King of *England* Sovereign, but they ſtiffly deny that the King of *Ternate* has any reaſon to expect or demand that Title from them; nay, he himſelf in the * enumeration of his Titles, never pretends to call himſelf King of the Iſlands of *Banda*. From all which put together 'tis apparent that the *Dutch* did but trifle in pretending a Right to theſe Iſlands, upon that Principle they then went upon. Upon the whole; the Trade of theſe Iſlands is very rich and inviting, and 'tis a matter of very great importance to have our Intereſt here well guarded and maintained. Could we get *Pooloway* into our hands, we ſhould have more ſweet and ſenſible Proofs of the goodneſs of this Spice Trade; thoſe that know it ſay 'tis a Paradiſe, and the *Dutch*, the preſent Poſſeſſours, affirm 'tis as good to them as *Scotland* is to our King. The Compariſon is a little ſawcy, tho' we know well enough that *Pooloway* has the bleſſing of Spice Trees, which *Scotland* has not. However if we can keep the others and enjoy them quietly, they'll furniſh Mace and Nutmegs not only ſufficient for *England*, but alſo to drive a Trade with to *Surat*, and other parts of the Indies. Our great Buſineſs in order hereunto, next to the maintaining a good Force, is to ſupply them well with Cloth and Rice, Salt, Pepper, and other Neceſſaries they want; they are ſo deſirous of theſe things, eſpecially Cloth and Rice, that had we had three times as much as we now brought, we ſhould have found vent for it all without the leaſt difficulty. The People of *Lantore* and *Roſinging*, and other places, come over to *Poolaroon* with their Mace and Nutmegs in great numbers, and bring it in ſo faſt, that there is no fear of a conſtant and certain Trade, if we do but furniſh them as faſt with thoſe other Commodities. As for the Rice we bring them, tho' *Macaſſar* is able to ſupply that, yet we muſt find ſome place that will do it at lower rates; and 'tis certain we can have what Rice we will from *Japan*, at half the price that we can at *Macaſſar*; the Voyage is longer 'tis true, but then the Advantage is conſiderable. Your *Macaſſar* Gold alſo, which goes at *Bantam* but for 2*s* 4*d* or 2*s* 6*d* the Maſs, goes at *Banda* as current as Rials of Eight, and at the ſame rate too.

* This will come after in another place.

Profitable Trade at the *Banda* Iſlands.

Together with the Encouragements of this good Trade, we had our Loſſes and Misfortunes another way: A Praw nobly laden with the Spice of this Country was caſt away in her Voyage to *Bantam*; ſhe had 3366 Cattees of Mace aboard her, which would have been worth as good as 500000 pound in *England*.

February. *The *Solomon* and the *Attendance*, March. A. D. 1618.

The *Dutch* took two more of our * Ships too, and carried them into *Nero* Road, wearing our Colours under their Ship Sterns in a moſt diſgraceful manner. This Loſs was the greater upon the Account of the Lading they had, which would have fitted the *Bendaneſe* to the life; 200 Quoyn of Rice and upwards, 34 Bales of Cloth, beſides 600 Jars of Rack and other Proviſions. They were hampered with their Lading, and much overmatched in number; beſides, that the *Dutch* Ships were light and free, and every way ready for the Service of ſuch an Occaſion.

The *Bendaneſe* that were in this Action ſignalized themſelves at a very great rate; they were thorough hearty Enemies to the *Dutch*, and being ſo, fought with ſo good a will, that our Men ſay if they had been upon plain Ground, and to fight it out fairly with Swords, they make no queſtion but that the *Dutch* muſt have all yielded or died for't. Our poor Sea-men brought Priſoners to *Nero* had a miſerable uneaſie life of it there; but 'twas the Fate of ſome of them to be diſpoſed of in other places up and down, as *Amboyna* and the *Moluccas*, or wherever their rigorous Maſters were pleaſed to ſend them. Yet one of the *Dutch* Commanders expreſs'd a great deal of Humanity and Kindneſs to thoſe forlorn wretches, for which we did not fail to make him the due Acknowledgement of our moſt hearty thanks; the ſame Perſon alſo would be ſo civil as to ſtrike his Main-top-ſail as he paſſed by our Fort, upon *Neylackey* Iſland by *Poolaroon*.

The *Dutch* who had ſome time before been tampering with the People of *Lantore* to come in amongſt them by fair means, not ſucceeding that way had now recourſe to Arms in order to the forcing it. But the *Lantorees* (who had conſulted us before-hand about the point of their Defence) were not to be managed that way neither. The Enemy landed 500 Men upon them, but they ſtood ſo tightly to their Buſineſs, that the others were obliged to retire back again to their Ships. The next touch they had with them, the *Lantore* Men handled them to better Advantage ſtill: The *Dutch* muſt needs come and give the Iſlanders a Challenge, which they accepting of, mann'd out a couple of Praws and ſo went to it, two Praws to four; the event of which Skirmiſh was, that the *Lantorees* took one of their Praws, killed all the Men, and purſued the reſt home to *Pooloway*. Theſe little Succeſſes put them mightily in heart, and the *Dutch* were Adverſaries that grew every Day into more and more contempt with them. Theſe People, tho' belonging to the *Banda* Iſlands, and very well diſpoſed to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* Power after the example of their Neighbours, had not yet made an actual Surrender. For as was hinted before each of theſe Iſlands, is a free independant State in point of Government, and tho' they unite in their common Intereſts, yet they all ſtand upon their particular Foundations.

Dutch affect Lantore. April. A. D. 1618.

But now they propoſed to ſurrender too, and agreed that their Sabander ſhould be empower'd to come over to us and conclude the Buſineſs; but the Articles required ſome time to be weighed and debated on both ſides, before the finiſhing ſtroke could be given to this Affair. In the mean time things began to grow ſtrait with us at *Poolaroon*; we wanted Men, Money, and all things neceſſary to encourage our new Beginnings there, and give Heart and Spirit to the *Bandaneſe* in their dependance upon us. We were forced to put off Goods to procure common Proviſions for houſe keeping, and to take up Money at 50 *per Cent.* Intereſt. Our Friends at *Bantam* were guilty of an unpardonable Neglect of us in ſuch Circumſtances, to our very great Diſreputation, and the manifeſt hazzard of the whole *Engliſh* Intereſt in theſe places. They would ſend us encouraging Letters and bid us rub out another Year when Supplies would certainly come; but in the mean time theſe Good Words would not defend the Forts and fill the Souldiers Bellies; and as for the point of rubbing, we had rubbed ſo long till we had rubb'd off the Skin, and if we continued doing ſo much longer, ſhould rub to the bare Bone. 'Twas not ſo eaſie a matter as they might imagine to weather the point here, with the *Dutch* attacking us on the one ſide and the *Bandaneſe* beſieging us with unwearied Importunities for Supplies on the other; and by the way it muſt be ſaid, that if that People had not had a truly loyal Reſpect to our King and Country, they would never have born the Diſappointment ſo long, but have ſought out ſome other Protectours. The Affair of *Lantore* was now revived, and brought to its deſired Perfection. The People of that Iſland demanded Arms and Aſſiſtance of us, and upon the performance of that Condition, made a formal Surrender of the place to his Majeſty of *England*.

Engliſh at *Bantam* careful of their Intereſt at *Poolaroon*. April.

October. A. D. 1618. Capt. Cunningham Principal at Poolaroon, was killed by the *Dutch* coming back from receiving the Surrender.

The Copy of it is here ſubjoin'd as 'twas delivered to us by the Sabandar and *Orankayes* of that Iſland.

Tranſlation of the Surrender of Lantore, *Cont. in the Paper* N. D.

In the Year of the Prophet *Mahomed* 1028, in the tenth Day of the Moon *Mabarran*, being *Saturday*, the Year is called *Aleph*. And in the Year of *Jeſus*, 1620, in the Month of *November* the 24th Day.

THis is the Writing of the Agreement of the Sabandar of Lantore, *and the Captain of* Lantore, *and all the Orankayes within the Country of* Lantore, *with* Robert Hayes, *after the loſs of Captain* Courthop; *That we of* Lantore *do ſurrender the Land of* Lantore *unto the King's Majeſty of* England *with all that is therein: So that all the Nuts and Mace within the Country of* Lantore, *we promiſe to ſell to no other People, other than to the Subjects of the King's Majeſty of* England *only. Furthermore, we the Orankayes of* Lantore, *do promiſe every Year to ſend to the King's Majeſty of* England *a bough of a Nutmeg-tree, for the acknowledging the Homage of us the Men of* Lantore, *to the King's Majeſty of* England. *To the intent that this Agreement of Surrender betwixt Us be not forgotten, to the end of the World: And*

And to the intent there be no difference or falling out betwixt us. Furthermore, we do crave of His Majesty of England, *concerning such things as do not agree with our Religion, that they may not be done in the Country of* Banda, *to the end that such things being restrained, there be no offence given between the* Bandaneses *and the* English-men: *As to enforce our Women, our Wives or Daughter, or to strike any of us, or violently to take any thing from us, or to let Swine loose in our Country, or any such-like thing as doth not agree with our Religion. These things we only except (because those things tend to the destroying of our Religion) to the intent there be no falling out betwixt the* Bandaneses *and the* English, *unto the end of the World. And whereas it pleaseth God, that* James *is King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *so now also he is King of the Country of* Banda: *So then the Country of* Banda *is in Subjection to no other King than to the King's Majesty of* England *only in this World, excepting our Religion. For our Religion of* Islam *doth not agree with the Christian Religion, neither doth the Christian Religion agree with our Religion of* Islam; *and this is the purport of our Agreement. Further, if it shall happen any* English *to run to us, or any* Banda-man *to run to the* English, *it may not be tolerated without the consent of the chief of the* English, *and us of* Banda; *because such things are contrary to our Religion, and tend only to falling out, and Brabbles betwixt the* Banda-men, *and the* English-men. *At this time we were together in Consultation, all the Orankayes of* Lantore, *and the Orankayes of* Labetacke, *and the Orankayes of* Nero Pooloway, *and* Poolaroone, *and have put to our Hands, and this is the intent of this Writing.*

Sabandar Lantore.
Sabandar Ratoo.

November. After this, there happen'd an Accident that brought about the Redemption of some of our Men, that were then Slaves to the *Dutch*, and that in a manner lucky enough: 'Twas our Fortune to take a *Dutch* Intelligencer, that was going with her Packet of Advice between *Amboina* and *Banda*. By these Letters we understood (tho' we could not perfectly understand all, for want of their Language), that the *Dutch* and the *English* Nations were well enough agreed at home, and that there was a likelihood of something being done, in order to put an end to the Differences of all the contending Parties abroad. The use that we made of this Intelligence, was to let the *Dutch* know what Business was a-foot between our respective Countries, and therefore to caution them not to proceed in those unjust and rigorous Courses they had hitherto taken, least the Noise of our Brawls and Squabbles here, put a stop to those hopeful Beginnings of a Reconciliation at home. And this produc'd a seeming yielding to Peace and Friendly Correspondence; they were mighty tractable upon't, for a little time, and agreed with us for the Redemption of some of the Prisoners. But alas, they could not hold their good Humour long, but quickly laid aside the Mask of pretended Friendship, which indeed seem'd to be put on only to deceive us the more effectually.

Dutch Packet taken.

December. They began first to practise with the *Lantorees* for Trade; but they were so honest as to give them a flat denial of any intercourse with them upon that account, as also to acquaint us with the Endeavours of the *Hollanders*, to insinuate themselves in amongst them. After this they came to violent Methods, and thought to scare them into a compliance; but the Men of *Lantore* made a brisk Defence, took no Blows but what they repaid with Interest, so that the *Dutch* hitherto got as little ground upon them by fighting, as they had before by wheedling. 'Twas very much their Business and Design to effect a Rupture between the *Bandanese* and us, at least to possess their Minds with Suspicions of our Fidelity towards them, as the readiest way to make the desired Breach. Thus they wou'd come sometimes within the very reach of our Ordnance, as if they were satisfied we would not hurt them: And when they were at any time pursu'd by the *Banda* Praws, in their danger they would hang out a White Flag to us, as much as to say, the *English* will call you off, and deliver us out of your Hands.

Dutch secretly practise with the *Lantore* Men.

But yet that Plot did not take, and the *Bandanese* mistrusted us never the more for those little Tricks of our Adversaries. They had now plaid small Game thus long, and had won nothing considerable upon us: But being fully resolv'd not to part Stakes, nor make any other Conclusion of the Matter, than by sweeping all entirely away; they at last made the Attempt, which prov'd the Ruine of us and our Interest in these Islands for ever.

A mighty Force of Men and Shipping were got together, and the better to colour the Design, the *Dutch* General sent us word, That he was preparing for an Enterprize, that tended to the mutual Good of us both. This was a beginning that agreed very well with the latter end; a Lye was a good Introduction enough to Treachery and Injustice; and before People were plunder'd and forc'd out of their Right, 'twas a proper Method to abuse them, and tell them a plausible Story. He would have been glad too (he pretended) of our assistance in this worthy Design that was going on; but seeing we were low, and had no Forces to joyn with him, he would take all the trouble upon himself, and act alone.

Dutch prepare for the Conquest of the *Banda* Isles.

Some Intelligence we had from *Amboina*, assur'd us, that these Preparations of the *Dutch* were some way or other levell'd at us; and that which way soever the Storm threatned to go, 'twould drive at last upon some of the Islands of *Banda*. Which we quickly found too true; tho' at the same time 'twas the very perfection of Villany to put on such a Vizor for the doing of what they did, and 'tis a Question, whether all the Rabble of Heathenish People in the World, can furnish such another Master-piece as this was.

They began with *Lantore*, coming before the Island with a Fleet of sixteen strong Ships: They knew very well that this place was surrendred to the use of the King of *England*, and that we had actually settled a Factory there.

February. They come to *Lantore*.

As soon as we at *Poolaroon* heard of the Force come up before *Lantore*, our * Captain sent to the *Dutch* General, desiring him in Civil Terms to forbear any Acts of Hostility at that place, because 'twas well known to be the King of *England*'s Property. But he having read the Letter, and express'd his contempt of it, and spent a little time in threatning and railing at the *English*; without any more adoe landed his Men, and fell upon the *Lantorees*. Their Power being so great, the Dispute was quickly at an end; the Natives were absolutely routed, retired to their Shelters in the Fields and Woods, and left the Island to the Command of the Conquerors. The *Dutch* sack'd and fir'd the Town, plunder'd our Factory, took away all the Cloth, Money, and Spice there, belonging to the *East-India* Company; 23400 *l.* Weight of Mace, and 120000 Weight of Nutmegs fell into their Hands. Our Factors there present were stripp'd, bound, beaten, tumbled over the Town-Wall, dragg'd along the Streets with Fetters about their Necks, and afterwards laid fast in Chains. They were not so kind as to execute them outright, living being then a far greater Punishment than dying.

* Capt. *Hayes*, who succeeded Capt. *Courthop* in his Charge.

Lantore thus had its Fate, and that of all Fates the most dreaded by it; to fall into the Hands of the *Dutch*: Such was their rooted Aversion to them, that perhaps had they had their choice, they would as soon have accepted of an Earthquake, to swallow them up, as them that did. But we were all to go one after another, and *Poolaroon* was laid out for the next Morsel the hungry Adversary would catch at.

March. They threaten *Poolaroon*.

We endeavour'd to prevent this, by fresh Applications to the *Dutch* General at *Nero*, having already heard, that our Doom was pass'd, and Execution wou'd quickly follow, if our own voluntary Surrender of the place did not prevent it: But this we could never think of submitting to; tho' we could not hold it out, yet to resign had been base and criminal, but to be driven out by main Force, would be only our misfortune.

The *Dutch* General seem'd to make strange of any such Design, as coming to bear us from *Poolaroon*; he had so much Modesty and Shame as to scruple the owning it, and so little as to put it immediately in practice. For our Agent was hardly return'd, but the *Dutch* Fleet presented it self before the Island, and sent their Summons to the People to surrender it.

They come with a Fleet to *Poolaroon*.

The *Bandanese* were in a terrible Consternation, and knew not what Course to take in this extremity: All the Plagues of War were threatned by the *Dutch*, on the one side; and yet they knew not how to burst the Bonds that held them to us on the other. As for our parts, we were reduc'd to so low and bare a Condition, that we were no way capable of preventing their Ruine and our own; we had no tolerable Force to oppose the *Dutch* with, and Justice and Right cou'd not defend us from them. This the *Bandanese* saw perfectly well, and therefore easily concluded, that Matters were too far gone ever to be retriev'd; yet to amuse the *Dutch* they told them, That they had made a solemn Surrender of the Islands to us, and therefore being now out of their power to dispose of, they must agree that Point with us as well as they could. But as this was but an excuse to save themselves from doing an unjust and an ungrateful Work, so the others took it as such; and therefore peremptorily demanded the Surrender from them, nothing less than which should be their Deliverance from the like Tragedies acted amongst them,

that were lately at *Lantore*. And this being the point, they concluded they had no way but to yield to the present neceſſity, and for once ſave their Perſons and Country from an otherwiſe unavoidable Ruine, by giving over again to the *Dutch*, what they had given to us before.

Poolaroon reſign'd to them. *May*, *A. D.* 1621.

This was done, and the Articles of the new Agreement were much of the ſame nature with thoſe of the old, only this added (which we never impos'd upon them) that they ſhould pay Tenths to the Prince of the Country. Before this Conſummation of the Buſineſs, our Colours were pull'd down, and theirs ſet up in their room; our Ordnance thrown off from the Rock where they were planted, and all carried away by them. The *Bandaneſe* were all diſarm'd, and their Walls demoliſh'd, and every thing done that tended to the holding of them faſt down under thoſe ſervile Chains that were made ready for them. And they had Reaſon enough to make ſure of them in this manner, and keep their Hands cloſe tied, for their Spirits were ſufficiently exaſperated before, and this uſage to be ſure had not ſweetned them. What bold and ſevere Strokes of Revenge then would they make, if ever they had an opportunity by getting looſe again? If they would have cut the Throats of all the *Dutch-men* in the *Indies*, had they had them in their power, while they thought them but plotting upon their Liberties, what would they do for ſeizing their Country, enſlaving their Perſons, and ſwallowing up their Trade, and ſo many flaming Outrages of all ſorts as had been committed upon them? Eſpecially the *Lantorees* had a large Reckoning to make with them, if ever the time ſerv'd for that purpoſe: Here the *Dutch* made the fouleſt Work, and embrued their Hands in more Blood than any where. They cut 44 of the principal Orankayes in pieces, laid all the conſiderable Men in Irons, and ſeiz'd their Children for Hoſtages: And as if this was not enough for their Security, commanded all the other *Bandaneſe* that had given them any aſſiſtance, to be brought Priſoners, with their Wives and Children, aboard their Ships. But the poor People thinking by this, that they were either to be all murder'd, as their Orankayes had been, or elſe ſold away for Slaves into ſome Foreign Parts; they all agreed together, to fly from Deſtruction if they could, and ſo retired into the Mountains, and other wild Refuges, and there fortified themſelves as well as they were able. The *Dutch* for this fell upon them without Mercy, and cut off and took Priſoners to the number of 1200: Thoſe that were ſo unhappy as to miſs the ſtroke of the Sword, that had given a Deliverance to ſo many of their Fellows, were ſent away to *Jacatra*, and other places, to wear out a miſerable Life in Slavery.

Their Cruelties at *Lantore*.

This was the direful Concluſion of the *Banda* Affair: All which Miſchief might have been prevented, and our own Honour and Intereſt preſerv'd, as well as the Lives and Liberties of the *Bandaneſe*, if timely Supplies had been tranſmitted to us: Such a degree of ſtupid negligence is wholly unaccountable, and hardly ever pardonable. And now we might bid *Poolaroon*, and the Spice-Trade Adieu, and go find another People to ſurrender their Iſland, and put us in poſſeſſion of their Mace and Nutmegs where we cou'd. And were it ſo, the *Dutch* who got this chiefly by means of the great care and diligence of our *Engliſh* Friends, might alſo by theſame Method as eaſily get the next.

Engliſh take their leave of *Poolaroon*.

CHAP. XXXV.

An Account of a Voyage from Surat *to* Achen, Bantam, *and other Parts of the* Eaſt-Indies, *with the* Dragon *and the* Expedition. *Perform'd by* W. Hore, *and written by him in a Letter to the* Eaſt-India *Company.*

February, *A. D.* 1618. Go to *Dabul*.

IT having been before agreed on in a General Conſult, that we ſhould put in at *Dabul*, to try the Diſpoſitions of that People to a Trade with us; in purſuance of that Deſign, we came to an Anchor in the Road of that Town. The Governour quickly ſent out a Boat to learn who and what we were, upon the return of which with their Informations, two Perſons of Note were diſpatch'd to us with Orders to hear our Captain's Propoſals. Theſe Men ſtaid aboard as Pledges, and two of our Merchants upon that Security went aſhore to tranſact Matters there.

The chief Men of the Town expreſs'd a great deal of ſatisfaction at the arrival of our Ships, and as much deſire to have a Trade with us, which they pretended they had long waited for: And therefore propos'd that a Factory ſhould be immediately ſettled there, or at leaſt that the Ships ſhould ride in the Port, till the principal Governour (then abſent) had given his Reſolution in the Caſe, without which they could not abſolutely conclude.

Dabullers excuſe themſelves from preſent Trade.

But notwithſtanding all theſe fine words, the *Dabullers* did not convince us by their actual forwardneſs to deal, that they were ſo ſtrongly inclin'd that way as they pretended. They promis'd to perform mighty things hereafter, but were not diſpos'd to do any thing at preſent; they wou'd ſome other time trade for Broad Cloth, Lead, and other *Engliſh* Commodities, but we could not perſwade them to take off any now.

We had a Ship in our Company that was able to have furniſh'd them, and came indeed on purpoſe to put off ſome of her Commodities to the *Dabullers*; but they would not help to lighten her Burthen at all, and ſo ſhe purſued her Voyage to the *Red Sea*, whither ſhe was at firſt bound. It was deſign'd at our coming hither, that the *Dabullers* ſhould no longer impoſe upon us with theſe empty pretences to trade, while they did nothing at all in purſuance of the Deſign of our coming to them, and therefore that now they ſhould be forc'd to do Buſineſs, and make it in ſome meaſure worth our while to attend them; but they bought their own quiet for this Year, by a good Sum of fair Promiſes to be better another, and ſo we let them alone at preſent, and ſent Advices to *Surat*, that the next Year's Fleet might deal with them accordingly.

Beſides, we had a Reckoning with them upon another ſcore, which was their abuſing one of our Factors that came thither to recover a Debt, and forceably taking the Debtor out of his hands; People at *Surat* very confidently told this Story of the *Dabullers*, but ſince they as confidently denied it, and we could not prove it, we carried the matter no higher than a bare Charge at this time.

Go to *Batticchola*. *May*.

We ſail'd away from hence to *Batticchola*, upon the ſame Coaſt below *Goa*. This was the Fruit of an Invitation too; and the *Mallabars* that gave it, pretended to do it in the Name of their King, and to be ſent by him for that purpoſe. There were two Frigats of that Country that came and put themſelves into our Service at *Swally* Road, and told us, That their King would be glad of our Trade for his Pepper; which was no inconſiderable Quantity, but would amount yearly to a good Lading for two of our beſt Ships. But when we came thither, we quickly found an Entertainment too cold to anſwer ſutably the warmth and earneſtneſs of the Invitation. The Commodity was but indifferent, the Price unconſcionable, and the King himſelf ſeem'd to have no great Mind to have us for Cuſtomers, but rather to keep it for the *Portugueze*. They held it up hard at 50 Rials of Eight *per* Candee, which is 500 *l.* Weight, and at the very loweſt would not let it come under 47. We thought we had been call'd to the buying ſome good Bargains, not to be banter'd at this rate in our Prices, and have the Money ſqueez'd out of our Pockets by ſuch Methods as thoſe were; but ſince 'twas ſo, that we muſt not only ſubmit to this Extortion if we traded, but take it as a Favour too, we reſolved to lie under no ſuch Obligations, and ſo left them to their deſired Cuſtomers the *Portugueze*.

High Price of Pepper.

We proceeded in our Voyage towards *Calecut*: Here was a Debt of ſome Years ſtanding to be recover'd, and a proſpect of buying Pepper at eaſier rates. But as it happen'd, the Samorine was at that time at *Panana*, ſome twelve Leagues to the South of *Calecut*, whither we went to him.

Come to *Panana* to the Samorine of *Calecut*'s Country.

Our Captain went aſhore, with a good Guard of Shot, to deliver the King's Letter and Preſent; the Samorine acknowledged the Debt, but ſince we could not determine the

the exact Sum, it was agreed that Payment should be deferr'd, till all the Accounts of that matter were more narrowly look'd over, and the Persons there resident had given in their Informations.

Samorine's Proposals about Pepper.

As for present dealing with him, he offer'd to sell his Pepper at 30 Rials of Eight *per* Candee, free of all Charges, and the Candee at that place was 502 *l.* Neat: This was accepted by the Captain, upon condition of some previous inspection of the Commodity, by those that were to be Judges of the Goodness of it; which Office was assigned to my self, and one more. But the next Morning when we came, thinking to go about this Business with all the haste imaginable, we were denied the sight of the Pepper, and without express Orders from the Samorine, there was nothing to be done. Upon which Baulk going away to Court to speak with him himself, he was far more inquisitive about the Captain's coming ashore again (which was a thing foreign to the Business in hand), than careful to give us any just and reasonable account of the meaning of these Proceedings. We assur'd him, that the Captain would not stir ashore, till we had done our appointed Work of viewing the Pepper; that his Business would be only to consummate the Bargain, and bring the Money, and consequently depended upon our dispatch. But all the Springs of Business were out of order in this Country at this time, and nothing would succeed, tho' ever so fairly attempted.

His unfair Dealing with them.

The Samorine would not give way to our meddling with the Spice, but sent us back to wait at his Merchants House, till he either came to us himself, or sent farther Orders. Here he abus'd us with obliging us to an idle and fruitless attendance, neither sending, nor coming, nor giving us any manner of Information what he intended to do.

This forc'd us to a second Walk to the Court, to as little purpose as the former; for here he had his Tumblers and Morrice-Dancers about him, and minded their Tricks more than his own and our Concerns: In short, he whil'd away the time by so many trifling shuffling Methods, that we boldly demanded of him at last, to put us out of this suspence, and come to some certain Resolution, that we might know what we had to trust to. This Alarm awaken'd him, and we were desired to move into a withdrawing Room, to hear his Resolutions in private. Here he told us, he had several Points of important Business to discuss with the Captain, if he would give his Presence ashore; but they were some of them of that nature as requir'd retirement, and must be manag'd apart from the Crowd; and therefore he had provided a fine Retreating-place, a little way up in the Country, where the Captain and he could enjoy themselves, and do their Business without disturbance.

A suspicious Propoal.

In answer to this. I told him flatly, That unless I might have the liberty to see the place first, I would not advise the Captain's landing: This he refus'd at first to permit, but upon second thoughts afterwards granted, commanding one of his Slaves to shew it me. And the truth of it is, 'twas a place very fit for the execution of a treacherous Design; 'twas as good a Convenience for an Ambuscade as could be; in a word, 'twas a very fine Trap.

But intending to prevent my Captain's being catch'd in it, at my return I express'd my dislike of the Situation of the place; as being lonely, and surrounded with Woods, and so discouraged as much as was advisable the Design of meeting there.

The Samorine was very silent and dull upon the disappointment, and having now play'd his best and highest Card, was at a stand in his Game: However, when he had made us retire again, he thought fit to dissemble no longer, but told us all the Reasons of the stop that had hitherto been upon our Business. He confess'd, that the Pepper he had promis'd us was not his own, but the Merchants; and that he could not let it go at the Price first propos'd: That at 40 Rials *per* Candee we should have it, and not under; and if other Merchants would sell under, he would give them leave so to do; if not, he would furnish us himself at that rate. As for the Money we had owing at *Calecut*, he would see us paid, when we could certific him positively how much, and for what 'twas due.

The Samorine falls back from his Proposal about the Pepper.

This was a very pretty Story, and the prettier too, because 'twas told in *Portugueze*, which the Samorine could never speak, till now he had an absolute necessity for't. And thus we got all out at last; and after a World of little shifts and windings this way and that way, the plain truth was told us (as he said), which might have been done in as few words at first.

Having our Errand, we took leave and return'd to the Ship; but the Captain sent him this Message by one of his own Servants, That the *English* should largely pay themselves all their Scores out of his Ships, in what part of the World soever they met them. Here was the third Baulk upon our Trade this Season; and hitherto we succeeded, as if all this Coast of *India* was in a League together to cheat and abuse us.

The Captains Message to the Samorine.

'Twas time now to repair to some other parts of the *Indies*, where our time would be bestow'd to better purpose. Our Ships parted Company when we had doubled the Cape *Comorin*, and 'twas my Lot to sail to *Tecoo*. And I will only say (since no Business of any significancy was done), that I made three or four Voyages between that place and *Bantam*.

April. Their dangers about the Straits of *Sunda*.

One of them had very near prov'd fatal to us; for a dreadful Storm in a very dark Night, forc'd us clever over the Shoals of *Tecoo*; a danger a Man would have trembled at in fair Weather, and at Noon-day. The Thunder and Lightning was extremely violent at the same time, and a flash struck one of our Men perfectly dumb and lame; 'twas very slowly that his Speech return'd to him again, and that very imperfectly too; but the use of all his Limbs was gone; he complain'd of a dead numbness in every part, and had he been all over Paralytick, he could not have been more unserviceable to himself than he was.

Dealing at *Tecoo*.

After some time spent, I had Notice that there was Business ready for us at *Tecoo*; that the *Dragon* had gotten a Lading of more than 1300 Bahars of Pepper, and 1500 more lay unbought at *Achen*. The Vice-King of *Tecoo* appear'd very willing to forward the Trade when we came, and promis'd as soon as he had seen his Sovereign the King of *Achen*'s Letters, and the Musters of our Goods, that they should begin to weigh. So the Letters being brought ashore, Proclamation was made of our Licence to Trade, and Notice given to the Country about, who had now Liberty to bring in their Commodities. The Goods we landed were mostly your *Surat* Wares, Cainkeens, blue Selas, *&c.* And the Price was concluded in proportion to their several Values, 50 Selas, 35 Cainkeens, 16 blue Byronns, 32 Red Selas, Baftas 8, 10, and 12 Pieces for a Bahar of Pepper; and this valued according to the Rates in ready Money, was as much as 20 Rials *per* Bahar. The Custom was, not to be paid in kind, but at the rate of 14 in the 100 in Rials of Eight, for all Goods we landed. This was a hard Condition, and very imprudently yielded to by former Dealers here; but now it has prevail'd so long, that there's no hopes of bringing them to more reasonable Terms.

July.

Treacherous denying of Bargains at *Tecoo*.

The Merchants now waited for the King to begin the Trade, according to the way of the Country; but truly, when it came to the point, he would not stand to the former Contract. He would not sell himself under 40 Cainkeens, and 60 Blue Selas *per* Bahar; but he gave us leave to buy at the former Rates of others, if they would sell so.

He had better have said positively, that there should be no Trade but upon his Terms, and publickly forbid the People to weigh; for tho' there would have been in this the same degree of Wrong and Injustice, yet the Dissimulation (which ever aggravates the Knavery) had been away. His offer of giving the People the Liberty to Trade, before he began, was all a sham and a trick; and 'twas as much as bidding and unbidding them at the same time: For he knew perfectly well, that no Man dar'd to weigh an Ounce of Pepper before him; no, tho' the Commodity wou'd have perish'd in their hands, they dared not attempt the Sale, till his Example had given them an Authority to do it: To make that pretence therefore of turning us over to them, was to trifle and play upon us, and add an Affront to the former Act of Injustice. But we were under a necessity of submitting to this Imposition at this Juncture, having lost a great deal of time already, and our Trade any where else uncertain.

August. Theft at *Tecoo*, and a strange Project for the discovering a Rogue.

The King himself having play'd us this foul play, 'twas no wonder that the People should take the same liberty too, or a worse, and this was our Case; all the difference was, that he cheated us with a little more Ceremony, and they in the coarse and rude way of Thieves and House-breakers.

'Tis true they did us no great damage, tho' they broke into one of our Warehouses, and rummaged about; I mean, they carried off nothing of value, but they murder'd one of our Men that lay in the room. They made the Attempt three several times that Night, and 'twas as dreadful Weather perhaps as ever was seen: And why they should chuse such a Night as that, is not easie to be conceiv'd, unless they thought the loud Cracks of Thunder would give them an opportunity to pick the Locks without danger of being heard. But to tell Stories of the thievish Tricks of the *Tecoans*, is to blazon a Character suffi-

ſufficiently well known in the World already; I ſhall only therefore mention a Circumſtance conſequent upon this Diſturbance we had from them, becauſe there is ſomething in it pretty odd and ſingular.

We being all alarm'd and rais'd upon the Outcry of Murder in the Houſe, preſently ſent to call in the Waiters to our aſſiſtance; theſe were Men that were appointed to keep Guard every Night, at ſome little diſtance from the Houſe. But however it came about, there was none of them to be found at their Poſt at that time, nor there was no diſcovery to be made of any ſuſpicious Perſon in all the lurking Holes thereabout. The Noiſe of the Murder quickly came to the King's Ear, and brought him to us; he promis'd us Juſtice, and to do his utmoſt to find out the Villains that had thus injur'd us. But one of our Company propos'd, that the Waiters ſhould be nicely examin'd about this matter, ſince by their abſence from their accuſtom'd place of Duty, they had given ground for ſuſpicion, that they were either the Authors, or at leaſt Abettors of this Miſchief. This the King commanded to be done, and they were all made one after another to touch the dead Body; that being a Method ſome People are apt to preſume upon, for the diſcovery of a Murderer. (Why ſhould it not be as good for the diſcovery of other Villains too; and the ſtollen Goods leap away from the hand of the Thief, as well as a dead Body bleed at the touch of the Murderer?) Well! all theſe People ſtrok'd the Corps, and no Blood came; and could any thing demonſtrate their Innocence more convincingly than this? Was it not apparent that their Conſciences were clear and unſtain'd in the caſe, ſince a Miracle was not wrought to condemn them, and the ſtagnating Blood of the dead Man did not fly out in their Faces? But 'twas found at laſt, that all the Number had not paſs'd the Trial, and there was one ſtill behind that pretended to be very ſick a Bed, and was not able to come. This Fellow was ſent for, and fain to be brought upon Mens Shoulders; but all the Company condemn'd him for the Rogue as ſoon as he appear'd, there were ſo many Characters of Guilt in his Face. He was terribly confounded at touching the Corps, and all his Actions and Anſwers beſpoke him to be hared to the laſt degree. There was no Blood however came from the dead Body; but if the coming of ſomething elſe from the living Body had been a ſign of guilt, 'tis probable if they had look'd, they would have found him not very innocent and pure.

The King, and all the reſt, obſerving the Confuſion he was in, confidently perſwaded themſelves he was the Perſon they look'd for; and therefore, tho' he had ſcap'd this way, yet his Innocence ſhould be tried too by the Laws of the Country.

The Method is, for a Pot of Oyl to be ſet over the Fire, and when 'tis boiling hot, there's a Ball of Braſs thrown into it; here the ſuſpected Perſon is to come, and thruſting his naked Arm into this ſcalding Liquor, muſt fetch out the Ball; and if nothing of burn or ſcald appears upon his Skin, he is acquitted of the Fact laid to his charge; but if there be any Impreſſion made, they take it for granted he is guilty. A moſt irregular and barbarous way of proceeding to determine matter of fact; 'twould be as juſt and fair to throw a Man into a Den of hungry Lions, and pronounce him guilty or not guilty, according as they eat him up, or let him alone. But the Fellow was entirely willing to ſubmit himſelf to this ſort of Trial, and offer'd to put himſelf into the hands of the Executioner, if he did not come off clear. And in ſhort, he drew his Arm out of the Cauldron of boiling Oil, as unblemiſh'd, and perfectly free from injury as it would have been had he put it into cold Water: This we were all Witneſſes to, being all perfectly awake, and our Senſes, no way that we know of, impos'd upon. After the Experiment was over, all his Sickneſs and Lameneſs was over too, he was as brisk and luſty as the beſt of them; which ſudden change prov'd the former Illneſs counterfeit, and confirm'd all the Company in their evil Opinion of him.

They muſt trade now for ready Money.

This Affair being ended, the King made another Propoſal to us, about the farther proſecution of the Trade. The People were deſirous now of ready Money for their Pepper, and weary of Cloth; beſides the Junks from *Argin* were daily expected with great ſtore of that Commodity for himſelf (who always forces the People to take it off), and a little ready Money before-hand from us, would diſpoſe them to a briſker Trade with him. This was all Self-intereſt, and courting us to fall in with him in promoting that deſign; but there being a great deal of Pepper ſtill brought in, and our Trading-time but ſhort, and almoſt expir'd, we agreed with him at 22 Rials *per* Bahar. And to make us more eaſie and ſecure in our being here for the time to come, the King gave us liberty to do all that was needful in our own defence; to ſeize, impriſon, or fire upon thoſe that came to offer us any violence as we ſhould ſee fit. *October.*

Our whole Story hitherto has been little elſe, but a continued Series of Croſſes, Diſappointments, Injuries, and Abuſes; and when one would have hop'd for a fairer Day, and ſome little reſpite from haunting Troubles and Misfortunes, they broke in with more violence upon us, and what was light perplexity before, was now downright Tragedy: For now at one ſtroke the *Dutch* made themſelves Maſters of four of our brave Ships, ſetting out of this Port of *Tecoo*: Some of them were ready laden to their hands too, but all ſo encumbred that they were not capable of fighting. * She that ſhould have been a Guard to the reſt, was far from being able to defend her ſelf, all her Decks were clogg'd, and her Guns ſtowed up with Lumber to that degree, that 'twas not poſſible to uſe them in the greateſt extremity. With thoſe few Ordnance that were clear, ſhe maintain'd the Fight for a little time, but 'twas impoſſible to hold out long with all that Burden and Unweildineſs, againſt ſix ſubſtantial Ships of the Enemy. *Dutch take four Ships from the Engliſh.* * This was the *Dragon.*

The other three ſeeing her Fate, yielded themſelves without exchanging a Gun; perhaps 'twould have been to no purpoſe to have fired, but to yield ſo tamely and quietly, was not according to the uſual manner of the *Engliſh*. Had the worthy * Captain (who loſt his Life by this Action) been better adviſ'd, and according even to his own firſt Reſolution, kept his great Ship clear for the Service of a Man of War, the *Dutch* perhaps had not had this Triumph, nor we endured the miſerable Conſequences of it. But we were abſolutely trepann'd, and cheated into their hands; they had taken in their Colours, by which we ſhould have diſcover'd them, and the Captain judging them to be Sir *Tho. Dale*'s Fleet, that was to be at *Tecoo* about this time, we were got in ſo near with them, that 'twas too late to think of drawing off again. * Capt. *Iones*

The *Dutch* were ſo charitable to our Men (then their Priſoners) as to lay them in Irons upon the Gratings all Night long, and that in the moſt tempeſtuous Weather for Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, that had been known for a long time in thoſe parts, without any reſpect to ſick, weary, or wounded, the loſs of many of whoſe Lives teſtified the Barbarity of that Night's Entertainment. All that were left alive they turn'd aſhore the next Morning, with ſuch ſorry Rags upon their Backs as they were pleas'd to allow them; theſe were to the number of 300 Men, and had not the Infidels expreſs'd more Kindneſs and Bowels than thoſe Chriſtians had done, the whole Company had periſh'd in the laſt Extremities of Miſery. But the Compaſſion of the *Tecoans* towards us in this diſtreſs, does deſerve our Acknowledgment. The King conſtantly viſited the Captain, and brought him the beſt Dainties of the Court, till his incurable Wounds ſet him out of the reach of all earthly Succours: They kept a continual Market for Victuals at the Door of our Houſe, and ſold us all manner of Proviſions at much eaſier Rates than before: Beſides this, leaſt the *Dutch* ſhould land and attempt any thing upon us, we had a Guard of a thouſand Men well arm'd about us all the time their Ships ſtay'd there. So that we may ſay they have (at the loweſt value of this Action), aton'd for former Injuries; and left us without Demands upon them, if not their Debtors. The cruel uſage of our Men by the *Dutch.* The kindneſs of the *Tecoans.*

Our ſhatter'd Company here were not long after happily diſpos'd of, and diſpers'd up and down in a little Fleet of *Engliſh* that came in hither.

As for my own particular, I ſet ſail for *England* in one of our feeble crazy Ships, which if the Winds and Waves did not uſe very kindly and tenderly, would hardly allow us what Nature crav'd, but obliged us to endure much pain that way, till we reach'd the Bay of *Soldania*. Here we got in a ſupply of Fiſh; but loſt a part of our Men by an Outrage of the Natives; nothing of that kind having ever till now been attempted upon the *Engliſh*. They us'd to be very gentle and harmleſs in their Carriage to us; but ſomething or other had ſtirr'd their Choler, ſome ill People had done them an injury, and we unhappily came to bear their Revenge for't. From hence I had a proſperous Voyage to *England*; having had little of that nature before, in the whole Courſe of this Viſit to the *East-Indies*. *November.* *Soldania* kill eight of their Men. *February, A. D. 1619*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

A Declaration put forth by the Dutch, *containing the Account they give of the Differences between the* Engliſh *and themſelves, and the Grounds of their Pretenſions to, as well as their Proceedings at the Iſlands of* Banda. *To which are added ſome brief Animadverſions upon it.*

IN the former Chapters we have heard our Merchants and Factors abroad making divers heavy Complaints of the *Dutch*. A terrible Out-cry there has been of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, of Treachery and Barbarity; in ſhort of ſo many Breaches of the Laws of Right Reaſon, Good Manners, and Chriſtian Charity, that the Buſineſs requires to be more diligently looked into. Now as our own People have told their Story at large, and repreſented the Matter as they thought fit and juſt, ſo we muſt hear what the other party has to ſay, and what account they give of things for their own Juſtification. 'Tis but fair and equal to allow them all the ſcope that can be to make their own Defence; and 'tis every whit as free for them to Anſwer an Accuſation, as 'tis for the others to bring it in againſt them. This is a Privilege that all Mankind have an indiſputable right to, and to deny it at any time (except in a Matter that carries its own Light and Evidence along with it) is to fix a Blot of Suſpicion upon the Charge, and render the Truth of it doubtful to all unbyaſſed, impartial People.

That this therefore may be done with as much advantage as can be deſired, we ſhall offer a Copy of their own Declaration, which fully expreſſes their mind in this Buſineſs, and was intended by them for a compleat Anſwer to all the material Particulars urged againſt them, with reference to the *Banda* Affairs.

It was Printed in *Dutch* at *Amſterdam*, *A. D.* 1622, and is faithfully tranſlated from the Original.

The *Dutch*'s Declaration, giving an Account of what paſs'd in the Iſlands of *Banda*, in the Year of our Lord, 1621.

The Dutch Declaration.

ALL *the Iſlands of* Banda, *from the tenth of* Auguſt 1609, *by a ſpecial Treaty and Agreement made with the Orankayes, or Magiſtrates of the foreſaid Iſlands, were put under the Protection of the high and mighty, the States General of the united Provinces, on condition to defend them from the* Portugal, *and other their Enemies, provided that they of the ſaid Iſlands, are bound to deliver unto the Fort called* Naſſau, *or unto the Committees of the ſaid Company, all their Fruits or Spices at a certain price, and ſo forth, as by the ſaid Treaty of Agreement more at large appeareth. Theſe Articles of Agreement, being for a time by them performed, were afterwards broken and violated, as well in keeping back, and with-holding the ſaid Fruits and Spices, which they were tied to deliver to the* Netherlands *Company; as alſo enforcing and robbing their Ware-houſes, and contrary to Solemn Treaty and Promiſe, murthering at ſundry times and places, divers of the principal Officers, Committees and Servants of the ſaid* Netherlands *Company, in taking away divers ſmall Ship Proviſion, their open invading of the Places and Countries, withſtood alſo lately under the Subjection of the High and Mighty the States General, and in conquering the Inhabitants thereof, whom with a ſtrong Hand they forced from being Chriſtians to become* Moors *again, or thoſe which withſtood or gain-ſaid them, they ſold as Slaves, and in committing all kind of perverſe Wickedneſs and Treachery: during which Paſſages and Doings, there was again certain Contracts on the aforeſaid Conditions agreed upon, with the ſaid* Bandaneſes, *as in* May, *in the Year* 1616, *by one of the* Netherlands *Commanders called* Lam, *and by their Governour General* Laurence Reall, *in the Year* 1617, *which indeed were ſhortly after broken and violated by the* Bandaneſes, *and that through the animating by the* Engliſh, *who did openly aid and aſſiſt the foreſaid Iſlands, and maintained them in warrage, the* Netherlands *Company with Victuals, and Munition, great Ordnance, Men and Ships, thereby to with-hold from us the Fruits and Spices, which the* Bandaneſes *were tied to deliver. In this wilfulneſs the* Bandaneſes *continued, till in* June, 1620. *Till that at* Jacatra *was publiſhed both amongſt the* Engliſh *and the* Netherlands *Fleet, then riding there in the Road, the Treaty concluded and agreed upon, between his moſt excellent Majeſty, the King of* Great Britain, *and the High and Mighty Lords the States General, for to reconcile upon certain Conditions, the* Engliſh *and* Netherlands Eaſt-India *Companies.*

The which Treaty, and by conference of handling concerning the Molucca's, Amboyna, *and* Banda, *all Diſputes and Differences between the* Engliſh *and the* Netherlands *Company, concerning the ſame, were to that time aboliſhed, and a general Force of Ships of War was ordained between them, for the Defence of both Companies in their Rights, and the commerce which they had obtained in the* Indies.

The Reduction of the wilful Bandaneſes *unto the* Netherlands *Camp, was hindred a Year or two (through the actual Proceedings which the* Engliſh *in* Banda *it ſelf, ſince the Year* 1616, *and afterwards in the Year* 1618, *about the Coaſt of* Java, *and whole* India *thro) by open hoſtility did attempt: whereby the aforeſaid* Bandaneſes *being encouraged and made bolder, did withdraw themſelves wholly from under the Subjection of the Caſtle of* Naſſaw, *doing unto us and ours all Wrong and Hoſtility, and with-holding from us their Fruits (to ſay): Nutmegs and Mace, which they did not only ſell unto the* Engliſh, *and to the* Indians, *but alſo to the* Portugals, *who are both their and our Enemies, with whom they ſeek to make nearer Alliance of Friendſhip, as already in the great Iſland named* Banda, *were come fifty or threeſcore Portugals, who by ſome more aſſiſtance, conſidering the natural force of the ſaid Iſland, would have been ſufficient to have deprived both the* Engliſh *and the* Netherlands *Company of the Rights therein, and the Fruits thereof, without hope hereafter to have any redreſs.*

In regard of thoſe Inconveniencies, after the Publication of the Contract that was made, the General of the Netherland *Company, in the Common-Council for defence, (conſiſting of* Engliſhmen *and* Netherlanders) *propounded the neceſſity of the taking of* Banda, *as alſo the redreſſing and aſſuring of thoſe Quarters, and of the Trade in* Amboyna *and* Molucca's, *to the which end, both the Companies according to the Contract were bound together, to uſe all the force and power that he could, for the Preſervation of the places, as much as concerned the Trade, for both the Companies. And it appeareth by the Act made by thoſe of the ſaid Council for Defence, bearing date the firſt of January,* 1621, ſtylo novo, *that the* Engliſh *Committees there declared, that the neceſſities of the Buſineſs was well known unto them; as alſo that they are very willing together with us, to do ſome common Exploit; but for that as then, they wanted both Power and Means of Men and Ships, that they could not for that time furniſh any thing towards the ſame: Whereupon the* Netherlands *Governour General declared, that with the particular Power of the* Netherland *Company, he would take the ſame in hand, and effect it in ſuch manner, as God ſhould be pleaſed to proſper his Proceedings.*

And to that end, upon the thirteenth of January, the Governour General went from Jacatra *to* Amboyna, *where he arrived upon the fourteenth of* February, *and from thence went to* Banda, *to the Caſtle of* Naſſaw, *lying in the Iſland* Nero, *upon the ſeven and twentieth of* February, 1621. *In the mean time, one of the* Engliſh *Council for defence, that had been at* Jacatra *upon the firſt of* January, 1621, *and was Privy to the Contract made, lying then in* Amboyna, *when the Governour General went from thence to* Banda; *ſent Letters in our own Ships to the* Engliſhmen, *lying in the ſmall Iſland* Poolaroon, *and made known and diſcovered unto thoſe of* Banda, *in what manner the General of the* Netherland *Company, intended to aſſail the great Iſland of* Banda: *and when the ſaid Governour General was come to the Fort of* Naſſaw *in* Banda, *he underſtood that the* Engliſhmen *in* Poolaroon, *had aided them of the Town of* Lantore *in the great Iſland of* Banda, *with four Pieces of great Ordnance; and that if they had had longer time, that the entrance of the General of the* Netherlands *Army into* Lantore *Haven, ſhould have been let and withſtood by a great Battery. As alſo that ſome* Eng-

Englishmen *in* Lantore, *assisted those of* Banda, *ours, and (according to the Contract) their Enemies, both with Counsel and Force, encouraging them with their Presence, and notwithstanding that the said General required the said* Englishmen *of* Lantore *to leave the Town, for the Causes and Recessions aforesaid, as also for that they themselves, according to the Contract and Order made by the Council of Defence, before that time might not buy any Fruit in* Moluccas, Amboyna, *and* Banda, *as after the Publication of the Contract they may do, and that only together, and in common places with the* Netherlanders, *yet some few of them stayed still with them of* Banda *our common Enemies. Notwithstanding also that the Governour General protested, that he was not therein to be blamed, if by that means any hurt were done unto them, being among and with our common Enemies, from whom they should and ought to have separated themselves.*

First, the Governour General determin'd to assail the great Island of Banda *on the South side, (by some called* Lantore, *because the Principal Town is so called) by Land in a place called* Luchny, *and to that end caused the Ship called the* Hart *to Anchor thereabouts, which lay not long there but it was shot at by an* English *piece of Ordnance, whereby our Men were forced to tow the said Ship with a Galley from the shoar, and to leave two Anchors and two Cables behind them, or else it had been in great danger of sinking or burning, our Men assuring us, that an* English *Gunner had shot at them, and that they perfectly descried and saw him, although the* Englishmen *seem to deny it.*

Whereby altering of their first Purpose, the General of the Netherlands *resolved to land upon the inward part of the Island of* Banda, *there to encamp themselves, and then to go up upon the Hills, and there to plant their Ordnance, and to that end upon the eighth of* March, 1621, *landed with seventeen Companies between* Comber *and* Ortatten, *they marched along the shoar side, within the reach of three Pieces of great Ordnance lent them by the* Englishmen, *and not long before planted there, whereby if they had marched forward many of our Men had been slain, and so we should have found no place there to encamp our selves, but the Enemy from the Hills would have domineered over us, no Man knowing what counsel to give, whereby we might get up upon the Hills. The way whereon above 3 Years before we had been, being all entrenched, whereupon the General determined to enter again into his Ship with the whole Army, to take another course. They of* Banda *not once pursuing after us, but with flouting and mocking let us go, and so thinking thereby, that they had gotten the upper hand of us, most part of them brought their Wives and Children again into* Lantore. *After these two Enterprizes, partly hindred by the* English *Ordnance, were in that manner crost, the General for a third Resolution, determined to assail the great Island of* Banda *on both sides, that is, on the inner side of the Land with six Companies, and on the South side with ten Companies. That they on the inner side should land an Hour before the others should land, by that means to draw the Enemy forth, and so to make place on the other side, while a Company of chosen Men should land on the North side, to climb up upon the Hills, and others in other places of the Land should also be in a readiness, being three hundred and thirty Persons, whereof one hundred and fifty were Musqueteers, appointed for the manning and assuring of thirty Boats, which the said Company would bring on the South side of the Island.*

This was effected upon the eleventh of March, *and accordingly six Companies by break of Day, went on Land between* Comber *and* Ortatten. *Captain* Voghel *with certain chosen Souldiers marching forward, who climbing up upon the Hills, found such resistance, that all their Pouder being spent, they were in great danger to be spoiled, but being well followed and seconded by the rest, the Enemy was forced to retire: and while this skirmish continued, the other ten Companies landing out of the said thirty Boats, went on shoar upon the South side of* Banda, *in a small Bay, some with Ladders, and others without, climbing up upon the Cliffs; and being gotten up, they marched to the back side of* Lantore, *without any resistance, but only those that set upon the first Troops, being some ten or twenty Musqueteers, by whom one of our Men was slain, and four or five hurt, whereby* Lantore *was taken on the South side by the said ten Companies, while the other five Companies skirmished with those of* Banda *upon the Hills, and as soon as* Lantore *was taken, those of* Madiangi, Luchny, Ortatten, *and* Sammer, *presently forsook their Towns in the said Island. When they of* Banda *saw the aforesaid thirty Boats, they thought we would have sailed round about the Land, as we had done three times before, whereupon making no reckoning of our landing, they were suddenly surprized by break of day.*

As soon as Lantore *with the rest of the places aforesaid were won, the rest of them of* Banda, *namely* Slamma, Comber, Owendender, Wayer, *and those of the Islands of* Rosinging, *and* Poolarcon, *made composition with us, which we granted upon condition, that they should break down their Forts and Walls, and give us their Shot, Pieces and Muskets, &c. Which by them being done, all of them together, according to their Contract and Promises, yielded to hold their Countries and Lands of the Lords the general States of the united* Netherland *Provinces, promising to do whatsoever they should be commanded, and acknowledge the said Lords the general States for their Soveraigns, notwithstanding their former Oaths taken unto any others.*

Those of Lantore *and others being first overcome and vanquished, and that saved themselves among others of* Banda, *also asked Pardon and sought for Peace, which was granted unto them upon the condition aforesaid, though they hardly held the same, and secretly sought to begin a new Rebellion, and were commanded by the General to shew themselves all together upon the Strand, that they might be appointed in some other convenient place to live as fellow Citizens freely together, without the loss of their Goods which they then had. Whereunto some of them obeyed, but the greatest part fled upon the high Mountains in the great Island of* Banda, *to whom also many other Towns resorted, and slew a* Netherland *Merchant, one other, and a Boy, where they were enclosed and hindred from Victuals by our Men. By this means all the Towns and Places in* Banda *were won, and made sure, only* Poolaroon, *which was not medled withal, because they of* Banda *therein behaved themselves peaceably, for the Aid, or rather the Service of those of* Poolaroon. *The* Englishmen *planted nine Pieces of Ordnance upon a small Island in* Poolaroon, *having intrenched the same: and when those of* Poolaroon, *according to the Composition, were to yield up their Arms, and disarm themselves, as they willingly did; yet our General did not once speak of these nine Pieces of Ordnance standing in the said small Island, because the* Englishmen *should have no cause to make any question, that our Men had done any thing against their Fort or Men.*

The English *Commander,* Humphry Fitz-Herbert, *with his Ship called the* Exchange, *lying before the Castle of* Amboina, *and having intelligence of the General of the* Netherlands *Victory in* Banda, *shot off fourteen Pieces of Ordnance for joy thereof.*

This that is formerly declared, is the true state and proceedings of that, which hath been done now lately, and before in the Island of Banda, *wherein nothing hath been done, but that which (according to the Law of Nations, and the aforesaid Contract, made, and promised to be holden, and without any wrong done to the Liberties of the* English *Company, agreed upon with the Company of the* Netherland) *might and ought to have been done.*

IN these Terms have the *Dutch* made their Defence; and summing it all up together briefly, it amounts to as much as pleading not Guilty. 'Tis a positive denial of the Truth of the Charge as far as it pretends any thing of Violence and Injustice; nay, they don't only deny and defend, but recriminate too. They reproach their Accusers with their own Guilt and Misdemeanours, and make those that cried out for Justice, the far more unjust and capable Persons themselves. This is the old way of the World in all matters of Burthen and Accusation; very few have Goodness and Modesty enough to plead guilty in a Case of an odious nature, tho' the Truth of the Charge be ever so freely voted in the inward Sence of their own Minds.

The common Practice is either with one bold stroke to deny and scratch all out; or else by some handsome well-contrived Interpretations, to work matters about till they will bear a favourable Construction, and all the odiousness of them be expounded and interpreted quite away. And then 'tis a solemn Artifice too, to accuse the Accusers, to make Pass for Pass with them, and answer one Indictment with another. This is a mighty help where Innocence is wanting; 'tis the only way to avoid blame and censure thus to puzzle the Cause, and involve it in such confusion, that no body may be able to judge who's in the right and who in the wrong. Men and Boys practise this method both alike, and so do whole Nations too: 'Twas not I but you, you began first, and if I did do this, yet what you did was ten times worse, and so the Business goes round, and the Charge is tossed about from one to another. There's bawling and accusation on every side, but not guilt to be found of any side; each party is in the right, tho' they flatly contradict one another; and no body tells a lye, tho' all inconsistent Methods pretend to the Truth.

We do not assert that 'tis thus in this particular case between the *Dutch* and Us; but this at least is certain, that according to the common rates of Integrity and Ingenuity in this World, such dealing is to be expected, and by those measures, if they were really guilty they would do so.

We shall only consider some Passages in their Declaration, and without any thing of unfair Representation or invidious Reflection; shew how far they are consistent with

with Reason and Truth, and Matter of Fact. They affirm, that the *Banda* Isles were deliver'd over to them by a special Treaty and Agreement in *August*, *A. D.* 1609. But the Question is, which of the two must be believ'd in this case, the *Bandanese* themselves, or the *Dutch*; they stiffly deny any such surrender of their Islands to them, and reckon it a very great abuse for the *Dutch* to say so. A Peace indeed there was made that Year, this they own, but not a word of the surrender; we charged them with it before we finish'd our Agreement with them, and they all stood in it, that there was no such thing.

But suppose this were omitted for Matter of Fact, take it thus at large, and in this general Notion, and it won't signifie much towards the proving their just Title to these Islands. One Man is not presently to be concluded a lawful and fair Possessor of another Man's Right upon this Consideration barely, that the Owner resign'd it to him. A Traveller delivers up his Money to a Thief upon the Road, that presents a Pistol to his Breast; but the Thief does not come honestly by it for all that, and has a far juster Title to the Gallows than to the Man's Purse. Or should he by Threatnings and Ill Usage compel the Traveller to come into Articles for the payment of so much Money to him another time, whether the latter would lie under any Obligation in point of Conscience or no, to be as good as his Word; the former deserves to be hang'd notwithstanding the Agreement. And if one People intrude themselves into the Country of another, and then by continual Molestations and Encroachments upon the Privileges of that People, prepare them to embrace any Proposal that offers them Peace and a Quiet Life, they can't pretend to act fairly and justly in possessing themselves of all those Advantages that this Constraint upon the Natives Liberty gives them. They are uneasie, and have no way to help themselves, and to avoid farther Plagues and Troubles, perhaps resign their Country to the more powerful Intruders: But does not this come up pretty near to the Case of the Highway-men? And are not there the same Characters of Wrong and Violence upon one Action as upon the other? Now 'tis impossible the *Dutch* should ever deny this, that they came and took the Town of *Nero*, and built a Fort there to keep all the People in awe about them: But the Business is, did they come upon the Invitation of the *Bandanese*, and did they build their Fort with their Consent? The World will hardly ever believe, that the *Bandanese* would give way to such a manifest Invasion of their Liberties, or have suffer'd (if there had been any way to prevent it) a Foreign Power to come in and clap a Bridle upon them, by the means of which they might be managed, and turn'd about at pleasure. However, 'twill be expected, that they shew some Contract or Commission to that purpose; for such things as these, upon which the Fortune of a Country depends, are not generally transacted by Word of Mouth only, but with something more of formality by interchanged Writings. 'Till this be done, they must excuse us if we believe the making those Fortifications to be directly contrary to the mind of the *Bandanese*, and in plain Terms, an unjustifiable Encroachment upon them.

Now if after they had thus planted themselves by main Strength or Policy in the Country, they become the Oppressors of it; if they teeze and distress the Inhabitants till they are weary of their Lives, and so make a Surrender in their own defence, and because they can hold out no longer; this gets them indeed the possession, but the Sacred Rules of Justice and right Reason are violated. 'Tis granted, here is eleven Points of the Law, but the twelfth and chiefest of all is wanting; here's no good Title. And 'tis unquestionably certain, that the *Bandanese* were thus harass'd and perplex'd by the *Dutch*; for when their Fort was finish'd, they set out all their Forces, and took the Town of *Labetacca*, and quickly after attempted *Slamuia* in like manner, where they were repuls'd with considerable loss.

But when all's said and done, the State of the Case is otherwise; and the Isles of *Banda* were not surrendred to them at all. 'Tis true, that they might think they would be so, and the *Bandanese* pretended to do it; but 'twas all a piece of Mockery, and a Design to draw them into a Snare, that they might have their full Revenge. For when the *Dutch* Admiral, and a large Train of other Commanders came to a Conference with them in the Woods upon that Subject, the enraged *Bandanese*, having them now safe in their Pound, fell upon them to rights, and cut them all to pieces. They never intended any other Agreement but this, nor no Surrender but that of the Lives of the *Dutch* to their Mercy. We'll easily allow it to be a horrid Instance of Treachery and Barbarity, but then they were provok'd to a high degree, and the Consideration of their many Injuries and Oppressions, will in some measure alleviate and soften the matter on the side of the *Bandanese*. Here then the Business rests; and if no more were said, this is sufficient to shew, that the *Dutch* have but trifled in their Declaration. These Islands were never put into their hands, all the adjoyning Countries are Witnesses, that the *Bandanese* cut the Cords of that pretended Agreement asunder with their Swords, and by massacring all the chief of the *Dutch* Commanders, left indeed hardly any Body of Figure or Note to agree withal. Why then should the World read such Lines as the two first in their Declaration are, that affirm a solemn surrender? How far is this from that Ingenuity and Vertuous Simplicity, that may be expected from a People of so eminent a Character in the Christian World?

What Punishment they owe the *Bandanese*, for the Outrage committed upon their Officers, is another point; but to say the Country was delivered up to them, is an Injury both to them, and all Mankind in general, because 'tis imposing a manifest Falshood instead of a Truth upon their belief. But before we drop the Business, we would take the liberty to put a few Questions to them, and that upon the bottom of some free Concessions of their own in the Declaration.

Since the Articles of Agreement between the *Bandanese* and them, are not fairly produc'd as they ought to be, and as those between the *English* and that People were, what Motives can the World have to believe any such thing, when the Carriage of the Natives towards them is duly consider'd? What Agreement, where nothing but War and Violence, and all the Effects of an implacable Hatred appears? The *Bandanese* were never easie nor quiet with them by their own acknowledgment, they were always either plotting, or practising some Hostilities or other. By all their Motions and Strugglings 'twas plain, that they labour'd under a Burthen that was horribly oppressive to them, and which they wanted but Force and Power to throw off. They were all the while like the Lion in the Net, tumbling and toiling about for Liberty, fretting and raving at the Bonds that held them, which if they could have gnawn asunder they would. Is there in all this any sign of a voluntary Submission, or a free Surrender? On the other hand, 'tis a sign, and a shrewd one too, that the *Bandanese* were either over-awed and terrified into a Compliance with them; or else that the *Dutch* carried it extreamly ill amongst them, to put them into this violent ferment. And to justifie this consequence, they may please to consider, that they behav'd themselves quite at another rate to the *English*. There was no plotting and caballing to cut them off, no Incivility was ever offer'd, nor an *Englishman* so much as affronted upon the Islands. We had all their Spice without any thing of difficulty or dispute, we planted our Ordnance there, built and fortified without controul. In short, there never was the least Feud or Discontent, and tho' our Religion were different, yet that Point was settled; and perhaps never did Christians and Mahometans live more amicably together. Now since we came in upon a good Foundation, and liv'd at this easie rate with the Natives, 'tis highly probable, that if they had stood upon the same just and fair bottom with us, they would have had as good Entertainment. Such Violences as were offer'd them, would have naturally follow'd upon an Usurpation of the Peoples Rights and Privileges; suppose such foregoing Injuries as those, and such Instances of Revenge as those, would be the genuine Consequences of them, amongst a People that had any share of Spirit, and were not fond of their Chains. And since these things did actually come to pass, we must believe that to be the Cause till a more just one is assign'd: However, if there were no Encroachment, there must be irregular Conduct in the Case, they violated the Laws of Justice and Good Manners amongst them; or else, why should they, more than we, be singled out for the Marks of all the Fury and flaming Indignation of that People? So that the Business still bears much to the same Point as before; for if there was an Agreement, it was by their own Concession violated over and over: But the very same People were just and punctual to the *English* for several Years together; never flinch'd from what they pretended to, never broke their Word, never cut and shuffled in any respect with us, wherefore we crave their pardon, if we conclude, that without sufficient Provocation the *Bandanese* would never have been false and cruel to them.

And certainly, they ought to produce very good Testimonies of the Agreeableness and Regularity of their Conversation amongst that People; for the Effects of their deadly Aversion to them are so apparent, that the World can't forbear resolving upon't, that the cause of it must be some very ill treatment. If it proceeded meerly from a cruel Humour, from a base and barbarous Disposition, let the

truth be told, that they may have the infamy of it; if 'twas a just Revenge, let our Neighbours the *Dutch* candidly acknowledge their own Misdoings: In short, it must be from one of these two Principles, unless they run to Notions of Sympathy and Antipathy, and say that the *Bandaneſe* have an unaccountable Aversion to them, as some People have to Cats.

There are some other Considerations that will very greatly add to the force of this Reasoning, if they are joyn'd with it, the Sence of which may be taken thus all together: That those Agreements with the *Bandaneſe* were divers times violated, and as often renew'd, that they came off and on again, and things were restor'd to the same Condition as before, after several Interruptions and Confusions. If we are talking here not of late Agreements for ordinary Trade, but the solemn Surrender of a Country, who has so much power over his Understanding, as to dispose it to believe these things? What, would that People with all the Indignation and Disdain imaginable, throw off an abhorr'd Yoke, and then tamely put it on again themselves? Did they groan under it as such an insupportable Burden, and make so many violent Efforts to get free; and when they had their Liberty, would they prostitute it again to a Power, which they all along reckon'd arbitrary and tyrannical? How many degrees beyond a common Madness must this be? They must certainly be bewitch'd, and there's no solving the Business without bringing in the Power of the Black Art to account for't.

As for the Business of Trade, 'tis possible they might do and undo the Bargain several times; tho' by the way we are clear in't, that the *Dutch* never had any more of that neither, than what they got by downright Compulsion. But that they should resign their Country, and for such Reasons (as they did) withdraw that Surrender, and then make a fresh one, and this two or three times over; is a thing that cramps the Understanding of a Man with so much difficulty and contradiction, that it must be pass'd off without any farther Notice. Now upon the whole, which is the injur'd Party, and who has most Reason to complain? The *Engliſh* were in a fair and legal manner possess'd of these Islands, (if at least the free and voluntary Surrender of the Inhabitants can make it so), and the *Dutch* by unjustifiable Fraud and Violence forc'd them out.

Had the Natives a Power to dispose of their own Country in that manner or no? If they had, the Declaration should have been suppress'd, because upon this supposition 'tis a Publick Defence of a notorious Piece of Injustice: If they had not, then some antecedent Obligations to the *Dutch* must hinder them; but the Declaration it self affirms, that all the Treaties were then broken off, and the *Bandaneſe* had quitted all Concerns with them for the space of eleven Years. Was there any Obligation then without a Treaty, or any Act of Injustice where there was no Obligation? And had there ever been an Obligation (which the others deny with all the Solemnity in the World), it had been cancell'd to all intents and purposes by the Breaches made by the *Dutch* themselves. For no People can be suppos'd to give themselves up to another for eternal Slaves, to be us'd well or ill at discretion, and have all their Fortune and Happiness depend entirely upon the capricious Humour of those they let in amongst them. Therefore if the *Bandaneſe* found themselves griev'd, they might seek Relief and Protection somewhere else; and if the *Dutch* broke the Original Contract, they forfeited their Interest in that People, and left them at liberty to dispose of themselves as they thought fit.

There is one thing more touch'd in the Declaration, which is by no means to be totally omitted; our Reputation is nearly concern'd in't, and to pass it off without Notice, might in some Peoples Judgments be esteem'd a tacite acknowledgment of the truth of the Charge. They say we animated the *Bandaneſe* in their Opposition and ill Designs, and blew up the rising Flame of Contention between the *Dutch* and them. That we assisted them with our Counsels, Purses, and Ammunition, and put them into a Condition to maintain a War for their undoing. This is a very untoward Character; tho' they well know, that they have not scrupled any thing of that kind to us many a time before this. There are so many ill Principles that go to the Constitution of an Incendiary, there's so much Vice, filthy Nature and Temper in it, that no Body can be too much concern'd to clear themselves from such an imputation. We are therefore obliged to say (and that with all imaginable assurance), that this is as true as 'twas, that the *Bandaneſe* surrendred their Country to them; as true as their Title to those Islands was just and good, and that the King of *England* gave them a Commission to seize all our Ships they found beyond the *Celebes*. The Charge ought to be particularly explain'd and made good, and not deliver'd thus at random, and in general terms.

When the *Bandaneſe* had deliver'd up their Islands into our hands, and made themselves equally the Subjects of our King with our selves, we did most certainly take them into our Protection, and furnish them with what was necessary both for their Support, Trade, and Defence, against all Powers that should pretend to invade them. This was the Tenour of our Agreement with them: And would any People in the World have acted otherwise, or have forborn a necessary Care and Provision for those that had entirely committed themselves to their keeping? But does this Action deserve to be branded with all those odious Characters of Treachery, Conspiracy, and Caballing against them? Is it the same thing to give the *Bandaneſe* the just Protection of *Engliſh* Subjects, and to set them upon the *Dutch* to cut their Throats? 'Tis true, they were their Enemies (and with good reason too): But what then? They were our Friends, and of the same Body with us, and we were not obliged to desert and turn them off, because the *Dutch* and they could not understand one another rightly.

But they have not taken the right end of the Argument, nor made the strongest Thrust, in urging this upon us. They should not have blam'd us for assisting the *Bandaneſe* after the Surrender, but for taking the Surrender it self at their hands. If there be any wrong done to the *Dutch*, it was in our accepting that Donation of the Island which they pretend to have been their Right: We had been scandalously weak and foolish, if we had not stood by them after we had made an Agreement with them. And if the stress of the matter be brought to rest here, the Controversie will quickly be decided in all those Minds that receive what we have offer'd for Matter of Fact, which it is as certainly as ever it was certain that the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* contended about the Isles of *Banda*.

We have now done, and said all that we think the Declaration deserves to have said to it: We shall only make one concluding stroke; which we must do to deal impartially by our selves and them. 'Tis to add the Relation of a certain Priest of *Poolaroon*, an Eye-witness to these Transactions, in which he gives, in a few Lines, his Sence of the Original of the Contests between the *Dutch* and the *Bandaneſe*. 'Twas given by him in the *Malayan* Tongue, and translated from thence into ours, by Mr. *Hayes*, our last Captain at that Island, before the fatal Conclusion of our Affairs there. The Priest seems to speak honestly and impartially on both sides, and we hope the World will not suspect any unfair dealing of ours in the Translation of it.

The Relation of the Priest of *Poolaroon*, touching the Beginnings and Occasions of Quarrels betwixt the *Dutch* and *Bandaneſes*. written in the *Malayan* Language with his own Hand, in a very fair *Arabick* Letter, and the Sence rendred to me in *Engliſh*, by Mr. *Rob. Hayes*.

THis is the beginning of Contentions betwixt the Hollanders *and the* Bandaneſes. *Two* Hollanders *ran from them, and turned* Slammes *or* Mahometans, *and in the Priests House at* Nero *were slain by three* Hollanders; *which in Revenge were slain by the Natives, who staid not there, but in the Fury slew other three* Hollanders. *This was ill done of them, to add a double Revenge. Soon after the General of the* Hollanders *came thither with thirteen Ships, and demanded Satisfaction for the Slaughter of his Country-men. The* Bandaneſes *offered Diet (that is, the wonted Satisfaction there used for Man-slaughter, in Money), for those last three. But the General answered, That he came not now to demand Satisfaction, but to make Peace and League with them, which was done. The next Year came another* Holland *General,* Peter Williamſon Verhuef, *with fifteen Ships into the Haven of* Nero, *and asked leave to set up a Fort at* Taniung Ratoo, *or* Ponit Ratoo, *which the* Bandaneſes *granted; but then he refused it, and demanded leave to erect a Fort in another place at* Taniung Minangis, *which they refused. But he coming before the Castle of* Nero, *with his Ship and Ordnance, terrified the Inhabitants, which fled away, and he possessed the Castle, and fortified there. Then did the* Bandaneſes *subtilly dissemble Friendship, and slew the General, and fifteen Captains, with others, about one hundred Men in all.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI

A Voyage to Surat, *in* India, *and* Jaſques, *in the Gulph of* Perſia; *ſet forth by the Company, with four new Ships; the* London *of* 800 *Tun, the* Hart *of* 500, *the* Roebuck *of* 300, *the* Eagle *of* 280. * *Captain* Andrew Shilling, *Chief Commander. Taken out of the Journal of Mr.* Rich. Swann, *Maſter of the* Roebuck.

* The ſame Perſon that perform'd the laſt Voyage to *Moha*. See the Index.

WE ſet ſail from *Tilbury Hope*, with this new Fleet, and all the way from the *Downs* to 8 Degr. N. Lat. we might have carried a top-Gallant-Sail, but hereabouts the Tornadoes began to blow upon us.

January, A. D. 1619. Jan. A. D. 1620.

In paſſing the Equinoctial the Winds and Current gave us ſome diſturbance, and obliged us to croſs it more to the Weſt ſide than we intended. 'Tis impoſſible upon this Element always to chuſe our own way; we are at the diſpoſe of the Winds, and can't help going where they command.

At the Bay of *Soldania*, beſides the uſual buſineſs of Refreſhment, we had a Work of another nature to do: We made here a ſolemn Publication of his Majeſty's Title to the Country, and erected his Mount in Token of it.

King James his Title proclaimed at Soldania.

Having paſſed the Cape of *Good Hope* a little way, we were horribly labour'd with the meeting the N. W. and S. E. Oceans; the Sea run ſo upon heaps, and was ruffled at that rate, that our Ships were put to the utmoſt trial of their Strength, to work their way through. We cut the Line a ſecond time, and brought the North Pole about the Horizon again; and here from 1 Degr. to 5 Degr. 32 Min. we were every Day hindred 11 or 12 Min. by a Southern Current; and this oppoſition of the Current laſted for four or five Days together.

March. After we had made ſix Degr. N. Lat. we ſaw for a great while (and that every Day) great numbers of Butter-flies, and ſeveral ſorts of Land Fowl, as Caſtrels, Quails, Martins, but which was pretty odd, no ſort of Sea Fowl at all.

We went away firſt for the Coaſt of *Dabul*: Here we ſtaid till our Men ſufficiently well refreſh'd and recover'd; and our two Ships deſigned for *Jaſques* were compleatly ready for that Voyage.

Come to Dabul.

When this was done, they went (as they were bound) for *Perſia*, and we with the other two (the *London* and the *Roebuck*) for *Swally* Road. We had not been long at this place, before we heard that the *Portugueze* had prepared for the Surpriſal of our Ships diſpatched for *Jaſques*; that they lay waiting for their coming, and would in all probability ſnap them, if ſome meaſures were not taken for their reſcue. Our only way was to go after them, and be their Deliverers our ſelves; for the Enemy might have been too hard for them with their great Galleons, and the *Hart* and *Eagle* (as ſwift at they were) not able to have made their eſcape from them.

December.

Go for Jaſques.

This was agreed and concluded on; and accordingly we ſet ſail from *Jaſques*, taking in our paſſage a *Portugueze* Prize laden with Dates and Raiſins, but principally with *Arabian* Horſes, which were tranſporting from *Muſcat* to *Chaul*.

December. As we proceeded farther upon this Deſign, we met our own Ships coming back to us in *India*, finding the ſtrength of the *Portugueſe* ſo conſiderable, that they dared not ſtand the brunt of an Encounter with them. But being now all met, we turned about again, imagining our united Force ſufficient to graple with theirs; and as they lay there to hinder and deſtroy our *Perſian* Trade, we were under an obligation to do our beſt to beat them away.

Fight with the Portugueze.

When we came up with them, we found their Fleet conſiſted of four Galleons, two Galleots, and about ten Frigats more lay attending them with Supplies of Men and Ammunition at the Eaſtern end of *Jaſques* Road. After the two Fleets had once ſeen one another, the Action quickly begun; we knew on both ſides that we did not meet there for a bare Interview, and to gaze upon each others Ships. The Fight continued nine Hours without intermiſſion, and perhaps had gone on as many more, had not the dark Night interpoſed and parted us. We can't be poſitive what Injury their Fleet ſuſtain'd with loſs of Men, only this we know, their Vice-Admiral dropp'd, and about 40 Men out of their *Admiral*, that is, *Portugueze*, for they never reckon *Moors* and *Indians* into the number of their Men, nor account it any Loſs to loſe them by thouſands. Their Admiral was certainly raked thro' and thro' with all our broad-ſides, and how the unweildy thing did to hold up her Head in that crazy condition to which ſhe was reduc'd, is ſomething ſtrange; but the Frigats lay by and were ready to aſſiſt in a time of extremity.

Our own Loſſes were leſs than could reaſonably have been hoped for in work ſo hot and tight as this was, and for ſo long together too. Our Rigging was pretty much damaged, but the Ships brought away their Carkaſſes ſound and in good caſe. We had three or four Arms broke, and one Skull beat in pieces with a Canron Shot, and a fragment of that Skull did almoſt as much miſchief as the Bullet it ſelf, by ſtriking out the Eye of another that ſtood near. But what was this to be the fruit of ſo long fighting, and how many batter'd Skulls and Carkaſſes would one rather have expected to have ſeen in that time?

Here was an Interval now of four or five Days, in which ſpace of time the *Portugueze* had many fair Opportunities to have made a ſecond Trial, but they had not yet quite forgot the firſt; the Winds blew fair and invited them to come down upon us; but they paſs'd off that Kindneſs, and deſired to be excuſed.

Thisſpare time we thought fit to improve as diligently as we could, and ſince we were not to fight, began to do buſineſs.

We made towards *Jaſques* Road, and landed the Companies Goods and Money there, which was the Prize that the *Portugueze* wanted and came for, and now to their mortification, ſtood by and ſaw ſafely deliver'd aſhoar. A few days after this, they had a Supply of Men and Ammunition from *Ormus*, and then were bold enough to advance towards us a ſecond time. But yet managed themſelves ſo with the advantage of the Wind, that they kept at a fair diſtance from us, and we with all our labouring could not (for a good while) bear up to them. Such ſudden contrary guſts of Wind would meet and drive us back when we attempted it, that ſome of our Blacks cried out the *Portugueze* had brought a Witch from *Ormus* to ſerve them with Wind; if 'twas ſo, the Charm expired by degrees, and the Wind would be commanded by that Gentleman no longer, for at laſt it ſerved our purpoſe, and brought us up to the Teeth of them. Yet after we were engaged, it calm'd all of a ſudden, and ſo two of our Ships that lay neareſt the Enemy were forced to bear the heavieſt burthen of the Action for ſome time; but by the unparallell'd Diligence and Reſolution of our Men, the other two that lay behind were brought into play, and fairly delivered their whole broad-ſides upon the *Portugueze* Galleons. And certainly had the Succeſs in all points been anſwerable to the Noble Heat and Courage of our Men, no part of that Fleet had ever ſeen *Ormus* or any other Port any more. They managed the Buſineſs with wonderful Bravery and Reſolution, went extravagantly high in courting a compleat Victory; but the *Portugueze* out-did them in Skill and Artful Conduct, and gave large Proofs of their good Abilities in that Days Service.

They land their Goods at Jaſques.

A ſecond Fight.

However it came to this iſſue, that they cut their Cables, and drove away with the Tide till they were out of our reach; their Skill was ſo great that they ſaw they muſt be ruined if they ſtaid there any longer, and therefore took that courſe for their Security. Nay, to make the greater haſt, their Frigats were employed to tow them along; and 'twas a pretty ſight to ſee thoſe huge Ships now drawn away all torn and mangled, with tatter'd

The Portugueze flie for't.

Sails and broken Masts, and all their Rigging in such a pickle, that a Day or two before were so finely trimmed with Flags and Pendants, and came flourishing on with their sets of Musick. 'Tis always the way of that People to come to a Sea-fight with us, with so much Presumption and insolent Security of Victory before-hand, and it ever fadges with them accordingly; for they know well enough they are always beaten, and never come on so proudly and scornfully, * but they go off again as poorly and disgracefully. But they will be Conquerours one way or other, if not in reality after a Battle, yet in imagination before it begins; tho' this is something an odd way of triumphing, and no People will be jealous of their Glory, nor envy them the Fame of such Victories as these.

* Witness Capt. *Best*, Capt. *Downton* and others for this.

Admiral *Shilling* dies of his Wounds, and is succeeded by Capt. *Kite*.

As for our selves this time, our Loss was greater than theirs, tho' we fairly had the Victory. Not that they killed us more Men, or spoiled us more Ships than we did them, for as to all these things we came off at a very cheap and easie rate. But our worthy Admiral, who expos'd himself to all Dangers as much as any common Sailor did, received a Wound in this Fight, of which he afterwards died; as his Life was Brave and Honourable, so his Death was Pious and most Christian like, which happening before we could get away from *Jasques*, we were forc'd to celebrate his Funeral there upon the spot.

Having dispatch'd all Affairs at *Jasques*, we set sail from thence for *Surat*, and as in our coming hither 'twas our fortune to take a *Portugueze* Prize, so we had the same Adventure in our returning back; she was no rich Ship at all, nor had any thing of lading, but entirely design'd for the War, and to guard the *Portugueze* Merchants from the *Mallabars*, and being capable of doing us some considerable Service, we dismissed her Company and detain'd her.

February. As soon as we came to *Surat*, we began to take in Goods apace. But here some Differences and Discontents arise, by the perverseness and ill humour of the Governour of *Ulpare*. We could not procure a Supply of Provisions for the Ships, nor Liberty for the free and unrestrain'd passage of Carts, with Goods forth and back ashore; by means of which no Cotton-Wool could come down to us, till we were pretty far on with a Lading. Had we stood still, and discover'd our selves fearful of attempting to redress these Grievances, the ill-minded Governour would have trampled yet farther upon us, and our Fleet might have been starv'd, as well as our Trade hinder'd. And therefore at once to set all these things to rights, we sent down a Ship to keep Guard upon a Junk belonging to the Mogul, and to prevent her taking in any more Lading, till we were satisfied, and had the usual Liberties allow'd us. This produc'd the desired effect, and the Governour of *Surat* taking the Cause into serious consideration, revok'd these injurious Orders, and gave it under his Hand, That all our Wants should be supplied, and the Burdens we complain'd of effectually removed.

March.

They set a Guard upon the *Mogul's* Junk.

So we were obliged to resolve upon the same Method with reference to the King of *Decan*. The Caffila that went to and from *Agra*, was robb'd by the *Decan* Army, and in order to the getting restitution made, 'twas determin'd, that the Ships of that Prince should be arrested where-ever we met them, and kept in safe Custody, till he had done us Justice. And the truth on't is, there's no doing amongst these People, without taking some such Courses with them sometimes, when their Actions are very unjust and extravagant: For whereas by this they are kept in due awe, and taught to observe some Decorum in their Carriage for the future; so by a total neglect of their Insolence, the Vice will grow and strengthen it self in them, and become so tyrannical and troublesome at last, that there will be no dealing with them, but in the way of a scandalous Submission, and base cringing to their Humour.

Decan ris the Caffila.

After this we took two Ships more from the *Portugueze*, one of which was considerable, and had a good Lading of Rice.

Fleet divided, *April*, *A. D.* 1621. *July.*

And now our Fleet parted Company, some going for *Achen* and *Bantam*; others (with more Company) for *Jasques* and the *Red Sea*; the rest of us (which were two Ships besides the Admiral) set sail for *England*, being also to put in upon the Coast of *Arabia* in our return. This we did at the Isle of *Mazira*, where we staid till the Fury of the Monson was a little over; the Admiral in the mean time lying at *Soar*, a Town seven Leagues within Cape *Rosalgate*.

Mazira has a very curious Bay, where you have clean Ground, a fast black ozy Sand, and may ride in what Depth you will, from five to twelve Fathom. You have a cold, hungry, healthful Air there, but a tumbling boisterous Sea for your Ships; fresh Water enough to be had out of the Pits, but not easie to get aboard, except at the stated Landing place. Provisions are scarce here, and there's nothing but a few Goats and Lambs to be had in truck for some of your Cannekeens.

Mazira.

There's a vast deal of difference between the Road of *Soar* and this of *Mazira*; for as this is cold and stormy, and the Temper of the Air such, that a Man eats with an Appetite, so at *Soar* 'tis always calm and clear, the Air hot and sultry, and whatever inclination it gives to liberal Drinking, it allows little or none to Eating.

Soar and *Mazira*.

From hence we sail'd away for the Bay of *Soldania*, our stated place both for Refreshment and Intelligence too: For here of course we hide Letters for one another, containing Accounts of our Voyages and Affairs; these, when they are written, we bury in some cunning places known and agreed upon amongst our selves. Both these necessary Works we did at this place; which done, we set sail for *England*, having an easie and safe Voyage on't, till we came to an Anchor in the *Downs*.

June. *A. D.* 1621.

A short Account of the Passages and Ways of Communication between Muscovy *and* Persia, *with some other things relating to the Trade of these Countries. Taken out of a Letter directed to the* East-India *Company, from Mr.* Hobbs, *one of their Factors in* Persia.

Dated from *Mina*, *December* the 13th, *A. D.* 1620.

THis Person it seems made a Journey from the Capital City of the one of these great Empires to that of the other; from *Musco* to *Spahawn*. And however it came about it took up full five Months, before he could accomplish it; tho' he reckons the beginning of his Journey from *Teraslane* in *Muscovy*, and not from *Musco* it self. He says indeed that it may be done in much less time than this, perhaps in 11 or 12 Weeks with ease, if there be no considerable Lets in the way; but what those Lets are, he does not particularly describe, and therefore 'tis to no purpose to guess at them. But he mentions three ways of Communication between *Muscovy* and *Persia*, which may be worth the Merchants while to take notice of. The first is to set out from *Teraslane*, and so come down to *Astracan*, at the Mouth of the *Volga*, from thence by Water into some part of *Turkie*, bordering upon the *Caspian* Sea, where the *Grand Seignior's* Convoy is to be gotten for as far as *Derbent* and *Shomakee*; from thence to go with the *Caffila* for *Ardenil* and *Casbin*, and so as they please afterwards to *Spahawn*. The next way is to take the first Passage that can be gotten at *Astracan*, and so cross the *Caspian* for *Leygoints*, which is a League from *Legen*, and seven from *Reshe* a place remarkable for the Silk Trade: This he says may be done in 18 or 20 Days, and then from *Reshe* to *Spahawn*, will be but 16 Days Journey. He prefers this as the shortest and easiest Passage, and the way too is always open from *Astracan* in the Months of *July*, *August*, and *September*. But then here must be the lucky hit of a favourable Wind for passing the *Caspian*; and besides 'tis dull sailing with those Vessels of *Guilan*, with which he proposes to perform it; for they use nothing of

Ways of passing from *Muscovy* to *Persia*.

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a Compaſs, but direct their Courſe altogether by the Aſſiſtance of the *Luminaries*, and then in dark, cloudy weather, when they can't appear, What becomes of the Voyage? The third Method is a Project for the ſpeedieſt Conveyance of Letters, between *Muſco* and *Spahawn*. He ſays they muſt be brought by the *Czar*'s Poſt as far as *Aſtracan*, from whence they may go either by Land or Sea to *Spahawn*; if by the former, then to be diſpatched immediately to the Governour of *Shomakee*, and ſo be put up in his Male, if by the latter, then to go to *Guilan*, and ſo to *Reſht*, and be ſent away by the Governour of that place to the *Engliſh* at *Spahawn*.

Trade in those parts.

After this we have ſome ſhort Accounts of matters of Trade. The great Buſineſs begins at *Aſtracan*, at the arrival of the Boats, which is in *June*; then the *Perſians* bring in their Dyed Silks, Dorogoes, Calicoes, and other *Perſian* Stuffs, which they ſell by retail, and the way of Barter.

The Commodities they return are Cloth, Sables, Martens, Red Hides, Horſe-Skins, old *Ruſſian* Money, which they buy at 44 and 46*d. per* Roble for exchange. And the ſame Commodities are tranſported by the *Ruſſians* too, tho' they make very little of it; and Mr. *Hobbs* affirms, that our Trade well followed in thoſe parts will entirely overthrow theirs.

In his Paſſage upon the *Volga*, he ſaw their way of taking the Sturgeons, with which that famous River abounds. They pail in the River from Bank to Bank, and ſo effectually ſtop up the Fiſhes way, that they can't avoid falling into their Weers.

Caviare and Iinglaſs.

The Caviare is made of the Row of that Fiſh, laid in Salt for 14 or 15 Days; then they waſh all the Salt clean off, and put up the Rows (thus prepar'd) with the Fat of the ſame. The very fat Sturgeons have a yellow Row, which they put up as it is without any farther preparation; but this he ſays utterly ſpoils all the reſt it lies near, and much prejudices the Salt of the Caviare at the Markets. The Iſſinglaſs is made of a certain String taken out of the Back of the Sturgeon.

Places for Silk.

As for the Great Places for the Silk Trade, he tells us they lie moſt of them near the *Caſpian* Sea. There's *Reſht*, *Peomin*, *Sheft*, and *Leygon*, in the Province of *Guilan*, the fartheſt of which is not more than eight Leagues from the Ports.

At theſe places the King of *Perſia*'s Silk is peculiarly made; but then beſides theſe, in *Mazendroan* is a Plantation for the ſame Commodity, which furniſhes a good Quantity annually. Upon the whole he urges how conveniently theſe places lie, for the eaſie tranſportation of Silk into *Muſcovy*. Here they may be ſhipp'd without any farther trouble upon the *Caſpian*, and ſo brought up the *Volga* as far as we pleaſe, if Liberty be but procured from the *Czar* for that purpoſe. And how much there is of facility and ſhortneſs in this way beyond the common method of carrying them three Miles Journey by Land before they reach the Port, there needs no Light to diſcover. Beſides that it is moſt certain that a great deal of Money, as well as Pains is ſaved by this Compendium, ſince the way that is the moſt tedious and troubleſome, is always, and muſt be, the moſt chargeable too.

Mr *Hobbs* for a Concluſion tells us, that our *Perſian* Trade (then in its Infancy) had ſeveral Enemies plotting againſt it to make it as ſhort liv'd as poſſible; the *Turks*, *Arabs*, *Armenians*, and *Portugueze*, the latter of which were as diligent to defame and blaſt the Reputation of the Nation, as to undermine its Trade. But theſe are no new nor ſtrange things; all ſorts of Enemies will hinder a Peoples thriving if they can, but very rude and ill bred ones will rail and rave in to the bargain.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An Account of ſome things Hiſtorical and Civil, relating to the great Empire of Japan, *taken out of ſome later Letters of Mr.* Richard Cock, Engliſh *Factor at* * Firando, *and Mr* Arthur Hatch *Miniſter, who alſo lived in the Country ſome time.*

* Mr *Cock*'s Letter bore date, *Decem.* 31. *A. D.* 1622. Mr. *Hatch*'s *Nov.* 25, *A. D* 1623.

IN ſome former Accounts of the Affairs of this Country, we had intelligence of the diſmal Stirs and Convulſions, Wars and Perſecutions with which it was oppreſſed. The genuine Heir of this vaſt Empire was ſtrugling for his Right, and the Uſurper (poſſeſs'd of the Throne) endeavouring with all his Power to overturn him.

* See Mr. *Cock*'s former Letters.

* How that diſpute ended between thoſe two contending Parties, was there related; but the other and the latter parts of the Story of the Country (as far as it went while our *Engliſhmen* were there) are now to come in. *Ogoſho-ſamma* having the good Fortune to get the better of the Young Prince, and ſee him (tho' not ſecurely laid up in a Priſon under Ground, yet) driven to fly to ſome obſcure corners for ſhelter; returned with a great deal of Pomp and Triumph to *Surunga*. Here he bleſs'd his kind Deliverers, the Idols of Wood and Stone; which he believed to have given him this mighty Succeſs, becauſe he had been zealous in perſecuting the Chriſtians. But theſe Triumphs laſted not long, and the vain glorious Emperour (the ſucceeding Year) was conquered himſelf by a more powerful and inexorable Adverſary. *Ogoſho-ſamma* died; and of many Sons which he left behind him, choſe out perhaps the unworthieſt for his Succeſſour. His Eldeſt Son (a Prince of great Valour) was quite put by, by his Special Command; the main Reaſon of which was, that he had loſt his Noſe by the Foul-Diſeaſe.

* This was he that rais'd that direful Perſecution, an Account of which is given in Mr. *Cock*'s other Letters before.

The * New Prince had not enjoy'd his Crown many Years, before he was diſturb'd by one of the horrideſt Conſpiracies that ever was form'd in that Country. No leſs than nine of the Vice-Kings, and thoſe the richeſt, and ſtrongeſt, and beſt Souldiers in the Empire, joyn'd their Strength and Counſels together to dethrone him; and managed their Buſineſs ſo cunningly too, that the Emperor could never diſcover the Plot, till he found it too ripe and well grown to bear the common Methods of Suppreſſion. The Party was too formidable, and the Men too great to be threatned and hector'd like a Company of ordinary Rebels; and they had ſo much force of their ſide too, that 'twas very doubtful whether they could be beaten into their Duty and Allegiance again or no. Upon this Account (they tell us) the Emperor *Shonga-Samma* was enclined rather to uſe gentle Methods, and 'twas thought he would ſooner compound with them, than endeavour to reduce them by force of Arms. All or moſt of theſe petty Kings were Men of vaſt Revenues, and if they had a mind to rebel, had Money enough to bear them out in't. The Head of them (who was alſo the Emperors Kins-man) was reckon'd worth 200 *Mangoca's* of Rice, *per Ann.* which one of our *Engliſh* Men computed at 1875000 pound Sterling; and ſeveral others of them not much leſs. [The *Mangoca* contains 10000 Goca's, each Goca is 100 Ganta's, and every Ganta about three Ale Pints *Engliſh* Meaſure.] Of theſe Petty or Vice-Kings, there are in all about 65 ſmall Princes if compar'd with the Great Emperor their Sovereign, but conſiderable enough if conſider'd with reſpect to the State and Royalty they themſelves live in.

A great Conſpiracy in *Japan*.

The Eſtates of the *Japoneſe* Princes in Rice.

'Tis a Policy always practiſed by the Emperours to keep either theſe Princes themſelves, or ſome of their neareſt Relations at Court. The deſign of this is, to have always a Security for their Fidelity and Obedience; for if they rebel, their Friends at Court are immediately commanded to cut their Bellies, which nothing can poſſibly prevent, but their return to their Duty, and Submiſſion to the Emperor's Mercy. Or if the Prince himſelf remain at Court, and his Vaſſals in the mean time (tho' without his Knowledge or Inſtigation) take up Arms, the Emperor bids him be his own Executioner, and will make him be ſo, unleſs he preſently write to his Mutineers and prevail with them to be quiet again. But many Examples

Way to prevent Treaſons and Rebellions.

have

have shewn, that this piece of Policy is not so effectual a Guard upon the Emperor's Quiet and Repose, as it might be imagin'd it would be; witness particularly that desperate Conspiracy just now mention'd.

Another Policy.

The Emperors do endeavour also by another Method to secure themselves and their State in Peace, and that is, by drawing off as much as they can from the Power and Riches of these inferiour Princes. As they are many of them very rich, so their Sovereigns take all the Care they can, they don't grow too fast. When their Fleeces are large and heavy, they deliver them from the Burden, and shear them well by Taxes and Tributes, and a multitude of Duties. They make them build Castles and Fortifications, all which are to serve the Emperor, but their own must be neglected, and they are not suffer'd (at least without a great deal of suspicion) any way to fortifie themselves. Then the Custom of the Country is such, that all the Princes, and Great Men must make very large and noble Presents to the Emperor, and that frequently too; by which means one wou'd think their Coffers should be pretty well drein'd, and they themselves kept very low and short of Money; unless extraordinary Frugality otherways (a Vertue the *Japoneſe* Nobility are little addicted to) prevented that inconvenience. Their Humour being brave and generous, they present their Prince at an extravagant rate, and even contend to outdoe one another in the Costliness and Magnificence of their Gifts. But 'tis all so much just thrown away, for there's nothing of return or requital on the Emperor's part; while they load him with Silver, Gold, and the most precious Commodities imaginable, he gives them perhaps a Kerrimoon, or Coat, which Mark of his Favour and Acceptance, is all their Reward. This is indeed the direct way to be very rich himself, and to make them very poor, both which it seems are equally the Emperor of *Japan*'s Design; tho' notwithstanding all these Artifices, he cannot so easily accomplish the latter neither.

The Nobility give rich Gifts to the Emperor.

The Riches of the Emperor.

'Tis said of this Prince, that not only his Coffers, but much larger Receptacles than they, are fill'd with Gold and Silver; that he has whole Storehouses cram'd with Coyn and Bullion, and amongst the rest some Balls of massy Gold, of that weight and magnitude, that fifteen or sixteen Men are scarce able to bear one of them: These were brought to Court from the famous Castle of *Ozaca*.

His Privy Council.

The Emperor's Privy Council consists of no more than five Members, Men for their Wisdom, Fidelity, Policy, and Vigilance, pick'd out of all Princes of the Empire, and are commonly as acute and dextrous in managing State-Affairs, as the best States-men in Christendom can shew. No Cause comes before the Emperor, but what these approve of, for none either speaks or presents a Petition himself; the Business, whatever it be, is brought to and left with them, and it is wholly in their power either to promote it, or keep it for ever from the Emperor's knowledge.

Upon this account it seems, that this Prince's Affairs and State, stand upon a very tickliſh uncertain bottom, and whatever other good Politicks the *Japoneſe* have, this Piece appears to be none of the best and wisest: For all rests upon the Foundation of the Honesty and Prudence of five Men, who may easilier be suppos'd to be deceiv'd, or tainted with Disloyal Principles, than 500, or 50: A Plot lies safer in the Breasts of a small number, than a great one; the Advice of many wise Men is preferrable to that of a few, and in the multitude of Counsellors there is certainly most safety. But it seems they think otherwise in *Japan*.

Large Castles.

The most stately Castles of this Country, (at least those known to our Travellers) are those of *Ozaca*, *Suronga*, *Eddo*, *Crates*, and *Falcata*, of all which that of *Ozaca* is, or was the most considerable, both for its Largeness, Strength, Riches, and magnificent Buildings. Those of *Crates* and *Falcata* are each two Miles in circumference, and both (as well as the rest) well walled and moated, and furnished with a large Storehouse of Rice. The principal Nobility of the Empire have Houses within these Castle Walls, whither they retire, either at their own, or the Emperor's pleasure.

A fine Wood.

At *Falcata* there is a Wood of Pines about three Mile square, which is all Summer-long swept and kept so clean and neat, that you shall hardly see a Twig, Bough, or Leaf, any where under the Trees; and then all the Pines stand so close together, that a Man may refresh himself there in the hottest Weather at all Hours of the Day, without any offence from the Sun's Beams. In the Center of the Grove stands a stately Temple most richly adorn'd, with gilded Images, and Varieties of fine carved Works.

Printing and Alphabets.

The *Japoneſe* (besides the Art of Writing), have that also of Printing amongst them, and for how many Ages no Body can tell. They have seven several Alphabets, and in each of them 48 Letters, and yet with all these they can't truly write or pronounce many of our *European* Names. There are some Letters they cannot get the true pronunciation of, as *H*, *B*, *T*, and some others; as the *Chineſe* (they say) if their Lives lay on't, cannot truly pronounce *D*.

Custom of altering their Names.

They have an odd Custom amongst them of altering their Names, in which they seem to differ from the Practice of all Nations of the World. Every Person has the Liberty of changing his Name three times, in Childhood, in Riper Years, and in Old Age: But some do it oftner, quit their old Names, and assume new ones as they see fit, in which case they generally Complement some petty King or Nobleman, with whom they are in Favour, by taking the same Name.

Solemn Days.

The *Japoneſe* observe no constant stated Sabbath, but several Feast-days, according to the Moon, as the 1st, the 15th, the 28th: On these Days they go to Church, visit the Sepulchres of the Dead, and use abundance of apish ridiculous Ceremonies.

The 9th Day of the Moon, throughout the whole Year, they hold accurſed, and therefore they won't undertake or begin any Work of consequence that Day. They observe a very strict Fast on that Day of the Month on which their Father or Mother died; and as much as they love, and as heartily as they eat Fleſh of other Days, they won't touch any sort of Animal Food on that mournful Day.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Voyage perform'd by Mr. Ralph Fitch, *Merchant of* London, *to* Ormus, *and from thence through the whole* East-Indies. *Written by himself.*

A. D. 1583.

I Set sail *A. D.* 1583, in the good Ship the *Tyger* of *London*, set forth at the principal Charges of the Worshipful Sir *Edward Osborn*, Kt. and Mr. *Richard Staper*, Merchants and Citizens of the said place, in Company with Mr. *John Newberry*, Merchant, and some other *Engliſh-men*.

Tripoly.

Being come to *Tripoly*, in *Syria*, after some stay there,

Aleppo.

we took the way for *Aleppo*, which we went in seven Days, with the Caravan.

Birra.

From thence (having good Company) we travell'd to *Birra*, which is two Days and half's Journey with Camels; it is a little Town, but very well serv'd with all sorts of Provision, and the River *Euphrates* runs just by the Walls of it. Here we bought a Boat, and agreed with some Watermen to carry us along the River, intending to go for *Babylon*. These Boats are and can be but for one single Voyage, because the Stream runs so quick downwards, that there's no returning that way again. And therefore when we come to a little Town called *Felugia*, we always sell our Boat, and for a very small matter too; for that which costs us 50 at *Birra*, we put off again for 7 or 8 at *Felugia*.

Felugia, where they sell their Boats in the way to *Babylon*.

It is not safe to go with one Boat alone, but to have another (at least) in Company for a Relief, in case of a Distress, that may happen: For if the Boat breaks (which is no difficult thing to suppose), the Passengers will find it a very hard matter to save themselves and their Goods from the thievish *Arabians*, that are always waiting for Prey

Prey along the Banks of the River. And for the same Reason in the Night-time, when the Boats are made fast, 'tis highly necessary to keep a strict Watch, without which a Company is easily surpriz'd by those diligent and wakeful Robbers. They come swimming about the Boats and fetch off the Goods with a deal of Art and Subtlety; to prevent which, there's nothing better than to be well furnish'd with Guns (which they stand in great awe of) provided you keep awake to use them.

Watching against the Thieves.

It is sixteen Days Journey from *Birra* to *Felugia*, and as you pass along the *Euphrates* thitherwards, there are divers places where you pay Custom to a certain Prince of the *Arabs*, that is Lord of a great Tract of Ground thereabout, and has divers Villages upon the River.

Felugia, where you unlade your Goods from *Birra*, is a little Village, from whence you go in a Day to *Babylon*. This is a Town of no very great Dimensions, but of great Trade, and mighty populous; 'tis in the high Road to *Persia*, *Turkey*, and *Arabia*; and from thence Caravans set out for these and several other places. There come good store of Provisions hither down the River *Tygris* from *Armenia*; they bring them upon Rafts made of Goat-skins, blown full of Wind, and so Boards laid over them, upon which their Goods are laid; then when they have unladed at *Babylon*, they open their Skins, and carry them home pack'd up upon Camels, to serve another time.

Babylon.

Supply of Provisions.

Opposite to *Babylon* stands a very fair Village, from whence you pass to the Town upon a long Bridge of Boats, which is held by a great Iron Chain fastned on either side the River. When any Boats are to pass up or down the River, they remove some of the Boats out of the Line, and so make a Gap for them, which they afterwards close up again as before.

A Bridge of Boats.

The old Tower of *Babel* stood on this side the *Tygris* toward *Arabia*, about seven or eight Miles from the Town, upon a large and open Plain betwixt that River and *Euphrates*. The Interpretation of the Name is very visible all about it, in the confus'd and ruinous heaps that appear there; it lies like a little Mountain, without form or shape; it was made of Bricks dried in the Sun, and certain Canes and Leaves of the Palm-Tree laid between the Bricks. There's nothing of any entrance or passage into it to be seen now, the falling Ruines having stopt up all that long ago.

Tower of Babel.

Travelling along the *Euphrates*, about two Days Journey from *Babylon*, we came to a place call'd *Ait*, in a Field near which is a mighty Chasm in the Earth, from whence there is a continued Eructation of Smoke and boiling Pitch, the Torrents of which run abroad into the neighbouring Plain to a considerable distance. The *Moors* call this the Mouth of Hell; but for all that, the Country People use the Pitch that boyls out of it, without any fear or scruple; they daub their Boats with it two or three Inches thick, and find it secures them admirably well from the Water.

Boiling Pitch burnt out of the Earth.

When the *Tygris* is well replenish'd with Water, you may go from *Babylon* to *Bassora* in eight or nine Days, otherwise the passage will be longer. *Bassora* was formerly subject to the *Arabians*, but now to the *Turk*, tho' there are many of the *Bassorians* which all that Power cannot subdue, nor drive out of their Strong-holds in the Isles of the *Euphrates*. They are a Thievish Vagabond sort of People, having no fix'd and settled Dwellings, but roving up and down from one place to another, 'tis probable, where they have most opportunity to steal. They wear long blue Gowns; and their Wives have their Ears and Noses full of Silver and Copper Rings, as others of this latter also about their Legs. The Town stands near the *Persian* Gulf, and has the advantage of a great Trade of Spices and Drugs that come from *Ormus*. There's also great store of Wheat, Rice, and Dates, growing thereabours, with which they serve *Babylon*, *Ormus*, and all the parts of *India*.

Bassora.

The Vessels that use to go from *Bassora* to *Ormus*, are many of them very slight and ill-made things, and leak Water abundantly. They are made of Boards fastned togther with a kind of Thread made of the Husk of the Coco, and certain Canes, or Straw-leaves sowed upon the Seams of the Boards, which is the cause they let in the Water so.

In one of these ungainly Ships we sail'd from *Bassora* to *Ormus*, passing many Islands; and amongst the rest the Isle *Baharem*, so much celebrated for the fine Orient Pearl.

* An Account of *Ormus*, as much as this Author gives of it, you have before in Mr. *Sanders*'s Voyage.

The King of *Ormus* (at this time) was a *Moor*, chosen by the *Portugueze*, and altogether govern'd by them. The Women of this place are some of the most extravagant perhaps in the whole Eastern World, for the gaudiness and multitude of their Ornaments. All parts of them almost, are beset with Jewels, Rings, or Locks of Gold and Silver; their Noses, Ears, Necks, Arms, and Legs; and besides all (as if the other was not enough), a long Bar of Gold hanging on one side of their Noses. Their Ears are so extended and widened, with the weight of the things they hang in them, that a Man may thrust three of his Fingers into them. In short, they are very valuable Creatures as they are dress'd, and half as much Vertue and Goodness as they have Gold and Silver about them wou'd make them very excellent indeed.

This place prov'd very unfortunate to us; for here quickly after our arrival we were seiz'd by the *Portugueze*, and sent Prisoners for *Goa* to the Vice-Roy there. In this Voyage we pass'd by *Diu*, *Daman*, *Chaul*, and other places on the Coast of *India* belonging to the *Portugueze*.

Made Prisoners by the *Portugueze*.

Chaul is as it were two Towns, one belonging to the *Portugueze*, the other to the *Moors*. That of the *Portugueze* is nearest the Sea, commands the Bay, and is walled about: A little above that stands the *Moors* Town, govern'd by a King of their own. Here's vast Traffick for all sorts of Spices, Silks, Drugs, Sandals, Elephants Teeth, *China*-Work, and Sugar made of the Nut * *Gagare*.

Trade at *Chaul*.

* The Coco.

The most Trade indeed for Corn and Rice in these parts, is at *Daman*, *Balaim*, and *Tana*; which three places are upon the Coast between *Diu* and *Chaul*; but 'tis to this latter that the greatest number of Ships come from *Ormus*, the *Red Sea*, and all parts of *India*.

We came at last to * *Goa*, the place of our intended Misery and Imprisonment. Here is the great Rendezvous of the *Portugueze* Nation, their best Strength both for Men and Ships, and the place where a Man may see a fresh Fleet of them every Year. They come for the most part in *September*, and having staid forty or fifty Days, go then to *Cochin*, where they lade their Pepper for *Portugal*. The Town stands in the Dominions of an *Indian* Prince who lies up in the Country six or seven Days Journey, and his chief City is *Bisapour*.

* You have a Description of this Town in Mr. *Sanders*'s Voyage.

At our arrival there, we were examin'd before the Justice, and because they could prove nothing upon us, and were resolv'd to make us guilty of some Crime or other, they made Spies of us, and so sent us to Prison. And in that Condition we continued for about a Month, when the favour was granted us of coming out, and being only Prisoners at large in the Town, upon the provision of good Sureties. These a certain *English* Jesuit was so kind as to look out for us, who being bound we came out, and paid them in our Money (the Sum of 2140 Duckers) to preserve them harmless. But five Months being now spent, and the *Portugueze* able to prove nothing against us, we demanded our Liberty, and the Repayment of the Money from the Sureties. But these honest Men, instead of refunding, demanded more Money of us, when we address'd the Vice-Roy, and moved to have Justice done us. In this Case, all our Comfort was a very sharp and threatning Answer, That they had not done with us yet; they should find out other things against us, and would sift us after a severer manner before 'twas long: That is, they would put us into the Inquisition, where any thing may be found out against any Man, and all Men (especially those that have Money) are throughly sifted indeed. Finding therefore this to be the Case, and being told, that we shou'd certainly have the Strappado in a little time, we resolv'd to avoid all these Mischiefs by running away. This Design we accordingly put in execution, and being got over the River, we proceeded in a very uncertain and dangerous sort of Ramble, neither knowing the way our selves, nor daring to trust any Guide to shew us.

November. *A. D.* 1584.

They make their escape. April, *A. D.* 1585.

The first Town we came to was *Bellargan*, where there's a great Market kept for Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, and other precious Stones.

Bellargan.

From hence we went to *Bisapour*, a very large Town, and as rich as large; the Houses high, fair, and built of Stone. The Inhabitants are mostly Idolaters, and their Idols (which are very numerous) standing about in the Woods, of as many Forms and Shapes, as the Beasts and Fowl that dwell there.

Bisapour.

Golconda (which we visited next) is a fine agreeable Town, the Houses built of Brick and Timber; it has very good fresh Water, and will entertain you with Varieties of pleasant Fruits. The Inhabitants, both Men and Women, wear only a Cloth bound about their middles, which as the Custom of their Country makes decent, so the Heat of the Climate renders as convenient. This Country, *Bisapour*, and *Decan*, are the most famous for plenty of Diamonds of the Old Water. All along this Continent the Land is very good and fruitful.

Golconda.

From *Golconda* we went to *Servidore*, the King of which has the Title of *The King of Bread*; and the Fineness and Fertility of his Country will allow it him. The Houses

Servidore.

of

of the Town are all thatch'd and built of Lome, too mean by far for the Character of the Noble Region they ſtand in. The Inhabitants are a mixture of Moors and Gentiles, but the Religion of both is much the ſame.

Barrampore. The next places we came at were *Bellapore*, and *Barrampore*. This latter Town is built much after the ſame manner with *Servidore*; but both it and the Country about it are very populous.

In their Winter, which is in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, there's no paſſing the Streets but with Horſes, the Waters be ſo high.

They make here great ſtore of Cotton Cloth, and Painted Cloth of Cotton Wool, with which they ſupply other parts, and are themſelves as plentifully ſupplied by Nature with vaſt Quantities of Corn and Rice. Their Money is a thick round piece of Silver, of the Value of 20 *d.*

They marry Boys and Girls of ſix or eight Years old together, and make them conſummate the Marriage by lying together at ten. The Reaſon they give for this, is, becauſe if a Man happens to die, his Wife is obliged by the Cuſtom of the Country to burn her ſelf at his Funeral, and ſo both the Parents go away together: Now if they leave any young Children behind them, they reckon they are expos'd to all the Hazards and Difficulties of the World, having neither Father nor Mother to take care of them. But now by theſe Marriages they ſee their Children provided for in their own Life-time, here's a Father or a Mother-in-Law (if not both) provided againſt a time of neceſſity, ſo that if the Natural Parents die, there are ſome others left in their room and place to take care of the Children. Theſe young Brides and Bridegrooms are carried through the Streets on Horſeback very finely trimm'd, with Muſick and Dancing before them, to make up the Solemnity, after which they fall to Banquetting, and between that and Dancing, ſpend the reſt of the Night.

From hence we proſecuted our Journey into the Country of the Great Mogul, through the beſt part of which we paſs'd *; and at *Fetipore* I parted with my *Engliſh* Company: Mr. *Newberry* being bound for *Labor*, and from thence for *Perſia* and *Conſtantinople*; and Mr. *Leeds* the Jeweller being entred into the Service of the Great Mogul, who gave him a Houſe, Horſe, Slaves, and beſides a good Salary. Thus they diſpos'd of themſelves; and I for my part went away for *Sattagam* in *Bengala*, in the Company of 180 Boats loaden with Salt, Opium, Lead, Carpets, and divers other Commodities, down the River *Jemini*, which runs into the *Ganges* at a certain place call'd *Prague*.

* We omit his Journal of his Travels through this Country, ſince it has nothing but what has been ob ſerv'd before.

The Country adjacent abounds with Partridge, Swans, Geeſe, Cranes, Turtle-Doves, Tigers, and a worſe ſort of Beaſts than they; a parcel of idle Mendicants, lazy begging Fellows, that wou'd be reckon'd (and are eſteem'd) Religious Men, and get a good Living by the pious Fraud. To rivet this Notion into the Peoples Minds more firmly, under the pretext of Religious Mortification, they abandon all natural and neceſſary Care of their own Bodies. One of them which I ſaw, was an abſolute Monſter, and one might well have queſtion'd, whether he was of the Human Kind or no. He was quite naked, and affected to be ſo, his Beard was vaſtly long, and with the Hair of his Head he cover'd the obſcene parts. The Nails of ſome of his Fingers were full two Inches in length, and if he lived, muſt grow to be five times as long (for he would ſuffer nothing to be taken from him) and by that time, with thoſe Talons, he would be able to diſpute his Living with the Tigres. He would not ſpeak a word to any that ask'd him, but he had them by him, that did both beg and anſwer Queſtions for him; all that he did himſelf, was only to lay his Hand upon his Breaſt, and bow his Body a little. The common People have a mighty Veneration for theſe ſort of Men, which are Saints in their eſteem, as any thing indeed that plays the Buffoon, that looks ſourly and demurely, or rough and horrid, very eaſily gets that Character amongſt them: A barbarous Countenance, overgrown Nails, and long ſhaggy Hair, does better than a good Stock of Piety and Vertue.

Indian Mendicants.

But to leave them; the Country along the *Ganges*, from *Prague*, is univerſally fruitful and populous, and has the Bleſſing of exceeding ſweet and pleaſant Water. The Inhabitants of theſe parts, for the moſt part, keep their Faces very cloſe ſhaven, but the Hair of their Heads very long, except ſome which be ſhaven all round the Crown, on which part alone the Hair is entirely preſerved.

Bannaras. The next Town we came at was *Bannaras*, a large place, and of great Trade for Cotton Cloth, and Saſhes for the Moors. The Superſtition and Idolatry of the *Indians*, is here at the heighth; here they have the greateſt Numbers and Varieties of Images, and the Ceremonies of the Bramens are the moſt nicely obſerv'd and practis'd: That is, not only juſt at this particular place, but this part of the Country along the Banks of the *Ganges*, which celebrated River is conſtantly viſited by multitudes of devout Pilgrims and Travellers. And this Town of *Bannaras*, for its ſhare, receives vaſt numbers of them, that come to waſh and pray, and perform their other accuſtom'd Rites in the River. They go into the Water very early in the Morning, by Break of Day, if not before. By the River's ſide there ſit ſeveral old Bramens at their Devotion, which give the People that paſs by them three or four Straws, which they take and hold between their Fingers when they waſh. Others of theſe Prieſts mark the devout People in the Foreheads; for which piece of Service they have a Largeſs in Rice, Barley, or Money, given them when the others come out of the Water. When they are in, they waſh themſelves all over, and pray; they lade up Water with both hands, and turn themſelves about and then drink, and this they repeat three times.

The Religious Ceremonies of the Indians, at the River Ganges.

After theſe Ceremonies in the Water, they go and make their Offerings to the Idols, at which time the old Prieſts mutter certain Prayers, which they believe to be a moſt effectual Conſecration of their Sacrifices. Some of them will waſh a place upon the Earth that is their full length, and then lie down and pray, with their Arms and Legs extended; after which they riſe up and lie down, and kiſs the Ground ſeveral times ſucceſſively, and every time they do it, they make a Score on the Ground with their Finger, to know when their Meaſure is fill'd up.

Others of them perform moſt of their Religious Buſineſſes over certain Pots, to the number of fifteen, or ſixteen ſmall and great, in which they make ſome odd mixtures (what they know beſt) and ring a little Bell every time they put the things together. They make a Watry Circle about the Pots, and utter ſeveral Prayers over them; and when all this is finiſhed, they go away to the Images, and lay their Offerings at their Feet like the reſt.

There's abundance of fair and handſome Houſes erected upon the Banks of the River, all of which are repleniſh'd with thoſe Images which theſe poor People pay their Devotion ſo ſuperſtitiouſly to. Amongſt the reſt there's a particular ſort of Image (which they call *Ada*) ſtanding up and down in ſeveral places, and a deform'd Figure it is, having four Hands with great ugly Claws. Before this (as well as the others), they pour out Water upon great carved Stones, and throw thereupon Rice, Wheat, Barly, and ſome other things.

Idol Ada.

They have moreover a great place built of Stone, made like a Well, with Steps to go down, the Water of which is very foul and putrid, and that by reaſon of the great Quantities of Herbs and Flowers, which all the Votaries that come thither caſt into it, and lie ſtinking and corrupting there. They reckon it a mighty Purification to waſh themſelves in this naſty Well; for they ſay, the Deity himſelf once waſh'd there, and made it holy. Upon this account there's always abundance of People crowding into it, and picking up the Sand that lies at the bottom of it, which they eſteem a very Sacred Thing too, and preſerve accordingly.

The great Well, which they eſteem ſo ſacred.

But 'tis more unaccountably ridiculous ſtill, that theſe People ſhould treat their Idols (which they very well know to be but dead unactive Matter), as ſo many things ſenſible of Pain and Pleaſure; which they do, by making ſome of the Attendants ſit by them in the hot Weather, to breath the cool Air upon them with a Fan. And theſe Men, when they ſee any Company coming towards them, ring a little Bell that hangs by them; for which they are paid with the Eleemoſinary Gifts of the Pilgrims, and other Religious that viſit thoſe Houſes. But all that enter in, muſt firſt pull off their Shooes, ſuch an Opinion they have of the Sanctity of thoſe places where their Idols ſtand. They keep Lamps continually burning before them, which makes the Appearance more awful, and affords ſome help to the Imagination, if not the Devotion of the People that come thither.

The Bramens of theſe parts do moſt of their Religious (and Domeſtick Buſineſſes too) naked; they pray in the Water naked, dreſs their Food (which is only Vegetable), and eat it naked; upon which account they well deſerve the Title that the Wiſe Men of this Country anciently had, and are *Gymnoſophiſts*, in the ſtricteſt and propereſt Sence of that Word. They take a Pride in marking themſelves with a certain Yellow Powder, which they rub about their Foreheads, Ears, and Throats; and they go about the Streets with a Box of it in their Hands, with which they frequently mark other People they meet.

The Bramens.

Their

Their Women too do the same to themselves, when they come down to the River to wash, and perform the other accustomed Ceremonies. They come in pretty large Bodies together, and are very Merry and Jovial at this time; for as they come with a Song in their Mouths, so they go away with the same, and no body can charge them with a dull heavy hearted Devotion.

They allow Polygamy amongst them, and every Man may have seven Wives; their Daughters also marry very young, and they look out for Husbands for them at ten Years of Age.

Their way of Salutation when they meet one another, is, to lift their Hands up to their Heads, and repeat the Word *Rame* twice or thrice.

Other Customs of the People.

The Funeral Rites are the same hereabouts that they are in other parts of *India*; the dead Bodies are burnt, and the Women sacrifice themselves upon the same Pile; if they refuse to do it, their Heads are shaven, and no body minds them for ever afterwards.

Funerals and Marriages.

But the Ceremony of their Marriages is as foolish and idle as it could well have been made with Study and Contrivance. Indeed it affords a very lively and sensible Emblem of the Union between a Man and his Wife; for here they don't think it sufficient to make them solemnly joyn Hands, but they tie * them together by their Cloaths. The Man, the Woman, and a *Bramen* Priest, a Cow and a Calf, go down together into the Water. Here the *Bramen* spreads a large Cloth upon the Cows Back, and then takes her by the end of the Tail, speaking certain Words at the same time. The Man and the Woman lay their Hands there also by the Priests; and thus one Hand of each being engaged, with the other they take up Water in a Brass Pot, and pour it out upon the Cows Tail, so that it runs thro' all their Hands. After this, the loving Couple are fastned together by their Cloaths, and then they walk round about the Cow and the Calf, and so go out of the Water. When the Ceremony is ended, the *Bramen* has the Cow and the Calf for his Fee, and they give Alms to the Poor, that are always about them upon such Occasions. Neither do they forget Devotion any more than Charity; for they go and prostrate themselves before their Idols, kiss the Ground several times, make their Offerings to them, with which the whole Scene concludes, and they go home to their Houses.

* The Mexicans us'd this Ceremony of old too.

And their way of managing the Sick is not less odd than that of their marrying those that are Well. If a Person be dangerously ill, they carry him and lay him before their Idols all night, which is the last Experiment they make for life. If they don't mend upon this, their Friends come and sit by them and shed a few Tears upon the Occasion, and then set them a sailing upon the River in a little Raft made of Reeds. A good quick Method of curing Distempers to drown the Patient.

Habit and Dress.

The People in general go without Cloaths, and have no Covering but a Cloth about their middle. The Women have their Ears, Arms and Necks deck'd with Rings of Silver, Copper, Tin, and Ivory, with Amber and Agats; and as the *Bramens* Wives mark themselves with Yellow, so these Affect to do it with streaks of Red quite cross the Forehead, and so up to the Crown. But in Winter the Men wear quilted Cotton Gowns, and quilted Caps, in the Fashion of a Morter, with a slit to look out at, and so tyed down beneath their Ears.

Patenaw.

From *Bannaras* I proceeded down the *Ganges* to *Patenaw*, a very long and a great Town, but the Houses mean and ill built, made of Earth and covered with Straw, yet the Streets large and spacious. This Voyage was very pleasant, for we pass'd abundance of fine Towns, and had a fruitful Country all about us. I observed several mighty Rivers that enter the *Ganges*, some of them near as big as the *Ganges* it self; which make it to be of such a vast breadth, so broad, that in a time of great rain you cannot see from one side to the other. The Country is horribly pester'd with Thieves, which like the *Arabs*, shift up and down for Spoil and fix no where.

Breadth of the *Ganges* in the Rains.

The Women are trick'd up with Ornaments of Silver and Copper, much like those of *Bannaras*, and they can wear no Shooes they load their Toes with so many of those Rings.

Gold found at *Patenaw*.

The Town of *Patenaw* has a good Trade for Cotton, Cotton Cloth, Sugar, Opium, and other Commodities, which they carry from hence to *India* and *Bengala*. But it has a greater name for the Gold they find there. They dig deep Pits in the Ground, and taking out some quantities of the Earth, they wash it in Bowls, by which means they light upon the Gold: These Pits are brick'd round about to keep the Earth from falling in and mixing with the Precious Dust.

Tanda.

From *Patenaw* I proceeded to *Tanda*, in the Country of *Goureu*. Both this and *Patenaw* were formerly Kingdoms of themselves, but have of late Years followed the Fortune of other Provinces of *India*, and bowed to the Scepter of the victorious *Mogul*, *Ecbar-Sha*. Here's mighty Trade also for Cotton and Cotton-Cloth. The Inhabitants are all Gentiles, and go naked, except a Cloth before.

The adjacent Country is well repleniish'd with wild Fowl, and a little more than should be, with wild Beasts too, such as Tigers, wild Buffles, &c. *Tanda* is situated a League from the *Ganges*, that is, from the present Current of that River; for formerly the River overflowing its Banks by means of great Rains, carried it self considerably farther up into the Country, and laid several Villages under Water. But 'tis all dry and passable now where the *Ganges* used to run in former times, so that tho' *Tanda* were not removed from the River, yet the River has removed it self farther from *Tanda*.

I made five Months of it in my passage from *Agra*, down the Rivers *Gemini* and *Ganges* to *Bengala*, but it may be done in much less time than that.

Couche.

From *Bengala* I travel'd into the Country of *Couche*, which lies 25 Days Journey North from *Tanda*, and not far from *Cauchin China*. The Port is called *Cacchegate*. The Country is all set with Bamboes, or Canes made sharp at both ends, and so driven into the Earth; and they can let the Water in and drown it above knee deep, so that neither Horse nor Man shall easily pass. Their Custom is also to poison all the Waters whenever they are engaged in any Wars.

Cacchigate.

Trade and Manners.

Their Trade lies chiefly in Musk, Silk, and Cotton Cloth; and their small Current Money is * Almonds, which they eat almost as often as they receive. Nature has provided a Purse for this sort of Money, into which the slippery Fingers of no Thief or Pick-pocket can enter.

* In *Mexico* they used the Fruit *Cacao*, which is like an Almond for Money.

They have hereabouts all that Compassion and Tenderness for all sorts of Animals, that we find in the *Mogul's* Country and other parts of *India*. They give Meat to the little crawling Ants; and tho' those Wise and Industrious Creatures never fail to make Provision for themselves, yet they think themselves obliged to take care of them too, and add to their Stores. I returned back from hence to *Hugeli* in *Bengala*, a place in the Hands of the *Portugueze*, a League from *Sattagan*, and in 23 Degrees N. Lat. The *Portugueze* call it *Porto Piquena*, and not far from it to the S. W. is a Haven called *Porto Angeli*, seated in the Country of *Orixa*; to which comes every Year good store of Ships out of *India*, and the adjacent Islands, and lade from thence great quantities of Rice, Cloth made of Cotton-Wooll, long Pepper, Sugar, Butter, and other Provisions.

Hugeli. *Porto Angeli.*

Orixa.

Orixa, is six Days Journey S. W. from *Sattagan* (which is a City of the *Moors*, a large and plentiful place) 'twas once a Kingdom of it self, but in process of time was conquered by the King of *Patan*, its Neighbour, and wrested from him by the strong Arm of *Ecbar Sha*. There's abundance of Rice here and Cotton Cloth, as also of another sort of Cloth made of a Grass, which they call Yerva, and is like a Silk; it makes a very good Cloth, and a great deal of it goes for *India* and other places.

In *Bengala* there is a great Market every day at one place or other, and they have a fort of open Boats, they use to convey their Goods by water in, that are of a mighty burthen, and row with 24 or 26 Oars.

Esteem of the River *Ganges*.

Such is the Opinion the People of this Country have of the admirable Vertue of the River *Ganges*, that tho' they have ever so good and pleasant Water hard by them, they'll choose rather to go a great way to fetch that of *Ganges*. And if they have not enough to drink, they'll sprinkle a little upon themselves, and then all's well with them.

Tippara.

From *Sattagan* I travell'd by the Country of the King of *Tippara* or *Porto Grande*, with whom the *Mogores* (or *Mogon*) have almost continual Wars. Those *Mogores* of *Arracan* are much Superiour in Force to the King of *Tippara*, so that *Porto Grande* is often in subjection to the King of *Arracan*.

Bottanter, a great Northern Region.

There is a Country about four Days Journey from *Couche* (before mentioned) called *Bottanter*, and the Chief City *Bottia*; it takes in a mighty compass of Ground, as much as will require three Months time to travel. There are vast high Mountains in it, and one of them particularly raises up its Head so high, that a Man may see it perfectly when he is six Days Journey from it. Upon these Mountains dwell a sort of People that have Ears of a full span in Length, which is much the same size with those of the Inhabitants of *Couche*; and probably both

both from the same cause, namely, the Tricks the Parents play with them, to extend and draw them out when they are young, which is known to be the Practice in *Couche*. There is a great resort of Merchants hither, from *China*, from *Muscovy* and *Tartary*, who come to buy Musk, Silk, Agats, Pepper, and Saffron like that of *Persia*. The Northern Merchants by their Dress and Habit, tell the World how cold a Climate 'tis they come from. They are all close wrapt up in woolen Cloth, their Legs guarded with Hose and Boots, and warm Caps upon their Heads.

Reports of the Northern Merchants.

They report their Country affords excellent Horses, tho' very small, and Kine they have too in great abundance; some Men amongst them keep 600 Horses and Kine about them.

Their sole Diet is Milk and Flesh; their way of trading to buy and sell by Scores upon the Ground. They cut the Tails of their Kine, and sell them at very great Rates, because they are a Commodity mightily in request, and all the People esteem them highly. The Hair of them is a Yard long; and the Rump above a span; and the use they chiefly put them to is to hang them for Ornaments upon the Heads of their Elephants.

The Inhabitants are an active lively People, and mighty swift Runners. This Account those Northern Merchants gave of the Countries from whence they came.

Bacola.

From *Porto Grande* (or *Chatecan*) in *Bengala*, I came to *Bacola*, the King of which place was a good temper'd Hospitable Man, and wonderfully pleased with our European Invention of Guns, to shoot with, which was his principal Exercise and Delight. His Country is large and fruitful, yielding great store of Rice, Silk and Cotton-Cloth. The Inhabitants have no Cloaths nor Covering, but a Cloth about their middles; but the Women here wear Silver and Copper Rings as plentifully almost as any where. *Bacola* is a Town handsome and stately enough, the Streets large and open, and the Houses fair and very high built.

Serrepore.

My next Stage was to *Serrepore*, upon the Banks of the *Ganges*, a place famous for the Cotton Cloth made there. They are all hereabouts Rebels against the *Great Mogul*, or rather stand up in defence of their Just Liberties, which that Potent Adversary endeavours to swallow up. They skulk up and down in the Islands of the *Ganges* (which are very numerous) and all the Forces of the *Mogul* can't beat them out from those shelters.

Sinnergan.

About six Leagues from *Serrepore*, stands a Town called *Sinnergan*, which bears the Bell from all other places in *India*, for good and fine Cotton Cloth. For buildings, 'tis much inferiour to the former; low Houses, covered with Straw, and Mats hung round the Walls, and before the Door to keep out the Tigers and Foxes.

The People dress like them at *Bacola*; they live altogether upon Milk, Rice, and Fruits, neither touching any Flesh nor killing any Beast. Yet many of them are very rich; and the King of this place is a Sovereign to the rest of the Kings round about him. All Christians are very welcome to him, and meet with friendly Entertainment from him. This Country serves *Ceylon*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, and other parts with Rice and Cotton Cloth.

From *Serrepore* I set sail down the *Ganges* for *Pegu*, which is 90 Leagues distant from *Bengala*.

November. A. D. 1586. *Bar of Negrais.*

After many Difficulties we entred the Bar of *Negrais*, which is a very good one, and where you have four Fathom Water in the shalloweſt part; 'tis ten Days Voyage by the Rivers from this Bar to the City of *Pegu*.

Cosmin.

In the space of three Days we came to *Cosmin*, a pretty Town, delightfully situated, and as well served with all sorts of Conveniencies. All the Houses stand aloft upon Posts or Frames of Wood, so that they mount up to them by the help of Ladders, and those long ones too. The Reason of this is, the Country is so pester'd with Tigers, they are so numerous and withal so very fierce and ravenous, that the Inhabitants are forced to elevate their Habitations thus, to keep themselves out of the reach of those Hungry Creatures. Had their Houses the ordinary Situation, the Tigres (the only Visiters they dread) would have an Opportunity of looking in too often upon them.

Abating this Inconvenience 'tis an agreeable place enough; 'tis very well serv'd with all Necessaries from the circumjacent Fertile Country, and abounds particularly in Fruits, as Coco's, Figs, Oranges, and several others besides.

We go from *Cosmin* to *Pegu* in Paroes or Boats, in which the Water-men keep their whole Families; and as they get their living by the Water, so they mostly spend their Lives upon it.

Medon.

Passing along the Rivers, we came to *Medon*, another pretty Town, and vastly stock'd with these Paroes. They keep their Markets here upon the Water, having their Goods aboard their Paroes; and to keep them from the scorching heat of the Sun, every Paroe is guarded with a large Tembrella or Sombrero, made of Coco and Fig Leaves. *Markets kept upon the Water.*

The next Town we came to was *Dela*, which has a fair Port to the Sea, from whence go several Ships for *Malacca*, the *Red-Sea*, and other parts. Here are 18 or 20 very great and long Houses, where they keep and tame abundance of Elephants for the King of *Pegu*; for they catch the wild Elephants in the Woods thereabouts. *Dela. Hooks for the Elephants.*

From hence we proceeded to *Cirion*, which is a handsome Town, and has a good Port, whither abundance of Ships come from other parts of the *Indies* and the *Red-Sea*; and here 'tis that they stop and discharge, sending up their Goods by Boat to *Pegu*. *Cirion.*

The next place we came to was *Macao*, where we left our Boats, and taking some Delingeges (which are a sort of Carriages made of Cords and Cloth quilted, and carried between three or four Men) we came the same Day to *Pegu*. This is a very large, strong and mighty City, and well deserving its Character of an imperial one. 'Tis compassed about with firm Stone-walls, and Ditches too, that are both wide and deep. It's divided into two Cities, the Old and the New. *Macao. Pegu. The Description of it.*

In the Old are all the Merchants of strange Countries, and many of them also that belong to this; and here it is that all the Trade is driven. It has very large Suburbs about it, but the Houses are built of Bamboe Canes and cover'd with Straw; so that Fires are as mischievous here as they are frequent, for 'tis very often that 4 or 500 of these are laid in Ashes in a very little time. But there's this Convenience, that to every dwelling House thus stately built, you have a good Brick Ware-house for your Merchandize, without which there would be no safe living at this place. *Old City.*

In the New-City is the King and the Court with all the Nobility and Gentry. It's a very great and populous City of it self, built square, defended with handsome substantial Walls, and a Ditch that is not only full of Water, but has abundance of Crocodiles in it too; which may be a pretty good Guard; for an Adversary that should come to pass this Ditch, would be in danger of being snapt by them. It has 20 Stone-Gates; 5 for every side of the Square; and (besides these) abundance of Watch Towers upon the Walls, built of Wood, and very pompously gilt with Gold. The Streets are the fairest that ever I saw any where, as strait and even as a Line, and of such a breadth, that 12 Men may very well ride a breast thro' them. The Houses here are all of Timber and cover'd with Tiles, and before every Door is set a Palm Tree; so that 'tis a pleasant Wood, and a stately City together; 'tis so cool and shady, that under the shelter of these Palms a Man may walk without any trouble from the Sun all the Day long. The Palace is in the midst of this City, and 'tis wall'd and ditch'd about. The Buildings are all Wood, but every where gilt at a most extravagant rate; especially the Front, which for Gilding and Carving exceeds all the rest: And the Temple where the King goes to his Devotion, is more rich and splendid than this. *New City.*

Within the first Gate of the Palace is a very large Room, on both sides of which are Houses for the King's Elephants. It is said that he has above 5000 of these Elephants that are for Martial Service, besides a great number of others that are not taught to fight. *King of Pegu's Elephants.*

Amongst all these he has four White ones, which are extraordinary Rarities, and there's no other Prince known to have them but himself; or if there were any of his Neighbours that had such a Beast, he would make War upon them rather than not have it. Such is the esteem that this Monarch has for an Elephant of this Colour, that he brings this in amongst the rest of his Titles; To be King of the White Elephants is as big and lofty a one with him as any other that he assumes. And because no other Prince about him must wear this Glorious Title but himself, therefore none must keep a White Elephant tho' Nature gave it them; but must send it to him, or if not, his Armies must fetch it away. *The White ones.*

When these Creatures are brought before the King, all the Merchants in the City are commanded to attend and come and see them; and at the same time are obliged to make a Present of half a Ducat a piece. This amounts to a good Sum; and the King gets Money by shewing his White Elephants.

To see how these Creatures live and are attended, and in what pomp they march along, would surprize a Man with the greatest wonder. Their Houses are splendidly gilt and so are the Silver Vessels out of which they are fed. When they go to the River to be washed (which they do every Day constantly) there's six or eight Men to bear *Their Management.*

bear up a Canopy of Cloth of Gold or Silk over them, and as many or more that march with Drums and Muſical Inſtruments before them; and when they come out of the Water, their Feet are waſhed in great Silver Baſons by ſome Perſon of Quality, whoſe office it is to do them that piece of Service.

Black Elephants. He has alſo ſeveral Black Elephants, but they are not near ſuch Favourites as the white ones are, tho' they are very large ſtately Beaſts, many of them nine Cubits high.

Manner of taking Wild Elephants. About a Mile from *Pegu* in a great Grove or Wood, is the King's Houſe or Trap for taking the Wild Elephants. This they do chiefly by the help of ſome tame ones they carry with them for that purpoſe, commonly a Female, which the wild Males will very eaſily follow. The Hunts-men drive the Wild one near the Lodge, where he is to be impriſoned, and there in ſome ſtrait and narrow path he finds the Female; after they are met, they drive on the Female into the way that leads into the Lodge, the Door of which being open, ſhe enters, and the Male (fond of her Company) along with her. And then he is a ſure Priſoner; for upon their entrance, the Door immediately claps down, and all is faſt and cloſe about them. The Female they quickly after get out again, and leave the Male all alone in his Confinement, who they ſay takes it very hainouſly to be ſo tricked out of his Liberty, and afterwards robb'd of an agreeable Companion, with whom he was eaſie and quiet. But now upon this Loſs he makes pityful Moans, and changes his Grief at laſt into Rage and Fury; he runs himſelf for very madneſs againſt the Walls, and breaks his Teeth many time in the Encounter. Beſides this, they teaze and prick him with ſharp Canes, keep him three or four Days without Meat or Drink; after all which Mortifications, they at laſt bring him Victuals and a Female to pleaſe him, by which means he is perſwaded to be tame.

This King's beſt Force conſiſts in his Elephants, tho' he is able to raiſe prodigious Armies of Men too. At my being there he mached againſt the King of *Siam* with a Body of 300000 Men, and 5000 Elephants. All theſe Creatures that are for the Wars have Caſtles of Wood upon their Backs, in which are placed certain Souldiers that fight with Guns, Bows and Arrows, Darts, and other Weapons.

The Power and State of the King of *Pegu*. The King ſits abroad in open view twice every Day, partly for State, and partly to do Publick Juſtice. The Nobles ſit on each ſide him at a good diſtance, and without them ſtand the Guard which are very numerous. Thoſe that the King will honour with his Converſe come to him in this manner; they kneel down, heave their Hands up to their Heads, and put their Heads to the Ground three times, at their entrance, in the midd-way, and at their approach to his Majeſty. If he like them they ſit within three or four Paces of him, and he talks with them; but if not, they remove to a farther diſtance.

Receiving Petitions. All Petitioners and thoſe that come to him for Juſtice, are wholly ſilent before him; they ſay nothing, but preſent him their Matters in writing. What they have to impart to him, is written with the point of an Iron upon the Leaves of ſome Tree, which are a full Ell in length, and two Inches broad, and doubled alſo.

No Man comes without a Preſent, which notwithſtanding is not always accepted. For if the King likes the Buſineſs, he takes the Gift; if not, he returns it together with his denial of the Suit.

Going abroad. This Prince never goes abroad but with a very numerous Attendance both of Guards and Noble-men. Sometimes he rides in a Caſtle (upon an Elephant) which is vaſtly rich and ſplendid; ſometimes he is carried upon a great Frame, like a Horſe-litter, upon 16 or 18 Mens Shoulders. This Frame has a little Houſe upon it, covered over head, but open on the ſides, all over gilded and ſet with Rubies and Sapphires.

His Riches. Such Coſt is nothing to ſo rich a Prince as he is, that has inexhauſtible Mines both of Gold and Silver, and Jewels too in his own Dominions. Rubies, Sapphires and Spinelles are Natives of his Country; and he can command what quantities of them he pleaſes, out of thoſe Treaſuries where bountiful Nature has hoarded them up for him.

Caplan is a place from whence theſe rare Stones are brought; it is ſix Days Journey from *Ava* in the Kingdom of *Pegu*. There are ſeveral high Hills out of which they dig them; but none are permitted to come to the Pits but juſt the Work-men themſelves.

Juſt by the Palace there's a Building which is the receptacle of a moſt wonderful Treaſure, which this Prince does not mind much becauſe 'tis ſo near him. It ſtands open ('tho with a good Guard) for all Comers to ſee; being placed in a great Wall'd Court, which has two Gates, but thoſe never ſhut in the Day-time. The King of *Pegu* with all his Treaſures has a good round Family of his own to maintain; ſeveral hundreds of Women of Pleaſure, and between 80 and 100 Children begotten by himſelf upon them; but twice as many more would neither make him a poor Prince, nor them live beneath their true Character and Dignity.

The People and their Manners. The People of this Country have a Fancy that ſets them mightily againſt wearing of Beards, they pluck the Hairs by the Roots from their Faces with little Pincers made for that purpoſe. Some of them will let a few Hairs grow together in one part of their Faces or other, and pull out all the reſt. They wonder at a Man that wears a Beard, and look on him as if they thought him either a very frightful or ridiculous Creature.

Wear no beards.

And that Trick they have of colouring their Teeth Black is odd enough, and the reaſon why they do it not leſs Idle and Fooliſh. For Dogs Teeth they ſay are white, and that they may not reſemble them they'll make theirs black; but no doubt but ſome Dogs in their Country together with White Teeth have Black Hair, upon which account (to avoid the reſemblance) they ought to colour theirs White. Inſtead of this, they make ſome parts of their Bodies blacker by the help of Art, than Nature has made them; pricking the Skin, and laying on ſomething that gives it a deep and laſting Black. But it muſt be confeſs'd that this is a Mark peculiar to the King's Kindred or Country Men; the Prince himſelf is a *Brama*, and all the *Bramas* diſtinguiſh themſelves thus, and none but they.

Blacken their Teeth.

Wear Balls in the Privy Parts. The Cuſtom which the Men have of faſtning little Balls of Silver, Braſs or Lead into the Pudenda is not leſs ſtrange than any of the former. They make an Inciſion and ſo put them in, one on the one ſide and another on the other; tho' there are many of them that wear three of theſe Globes upon the Part. Married Men (as the Report goes in the Country) put in one every time they have a Child, till it comes to three, and then they ſtop and go no farther. The leaſt ſize of the Balls is as big as a ſmall Walnut, and the greateſt will match a little Hens Egg: The King and the Nobles wear them of Silver, finely gilt, and made ſo as to ring and make a noiſe; the poorer ſort have theirs of Lead, which give but little or no ſound at all. The King often beſtows ſome that he has worn himſelf upon his Noblemen, which is a very great favour, and they eſteem them mightily after he has uſed them. 'Tis no doubt a great deal of Pain and trouble they put themſelves to to do this; but they ſay they can heal the Wound that's made, and make all-whole and well again in ſeven or eight Days time. This Cuſtom was introduc'd by way of Prevention and Remedy againſt unnatural Luſt; 'twas deſigned to be a Reſtraint upon the Male Sex from abuſing one another. They themſelves know beſt what Uſe and Service it is to them in that reſpect; but 'tis very well known that they can take the Balls out of the part and put them in again at pleaſure. However, all thoſe Countries it ſeems were formerly infamous to extremity for the Practice of this Abomination; the Women were almoſt wholly laid by, and conſequently every place by Degrees grew thin of People. As Death ſwept away the Old Generation, no care was taken for the riſing up of a New one, and ſo they dwindled away; till the miſchievous Effects of their Crime were ſo apparent, that for Civil and Political Reaſons they began to think of a Remedy.

There is a Law of an ancient Date amongſt them, that regulates the Womens Dreſs, and limits the quantity of Stuff they ſhall put into their Garments. And this Law has been ſo nigardly to them, that they have hardly ſo much as decency requires; their Cloaths are ſo ſtrait, that they ſhew one ſide bare above the Knee as they go along the Streets.

Way of deciding Law Suits. When the *Pegueze* have a Suit of Law amongſt them that's any thing doubtful and intricate, they bring it to an iſſue by this quick method of Deciſion. The contending Parties (with their Judges or Arbitrators on both ſides) go down to a River, and where they find a good depth of Water, they leap in and dive to the bottom. And thus the Buſineſs is determined; for he that holds it out the longeſt under Water, carries the day. Which method of ending long and difficult Cauſes, ſhould it be uſed and practiſed in other Countries; thoſe that manage them might e'en leap into the Water too, and ſtay there for good and all.

Trade and Merchandize. As for the Trade of this Country; the other parts of *India* do furniſh but few Commodities comparatively that ſerve here. Thoſe that are moſt in requeſt are the Opium of *Cambaya*; the painted Cloth of St. *Thome* or *Maſulipatan*, and the white Cloth of *Bengala*. They bring hither alſo yearly good ſtore of Cotton-Yarn, dyed red with the Root they call Saia, which gives a very durable Colour; this ſells very well,

and goes off in great quantities amongst the *Pegueſe*. The Ships from *Bengala* and the *Coromandel* Coaſt, come to *Coſmin* and the Bar of *Nigrais*. To *Martavan* a Sea Port in this ſome Kingdom, come Ships from *Malacca* laden with Sandal, Porcelane, and other *China* Wares, with Camphire from *Borneo*, and Pepper from *Sumatra*. To the Port of *Cirion* come the Ships from *Mecca* with Woolen Cloth, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and ſuch like.

Brokers. There are in *Pegu* a ſtated number of Brokers (eight in all) which are bound to ſell your Goods for you at the intrinſick Value, and you give them for their Pains two in the Hundred. They are bound alſo to make your Debts good to you, becauſe you ſell your Merchandeie upon their Words. If they don't pay you at their Day, you may take them home to your Houſe and keep them Priſoners; and after that, you may proceed (by the Allowance of the Law) to farther Extremities: You may take their Wives and Children and bind them in the Sun (as ſo many Sacrifices) at your Door.

Products. The proper Merchandice of *Pegu* (I mean its own natural Products) are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Sapphires, Spinelles, Musk, Benjamin, Frankincenſe, long Pepper, Tin, Lead, Copper, Lacca (of which they make hard Wax) Rice and Wine made of the ſame, and ſome Sugar. But of this latter Commodity there would be ſo much more than there is, if it were not that their Elephants conſumed ſuch a vaſt number of the Sugar Canes; but they devour abundance of them, and have not a more pleaſing agreeable Food to them than theſe are.

Money. The Current Money in theſe parts is a ſort of Braſs which they call *Gauza*; as for Gold and Silver they are purely Commodities, and are ſometimes worth more and ſometimes leſs, as other Wares are. This Braſs Money goes by a Weight which they call Biza, and that amounts to ſomething leſs than half a Crown in our Money.

Temples and Idols. The *Pegueſe* build mighty pompous Temples for their Idols; they ſpare no Coſt nor Labour, to make all the Edifices devoted to ſuch a Uſe, as Bright and Noble as they can.

Their Varella's or Temples are built round like a Sugar Loaf, ſome are as high as an ordinary Church, very broad beneath, many of them a quarter of a Mile in Compaſs. They beſtow their Gold at a moſt prodigal rate upon them, they being all of them gilded in the higher and more eminent parts; but many of them are done all over from top to bottom, ſo that there's nothing ſcarce but a Golden Face that appears. Then every ten or twelve Years they are new Gilt, becauſe in that ſpace of time the Rain and the Weather have pretty much impair'd the Beauty of them; for it is to be noted, that they ſtand expoſs'd, being all open abroad. Were it not for this conſtant Conſumption of it, Gold would be a very cheap thing in *Pegu*; but the Idols devour this, as the Elephants do the Sugar Canes; and between them both, they make both comparatively dear. The Images (which have theſe glorious Manſions for their reſidence) are not leſs ſumptuouſly deck'd and gilded than they; the Work-man beſtows his beſt Art and Skill to render them ſo much the more the Objects of their blind Worſhippers Devotion.

Rich Pagods. Of the more private ſort of Temples (and which ſeem to be rather the King's Peculiar, or ſome Appendages to the Court) there are four that are extraordinary for the Images they contain.

In the firſt is the Effigies of a King at full length, all of maſſie Gold, with a Crown of the ſame upon his Head, richly ſet with Jewels; and about him ſtands four Children, all made of the ſame precious Metal.

In the Second, is the Effigies of a Man in Silver vaſtly great, and as high as an ordinary Houſe, which may be gueſſed (without meaſuring) from the proportion of his Foot, which is the full length of a Man; he is made ſitting, and has a rich Crown upon his Head like the former.

In the Third, you have one of Braſs, bigger and larger than the former, but Crown'd like them.

And in the Fourth, another of Braſs, but bigger than all the reſt, and crown'd as they were.

In another Court not far from this, ſtand four others of Copper, all Humane Forms and Marvellous Great; they were made in the place where they ſtand, for they are ſo bulky and ponderous, that they are not to be moved up and down. Theſe ſtand in four Houſes too, which are magnificently gilt, as they alſo are themſelves all, except their Heads.

* *Degonne*, a great Temple for Pilgrims. But the moſt celebrated publick Temple or Varella, is that which they call * *Dogonne*, about two Days Journey from the City of *Pegu*. 'Tis to this that the *Pegueze* perform their Grand Pilgrimage, and here they celebrate a Solemn Feaſt; at which time there is ſuch a vaſt crowd of People always going and coming, that there is hardly any paſſing for them by Water or Land. All the Characters of Beauty, Pomp and Coſtlineſs that a thing of this Nature may be ſuppoſed to have (in their way of Adorning) this has. Its ſituation is very high, and there are four ways that lead to it, which are all along ſet with Fruit Trees, ſo that a Man may walk two Mile an end in a lovely ſhade.

Preaching Place. Hard by it is another ſtately Structure deſigned for the Tallipoies or Prieſts to Preach in. This Houſe is 55 Paces in length, has three great Walks in it, and 40 large gilt Pillars that ſtand between the Walks; it opens on all ſides with rows of ſmaller Pillars, which are likewiſe richly waſhed with Gold. As for the Building it ſelf, it's all over Gilt both within and without. Beſides this, there are ſeveral other Houſes for the Tallipoies to exerciſe their Gifts in, which are full of Images both of Men and Women, and thoſe not a little adorned and embelliſhed. Laſtly, there are other Houſes built round about for the Entertainment of the Pilgrims that come thither; theſe devout Men are not left to take up their Lodgings upon the bare Ground, but that their Religion may be eaſie (and not tireſome) they have comfortable Receptacles provided for them.

The Tallipoies. There are abundance of theſe Tallipoies in *Pegu*, and by all that I can learn of them, they are mighty ſtrict, zealous and diligent Men in their Functions. They preach warmly againſt the Vices of the People, and great numbers go to them for Inſtructions in matters relating to their Superſtition. They are conſulted by the People generally in the Temples; the party repairs thither, and at the Door waſhes his Feet out of a Veſſel of Water, which ſtands there for that purpoſe; then he enters in, lifting up his Hands to his Head twice, firſt to the Prieſt and then to the Sun, and ſo he ſits down. The Tallipoies live altogether upon the Benefice and Charity of the People; they go about with a great Pot of Earth tyed croſs their Shoulders, and ſo viſit the good Houſes, and get Rice, Fiſh and Herbs, which is all their living. They don't beg nor ſo much as once open their Mouths to ask for any thing, but they make very broad ſigns, for they ſtand at the Door and ſhew their Pot, which the good natur'd People fill without any more ado. Nay many times when they are a Preaching, their kind Auditors come and carry them Preſents into the Pulpit; not that they interrupt themſelves in their Diſcourſe to take what the others give, but a certain Perſon does it for them, who ſits by them for that purpoſe. They ſay it becomes them, and 'tis their Duty to live this Eleemoſynarie Life, and they ought to content themſelves with it; in which Notion if they are not greatly miſtaken, 'tis certain the Religious in other parts of the World think them to be ſo.

Their Living.

Admiſſion into the Society. They admit none to take Orders and be of the Society, till they are better than twenty Years of Age, the moſt part of which time they muſt have ſpent at School. When they would be initiated, they come before the Rowli or Principal Tallipoie (who is always one of the moſt learned amongſt them) and he tries their Abilities firſt of all by a ſolemn Diſpute in which he oppoſes, and after that by an Examination. Then he enquires of them whether they are contented to leave their Friends, to abandon the Company of Women, and take upon them the Habit of a Tallipoie (which is indeed ſo baſe and beggarly, that 'tis of it ſelf alone no little degree of Mortification for a Man to ſubmit to it) they wear only a thin brown cloth next their Skin, and upon their Shoulders another of Yellow, doubled many times, both which are faſtened to them with a broad Girdle; about their Necks hangs a Skin by a String, which is a ſort of a Portable Cuſhion to them, for they uſe only that to ſit upon; their Heads, Feet and right Arms are quite bare, and there's nothing elſe belongs to them but a Sombrero to ſcreen them from the Sun in Summer, and the Rain in Winter. To be ſo dreſſed and to be ſo maintain'd as the Tallipoies are, ſhould be (one would think) Exerciſe enough for ſelf-denial, without abandoning the other Comforts of Life; but they muſt endure all thoſe Severities, or keep out of the ſacred venerable Order; to come in to which, is an Honour that (to ſpeak the Truth) ſeems to be very dear bought.

But thoſe that can get the Victory over themſelves, and govern the Appetites of frail Nature ſo far as to throw off all the Enjoyments of the World at once; that have courage enough to anſwer the Rowli with a bold Affirmative, and tell him they are contented to do what he ask'd; theſe Perſons are received with the greateſt Triumph into the Society. They are firſt carried about the

Streets

Streets on Horseback, with Drums and Pipes beating and sounding before them, and at the same time are very handsomely dress't; it being the last time they must ever be so, and this is to tell the World, that they are now going to put off all that external Pomp and Bravery.

A few Days after this they are carried upon a thing like a Horse-litter, upon ten or twelve Mens Shoulders, with Pipes and Drums as before; but now all their Friends attend them too, and besides they appear in the Habit of Tallipoies. Thus they are accompanied to their Cells, and left to a Life of Beggarly Devotion for the future.

Their Houses &c. The Tallipoies live for the most part out of the Cities and Towns, planting themselves by the Highway-side, and amongst the Woods and Thickets; their Houses are little things erected upon six or eight Posts, and they mount them with a Ladder of twelve or fourteen Rounds. I don't find that they are much for Society, but every one of them has his separate House, and dwells by himself. These Priests regulate their several Feasts by the Moon's Age, and when 'tis New Moon, they keep their greatest and most solemn one. Then the People send Rice, and other things, to that Church to which they belong; and all the Tallipoies that belong to the same too, meet together, and eat the Good Things which the People send them in.

I can't but observe, that the Priests in other parts of *India*, mix much more Ceremony and Foppish Superstition with their Religion than these in *Pegu*. These don't seem to intend so much the amusing of the People, and bringing their Faith and Understanding into such absolute Subjection to their Humour as many of the rest do: They are a plain, poor, mortified sort of Wretches; all their Spiritual Business is only to preach to the People, and their Temporal to get their own Livings.

Pleasant Country. Having been at *Pegu* some time, I departed from that pleasant City to *Famahey*, which is 25 Days Journey N. E. from *Pegu*, and stands in the Country of the *Langeianneis*, or (as we call them) the *Jangomese*. In this Journey I cross'd several fruitful and very delightful Countries, water'd with fine Rivers, shaded with Woods, and those replenish'd with wild Buffles and Elephants.

Famahey. *Famahey* is a Town of very considerable bigness, the Houses are all built of Stone, the Streets large and wide, and all very well peopled. The People here are quite uncover'd at both ends, Head and Feet are bare, but the middle Region has a Cloth about it. The Men are strong and well made, and the Women fairer than those of *Pegu*. In all this Country they have no Wheat; Rice is their principal Grain, of which they make a sort of Cakes. Of all other Provisions they have vast plenty; they are so full that they neglect the milking of their Buffles, a thing they do in all other places.

Merchand'ce. Benjamin and Copper are the Commodities of the Country; but the *Chinese* Merchants (great Numbers of whom come to *Famahey*) bring Musk, Gold, Silver, and other Merchandice of their Country.

When these People are sick, they make a Vow of an Offering of Meat, in case they recover; and some of the Tallipoies sit by them every Night, and sing to please and pacifie the angry Power that has hurt them. If the Sick recovers, all his Friends meet together, and divert themselves with Feasting, Dancing, and Musick; while they are dancing and playing, they hoot and hollow as loud as they can, which they say drives away the Ill Thing that has done them mischief; and if a filthy Noise would do it, perhaps that may.

Fashions about sick People.

If the Party dies, he is carried upon a great Tower-like Frame, with a Covering of Canes gilt; this is brought by fourteen or sixteen Men (with a Procession of Pipes and Drums, and all his Friends and Neighbours) to a place without the Town, and there the Body is burnt. From hence they return to the House of the Deceased, and banquet there for two Days; they make a Feast always succeed a Funeral; judging it convenient after so low a depression, to give their Spirits something of an elevation, and carry off the black Thoughts of the Grave. At the end of this Two-Days Feast, the Widow, with all her Neighbours, go to the Place of Burning, and gather up those Relicks of the Bones they can find; then they sit down a while and shed some Tears over the Ashes of the Deceas'd, and so e'en go home again, and put an end to Sorrow. This is better behalf than going to burn for Company with a dead Husband, and the Women hereabouts are so wise as to think so; they are not ambitious of that Glory that the other *Indians* of their Sex are, nor don't think it enough to pay them for the loss of their dear Lives, to have it said after they are gone, They were passionately fond of their Husbands, and ascended the Funeral Pile with a Boon-Grace, and a Noble Courage.

Their Funerals.

Women not burnt with their Husbands.

The utmost expression of Grief and Mourning us'd by Relations for each other, is to shave their Heads; and this bespeaks them to be Mourners indeed; for they value their Hair at a very great rate.

Having now finish'd my present Concerns in these Countries, I prepar'd for a Voyage into some other parts of the *Indies*: And first I went from *Pegu* to *Malacca*, passing in the way by the Isle *Tani*, famous for Quantities of Tin that serve all *India*.

Malacca, and its Trade. At *Malacca*, (when I was there) the *Portugueze* had a Castle hard by the Sea, but the Country all round the Town yielded no Subjection to them, but belong'd entirely to the *Malayans*: These are a proud haughty People, have no Covering but a Cloth about the Waste, and a Roll of the same round their Heads. Hither come many Ships from *China*, the *Moluccа's*, *Banda*, *Timor*, and the *Java's*, which bring Spices, Drugs, Diamonds, and other Stones.

The *Portugueze* Captain of *Malacca* makes good Profits of the Trade into several of these Islands, since no Ships go without his Licence; and that brings him in large Sums of Money every Year.

Portugueze Trade to *Japan* and *China*. When the *Portugueze* go from *Macco* in *China* to *Japan*, they carry along with them White Silk, Gold, Musk, and Porcelanes, and they bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Carrack that goes thither yearly, and returns back with a Treasure of 600000 Cruzadoes; and all this *Japonese* Silver, with one third part as much more, they as constantly lay out in *China* to their very great advantage, upon these same, and other Commodities, which they transport from thence to *Japan*. The *Chinese* are generally pretty jealous of them, and won't trust them too far, tho' they correspond and trade with them.

When they come to *Lauton*, in *China*, their time of stay there is limited to such a number of Days, which expired, they must pack up and be gone. When they enter the Gate of the City, they must also enter their Names in a Book; and as they go out at Night, they must raze them out again; I say as they go out, for the *Chinese* won't trust them in Town all Night, but send them to their Boats. If any of them should stay after their appointed time is out, they'll certainly make them stay a while longer against their Wills; and in that Case they don't send them to lodge in their Boats without the Walls, but let them lie within in a good strong Prison. These Risques do they run for the advantage of that Trade, notwithstanding which they don't think fit to forsake it.

Amongst the *Malaccans*, I observ'd, that a Man may keep as many Concubines as ever he will or is able to do, but he must have but one Woman to give the Name of Wife to.

Laban Isle. *Laban* is an Island among the *Java* Isles, from whence come the Diamonds of the New Water. They find them in the Rivers, for the King will not suffer them to dig the Rock.

Jamba. *Jamba* is another of those Islands too, which affords those valuable Stones; and out of one of the Rivers the Prince of the place draws a constant Supply of Gold. It Diamonds. 's a kind of a little Hill, or Mass of Earth, which is richly impregnated with the Ore of that Metal; as they can it away, so Nature fills it up again, and furnishes a fresh store. They say, it's visible but once a Year, and that is when the Water is low, in or about the Month of *April*.

Bima Isle. In *Bima* (another of those Islands amongst the *Javans*) the Laws of Domestick Order observed every-where else, are quite inverted, and the Men and Women change Business and Condition. For here the latter slave and toil, and do all the hard Labour that rightfully belongs to the other Sex; while the former sit still at home, keep House, and nurse the Children, or when they please, go abroad, and take their pleasure. But I don't find the Example to be contagious, or that any other of the *Indian* Women are such easie Fools as those of *Bima*.

April, *A. D.* 1588. Having spent some time about these parts, I return'd from *Malacca* to *Martavan*, and so to *Pegu*, where I staid (the second time) some five or six Months; and then went to *Cosmin*, where I embark'd for *Bengala*. This Voyage *September*. was both dangerous and tedious too, by reason of contrary Winds, and bad Weather, that we met with; but having happily surmounted all these Difficulties, we at *November*. last reach'd our desired Port in that Country. Here I was obliged to stay for passage at least three Months longer, which having procured, I shipp'd my self for *Cochin*. *February*.

In this Voyage we suffer'd grievous Extremities for want of fresh Water; for we were abundance of us in Company, the Weather was very hot too, and we were often becalm'd. We were not reliev'd till we reach'd the

Isle

March, A. D. 1589. Isle of *Ceylon*, at which place we staid some Days, till we had better furnish'd our selves for the remaining part of our Voyage.

Ceylon Isle. The Fruitfulness of this Island, renders it very fit to be made a Refreshing-place, but the Wars between the Natives and the *Portugueze*, did at this time make Provisions dear.

The King was endeavouring to starve them in their Castle of *Colombo*; he had cut off all manner of Relief by Land, but not having a Fleet, could not prevent them of a Supply by Sea, which they got every Year from *Bengala*. He had an Army of 100000 Men, and a great Train of Elephants before *Colombo*; but his Soldiers naked as to any defensive Arms; and for offensive ones, besides Darts and Arrows, they had Muskets, with which they shoot very well.

No Horses. Small Elephants and People. They have no Horses in all the Country, and their Elephants are of a much smaller Race than those in *Pegu*; but yet the *Ceylonese* say, that theirs are the best in the World for Mettle and Courage, and that none of the huge monstrous Elephants of other parts, dare encounter their little ones. The People themselves too, both Men and Women, are generally of a very small size; but I scarce think they are the best Soldiers in the World, and their Character for Mettle and Spirit hardly comes up to that of their Elephants.

The Country is very well known to have the Reputation of producing the best Cinamon, Rubies, Sapphires, and Spinelles, in the World; as for these Jewels the King won't let his Subjects dig for them, lest his Enemies should know of them, and so drive him out of his Country for the sake of that Treasure. But that Care and Caution is now to be sure insignificant, and comes too late (whatever good it might have done formerly), for the *Portugueze*, in coming to settle themselves there, shew'd they apprehended there was something else to be found at *Ceylon*, besides Cockle-shells and Pebble-stones. These People (at least those that live about the Coasts) content themselves with very mean and sorry Houses, made of the Branches of the Palm, and cover'd over with Leaves of the same. They are blacker than most of the *Indians*, and derive their Stock from the *Chingalayes*, which they say are the best of all the *Malabars*.

Broad Ears. To have a very broad flapping Ear, is a Mark of great Honour amongst them; and some of them are therefore very honourable Persons, having Ears (in proportion) more like Elephants than Men.

Their Habit and Dress is summ'd up in the one particular of a Cloth about their middles; the King himself wears no more, only a fine Cloth wreath'd about his Head, and which also ties up his long Hair.

Having made a short stay here, we proceeded in our Voyage, and doubled the Cape *Comori*, between which, and the main Land of *Negapatan*, they fish for Pearls:

Pearl Fishery. They get good Quantities every Year, so as to serve the nearer parts of *India* pretty plentifully with them; but these Pearl have not that right Orient Lustre that those of *Baharem* have in the *Persian* Gulf.

After Cape *Comori* we pass'd by *Coulam*, which is a Fort of the *Portugueze*, from whence comes good store of Pepper into *Portugal*; and here 'tis that they often lade one of their Carracks. Thus passing the Coast, we at last arrived at *Cochin*, where we found a great scarcity of

Cochin. Scarcity of Provisions and Water. Provisions; for here grows neither Rice, nor any other Corn, and what they have (the greatest part at least) comes from *Bengala*. They are as badly furnished for Water too, for the River that supplies them with good Water is at a considerable distance, and the rest that lies near them is very bad: The want of this Necessary makes abundance of diseased scabby People amongst them, some of them are like Lepers, others have their Legs swollen as big as a Man's Waste, and others so debilitated as not to be able to creep along.

The *Cochiners* differ much from the other *Malabars*, and are said to be of the Race of the *Naires* of *Calecut*. They have their Heads mightily repleniss'd with Hair, which they bind up with a String, and leave a Wadd of considerable bigness appearing without the Band. They are very tall strong Men, good at shooting with a Long-Bow (which is their best Weapon), but unskilful in the Management of Fire-Arms: They have only a few Calivers amongst them, and these they handle very badly.

These People have as large Ears as those of *Ceylon*, and they wear them always full of Rings set with Pearl, and valuable Stones: Their Habit and Complexion needs no distinct and peculiar Description.

The King of this place has several Palaces and Houses of Pleasure, but they are none of them large and stately: He removes up and down with a small Guard, from one of them to the other, and never stays in a place above five or six Days.

There's abundance of Pepper, and coarse Cinamon, that grows in this Country, and no small number of Coco-Trees, the Fruit of which serves the People for Provision, and the Leaves for Covering for their House.

About twelve Leagues from *Cochin* begins the Territory of the King of *Calecut*, and runs up almost as far as *Goa*. The *Naires* which are Subjects of this Prince, and a sort of *Malabars*, are ever at War with the *Portugueze*, tho' the King himself be always at Peace with them. They range all the Coast from *Ceylon* to *Goa*, going four or five Parowes together, in each of which are fifty or sixty Men; they are very nimble dextrous Fellows in boarding a Vessel, and make the Experiment very frequently upon *Portugueze* Ships and Boats. When they come to complain to the King of the Injury his *Malabars* have done them, he answers, That he did not send them out; but however true that be, his Majesty can't say that he does not know of it, or connive at it, without telling a Lye.

How the Malabars deal with the Portugueze.

For want of passage, I staid in *Cochin* near eight Months, from whence (having obtain'd it) I went to *Goa*, and so to *Chaul*, which is 160 Leagues from *Cochin*; it being 100 from *Cochin* to *Goa*, and 60 more from *Goa* to *Chaul*. Here I made Provision for a Voyage into *Europe*, in the space of 23 Days that I continued at this place.

November.

I went from *Chaul* in a Ship bound for *Ormus*, at which place I staid 50 Days for a Passage to *Balsora*; from *Goa* to *Ormus* I reckon 400 Leagues.

The Arabs manchets watch.

Having reached *Balsora*, to get from thence to *Babylon* by Water was something difficult, and our Boat was fain to be hall'd by Men with mighty strong Ropes for the most part of the way up the River.

From *Babylon* I came by Land to *Mosul* (a near Neighbour to the old *Nineve*, now all in despicable Ruines) and seated hard by the River *Tigris*.

From hence to *Meridin* in *Armenia*; and so to *Orfa*, a very fair Town, and celebrated for a goodly Fountain it shews, which is full of Fish. The *Moors* of this place have abundance of Notions and Opinions about *Abraham* peculiar to themselves; they say he lived here, and so being upon the same Spot, the Remembrance of that Patriarch is more fresh amongst them, which leads them into many trivial Disputes and Notions about him.

From this place I went to *Bir*, and pass'd the *Euphrates* there, and so travelled to *Aleppo*, where I staid some Months for Company, and then came to *Tripoli*. Here I had the Happiness to meet with *English* Shipping, which Opportunity I greedily embrac'd to return to my Native Country, and did so at last, under the Conduct of a favourable Providence, after the many Difficulties of so tedious a Voyage.

A. D. 1591.

Hitherto we have chiefly consider'd the Performances of our own Nation in the Eastern Parts of the World: And if at any time we have taken a short View of the Actions or Affairs of other People, it has been only by the way, as we have follow'd the English *in their Business and Concerns. Let so much as is past therefore suffice, for the Account of the Original, Progress, and Improvement of our* Indian Trade. *Let us stop here for a while; and leaving the* English Affairs *advanc'd to this degree of happy Thriving and Success; divert to the Story of our Neighbours the* Dutch, *which deserves to be known as well as ours. They have visited the remotest Parts of the World as well as we, planted themselves in several Foreign Countries, and gotten a mighty Trade into their Hands: Divers* Indian *Princes are their Confederates and Allies, and some are their Subjects too; the rich Treasures of Spices are in their keeping and possession; the Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace, of the* Molucca's *and* Banda's, *are a part of the Furniture of their* Indian *Garden. We will now therefore enquire into the Original of all this Greatness, and see by what Steps the* Dutch *advanc'd to such a height of Power and Fame: The Structure is wonderful, and has surpriz'd the whole World with its Beauty and Magnificence; it may be worth the while to see how the happy Builders rais'd it, and made it so glorious as now it appears. In order to this, we shall begin with the very Beginnings of their* Indian Navigations; *bring them out of* Europe *perfect Strangers into those Eastern Countries, and see by what means they procur'd their after intimate Acquaintance with them. And whatsoever is here related as Matter of Fact, is taken either out of their own Journals, or the Writings of some Historians that have handled their Affairs.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The first Voyage perform'd by the Dutch *to the* East-Indies, *with four Ships, the* Maurice, *the* Holland, *the* Amsterdam, *and a Pinnace;* Bernard Hejink, *chief Commander.*

THE *Dutch* * having thrown off the Yoke of *Spain* in the time of *Philip* the II, were for many Years after oppress'd with heavy Wars; their former Masters endeavouring with their utmost Skill and Force, to reduce them to the same state of Subjection again. Notwithstanding this, their Ships in the mean time traded upon the Coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal* without restraint; the *Spaniards* made some profit of that Commerce, and so for a while did not scruple to permit it.

* See the Hist. *Amsterd. Joh. Isac. Pont.* Lib. 2 Chap. 18 and 24. And *Dictionn. Nautic.* in *Ind. Orient.* and *Joh. Janson. Arnhemiens.*

The Occasion of the *Dutch*'s first seeking an Indian Trade. See also for this Prefat. in 8. part. *Ind. Orient.*

But at last that Liberty was taken away; the Counsel of *Spain* advised the King to humble them, by stopping their Ships, and cutting off their Trade in all places of his Dominions, which accordingly was practised with the utmost Severity; several of the Merchants being siez'd and clapt into the Gallies, and their Goods and Effects all confiscated. Had the *Spaniards* known before-hand what would have been the Consequence of these violent Proceedings against the *Dutch*, they would undoubtedly have let them alone; and out of spite to them, as well as Prick Regard to their own Interests, suffer'd them to trade freely upon their Coasts. For had they been quiet and easie here, they had not (so soon at least) thought of a foreign Trade; but being oppress't and thrown out of all Business in *Europe*, they resolved to find something to do in remoter Countries. They were certainly as much in the Right of it, to take that course, as the *Spaniards* were in the Wrong to put them upon it. For the World was wide enough to afford choice of places for Traffick and Settlement; and if the *Spaniards* would not, there were other People perhaps that would bid them welcome to such a Correspondence. But what a plague did the *Spaniards* bring upon themselves by sending the *Dutch* to look abroad for Trade? How often have they maul'd the *Portugueze* and them, broke in upon their Plantations, swept away their Profits, and given all along a mortifying Check to their exorbitant Power and Greatness? They have fully paid all the scores in the *Indies*, that were contracted in *Europe*, and besides added so much over and above, that the *Spaniards* perhaps had better have given them the other ten Provinces of the *Netherlands*, than ever have run so deeply into their Debt. But thus does it many times come to pass, That proud Oppressours make way for their own Fall and Punishment, and while they are contriving to overturn the Fortunes of others, do but spoil their own, and give their Adversaries greater Advantages against them.

City of Amsterdam begins.

The first that set up for the carrying on this Design of an *Indian* Correspondence, was the City of *Amsterdam*; the States and Prince *Maurice* consenting thereto; they furnish'd out a Fleet of eight Ships, four of which were to go by the usual way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the others to attempt the North passage.

See for this the Tomes of L'Escaper Enf. Arnf. Hermans Lib. 8. of his Works.

As for the * Success of those that went upon the Discovery of the Northern Passage, we shall omit all Particulars of that kind in this place, being at present confined to their other Voyages.

Those that went by the safer and commoner way of the Cape of *Good Hope*, were these four, The *Maurice*, the *Holland*, the *Amsterdam*, and the *Good Pinnace*. They had in all aboard them 249 Men; the whole Charge amounted to 290000 Florens, of which 100000 was in ready Money and Merchandice. Thus provided they set sail from the *Texel* *; and how or by what means soever they came to make so long a Voyage of it, whether by Trade and Business in the way, or the unavoidable restraints of bad weather; but it was more than a Year before they got up to the Coast of *India*. A great deal however is to be allowed upon the account of the newness of the Voyage to them; 'twas the first attempt, and they were not then so well acquainted (as now) with all the Difficulties and Dangers of the Passage. The Accounts don't tell us neither of any remarkable thing that occurr'd in the way; what Entertainment the Natives gave them at the Cape of *Good Hope* and at the Islands of St. *Laurence*, or what Observations they made upon those or other Countries they refresh'd at.

April, A.D. 1595.

The *Indian* Discovery was their great Business, and they seemed to be so full of this, that all others were too little and trival to be minded, till this were brought to some Perfection.

When they were come to * the Island of *Sumatra*, they made a short stay there, and then went * on for the Streights of *Sunde*, where the *Portugueze* came from *Bantam* to give them a Visit. There's no doubt in the World but they came upon an ill and treacherous Design, tho' they did nothing now that discover'd it, besides this pretence of Kindness which they made. People of a surly, imperious, spiteful Temper, are always to be suspected when they fawn and flatter; their Compliments forebode mischief to them that receive them; they are unfortunate Tokens, and a wise Man when he sees them will be immediately upon his guard. The *Dutch* had now a fair warning to look to themselves if they were disposed to take it, since the *Portugueze*, who were at that time Subjects to *Spain*, could not be imagined to come out of pure kindness to see them, who being lately broken off from that Crown, came now to undermine them in their *Indian* Trade, and besides were cursed Hereticks in to the bargain. And 'twas not long before they were fully satisfied that the *Portugueze* were actually conspiring their ruin, and came for nothing else but to make Observations in order to the more effectual accomplishment of their Design. This Information they had from no less a Person than the Protectour or Vice-King of *Bantam*, a deceitful intriguing Man himself, and of sufficient Judgment and Experience in Plots, to be able to give a good guess in any point of that nature. This Person came aboard one of their Ships, where Prince *Maurice*'s Letters (which were written both in *Arabick* and *Portugueze*) were read to him. And it seems matters went so far that the *Dutch* and he came to some Articles Agreement, and Writings were deliver'd on both sides, with the solemn Confirmation of Oaths and Promises, which how far they were kept or violated, the after Circumstances will discover. But yet that the particular account of the pernicious Designs of the *Portugueze* against them (which they had from the Vice-roy) may be the better understood, we must by the way enter a little into the Character of a certain Person, who was nearly concerned in the Business too. This was one *Raja Duina*, or *Cæsar* as the *Portugueze* called him; the Titular King of *Bantam*, and no more than so. His Father indeed was Lord of all the Country, governed and managed the Great Island of *Java* at his pleasure; but this Son falling in with the *Portugueze*, and marrying a *Portugueze* Wife, the People of *Bantam* rejected him, and would not stoop to his Authority. Besides this, he lived a good while at *Malacca* amongst that People, and carried it all along with so much particular Favour and Good Will towards them, that the *Bandanese* concluded him to be tinctur'd with such Principles, as would render him wholly unfit for their Government, and therefore put him by.

* May A. D. 1599. * June.

Portugueze plot their Destruction.

Agreement between the *Dutch* and the Protector of *Bantam*.

Cæsar or *Raja Duina* of *Bantam*.

Yet for all this, he was treated like a King by a great many; and some of the petty Kings themselves, that paid Homage to *Bantam*, would speak to him with all those Gestures of Aoration and profound Humility, that are usual in those parts when they address the Sovereign. July.

Now the Design was laid thus, that *Cæsar* should invite all the Chief of the *Dutch* ashoar to a Feast, and the *Portugueze* in the mean time with a good power of Men, should sieze the Ships, then left as it were without a Guard; and as for the dividing the Spoil betwixt them, they had agreed that *Cæsar* should have all the valuable Plunder, and the *Portugueze* upon the Payment of 3000 Ducats, should have the Ships put into their own hands. A handsome Contrivance enough; but the Difficulty was, to draw the *Dutch* ashoar, and make them leave their Ships in a careless manner. If they did not leave them naked and expos'd, the Plot would have miscarried and come to nothing; if they did so, they deserved to be ruined; and meet with no pity in all the Misfortunes conse-

conſequent upon the Surprizal. But there's no need of arguing one way or another about the Plot, ſince (as we hinted) the *Dutch* had notice of it, and ſo ſpoil'd all the intended Sport.

The *Dutch* try to work upon *Cæſar*.

Now this *Cæſar* being ſo entirely a Tool for the *Portugueze* to work with, and a very ſerviceable one too in carrying on that which now lay upon hand; 'twas a piece of good Policy to gain this Perſon over to their Intereſt if poſſible; at leaſt to ſweeten him a little with ſome good Preſents, that if he could not be made their Friend, yet he might be leſs an Enemy than he was before. He had been once aboard their Ships and well entertain'd; but now they thought fit to add to that former Civility, a Preſent of Armour, with ſome other valuable things, which they ſent him.

The Humour of the *Javans* is ſordid enough to be or do any thing for a little profit; they are Friends not where Vertue and Juſtice, or Principles of true Honour do engage them to be ſo; but where the Charms of Gain do invite them, and their hungry covetous Deſires may be ſatisfied.

Cæſar was ready to give his treacherous Invitation to the *Dutch*, to trepan them into a fatal Snare; but when the Preſent came he was another Man, he was won over to a very good Opinion of them, and began to blame the unjuſt Proceedings of the *Portugueze*.

The Deceits of the Protector.

After this he went away to *Jacatra*, and left the *Dutch* to deal with the Protector at *Bantam*. And things were brought to this iſſue, that the *Dutch* had liberty to trade there, and a Publick Houſe was taken for a Repoſitory of all their Goods, with all other neceſſary Preparations, in order to the Settlement of a Factory. Yet after the Agreement made, did the falſe-hearted Protector turn and wind, and uſe all the Artifices imaginable to undoe the Buſineſs, and fruſtrate their Deſigns. He complain'd of *Cæſar*, but was in all probability by far the worſe Knave of the two himſelf; a Man that diſcovers the Plots of other Adverſaries, that he may plot himſelf with the leſs danger of ſuſpicion, is a double Villain. But he did not content himſelf with meer caballing againſt them, and laying ſecret Obſtacles and Rubs in their way, but ſhortly after iſſued out a Proclamation forbidding the People to trade with them. Nay, the *Dutch* were now told too by ſome that had more kindneſs for them, that all their Ships would be aſſaulted, and without they look'd very well to their Buſineſs, ſeiz'd and taken too. This News made them retire aboard as faſt as they could, to prevent the Danger that threatned; but they could not all get off clear, ſome of them being intercepted in their Retreat, and kept Priſoners there in Town. When they ſent to demand their Men, the Protector refus'd to deliver them; upon which they immediately begun to batter the Town, and took three of their Junks in part of ſatisfaction.

Wars between the *Dutch* and *Bantameſe*.

But their poor Countrymen that were Priſoners, were in extream danger of their Lives, whiles they lay thundering upon the Walls with their great Guns, and ſpoiling all about them. They were juſt upon the point of being hanged, having Ropes about their Necks for that purpoſe, and were all to be tuck'd up out of hand, if their Friends aboard did not lie ſtill with their Guns, and forbear any farther Aſſaults upon the Town. And upon this Conſideration the *Dutch* did deſiſt, and a ſort of Truce was made for ſome Days; but the Flame broke out again when that time was expired, and raged with more violence for the ſpace of a Month after. And now hanging was too good for the *Dutch* that were aſhore; they were appointed to ſome more cruel Fate; but what that ſhould be, was not eaſie for their enraged Enemies to agree upon amongſt themſelves. There were ſo many different Opinions about the Method and Manner of their Execution, every ones Invention being employ'd to make it as barbarous as could be; that by this means they got a Reprieve till another Peace was concluded.

Had the Paſſions of their Adverſaries been more cool and calm, they had all died for't, and the Peace had come too late; but their wild ungovern'd Fury tranſported them at that rate, that they could not command Thoughts great enough to anſwer the greatneſs of their Indignation, and ſo loſt their opportunity of expreſſing it. A very rare as well as an odd thing, for Mens Lives to be ſav'd thus by the exceſs of Cruelty in their Adverſaries; for buſie deſigning Rage, to do the Work of Mercy and Good Nature, and by the heights of Study and Contrivance, to diſappoint it ſelf. But thus 'twas, a ſeaſonable Peace interven'd again, and the Victims who liv'd only till the Bloody Ceremonies of the Sacrifice were adjuſted, eſcap'd once more their horrid Fate.

Uncertainty of Affairs at *Bantam*.

The *Portugueze* were very much nettled and diſturb'd at this Peace which the *Bantameſe* had made with the *Dutch*, and therefore they ſent a Diſpatch from *Malacca* to perſwade them to violate the late Agreement, and declare War againſt them a third time. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that the *Portugueſe* Agent offer'd 10000 Rials to have the *Dutch* deliver'd into his hands; or for the *Bantameſe* publickly to deny them Trade in their Country, which they would. The Offer was too tempting for thoſe baſe-minded People to be able to withſtand it, ſo they forbid the *Dutch* all manner of Dealing and Concerns amongſt them, and they in Revenge of this perfidious Breach of Covenants, fell to taking of their Junks, and ſo puniſh'd them that way.

Portugues and Bantam fall out.

But the *Portugueze*, it ſeems (however it came about) thought the *Bantameſe* had not plaid the Knave enough with the *Dutch*, for the Money they gave them; they had given a great Rate, and they expected the Villainy ſhould have been anſwerable. Theſe Men were mighty ſtrict and punctual in obſerving the Laws of Commutative Juſtice, when they were buying other Mens Lives and Properties, or treating about the Price of their Deſtruction. Here they would not bate a Farthing, but have their Bargain to the utmoſt rigour fulfilled, and in caſe of a failure make the *Bantameſe* worſe Villains for cheating them, than they were for ſetting them on to break all thoſe ſolemn Leagues and Covenants. They were ſo concern'd about the ill beſtowing of their Money, that they fell to downright Scolding with the Protector about it, and very hot Words paſs'd on both ſides; ſuch as intriguing Knaves, when they fall out about the pious Deſigns they are carrying on, uſe to give another. In ſhort, the *Portugueze* were reſolv'd to have Satisfaction, and ſince the *Bantameſe* would not give it, they took it themſelves, by ſeizing ſeveral of the *China* Junks that traded there.

Protector's Revenge on them.

But the Protector was even with them before 'twas long; for tho' he cunningly diſſembled his Paſſion and Deſign of Revenge, yet the Flame was preſerv'd in its utmoſt ſtrength in his own Breaſt, and broke out (as a fit Occaſion ſerv'd), ending in no leſs than the total Ruine of the *Portugueze* Intereſt in this place. He got a good Fleet together, and came upon the *Portugueze* Galleys before they were aware, killing all the Men, and dividing the Spoil of the Fleet amongſt his Soldiers.

The *Portugueze* now were forc'd to contain themſelves within the Bounds of *Malacca*, their laſt Retreat, and only Defence hereabours; *Bantam* was rid of them, and they were like to domineer there no more.

The *Dutch* after theſe Events, went away to *Jacatra*, where they were receiv'd with great kindneſs, and had free permiſſion to furniſh themſelves with all ſorts of Neceſſaries they wanted.

Spice-Trade at *Tuban* and *Cydaia*.

From hence they ſail'd to *Tuban* and *Cydaia*, at which places they traded for Cloves and Nutmegs. Theſe People, if civil and kind at firſt, were yet afterwards ſoured by the *Bantameſe* and *Portugueze*; they aſſaulted the *Dutch* Ships, but to their own great prejudice, loſing near 200 of their Men.

Treachery of the People of *Cydaia* and *Matura*.

Things went much after the ſame manner at *Madura* too, whither they came next. The King of that place had leave to come aboard them, provided he came with a ſmall number of his Attendants; but he deſigning ſomething elſe beſides a Viſit, and bringing a little Army along with him, was kill'd in the Action, with moſt of his Men, and his young Son taken Priſoner.

At the City of *Balambuan*, they heard of the Admirals *Drake* and *Candiſh*, which had been there ſome Years before.

There were Wars at this time between the King of *Paſſarvan*, a *Mahometan*; and him of *Balambuan*, a *Pagan*; both theſe places being upon the ſame Iſle of *Java*; and *Balambuan* moſt remote in the Eaſtern Corner of the Iſle, as *Bantam* is in the Weſtern.

Baly Iſle.

Baly is a conſiderable Iſland, parted by a narrow Streight from the Eaſtern point of *Java*. The People altogether Heathens, and that Religion that is amongſt them, lies entirely in the Hands of the Bramens, in whoſe Diſcipline the King is always brought up, and is, as it were, one of their Order. And conſequently, according to the Principles of that Sect, they abſtain from all Animal Food; but they allow themſelves more Liberty in another Point than the *Javan* Bramens do, for they enjoy the Pleaſures of Matrimony, which the other do not. But then they are confin'd to one ſingle Marriage, by the Laws of their Society; and if the Wife dies, the Husband muſt be contented to live a mournful Widower all the reſt of his Days: He muſt take his Leave of Matrimony for ever, at leaſt he muſt have no more Wives in that Body; but after the Tranſmigration, 'tis poſſible he may come down again and marry in another, and that's as good. Nay, who knows, but the very ſame Couple may meet together again, and be Man and Wife, I know not how many times over; which if they ſhould, tho' the Souls be the ſame,

The Bramens of *Bali*.

Their Marriages and Holy-days.

ſame, yet the Bodies (they believe) are different, and ſo there's Variety ſtill, and perhaps all that may be deſired. But the heavieſt part of the Burden lies upon the poor Woman; if they die firſt, their Husbands are condemn'd to live unmarried; but if their Husbands die firſt, they are condemn'd to burn, or be buried alive along with them: The latter ſeems to be the Fate of the Bramens Wives, and the former that of the Peoples in general: So that here's Reaſon enough for them on both ſides, to pray for one another's Lives; the Man perhaps may be fond of the Comforts of the married State, and ſo his Wife's Life is a great Bleſſing to him; and the Woman, 'tis probable, is willing to live and have her ſhare of them, and other Enjoyments too; and therefore muſt needs be a very tender and careful Nurſe to her Husband, and do all that lies in her power to pleaſe and cheriſh him, and make his Life eaſie to him, that he may weather out the Point as long as 'tis poſſible. She is obliged to attend the Work of ſpinning that Thread with all the Art and Nice Application ſhe can; to run it out to the utmoſt length, and draw it as fine as may be, without danger of breaking; for as long as this laſts, ſhe laſts; and when the Good Man goes, ſhe can't ſtay long behind him: And if ſhe does not die of her own accord for Grief, the Country will make her do't upon another account, for there's no long-liv'd Widows amongſt them, nor no Women ever ſuffer'd to tell their ſecond Husbands how kind and obliging their firſt uſed to be to them. As for their other Rites, we have little account of them: Only they ſay, that every Seventh Day is ſacred with them, and devoted to the ſolemn Exerciſes of their Religion, beſides which they obſerve ſeveral others as Feſtivals and Holy-Days, in the compaſs of the Year.

The King of this Iſland is repreſented as a very potent Prince, able to bring into the Field 300000 Foot, and 100000 Horſe; and very rich too, as it ſhou'd ſeem by this, that the Furniture of his Table was all ſolid Gold. He came to the Shore to ſee the *Dutch* Fleets, in a Chariot drawn with Buffals, himſelf being Driver too, holding the Whip and Reins in his own Hand. His Troops that attended him, were arm'd with Spears, Flame-form'd Criſes, Bows made of Canes with poyſon'd Arrows. They are People of a black dull Complexion, like the *Javans* their Neighbours, little concern'd about any thing of Trade; or if they are, they deal for nothing but Cotton Cloth. The Iſland is no more than twelve *German* Miles in compaſs, a Spot incredibly ſmall, conſidering the Report of the vaſt Armies it produces: But as little as 'tis, 'tis a very rich and fertile Soil, luxuriant in its Productions, and excellently well water'd.

The *Dutch* obſerv'd, that the *Banyans* who were here, wore a certain Stone of the bigneſs of an Egg about their Necks; 'tis perforated in one part, and out of the Hole hang down three Threads, which they ſay is an Emblem of the Supreme Divinity.

They began their Voyage out of theſe Parts, for *Europe* again, in *February*, *A. D.* 1596. and concluded it before the middle of *Auguſt*, *A. D.* 1597.

Thus was that Correſpondence between them and the *Eaſt-Indies* begun, which afterwards became ſo familiar and full of profit to them.

CHAP. XL.

An Account of the Second Voyage made by the Dutch *to the* Eaſt-Indies, *with Eight Ships, the* Holland, *the* Zeland, *the* Frieſland, *the* Guelderland, *the* Utrecht, *the* Overyſſel, *the* Maurice, *the* Amſterdam: *Containing in all* 560 *Men.* James Neccius *Admiral, and* Wibrand Warwick *Vice-Admiral.*

THO' the Reſult of the former Voyage was little better than loſs of Men, Money, and Time; yet the *Dutch* not at all diſcouraged with their poor Succeſs, no ſooner ſaw the firſt Ships return, but they ſent out theſe to make a Second Trial. And here we have, as it were, the whole Republick, ſailing away at once to the *Eaſt-Indies*. Here's the Prince, and the Provinces, the Stadtholder, and the States themſelves; Prince *Maurice*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and the reſt, all upon the march together. 'Tis as if they were going to make a new Settlement abroad, and deſign'd to have the *Low Countries* in *Aſia*, as well as in *Europe*. But we'll follow them, and ſee what they do.

May, *A. D.* 1598. *Dutch* Fleet] arrived at the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Having ſet Sail from the *Texel*, they kept Company together as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*: But there partly by foul Weather, and their own ill Conduct, they were parted. Some of them held their way to the Iſle St. *Mary*, and the reſt to the Iſle *De Cerne*, call'd by them *Maurice* Iſle, in Complement to the Prince of that Name. This Iſland they commend highly for its excellent Trees, Palms, and Ebony, black, red, and yellow; for its Air and Soil, the Animals it produces, as divers ſorts of Fowl, but eſpecially the Tortoiſes, which do here grow to ſuch a bigneſs as is almoſt incredible. They ſay, that they are, ſome of them, big enough to carry four Men upon their Backs, and that ten Men may ſit all together in the hollow of the Shell. 'Tis a wonder they did not make uſe of ſome of theſe fine Shells inſtead of Boats, to wait upon their Ships; for 'tis a far more compendious (as well as a leſs chargeable) way of making Boats and Skiffs, to kill a few Tortoiſes, and take off the Shells, than to go to building of them the common way.

large Tortoiſes at Mauri's Iſle, near St. Laurence. Wonder.

Thoſe Ships of the *Dutch* that went to the Iſle St. *Mary*, got firſt to *Bantam*, and having made their way by Preſents, to the young King and Protector, quickly procur'd a Grant for full Liberty of Trade. Whether 'twas the ſame Protector or no, that was before, is uncertain; however, the *Dutch* were now more kindly us'd, and the *Bantameſe* and they mighty Friends together.

Dutch agree to Trade at Bantam.

By that time they had been here a Month, the other part of the Fleet came in too; but ſadly weather-beaten and diſtreſs'd, and ſeveral of their Company dead: And now ſo many Ships being come together upon the *Bantamſe*, the Price of Pepper was rais'd. The *Dutch* quickly procur'd four of their Ships to be laden with Pepper, which were forthwith diſpatch'd home: The reſt reſolved to viſit the *Molucca* Iſles; and *Neccius* being return'd to *Holland*, *Warwick* was Admiral in his room.

The *Molucca* Fleet in their way, put in at *Tuban*, another Town of *Java*, and at the Iſle *Madure*, upon the ſame Coaſt Northward. That Iſland abounds in Rice, which is the moſt conſiderable of its Products; the People for the moſt part live upon Spoil and Robbery. This the *Dutch* found by their own ſad Experience; for having landed ſome Men here to enquire after Proviſions, they were ſeiz'd and captivated by theſe barbarous People, as were alſo thoſe whom they ſent to look after them. And tho' they had made them Priſoners in this unjuſt and violent way, yet they had the Impudence to ask a prodigious Sum for their Ranſome, ſo that the *Dutch* were forc'd to ſet a conſiderable Force of Men aſhore, to try to recover them by another Method.

January. *Madure* Iſle, and the Villany of that People to the *Dutch*.

February.

Their old Friends the *Portugueze* headed the *Indians*, and a hot Skirmiſh there was between them, but in the midſt of the Fight there happen'd a Storm to riſe, which obliged the *Dutch* to give over in ſome confuſion, and retreat towards their Ships to look after them.

This gave the Enemy an advantage to do them ſome miſchief, that otherwiſe perhaps they would not have done; ſo that they came off with a conſiderable loſs, and after all were forced to pay 2000 Rials of Eight in Money and Goods, for the Redemption of their Men.

Trade at *Amboina.*

From hence they sail'd to *Amboina*, but because there was not Trade sufficient for all four Ships, therefore two of them went away to *Banda*. Those at *Amboina* met with Cloves, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Coco's, Banana's, and Sugar-Canes there; and agreed for a kind of a Factory amongst them. The Inhabitants were a poor simple sort of People, very ignorant and unpolish'd in their Manners; their Weapons were only long Pikes, with a Hook at one end, their Boats made in the form of a Dragon, the Head at the Prow, and the Tail in the Stern, and adorn'd with several Streamers.

At *Banda. March, April, &c. A. D. 1599.*

As for those at the *Banda* Isles, they had the same Success in their Affairs, as the others had at *Amboina*; they came to an Agreement for Trade, and took a House for their Merchandize; and here they were pretty busie in buying and selling for the space of two or three Months. They found nothing of a King, or Kingly Power, any where in all these Islands; they were govern'd by their own * States, or Orankayes, who directed and presided in all Matters of Publick Consequence, and seem'd to have no further Power than that came to, to act in such a manner for the Good of the Community.

* See *Isac. Pontani Hist. Amstelodam.* lib. 2 c. 15. And also, *Pars 5. Ind. Orientd. Reg. nullum egregium, sed suis instituta viventes ad scopiorum Cœtus, ubi consultatione opus est, res referunt.* So says *Pontanus.*

The People are all *Mahometans*, and very devout and precise ones; full of Zeal and Strictness in their way, beginning no Business of any sort whatsoever, till they have prayed for the Success of it; in which respect they are a shame to a great part of the Christian World, that have a much-less Sence of Religion than this amounts to. They were involved at this time (and had been a good while before) in bitter Contentions and Wars amongst themselves; *Labetack*, *Comber*, and *Wayre*, held together; on the other side, *Nera*, *Poolaway*, and *Poolaroon*, were all in a League. They were horridly set against one another, and fought with a strange degree of eagerness and inveterate spleen; making a deal of loud Noise and Triumph, whenever they massacred one another, and got a parcel of Heads to shew of either side. And yet all these Bloody Doings was only for the cutting down a few Trees in the Territory of *Nera*, by the Men of *Labetack*; this was the Original of the Quarrel; a very great thing indeed, for six or seven Towns to fall together by the Ears about, and spoil and tear one another at such a rate, as if the Furies had possess'd them all.

'Twas perhaps a small Encroachment upon the Privileges of the People of *Nera*; but a Civil War was the ready way to lay them open to a Foreign Power, that would make greater Encroachments upon them all, than this came to. Had not the Mouse and the Frog been busie a fighting, they might have avoided the hungry Adversary that waited to swallow them both up.

These Islands are esteem'd very healthy, and People live to a great Age in them; that of 130 Years is not uncommon amongst them, and their Old Age is not over-run with Distempers neither.

Their Character for the production of Spices is very well known; and here the Work of dressing the Mace and the Nutmegs, always falls to the share of the Women.

From hence the two *Dutch* Ships set Sail again for *Bantam*, and from thence for *Holland*. But the other two that were at *Amboina*, after two Months stay there, went to the *Molucca's*.

Two of the Ships go home. *July.* And the others to the *Molucca's. January.*

At *Ternate* they procur'd a Trade and Factory; that Prince was kind and favourable to them, and ready to yield to all their fair and reasonable Proposals. These also having settled their Factory here, sail'd (after the others) to *Bantam*, and from thence for *Holland*, having no Business now to detain them any longer in the *Indies*. Their Ships were all richly laden with Spice, and they had made a happy Voyage of it, and 'twas now time to go home and shew their Country (expecting their return) the Fruits of their profitable Labours abroad.

The two former Ships came safe into the *Texel* in *April*, *A. D.* 1600; and these latter ones followed them with the like Success the same Year. *A. D. 1600.*

CHAP. XLI.

An Account of the farther Progress of the Dutch East-Indian *Trade, in several Attempts made by them for that purpose.*

THIS Correspondence between *Holland* and the *East-Indies* being once set afoot, 'twas prosecuted by the *Dutch* with a Vigour answerable to the Greatness of their Hopes and Expectations from it. They had not Patience to stay till the last Fleet came home; but before they could hear the happy Tidings of their Success, sent out another upon the same Design.

* *May, A. D. 1599.* * This consisted of three good Ships, under the Command of *Stephen van Hagen*.

Besides this, the four Ships of the former Fleet, that made so quick a Dispatch at *Bantam*, and went homewards from thence, under the Command of Admiral *Neccius*, were presently made to begin another Voyage; they did but just unlade as it were, and then put out to Sea again.

All this while there was but one Company that took upon them the Management of these *Indian* Affairs; and that was the Company of *Amsterdam*, or of the Province of *Holland*.

New Companies in *Holland.*

But now another started up, the Business grew profitable, and was upon the thriving Hand, and more were willing to put in for a share on't. This was a Company of *Amsterdammers*, and *Brabanters* joyn'd together: They

* *December. A. D. 1599.* * set out a Fleet of four Ships, under the Conduct of Admiral *Bott*; which after two Years return'd with a very rich Cargo.

* *A. D. 1600.* The same Society also prepared * two Ships more, to which the former Company added six others all going out, under the Command of the aforesaid *Neccius*, and making a very happy and prosperous Voyage.

? *A. D. 1601. April.* Again, besides all these, the very next Year *, 13 Ships more set Sail from *Amsterdam*, under the Command of three Admirals, *James Heemskirk*, *John Grenior*, and *Wolphard Harminius*: These were met and encountred by a *Spanish* Armado, consisting of the like number of Ships; but how the *Dutch* came off in that Action, we have no particular Account in these Voyages that are now before us.

'What Success they had at *Achen*, is related in a former Book *; 'tis reckon'd the *Portugueze* procur'd them that Entertainment by the ill Reports they made of them to the King of *Achen*. However, that Prince did afterwards treat them at a better rate, and proceeded so far in a friendly Correspondence with them, as to send his Embassadors into *Holland* to Prince *Maurice*; one of which died at *Middleborough*, and lies buried there, having an Epitaph on his Tomb, that shews his Name and Quality. The Commanders to whom the King of *Achen* was thus Civil, were *Lawrence Bicker*, with four Ships of *Zeland*, and Admiral *George Spilberg*, one of the famous *Dutch* Circum-Navigators. What was perform'd by each of those forementioned Persons, we shall enter upon the enquiry into by and by; but we must first of all take Notice of a very necessary step, in order to the more prosperous Management of these Affairs, and that was the Union of all the Stocks and Companies. For whereas by the diversity of these Trading Parties amongst them, there were so many private and particular Interests to be regarded, that the Publick Good could not be so zealously and regularly pursued as otherwise; it was concluded, and accordingly proclaim'd, That all these several Societies should form themselves into one Body, and laying all their Stocks together, should have the sole disposal of the *East-India* Trade, for the space of 21 Years. And they agreed also upon these Terms, with reference to the Division of the Charge of all new Fleets amongst themselves, that should hereafter be set out, *viz.* that *Amsterdam* should bear a half part; *Middleborough* one fourth; *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Enchusen*, and *Hoorn*, each a sixteenth part. The Sum of the Common Stock brought into the Treasury, amounted to more than Six Millions of Florins: And upon this Foundation of united Counsels and Purses, they proceeded to carry on a very thriving and profitable Trade. The Accounts we have of their particular Managements abroad, are not very perspicuously nor methodically given; but yet so much we may be able to pick out of them, as

* See *Dutch first Voyage Lib. 2.*

All the Companies united.

may

may serve to inform us of the mighty Progress the *Dutch* made both in advancing their own Interest and Trade, and destroying that of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*.

Harminius relieves Bantam. *Wolphard Harminius* had five Ships of the *Amsterdam* Fleet under his command. This Person being in the Streights of *Sunde*, was informed there by a *Chinese* Junk, that the Town of *Bantam* was closely besieged by an Armado of *Portugueze*, consisting of eight great Ships and twenty Frigats. They came thither pretending to force the *Bandanese* to promise them to have no dealings with the *Dutch*, and if they would not oblige themselves to that, they should be punished for their Refusal with all the Plagues of War.

Portugueze routed from Bantam. *Harminius* upon this News sail'd away to *Bantam*, fell upon the *Portugueze*, and routed the whole Armado; he sunk and took a great many of them, and some the Enemies set fire to themselves; in short a very small number escaped, and those that did hurried away in a horrible Fright and Confusion.

Their Cruelties at Amboina. These scatter'd Remainders of the Fleet (since they could not have their Wills at *Bantam*) set themselves to do all the mischief imaginable at other places. At *Amboina* they slaughter'd the poor innocent Natives, cut down the Clove Trees, and committed all manner of barbarous Hostilities, and all out of revenge and malice to the *Dutch*, whose Trade they were bent every where to hinder. The *Bantamese* were very thankful to *Harminius* for his timely Assistance, as they had very good reason to be; neither was it without reason that the *Dutch* interposed in that manner, since the Sufferings of the *Bantamese* were chiefly upon their account, and by casting off their Friendship and Alliance they might have put an end to all their own Danger and Distress. *Harminius* having received all the Compliments of the *Bantamese* upon this Account, took his leave and went away for the *Molucca* and *Banda* Islands. And now this part of the Fleet was divided, two Ships being bound for the former, and three for the latter of these Islands. Those that went to *Ternate* got a good lading there, and then sail'd to *Banda* to their Companions. At *Banda* they found their Factory in good case, and a sufficient quantity of Mace and Nutmegs ready for them, with which they presently furnished three of their Ships and dispatched them home; the other two staid there till the Cloves were ripe.

Harminius goes to the Molucca's and Banda's.

A noble Portugueze Prize taken by Heemskirk. *James Heemskirk*, that commanded another part of the *Amsterdam* Fleet, performed his most considerable piece of Service, in the taking of a splendid *Portugueze* Ship. She was of 1400 Tun burthen, and had 800 Persons aboard her; she was laden with Silk, Sugar, Musk, Cotton, Tintinago, and so many rich Commodities, that she was worth several Millions of Florens to them. According to the usual hectoring way of that People, at the first sight of the *Dutch* Ships she hung out a bloody Flag, threatning them all with Death and Confusion; but she quickly changed her Colours and put out the white Flag of Peace; a few shot from the *Dutch* humbled her, and made her cry out *Misericordia*. *Heemskirk* returned home in *A. D.* 1604.

Spilbergen at the Island of Ceylon. The very same Year also returned Admiral *Spilbergen* mentioned before. The most of his Concerns lay at the Island of *Ceylon*, of which we have this following brief Account. He was first of all honourably received and entertained by the King of *Batecoli*, who vouchsafed him Liberty of Trade, and after several other Favours, sent him away in a very friendly manner to the King of *Cande*, who desired his Company. This Prince order'd a noble retinue to attend him in his Journey thither; his Elephants were sent out together with his Guard, and a costly Litter for the Admiral himself to be carried in. This King of *Cande* being mention'd, we must digress a little into his Story, which may deserve our consideration. The *Portugueze* amongst other parts of the *East-Indies* had seated themselves also in this Island of *Ceylon*, where they had their strong Fort of *Colombo*, and enjoyed Quiet and Friendship with the Kings of the Country. In this Fort of *Colombo*, the present King of *Cande* had his Education, they had made a Christian of him, and Baptiz'd him by the Name of *Don John de Austria*.

Sent for to Cande.

The Story of the King of Cande. Upon the Death of *Darma* the old King, this *Fimala* (for that was his Name) by the help of his party in the Island stept into the Throne, and presently arm'd against the *Portugueze*, and expell'd them the Country. The late King *Darma* had a Daughter living still, whom the *Portugueze* likewise had the breeding of, and her they resolved to marry to the Governour of *Malacca*, and so driving out *Fimala*, put the Government into their Hands. Accordingly they brought this young Princess with a Potent Army to *Cande*; and now *Fimala* was forc'd to retire and hide himself in the Woods, where yet he placed his Forces so advantageously, that he bitterly distressed the *Portugueze*, and cut off all manner of Provision from the City. *Lopez* the new-made King, seeing he was like to be starved in the City, resolved to stay no longer there, but go out and leave all to the hazard of one set Battel; if he carried the Day, the Distress was at an end, and the Country clear of all Adversaries before him; if not, a Noble Death, or Fortunate escape into some place of more freedom, would still change this direful Scene. And 'twas by the latter of these two Methods that he was relieved; he lost the Victory and his Life together, * and *Fimala* the Conqueror possesses himself at once of the young Princess and the Throne again.

** A. D. 1590. Portugueze overthrown at Ceylon.*

She was but nine or ten Years old, when by *Fimala*'s Victory and Marriage with her, she came to the Inheritance of her Fathers Crown; as for the *Portugueze*, the whole Power of the Kingdom of *Cande* was employed against them, and all Endeavours used to accomplish their compleat Expulsion from the Island. 'Tis to be noted that *Darma* the Father of this young Princess, and *Fimala*'s Predecessour in the Throne of *Cande*, was not originally King of that place, but of *Sitebagne*, which is about 15 Leagues from *Cande*. 'Twas the Success of his Arms that brought him in there, not the Right of Succession, or the Peoples Choice; he drove the lawful King of *Cande* out, who fled with all his Children for Refuge to the *Portugueze*, and left the Victorious *Darma* for a while, to enjoy the Fruits of his Violence and Injustice. But he was at last routed out by the People, who were far from being easie under his Government; and therefore served him the same sawce that he had served their rightful Prince, forcing him to taste the Pleasures of Rebellion, Treason, and Banishment, and to try how 'twas, for a Man that had a Crown upon his Head, to have it pulled off again in a rude and forcible manner. By this means was a way opened for *Fimala* the Son of the exiled King, to come into his Fathers Royal Seat at *Cande*; the Death of the Usurper *Darma* did him that Justice, and brought him to the Possession of his desired Glory.

Spilbergen's Entertainment at Cande. *Spilbergen* being come to *Cande* to wait upon this Prince, was the next Day after his arrival sent for to Court. The King was very well pleased with the Presents he made him, but seemed to be much more taken with the Company of him and his European Attendants, who appear'd to be such a sort of People as he little expected to see. For he was under an Apprehension that there was no Nation of Whites, but the *Portugueze* alone, his most detested Enemies, and therefore lay under a very pleasing Surprize to find the *Dutch* of that Complexion as well as they.

The Furniture of his Palace was after the *Portugueze* Fashion, for having had his Education amongst them, he still retained some of their Customs: Thus the Rooms were furnished with Chairs, and Stools, and Tables, adorned with rich Arras Hangings and other things of the like nature, that had far more of the *European* than the *Indian* mode in them.

When they came to discourse of the matter of Trade, the King shewed an uncommon degree of forwardness and willingness to promote that Design; and (whether 'twas a Compliment or no) he told *Spilbergen* that himself and his Queen and all his Nobles would be ready to carry Stones and Mortar for the building of a Fort when and wherever Prince *Maurice* and the States pleased.

Burns the Portugueze Ships. And to fix the King more effectually in this good Humour and favourable Opinion of the *Dutch*, *Spilbergen* went out one Day and took three *Portugueze* Ships, burning them when he had done, and bringing all the Men home Prisoners to the King. This did his Business, and if the King had not been disposed to be kind before, 'twas enough to have made him so: A Sacrifice of his Enemies that had once, and would again beat his Crown from his Head. What could be more agreeable and procure more Favour for him that offer'd it? This Prince was mightily delighted with Musick, and when the Admiral found his Inclination to lie pretty strongly that way, he presented him with a couple of Musicians, one of whom came to very good Fortune by this means, for the Charms of his Musick perswaded the King to make him a Secretary of State; this was a very fine Post for a Fidler, and Preferment enough to have made a Man Musical that was not so before. But farther, to shew his Esteem and Opinion of the *Dutch*, the King set himself to learn that Language, and would needs have his Kingdom called by the Name of *New Holland*.

Account of Ceylon. The Account we have of this Country is very short and imperfect. The whole Island is divided into seven Kingdoms, but how much *Fimala* the King of *Cande*'s Territories do take in is not certain; only this we

are told, that he poſſeſſes all that Kingdom, of which *Colombo* is the Capital City, a few Forts excepted, out of which he is not yet able to drive the *Portugueze*.

The Iſland is 250 Miles from N. to S. and 140 broad, 'tis a noble fertile Spot, abounds in delicate odoriferous Plants, Cinnamon Trees, the moſt and beſt in the whole World, and which is more than all, choice Jewels of ſeveral ſorts.

A great Carbuncle brought from *Ceylon*.

Spilbergen brought both Cinnamon and precious Stones from thence, and amongſt theſe a Pyropus or Carbuncle of a prodigious ſize, weighing full 400 Carots; one ſo big as which hardly *Europe* had ever ſeen before. Thus we have ſeen the Reſult of *Spilbergen*'s Management at *Ceylon*, an Iſland little known to the *European* World; we muſt now ſee what was performed by other Commanders of the *Dutch* Fleets in other places where their Concerns lay.

* *March* A. D. 1602.

Admiral *James Neccius* ſet ſail with the Ships under his Command for *Bantam*, where after a Voyage of ſome nine Months or better they arrived in * ſafety. The Governour of this place (according to the good Underſtanding now eſtabliſhed between them and the *Dutch*) gave them Information of the Deſigns the *Portugueze* were carrying on againſt them.

King of *Tuban* and the *Portugueze* arm themſelves againſt the *Dutch*.

The King of *Tuban* (a Town upon the Iſland of *Java*) was of a *Portugueze* extraction, and having join'd with his Country-men in their Plot of extirpating the *Dutch* Intereſt there, had ſent to *Bantam* to ask leave to attack the *Dutch* in that Harbour, for which purpoſe they had a Fleet of 40 Ships that lay ready at *Jeortan*. What Anſwer was given we do not know; tho' 'tis probable a peremptory Refuſal to admit of any ſuch Hoſtilities againſt the *Dutch* there; however *Neccius* did not ſtay to ſee the event of it, but went away for the *Moluccas*.

Portugueze reports of the *Dutch*.

At *Ternate* he heard how the *Portugueze* had befriended his Nation in a good Character, repreſenting them to the People as a parcel of Thieves, Sodomites, and in all reſpects the worſt and moſt lewd ſort of Men, which they did they alledged out of kindneſs to the King of *Ternate*, becauſe they would not have him impoſed upon by ſuch a ſort of People. Beſides this here was a report of a diſmal Tragedy acted by them upon a Company of *Dutch* Men, whoſe Ships they had betrayed; upon all which Accounts, *Neccius* ſailed away to *Tidore* to take ſome part of his revenge upon them.

They rout the *Dutch*.

But his Succeſs was not anſwerable to the Juſtneſs of his Cauſe, or at leaſt the Greatneſs of that particular Provocation, for he came off with the worſt on't in the Encounter, and beſides the Loſs of ſome of his Company and his own Wounds, was obliged to leave the inſulting Enemy to make their utmoſt Boaſt upon his Flight.

King of *Ternates* Title.

They by the way here give us an Account of the King of *Ternate*'s Titles, and all the Dominions he pretends to; they tell us he calls himſelf King of *Ternate*, *Machian*, *Motir*, *Amboina*, *Gilolo*, and of the *Celebes*, tho' he poſſeſſes nothing there; alſo of *Mindanao*, *Sokens*, *Menos*, and other Iſlands. But all the while here's nothing of the *Banda* Iſlands; we don't find the King of *Ternate* pretends any Soveraignty there, and there's no reaſon to believe that Title would be ſuppreſs'd if it had ever been aſſumed by him; and therefore that more modern Pretence of the *Dutch* to the *Banda* Iſlands upon the King of *Ternate*'s account proves it ſelf to be vain and idle, and the Makers of it to be ſhrewdly put to it to find out ſome Reaſon for their unjuſt Claim.

Neccius now beaten away from the *Moluccas* went to ſeek his Fortune in other places.

Ceyo one of the *Philippine* Iſlands.

He came firſt to *Ceyo*, one of the *Philippine* Iſlands tributary to the *Spaniards*, where he met with kind Entertainment from the Natives.

After that they came to *Mendare* not far from the Bay of *Manilla*, where they were horribly endanger'd for eight Days together amongſt the Rocks.

From hence they ſail'd towards the Coaſt of *China*, and had ſight of one of the Cluſter of Iſlands, that lies before *Cauton*.

Cauton and *Macao* on the *Chineſe* Coaſt.

When they were by their own reckoning 12 or 15 Leagues from *Macao*, they ventured to proceed three or four Leagues farther, and ſaw a parcel of Buildings at the Foot of a Hill, and ſeveral Boats in the adjoining Water with whole Families in them, Men, Women, and Children. None of theſe People would come aboard them, but when they enquired of them about *Macao*, they pointed to the Mountain; but the *Dutch* not believing *Macao* to be ſo near, ſet ſome of their Men aſhoar; which not returning, they ſent out more in their Boats to enquire after them, but in ſhort they were all ſtopp'd and detained Priſoners, and now the *Dutch* found by dear bought Experience, that the place they were come to was *Macao*. There was no remedy to be had at all in this caſe: their Men were out of their reach, and they had not ſtrength enough to attempt the Recovery of them by Arms; ſo they were forced to ſubmit to this unjuſt Violence, and go away quiet and contented, till they were in fitter Circumſtances to take their Revenge.

Some of them made Priſoners at *Macao*.

After this they beat about upon the Coaſt of *Cauchin-China*, and having paſt ſeveral conſiderable Dangers by Rocks and Shelves, and other formidable things, they came to *Quâmi*. Here they found nothing but Woods and Deſarts, and the footings of ſome Wild Beaſts; No Inhabitants appeared, nor any Refreſhment that might tempt a Company of weather-beaten Seamen to ſtay there; ſo they ſailed from hence to *Auarella Talca*, in 11 Degr. 30 Min. This place was almoſt as bad as the other, only not quite ſo barren; they came out into an open Field, beſet all round with comely Trees, where they ſaw good ſtore of Birds, and Buffals too, that were diſperſed up and down a feeding, but they could not lay hands of any of them to ſupply their Neceſſities. They found the Track of ſome Carriages, as alſo the Footings of ſome Men in ſeveral places, which they followed as far as they could, till they were led out into wild rambling Woods, where all was loſt and confounded again. So that 'tis probable theſe People had no fixed and certain Dwellings, but wandred about the Country, ſettling ſometimes in one ſpot of it and ſometimes in another, according as the Paſturage or other Conveniencies ſerved them.

Quami barren place.

Auarella Talca.

But the Fruitfulneſs of this Country (ſuch as 'twas) was a worſe Plague to the *Dutch* in its Effects, than the Barrenneſs of it could poſſibly have been. For here was a Fruit, the eating of which, made them all downright mad for a time. All their Faculties were ſtrangely darkned and diſturb'd, the Harmony and regular Temper of their Minds ſpoil'd and vitiated, their Fancies ſo debauched, that they did nothing but form a parcel of wild extravagant Images, and preſent them in ſuch ſtrong and lively Colours too, that all appear'd as if 'twas real. Every Man was a Viſionary in his own way, and according to his own proper Humour and Diſpoſition. One ſaw and converſed with Angels, another had ſome of the Black Regiment about him, a third cried out of Serpents, and other formidable Creatures, and another of ſome other thing that his confuſed diſtracted Imagination preſented at that time. Theſe Phanaticks muſt ſure make very pretty Company together, while every Man was telling his own Story, and exerting thoſe Paſſions, with their ſeveral Apprehenſions of the Objects that were preſented excited in them. No doubt there was a great deal of variety in that kind, and as much noiſe and buſtle too amongſt them; for thoſe that fanſied the Devil by them, could not but run away from him, and the reſt that were encompaſſed with venomous Beaſts to be ſure did not ſtand ſtill. Any Man that ſhould have come and found them in this Condition (not ſuſpecting it to be the Effect of ſuch a Cauſe as 'twas) muſt have thought *Auarella Talca* to be either a Receptacle of mad People, or at leaſt to be haunted with ſomething worſe. How they came to be ſober again they don't tell us, whether by the uſe of any ſort of Remedies, or whether the Diſtemper went off of it ſelf. They don't give us neither any deſcription of this Fruit, or the Tree, or Shrub that bears it, that other People might learn how to know and avoid it; all which is ſo very groſs a Neglect (that becauſe 'tis more Charity to impute it to Diſtraction than to Ill Nature) wee'll ſuppoſe they did not recover the true Uſe of their Wits as long as they were there, but carried the Relicks of the Madneſs away with them.

A ſtrange Fruit found there.

The next place they came to was *Patane*; and here (whether mad or ſober) they found very kind Entertainment, and had the Grant of a Factory from the Queen of this place. They heard here likewiſe that their Men taken at *Macao* were moſt of them executed and ſent Priſoners to *Goa*; for 'twas the *Portugueze* had ſerv'd them that trick, tho' they ſuſpected the *Chineſe* to have ſome hand in it.

Dutch have a Factory at *Patane*.

At *Patane* they tell us are uſed the *Malayan*, *Chineſe*, and *Siameſe* Languages; the *Malayan* ſomething reſembling the *Arabick*, the *Siameſe* like *European* Characters, the *Chineſe* much more intricate than either, and to be read from the right-hand downwards, wherein it agrees with the *Japoneſe**.

* See Capt *Saris*'s Voyage.

The Laws of this Country are very ſevere in caſe of Adultery, puniſhing any Treſpaſs of that kind with certain Death. The Offenders are in one reſpect their own Judges, for they condemn themſelves to what Death they pleaſe; and their Parents are their Executioners, and have it hereby in their Power to make their Sufferings as eaſie

Patane, its Cuſtoms and Products.

easie and favourable as they can be. Tho' 'tis a cruel Law to the Parents that obliges them to do this Office to their own Children; if the Principles of natural Affection and Tenderness are any thing strong in them, they must offer horrible Violence to themselves, and endure more Pain and Misery than those whom they execute.

But as rigid and strict as the Law is against Adultery, it tolerates Fornication with a great deal of ease and patience. There's nothing of this nature look'd after or regarded, 'tis no Crime in the Country, nay, 'tis an established Custom amongst them, for every Man this way to take his full liberty. Common Women are offer'd to Strangers that come hither to do their houshold Work by Day, and other Offices at Night, to dress their Victuals, make their Beds, and when they have done, to lie in them. The *Dutch* so highly commend their Entertainment at this place, that 'twould make one guess these *Pacan* Doctresses had the management of some of them; and by the gentle agreeable Methods of their Art, might help to cure them of their Distraction.

They report one thing of the *Siamese* that looks very odd and strange; which is, that they wear two or three Silver Balls fastned into the Flesh of the *Pudenda*, and these are sometimes as big as a Tennis Ball; this they observed at *Patane*.

The Country about this place they say is very fruitful and Pleasant. The Woods are stored with wild Beasts, and Fowl; their Turtles are adorned with fine colour'd Feathers like Parrots, their Geese and Ducks lay them Eggs twice a Day.

Manner of catching Elephants.

One of the most common sorts of Beasts amongst them is the Elephant; they make the Tame ones help to catch the Wild, by turning them out into the Woods, where they presently begin a Battle with them; and so when both are closely engaged and fastned together by the Teeth, the Men that lie near at hand, provided with Ropes, make the Wild ones Prisoners.

This is the last Account we have of the Affairs or Observations of these *Dutch* Ships, which we may suppose from hence to have set sail for *Holland*.

To go on yet farther with the Endeavours of this Nation at a Foreign Trade, we shall consider the Fleet set out under the Command of *Wilrand Warwick* Admiral, and *Sebalt de Weert*, Vice-Admiral. It consisted of 14 Ships, the *Maurice* of 400 Tun, the *Holland* 350, the *Nassaw* 340, the *Sun* 280, the *Moon* 250, the *Star* 180, the *Parrot* a Pinnace of 25, all these by the Merchants of *Amsterdam*; then three Ships of *Zeland*, one of 400 Tun, the *Flushing* 250, the *Goose* 140; two Ships by the *Enchuseners*, the *Hedge* 220, the *Virgin* 175; two Ships of *Rotterdam*, the *Erasmus* 250, the *Rotterdam* 80. 'Twas determined that some of these Ships should go to *Achen* and *Ceylon*, some to the *Moluccas*, some to *China*, and lastly others to their old Friends the *Bantamese*. The *Zelanders* began the Voyage, setting out three Months before the rest of the Fleet; the others followed in *June*, 1602, reaching *Achen* the succeeding *March*, where they found the Ships of *Zeland*. They that were appointed for *Ceylon*, left the rest to their future Good Fortunes, after some time of stay there, and went away themselves for that Island. 'Twas *De Weert*, the Vice-Admiral's Province to go thither; and those that consider the Circumstances of *Spilbergen*'s Entertainment at that place, will easily grant, that his Country-men had reason enough to hope for Success and Good Treatment.

A brave Fleet of 14 Sail, to be sent into divers parts.

June, A. D. 1602.

De Weert's Reception at *Cande*.

When this Person came to *Cande*, he was received into the City with no less than Kingly Pomp and Triumph; the Souldiers and Citizens made a Lane for him to pass half a Mile long, and all the while the great Guns were roaring, the martial Musick sounding, and the People hollowing, so that 'twas impossible for one Man to hear another speak. Being come to the Palace, he found the King ready to receive him, before whom when he fell down on his Knees according to the Custom, he was presently taken up in a very gentle manner, and desired to hear the King's Questions, which were concerning his Country, and Business in the Island of *Ceylon*. *De Weert* quickly satisfied these Demands, especially the former, by pointing to Prince *Maurice*'s Picture that hung there, which *Spilbergen* had given the King, telling him he belong'd to the Country that was governed by that Prince. And they all expressed a great deal of Satisfaction at hearing him say so, for they were in some doubt of him, and had placed that Picture there on purpose to try if he knew it, and by that means to find out something of the truth of *Spilbergens* Relation.

But the King enquired next, how he durst adventure so far into the Country of his own accord, without any thing of a Pledge or Assurance for his safe Return; but *De Weert*, who did not pretend to suspect the King's Generosity and Kindness to the *Dutch*, and knowing his perfect hatred to the *Portugueze*, made him sensible how secure he thought himself in his Majesties Dominions, without any of those Formalities.

King of *Candy*'s Proposal to *Weert* for a War with the *Portugueze*.

This Return pleased the King, and he expressed a great deal of Indignation against the *Portugueze*; nay, sometime after in a private Conference, he told *De Weert*, that if the *Dutch* with their Ships would undertake to prevent the coming of Supplies from *Goa*, he would fall upon the *Portugueze* here in *Ceylon* with an Army of 20000 Men. And for the Reward of this piece of Service, he would give them all the Castles and Forts he took in that War, and besides, all the Trade of the Island should be turn'd over into their Hands. *De Weert* received several Tokens of this Prince's Favour to himself in particular, amongst the rest a noble Bowl of Gold, which he made his young Daughter drink to him in, and afterwards present him with; and at his going away gave him 25 Quintals of Cinnamon, and 16 of Pepper, and a very honourable Convoy to his Ships. At parting too he told him, that if his Son the Prince were old enough, he would send him into *Holland* to have his Education in Martial Discipline under Prince *Maurice*; and thus *De Weert* went away from *Ceylon* with every whit as much Good Fortune as *Spilbergen* had done before him, both as to the Publick and his own private Advantages.

From hence he sailed back again to *Achen*, where he told these Proposals of the King of *Cande* to his Country-Men, and earnestly perswaded them to strike in with the present favourable Opportunity of driving the *Portugueze* out of that Island. The King of *Achen* was mightily pleased with the Project too, and encouraged the *Dutch* by all the Motives in the World to set upon it out of hand, and not lose any time in a Business of such a Consequence.

A Fleet of *Dutch* go to *Ceylon*.

So after some Consultation amongst themselves, they concluded it should be so, and a Fleet be presently sent out to assist the King of *Cande* in his Design. Accordingly six Ships of War with a Pinnace were dispatched; along with which went an Embassadour of the King of *Achen*'s for *Cande*, to spur on that Prince in his present Undertaking against the *Portugueze*. The *Dutch* being landed marched with their Forces to *Matecalo*, the King of which place was civil to them all other ways, only he would not sell them any Beeves or Buffals for Provision, which they extreamly wanted; and this not out of any Enmity or Ill Will, but from a Scruple of his Religion, which forbid the eating of any of those Creatures. And in that case the *Dutch* ought to have complied; and (as so plentiful a place would easily have supplied them with other Necessaries that might have served) so they should rather have been contented with meaner Refreshments, than gone to affront the Laws and Religion of the Country, by making use of their Cattel for that purpose. But some of them it seems did this; they got some Kine and killed them, which made a terrible uproar amongst the Natives, and as highly incensed the King when it came to his Ear. He told them 'twas a worse outrage than ever the *Portugueze* had committed amongst them, and that it would not be born there; and 'twas a long time before they could perswade him (with all their Promises of better Conduct for the future) to mediate between the People and them, and calm their fury. However at last with much ado 'twas done, and the King and People both seemingly quieted; but 'twas a dangerous Enterprise, and the *Dutch*, who knew how tender they were in that point, ought not to have tried their Patience in that manner, nor run such a risque as they did by provoking them. 'Tis true, the reason of this Prohibition is as silly and ridiculous as any thing can be; the Natives won't have their Cattel killed, that the Souls of them may be kept out of Hell, whither they believe they will go, if they are dispatch'd in a violent manner; but others that believe this to be ever so foolish, in Prudence are not to go upon their own Hypothesis of the Impertinence of this, and the Reasonableness of the contrary, and so slaughter the Cattle because they know they have either no Souls to loose, or none that will be damn'd: for whether they have or no, the other party is certainly perswaded of the truth of it, and therefore will as certainly look upon those that shed the Blood of them, to have done all the same Injury that they could be imagined to have done, if the Opinion of the future state of those Creatures were ever so well grounded.

The People enraged at the *Dutch* for killing their Kine.

The King of *Cande* having now encamped with his Army at *Manacrawari*, sent to the *Dutch* here at *Matecalo*, to come round with their Ships to *Punto de Galle*, which he intended first of all to lay siege to. The *Dutch* accordingly

Dutch take four good *Portugueze* Ships.

ingly put out to Sea; to keep Guard that way, while the King distreis'd the Enemy ashore. And tho' no Ships of War came from *Goa*, to be a Prey at this time to the *Dutch* Fleet, yet some other good Ships of theirs came within their reach, four of which they took; and this more to gratifie the King of *Cande*, than for any real Profit the Lading of them was capable of affording.

They sent away two of these Ships with all the Prisoners in them; but whether they sold them their Liberty, or exchanged them only for *Dutch* Prisoners, is uncertain; however, this Action highly displeas'd the King of *Cande*, who 'tis possible expected they should have been all sent to him, tho' we find no such Condition brought into the Agreement.

Quickly after this, the Vice Admiral *Weert* landed with a Party of 200 Men, to have some Conference with the King, and at his Request sent back the best part of his Men to the Ships again, while himself only with a small Retinue, attended the King's Pleasure. Happy had it been for them, if they had all gone back, or staid together, to have made the better Opposition to the Violence that was ready to assault them. In a word, the King of *Cande* murther'd the Vice-Admiral, with all or most of his Company: An Action as vile and barbarous, as 'tis unaccountable, and the Reason of it uncertain.

De Weert and his Men cut off by the K. of *Cande*.

Whether the killing of the Cattle stuck yet in their Stomachs or no, and this Sacrifice of Men went for that of Beasts; or whether 'twere only in Revenge of the Dismission of the *Portugueze* Prisoners; upon either of which Accounts 'twas highly unjust, and the *Dutch* deserv'd no such Treatment at his hands.

Some say, that *De Weert*, in his Discourse with the King, forgot the due Measures of Respect owing to his Character, and carried it with something of Insolence (at least unbecoming Boldness) towards him.

Others say, that the King suspected some treacherous Design, and was apprehensive that a Plot was laid to betray him, and carry him off in their Ships; and so took this course as well to prevent his own Captivity, as to punish those that had presum'd to contrive it.

Which of all these Stories is the true one, is uncertain; but this last does not seem very probable: For if the *Dutch* had taken the King Prisoner, it must be suppos'd to be in order to the possessing themselves of his Kingdom. Now had they form'd any such unjust Design as that, there had been easier and less chargeable Methods to have accomplish'd it than this. For this Action to be sure would exasperate the Natives to the last degree, and make them take up Arms with one Consent all over the Island, against such Invaders; so that the *Dutch* could not be conceiv'd to come in, but upon the Foundation of an absolute Conquest, nor sit quietly there till they had reduc'd all into complete Subjection. But had they improv'd the Favour of that Prince, as they might have done, upon his permission of their Settlement in the Island, they might have encroach'd and got ground upon him by degrees; and while they sate shrowded under the Protection of his Wings, have taken any fit Opportunities to work him out, and fix themselves in the sure and certain possession of his Country. And by such a gradual proceeding the People had been much less alarm'd and rouz'd up to stand in their own defence: Perhaps they might have been won over by some Artifices proper to be used on such occasions; and by this means the Business had been done, and yet all the Danger and Expence of the Method of Conquest avoided.

K. of *Cande* writes to the *Dutch* about carrying on the War.

As for the King himself, he presently sent word to the *Dutch* Fleet what he had done to their Commander; and that that he alledged in his own Justification was, That *De Weert* had behaved himself very rudely in his presence, and pretended in a very positive manner to offer him Terms, which he must accept, or refuse, at his peril. But as for their parts, the King promis'd to confirm all that was formerly agreed upon, and to be the same in his Carriage towards them as he was before, provided they would perform their part, and help him to take the Forts of the *Portugueze*. But the *Dutch* excus'd themselves, not caring to put any farther Trust in a Prince that had so deceiv'd them: He must now go on with his War by himself for them, and make the best of his Undertaking against the *Portugueze*; who to be sure were not a little glad that the King had obliged them so far in breaking with the *Dutch*.

Dutch go from *Ceylon*.

From hence they went back to *Achen* again, and then to *Daruc*, an Island near *Sumatra*: While they lay hereabout, they took divers *Portugueze* Prizes; and when that Sport was over, they sail'd to *Macassar*. And now they had no fix'd Trade to take them up, and so did nothing but wander about: For from hence they went to *Jor*, and there they assisted that King against the *Portugueze*.

This Service being over, they visited *Patane* (a place well known to some of their Countrymen, that were cured of their Madness there), and from thence to *Bantam*, and so home.

Thus have we seen the last issue of their *Ceylon* Affairs; the unhappy Conclusion that follow'd the most fortunate and favourable Beginnings that ever were in the World. The Acquaintance was but of a little standing; but 'twas well improv'd for the time, and promis'd very great things, but perhaps no greater than would have been perform'd, if their good Luck had not had this sad and sudden Turn given to it. But thus uncertainly, and without warning, does the Scene change in this World; and so impossible is it for any Person, or People, to keep their Station, when the Critical Moment of their Destiny comes on.

CHAP. XLII.

An Account of the rest of the Dutch *Voyages, down to the time of their first Pretensions to Sovereignty and Property, at the* Banda *Islands.*

December. A. D. 1603.

WE are yet to proceed some Removes farther, in our Enquiry into the Progress of the *Dutch East-Indian* Trade. *A. D.* 1603, in *December*, a Fleet of twelve Ships set sail under the Command of *Stephen Verhagen*. Having doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*, instead of sailing directly towards the *East-Indies*, they went along the Coast of *Africk*, and made up to *Mozambique*, which place they had propos'd to assault. Here they came to an Anchor close by the Castle, and in spite of all the *Portugueze* Forces, took several of their Ships that lay about the Harbour. But the Grand Design of all did not succeed; the *Portugueze* were too well fortified there, to be beat out at that time; and the *Dutch*, with all their Skill and utmost Endeavours, could not accomplish any thing considerable towards the dispossessing of them.

Dutch attempt the taking of *Mozambique*.

September. A. D. 1604.

They met with the like Disappointment too when they came with their Fleet before *Goa*; the Enemy was ready to receive them, and had made such Provision against their coming, that nothing was in Prudence to be attempted. All things were in such order, that it look'd as if the Design had been discover'd in *Europe*, and Notice had been given from thence to them at *Goa*, that they were to expect a Visit from the *Dutch*.

Thus baffled and frustrated of their Hopes, they sail'd from thence down the *Malabar* Coast, putting in at *Cananor* and *Calecut*, in the Samorine's Dominions. They treated with this Prince about Trade, and came to an Agreement with him, which was drawn up in Writing, and ratified with all the usual Solemnities. *October.* They agree with the K. of *Calecut*.

Upon this Coast they had a Fight with the *Portugueze*; but such a one, as 'tis probable, the little advantage, or else the great loss gotten by it, might incline them to forbear giving any particular Accounts to the World of that matter.

From hence some of them went to *Camboya*, and the rest to *Cochin*; they attempted nothing at this place neither; and if they had laid any Plot for the surprize of it, they did not think fit to try to put it in execution; 'tis likely for the same Reason, that they forbore doing so at *Goa*. *November.* *January.*

Their next Visit was to *Bantam* (a place where they were sure of Trade and Reception), and from thence to *Amboina* *, the Conquest of which latter place was the

* See the Account of this in Sir H. *Middleton's* first Voyage, *Lib.* 2.

Crown-

Crowning Work of all the Voyage hitherto. The *Portugueze* had not the good Luck to be handsomely provided for them here; or if they were, Fortune and favourable Success were wanting; for they were obliged to go out, and leave the Victorious *Dutch* their places.

When this Action was over, the Admiral, *Veer Hagen*, went away to the *Banda* Isles; but five Ships of the Fleet were dispatch'd to *Tydore*. There was more Work to be done at that place against the *Portugueze*, and Fortune that had fawn'd upon them at *Amboina*, had given them encouragement to hope for the continuance of her kindness at the *Molucca's*. And she did not deceive them, nor their flattering Hopes draw them into a Snare, but to more noble and splendid Triumphs. All things now seem'd to conspire for their Felicity and Glory, and the aggrandizing (as much as was possible) the Interest and Character they had already gotten in those parts of the World. The *Portugueze* made a brave and bold Resistance at *Tydore*, despis'd the Summons the *Dutch* sent them to surrender, and laugh'd at the talk of a White Flag.

May, A.D. 1605.

But there is a time when all the Valour, Caution, and good Conduct in the World will prove fruitless and insignificant: Vertue and Bravery must yield to the unalterable Laws of Fate, as well as Impotence and Cowardice, and the Party that bids ever so fair for Victory and Success, is often run down by another that has no Title at all to it. 'Twas so with the Defendants in this present Business, they deserv'd perhaps to have carried the Day, and kept their Post; but the *Dutch* were so lucky as to get both from them. They fought well; but that's no Guard against unforeseen, and unthought of Accidents, Courage may keep an Enemy out of the Gates, but 'twon't keep a Fort or a Castle from being blown up, where a Firebrand falls amongst a parcel of Gunpowder. 'Twas this that ruin'd the *Portugueze*; they were not so much beat out, as blown out of the Castle of *Tydore*; indeed, a good part of the Castle it self, and of the Men too, were both blown away; and to be sure this would put an end to the Siege. In short, this Stroke was the Confusion of their whole Affairs at the *Molucca's*, they had now no footing in any Island all thereabout, but at *Solor* only.

Dutch win the Castle of *Tydore.*

The King of *Tydore* stood by and saw this Tragedy; but could do nothing towards the prevention of the miserable Conclusion of it: For his old Friend, the King of *Ternate* (who assisted the *Hollanders* in the Enterprize) was ready with a Fleet of fourteen Coracoras, and near 2000 Men, to have fallen upon him, if he had stirr'd in the matter.

K. of *Ternate* ties up the Hands of him of *Tydore*, that he can't help the *Portug.*

Thus the Interest of *Holland* advanc'd and rise, and that of *Spain* and *Portugal* went down in these Parts of the World. 'Tis true, the King of *Spain* was horribly nettled at it, and made several severe Decrees against the *Dutch* this Year, and strict Prohibitions of all Trade and Dealing with them, in every part of his Dominions: But what signified all that Noise and Raving? And to what purpose is it to storm and threaten, without power to execute? The more the Fox was curs'd, the better he thrives; and the good Fortune of the *Dutch* increas'd upon them, while the Court of *Spain* was praying for their Success the backward way. For 'twas but the same * Year, that they sent out a Fleet under Admiral *Matlief*, who was commanded by the States to bring as many of the *Indian* Princes, as was possible, into the Grand Confederacy against the *Portugueze*, that their Design against *Malacca* might be carried on with all desirable Advantages. And here how far they distress'd the *Portugueze*, and what Spoil they made of them, has been already related in another * place.

* *AD 1605.*

* See Mr. First Collection, *Lib. 2.*

In some of the following Years too, they traded at *Japan* with great Success; the Emperor gave them Encouragement, and leave to settle a Factory there; and 'tis reported, that they brought from thence in one Voyage, no less than 40 Tun of Gold. These *Japan* Voyages we have but little Account of, and therefore they must be thus briefly pass'd over.

Next to *Matlief*, with his Fleet of twelve Ships, went out * the Admiral, *Paul van Carle*, with eight more; and he was * quickly followed by *Verheuf*, with a Fleet of thirteen Sail. Both these Commanders attack'd the *Portugueze* at *Mozambique*, tho' the latter (*Verheuf*) did it with the most Success. He forc'd them to leave the Town, and shut up themselves in the Castle, but that was impregnable, and would not yield to his fiercest Assaults. But he insulted them afterwards shamefully at *Goa*, and did them a vast deal of Mischief all along the *Malabar* Coast; taking several of their Ships, burning others, and killing many of their choice and prime Officers.

* *A.D. 1606.*

* *A.D. 1607.*

He had better Luck than *Van Carle* too, in his Concerns with the Samorine of *Calecut*; for they were then at the Charge of a Present to that Prince; but could not come ashore to him, by reason of the strong Guard of *Portugueze* Gallies that then lay there; besides, they were not certain of being secure from Treachery. But *Verheuf* found the Coast clear, and had all the Entertainment in the World; the Samorine sent out his Men a Hunting on purpose, and presented the *Dutch* with forty great Boars.

From hence they went and visited the King of *Jor*, their Friend and Ally; and having done the like to them at *Bantam*, they sail'd * away to the *Banda* Isles. Here *Verheuf* having summon'd the Orankayes, or States of the Isles together, read Prince *Maurice's* Letters to them, in which 'twas desired, That the *Dutch* might have Liberty to erect a Fort or Castle amongst them; not at all with any Design to encroach upon them, but to secure the Islands from the daring Attempts of the *Portugueze*, who might be expected to come thither and visit them.

* *A.D. 1609.*

The original of the great Controversie between the *Dutch* & the *Bandanese.*

This Proposal set them all in an Uproar; and had it not been for the Terror of the Ships with their great Guns, they had then cut their Throats for making it. However they stifled their Resentments at present, and having consulted amongst themselves, gave answer, That *Verheuf* should go aboard again now; but after three Days were pass'd, they would come to a positive Conclusion. And they concluded in the Negative with one Voice and Consent, telling the *Dutch*, they should build no Fort there. But they being resolved right or wrong to have one, immediately fell upon the *Bandanese*, and fought one Battle with them, the very same Evening that they gave the Denial.

The *Bandanese*, 'tis to be suppos'd, having had the worst on't, and fearing themselves too weak to hold out in such a Dispute with the *Dutch*, came and craved a Cessation of Arms for three or four Days: But this would not be granted, the other was perfectly inflexible, and would hear of nothing but a present acceptance of their first Proposal. Upon this the *Bandanese* yielded to their Fate; the Fort must be built, and since the *Dutch* said it should, it was in vain for them to say it should not.

But this put them upon that * sharp Revenge which they afterwards took, to the Destruction of *Verheuf*, and all his Company. And ever after this, there was a continual Heart-burning between the *Dutch* and them; there was indeed sometimes Peace between them, but 'twas never steddy and certain, but often interrupted with the Confusions of open War, and horrid Depredations upon one another. The old Spleen remain'd on both sides, and as the *Dutch* still remembred the killing of the Admiral, so the *Bandanese* did the building of the Fort.

* See Capt. *Keeling's Voyage, lib. 2.*

Their other Proceedings at these Islands we have an Account of in our own Journals: So that here we shall conclude the Account of their Affairs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

A Collection of Rules and Directions for the East-India *Navigations: Taken out of the Observations of some of our* English *Sailors of great Experience; particularly Mr.* John Davis, *of* Lime-House, *who made five of those Voyages himself.*

Long. Comput. from the *Lizard.*

IN this Account it is first of all to be noted, that the Longitude is computed from the Meridians of the *Lizard*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*; in some parts of the Voyages, from the one Meridian, and in others from the other; but as far as the Cape *Das Aguillas*, they reckon from the Meridian of the *Lizard*. This premis'd, they give us these following Observations relating to Navigation and Geography: And first of all concerning Places lying between the *Lizard* and St. *Augustine*'s Bay, upon the Isle of St. *Lawrence*.

Cape *Finister* Cape *Finisterre*, in *Gallicia*, has 43 Degr. 20 Min. N. L. and 2 Degr. 36 Min. Long. to the W.

Il. *Lancerota* Note. The Isle *Lancerota*, Lat. N. 28 Degr. 40 Min. and Long. 5 Degr. 24 Min. W. and the Var. 6 Degr. 6 Min. from N. to E. You may be positively sure that you are N. N. E. from the said Island, when being in the Lat. of 33 Degr. 30 Min. you happen to have 5 Degr. 20 Gr. *Canary.* Min. Var. The Grand *Canary*, Lat. 27 Degr. 40 Min. Long. 6 Degr. 30 Min. W. Var. 6 Degr. from N. to E. Note. So also here, when you are in the Lat. of 30 Degr. 30 Min. and have at any time 5 Degr. 50 Min. Var. you may conclude that you have the Grand *Canary* S. and by W. from you.

Isle St. *Mary.* The Isle of St. *Mary*, which is the Eastermost of the *Azores*, Lat. 37 Degr. Long. 14 Degr. W. Var. 1 Degr. 40 Min. from N. to E.

Note, When you are coming homewards from the *Indies*, and make Lat. 30 Degr. 30 Min. and Var. 5 Degr. and would see these Islands in your Course, you may go N. E. for St. *Mary*; but the better way is to go more Northerly, and so you shall be sure not to miss some of them: For the Var. is much upon that rate in the N. E. Course, till you come in with the Islands.

Sal Isle. The Isle *Sal*, one of the Cape *de Verds*, Lat. 10 Degr. 30 Min. Long. 12 Degr. 12 Min. Var. 3 Degr. 30 Min. Observations from N. to E. Observe, That when you are in the midway, between Cape *Verd* it self, and these Islands that bear its Name, that you have then 2 Degr. 15 Min. Var. to the Eastward, and the nearer you come to the main Land, the less you find the Var.

As for the Winds, you may observe, that if the Tornadoes don't meet with you before you come into 5 Degr. N. Lat. that there you shall be sure to have some Blasts from them.

Directions for passing the Line. And in order to pass the Equinoctial, use all the Endeavours that may be to get free from these troublesome Winds; but yet manage your Ship so, that you may be but S. by E. or S. S. E. from *Maio* Isle: For whereas you may imagine, that your much going over to the Eastward may be a help to you, when you stand over with the general Wind, you'll find no more in that Course, than that it takes up a great deal of time to very little purpose. Farther, when you are in 2 or 3 Degr. N. L. and have the Wind at S. S. E. be sure to stand away with it: For if you can but cut the Line in 10 Degr. Long. you shall then have 6 Degr. 10 Min. Var. from N. to E. and so shall feel neither the E. S. E. Current, nor the N. W. and by W. Current that sets over to the *West-Indies*. But if the Wind does hinder you much, you need not be afraid to pass the Line in 14 Degr. Long. where you will find 6 Degr. 45 Min. Var. and having past it, 'tis best to make your way to the Southward as speedily as may be: Only if the Wind be at E. or E. N. E. as many times it is, 'twill not be advisable to go more Eastward, than S. E. and by E. because if you do, you shall find the Wind at S. E. and S. S. E. and it will certainly bring you down to your South Course again: This will be the effect on't, tho' you have spent as much time about it, as would have carried you (in your South Course) without the Tropick, into the way of the variable Winds, which is in 26 or 28 Degr. And when your Ship is brought into the variable Winds way, it cannot be long before you have a fleut to get up to the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Increase of Var. in running Southw. And 'tis to be noted, that in running South from the Line, your Variation encreases; for in 20 Degr. S. L. you shall have 15 Degr. Var. and more, to the Westward 14. By which Observations 'twill also be manifest, that between the Tropicks there's no certain Method or Order of Eastering and Westering, as there is without them, as may be seen at the Isle *Fernand de Loronha*, where you have Isle Fernand de Loronha. 4 Degr. S. L. Long. 19 Degr. 20 Min. W. Var. 8 Degr. 10 Min. from N. to E.

The Island of St. *Helena* is in 16 Degr. S. L. and Long. from the *Lizard* 4 Deg. 30 Min. E. and from the Cape of *Good Hope* 23 Degr. 30 Min. W. The Variation is there 7 Degr. 30 Min. from N. to E. 'Tis one of the best Islands in the Ocean for good Refreshment, a healthy Air, and a convenient Road. The Road is open to the N. W. side, and right before the Chapel you may ride from 12 to 7 Fathom, good Ground, and no danger but what you see along the Shore.

If you have a mind to see the Island St. *Helena*, remember that you have the Wind always at S. E. or thereabouts, and therefore keep in the Latitude of 16 Degr. 10 Min. or 15 Degr. and run West upon that height, and you cannot miss it: And this Course you may pursue boldly, either by Day or Night; especially 'tis certain, that in your Course from the Cape of *Good Hope*, there's no Stream nor Current that can do you any prejudice; for the S. E. Wind will take you about 30 Degrees, and sometimes sooner, and carry you to the Northward of the Equinoctial.

Note of St. Helena.

At *Soldania* Bay you have 28 Degr. Longitude E. and 30 Min. Variation from N. to E. The Land is all high, and so is easily known; but commonly when you come from the Westward 'tis dark and foggy about it, so that you shall see the Breach of the Shore, before you can come to make it considerably. The worst Winds for this Road are from the N. W. to the N. E. Between the Coast of *Brasile* and this Road, the Variation is 20 Degr. more or less, according as you are to the Northward or Southward, but the more to the Southward the more Variation, and to the Northward the less. But the highest Variation of all is in Lat. S. 33 Degr. 30 Min. for there you have 21 Degr. Variation from North to East, and Long. 7 Degr. 30 Min. Now observe, that when you are come into 11 Degr. Variation (supposing you take it right), it may pass for a Rule, that you are 330 Leagues short of the Land; and you may establish it as a Method of Computation for the Distance upon this Principle, allowing after the rate of 30 or 28 Leagues to a Degree: And you will find it to give you a true Account of your approach to the Land.

Soldania Bay.

Note of the Var. between *Brasil*, and the Road of *Soldania*, and Cape of Good Hope.

Coney Island, in Lat. 33 Degr. 27 Min. has bad Ground about it, and on the West-side a dangerous Ledge of Rocks, lying off it to the Seawards; but a Ship may go safely enough between it and the Main, the Shoar being all along free from any danger but what may be easily discern'd.

Coney Island.

Chapman's Chance, Lat. 34 Degr. 10 Min. a very good Harbour, safe Riding and good Ground: A Ship may come away from hence, with a Wind that will not serve her to come from *Soldania*.

Chapman's Chance.

Cape *Falso* has no Variation discoverable by Observations made South from it: Whereas at the Cape of *Good Hope* 'tis 25 Minutes from North to East; and at Cape *das Aguillas*, 'tis 30 Minutes from North to West. The knowledge of the Ground and Depths hereabouts, will be a great help to you, when you can't observe either the Latitude or Variation: And therefore 'tis worth remembrance, that at seven or eight Leagues distance from the Land, when you are to the Eastward of Cape *das Aguillas*, you have from 70 to 40 Fathom black sandy Ground upon your land, and this for a matter of 100 Leagues; but to the Westward of it you have deep Water, and all ozie, by the diligent Observation of which Remarks you may know in dark Weather, how the Lands are from you, and how to hale in with the Cape of *Good Hope*.

Cape *Falso*. Cape of G. H. Cape *Das Aguillas*.

In all Voyages the great care ought to be about settling the Point of the Variation well and sure; for 'tis by this help that you must be able to make a true Judgment of

Benefit of the Var.

the

the influence and force of Currents, which are very uncertain till you are come up to have seven or eight Degr. Variation: But after you have had so much as this, you are out of all danger of Currents, if you be bound Eastward; for all the Tides and Streams do set between that stated Term of Variation before-mention'd, and the Cape *das Aguillas*.

Again, whatever your Variation be under 7 or 8 Degr. observe whether it alters or no between the Cape *das Aguillas*; and where it comes to that stated number of 7 or 8 Degr. whether or no it alters (I say), supposing your Ship sails to the Eastward; if it does not, you may be sure that your Reckoning of it was wrong, for 'tis a Rule sufficiently justified by Experience, that the Variation does increase at the rate of 29 or 30 Leagues to the Isle of St. *Lawrence*.

Note, By Leagues is here meant, not the Leagues of the Course you sail by, but Leagues of Eastering from the Meridians; when you have gone 29 or 30 Leagues in this respect, you shall find a change of 1 Degr. Variation, whereas upon another Course the allowance of Leagues must be different; as for instance: If you sail N. E. and by E. you shall have 36 Leagues for 1 ½ Degr. of Longitude, or Eastersng, which will alter 1 Degr. Variation: Note. And let it be taken Notice of besides, that the Rule before deliver'd of the change of the Variation between the Coast of *Africk* and that of *Brasile*, does also hold from Cape *Aguillas*, and St. *Lawrence* Eastward, *viz.* that the more Northward your Course is, the more Variation still you have, and the more Southward the less; the Rule is plain, and needs no Examples (of which there are enough) to make it clearer than 'tis.

It is also as sure a Rule, that from the Cape of *Good Hope* to *Java*, the Variation increases to the West, the farther East you run, till it comes to a matter of 17 Degr. and then as you run to the Eastward your Variation decreases: And thus it holds on decreasing, till you come to the Streights of *Sunde*, where you have but 3 ½ Degr. Variation. This we reckon the best and most approved Rule for Eastering and Westering, tho' at the same time it does not always observe an exact proportion.

Directions to find St. *Augustine's* River, at St. *Lawrence* Isle. Long. Comp. from the Mer. of the Cape of G.H.

St. *Augustine's* River upon the Isle of St. *Lawrence*, being in some Repute for a Watering-place, you must take this Course in order to find it. Seek the Land in the Lat. 24 Degrees 20 Minutes (for 1 Degree higher there's Rocks and Shoals that are dangerous), and here meddling not with the Variation, steer N. and N. by E. as Discretion will guide you by the Land, and coming along the Shore in 24 Degrees 10 Minutes, you shall see a Head-land having on it a round Hill of white Sand like a Castle, from hence hold on the same Course as before, without fear of any danger, till you see the Isles and Shoals before the Bay: And now you shall have before you, in the Country, a Prospect of two rising High-lands, between which the River lies. When you come with the Isles and Shoals, and will go to the Northward of them, you may be bold in seven Fathom; that is, if you will only loof in by them, and not come to an Anchor, which 'tis not safe to do, because of the badness of the Ground: 'Tis better to hale E. up for the Channel, which comes from the River, where you have Ozy Ground along by the Main, and deep Water too, till you come fast by the two fore-mention'd Hills; here you may chuse your Riding from 20 to 4 Fathom.

This River has Latitude 23 Degrees 35 Minutes, Longitude 23 Degrees 20 Minutes, E. Variation 14 Degrees 50 Minutes from N. to W.

Cape St. *Sebastian*. Cape St. *Sebastian* has Latitude 25 Degrees 45 Minutes, Longitude 25 Degrees, Variation 16 Degrees 40 Minutes from N. to W. The Refreshing-place is call'd St. *Lucie*, and it lies on the S. E. side, in the Latitude of 24 Degrees, and affords Ships a very secure and agreeable Riding. This Character is chiefly owing to the Observation of the *Dutch*, who pretend to have had Experience of it; and if it be so, it must be much more convenient for Ships bound up or down, than St. *Augustine's* River, because it lies upon the Head of the Island.

St. *Mary* Isle. The Isle of St. *Mary*, on the East-side of St. *Lawrence*, has Latitude 16 Degrees 30 Minutes, Longitude E. 31 Degrees, Variation 19 Degrees 50 Minutes, from N. to W.

Isle *Roque Pize*. At the Isle of *Roque Pize*, you have Latitude 11 Degr. Longitude 41 Degr. Variation the highest and greatest 23 Degr. 30 Min. And 'tis observable, that S. from this place (as near as can be judged by several Trials made going up and down), there is likewise the Variation rising still higher and higher.

Shoals *Baxos das Chagas*. The dangerous Shoals call'd *Baxos das Chagas*, have Latitude 6 Degr. Longitude 53 Degr. 36 Min. E. Variation 19 Degr. 50 Min. from N. to W. The best way to avoid the danger, is to keep the Islands that lie amongst them S. S. W. from you: But 'tis to be remembred, that these Shoals are put down false in the common Plats.

Maldive Channel. To carry on the same Observations still farther into the Eastern Parts: In the *Maldivian* Channel you have 17 Degrees Variation: At the Cape *Comori* you have 16 Degrees. Cape *Comori*.

Isles *Nicabar*. The Isles *Nicabar*, lying off the N. end of *Sumatra*, have 7 Degr. 10 Min. N. Lat: 73 Degr. Long. E. 7 Degr. 5 Min. Variation from N. to W. As you go within these Islands (coming from the Westward) at about 40 or 50 Leagues distance, you shall meet with some Overfalls that may cause some mistrust of Shoal-Water, tho' the Lead discovers none at all: 'Tis probable that they are some Streams coming from the Bay of *Bengala*.

Achen. The City of *Achen* has Latitude 5 Degr. 40 Min. Longitude 74 Degr. 40 Min. E. Var. 6 Degr. 25 Min. from N. to W. Your Road lies here to the Eastward of the Castle, and a round Hill in the Country S. E. from you. If you will go from hence for the Streights of *Malacca*, there's no danger till you come to the Eastward of the Isles *Das Farras*, from whence you may see the high Land of *Malacca*. Isles *Das Farras*.

Note. Observe that your Variation here about the Equinoctial is reducible to the Rules deliver'd before, about the highest Variation, *viz.* That there is less Variation within, than without, in the Latitude of 14 or 15 Degr. and much after the rate of 31 Leagues in the Offing of the Eastering or Westering, will alter 1 Degr. Var. or 1 ½ Degr. Long. but within you run 40 Leagues, or two Degrees.

Direction for sure Sailing from *Achen* to *Priaman*. Isles *Nintam*. If you were at *Achen*, and would sail to *Priaman*, the surest way is this: Keep the Sea till you see the Isles *Nintam*, in 1 Degr. 30 Min. S. L. and then sailing in 1 Degr. 20 Min. you shall be sure to fall with the North end of the biggest, which you are to go up by, taking care to use your Lead ever now and then to prevent danger, tho' the least depth seems to be about 10 Fathom. From hence your best Course is E. N. E. and N. E. by E. till you see the three Hummocks in the Main, and then go in till you see the low Land, but with caution, because when these Hills come to the N. E. from you, there is Shoal-Water, and Banks of Stone: Now you are 6 Leagues from *Priaman* Road, and your Course lies E. S. E. or S. E. by E. keeping your Lead going at times.

To know *Priaman* Road distinctly, observe that when you have brought the Hummocks N. and W. from you, there will several Islands appear to the Southward; the first of which (that shews very white) lies three Leagues W. S. W. from the Road. Before the Road it self there lie a matter of four Islands, that seem to cover it, and you may possibly (coming from the W. N. W.) mistrust going within them, because they don't open in that Position; but the way is to bring them E. N. E. from you, and then they will begin to open, and you'll find good passing betwixt them, leaving two on the one side, and two on the other.

Take special care to keep off from the uttermost little Island that lies by the Main, and keep in 8 or 9 Fathom, till you come with the other 3 of the 4 Islands (which lie all in a row) and then sailing to the Southward of the most Northerly of those 3, you come into the very Road, where you may be bold in 5 or 6 Fathom, but be sure to moor your Ship well.

In this passage it will be very advisable to have the Command of Day-light all about the Sound of the Islands *Nintam* (and so likewise about the Shoals of *Feco*) being contented to hull all Night, and sail only by Day, by reason of the horrid badness of the places hereabouts.

Notes for *Tecoo*. As for the Road of *Tecoo*, you need not be very solicitous about that, since 'tis shoaly Water, and very ill for Ships; and besides, all the People will bring their Commodities to you to *Priaman* Road, if they know you are there. But if you have a mind to go thither, keep off so that the Hummocks may bear N. or N. by E. and then sail on without fear. Your danger hereabout may be perceiv'd at any time by the whitish Spots which appear in the Water, otherwise the Sea shews its own Natural Colour as 'tis in the main Ocean. You'll find the Var. at *Tecoo*, to be 4 Degr. 40 Min. N. E.

Directions for Sailing to the Southward from *Priaman*. To the Southward of *Priaman*, the Coast is full of Islands all along, till you come to the Lat. of 2 ½; and in going this Course, observe to keep the Main still, and not upon any Terms go without those Islands; as also not to sail by Night, till you are in 2 ½ Degr. S. L. Your danger lies particularly in passing the high Land, distant from *Priaman* Road about 13 Leagues; here keep your self in 20 or 30 Fathom off the Main, and look well about when the high Land comes towards the East.

When you are clear of all the Islands about the Town of *Celladai*, which lies between the Gut of high Land as you pass, then your Course is S. and by E. along the Main, till you come to 2 ½ Degr. and then the Land lies S. E. to 3 Degr. 10 Min. and then S. E. and by S. to 4 Degr. and so to 5 Degr. by the very same Course, where it is high and bold.

Isle *Engano*. The Isle *Engano* lies in 5 Degr. 30 Min. Lat. a place where you cannot Anchor for Rocks and deep Water; but that defect is here recompens'd by the Neighbourhood of a very good Road, where you may both ride very safe, and have all necessary Provision of Wood and Water.

A good Road.

It lies under an Island fast by the Main, in Lat. 4 Degr. 10 Min. and is call'd by the Country People *Celebar*: Take care two Leagues W. S. W. from this Island, of the dangerous Shoal and Breach; to avoid which, keep in by the Island, and give the Point a birth; remembring too (that whatever a Boat may do) no Ship can pass between this Island and the Main.

The Land lying to the Northward in the Country, is

High Land of *Manancabo*. that of *Manancabo*; 'tis extraordinary high, and in the Lat. of 5 Degr. 20 Min. Your Course here along the Shore is S. S. E. Easterly, till you see the little Island fast by the Main, that lies in 6 Degrees Latitude, or thereabouts.

All along the Coast of *Sumatra*, almost, are such vast numbers of Islands, that 'tis impossible to give Rules and Directions for all of them: But if you have a mind to go

Marrough Road. into the Road of *Marrough*, you may bear in boldly amongst them Islands that lie N. E. and by E. till you come to the main Land of *Sumatra*, where you shall have 20 or 30 Fathom, and no danger but what is easily discern'd.

Directions to find *Marrough* Road. Now when you come in with the Main, 4 Leagues W. S. W. from the Head-land of *Marrough*, you shall have all to the Northward of you low Land, and abundance of Islands; but you must sail E. S. E. to the Head-land of *Sumatra*, for the Road of *Marrough* is along the Shore from the three little Islands (that lie East of one another fast by the Main), till you come almost to the Point that makes the Streights of *Sunda*.

But now if you would come for the Road of *Marrough*, not from the three Islands that bear E. and W. of one another, but from the three that lie N. and S. (which are the three Salt Hills), then you must steer in with the High-land N. when you are to the Eastward of the Salt Hill, and so you go right with it, for the Land about it appears like a Barn, and there's none in view like it. It is a good Road, you may Anchor in 20 or 12 Fathom; there's agreeable Refreshing, and Rivers all along the Shore. You are in no danger coming to it, but what may easily be seen and avoided; and so you may be bold any where without the Streights Mouth.

When you are in the Streight, or Narrow, between *Java* and *Sumatra*, if you go to the Westward of the three Salt Hills, you need not apprehend any danger of the Rocks you see a League to the Westward of the S. Salt Hill; for you may come close by them, or put between any of those Islands mention'd, and have 20 or 30 Fathom depth. The Course from the Head-land of *Sumatra*, where the three E. and W. Islands are, is E. N. E. with that Point or Head-land of the same Island, that makes the Streights entrance.

Salt Islands. The Islands call'd the Salt Hills, are nearer *Java* than *Sumatra* by two Leagues. You may see both the Mains at once, if it be a clear Day, and you are about the midway. At the S. E. Salt Hill you have 81 Degr. Long. E. and Var. 3 Degr. 20 Min. The Stream in the Streights sets twelve Hours one way, and twelve the other; but it runs with a mighty strength, so that many times you can't bear a-head with a hard Gale; in which case 'tis best to go off, and Anchor on one side or the other, 'tis no matter which. If you chance to go in by *Sumatra*-side, keep nearer to *Sumatra* than to the Islands a good deal, till the Islands be E. and by S. from you, because of a desperate Rock under Water (and which breaks at low Water) lying W. and by N. from the Isle *Sumatra* is bold, so you do but keep off the Land, and so is *Java*-side too.

Directions to sail into *Bantam* Road from *Sumatra*. When you are about the Point of *Palimbam*, your way to *Bantam* is by the Land E. S. E. and S. E. and by E. using your Lead till you see the Isle *Pulo Panian*; when you come to this Island, you may go within or without it as you will; but keep your Lead going, and don't go any nearer it than 5 or 6 Fathom. Then looking to the Main of *Java*, the round Hill that you see bear between S. and S. S. W. stands right over the Town of *Bantam*. If the Hill bears S. S. W. of you, go in with that Course till you come to see the five Islands together right from *Pulo Panian*: Your Road lies just by these Islands, the name of it is *Pulo Lima*, and you may ride there at what depth you please; but you must be sure to have the Tide in mind, that you may not be a Ground at low Water as otherwise you will, it highing about five Foot Water in the Road. The Variation here is 3 Degr. from N. to W.

Directions for Sailing from *Bantam* to *Palimbam*, *Banca*, &c. If you would sail now from *Bantam* to *Palimbam*, on the E. side of *Sumatra*, or for *Bintam*, *Banca*, and those parts, these following Instructions may be serviceable for that purpose.

When you weigh from *Bantam* Road, you sail N. E. by E. in 4 or 5 Fathom, till you come with the Point of the Main; where it comes to bear S. E. by S. you have very Shoaling Water upon that Spot of hard Ground; wherefore keep off betimes. The great Island that is to the N. N. W. of you, as you go from *Bantam*, you may leave on your Larboard side, and have your depths at 5 or 6 Fathom; from hence in your N. N. E. Course, you meet with a long Bed of very small Islands, between the Lat. of 5 Degr. and 5 Degr. 30 Min. where you have 18 and 20 Fathom Water amongst them, and no danger.

When you are at the N. end of these Islands, sail N. N. E. and N. over for the Coast of *Sumatra*, in which Course you shall have from 4 to 13 Fathom, and then you'll see the low Land of *Sumatra*, and will have about 3 Degr. 30 Min. S. L. Now when you come in with a Riff of hard Sand hereabouts, and have gotten into about 4 ½ Fathoms in your N. and by W. Course, then take special notice, and hale off again E. N. E. into your old Depths, which are from 10 to 7 or 5 Fathom off *Sumatra*, and your Course N. by W. and N. N. W. to hold the Coast from 5 to 10 Fathom; but be sure not to go without 10 Fathom, neither by Night nor by Day.

Note. This for your N. W. or N. N. W. Course: But now if your Course from *Bantam* be N. you must look carefully about for a Shoal, till you have sight of those two Islands that lie 3 Leagues from the Main of *Sumatra*: After you have made these 2 Islands, you shall have no more by *Sumatra*, till you come in 3 Degr. S. L. where you shall fall with *Lucapara Falsa*, which is the first of the 4 Islands that lie at the S. S. W. end of *Banca*. And you ought to look out very well for them, in going your N. by W. Course, as the Depths will guide you from 6 to 10 Fathom Ozy Ground. All about them you'll see broken Ground, and among them horrid Shoaling Water: And when you have brought them E. from you, your Shoaling will be 4 and 5 Fathom, and your Course N. and N. by W. till the Southermost Isle bears S. E. by E. from you.

Lucapara.

From hence you sail N. N. E. by *Banca*, and when you come along with these Islands, keep *Sumatra* as the bolder side; you have Ozy Ground on that side, but hard and stubborn on the other. This N. N. E. Course holds about a League, and then you sail N. again, and being past the Banks or Shoals by these Islands, you have 9 or 10 Fathom depth, and are to hold on the N. Course by the Land, for a matter of 3 Leagues.

Tides. Note here by the way, that in the Narrow the Tide sets N. and S. and runs 12 Hours one way, and as many the other.

Account of the Course for sailing this way. The next Course is N. by W. for a League, and your best depth here is 15 Fathom: But when you come near to the high Land on the N. side of *Banca*, your Course is N. N. W. and the best depths 20 Fathom. This Course of N. N. W. and N. W. by N. continues for 9 Leagues, and then you sail 20 Leagues N. W. by W. and your depth 24 Fathom; and your Lat. in this Course will be 1 Degr. 38 Min. S.

You change this Course for a Northern one next, which you hold 10 Leagues from 10 to 7 Fathom depth, and Lat. 1 Degr. 5 Min. S. but no sight of the main Land yet. Then you sail N. E. by N. with *Pulo Sio*, or *Pulo Powe* in 40 Min. S. L. where you may have a Supply of Wood and Water; from hence your way is to go N. N. W. without *Linga*, which lies under the Equator, tho' the Charts place it in 1 Degr. S. L. It's full of Islands, and sunk broken Grounds; and the Tide runs here S. S. E. and N. N. W. The depth in the Offing is 20 Fathom Ozy Ground, and your Course N. by W. 15 or 16 Leagues: But beware of the Tide, and keep in 15 or 16 Fathom in the Ozy Ground. In this Course you see 8 small Islands in a Cluster, in 50 Min. N. L. where, if you have occasion, you may get both Wood and Water. The Tide runs here 12 Hours, the Flood from the Northward, and the Ebb from the Southward, the Depth 20 Fathom.

Linga. The Chart wrong in the placing of it.

Bintam like. All along by these Islands you have 14 Fathom, till you come up to the Isle of *Bintam*, in 1 Degr. 10 Min. N. L. for so far also the Isles and sunken Grounds do continue to run.

The Tide sets W. by N. on the Northern side of this Island, and upon the S. E. side of it you have bold Shoaling

ing from 14 to 9 Fathom. When you are past the E. point of *Bintam*, you are open then of the Strait of *Sincapura*, in which you'll find the Tide to set E. And from hence you Sail N. E. and by N. 7 Leagues, with a rapid Stream against you, for *Pulo Tinge* upon the Coast of *Jor*. in 2 Degr. 20 Min N. Lat. Here you see also the near Neighbours of this Island, viz. *Pulo Timott* and *Pulo Lore*; the former in 2 Degr. 30 Min. the latter in 2 Degr. 40. Min. Nor. Lat. When you have made the Straits of *Sincapura* and would sail to *Jor*, you are to steer N. W. by W. taking care of the Current; you may be bold from 16 to 25 Fathom, and have good ground for Anchoring.

Sincapura Strait.

Pulo { *Tinge*, *Timott* *Lore*,

From *Pulo Sio* steer S. E. for *Pulo Paccadour*, in 1 Deg. S. Lat. where be sure to keep in 15 Fath. and you may go without danger; from hence your Course is S. E. by E. 9 Leag. to *Pulo Pagadure*, in which Course be very careful, because *Banca* upon this side is all Rocks and Breaches in some Places 8 or nine Leagues off, and so it is without you again all bad Ground; from hence your Course is S. E. by E. again to the Mariners Island, or *Pulo Calasui*, which as soon as you see you must contrive to lie something short of, because there's no anchoring by it for the foul Ground.

Directions to sail to *Jor*, &c.

Note.

Observe also not to sail at all by Night when you are in sight of this Island, because if you go never so well by your Compass, yet the Currents will deceive you, and force you to the East side of *Chinabata* Island; your Course therefore will be, to sail between *Banca* and these Islands of *Chinabata* and the Mariners Islands, since 'tis all sharp Rocks like Steeples to the East side, and particularly your Course between *Banca* and *Chinabata* is S. S. W. but look to the Stream, and borrow of *Banca* in this place, in 20. or 25 Fathom. From the Rocks you have in the Offing (which are called *Pulo Pelican*) to the Coast of *Sumatra*, the Course is S. W. by S. till you have shoaling off the main, and sail as you did outward from *Bantam*, keeping the shoaling of *Sumatra* in 7 or 8 Fathom, till you draw near the Straits of *Sunde*.

Note.

If now being at *Bantam* you would Sail for the *Moluccas*, the draught of that Voyage is as follows. From *Bantam* Road N. E. by N. 2 Lea. (and E. by N. and E. N. E. 2 Lea. more) which will bring the low Point to the E. of *Bantam* Bay, S. of you, which point you must venture no nearer than three Fathom. Then sail E. & E. by N. 4 Leagues, leaving to the N. side of you the 5 Sandie Islands, and the Ledge of Rocks that lie to the E. side of them. From hence your Course is E. S. E. with the East Island of *Jacatra*; then N. E. by E. 4 or 5 Leagues, which done, sail by an Easterly Course 30 Leagues more. Here look out well for a Sand that lies three Leagues from the Main, and observe a low Island to the N. of you; the best Course is to go three Leagues to the S. side of that Island, but you may sail either between the Island and the Sand, or the Sand and the Main, which you will without Danger. Your Course now is E. by S. and E. for 70 Leagues, which will bring you in sight of *Madura*, at 4 or 5 Leagues from the Eastern or Western end of which you have 30 or 40 Fathom depth.

A draught of the Passage between *Bantam* and the *Moluccas*.

From the West end of *Madura* your best Course is E. by N. till you make the Lat. of 6 Degr. in which Lat. keep your self and you will go clear between the Shoals of the *Celebes* Islands, and the others that lie S. S. W. from them. From the S. Point of the Shoals of the *Celebes* (which lies in Lat. 6 Degr.) your Course is E. N. E. with the Straits of the *Celebes*; and from hence sailing 30 Leagues N. E. by E. & N. E. you come to the Strait between the *Celebes* and *Cambina* Island, which is about 5 Leagues breadth, and will give you near 40 Fath. for your Lead. But remember to lie still here always at Night, because you have dangers before you till you are past the Straits of St. *Thomas*. To reach these Straits last mentioned, you pursue your Course N. E. by N. 6 Leagues, N. N. E. 8 Leagues. E. and E. by N. ten Leagues, which brings you safe into the Straits of St. *Thomas*. The going thro' here is E. for one League, in running of which League you'll have at least 11 or 12 Fat. the Straits are very narrow and hardly to be perceived till you come at them, and some Sands will discover themselves, most of your Lar-board side; but the forementioned Course (by the guidance of Providence) will bring you thro' clear of all Danger. From the Straits of St. *Thomas* your Course is N. E. by E. and E. N. E. 14 Leagues, then N. N. E. 38 Leagues, at which time look out for an Island and a Shoal lying to the N. N. W. of that little Island, and bringing the Island about 2 Leagues to the E. of you, steer N. by E. and N. N. E. 5 Leagues (then W. N. W. and N. W. by N. two or three Leagues) lastly, N. E. by N. 4 or 5 Leagues, and that Course carries you cleverly between the 2 Shoals that lie in 2 Degr. S. Lat. the distance between them is not a Mile, and they are quite dry at low water, otherways you have 14 Fathom between them. When you are clear of these Shoals, and see the Land that your last Course carries you to, at a League distance from it alter the Course and Steer E. S. E. 2 Leagues, then N. E. by E. brings you to the Straits of *Bengaia*. They lie in 1 Degr. 20 Min. S. L. and the position of them is N. E. by N. and that Course you must take to go thro'.

Madura.

Straits be. *Celebes* and *Cambina*.

Straits of St. *Thomas*.

Straits of *Bengaia*.

Now from hence to *Machian* one of the *Moluccas*, your Course is N. E. by E. 72 Leagues, but you may steer with any of them at pleasure if Wind and Weather serve, there being no danger lying near them.

If you are at the Island of *Botun*, and at the Northern end of it, and are willing to sail to the King's Town, your Course is between the S. by W. and S. S. W. along the Land for 20 Leagues, or indeed betwixt two Lands, *Botun* on the East and *Cambina* on the West, the distance between them from 4 Leagues to less than one League very narrow. When you are nine Leagues short of the Town in this Course, look out for a Shoal, not great but very dangerous, and dry at low Water.

Directions to sail to *Botun*.

To know when you are near it observe the round Hill upon *Botun* near the Water side; that Hill and the Shoal lie E. by N. and W. by S. one from the other; and therefore leave the Shoal on your Lar-board side. From hence you pursue the same Course as at first, in order to go with the narrow Straits four Miles short of the King's Town. This Strait is a League thro' and half a Mile broad, and 'tis no matter for the Course in going thro'; so you keep the Ship in the middle of the Passage, for there's no riding in the narrow by reason of the very swift Tides that run there: You must observe too, to take the Tide along with you when you pass here, for else you can't get thro', there being no Wind because of the high rising of the Land over the Masts on both sides. If you have occasion to Anchor, you may do it two Leagues short of the narow, and ride very safely in 30 Fathom Sand. Being past this Strait steer S. S. W. 1 League to go clear of a Point of Land, that must be left on your Lar-board side; and being clear of it hale up to the S. S. E. 4 Miles if the Wind will permit you, and then you may Anchor in 28 Fathom, hard Sand, near the flat Island, at which time you see the Town of *Botun* about a League distant from you upon a Hill. The Road lies in 5 Degr. 15 Min. S. Lat.

Note.

When you are at *Botun*, to sail to the Straits of the *Celebes*, you go thus: From *Botun* Road W. S. W. 4 Leagues (S. W. and S. W. by S. 5 Leagues) W. by S. and W. 33 Leagues, and so you are at the Straits desired. From these Straits to *Banda* Island you sail thus; first E. 37 Leagues (E. by S 15 Leagues) N. E. half a Point to the N. side 17 Leagues, at which time you are in the Lat. of 5 Degr. 10 Min. then E. N. E. with *Burro*, and from the S. part of *Burro* to the S. part of *Amboina*, and from thence E. S. E to *Banda*.

Directions to sail from *Botun* to the Straits of the *Celebes*, and from thence to *Banda*.

If you are at *Bantam* and have occasion to Sail for *Patane* upon the Continent of *Malacca*, observe the Directions before delivered, that bring you along from *Bantam* as far as *Bintam*, *Pulo Linga*, *Pulo Timon*, and those parts; then from *Pulo Timon* sail N. by W 36 Leagues to *Pulo Capes*, where if occasion serve, you may go between the Islands you see there and the Main, in a very fair Channel: these Islands you'll find to lie in 4 Degr. 52 Min. N. Lat. From *Pulo Capas* your Course is N. W. by N. 14 Leagues to a knot of Islands, so many that they are not to be reckoned; from hence sail W. N. W. going no farther off the Land then 20 Leagues, nor come no nearer then 12 or 13, unless you want to Anchor; and this same W. N. W. Course pursued, brings you to *Patane*. You have a Rock in your way at 14 Leagues distance from it, but you may if you will go between it and the Main.

Directions to sail from *Bantam* to *Patane*.

To conclude this Account, let that general and most useful Advice of our Sailers about the varying be nicely observ'd and followed every where. They propose it as the surest Rule to go by under all the Irregularities of Streams and Currents; and the best Principle to proceed upon in the Rectification of the Errors that may be introduced thereby. Nay, they declare it to be the only Help in these Cases, and that 'tis not possible for any Man to deal to any good Purpose with Currents, without he calls in the Variation to his Assistance. This therefore may be a sufficient Reason for the utmost Care and most Critical Observation in the Business of the Variation.

THE English *and* Dutch *having setled an Advantageous Trade in the* East-Indies; *the* French *fitted out some Ships for the same purpose. The most material of their Voyages are as follows.*

MEMOIRS OF Admiral Beaulieu's Voyage TO THE EAST-INDIES:

Drawn up by HIMSELF.

Tranſlated from Monſieur THEVENOT's *Large Collection of Voyages.*

Oct. 1619. OCtober the 2d, 1619, I ſet ſail from *Honfleur Road*, with three Ships, namely, the *Montmorancy*, a Ship of 450 Tun, carrying 126 Men, 22 Guns, and 20 Pedereroes; the *Hope*, of 400 Tun, 117 Men, 26 Guns, and 20 Pedereroes; and the *Hermitage*, Advice-Boat, of 75 Tun, 30 Men, 8 Guns, and 8 Pedereroes; All Victuall'd for two Years and an half. The 17th we came in ſight of *Madera*, and at Night its Weſtern Point lay about 7 Leagues off to the S. E. ¼ E. the 18th in the Morning it lay about 12 Leagues off to the N. E. at which time we ſtood South with the Wind at Eaſt, expecting by that Courſe to deſcry the Iſland of *Palma*. *Madera* lies very high, but is commonly ſo foggy, that we could ſcarce deſcry it. The Admiral Ship being deep loaded, and embarraſs'd with an unwieldy Rudder, that two or three Men could ſcarce manage, we reſolved to make the beſt of our way to *Cape Verd*, in order to have a new one made, or to put the old one to rights, which was encumber'd with too much Wood. *November* the 1ſt, we made the Coaſt of *Africa* between the River *Senegal* and *Cape Verd*, which lies very low, running North Eaſt and South Weſt, and is waſhed by a Sandy Sea. Next Day by eight in the Morning we doubled *Cape Verd*, and coaſted along the Shoar in order to get into *Ruſſiſque* Road; at which place in the Afternoon we ſaw three *French* Ships at Anchor, and a ſmall Bark, which had Captain *Drowet*'s Equipage on board, and lay off of that place, waiting for him. In the Evening I caſt Anchor within a Cannon Shot of the three Ships; for the Wind being contrary I could not come up with them, and the rainy Seaſon was ſcarce over in that Country.

We paſs Madera.

And double Cape Verd.

The 15th having reſolved to ſend the Advice-boat to the *Idol Iſlands* to buy up Proviſions, I furniſhed it with Kaſſade and Knives, which were proper Commodities for that place, and reinforc'd its Compliment with Captain *Soyer* and ſix Souldiers; ordering Captain *Ridel*, who commanded the Pinnace, not to treat with the Natives without Hoſtages, and withal, not to ſtay there above three Days at moſt, but to come with all poſſible expedition to rejoin us at *Tagrin*. When ſhe parted from us we were in the Lat. of 10 ½; from the time we paſt *Cape Verd*, we had but little Wind, and the Tides run againſt us W. N. W.

A Deſcription of the Idol Iſlands.

The 19th, about Noon, we deſcried the *Idol Iſlands*, about 8 Leagues off to the E. N. E. and our own Pinnace making into the Shoar. Theſe Iſlands lie in 9 ½ N. Lat. They are cover'd with Wood, and bating *Tagrin*, are the higheſt Land between *Cape Verd* and *Cape Sierra liona*. *Great Idol*, being the largeſt and moſt ſouthern of thoſe Iſlands, affords Water and ſeveral ſorts of Fruits and Fowls; but its Inhabitants, who are very numerous, are not to be dealt with without Hoſtages. The *Leſſer Idol* affords likewiſe Water. Beſides theſe two, there are other ſmaller Iſlands, which are ſo inconſiderable, that they are not diſtinguiſh'd by any name. The name of theſe two is taken from a River ſo called in the Continent, the Mouth of which lies oppoſite to them about three or four Leagues off. The King of this Country reſides up that River. The Natives are Negroes, Idolaters, great Hunters and Eaters of *Elephants*. They have no commerce with the Continent; and 'tis hard to get aſhoar upon them, becauſe their Coaſt lies very high. I believe they put off their *Elephants* Teeth in the River of *Tagrin*. At Night we loſt ſight of theſe Iſlands, which are diſtant 25 Leagues from Cape *Sierra liona* or *Tagrin*; next Day we ſaw, about ¼ of a League off, ſeveral Spouts or Guſts of Wind whirling about upon the Sea, and forcing up the Water with great violence, two of which were very formidable: As ſoon as we perceived them, we furl'd all our Sails for fear of any inconvenience.

Several Spouts of Water form'd on the Coaſt of Africa.

They caſt Anchor at Tagrin.

November the 23d, we arriv'd at Cape *Sierra liona*, and caſt Anchor at *Tagrin*, where ſeveral Negroes coming aboard, gave me to underſtand that there was an *Engliſh* Veſſel about four Leagues off, at *Saſena*, the Reſidence of the King of *Tagrin*. *November* the 28th, I cauſed the Rudder to be taken off the Stern Poſt, and hauled aſhoar, where, having poſted a ſtrong Guard, and fortified the place with fell'd Trees, I ſet the Carpenters at work. Having walk'd a little further into the Country, I found it very pleaſant. At the bottom of the Creek, there was a ſmall Brook of clear and ſweet Water; the Banks of which, towards the Sea, were deck'd with great quantities of Citron Trees, Willows, and pretty thick Woods. I likewiſe found ſome Plains good for Paſture; but the Soil is nothing but Stone or Iron-colour'd Rock. Their Houſes are infinitely better than thoſe at *Cape Verd*. The Natives, who are Negroes, worſhip little horrible Images, reſembling Devils, and ſmall lumps of black Earth, in the form of Sugar Biskuyts, which I underſtood to be the Neſts of Aunts. To theſe they offer Fruits, the Heads of Monkeys, Baboons, and other Beaſts. They call the Idols *Grigris*, which name I take to be derived from the *French*; for they commonly ſalute one another in theſe Words, *Tout Haut*, but when they ſalute a White, they cry *Tu As Menti*. They are a much better ſort of People than the other Negroes; tho' they begin now to improve their Cunning, by converſing with the People of ſeveral Nations that touch there. The place where we lay being the third Creek from *Cape Sierra liona*, is very convenient for taking in Water, Wood, Citrons, Oranges, and Hoops for Water-Casks, which are all to be had for little or nothing. There we had very good Rice in exchange for equal quantities of Salt. It affords no Fleſh, unleſs it be Pullets, which are very ſcarce; and has little accommodation for Hunting; but all its Creeks are well ſtor'd with ſeveral ſorts of Fiſh. The Cape lies in 8 Deg. North Lat. and the Needle varies there 2 ½ Deg. N. E. One of our Trumpeters that could not ſwim was unfortunately drown'd in a little River near this place, which was nine or ten Foot deep. 'Tis preſumed, he was deceiv'd by the extream clearneſs

clearness of the Water, which represented the bottom of the River to be nearer the Surface than it was; and that thereupon going to wash himself, but not meeting with the expected Ground, was so frightned with the Surprisal, that he neglected to catch hold of the Banks of the River which was not above ten Foot broad.

The *Portuguese* at *Tagrin* murder the Crew of a St. *Malo's* Bark.

December the 3d. Two Negroes came aboard, one of whom was armed with a Bow, Arrows, Sword and Knife. The other, who was the Interpreter, told me that he who bore the Arms, was sent by the King to acquaint me, that the *Portugueze* up the River had murder'd the Captain and the whole Crew of a St. *Malo's* Bark, that his Master was sorry such a thing should happen near his Territories, and that if I had a mind to resent it, he would furnish me with Negroes to conduct me to the place where the *Portugueze* had lodg'd the Bark. This I understood to be about seven or eight Leagues above *Sasena*; whither the St. *Malo's* Captain had gone to buy a sort of Wood not unlike that of St. *Martha*, which in *France* might be worth eight or nine Livers a Hundred. When I first heard the News, I suspected that the *Portugueze* understanding that my Rudder and many of my Men were ashoar, had contriv'd the Message, to induce me to send a Detachment out of the Land Guard, and so give them an Opportunity of possessing themselves of the Rudder and Water Casks that were ashoar. But upon Second Thoughts, calling to mind the Humour of the *Portugueze* in that Country, and the weakness of the St. *Malo's* Ship, I concluded the Account to be not improbable, and withal foresaw, that the slighting of such Intelligence, might lessen the Reputation of the *French* in that Country. At last having resolved to send out a Detachment pursuant to the King's Message, the Interpreter with several other Negroes, offer'd to go along with my Men to the place, saying, They would go any where to have an Opportunity of killing the *Portugueze*. To carry on this Affair with more security, I order'd the Rudder to be brought aboard, for the Carpenter's work being then finished, there wanted nothing but the Iron work, which might be done aboard, by setting up a Forge in the Ship: I reinforced the Land Guard with an addition of ten Men, ordering them to plant Barricades of Water-Casks before the principal Avenues of the place where they lay, and to suffer neither White nor Black to come near them in the Night time, and got Captain *Pile* to accompany my Men in the Expedition. Accordingly the next Day, I sent up the River our *Sloop*, with an addition of ten Men to her Complement; together with Captain *Pile's* Bark mann'd by his own Men, and the *Hope's* Long-Boat, with 20 Men and four Pedereroes; all under the Command of Monsieur *Montcurier*. *Dec.* the 8th, *Captain Catel* of *Dieppe* arriv'd in the Bay, and told me that at the Isle of St. *Vincent*, he met a *Dutch* Ship of 400 Tun, mann'd with *Dutch* and *English*, bound for *Bantam*, in order to convey thither the News of the Agreement between these two Nations. At three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Mr. *Montcurier* return'd with the *Hope's* Long-boat, and *Captain Pile's* Bark, our Pinnace not being able to keep up with their Oars; and reported that he had been ten or twelve Leagues up the River, where finding the River very narrow and rocky, insomuch that the Bark struck several times, and having no Commission from me to venture the loss of the Bark, he turned back without meeting any *Portugueze* or their Vessels.

December the 31st, We were in 3 ½ Degr. N. Lat. After our departure from *Tagrin*, the weather was various, sometimes stormy and sometimes very calm, as it uses to be in those Seas; and we found our Rudder much more serviceable than before. *Jan.* the 1st, 1620, at Sun rising, we found the Needle 3 ½ Deg. North, and the Lat. 3 Deg. 5 Min. North. The 6th, we cross'd the Equinoctial Line, and celebrated the usual Custom of throwing Sea Water upon those who had never pass'd it. From the third of this Month, we had the Wind at S. E. and S.S. E. and sail'd close to the Wind in order to raise the South Pole, pursuant to the common course of Navigation. The 24th, we were under the *Tropick of Capricorn*, and the Needle vary'd 13 Degr. to the N. E. From our passing the Line we had the Wind at E. and E.S.E.

February the 1st, we began to have the Westerly and other variable Winds; being then in 13 Degrees South Latitude, and the Needle varying 13 ½ Degrees N. E.

Remark upon the Variation of the Needle.

February the 3d, Being becalm'd, I observed at the Sun Rising, that the Needle was 13 Degr. North; whereas at my last Observation, when I was almost a Degree farther from the Antarctick Pole, it was 13 Degrees and a half. So that instead of increasing it decreased. Upon which I concluded its Variation to be irregular; and that it is not fix'd on two *Meridians* cutting the World in four parts, as the *Portugueze* and others imagined.

Fishes with long Horns or Bills, which pierce thro' Ships.

During this calm, we saw two great Fish with long Snouts or Bills, which seem'd to be of that sort that are known to pierce lin'd Ships. I could scarce have credited the Story of their penetrating thro' Ships, if the Governour of *Dieppe* had not show'd me a piece of the Beak or Horn of such a Fish, found in the side of a *Dieppe* Ship, when it was laid up to be caulk'd after an *East-India* Voyage; the Captain of which had found something strike against his Ship as he sail'd from the Coast of *Brasil* to the Cape, but did not know what it was, till that discovery happen'd. This piece of Horn resembled the Tooth of a Sea-Horse, only 'twas straight all along, and the Colour of Ivory. Its thickness was an Inch and an half diameter. It had run 5 Inches into the Wood, and was broke off where the Lining join'd the Wood, probably by the strugling of the Fish, which could not recover it without breaking. Several Persons have met with the like Adventure in their Voyages. But I shall only mention one more of a *Dieppe* Captain, who upon a Voyage to these parts, had his Boat staved to pieces by a blow from one of these Fishes, for the Fish endeavouring to withdraw its Horn, disjointed the Planks. Those which I saw on this Occasion seem'd to be of the smallest sort. One of 'em that came just under me appear'd to be 10 Foot long besides its Beak. 'Twas a mattie Fish, tho' not so big proportionably to its length as a *Porpoise*. Its Colour was a dark blue; and its Laps and Tail, which were very large, represented a bright Azure in the Sea. It had a pretty high Lap upon its Back, resembling that of a *Rechien* or *Indian* Sea-Calf, which sometimes puts above water. Its Head was not unlike a Porpoise's, only it was longer, and instead of a Snout had this Horn or Bill, which was very sharp at the Point, and almost two Foot long, and as thick as a Boy's Wrist. 'Tis a very stiff and swift Fish, for I have seen it fly at *Bonitoes*, with which it wages continual War. I have often observ'd *Bonitoe's* and *Albacore's* wounded by this sort of Fish, and the Sea tinctur'd with their Blood. I am certain there are some of this sort much greater than those I saw this Day, which attack the Whales; and probably 'tis their mistaking a Ship for a Whale that occasions their encountering with a Ship. However I doubt not but even a great Ship may be endanger'd by the spliting and gashing of its Planks, occasion'd by this Fish's endeavouring to recal its Horn after it has struck.

White things floating in the Sea, like Men's Heads.

While the Calm and the excessive Heat continued, we saw a certain white thing about the bigness of an *Ostrich* Egg floating upon the Water, which sunk when the Ship came within 50 or 60 Paces of it. Our Pinnace's Crew said they saw a great many of them. It resembled a Man's Head without Hair; and some say they observed two Black Eyes and a Mouth upon it. We likewise saw a strange sort of Fish about as long as an ordinary *Lamprey*, and equally round, with a large Fin or Crest, which seem'd to be above a Foot high over its Head, and slop'd in a continued series down to its Tail. It swims upon one side, so that the Fin together with the Body, represents a large Fish of a triangular form; and it makes its way by shifting from one side to the other. But when it catches its Prey the Fin is strait, and appears above the Water to be of an ashy Colour; tho' the Body of the Fish is as white and as round as a Tallow Candle.

A strange sort of Fish.

February the 10th, we were in 31 ¼ Degrees South Latitude, the Needle varying 12 ¼ Degrees North East.

Sea Wreck.

The 20th, our Latitude was 24 Degrees, and the variation 9 ½. Here we saw a great deal of Wreck or Sea-Grass of a reddish Colour; which, some say, comes from the *Tristand*, *Acuna* Islands. The next Day there happen'd a violent Storm, the Wind at West, which had almost broke down our Mast, our top-Mast Sails being then out. Such Storms are common and very violent in those Seas in Winter; but 'twas then Summer there, and the Autumn was just approaching.

March the 8th, our Latitude was 34 Degrees, and the Variation no more than 20 Minutes; which I took for a certain sign that we were not above 70 or 76 Leagues off of the *Cape* of *Good Hope*.

The 11th, we saw *Trombs* or large Sea-weeds, about three or four Fathom long, *Cormorants*, Sea-Bears, and the Fowls call'd by the *Portugueze Alcatra's*, which are white all over, only the tips of their Wings are black. And all these were certain signs of our approaching to the Land. We likewise saw innumerable Troops of *Porpoises*, and a great many Whales. Towards night we descried Land, and found the common Navigation to be very just. Being then in 33 Degrees Latitude, which is over against the *Bay de Soldaigne*, we resolved to steer our Course to the *Table Bay*, which lay from us about 20 Leagues S. E. ¼ S. in order to take in fresh Water. But the Wind being contrary, *i. e.* S. and the Tides being likewise contrary

trary, *i.e.* N. N. W. we did not arrive at the *Table* Bay till the 15th at Night, at which time we cast Anchor there, having loſt only one Boy in the Voyage.

A Deſcription of the Country near *Table* Bay.

March 16. I ſent fifty Men aſhore with Sails to make Tents of. When the Boat return'd, they told me, They had found ſeveral Corps of dead Men, and Cloaths ſcatter'd up and down, and a ſmall Fortification of Earth, which we gueſs'd to be built by the *Danes*; for one of the Natives, that ſpoke a ſort of *Jargon* of broken *Engliſh*, gave us to underſtand, tho' more by his Signs than by his Language, that five Ships had ſail'd from thence to the Eaſtward about three Months before.

The 19th it continu'd to be very ſtormy, with a N. E. Wind. Some Musketteers, whom we had ſent in queſt of a Soldier that had ſtraggled from us, reported, that they had paſs'd along the South-ſide of an Inland Mountain, joyning to the *Table* Mountain, where they ſaw an infinity of very large Baboons and Monkeys: And from thence continu'd their Courſe along the declining part of the Mountains that bound the Weſtern Sea, till they deſcry'd the Sea about half a League off, which I took to be another Bay between this and the Cape of *Good Hope*; that then they turn'd back, and when they were upon the Mountains, deſcry'd the Sea to the Southward, which muſt be that to the Eaſtward of the Cape of *Good Hope*; that they had a plain View of other Mountains, between which and thoſe they were upon, there lay an open Plain, about 10 or 12 Leagues broad, the Soil of which was very good, and capable to produce ſeveral Fruits, the Plain terminating upon the Sea without any Mountains, between Cape *Falſo*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*; that at the foot of the Weſtern Mountains they met with Woods, and large Trees like Apple-Trees, which bore no Fruit, but were very hard Wood; that in the ſame places they met with very pleaſant Paſtures, and ſome Cattle, and excellent clear Weather.

This Report inſpir'd me with a Curioſity to ſee the Country: Accordingly, the next Day, I walk'd out by the back of the *Table*-Mountain; and when I was got three Leagues into the Country, obſerv'd very good Grounds, deck'd with Graſs and pleaſant Flowers, and a ſmall Rivulet of freſh Water gliding along the Plain, and loſing it ſelf in the Sea, at the foot of the Bay, at a place where there is a great Confluence of Water, which we call the River. This Rivulet riſes out of the Mountains that lie between the Point of the Cape and this Bay, and ſerve for Boundaries to the Weſtern Sea. I likewiſe obſerv'd, that this Rivulet makes ſeveral Fens, which run to the Northward along the *Dunes*, or Banks of Sand that terminate the Bay, and to that place which we call the River, where Barks of 50 or 60 Tun may enter at high Water.

I return'd along the Mountains, and at the foot of the *Table* Mountain to the Southward, met with a great many Trees, ſome of which afford Planks a Foot broad, and 18 or 20 Foot long, their Trunk being ſtrait like that of a Pear-Tree, their Leaves whitiſh and ſmall, their Bark about two Inches thick, and reddiſh, the Heart of the Wood white and hard, and the whole Tree full of Sap.

I likewiſe obſerv'd Herbs of the ſame Nature with thoſe in our Country, ſuch as Sorrel, Fern, Broom, *&c.* From this Mountain I ſaw Cape *Falſo*, and the Sea that waſhes the Eaſt-ſide of the Cape, which forms a large Bay as far as the Cape, where a great many Rocks ſhoot out into the Sea, that muſt needs be pernicious to Ships upon a Southerly Wind, upon the ſide of the Mountains of Cape *Falſo*, there runs either a great River, or an Arm of the Sea, that ſhoals very far up; and I obſerv'd the like upon the Inland ſide of the Mountains upon the Cape of *Good Hope*. Upon all theſe Mountains, there are great Quantities of Goats, Fallow Deer as big as Harts, Partridges, and all ſorts of Fowl; Baboons, Monkeys, Lions, white Wolfs, Foxes, Porcupines, Oſtriches, and other Animals unknown to me. In this Day's Journey I ſaw none of the Natives, they having retir'd for fear of us.

A Character of the Inhabitants about *Table* Bay.

Thoſe who liv'd towards the Point of the Cape, are the moſt miſerable Salvages yet diſcover'd; for they neither ſow nor cultivate the Ground; neither do they Fiſh, or ſo much as venture themſelves two Steps into the Sea. They are of a very low Stature, eſpecially their Women, and are ſo meagre, that they always look as if they were dying for Hunger. Their greateſt Food is ſome White Roots, about the bigneſs of ſmall Cheſnuts, which have a Stalk like a Leek, only a little narrower and not indented, that bears a White Flower. If they find any Cockle-fiſh, or Whales or any other dead Fiſh upon the Shore, tho' never ſo much putrified, they put 'em a little upon the Fire, and then feed heartily upon 'em: Nay, when the very Skins, Heads, and Entrails of the Sea-Bears and Pinguins (*i.e.* a ſort of Fowls without Wings) which our Men fed upon, were thrown out of the Tents, and had lain for 7 or 8 Days, till their Stench oblig'd our Men to remove their Tents, and ſcar'd the Wolves and other wild Beaſts from touching of 'em; even then, I ſay, the Savages would take 'em up, and after having put them under the Aſhes, and ſqueez'd them between two Stones, would eat up every bit of 'em.

When they meet an *European*, the firſt thing they do, is to ſhew their Stomach, which they draw into their Body, and ſo that makes a hollow or great Pit upon their Breaſt. They have Wars one with another, probably, upon the Account of their Cattle. They abſtain from Man's Fleſh, neither do they eat any of their Cattle, unleſs theſe are apt to die through Leanneſs, Age, or any other Accident. They cover their Privities with a Sheep's Tail, and wear the Skin of a Sheep, or ſome other Animal, over one Shoulder like a Scarf. The better ſort have dry'd Tripe about their Necks, upon which there hangs a little Knife ſhap'd like a Launce, in a wooden Sheath: And this I take to be the Inſtrument with which they cut off one of their Teſticles at ten or twelve Years of Age; that being a Cuſtom among 'em, perhaps in order to qualifie themſelves for running, in which Exerciſe they outdo all that ever I ſaw. Some hang upon their Necks a Plate of Copper, as thin as a *Teſtoon*, and about a Hand long, and four or five Inches broad. Others wear Bracelets, being Pieces of Copper or Iron, with a hole in the middle. Thoſe who ſeem to have ſome Command over the reſt, have commonly a Stick in their Hands, with a Fox's Tail at the end of it.

They cut off one Teſticle.

I could not perceive any Religion among 'em. They marry indeed, and dance; and their common Salutation to us is dancing to a Song, which from the beginning to the end, is nothing elſe but *Hauſitou*.

Their Arms are an *Aſſagay*, with a weak ſort of a Bow and a Quiver; which they hide under ſome Buſhes when they come to our Tents. They are very apt to ſteal any thing of Iron or Copper; but Linen or Cloths they do not covet.

They are Negroes, and have frizzl'd Hair, as well as thoſe in *Guinea*, but they wear no Ornaments upon it. They have no Sheds to live in, that I could perceive: But in the Night-time they ſhelter themſelves with their Wives and Children with Buſhes, and have ſome Skins ſtretch'd like an *Umbrella*, upon two Sticks laid a-croſs, with one in the middle to faſten it in the Ground; under which they lie bury'd in the Sand up to their Belly.

They are altogether ignorant of Agriculture, or the making of Canoes; whereas, if they could but tack ſome pieces of Wood together to convey 'em to the Iſlands juſt by the Continent, they would find vaſt Quantities of Pinguins, and Sea-Bears (which are their delicious Food) not only for their own Suſtenance, but for Sale among their Neighbours.

An Account of *Table* Bay, and the Mountain above it.

This *Table-Bay* lies in 34 Degr. Lat. the Needle varying 1 ½ Degr. N. W. It's Air is very wholeſome. Sometimes you may treat here with the Natives for Beef and Mutton; but that's very uncertain. 'Tis a ſecure Road to Anchor in, and has about 6 or 8 Fathom Water. There's more Rain and Wind in the Bay, than a Shore; for the high Mountains ſtop the Clouds and Vapours, which being driven by the Wind, break and fall down in Hurry-canes upon the Bay. The height of the *Table*-Mountain from the Sea-ſide to the top, is 1350 Foot perpendicular.

Dutch Letters found aſhore.

Some of our Men going aſhore, happen'd to light upon a great Stone, with two little Packs of pitch'd Canvas underneath, which we afterwards found to be *Dutch* Letters. When we open'd them, we found firſt a ſtrong piece of pitch'd Canvas, then a Plate of Lead wrapp'd round the Packet, under that two pieces of freſh Cloth, then a piece of red Frize, all wrapp'd round a Bag of coarſe Linen; in which were the Letters very ſafe and dry. They contain'd an Account of ſeveral Ships that had paſs'd that way; particularly of an *Engliſh* Advice-Boat that was gone for *England*, to acquaint the Company with the Injury the *Dutch* had done 'em in the *Eaſt-Indies*. They likewiſe gave Notice to all Ships that paſs'd that way, to take care of the Natives, who had murder'd ſeveral of their Crew, and ſtole ſome of their Water-Casks. Farther, they gave Advice, that the *Dutch* had beſieg'd *Bantam* with 35 Ships, and that the *Engliſh* were forc'd to abandon it for want of Proviſions: That the King of *Bantam* and the *Dutch*, committed ſeveral Acts of Hoſtility; and many other things, too long to be inſerted. Having read this Letter, I was in a quandary, whether I ſhould go to *Bantam* or not: For I readily imagin'd, that *Bantam* being block'd up by the *Dutch*, they would not

Bantam beſieg'd by the *Dutch*.

ſuffer

ſuffer us to enter, and far leſs to traffick there, ſince they always endeavour'd to keep the Trade out of our hands. Beſides, I was apprehenſive they might carry the place, in regard that Prince *Mataran*, who calls himſelf Em[illegible] of all *Java*, and alledges that the King of *Bantam* [illegible]ed from him, would readily joyn with the *Dut*[illegible] reducing the Rebel King. Upon theſe Conſidera[illegible] reſolv'd to ſteer my Courſe to the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, to put off [illegible] Goods that were proper for that Coaſt, and buy up others that ſhould be ſaleable at *Achen*, and upon the Coaſt of *Sumatra* and *Java*; and after all, to take in at *Achen*, a Ship's Loading of Pepper, or two, if the Siege continu'd; and leave there a Factory, together with the Pinnace, to trade up and down the Coaſt. But if the Siege were rais'd, I deſign'd not to ſettle any Factory at *Achen*, but to ſend one of the Ships back to *France*; and the other, together with the Pinnace to *Bantam*, where we might get 200 or 300 *per Cent.* upon the Coaſt Goods; and there to load the other Ship, and leave a Factory together with the Pinnace.

In the mean time I call'd to mind, that the Directors of the Company mean'd that I ſhould go ſtraight to *Bantam*, and ſend at leaſt one of their Ships back to *France* that Year; which I could not do, if I touched upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*: Beſides, if the Siege of *Bantam* ſhould happen to be rais'd, I was apprehenſive the Company would blame me for not following their Orders. But even that Conſideration was counterpois'd by this, that I could not at any rate ſend back one of their Ships that Year, ſince I could not make the Streight of *Sonda* till *Auguſt*, nor get out from thence till *October* or *November*, by reaſon of contrary Winds; and upon that ſcore I ſhould be oblig'd to ſpend the whole Year, without doing any thing, and eat up my Proviſions, which in that Country are ſo ſcarce, that the *Engliſh* are forc'd to ſpread themſelves along the Coaſt to be ſupply'd; not to mention that I ſhould be expos'd to the Diſcretion of the *Dutch*, who never mean'd us well. Having maturely weigh'd all theſe Conſiderations, I ask'd Advice of the principal Deputies, ſome of whom ſaid they would ſubmit to my Judgment; and others told me, that ſince I had a poſitive Commiſſion for *Bantam*, and ſince *Bantam* was a place of too great Importance to the *Dutch*, to be long at Variance with the King, I had beſt ſteer my Courſe thither. Theſe different Opinions put me upon another Expedient, of ſending the *Hope* to *Bantam*, and giving the Captain, Mr. *Grave*, an ample Commiſſion.

A little Ille near *Table* Bay.

April 3. We weigh'd Anchor; and being becalm'd about two Leagues off from the Bay, were driven by the great Waves coming from the South, and the Tides running North upon a little Iſland, and caſt Anchor within a League of it, at 20 Fathom Water, the Ground being muddy Sand. The Iſle lay from us North one quarter N.E. and the Southerly Waves made us roul prodigiouſly, ſo that every thing crack'd in the Ship. This Iſland is almoſt round, and about a large League in Circumference. Within, it affords nothing but Sand, and ſome Buſhes, under which the Pinguins hatch their Eggs. A great many Rats and Adders live in it, as well as Chamæleons and Lizzards.

Sea-Bears deſcrib'd.

Upon its Rocks, by the Sea-ſide, we ſaw a great many Sea-Bears, which bleat like Sheep, ſome of which are very large, and have a Skin as thick as a Wolfs, with very ſoft Hair. Both theſe and the Pinguins taſte very rank of the Oyl of Fiſh, of which a great quantity might be taken from them, if one were at the pains. They have two Paws before, and two Fins behind; they cannot ſtay long under Water without taking the Air; they live upon Fiſh, and in the Night-time retire to the Rocks.

A Deſcription of Pinguins, or Fowls without Wings.

The Pinguins are Fowls without Wings, which have two Fins, and two broad Paws, upon which they walk upright, and with which they dig the Ground to make their Neſts. They are a little bigger than a Cormorant, having a white Belly, a black Back, a very thick Head, and a Bill like a Raven's. In the Morning they repair to the Sea, where they ſwim and feed upon Fiſh, and at Night return to their Neſts. They have nothing of the taſte of Fleſh, and for my part, I take them to be feather'd Fiſh.

While I was aſhore, there aroſe ſuch a Storm from the S.E. that I could not reach the Ships, but was forc'd to ſtay upon the Iſland all Night, notwithſtanding that it was a perfect Calm where the Ships rode.

April 7. We had a violent Thunder and Lightning, and the next Day the Weſterly Winds began to ſwell; beſides that, the Fog was ſo thick, that we could not ſee from one end of the Ship to the other; upon which, having given a Signal to the other Ships to follow me, by the Sound of Trumpets and Drums, I return'd Sounding all the way, and caſt Anchor in *Table*-Bay.

April 12. We weigh'd Anchor again, and all that Day had but little Wind, and that very variable. However, on the 14th we doubled the Cape of *Good Hope*; and the 15th were in 36 ½ Degr. Lat.

The Signal of an approaching Storm.

The 16th we had a violent Storm from the N. E. at Full Moon, which we foreſaw the Night before; for at Sun-ſetting reddiſh Rays aſcended from the Sun, and underneath him was a Bank of the ſame Colour; towards the Wind there appear'd, as it were, a Circle, from the Centre of which there proceeded great Rays; under the Wind there appear'd a round blackiſh Cloud, and in the middle of it we ſaw what the *Portugueze* call the *Ox's Eye*, which is generally taken notice of, as the Fore-runner of a great Storm. When the Moon came low, the Sea ſwell'd mightily, and the Storm was indeed very great, notwithſtanding that the Air was ſo clear, that in the Night-time we ſaw the riſing and ſetting of the Stars. The Storm parted me from the other two Ships, till the 17th that the Wind abated, and came Southerly, after which I perceiv'd our two Ships about a League before me; and found, to my great admiration, that none of 'em had ſuſtain'd any harm. However, this wonderful Deliverance made me reſolve not to part with the *Hope*, but to go all in a Company to *Bantam*, purſuant to my Orders.

Accordingly I dropp'd all my former Projects, and ſail'd E. and S.E. directly for *Bantam*. But *April* 26. in 36 Degr. Lat. and 12 Degr. N. W. Variation of the Needle, a violent Storm overtook us, and not only broke my *Bowſprit*, but damag'd the Pinnace's Maſt: Upon which I was oblig'd to take up my former Reſolution of ſending Captain *Grave*, with the *Hope*, ſtraight to *Bantam*; deſigning to carry my own Ship and the Pinnace to *Madagaſcar*, in order to have them refitted.

They make S. *Auguſtine's* Bay.

I parted with the *Hope* on *May* the 1ſt, in 37 ½ Degr. S. Lat. and 18 Degr. Long. reckoning the Cape of *Good Hope*, for the Meridian.

The 17th in the Morning we deſcry'd *Tillac*, about ten Leagues off, which is a running Coaſt, that appears very high; and that Night had ſight of St. *Auguſtine* Bay.

The 17th we were oppoſite to the two little Iſlands of Sand, which lay about three Leagues from the Bay, which having no Trees upon them, are very low. But in the Night-time the contrary Winds, and the Trees carry'd us W. N. W. where finding no Anchorage, and not being able to make the Bay, I reſolv'd to ſtand for the Iſles of *Comoro*, during the light Quarter of the Moon. In thoſe Seas their Surface is very plain and ſmooth, and the Air very clear. While we ſtood for theſe Iſlands, the Wind turn'd North, upon which I tack'd about for the Bay, and arriv'd there on the 21ſt, caſting Anchor at 17 Fathom Water, upon a clayie Ground, about a quarter of a League from the Shore.

The Natives fond of Silver Chains.

May 22d, I went with the two Long-Boats, and fifteen Musketeers, to obſerve the River upon our approach to the Shore, we obſerv'd nine or ten of the Natives, upon a conſpicuous Point of Sand, who gave us the Signal to come to them. Upon this we went aſhore, and tho' we were arm'd, they joyn'd in and talk'd with us above an Hour, ſignifying by their Language and Signs, that they were very well pleas'd with us, and would viſit us next Day on Board. They were very curious in obſerving what ſort of things we had about us; and one of 'em, who ſeem'd to be a leading Man, ſpying a Silver Whiſtle, with a Chain to it, that my Mate had about him, deſir'd it very earneſtly: I order'd the Mate to ſhew it him, tho' I was ſorry for the diſcovery, for fear they ſhould inſiſt upon having that, and no other Commodity in exchange for theirs; and for that Reaſon had caution'd all our Men to hide 'em. However, they all lik'd it mightily, and the chief Man among 'em, promis'd to give for it an Ox, which might be worth 20 Crowns at leaſt. Upon which I gave him to know, that we could not ſell it, becauſe we had uſe for it; but if any of 'em would come aboard, I would ſhew them things that they would like as well. Without further deliberation, this principal Man, and three others embarked with us, deſiring that ſo many of our Men might be left aſhore, which I agreed to. In the mean time, at one Caſt of a Sean, we drew up an infinity of little Fiſh reſembling Herrings, both in form and taſte: But I could not make any material Remarks upon the River, only I was ſure that it was very great and rapid.

A Deſcription of the Natives, and their Habit.

The Natives of this place are the handſomeſt Negroes that ever I ſaw. They are large and well ſhap'd; they feed well, and are neither flat Nos'd, nor thick Lip; neither do they ſtink like the *Guinea* Negroes. They are very curious in their Hair, which is long, frizled, rais'd upwards, and made up in Wreaths at the top. Their Teeth are very white, even and ſmall; and they rub 'em

every

every Minute with a ſmall piece of Wood. Their Garment is a Cotton Cloth well woven, of two or three Colours, with which they cover their Privities, the reſt of their Body being naked. As for their Ornaments, he whom we took for the chief Man, had a large Plate like a piece of Bone or Ivory, perfectly white upon his Forehead, a large Ring of Copper at his Ears, about his Neck a Collar of Raſſade, beſides Glaſs-Beads of ſeveral Colours, and a Necklace of fine Yellow Amber, which he eſteem'd very much. The reſt had Ornaments correſponding to all his, excepting the Trinket on his Forehead.

As ſoon as we came on Board of the Ship, the Natives were ſurpriz'd with the bigneſs of the Ship, and mightily taken with the Sound of the Trumpets and Drums. I preſented them with ſome enamell'd Rings, and others of Pearl and falſe Amber, and entertain'd them with Diſcourſe till Supper was ready.

They are ſick on Board.

But in the mean time they were taken ill of the Sea Sickneſs, inſomuch that they would needs go above Deck, and lie upon a Sail. One of them that was not ſo ſick as the reſt, did nothing but jeer his Companions all Night, and merrily imitated every word that the Men upon the Watch ſaid to one another. In a word, theſe are very jolly Negroes, and have nothing in 'em that's brutiſh; they readily apprehend what is ſaid to them, and in my Opinion are much preferable to the other Negroes. Next Morning by Break of Day, I went to ſee for my Gueſts, and found them upon their Legs, and much better than before. Then I ſhew'd them ſeveral little things I thought they would like; ſuch as Coral, yellow Amber cut fine, Raſſades of all Colours (they lik'd the blue, red, and green, but not the white) Knives, Razors, Combs, Iron, Tin Veſſels, a Copper Baſon, and red Cloth, as well as Cloth of other Colours. They ſeem'd to like every thing, and deſir'd the Gift of 'em; but when I ſpoke of their Beeves, they always came back to the Silver Whiſtle, and the Chain: Finding I could make nothing of them, I ſent them a-ſhore again; as well as ſome of our Men, with ſeveral of the above-mention'd Goods, to try what they could do with the other Natives. One of the Natives offer'd a fat large Ox, with Bumps upon his Shoulders (like to thoſe on Camels Backs) in exchange for a Copper Baſon, but he that bore the Trinket on his Forehead ſpoke to him, upon which he gave back the Baſon, and ask'd for a Silver Whiſtle with a Chain to it. In fine, I underſtood they reſolv'd not to truck with me for any thing elſe, but Silver Chains.

The next Day, hearing that the Natives were come down to the Shore with their Cattle, I ſent our Men aſhore with Chains of Steel, Lattin, Copper, Jett, and other things reſembling Pearl; ordering them to conceal the Silver Chain, and not exchange it, till they had try'd if any of the former would do; for I had no mind to make them acquainted with that Metal. But after all, they gave me to know, they would deal in no other thing but in the Silver Chain, and would give no more than one Cow, for as much of it as would go round the Neck of the talleſt of them, and meet with two ends at his Navel. Being unwilling to part with the Silver Chain, and at the ſame time in great want of their Cattle, becauſe we could not live upon the Fiſhing; I reſolv'd to have a Chain made of Pewter, by a Goldſmith that we had aboard; and for that end caus'd to melt a Platter; hoping to do as much with a Pewter Chain, as with a Silver one: For when I offer'd them Silver and Pewter Spoons in a heap together, they chus'd the Pewter ones, becauſe they were neweſt. In like manner, when I ſhew'd them a large Silver Baſon, and Silver Cups, and even a Chain of Gold, they would give me nothing for 'em; but ſtill wanted the Chain that was along with the Whiſtle.

The Commodities of the Country.

The next Day they came aboard without Hoſtages, and brought with them ſome Hens and Capons, a pretty deal of Milk, ſome Peaſe, and ſome Horn-ſpoons, made after their Faſhion. Theſe were very fond of our red Raſſade; but we had but very little of it. However, we exchang'd what we had at a pretty good rate; for they gave us a large Capon, or ſome ſuch Poultry, for every String of it.

Theſe Natives lodg'd all Night on board of us, and were not ſick as the others were: They fed heartily, and eat a great deal of broil'd Fiſh, and thrice as much Bread as any of our Men.

The Peaſe they ſold us were white, and as large as a Muſquet-Ball, and the beſt I ever ſaw: They eat 'em raw; and next to their Milk, I believe, they are their beſt Food.

The 26th I ſent ſome red Raſſade, and the Tin Chain aſhore; but they quickly perceiv'd that the Chain was not the right. They gave us Fowls for half a String of Raſſade a piece, as well as a Weather for one String; and Aſſagays and Darts very well made, for half a String a piece. Thoſe Natives work very prettily in Iron and Copper, and to my Mind, their Iron, of which they have great Quantities, is as good as in *Spain*.

They ſold us a ſmall quantity of Rice, which they valued very high.

When our red Raſſade was all gone, I ſhew'd 'em ſome red Coral, Cryſtal, and other pretty little things; but they did not like 'em.

On the 27th, they brought down as many Cattle, as cover'd at leaſt a quarter of a League and ſtill demanded the Silver Chain for an Ox, the red Raſſade for their Sheep and Pullets, and the blue for their Milk, of which they brought great Quantities. For the Silver Chain I demanded three Oxen, and a Sheep for two Strings of red Raſſade.

In the mean time, their King, or Governour, ſent me word to come aſhore (for I marketted in my Long-Boat), and ſhew him the Chain: But I gave him to know, that I could not come aſhore; but if he would be pleas'd to come on Board, he ſhould be very ſafe, and I would ſend ſome of my Men aſhore for Hoſtages. After ſome deliberation he came aboard, and I was ſorry I had no nice thing to preſent him with. However, having four Strings of red Raſſade in my Hand, tho' I thought 'em too mean a Preſent for him, yet finding that he look'd upon 'em with a greedy Eye, I complemented him with 'em; which he accepted with pleaſure, and gave me a Sheep for a Recompence. I had a great Mind to have given him the half of the Silver Chain, which was 5 Foot long, and weigh'd three Ounces and a half: But conſidering, that if I was prodigal of the Chain, I ſhould have nothing to fetch Beeves; or elſe I would be oblig'd to rob the Mates of their Silver Whiſtles, I e'en put it off till the next opportunity.

But ſome time after, the King reflecting upon the Chain, ſent one of the ſtatelieſt Oxen I ever ſaw, which we bought for half the Chain: But we had a great deal of trouble in bringing it aboard; for tho' it receiv'd in its Head two Piſtol-ſhot, one Harquebuſe, and one Muſket-ſhot, yet it was ſo ſtrong, that we were forc'd to ſtifle it under Water, and give it ſeveral Blows in the Head with an Axe, before we could get it aboard. Such an Ox might be worth 100 Livres in *France*.

An Account of their Cattle and Fruit.

Theſe Oxen are neither high, nor ſo large as thoſe of our Country; but they are ſhort and thick; their Head is ſmall, their Neck ſhort and thick, with a large Bump or Lump of Fat, upon the joyning of the Neck to the Shoulder; which at a diſtance appears, as if it were a Burthen ty'd upon that part.

Their Sheep reſemble thoſe of *Barbary*, as to their Head and Wool; but their Ears hang down like a Hound's, and their Tail contains ten or twelve Pound of pure Fat; which does not diſoblige the Stomach, as the Fat of the Body does. Their Fowls are large, fat, and thick. In a word, their Men are in ſo good a caſe, and their Cattle ſo fat, that the Iſland muſt needs be a very good Country. As for their Fruit, I queſtion whether we were there in their Seaſon; at leaſt they brought us none, but a little Rice, ſome Beans, and very large white Peaſe. They have a great many Gourds, and Bottles made of 'em, in which they put their Milk.

The 28th I was to ſee a little Iſland in the Mouth of the River, and then return'd to the place of Barter; where the Natives waited for us with a great number of Cattle. This Day I bargain'd to a double advantage of what I did yeſterday: But having allow'd ſome of our Men to go aſhore, and treat for themſelves, whether they ſpoil'd the Market by being too prodigal of their Commodities, I cannot tell; but ſo it was, that the Natives, all of a ſudden, demanded four Strings of red Raſſade for a Sheep, whereas they had ſold me ſeveral for two a piece but juſt before: Upon which I call'd all my Men into the Boat, for I always Marketted in my Long-Boat, from the Commencement of the Treaty. I had no ſooner recall'd my Men, but the Governour of the Natives, whom they call *Aurea*, appear'd in a Paſſion, and order'd all the Natives to retire. Leſt our mutual Friendſhip ſhould be thus broke, I made a Signal, that I would ſpeak with the Governour; upon which he came down to the Shoar-ſide, and I going aſhore, preſented him a Cutlas with a Silver Hilt, aſſuring him that I was his Friend, and earneſtly deſir'd, that I and my Men ſhould live in perfect Amity with him and his People: This done, he expreſſed a great deal of Satisfaction, the Negroes made loud Acclamations of Joy, and I cauſing the Trumpets to ſound, and the Drums to beat, order'd a Party of our Men to come aſhore, who joyn'd in, and ſhak'd Hands with the Negroes. In the mean time the Governour made me ſit down by him, and admi-

admiring the Trumpets and Drums, offer'd me an Ox for one of either. But I told him I could not want it. After that we sold the rest of our Silver Chain for 2 Heifers and a String of Coral Beads for an Ox; and then we return'd on board, giving the Natives to know, that within four or five Days I would be gone, which they heard with grief. The next Day one of our Officers went ashoar, and sold four Ounces of a Silver Chain, for six lusty oxen, which I caus'd to be salted up.

A Description of the Bay, River, and adjacent Country.

June the 1st, I went into our little Skiff with twelve Men; designing to reach the Mountains by a small Creek, and from thence to descry the Valley where the River run. But finding the Creek very inaccessible, and surrounded with Bushes, steep Rocks, and Aloes Plants, I left it, and rowed about half a League up an Arm of the River to the Southward, where I found a Landing place. Having walk'd up a third part of the Mountain, I discover'd that the other Arm of the River to the Northward was yet greater, for it appear'd as broad as the *Seyne*, a League below *Roan*. Upon the Sea side, and for two Leagues up the River, there is nothing but thick and black Woods; but beyond that there are very pleasant Fields.

This Bay is so cover'd with Flats to the North and South, that 'tis only accessible by the N. W. and W. N. W. I do not believe that great Storms do ever reach it for the Coast does not seem to be much beaten by the Waves, and all the 15 Days I was there, I observ'd but one Cloud in the Zenith; neither is the Heat excessive, being temper'd by the Land Breezes, that never fail from the Sun setting to ten or eleven a Clock in the Morning, and the Sea-Gales that blow from that time to Sun setting. I found the Air of that Bay very healthy, for we had not one sick aboard, to which the abundance of fresh Meat and good Water contributed not a little. As for the adjacent Country, the Valley is very pleasant, and affords excellent Pasturage, being water'd by a large River, which would render the Ground very fertile if it were cultivated. The Sea swells the Mouth of the River to 10 or 12 Foot running Water, so that ordinary Ships might enter it. The Mountains are a dry Rock, the Surface of which looks as if it were burnt. The Low-Country is clad with an infinity of Bushes and Shrubs, and the greatest quantity of *Tamarinds* I ever saw, as well as with *Ebony* and *Aloes* Plants.

Fruit resembling Wall-nuts.

Their *Tamarinds* were not then ripe; but I met with another Fruit almost ripe, that resembled a large Wallnut, having a green Rind; when I open'd it, it gave a fragrant smell, and the Fruit within was black and full of little Stones, almost like Cassia Fistula, and its Pulp, being of the same Tast and Colour, tho' not so thick, and, as I take it, entitled to the same qualities. This Fruit is by some call'd *Tamboarions*, and said to resemble Poppy Heads, but without any reason. We saw in the Hands of the Savages some small Cucumbers, which seem'd to be better than ours, and which they eat as we do *Pears*; a great many *Gourds*, some *Beans*, very good *Pease*, a little *Rice*, and only one *Citron*.

The Government of the Natives.

The Natives are jolly, proper, handsome Negroes. They are very friendly one to another, and obey one Sovereign call'd *Aurea*, whose Residence, as they told me, is at a great Habitation up the River. I take their *Aurea* to be another sort of a Man, and better qualified than he who appear'd as the *Aurea*, and to whom I made a Present of the Silver Cutlas; for they told me with grief that their *Aurea* had been lately stabb'd. I could not perceive 'em guilty of any brutish or inhuman Action, for they dealt with us very frankly and honestly; they did not steal the least odd thing, or offer the least Injury to our Men, tho' they met them sometimes straggling and unarm'd. One Day, when one of our Priests was saying Mass, and had but very few Auditors, 25 or 30 of the Natives came about him, and being desired to kneel, did so, and behav'd themselves very respectfully till the Service was over.

Their Honesty.

Their Religion.

As for their Religion, I could perceive none amongst them. Indeed they are Circumcised; and tho' the Institution came to them time out of mind, yet I believe they had it from the *Mahometans* upon the Coast of *Æthiopia*, who have long had, and still have, an unknown Traffick with that Country.

Their Language.

Their Language sounds pretty smooth, for they pronounce it very glibly. They do not reckon beyond Ten in Computations; and their ten Numbers are thus express'd in order, *Issa, Rewa, Tello, Effad, Linne, Euning, Frutto, Vuollo, Sinay, Foulo.*

Their Women.

As for their Women and Houses, I saw neither. Some of our Men told me they left their Women about half a League off in the Woods, and that they saw three or four of 'em, that were very handsome, being cover'd from their Breast to their Knees with a party colour'd Cloth of Cotton, and having their Ears pierc'd in several places, with a great many Ear-Rings and Bracelets hanging upon 'em.

Having refitted our Ships, and furnished our selves with fresh Provisions, Wood and fresh Water; and rode 15 Days in this Bay, which is a very proper place for taking in fresh Provisions, and sheltering distressed Ships, and might be made as useful for those who trade to the *Indies*, as *Mozambique* is to the *Portugueze*: Having rode, I say, 15 Days in this Bay, which lies in the Island of *Madagascar* or *S. Laurence*, under the Tropic of *Capricorn*; we weighed Anchor, and stood North West, to avoid the Flats; and having sail'd all that Day with little Wind, at Night the Bay lay about ten Leagues off S. E. ¼ E. At which time we perceived another Bay about six Leagues off to the Eastward. The Coast runs North and South, as far as we could See; and appears high, smooth, and all of a piece, like the Coasts of *Piccardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretaigne*.

June the 9th, we came in sight of the *Terra Firma*, between *Sophala* and *Mozambique*; and at Night being in 17 Degrees 10 Minutes Latitude, and sailing N. E. ¼ E. were in danger of being cast away, because our Sea Maps are very defective in that part. For the Pinnace being order'd to sail in head and sound, and if she apprehended any Danger to give us a signal of three Guns; about an hour and an half before Day, the Signal being given, we immediately tack'd about, and dropp'd an Anchor: And when Day came, perceiv'd that if we had but gone a little further, we had run our Ship aground. For about a quarter of a League off there lay a little Island, scarce a Mile in Circumference, cover'd with Bushes and Greens, having 2 tall Trees together upon its Western Point. And to the W. N. W. of this Island, which has a long Bar before it, there lies another of the same bigness, very low, and cover'd all over with Trees. The Continent lay about four Leagues from the first Island. To the S. W. we saw a high and sandy Coast, with a woody Country behind it, and to the West we descried a low Land, with large Trees upon it, as if they had been planted in the Sea. I was surpriz'd to see the Continent so near me, taking my measures from the Sea Cards. For over Night, when we saw the *Terra Firma* and the Islands, we took 'em according to the Latitude in the Charts, to be what the *Portugueze* call the *Primieras*; and reckoning these three Leagues to the Westward of us, the Course chalk'd down in the Chart from these Islands to a large Flat (lying in 16 ½ Degrees about 12 Leagues from the *Terra Firma*) being N.E. and S.W. and the last of the *Primieras* Islands, being placed in 17 Degrees above ten Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, we resolved to stand N. E. ¼ E. thinking to sail nearer to that Flat than the *Primieras* Islands. But we were mistaken; for the *Primieras* Islands are not above two or three Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, from which the Coast runs away E. ¼ N. E. Besides, the Charts have no Flats or Islands along that Coast, unless it be those of *Angoxa*, which are placed more to the Southward, *viz.* 16 Degr tho' after all, I saw that Morning a string of Islands, about a League and an half or two Leagues distant one from another, and lying in 16 and ½ Degrees, which I could imagine to be no other than these of *Angoxa*, so that the Charts misplaced them also two thirds of a Degree. Being at a loss to know what little Islands these were, and finding the Chart so much out, I resolved to stay there no longer. Accordingly I weighed Anchor, and sailed between the 2 Islands, the Pinnace sounding in the Head of me. We sail'd close by the Land-side of the first Island; where we had 10 or 12 Fathom Water, with a good Ground of muddy Sand, and no Banks; so that this side together with the Bar, affords a very good Road for Ships. Then standing E. S. E. with a fresh Southerly Gale, we got clear of the second Island, between which, and the Continent, I doubt not but there is a good Passage, for I observed no Banks nor Shallows.

Primieras and *Angoxa* misplac'd in the Sea-Charts.

Having past this Second Island, we descryed a Third, of the same bigness with the former, which assur'd me that these were the Islands of *Angoxa*. The next Day 'twas as much as we could do to see the Land to the North West of us, being then about six Leagues off; but according to the Charts we should have been above 20.

A Description of the Islands of *Comoro*.

The 13th, we descryed one of the Islands of *Comoro*, which is very high, and as conspicuous as *Madera*.

The next Day we perceived another not so high, which is call'd *Majotta*, and abounds with all sorts of Provisions and Fruits; lying about ten Leagues from the Island that's nearest the *Terra Firma* of *Mozambique*, the South Point of which we made the next Day, but could find no convenience for coming to an Anchor, notwithstanding

it is inhabited all along the Shoar. This last Island is very Cool, Moist, and full of Verdure, by reason of its height, which gathers a great number of Clouds that break upon it. It has a great many Brooks of Water running down from the top, which in my Opinion do not spring from the Rock, but are occasion'd by the continual elevation of Vapours.

The 16th, we made the North Cape, which is 15 or 16 Leagues distant from the South. Having doubled the Cape, we perceiv'd a small Sandy Creek, which appear'd like an old ruinous Castle, where two Ships (not more) may ride at Anchor, at six Fathom Water upon a Sandy Ground. We thought to ha e rode there, but the Tide carry'd us by it.

Having doubled the Point of this Creek, we came before an Inhabited Place, furnished with Houses like those of our own Country, where we thought to come to an Anchor; but finding nothing but from 50 to 30 Fathom Water upon a Rocky Ground, we stood to the Sea, despairing of Anchorage upon that Island. In the mean time the Tide carried us Westward along the Coast to a Point, where we came in sight of a Ship, and having sent out our long Boat with ten Musketeers, we understood it to be a *Mecca* Ship of 40 Tun, that upon our appearance on that Coast had run all their Goods ashoar, taking us to be *Dutch* Ships. The Captain shew'd me two Letters, one from an *English* Captain call'd *Martin*, and another from Captain *Bennar*, intimating to all their Country Men, that they had taken in several Refreshments at that place, especially Fruits but little Meat; that they had found no Water there; that Linen Cloth and Paper was a proper Commodity for that place; and advising them to take care of disobliging the Islanders, who, tho' they appear'd friendly enough, were capable to do them a great deal of Injury. Having ask'd the *Arabian* Master, where I could find the best conveniency for coming to an Anchor; he told me the place of Anchorage lay to the Windward of their Ship; but withal, advis'd me to fetch a Pilot from the Shoar, by reason that the Road is surrounded with Rocks and Banks, and the Inhabitants of the Island being great Sorcerers, and having the Wind at their command, could, upon occasion, change it to our disadvantage. Pursuant to his Advice, I sent my Boat ashoar along with him, and in the Afternoon he returned with two of the Inhabitants, who were *Negroes*, and brought our Ship safe to an Anchor before Sun-set. In the mean time I sent the *Arabian* Master back to his own Ship, with full Assurances of the Innocency of our Design, and the Friendly Disposition of the *French*; together with a Letter to the same purpose addressed in *Spanish* to the King.

The Natives command the Wind,

The 17th, The King sent some of his chief Favourites, to assure us of his Friendship, and readiness to supply us with the Product of his Country. I acknowledged my Obligations to the Prince, and sent him a Present of a Silver-Hilted Hanger, a couple of very pretty Knives, a Ream of Paper, and a Looking-Glass; which he receiv'd with pleasure, and return'd me a Compliment of a young Kid and some Fruit. At the same time I desired the *Arabian* Captain, who was then ashoar, to buy up some Provisions for me, promising to send such Commodities ashoar as were proper to be given in exchange. But the Captain sent me Word that the Inhabitants of that Island were of such a particular Humour, that they would not strike a Bargain of half a Rial value in a Days time; for they would not buy half a Yard of Cloth without calling all their Relations and Neighbours to concert the measures of the Bargain. I was likewise inform'd by a *Portuguese* that a *Portugueze Carrack* had been lost upon that Island about three Years before, and by that means the Inhabitants were so overstock'd with Rials, that they put no esteem upon that Coin. Accordingly I found, that tho' they had vast quantities of Fruits, they would not sell them to our Men for Money, but only for Paper, white Cloth and Knives. In fine, I perceiv'd that it would cost me 15 Days Attendance to make up two Pipes of Pease which I wanted; tho' I did not design to stay above three or four Days.

And are slow in making Bargains.

The 18th, having descry'd a couple of the Ships of that Country, I brought the Captains aboard; who gave me to know that they came from the Isle of *Majotta*, were laden with Rice and Hung Flesh, and were bound for *Lama* near *Bombaze*. Next Day they supply'd me with as much Rice, Pease and Hung Beef as would serve us for four Months: And I was glad of the Opportunity, for I could buy nothing from the Inhabitants without an infinite loss of time: Besides, I began to suspect the Honesty of their Intentions; for the Day before, when we were sounding for Anchorage, some of the Inhabitants gave us a signal to come to a place, where we spied a long Ridge of Rocks, and had certainly been lost if we had answer'd the Signal: And upon that score I presum'd that the Advantage they had made by the Shipwrack of the *Portugueze Carrack*, tempted them to wish us the like Fate.

The 20th, I thought to have taken up some fresh Water ashoar; but finding it brackish, and hard to be got on board, by reason of the great Waves; and observing withal that the Ship rode in the midst of Shelves, I dropped that design, and weighed Anchor on the 21st by break of Day. The *Arabian* Captains understanding that I design'd to double *Cape Comorin*, had advis'd me to stop at the Isle of *Socotora* for six Weeks, to avoid the usual Storms upon the Coast of *Malabar*. I would gladly have taken one of their Pilots along with me, to shew me the coasting of that Island; but they pleaded the difference of Religion, and our Men's eating of Pork for an Excuse.

A Description of the Island of Nangasija.

This Isle of *Nangasija* extends it self from North to South about 15 or 16 Leagues, with about three or four Leagues in breadth. We could observe no Anchorage round it, but that where our Ship rode; which lies upon the N. N. W. Point, in 11 ½ Deg. South Latitude, but the middle of the Island is in 12 Degrees South Latitude. In that place we rode at 25 or 30 Fathom Water upon a Ground of Sand. But within a Pistol shot of us, there lay Flats which had not above two Foot Water at low Water; and rocky Ground all about. 'Tis a very dangerous Road, and hard to be found by Strangers. Indeed among many Inconveniencies it has these Advantages, that the Tide always runs against the Wind, so that the Ship rides easie; and that Night brings a perpetual Calm at Sea, because the Wind then takes the Land. Besides the Inconveniency of Anchorage, it is likewise a very improper place for taking in fresh Provisions; for its Water is very bad, and the Inhabitants are so over cautious, that they will be two Hours in marketting to the value of five pence. So that *Majotta* is upon that score infinitely preferable to it. The Island it self affords a pleasant prospect, especially to the Northward; for on that side the Mountains rise gradually, being clad with several sorts of Trees; and below upon a large Creek of Sand along the Sea-shoar, there stands a great many Houses, shelter'd with an infinite number of Coco, Orange and Citron Trees. Their Oranges are small, but very sweet and delicious, resembling both in shape and taste those of *China*. The Inhabitants are *Negroes*, and call their Island *Nangasija*. They are all very zealous *Mahometans*, and mark'd with a hot Iron on the Temples and middle of their Forehead. They are neither so handsome, nor so well shap'd as the Negroes of St. *Laurence*.

The Religion and Government of the Natives.

The Island is govern'd by 15 petty Kings; of whom the King of the place where the Anchorage is, is the strongest and the best ally'd. These Kings War with one another, and sell the Prisoners of War to the *Portugueze* and other Nations.

Their way of Fighting.

Their Fighting consists in throwing of Stones, beating one another with Sticks burnt at the end, and flinging Sand in one anothers Eyes. We saw no Arms among them, but what the King had; and those were Fusees and Pistols, which the *English* presented him some time ago, and which he valued mightily.

They are reckoned great Sorcerers, but are civil and respectful enough to Strangers, unless it be when they see a Stranger stand upright and make Water, for then they ridicule him with a prodigious shouting.

A strange way of building Ships.

The *Arabian* Ships, which they call *Pangays*, are strangely built; for the Planks are neither nail'd nor cauk'd, but sowed together with a sort of Thread made of the Rind of the *Coco* Tree, and tarr'd or pitch'd above the Seams: so that they are very leaky, and there are always five or six Men employed to lave out the Water, besides, that they always observe the Seasons of the Trade Winds, so as to Sail right before the Wind, for they won't venture to set their side to the Wind-ward. They are undeckt, and may carry about fifty or sixty Tun.

When we weighed Anchor in this Road, we stood N. N. E. and without the Points of the Land met violent Tides bearing to the Windward, *i. e.* S. S. W. At Night we descry'd another tall Island to the Sea-ward, which must be that call'd in the Maps *Juan de Castraval*, and lies fifteen Leagues N. E. ÷ N. from *Nangasija*.

Juan de Castraval descried.

The 28th we cross'd the Equinoctial Line; and *July* the 1st, the Wind blowing very high, sail'd 55 Leagues in 24 Hours, notwithstanding that most of our Sails were furl'd; which gave me to understand that upon that Coast the Tides run rapidly before the Wind. Next Morning we discover'd a clear and rocky Coast, with good

good Ground a great way off from it; for at three Leagues distance, we had 30 Fathom Water, upon a fine white Sand.

July the 2d, we stood against the Wind, hoping the Storm would abate upon the change of the Moon, but by our Latitude found that the Tide and Storm had carried us 38 Leagues, tho' in the Night we stood to the Sea, and by Day to the Land; which seemed very wonderful.

Cape Orp'in. The 4th, we made Cape *Orpin* (which in the Maps is plac'd in 10 Degrees Latitude) and drop'd two Anchors, the Storm still continuing.

The 8th, it blew so very hard that a Man could not walk upon Deck; upon which, we try'd all the Inventions imaginable, of lowering our Top-Mast, running out above a hundred and eighty Fathom Cable to every Anchor, &c. for our Pilots declar'd us to be lost. At the same time our Pinnace was drove from two Anchors, the Ropes being cut by the Rock.

The 14th, 15th, and 16th, it blew still harder, insomuch, that the Pinnace was oblig'd to quit the Coast.

But the 17th, she returned and cast Anchor nearer the shore, at six Fathom Water upon very good Ground.

The high Winds continued without intermission till the 3d of *August*; during which time we could neither send our Boat ashoar, nor hoist up a Sail. However I resolved to stand for Cape *Guardafu*, in order to consider the state of our Tackling as well as to take in fresh Water, and receive Directions from the Natives about our coasting on *Socotora*, where none of us had ever been. With this view I fitted out our Long-Boat with Provisions for three Days, ordering the Men by all means to make the Land, and know of the Natives where they might come at fresh Water.

They returned on the 12th, and reported that they had coasted along the Shore to the Eastward of the place where we rode under steep Mountains, on the tops of which they saw several Persons in a mean *Arabian* Habit, who seem'd to them to be Negroes, and threw so many Stones upon 'em from the tops of the Mountains, that they were obliged to steer off, for notwithstanding all the Signals they could make of Peace and Friendship, the Natives signified by their Swords and *Assagays*, that if they came ashoar they would cut their Throats. Upon that, they steer'd to that part of the Coast which was opposite to our Anchorage; where some of 'em got up the Precipice by a gap, and found an open Champain Country as far as they could see, without any Trees, unless it were some wither'd Bushes, and some Herbs burnt up by the Sun. They saw likewise two or three of the Natives, who fled further into the Country. Having lain that Night under the Precipice, they steer'd next Day two or three Leagues to the Westward, and saw some Natives along the Shoar, who marched up Hill as soon as the Boat offer'd to come near them. After that they doubled the Cape, from which, a ridge of Rocks shoots above half a League into the Sea; and there found a large Bay three Leagues broad, and shooting very far into the *Terra Firma*, but very shallow; for about two Leagues from the Mouth of it they found but 3 and 4 Foot Water, the ground Sand and thick Gravel, with a great deal of Wreck and an infinity of Fish. In this Bay they found two of the Natives a fishing, who fled as soon as they made up to them. Our Men went ashoar here, and met with a great many of the Inhabitants, who, notwithstanding all the Signals they could make of a White Standard, &c. still fled from them, crying aloud *La Ilach, Illalach, Mahomet resul Alack*, which is the Mahometan Confession of Faith. Upon the Shore they found an *Arabian* Boat with nothing in it; a little further in the Country they met with a few small Trees, and a little Lodge, with two or three very pretty Mats in it, which they did not touch. After they had reimbark'd, they saw the Natives peep out again; but could find no opportunity of treating with them, whether by friendship or force. Upon this unfavourable Report I resolved to weigh Anchor as soon as the Storm abated.

Cape Orpin a very bad Anchorage. This Anchorage, in which we encounter'd such violent Storms, and which is indeed the Winter of that Country, lies in 10 ½ Deg. N. Lat. the Needle varying 17 ½ Deg. N. W. and the Coast running E. and W. I would not advise any one to pitch upon that place to lie in till the proper season of Coasting upon *Malabar*; for not only the Land is desart and inaccessible, by reason of the continual violence of the Wind, which never varies further than from S. S. W. to S. W. but it affords no Water, neither from Earth nor Heaven, as being altogether destitute of Rain.

The Storm being abated, we weighed Anchor the 17th; and the 18th, came within a League of Cape *Guardafu*: That Night we tack'd about and stood to the Sea, steering E. ¼ S. E. and E. S. E. in order to make the Isles of *Curia Muria*, which lie between the Isle of *Socotora* and the Cape, and afford good Water. But missing of them we return'd next Morning, standing for the *Cape*; and in the Afternoon came to an Anchor within Cape *Guardafu*, at nine Fathom Water, upon good Ground, within one fourth of a League of the Land, that runs away N. W. ¼ W. Next Morning, I sent one Boat's Crew in quest of some Spring of fresh Water falling from the Mountain into the Sea on its South side; and another to coast along the Shoar N. W. ¼ W. which extends to the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, in order to find Water, or to speak with some of the Inhabitants. At the same time I sent out the little Skiff to try what convenience they could have for fishing. The Skiff brought back word, that all along the Shoar for 20 or 30 Paces, the Ground was so Rocky, that they durst not venture to bend their Seans. Those who went in quest of Water to the Southward, returned half dead with thirst and fatigue; and gave me to know that they had travelled four or five Leagues into the Country, which was extreamly desart, dry, and unsufferably hot, the Sun being in the Zenith of the Horizon, and there being no Shade nor Wind. The other Boat's Crew reported, that about three Leagues W. N. W. from us, they came to a place, which seem'd to be pretty green in comparison of that dry Country; where they went ashoar, and meeting with ten or twelve Negroes, ask'd them (as well as they could) where they could have Water to drink; that one of the Negroes ask'd a piece of Cotton-Cloth that one of the Sea-men had as a reward for the Discovery, and upon having it, shew'd him, some Ditches and Wells dug out of the Ground, in which was abundance of Water; and that the said Negroes ask'd them if they were *English*, and promised to give them Cattle in exchange. Upon this Report, we weighed Anchor and set sail for that place. *The Water about Cape Guardafu partly fresh, partly Salt.*

The 22d about Noon, we came to an Anchor at six Fathom Water, bad Ground, about four Leagues within Cape *Guardafu*, over against some Bushes and Greens which are not common upon that Coast. Having set 30 Men ashoar to dig for Water, I found, that the Water which came in great abundance after they had dig'd but one Foot deep, was at first sweet; but after we had fill'd a Barrel or two the rest came very Salt; insomuch, that for 22 Tun of Water, we were obliged to dig in above 70 places; which we did in less than 4 Hours, the Soil being Sand. While we lay here it was insufferably hot without any Wind.

Cape *Guardafu* lies in 12 Degr. N. Lat. the Needle varying 17 ¾ Deg. N. W. 'Tis the highest Land upon all this Coast, and rises to a Precipice. All this Coast is wonderfully desart and scorch'd by the Sun; insomuch that I do not believe there is a hotter place in the World. We saw no appearance of Houses; but there appear'd to us some Men wandering upon the Shoar, who were so large that we should have taken them for Rocks if we had not seen them move. I saw one of their Bows, which by its largeness and strength, spoke the hugh Stature of its Owner. *Very large Men.*

I was mightily surpriz'd to find no manner of Wind when we lay close by this Cape, whereas it had blown so very hard but a few Leagues off, in the Lat. of 10 ° Degr. The Reason I imagine to be this; that Point of Land lying in 10 ½ Deg. Lat. being a Peninsula, not above 3 or 4 Leagues broad, serves for a Shock to heighten and inflame the Wind which runs along the Coast N. E. and S. W. Whereas Cape *Guardafu* is very high, and the Wind passing over a long Tract of dry and hot Land, in conjunction with the Rays of the Sun, does so heat its Surface, that the Wind is wasted above it. *Under the Cape there's no Wind.*

The 27th we weighed Anchor; and as we advanc'd toward the Sea, found the Wind brisker. After we had sail'd about 12 Hours we fell in with great Tides running out of the *Red-Sea*; and a few Hours after that found the Sea very much troubled and stain'd with red spots. Some took it for Flats; but we could discover no such thing by sounding. My Sense of the matter was, that, we being then in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, and that being the Day of the Moon's Conjunction, some great Floods join'd to the Pressure of the Sea, had occasion'd the Violence of the Tides. *The Sea stain'd with Red-Spots.*

Next Day, a consultation of the Pilots being call'd, 'twas resolv'd that we should run seven or eight Days to and again in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, for fear the Wind we then had should waft us too soon upon the Coast of *Malabar*. Pursuant to this Resolution, we steer'd North, towards the Coast of *Arabia*.

August 31. We came within two Leagues of the Coast of *Arabia*. We were then in 14 ½ Degr. Lat. over against a Bay, in which, according to the vulgar Maps, there should be some Islands call'd *Caramberumma*, and *Xael*, which produce great Quantities of Frankincense. I thought to have made *Caramberumma*, but the contrary Winds and Tides prevented me. I understand that there come to that place, every Year, a great many *Mahometan* Pilgrims; some of whom continue there a long time.

Caramberumma, a Frankincense Island on the Coast of *Arabia*.

In the entry of the *Red Sea*, and along the Coast of the *Abassines*, or *Gurdafines*, there is a prodigious quantity of Fish, especially Thornbacks, some of which are as long as a Boat, and proportionably thick. Some of our Men struck at them with a Grapple, but it pierc'd their Skin no more than if it had been so much Iron. This Coast of *Arabia* is sandy, and in some places low; but in the Inland parts there are very high Mountains, which were cover'd with Fog all the time we were there. The Calm obliging me to stay in the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, till *September* the 10th; I began to be apprehensive we might come too late to double Cape *Comorin*: And for that reason stood N. E. with what E. and E. S. E. Wind we had; till we fell in with the S. W. Winds, and so steer'd our Course S.

Thornbacks almost impenetrable.

Having call'd a Consultation of the Pilots, and other Officers, in order to determine what Course we should steer to Cape *Comorin*, whether through the Channel of *Mammale*, or along the Coast of *Malabar*. 'Twas alledg'd, that passing through *Mammale* at that Season, would abridge our Voyage, by leading us into a clear Sea as far as *Achen*. But on the other hand, the Tides running N. W. were against us, and to stand S. S. E. we should be oblig'd to sail close by the Wind; so that the Ship would make but little way, and for that Reason 'twas alledg'd, that we might sooner make the Coast of *Malabar*, than the Latitude of that Channel. And for my part, I was apprehensive of being becalm'd on that Coast, upon which we had 120 Leagues to sail, before we could double Cape *Comorin*. 'Twas likewise alledg'd, that we could not reach the Latitude of that Channel (which was 9 Degr.) without falling in upon the *Terra Firma*, by reason that standing S. E. would make no more than an E. Course.

A Consultation what Course to steer.

Others again pleaded, that standing S. S. E. would do our business.

In this difference of Opinions, I resolv'd to put the Case to a Trial, by standing S. S. E. and remarking from the Latitudes what way we made. Accordingly we steer'd S. S. E. till next Day at Noon; and then having taken the Latitude, found that our way was no better than E. S. E.

After that, I call'd together the Pilots again; the Majority of whom agreed, that we should go directly in quest of the Coast of *Malabar*, in the Lat. of 13 ° Degr. The chief Reason they insisted upon, was, that the Channel of *Mammale* lying in 9 ½ Degr. it would be a long time before we could reach it; besides, that in that Course we should be in danger of falling in with the Flatts to the Northward of the Channel. Tho' I was very apprehensive of being becalm'd on the Coast of *Malabar*, yet I yielded to the plurality of Votes, and stood E. S. E.

They make the Coast of *Malabar*.

The 26th we came in sight of the Coast of *Malabar*, which is very high and mountainous within the Country.

The 27th we descry'd Mount *Deli*, about eight Leagues off, which lies between *Cranganor*, and *Mangalor*, and appears at that distance like an Island. In that place the Needle vary'd 15 ½ Degr. N. W. Having spy'd a Galliot about a League off, and the Wind veering about to the North, we gave her chace, but could not come up with her.

The 28th being becalm'd, we saw a Ship two Leagues to the Windward of us; and I sent M. *Monteurier* with 23 Men in the Long-Boat, ordering them not to board the Ship, but to command the Captain to send his Pilots and the Purser aboard of us, and to acquaint him that I design'd 'em no harm, but only to know if it was not too late to double Cape *Comorin*. Sometime after, I saw our Long-Boat board the Ship, and some Muskets fir'd, and after that a Boat came off from the Ship, and made towards us. The Calm continuing, and the Boat advancing but slowly, I sent out our Skiff to know their News, which I was in pain to hear. Upon its return, I understood that the People in the Boat were five of our Men, three of whom were dangerously wounded. When these came aboard, they recounted a Tragical Story, *viz.* That upon their approach to the Ship, which was a large one, M. *Monteurier* gave 'em Notice to lower their Sails; that they not obeying, he fir'd upon them two Brass Guns, and a Broadside of Musket-shot; that thereupon they struck, and told him, he might board them if he would; upon which our Men boarded them upon the Quarter-Deck, and having kill'd all the Men abaft, thought themselves entirely Masters of the Ship; when of a sudden 60 or 80 Men started up in the Forecastle, and with Shields and Hangers in their Hands, fell upon our Men with such fury, that they oblig'd them to retire to the Boat; but by an unlucky mischance, the Boat was so belaged, that they could not disengage her, so that most of our Men were kill'd with Pick-axes, Arrows, and Pot-Grenadoes, which were thrown into the Boat; and the rest being forc'd to leap into the Sea, one of 'em swim'd to the Moors Boat, and having cut the Cable, sav'd himself and the other four Men, without staying for the rest, who in all probability were drown'd.

Next Morning I made all the Sail I could to come up with the Ship; and having boarded it, found no Body aboard but fifteen poor old Wretches, with white Beards reaching to their Girdle, who with Tears and Lamentations threw themselves at my Feet, and rais'd my Compassion more than Revenge; besides, that the five Men who were sav'd, unanimously assur'd me, that they did not see them in the Engagement. The Account I had from these Men, was, that the Ship having carry'd a Cargoe of Pepper to *Mecca*, was upon her return to *Panama* near *Calecut*, to which place she belong'd; that themselves were poor People coming from *Mecca*, to beg upon that Coast; that the Owners of the Ship, in number 80, had gone off the Night before in our Boat, with their Gold and Silver, and the Boat being almost overladen, had left them behind. Upon the whole, I consider'd that these poor Men were innocent, and that the Ambition and Avarice of our Men was the Cause of their Death, since the Moors had struck, and design'd them no harm, till our Men fell upon them: For these Reasons I spar'd the poor old Men.

I found aboard of the Ship, a great quantity of Salt, Dates, Wine, two Punchions of Opium, some Hundreds of Pounds of Coral, some Cotton Cloth of small value, Rose-water, and Knives; and I understood from the old Men, that if our Men had not boarded the Ship, the Owners could have furnish'd me with 40000 Duckets of *Caire*, which is a Golden Coyn worth about four Livres a piece.

October 2. We were off of Cape *Comorin*, in the Latitude of 7 Deg. and 50 Min. the Needle varying 14 ½ Deg. the Tides bearing to the South, having carry'd us further off than we design'd. After that, being advis'd by our Pilots to stand for *Ticow* rather than *Achen*, I steer'd S. E. and S. E. ¼ E.

They pass Cape *Comorin*.

The 11th we had a violent Gust of Wind, which lasted for two Hours; and soon after had another, which broke our Fore-mast; being then in 1 ° Degr. S. Lat.

The 12th being in 1 Degr. 10 Min. S. Lat. we saw little Land-Fowls, which made us hope to see the Land in a short time; most of my Ship's Crew, as well as that of the Advice-Boat, being then sick.

November 11. We came in sight of Land in 1 Degr. 40 Min. N. Lat. But the frequency of the Calms, and the sicklines of my Men, retarded me mightily; for the Pinnace had not above two or three Hands fit for Business, and in our Ship there were not eighteen that were able to work. Besides, both our Surgeons were dead. I descry'd several Ships of that Country under Sail, and put out a White Ancient to make them steer towards us. At last finding they would not come, I sent out my Skiff to speak with one that stood between us and the Shoar; tho' they endeavour'd to run ashore, yet the Skiff came up with them, and agreed to give 35 Pieces of Eight for a Pilot to conduct us to *Ticow*: They were of *Priaman*, a Town about 8 or 10 Leagues to the Southward of *Ticow*, and told our Men, That *Ticow* lay about 7 or 8 Leagues off, beyond some Islands that were in head of us. Our Pilot carry'd us nearer the *Terra Firma* than we were; and when we came to be off of the above-mention'd Islands, made us put back to Sea.

A Pilot conducts them to *Ticow*.

Having past these Islands, we came in sight of an high Promontory of the *Terra Firma*, which had two Banks, one about half a League before its outmost Point, and another about two Leagues to the S. E. of it; and we had certainly run foul of the last, if one of our Men had not given us Notice of it from the Main-mast-top; for we could not spy it upon the Deck, and our Pilot had told us nothing of the matter.

Having weather'd this dangerous place, and standing S. S. E. we saw another in head of us, about a large League distant from the last. We steer'd between these two, which lie S. E. and N. W. sounding all the way, and had all along 16 Fathom Water, the Ground Mud with a little Sand. The Night overtaking us, we were oblig'd to drop an Anchor between them.

This place lies off of a place call'd *Pageman*, just under the Equinoctial, which affords a great deal of Pepper; making

Pageman.

making a large Creek, the bottom of which is a low Country cover'd with Wood; but in the Inland Parts there ſtands an high Mountain pointed like a Pike, which is ſeen above 30 Leagues off, and runs S. E. ¼ E. Having weather'd the Point of this Creek, we deſcry'd the three Iſlands of *Ticow*; and at laſt, after having ſpent two Months upon a Voyage, that's commonly perform'd in eight Days, Landed at *Ticow* the firſt of *December*.

Between that time and the Second of *October*, I had loſt 25 Men; and if the Calm had but continu'd fifteen Days longer, I believe I had loſt all the Men in my Ship.

We caſt Anchor at *Ticow*, between the greateſt of the Iſlands, and the *Terra Firma*, at 4 Fathom Water, the Ground Mud; and ſent our Skiff aſhore, which brought us one *Pedro*, who had been Interpreter to the *Engliſh* Factory in that place. This Interpreter told me, That the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had been expell'd that place, by the King of *Achen*, two Months ago; and that there was a great deal of Pepper aſhore; but we could not buy it without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, who was Lord of all that Coaſt.

The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* expell'd at *Ticow*.

He likewiſe acquainted me, that the *Hope* (our Vice-Admiral) had touch'd upon the Coaſt, about 20 Leagues off, in the latter end of *July*, and had ſent their Long-Boat with 15 Men to this place, to take in freſh Proviſions, which they wanted mightily; that upon the Boats arrival, a *Dutch* Ship in the Road fir'd upon them; but upon Complaint excus'd themſelves, pleading, that they took 'em to be *Engliſh*; that the 15 Men having met with a kind Reception from the Governour, and taken in what Proviſions they wanted, ſet out in queſt of their own Ship, but could never meet with it, upon which they return'd to this place, where ſeven of 'em dy'd in *October*, four went for *Achen* in a *Dutch* Ship, three for *Bantam* in another *Dutch* Ship, and one continu'd in the Country, and earn'd his Bread by gathering of Pepper.

The *Hope* loſes their Long-Boat and 15 Men.

I was infinitely griev'd to hear that Captain *Grave* had been ſo inconſiderate as to ſend his Long-Boat ſo far from him; eſpecially when I was inform'd, that among the 15 Men he had loſt, there were two principal Commiſſaries, and a Pilot.

Upon further enquiry *Pedro* inform'd me, That the place where the *Hope* had caſt Anchor, was a great Iſland about 20 Leagues to the Weſtward of that place; that, for a certainty, they had not ſuffer'd Shipwreck, either upon that Iſland, or along the Coaſt, ſince the Praws (ſo the Ships of that Country are call'd), going to and again, had never diſcover'd any Wreck; that the two Commiſſaries, before they dy'd, were of Opinion, that the Ship had been drove from her Anchors by Storm, and not being able to make her former Station, made the beſt of her way to *Bantam*, expecting that I would touch at this place according to my Promiſe, and take up her Men.

The *Dutch* unkind to the *French* at *Ticow*.

As to the Affront offer'd 'em by the *Dutch*, he gave me to know, That the *Dutch* knew 'em to be *French*, having ſpoke with them before they fir'd; that the News of the Peace between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, was arriv'd before this happen'd; that the *Dutch* had repreſented to the Governour and Inhabitants of that place, that the *French* were Robbers, and mean'd only to obſerve the Landing-place, in order to ſack them; that they would not aſſiſt our two Commiſſaries any manner of way, whether in Health or Sickneſs, nor give the leaſt Relief to any of our Men, bating ſome few Sailors that they ſtood in need of, and that the *Engliſh* had ſerv'd our Men to the utmoſt of their power. He added, that the Governour was very ſenſible of the Malice of the *Dutch*, who meant only to engroſs the *Indies* to themſelves, and had but lately abus'd the King of *Jacatra*, and uſurp'd his Territories; for which Reaſon the King of *Achen* thought fit to diſlodge 'em of *Ticow*.

Why the *Dutch* were expell'd from

As to the Death of our Men, he ſaid, it had been a very ſickly Year in that place, as ever was ſeen; but that after all, the *Dutch* were ſuſpected of having ſhorten'd their Days, conſidering that thoſe who dy'd were the Perſons they hated moſt, and were not the firſt who had receiv'd Poiſon from their Hands; witneſs the Death of ſeveral *Engliſh-men* occaſion'd by that means.

I queſtion'd him about the Injury done by the *Dutch* to the King of *Jacatra*, and whether they had laid Siege to *Bantam*. He aſſur'd me, that it was ſtill beſieg'd, inſomuch, that there was no Commerce or Traffick with that City; that the *Dutch* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Jacatra*, and expell'd the King; that they had raz'd the ancient City, and built a ſtrong Fort, and a City after the Faſhion of their own Country, which they had peopled with all ſorts of Nations; and in fine, that they were at that time Maſters of the Streight of *Sonda*, where no Body could ſail without their Paſſport. Having maturely weigh'd all the Particulars of this Advice, I reſolv'd to ſend both to *Achen* and to *Bantam* at any rate, to have ſome Account of Capt. *Grave* and his Ship, whoſe Condition I was mightily concern'd for.

December 2. The King and Governour allowing me to come aſhore, I carried ſome Preſents along with me, without which one will ſcarce be made Welcome in that Country. Upon my landing, the Governour, and principal Officers, gave me an honourable Reception, under a Roof, or Baly (as they call it). Having told 'em my Country and Buſineſs, they gave me to know, that I was free to buy up what Proviſions I wanted, provided I paid for 'em in Rials and Knives, and no other Commodity; that as for Pepper, and the other Commodities of the Country, they could not diſpoſe of any without a Licence from the King; but if I would go to *Achen*, and obtain leave of the King to erect a Factory with them, they would be glad to deal with us. I ask'd leave to hire a Houſe in the City, for accommodating my ſick Men, and thoſe who were to tarry aſhore to buy up Proviſions. But they reply'd, That they could not anſwer for the Safety of my Men aſhore, there being ſo many Rogues about the Town; but if I pleas'd, I might leave two Men to buy up Proviſions, and that only for the ſpace of five Day.

No Trading at *Ticow*, without a Licence from the K. of *Achen*.

Next Day I ſent a Letter to *Achen*, directed for Monſ. *Grave*, Captain of the *Hope*, if he was there; having oblig'd the Maſter of a Praw bound thither, by ſome Preſents, and Promiſes of Reward, to carry it.

The 6th I agreed with the Maſter of a Praw that liv'd at *Ticow*, to give him 100 Rials for carrying one of my Men to *Bantam*, or *Jacatra*, in queſt of the *Hope*; provided he return'd in 20 Days. The Articles of Agreement were drawn up in Writing, and lodg'd in the Hands of *Pedro* the *Engliſh* Interpreter; and both he and the Maſter of the Praw deſir'd, that his Voyage might be conceal'd from the Governour and Inhabitants of *Ticow*.

The Governour having ſent me a Buffle, and ſome Fruit, I went to return him Thanks; and by Virtue of ſome Preſents I made him, obtain'd leave to hire a Houſe, in which I lodg'd 43 ſick Men, with three Surgeons, a Prieſt, and three more to wait upon 'em. In the mean time, I had ſeveral Preſents ſent me of Fruit and young Kids; particularly from the Governour of *Priaman* (a Town about eight Leagues off) who preſs'd me earneſtly to give him a Viſit. I return'd him Thanks, together with ſome Preſents, and a Promiſe to come and wait upon him with the firſt opportunity.

The 8th an *Achen* Galliot arriving, aſſur'd me, that no *French* Ship had touch'd at *Achen*; upon which I concluded, that our Vice-Admiral muſt of neceſſity be either at *Bantam* or *Jacatra*.

The 10th, there arriv'd three Galleys pertaining to the King of *Achen*, with an Elephant, and ſome 300 Men in each of 'em: And the Inhabitants of *Ticow* acquainted me, that they expected a further Reinforcement of Elephants and Men, in order to carry on a War againſt a Prince that had revolted from the King of *Achen*. Upon this News, conſidering I had 50 Men at *Ticow*, and 50 more at the Iſland with the Water-Casks, beſides 8 or 10 that were always out with the Skiff; ſo that I had few Men left on Board, tho' at the ſame time I us'd to have 80 or 100 of the Natives on Board, ſome by way of Viſit, and others to ſell their Eggs, Fruit, Pullets, Fiſh, and other Proviſions: Upon theſe Conſiderations I nail'd down the Hatches, and run a Rail between the Great Maſt and the Fore-Maſt, which was fortified by two great Pedereroes mounted on Wheels, and five more upon the Bittacle; together with a Guard upon the Deck, and two Musketteers, with as many Halberdeers ſtanding at a Door in the ſaid Rail, which I never ſuffer'd to be open'd, but when I receiv'd a Viſitant into my Cabin: So that 200 Men upon the Deck could do us no injury, while our Men were upon their Guard.

They fortifie their Ship for fear of the Natives.

The 13th I went aſhore, and found my Men recovering by degrees. Being to wait upon the Governour, to ask leave to ſtay fifteen Days longer, he granted my Requeſt; but withal intreated me to go to *Achen*, and obtain a Licence of the King for erecting a *French* Factory, which would be infinitely more acceptable to the Inhabitants, than that of any other Nation. He likewiſe deſir'd me not to be jealous of the Inhabitants, or fear any injury from them; which it ſeem'd I did, ſince I had made a Fortification in my Ship, and mounted more Guns than before.

The Inhabitants of *Ticow* fond of a *French* Factory.

I made Anſwer, That my coming ſo careleſly aſhore, and leaving 50 ſick Perſons in their hands, was ſufficient Evidence of the Confidence I put in the Natives; that the deſign of the Barrier in my Ship, was only to keep out thoſe I did not know from running into my Cabin, that ſo I might be capable to diſtinguiſh an Orankaye (or a noted

noted Gentleman) from a Fisher-man; and that I had not mounted so many Pieces of Cannon, if I had not heard that two *Dutch* Ships were expected here, of whom *I* had reason to be jealous. Upon this he told me, *I* had a great deal more reason to mistrust the *Dutch* than them: And that if *I* pleas'd, he would forbid the Natives to go on board of me. But *I* assur'd him, they should be at all times very welcome, and that *I* did not at all mistrust 'em. After that, *I* visited the Captains of the three Galleys, who assur'd me afresh, that there had no *French* Ship come lately to *Achen*.

The 19th, the King of *Ticow*'s eldest Son visited me on board with a great Retinue; and *I* gave him the best Reception *I* could. That Night the Praw *I* had sent to *Bantam* return'd in 11 Days; and the Master made the following Report:

Surabaya. Four Days after they had put to Sea, they arriv'd at the Port of *Surabaya*, which lies on this Coast of *Sumatra*, in 4 Degr. S. Lat. There being a *Dutch* Ship in the Road, Mr. *Isaac* (the Man whom *I* had sent on board of the Praw, in quest of the Vice-Admiral) would needs speak with them, tho' he disswaded him; the *Dutch* Captain acquainted him, That *Bantam* was block'd up so, that no Ships of any Nation could get in; that the *Hope*, which was then at *Jacatra*, had been in great Distress upon that Coast, there being only 4 or 5 Men on board, till a *Dutch* Vessel re-inforc'd her; and that the Streight of *Sonda* was infested with the *Java* Praws and Caracau's, they having from the King of *Bantam* a Sum of Money for every Head they kill'd of what Nation soever. Upon this Advice Mr. *Isaac* thought it not safe to go further in the Praw, but took the opportunity of a Vessel, the Master of which promis'd to land him in *Jacatra* in 7 or 8 Days. The Master of the Praw brought likewise a Letter from Mr. *Isaac*, containing the foregoing Account.

These News vex'd me more than the former; for *I* had positively order'd *Isaac* not to stop for any Ship, but to go strait on. After mature deliberation we resolv'd not to go to *Bantam*, where our Ship and Cargoe might be in danger in a time of War, besides that we should be oblig'd to spend *January* and *February* in going thither, and managing the Traffick of the place, and *March* would be too late a Season for returning along this Coast to *Achen*. At the same time we dispatch'd the Advice-Boat with a Re-inforcement of 20 Men for *Jacatra*, in order to assist and supply Capt. *Grave*; whom we order'd to return to *France*, if he could get his Lading at *Bantam*; or if he fail'd of it there, to return forthwith to *Achen*, where he would find us.

The Soil of *Ticow*. *Ticow* lies in 20 Min. S. Lat. The Inland Country is very high, but towards the Shore it falls very low, being cover'd with Woods, and water'd with several little Rivers, which render it marshy. 'Tis grac'd with several pleasant Meadows well stock'd with Buffles and Oxen, which may be purchas'd for 4 or 5 Rials apiece. It affords plenty of Rice, Cattle, Poultry, Ducks, and several good Fruits, such as Durions, Anana's, Patatoes, Mangoes, Pomegranates, Oranges, Citrons, Water-Melons, Cucumbers, &c. The Riches of the Country consist in Pepper, which it produces very plentifully, and which is much better than that of *Bantam*. As for other Rarities, Drugs, and Manufactures, it affords none of 'em.

Its Commodities.

The City of *Ticow*. The City of *Ticow* is but a sorry place; it lies about half a League from the Sea-side. Upon the Shore, opposite to the little Island where the Ships ride, there are some Houses, and a sort of Halls. But both the City and Suburbs will not make 800 Houses, which are built of Reeds, and are neither strong nor convenient. However the Country is very populous, especially at the foot of the Mountains, where the Pepper grows.

Its Government. The King of *Ticow* is Subject to the King of *Achen*, who puts in a new Governour every three Years, without whom the King of *Ticow* cannot do any thing of importance; so that Foreigners have more Business with the Governour, than with the King; nay, the very Inhabitants pay more Respect to him, calling him *Pangaran Lima*. The Inhabitants of the City are *Malays*, and no other Language is spoken all along that Coast. The Inland parts are possess'd by the Natives, who disown the King of *Achen*'s Authority, having a peculiar Language, and Kings of their own. These are Idolaters, and eat Human Flesh. They have rich Gold Mines, but do not know how to manage 'em; for they only gather the Gold out of some little Ditches, which are not very deep, and out of the Cavities made by Floods. This Gold they exchange with the *Dutch*, or the Inhabitants near the Shoar for Pepper, Salt, Iron, Cotton Cloth dy'd red, and *Surat* Pearl, which they esteem mightily. But among the *Malays* Gold is as dear as in *France*; and in *Achen* 'tis yet dearer. These *Malays* are all of 'em very superstitious *Mahometans*, but withal great Robbers, insomuch that the People are not safe in their Houses in the Night-time, and far less in the Fields. They are of an Olive Colour. Their Women are all kept up, and not suffer'd to appear in the Streets. A Character of the *Malays*.

From *July* to *October* their Air is very unhealthy, being attended with Fevers that seldom admit of a Cure: Insomuch, that if it were not for their Pepper, no Body would venture to come near 'em. They gather Pepper at any time, but especially in *December*, *January*, and *February*. No Trade can be carried on at this place, without a Licence from the King of *Achen*, which they call *Chappa*: And if you have that, neither the Governour nor the King can disturb you. For want of it, *I* could neither sell any Commodities, nor buy any Pepper while I was there; excepting about 8000 Pound, that was brought by Night from *Priaman*, and sold me at a reasonable Price.

The *Surat* Commodities go off very well here; as well as some of the *Masulipatan* Commodities. Rials are current enough; but the Money of *Achen* does not pass among 'em: All their Money is some small Pieces of Gold as they come from the Mine, which they weigh with Scales. They sell their Pepper by Bahars, (a Weight containing 150 Pound *Averdupois* Weight;) and the King of *Achen* has 15 *per Cent* of all that is sold, that is 7½ for the Export of the Pepper, and 7½ for the Import of the Rials, or Commodities given in exchange for it. This Custom is paid either in Substance, or in Rials, over-valuing the prime Cost. The Term Money. The Duties upon Pepper.

Besides the abovemention'd Impost for every hundred Bahars, we pay 25 Rials to the King of *Ticow*, and ½ of a Rial to the Weigher, and some inconsiderable Allowance to 10 or 12 Persons more. But above all, one must make the Governour his Friend, and have a watchful Eye over the *Malays*, who are apt to wet the Pepper, or to put Sand and little Stones among it.

January 1. 1621. Having brought on board all my sick Men, who began to recover apace; *I* weigh'd Anchor, and steer'd for *Achen*. 1621.

The 14th we were off of *Barros*, one of the most considerable places on that Coast, belonging to the King of *Achen*, where no Person can traffick without that King's leave. This place is half way between *Ticow* and *Achen*, and affords plenty of Benjamin, which serves the Natives for Money. 'Tis a pleasant Country, abounding with all sorts of Wines and Fruits; but bears no Pepper. It affords a good quantity of Camphire, which is worth 14 or 15 Rials the Carti (*i. e.* 28 Ounces). Rials will scarce pass there; but the *Surat*, or Coast Commodities, go off very well. Both the Inhabitants of the Coast, and the *Dutch* and *English* buy up their Camphire, to carry it to *Surat*, and the Streight of *Sonda*. *Barros*, a Principal Town on the Coast, its Situation & Commodities.

The 23d we descry'd the high Lands of *Achen*, and the Islands that lie to the Sea-ward of the Road. We stood directly for these Islands, but it was eight Days before we could make them, notwithstanding that we were but four Leagues off. For wanting a Pilot, we took the Channel that lies nearest the Land, where the contrary S. E. Winds incommoded us very much. At last, with much adoe, we weather'd 'em about a League and a half from the Road, which lies opposite to the Mouth of a River, upon which there stands a Fort very remarkable for its Moskey or *Mahometan* Church. A Fort remarkable for its Moskey.

The 30th *I* came to an Anchor just by an *English* Ship of 600 Tun that rode there. Immediately a Boat came off from the Shore, with several of the King's Officers, and one of his Eunuchs carrying a Chappe (as they call it) which is a Dagger with a Gold Handle and Scabbard, belonging to the King; made use of for a Badge or Sign, that the Person who bears it is commission'd by the King. After a profound Silence, he who carry'd the Chappe, welcom'd me in the King's Name, and order'd me to come forthwith a Shore. Accordingly *I* made my self ready; but before *I* could come off, *I* was oblig'd to pay the Officers Dues, which amount to above 80 Rials, besides a great Looking-Glass for the Eunuch, and another for a Friend of his, and some small ones for his principal Officers. The King of *Achen*'s Chappe.

This done, *I* came ashore, where the Captain of the *English* Ship invited me very kindly to Dinner, and to lodge in his House. *I* accepted his Invitation to Dinner, and was very handsomely entertain'd.

After Dinner *I* went to look upon a House, and offer'd 40 Rials a Month for it, but could not have it under 54. In the mean time the *English* Captain complain'd heavily of the King, for that he would not let them have the Pepper under 54 Rials the Bahar, tho' 30 Rials was as much as it was worth. Finding that *I* could not speak with the King that Day, and that the King had sent his Chappe twice for an Emrauld *I* wore on my Finger, and would not

not be satisfied with my Promise of bringing it to morrow, I went on board again.

Febr. 1. I came ashore again, and by the way met some *Portugueze*, whom the King of *Achen* had laid in Irons; and who told me, that the *Dutch* and *English* had a Design to poyson me. *I* told 'em, *I* did not believe the *English* would do me any harm; however, *I* would be upon my guard. They reply'd, That if *I* went to Dine with the *English* Captain that Day, *I* would never return; and very affectionately begg'd me to avoid it, because they had no hopes of being deliver'd from their Captivity, but through my means.

But after all, pursuant to my Promise, *I* went and Din'd with the *English* Captain, namely Mr. *Roberts*, who treated me very kindly and handsomely, and gave me nothing either to eat or drink, but what he and his Company took part of. After Dinner, the King's Officers came for the Emrauld, which *I* gave 'em; and told me, *I* could not speak with the King, till the Day after the next.

Horses dear at *Achen*.

After that, considering *I* was troublesome to the *English* Captain, and that it was not my Interest to lodge with him, *I* agreed to give 50 Rials a Month for a House.

February 2. *I* was taken with a violent Looseness and Vomiting; and being apprehensive of the truth of what the *Portugueze* had told me, took some *Maldiva* Cocoes with Bezoar, which in that Country are reckon'd a Sovereign Counter-Poyson.

Next Day *I* went ashore, where *I* met with bad News, *viz.* That the *Dutch* and *English* had taken the *Hope* off of *Bantam*, and shar'd the Cargoe, and murder'd most of the Men; and that they would do as much to me, if they were able.

This Discovery came from a *Dutch-man*, who being disoblig'd by his Country-men, had taken Protection under us in one Apartment of the House *I* had taken. *I* was unwilling to take this Man on board, by reason that in a former Voyage *I* was challeng'd at *Bantam* for having *Dutch-men* on board, and those *I* had, who were the most useful and necessary Officers in my Ship, were taken from me. But after all, finding that the Fellow was ready to turn *Moor*, and that he spoke the Language of the Country naturally, and might be useful to me as an Interpreter; *I* told him, if he would lie close, without giving any notice to the *Dutch* or *English*, till *I* was ready to set Sail, *I* would do my utmost to convey him on board: For *Pedro*, the *English* Interpreter, whom *I* had brought from *Ticow*, had then left my Service; being check'd and threaten'd by the *English* Factor for entring into my Service, and hated by the King's Officers, who upon my scrupling at first to pay their Dues, thought he had suggested to me something to their disadvantage.

In the mean time one of our Men, that had been drinking with the *English* Sea-men, pump'd out of them, that their Ship, in Company with the *Dutch* Ship, had given chace in the Streight of *Sunda*, to a Vessel which they took to be *French*; that the *Dutch-man* falling behind, was mad that he could not come up with her; but their Ship being the better Sailor, made up to 'em, and found it was an *English* Vessel, upon which they left her; that before *I* came into the Road, they hearing *I* had not twenty sound Men, had a Design to take me; but finding upon my Arrival that *I* was so strong, they dropp'd their Design.

The Presumption of the *Dutch* in *Jacatra*.

The *English* Captain acquainted me, That the *Dutch* Admiral assum'd the Authority of King of *Jacatra*, and shew'd me a sort of Money half Silver half Copper, that he had coyn'd in that Country, bearing on one side a Lion with a Hanger in one Hand, and Arrows in the other, and on the Reverse *Trajectum*, in *Roman* Letters, with the Date of the Year underneath.

The 4th *I* kept aboard, and receiv'd Advice from the Shore, that a Draught was a brewing for me in the *English* Ship.

The 6th *I* was invited to Dinner on board of the *English* Ship, where *Reisembrat*, the *Dutch* Factor, was to be present. *I* return'd Thanks for all their Civilities, and promis'd to wait upon 'em, if so be *I* was not oblig'd to go ashore upon an Interview with the King; or, if *I* was, to send Capt. *Riddel* to supply my place.

Next Morning *I* went ashore betimes, and sent my Excuse to the *English* by Capt. *Riddel*, whom *I* acquainted with the Reason of my absence, and caution'd to be upon his Guard.

A Letter and Present deliver'd to the King of *Achen*, as from the K. of *France*.

As soon as *I* was ashore, *I* clean'd and prepar'd the Present *I* design'd for the King of *Achen*; and withal, meaning to oblige him as much as possible, took a Blank Letter *I* had by me, with the King's Seal affix'd to it, and having adders'd it, *To our dearest Brother the King of* Achen, seal'd it with Red Wax, bearing the Impression of the Arms of *France*. That my Present might not be unworthy of my Prince, in whose Name I design'd to present it, I set apart the following things for that use. The complete Armour of a Horseman, carv'd and gilded; a *German* Hanger, with a carv'd and gilt Hilt, upon which hung a Pistol; six Muskets, the Barrels of which were partly carv'd, and partly gilt, and the But-ends enrich'd with Mother of Pearl; two Heads of Pikes enamel'd and gilded; a very large Looking-Glass, which was broken, but pretending I had receiv'd it entire, and that I durst not but deliver it at any rate, having receiv'd the King's Orders to that effect; two large Flasks full of excellent Rose-Water; and two pieces of Watered Camlet of a Crimson Colour. Such was the Present that I had clean'd and put in order, in our House ashore.

The Captain of the *Surat* Vessel came to see it, and told me, it was so magnificent a Present, that it was more proper for the Great Mogul his Master, than for the King of *Achen*.

The King's Officers came likewise to our House, to take an Inventory of what *I* design'd to present to their Master, and gave me to know, That they fear'd the Present *I* design'd was not considerable enough for their Prince, who was a great Sovereign, and had but few Equals in the *Indies*. I reply'd, That I was not unacquainted with the Grandeur of the King of *Achen*; and at the same time I knew the Value of the Present, which came not from a private Man, but from a puissant King, and merited a Reception from any Potentate whatsoever; and withal, that my Master had given me nothing else to present.

The manner of being conducted to an Audience of the King.

The 8th I was conducted to an Audience of the King, by the Sabandar, and four of the principal Orankayes, with two Elephants; and that with the following Ceremonies. Upon a great Elephant sate one of the principal Orankayes in a cover'd Pulpit, who sent me a great Silver Dish, cover'd with a Cloth embroider'd with Gold and Silk of divers Colours; in which I put the Letter, and then gave it to him. By his Command one of the other Orankayes mounted the other Elephant, and after him the Sabandar, then I, and after me another: So that four of us rode upon one Elephant, and I sat between two Persons.

The other two Orankayes rode upon *Arabian* Horses, before the Elephant that carry'd the Letter.

Before them went 14 or 15 Men, each of 'em carrying a piece of the Present, cover'd with yellow Cloth, without which nothing could be presented to the King. Six Trumpets, six Drums, and six Hautboys lead the Van, which sounded till we arriv'd at the Castle, about a League off.

In the Rear follow'd three Sabandars, and all the Officers of the Alfandeque on foot.

When we arriv'd at the Castle, we alighted at a great place before it, and when we entred the outer Gate, all my Men were order'd to retire. Then we pass'd two other Gates. I was order'd to put off my Shooes, without which Ceremony I could not have Audience of the King.

Soon after, the Royal Chappe was brought, and being first put into my Hands, then rais'd above my Head, and re-deliver'd to him that brought it, I was order'd to follow it, being accompany'd by a Sabandar and an Orankaye.

We waited some time at the King's Chamber-Door, which was cover'd with Silver Plate. At last an Eunuch came out, who gave the Sabandar to know, that tho' the King was more indispos'd that Day than usually, yet since I was so near, he should bring me in. Upon which I was led into the Chamber by two Men, one holding me by each Hand; and set upon a Turky-Carpet with my Legs a-cross, in pursuance of the Custom of that Country.

The Form of Salutation.

Then the two Men retir'd, and I saluted the King in the usual Form, *viz.* by joyning my Hands, and lifting them up to my Forehead, bowing my Head a little. The Custom does not oblige one to take off their Hat, but I being unaccustom'd to appear before Persons of that Quality with my Hat on my Head, chose to put it off. The King sate upon a place about two Foot higher, and gave me to know by the Sabandar, That he was infinitely oblig'd to the King of *France* for the Present he had sent him, which he esteem'd more than ten Bahars of Gold. Then he open'd the Letter, and gave it to me to interpret to the Sabandar, who understood a little *Portugueze*. But his Knowledge of that Language was so very imperfect, and the Stile of the Letter so uncommon among them, that I could not make him understand it: For the very first word, *viz. Most Illustrious*, put him to a stand; upon which I turn'd it to *Dearest Brother*; which the King lik'd mightily,

mightily, saying, He knew very well that Christian Princes us'd to usher in their Letters by such Expressions. At last, since I could not make the *Sabandar*, understand every Word of the Letter, I repeated the substance of it in short, *viz.*

That his Most Christian Majesty desir'd His Mightiness to grant me a Free and Undisturb'd Traffick in his Territories, and promis'd in like manner to protect his Mightiness's Subjects if any of 'em should happen to come into his Kingdom; That he desired nothing more, than that a Commerce between his Subjects and those of *Achen*, should bring him to the knowledge of so great a Prince; And that he had sent him a Present of Arms, as a Pattern of the Manufacture in which his Subjects excell'd. This done, the King gave me to know by the *Sabandar*, That I was both welcome and safe in his Territories; That as to the Business of Trade, the *Dutch* and *English* us'd heretofore to have Pepper in his Country at an easy rate, but now that they had shown such flaming ingratitude in warring with the King of *Bantam*, who had formerly vouchsafed them a kind Reception, he had thereupon caus'd all the Pepper Plants to be cut down, least hereafter they should prove the occasion of trouble; That by this means the price of the Pepper was rais'd 64 Rials the Bahar; and that, even at that price, he did not much care to let them have it, knowing them to be an ill sort of People, that would rob and pillage, and do any thing in order to engross the Trade of the *Indies*.

I reply'd, That the Insolence of that Nation, in offering to dethrone Kings that have shown them Civilities, would be a surprising piece of News in *France*; That for my part *I* was struck with amazement, to find that a People, who pretended to nothing but fair Merchandize, and whom the King of *France* has long protected against the *Spaniards*, should on this side of the World slight us, and use all means to do us an Injury; and that, in regard I had no Commission to use any manner of Violence, or to fortify any place, but only to sell and buy in a fair way, I ought not to be rank'd among a Nation, whose very Conversation I avoided.

Upon this, the King order'd some Sallade to be given me in a large Gold Vessel, and a Suit of his Cloaths laid upon a Silver Platter, which he order'd me to put on. Having retired to the next Chamber and put on his Cloaths above my own, I return'd to his Majesty, who told me the Arms my Master had sent him, would be very serviceable to him in the Siege of *Malacca*, which he had in his view, and ask'd me if I would accompany him thither.

I reply'd, I would place my last Happiness in doing him any manner of Service. Then he put several Questions to me about the Age, Puissance, &c. of my Master; and when I told him that my Master was in peace with all the World, particularly with the *Grand Seignior*; He said, He would enter into a strict Alliance with the King of *France*. This done, I was mounted upon an Elephant and conducted home.

One thing happen'd upon my first setting out in order to an Audience of the King, that I must not omit. Just as I was mounted upon the Elephant, the *Dutch* and *English* Commissaries, with 20 or 30 of their Gang, having hid themselves in a Porch of the *English* House that was just opposite to mine, siez'd upon the *Dutch Man* I mentioned above, whom *I* designed to make use of as an Interpreter to the King. Being then upon the Elephant, *I* could not conveniently get down; but *I* represented to the *Sabandar* the impudence of those Men, in offering to lay hands upon one that was carrying Presents from his Majesty of *France* to the King of *Achen*; and press'd him to order the *Dutch Man* to be releas'd. The *Sabandar* reply'd, he would take care of it, but could not stop at that time. When *I* had audience of the King, *I* importun'd the *Sabandar* to let the King know my resentment of that Action; but he told me it was not a proper time: And the King perceiving *I* wanted to say something, ask'd the *Sabandar* what it was, who replied, He did not understand me.

Upon this I went next Day and visited the *Orankay Laxemane*, a great Favourite of the King's; and made him a Present of two Arquebuzes, a piece of water'd Camlet, a gilded Head-piece, a Looking-Glass, six Ear-Pendents, and two Glass-Chains. He receiv'd me very graciously; and after some discourse, I recounted to him the Story of the *Dutch Man*, whom *I* pretended to have entertained, because he said he had been formerly under the *Orankay's* Protection. But the *Orankay* told me that if the *Dutch Man* said any such thing, he was a Cheat and a Villain. Next Day to prevent all further Correspondence with the *English*, *I* shut up the Gate of our House that was opposite to theirs; for they haunted the House perpetually, so that *I* could not do or say any thing without their knowledge; besides, they frequently visited my Commissaries and Pursers, which made me suspect, that they design'd either to do 'em an Injury, or to pump out of them an Account of my Designs.

February the 11th, being call'd to speak with the King, he shewed me the two Pike Heads that I had presented him, which, above the carv'd Work, were at first cover'd with an enamel Colour; but the King having given them to one of his own Gold-Smiths to be carved and gilded, the Paint went off as soon as the Gold-Smith put them in the Fire. So the King wanted to know if I could think of any Body that could put them to rights as they were. I told him I knew none: Upon which he caus'd to cut off the poor Fellows Hands that had put them into the Fire. Then the King told me he heard I had a Gold-Smith on board, and desired I would order him to enamel a large Gold Ring of his, that weighed above an Ounce, which he deliver'd to me. The King of *Achen*'s Cruelty to once his Gold-Smith.

This Prince was very curious in all Lapidary and Gold-Smiths Wares; for he had above 300 Gold-Smiths, that wrought daily for him; and he shew'd me a great number of Stones, some set, some not, which for the most part were bor'd at the two ends; several Necklaces and Chains of large Emeralds; Casacks or Garments after their fashion, embroider'd with Jewels; great Vessels of Gold cover'd with Jewels; a great many Swords, Hangers and Daggers, cover'd all over with Jewels both upon the Hilts and Scabbards; and a vast number of Gold Clasps to put upon the Casacks: And told me that he had above three *Bahars* of Gold in Casacks and Clasps; and that six Days would not suffice for taking a view of all his Jewels and Stones. Whether he said this out of Ostentation or not, I know not. But the greatest part of what I saw were rather Stones of show than value; tho' after all I must own he shew'd me some that were very rich, particularly three Diamonds, that may be worth from 15 to 20 *Carats* a piece, two very large Rubies, and an Emerald that he got in the Conquest of *Pera*, which was one of the prettiest Stones I ever saw. After that, I set our Gold-Smith to work for the King, and was sorry I had one on board, being apprehensive that if the King lik'd his Work, he would retard us to get his Jewels enamel'd. His Rich Jewels, &c.

Having occasion to build a Long-Boat to supply the room of that I had lost, I went to the *Orankay Laxemane*, to desire he would obtain me a License for the cutting of Wood in the Islands opposite to the Road, and let me have his Boat, which carried about 15 Tun, to bring the Wood ashoar. He granted my Request upon the Consideration of paying him 20 *Rials* a Month for his Boat; which was indeed extravagantly dear, but I was oblig'd to give it, or else I had not had the King's License so easily.

The 19th, the King sent a *Sabandar* to invite me to Dinner. When I came I found the King in a square Hall, the Floor of which was cover'd with Turky Carpet, upon which he made me sit down; and after he had order'd some Sallade to be given me in a large Golden Dish, the cover of which was set all over with Emeralds, and ask'd me some questions concerning the Grandeur and Puissance of Christian Princes; there came about 30 Women, each of which had a large Silver Dish in their Arms, which they set on the Ground on the Carpet. Each Dish was cover'd with a Cloth of Gold, or half Silk half Gold, with Jewels trailing upon the Ground. After these Women had stood for some time, the King order'd them to set Dinner before me. Upon which they uncover'd the Dishes, which had the circumference of a large Bason, and together with the Lid were about two Foot and an half deep. Out of each of these Dishes they drew six Plates of Gold, full of Confitures, Meat, and Pasty, after this Fashion. So that in less than a Minute, I found my self surrounded with Golden Dishes, some containing Water, other Sauces, and one, which was very large, full of Rice; besides two other Dishes of *Tamback*, which they esteem more than Gold, containing Rice (made use of for Bread all over the *Indies*) of which the King order'd me to eat; and I found it very good, for its taste resembled our *Marchpane*. After that, by the King's order, an Eunuch brought me some drink in a Gold Cup set in a large Golden Bason. I drank to his Grandeur's better Health, and thought to have drunk it up; but the Liquor was so very strong and fiery, that it quickly baulk'd my tip, and put me into a great Sweat. The King told me, since I had drunk to his Health, I should drink it out; and that if he were to drink the King of *France*'s Health, he would not leave a drop of it. But upon my Request, they exchang'd the Liquor for a weaker The King's way of Treating. Their Rice very good.

weaker sort. They press'd me mightily to eat and drink. But at last, being quite tir'd by sitting with my Legs across, I pray'd the *Sabandar* to press me to eat no more: Upon which the King order'd all the Dishes to be remov'd, and bid me drink his Health once more. This done, they brought a very fine Carpet, done upon a Ground of Gold, and laid between me and the King; then came 15 or 20 Women, who ranged themselves by the Wall side, and each of 'em having little Drums in their Hands, sung their King's Conquests, making their Voice to answer the Drums. After that there came in at a little Door, two Girls very oddly dress'd, but very handsome, and whiter than any I ever saw in so hot a Country. Upon their Head they had a sort of Hat made of Spangles of Gold, which glister'd mightily, together with a Plume about a Foot and an half high, made of the same Spangles. This Hat hung down upon one Ear. They had large Ear Pendants of Spangles of Gold reaching down to their Shoulders. Their Neck was cover'd with Necklaces of Gold; and upon their Shoulders was a sort of Jacket of Gold curiously engrav'd; under which was a Shift or *Baju* of Cloth of Gold, with Red Silk covering their Breast, and a very broad Girdle made of Gold Spangles. Their Girdle was tied above the Hanches, from which there hung a Cloath of Gold, with strait Breeches underneath, which were likewise made of Cloath of Gold, and did not pass the Knees, where several Bells of Gold hung upon them. Their Arms and Legs were naked; but from the Wrist to the Elbow were surrounded with Bracelets of Gold and Jewels, as well as from the Ancle to the Calf of the Leg. At their Girdle, each of 'em had a Sword, the Hilt and Scabbard of which was cover'd with Jewels, and in their Hands a large Fan of Gold, with several little Bells about it. They advanc'd upon the Carpet with a profound Gravity, and falling upon their Knees before the King, saluted him by joining their Hands and lifting them up to their Head. Then they began to dance with one Knee upon the Ground, making several motions with their Body and Arms. After that they danc'd upright with a great deal of Agility and Cadence; sometimes putting their Hand to their Sword, another time making as if they shot a Bow, and sometimes as if they had a Shield and Hanger in their Hands. This lasted about half an Hour, after which they kneel'd before the King, and in my opinion were pretty well tir'd, for each of 'em had above 40 pound weight of Gold upon 'em. However they danc'd with a very good grace; and if our *French* Dancing Masters had seen 'em, they would have own'd their Performance to exceed what we account barbarous.

The King's Women.

At last it grew late, and upon my request the King suffered me to go, having first presented me with 200 little pieces of Gold of his Coyn, which they call *Mas*, and are worth about ten Pence a piece. Then the *Sabandar* conducted me home by Water, and assur'd me he never saw the King show so much Respect to any Stranger, especially in suffering his Women to dance before me; for, during that Entertainment, the whole Company shut their Eyes, it being a Capital Crime to look upon the King's Women; tho' indeed I look'd upon them very earnestly all the while, presuming that they were not brought thither to make me shut my Eyes.

Mas, a small Gold Coin.

To look upon the King's She Favourites a Capital Crime.

This Prince told me he had above 100 *Bahars* of Gold, *i. e.* 18000000 of Livres, besides his Silver Jewels and other Commodities; but then he keeps it close, and has no occasion to spend it. Besides, the Royal Treasure has been handed down from Father to Son, for *Achen* was never pillag'd or sack'd by any Nation, and the King often boasts that he fears no Prince but the *Grand Seignior*, who, according to an Ancient Prophecy, handed down by Tradition, shall one Day conquer that place.

The King's Treasure.

February the 19th, An *Orankaye* and two *Sabandars* came aboard in the King's Name, to demand two Swords that I had, one of which I had promis'd him before. Before they boarded me, they were in some danger in the Mouth of the River, where there lies a very dangerous Bar, especially towards the Evening, when the Sea Breezes break the Water upon it. I gave 'em both my Swords, but withal pray'd them to acquaint his Majesty that I had no more, and it being an unwonted thing in *France* to go abroad without a Sword, I hoped he would let me have one of them again. Next Day he returned one of them, with a Present of a Dagger, made after the fashion of the Country. He who brought it told the King lik'd the other mightily, because it did not bow when they offered to bend it, and that if this had not bow'd I had never seen it again. After that I went ashoar, and adress'd the King, that he would please to order some of his Officers to make some Overtures about the Price of his Pepper, to the Merchants that were along with me. He gave me no answer to that point; but ask'd me what sort of a Ship the *Hope* was, that I had sent to *Bantam*, and what her Cargo might amount to. I answer'd him as near as I could; upon which, he assur'd me she was taken by the *Dutch*, and that in a short time I should have certain intelligence of it. He told me withal that while I continued in his Road, he would secure me from receiving any injury at their Hands, the *Dutch* and *English* Factory being worth more than my Ship; but that without the Road he would not interest himself in the Quarrel. It seems the King had mentioned the taking of the *Hope* at my first Audience: But the *Sabandar* did not give me to understand it. And indeed I was at a great loss, both in this, and many other things, that I could not make use of an Interpreter of my own. For without a particular License from the King, it is not to be done. Besides, no Interpreter is fond of appearing before the King; for if he makes but the least trip in his Discourse, or says any thing that the King does not like, tho' order'd to speak it, he is in danger of being cut to pieces. An Instance of this we have in one *Pedro Lorenzo*, a Native of *Achen* and descended of a very good Family, who, being Interpreter for the *Dutch*, and having spoke something by their Orders that displeas'd the King, was order'd by his Majesty to be cut in two alive; and the Orders had certainly been put in Execution, if the *English* had not interceded very effectually with their Prayers and Presents on his behalf.

The danger of being an Interpreter at *Achen*.

All this while I could do nothing in the Pepper Concern; for no body durst sell a Grain till the King had sold his; and it was not proper for me to press the King much upon it, because he was out of humour with some of his Grandees, having put three of 'em to death for appropriating to their own use some Jewels they had met with in the late Conquest of *Pera*; and condemn'd the *Serjeant Major* to die for retaining some Booty in the War with *Queda*, who with much Intercession got off for 1200 *Rials*. When the King was in these Humours no Body durst speak to him upon any Subject; and the People of that Country imagine that he is more subject to them about New-Moon than any other time.

The King's Cruel Freaks.

March the 7th, About an hour before Sun rising, we had a great Earthquake, at Full-Moon, which, the Natives said, was predicted four or five Days before by the *Cady* or Bishop of *Achen*, whom they gave out for the wisest of Men. I am inform'd there are commonly three or four Earthquakes in this place every Year.

An Earthquake at *Achen*.

March the 9th, I waited upon the King with some Presents, in order to obtain leave to buy up Pepper from private Persons, which he would not allow till his own was sold off, which he always kept half as dear again as the other.

The next time I waited upon him I found him at a Cock Fighting and laying very high Wagers with his *Orankays*. Upon my entrance he presented me with a Dagger, which had about five or six Livres worth of Gold upon the Handle. But I found him so intent upon his Wagering, that 'twas not proper to mention my Affair at that time. I could not but take notice of one Instance of the King's Avarice, and his Readiness to sacrifice all things to his covetous Temper. 'Twas this, One of the Company pitch'd upon a middle siz'd Cock, offering to bet upon his Head against any other of what size soever (it being customary there to match 'em according to their sizes.) Upon which an *Orankay* that had some of the King's Cocks a keeping (for he gives them out among his *Orankays* according to their Substance and Estate) presented a very large Cock; and upon this the King betted very high. But the little Cock beat the great One, and so the King lost his Money. Being fretted by the loss, he ask'd the *Orankay* how it came to pass that the little Cock had more strength than the great one. The *Orankay* answering with all possible humility that he could not conceive how it was; the King replied, He conceiv'd very easily, that it proceeded from the Cocks being ill fed, and that he had given the Cock's Rice to his Whores, or else eat it himself. This said, he order'd his Right Hand to be cut off, which was immediately put in execution.

The King intent upon Betting at a Cock-Fighting.

A dangerous Bar in *Achen* Road.

Next Day the *Sabandar* came to my House, and acquainted me that the King ask'd for his Pepper 64 *Rials* the *Bahar*. I told him I could not buy it at that rate. Then he ask'd me what I was willing to give. I answer'd, I would not pretend to set a Price upon the King's Goods, but would gladly treat with his Subjects, if his Majesty would give me leave. Upon which he gave me to know, that could not be granted, till the King had sold his. At that time, tho' the King kept his Pepper at 64 *Rials*, the private People would have sold it for 8 *Taels* in Gold.

He demands extravagantly for his Pepper.

The value of a Tael. A loss upon Rials at *Achen*, and why?

Now the common value of a Tael is four *Rials*. But since we arriv'd in this place, the Gold rose, and the *Rials* fell 5 for whereas we us'd to have 16 Mas for 4 *Rials*, now we cannot have above 14. This Alteration is occasion'd by the King's engrossing all the Gold in his own Hands, and coyning Lead Money to circulate among the People, who put it off at any rate for Gold. Besides, *Rials* would have no circulation in that City, were it not for those of *Suratte* and *Masulipatan*, who supply this place with Commodities that they cannot be without, and export nothing from it but *Rials*, upon which, they gain considerably. Now there being no *Suratte* Ship there at this time, to take off the *Rials*, their value sunk apace; which was an infinite Loss to me, who had nothing else but *Rials*, at a time, when the *Dutch* and *English* had Gold enough in their Hands. To return to the *Sabandar*. He told me after all, that the King, out of his particular Affection to me, would, perhaps, let me have his Pepper at the same Price that the *Dutch* had offer'd, *viz.* 48 *Rials* the *Bahar*. I reply'd, that the King had given several Instances of his Affection to me, that I would take care to report to the King of *France* the Respect his Majesty of *Achen* had shown to his Letters, and that the Obligations I lay under to the King of *Achen* would be much strengthen'd, if he would allow me to take in my Lading at *Ticow*, since I could not do it at *Achen*, where the Pepper was so very dear, unless I had a mind to return to *France* with half Lading. Then the *Sabandar* ask'd me what Present I would make to the King for that Favour, and what I would give him for procuring of it. I told him I would consider of the matter, and acquaint him with my Resolutions that Night. Having communicated the Motion to our Merchants, it was unanimously agreed upon, that *Ticow* would be a place of more profit for us, tho' it cost us 3000 *Rials* for a Licence to trade there. Thereupon I sent one to sound the *Sabandar*, in order to know what his Demands might be: The *Sabandar* told him the *Dutch* and *English* had offer'd the King two Ships laden with Goods, for the Privilege of an Eight Years Factory at *Ticow*, and that if I would give him 4000 *Rials*, and make the King a Present of 20000 *Rials*, he would procure me a Factory there for two Years. Hearing this extravagant Demand, I perceiv'd the *Sabandar* to be a grand Villain; and resolved to make my Address to *Orankay Laxemane*. Accordingly I gave him a Visit, and represented to him that I had been a long time there, without making any progress in my Business; that the Pepper was so dear at *Achen*, that I could not buy it there without a considerable loss; That *Ticow* was the most proper place for me within the King's Dominions; That forasmuch as I could not trade at *Ticow* without the King's Licence, I thought it my safest way to have recourse to him, knowing that if he favour'd me, the King would certainly grant it; And that out of a grateful Sense of such a Favour, I would make him a Present of 400 *Rials*, and another to the King of four Iron Guns, weighing 3500 Pound each. Upon this he advis'd me not to desire any such thing of the King, who had a great Affection for me, and was desirous of lading me with his own Pepper. I reply'd, That I was infinitely oblig'd to the King, but could not come up to the Price that the *Dutch* had offered him. Then he told me that I did not know what the King would do on my behalf, and that the Guns I mention'd was not a proper Present for the King, who had more already than he knew what to do with.

Ticow a more proper place for taking in Pepper than *Achen*.

The *Portuguese* skill'd in Bleeding and Surgery.

March the 23d, I interceded with the King for the Redemption of four *Portugueze* Christians, that were his Captives at *Negapatan*. Their Ransome came to 650 *Rials*, 128 of which I was forc'd to advance, retaining one of the Men for my security; the rest of the Money being gather'd by a Charitable Contribution from the People of *Negapatan*. There were five of these Slaves, for whose Redemption I interceded; but the King would needs detain one to bleed himself, or any of his Family upon occasion. For all of 'em not only knew how to open a Vein, as indeed most of the *Portugueze* in the *Indies* do, but likewise practis'd some sort of Surgery to earn their Bread in the time of their Captivity.

Five or six Women cruelly torrur'd.

The *Sabandar* and an *Eunuch* came next Day to acquaint me that the King wanted to speak with me. In obedience to his Commands, I went, and found him very much out of humour, and giving orders for the Torturing five or six Women. To my great mortification I saw these poor Creatures tortur'd in his presence to the last Degree for three Hours, and the King's Wrath increasing in proportion to their Torment. After the Torturing was over, he order'd their Hands and Legs to be cut off, and their Bodies to be thrown into the River. The occasion of this Execution was as follows. In the preceding Night, there being 5 or 6 of his Women in a Room adjoining to his, one of 'em gave a hideous shreek. Upon which the King enquir'd into the matter, and at first they all told him there was nothing in it; but after many Threats, she that had cry'd out, confess'd, that some body came in the Night Time, and prick'd her in the Thigh with a Dagger, thro' the Reeds upon which they lay, upon which she said, she cry'd out and awak'd the rest. But the rest did not agree in their Answers, some saying they heard a Noise, and others that they heard nothing. However the Dagger was found, but no body would own it. After all, the King having ask'd 'em who it was that came with the Dagger, and why they did not tell him the Truth at first; and finding they would give him no satisfying Answer, was led into the Suspicion of a Design against his Life carried on by his own Mother, who, as he imagin'd, had alarm'd these Women, that their out-cry might induce the King to come out of his Chamber, which would be a favourable opportunity to the Assassins. Thinking to extort a Confession of the whole matter by Torture, he put all the Women upon the Rack: But their Resolution, Courage, and Constancy was invincible; for notwithstanding the King's frequent Offers of Pardon, in case they would discover the Plot, and the repeated Intreaties of the *Cady* of *Achen*, and the whole Court, who begg'd of 'em to be kind to themselves; yet they did not so much as shrink or relent. One of 'em being very old, and swooning away from time to time, the King took Compassion upon her, and graciously order'd her to be put to death; upon which she assum'd a gay Countenance, and thank'd the King for his Grace and Mercy, wishing him in recompence for his Favour a long and happy Life of 1000 Years. In a Word, all of 'em stood out undaunted to the last gasp, and even after their Hands and Legs were cut off, some of 'em had the Courage to say, That for the space of 10 Years, they had long'd for this Happy Hour, that deliver'd them from the drudgery of the Castle. When the Execution was over, the King ask'd me what I thought of it. Tho' the Spectacle was very mortifying to me, yet I dissembled upon the Matter, and answer'd, That without the Execution of Justice no Kingdom could stand.

Their Obstinacy and Courage.

Then the King told me in a long Discourse, That if the last Nights Action had past with impunity, his very Life had been expos'd to danger; That his *Orankays* were foolish and unthinking Men, who charg'd him with Cruelty, not considering that 'twas their Wickedness that drew upon them the Anger of God, who made use of him as an Instrument to punish their Impiety; That they had no occasion to complain of him who suffer'd 'em to possess their Wives, Children and Slaves, and competent Estates to maintain 'em; who maintain'd their Religion, and preserv'd 'em from the Captivity of Neighbouring Kings, and the Robberies of Strangers; That in former times *Achen* was a Nest of Murderers and Robbers, in which the weaker were oppress'd by the stronger, and no Man was safe; all of 'em being oblig'd to keep off the Robbers with Arms by Day, and barricadoe themselves in their Houses by Night, whereas at present they had no occasion neither for Arms in the Day, or Doors to their Houses in the Night; That his Nobles hated him, because he suppress'd Extortion, Massacres, and Robberies; That they mean'd to set up Kings at pleasure, and murder 'em when disoblig'd; That his Mother was in the same interest, and wanted to make away with him, in order to prefer another, that would give way to their Insolence.

The King's Apology for his Cruelty.

This he deliver'd with so much Vehemency and Passion in his looks, that all his Courtiers threw themselves upon the Ground, imploring his Mercy; and among them even the Bishop or *Cady*, a Man of above 80 Years of Age, for whom every Body had a vast Veneration, and who could boast of the noblest descent in *Achen*. In fine, the Cruelty of this Prince is unparallell'd. Notwithstanding, that all his Tortures could extort no discovery, yet he imprison'd his own Mother and put her upon the Rack; and put to death five of the Principal Lords of his Court, whom he suspected of favouring his Mother. He barbarously murder'd his own Nephew, the King of *Joor*'s Son, saying, his Mother mean'd to prefer that young Prince to the Throne. He put to death the Son of the King of *Bantam*, as well as the Son of the King of *Pau*, who were both his Cousins. He has not left one of the Royal Family but his own Son, who has been thrice banish'd the Court, but now begins to return into favour, and is only safe for being more cruel than his Father, and hated by all the World. He has extirpated all the ancient Nobility, and rais'd a new set of *Orankays*, who, in my opinion, would live much happier in a meaner Capacity.

The Cady of *Achen*.

pacity. In fine, his Cruelty is without a parallel, he takes Advice of no body, and never liv'd a Day (while I was at *Achen*) without the Execution of one, and sometimes several of his People.

Elephants fighting.

The 28th, The King sent for me to see two Elephants Fight. After I came, two Elephants were brought into a large Court, each of 'em having a Cable fasten'd about their hind Feet: Then came several Men with long Pikes forked at the Head. The two Elephants fell upon one another with a prodigious roaring; but all of a sudden the King was taken ill, and the Fight was interrupted.

We obtain a Licence to buy Pepper.

Having presented the *Orankaye Laxemane* with an enamel'd Ring, which he again presented to his Majesty, I at last obtain'd leave to buy up Pepper in the City. Being sensible of this Favour, and Meaning to oblige the King as much as I could, I profer'd to buy 600 *Bahars* of his own Pepper; but he reply'd, he was my Friend, and would not put it upon me, since it was too dear, in regard he had made an Oath not to sell it under 16 *Taels* the *Bahar*. Next day I made a Publication of the King's Licence, that the Inhabitants might not scruple to sell their Pepper. But at the same time the King was buying up Pepper for himself, and the Inhabitants fear'd that if they sold me any, he would alledge they had prefered my Custom to his. To stifle this Apprehension, I first bought some of the *Sabandar*, thinking his Example would dispel their Fears. But by an unlucky Accident, before he had deliver'd me any, the King took him up and laid him in Irons, for not having some enamel'd work ready, which he had committed to his Care to get done by our Goldsmith by a prefix'd Day, at which time he had promis'd it to a She-Favourite: Tho' after all it was not the *Sabandar*'s Negligence, but the Goldsmiths being taken ill, that occasioned the Delay. After this, notwithstanding I had the King's Licence, they would not sell me one *Bahar*, some pretending they durst not while the King bought, others refusing to take *Rials*, or any other Coin but *Mas*, which is a Gold Coin current in the Country.

The usefulness of a Factory at *Surat*.

In the mean time I sent *Don Francisco Carnero*, a *Portugueze*, to the Court of the *Great Mogul*, by the way of *Masulipatan*. His Errand at that Court was, To obtain leave from the *Great Mogul* to settle a *French* Factory at *Suratte*, the Sovereignty of which belong'd to him. The design of that Factory, was, to render a Factory at *Achen* more useful for us: For there being no access to *Bantam*, there was a necessity of having a Factory at *Achen*. Now the *Rials* and *French* Commodities could not be put off at *Achen* without loss, whereas at *Suratte*, the *Rials* are pretty high, and some *French* Commodities may be put off at *Cent. per Cent.* profit. So that 'twould be our Interest not to sail directly from *France* to *Achen*, but to *Suratte*, where we might put off our own Commodities at a good rate, and buy up some *Suratte* Commodities, that the People of *Achen* can as little be without, as the very Rice they eat; and this would fetch us the *Achen* Pepper at an easy rate.

The People of *Achen* cannot be without the *Suratte* Commodities.

This *Carnero* was an everlasting Gamester, and won great Sums by the help of some false Dice he had brought from *France* with him, particularly from the *Sabandar*, whose Losses at Game made him very hungry in his Demands upon me; and yet I could not take off the *Portugueze* from playing with him. One time, when *Carnero* was a playing, he happen'd by beating his Hand against the Table to break one of his false Dice, upon which there run some Quick-Silver out of it, that quickly slip'd through the Chinks of the Table. This put his Company into a horrid Consternation, for *Carnero* quickly hid the pieces of the broken Dye, and they imagin'd there was some Magick in the subtle Spirit, that appear'd and disappear'd so suddenly.

The King's Licence for buying of Pepper proves a sham.

April the 15th, I made a discovery that the King had play'd me a Trick, and that no Recommendation or Presents whatsoever would turn his avaritious Temper. For he only gave me the Licence to amuse me, and keep me from leaving the place, as I had threatned to do before. He knew very well that his buying of Pepper at the same time would stifle my Market, and if any one had sold me Pepper, he would certainly have punish'd him under the Pretence of prefering my Custom to his. Besides, the true reason of the *Sabandar*'s Confinement, was not the Business of the Rings, but his misunderstanding the King's design in giving me the Licence: And the *Sabandar* sent to intreat me to interceed with the King that he might not be disgrac'd, for that he had expos'd his Life to Danger by doing me Service. Next Day I went to interceed with the King on the *Sabandar*'s behalf. But he interrupted me by asking if I had bought any Pepper. I answer'd, That I had not endeavour'd to buy any, nor would not, till his Majesty's Market were over. Then he laughed, contrary to his custom, and told me he would buy no more, till I had got what I wanted. Soon after, he sent for me, and having often press'd me to tell what I was willing to give for his Pepper, I order'd the Interpreter to offer him a *Catti*, or 32 *Rials* a *Bahar*. But the Interpreter durst not mention the Sum, and pretended he did not understand me. Upon which I told it my self in the *Malays* Language. The King was silent for some time; after which he gave me to know, that tho' he had swore that whosoever offer'd him less than two *Catti's* or 64 Rials for his Pepper should lose his Favour, yet he would overlook it in me; that the *Dutch* and *English* had offer'd him 48 Rials, and at that price I should have what I would. I made answer that the *Dutch* and *English* had a longer Purse than I, and dealt in several Branches of Trade that compensated the dearth of the Pepper; and in fine, that I had not so much Money to give. However, being inform'd, that unless I took some of his Pepper, they durst not sell me a Grain in the City, and considering withal that *Bantam* being block'd up, there was none to be had but within his Dominions; upon these Considerations I offer'd to take 400 *Bahars* at 40 *Rials*. But the King would not abate any thing of his price, saying, he had us'd me more kindly than the *Dutch*, since he would not let them have it at the same price. Finding him resolute, I offer'd to take 300 *Bahars* at his price, provided he would give me a Licence to buy 300 more at *Ticow*. At last he agreed to it, and order'd the 300 *Bahars* to be deliver'd. I press'd him to sign my License for *Ticow* out of hand, in regard he was about to take Physick for his illness, so that I could not have Audience of him for some time. But he told me that would be over before I was ready to go. Notwithstanding the King's Orders, it was a long time before I could get the Pepper which the King had order'd me, by reason of the Avarice and Villainy of his Officers, who always find out some trick or other to put off those they have to do with, till they are sufficiently brib'd. For besides, that they have no Sallary, they are oblig'd to make the King a rich Present every Year. As for dealing with private Persons, I found them all unwilling to take *Rials*, and for that reason employ'd a Broker to make a Proposal to the *Dutch* and *English* of giving them my *Rials* at the current price, in exchange for Gold. But the Broker acquainted me that they were so far from listning to the Proposal, that they had a great Hand in sinking the value of the *Rials*, in order to spoil my Market.

The Avarice and Villainy of the King's Officers.

The *English* and *Dutch* have a Hand in sinking the Rials.

Being disappointed on that hand, I made my Address to the *Orankaye Laxemane*, offering him the *Rials* at ten *per Cent.* discount. At first he agreed to it; but next Day, when I came with the *Rials*, he retracted, and said, he would give but three *Mas* and an half for them, since they went for that in the City. Finding I could not mend my self, I condescended to let them go so; but after all, when I came to deliver the *Rials*, he retracted again. The notorious perfidiousness of this Nation, made me think of leaving them in time, before the bad Season was further advanc'd. In the mean time the Officer of the *Alfandegue* stop'd 21 *Bahars* of Pepper for the King's Duties. It was a great Surprisal to me, to hear that the King demanded Duty for the Pepper he had sold me himself: especially considering that before I made the Bargain, my Interpreter had assur'd me he never did. But when I represented the matter to the *Orankaye*, and desired access to the King in order to complain of the Injury done me; he told me that I was oblig'd to pay Custom for it, that the *Dutch* had always pay'd it, and that such a Complaint would be very disagreeable to the King: And suspecting that my Interpreter had misinform'd me upon the matter, would have ty'd him to a Post, if I had not brought him off as being one of my Domesticks.

At last I found my Interpreter to be one of the Spies of the *Alfandegue*, and perceiv'd he had discover'd all my Intrigues to the King's Officers. Tho' this Fellow was born of Christian Parents, and profess'd Christianity for 40 Years, when among Strangers, yet he instructed his Children in the *Mahometan* Religion; a certain Evidence that he was worse than a true *Mahometan*, and had neither Religion nor Conscience.

The Duties upon the Pepper that I was oblig'd to pay, was Seven *per Cent.* to the King, Ten *per Cent.* of the King's Duty to the Officers, and a *Mas* for every *Bahar* to the Weigher. When I paid this Custom to the Officers, they fiez'd upon the Interpreter, who had made me believe there was none due, and having ty'd him to a Post, beat him soundly, and made him pay more than he had got in my Service to get clear.

The Duty upon Pepper at *Achen*.

May 15. I could have had Pepper enough for 8 Taels and a quarter in Gold, which as Rials went then, came to 37 ½ Rials, so that the loss upon Rials was unsufferable.

Clipp'd *Mas* will not pass at *Achen*

Another Mischance, that gall'd me mightily, was, that their Mas, or Gold Coyn, is often clipp'd by the *Chinese*, and that there are a great many of a false Coyn: For at *Achen* they are so nice, that if the edge be but any ways shrunk or broke, they will not meddle with it, so that in the Payment of any Sum they'll return a third part, or a half. However, *I* bargain'd with one Man for 300 Bahars, at 38 Rials the Bahar.

The Chapman *I* dealt with, call'd himself *Xerif Nepueu of Jesus Christ*. He was a *Mahometan*, and great Doctor in the Law of *Mahomet*. He bore the Character of a Prophet, and came to this place to make some Remonstrances to the King of *Achen*, who was so little mov'd with his Remonstrances, that he order'd him to keep within Doors, and not to meddle with his Deportment; so that the Oracle was struck dumb all of a sudden.

The Fraud of a *Mahometan* Prophet.

When *I* came to have my Pepper weigh'd, the Prophet alledg'd, that *I* had bargain'd with him for 39 Rials, and offer'd to appeal to the Broker; but *I* told him roundly, that *I* had promis'd no more but 38, and that my Word was as much to be credited as either his, or the Broker's. After some wrangling he yielded; but when we had weigh'd about 200 Bahars, I began to perceive some black Sand among the Pepper, and return'd it. He pleaded for his excuse, that some of his Domesticks had mix'd Sand with the Pepper without his knowledge; and tho I might have done him an Injury, in regard that the King of *Achen* cuts off their Hands and Feet without any Mercy, who are found guilty of that Trick, yet considering his Credit upon the place, I was willing to overlook it. After that, we continu'd to weigh, till I observ'd the Pepper wet, upon which I stopp'd and would have no more, alledging only that his House was faulty, and that some Rain had fallen upon the Pepper. What for a Doctor or Prophet this may be, I cannot tell; but both he, and most of his Followers, seem to place a great deal of Honour and Goodness in cheating a Christian, especially about *Achen*.

Tiburon's, or large Sea-Calves.

May 22. One of our Men washing himself by the Ship's side, had all the fleshy part of his Leg, and both his Hands bit off by a great Fish, or Sea-Calf, which the *Portugueze* call *Tiburon*, and immediately expir'd. By this time the Pepper was become very scarce; for not only the King continu'd to buy, contrary to his Promise, but an *English* Vessel that arriv'd lately from *Surat*, laden with Cotton Cloth, and truck'd their whole Cargoe for Pepper; not to mention the *Dutch* and *English* upon the place, who having the advantage of Gold, and Commodities vendible in that Country, still bought it up under-hand.

A great Fire at *Achen*. The Woman impail'd alive, in whose House it began.

June 4. There happen'd a great Fire in the City, which in an Hour's time consum'd 260 Houses: And the King caus'd the Woman in whose House the Fire began, to be impaled alive.

June 10. I had Audience of the King, and represented, that since the Pepper was become very scarce and dear, I wanted to be gone, and pray'd that he would allow me to buy three or four hundred Bahars at *Ticow*. The King reply'd, That I might have some more of his, which he had sold me at a lower rate than to any Body else. I told him, his Pepper was so dear, and the loss upon it would be so great, that if I offer'd to take it at his Rates, it would discourage the *French* from coming again to kiss his Hands. His Majesty reply'd, That the *French* might hereafter make a more profitable Voyage, by bringing Gold or Commodities vendible in the Country, this being infinitely more valuable to him than Silver, which he esteem'd no more than Dirt. As for the Business of *Ticow*, he made me no Answer, neither durst the Interpreter remind him of it, because he found he did not like the Motion. However, I represented to him, That since I had no more Business in that place, I hop'd he would give me leave to be gone: Upon which he said, He would first write a Letter to the King of *France*.

Floods and Storms at Full & New Moon.

June the 15th, We had a violent Storm of Wind and Rain, from the S. W. and W. S. W. commonly, for three Days before, and three Days after New Moon and Full Moon, we had heavy Rains and Floods that swell'd the River mightily, together with violent Gusts of Wind call'd *Samatra*.

The 19th, One of my principal Merchants dy'd of an uncommon sort of a Distemper, who in my Opinion was poyson'd by the *Dutch*. In this place we lost fourteen Men, most of whom were siez'd with a violent Vomiting, and the Bloody-Flux, which no Remedy could stop. In earnest, this Climate is so very much hotter than *France*, that one can scarce avoid Sickness at first. But a regular Diet goes a great way, if not in preventing, at least in abating the Sickness: For my part, I eat little or no Roast-meat, but mostly Fish, and drank Cider; or in want of that fair Water first boil'd and then cool'd. But the unwary Sailors fill'd their Bellies with Beef, and drank a great deal of Rack, besides other Liquors, and when they were out of order drank Water, and sleep'd with their Stomachs expos'd to the Air; by which means the Stomach being at once overcharg'd, Vomitings and Fluxes ensu'd. The Cure for that Distemper, is, to let Blood, and take some cooling Medicines, and to abstain from Meat, Wine, and Rack.

An Account of the Diet of the Country, and its Cure.

The 27th, The King sent his Letter for the King of *France* to our House, with a great deal of Splendour, the Letter being carry'd upon a great Elephant by one of the principal Orankays; after which follow'd three of the principal Officers of the House upon another Elephant, with all the Officers of the *Alfandegue* on foot. Before the Elephant went four Drums, and four Trumpets, and four large Umbrelloes surrounded it.

The King sent his Letter deliver'd with great deal of Ceremony.

But all this Splendour was to my Cost, for I was oblig'd to satisfie not only the principal Orankaye, who brought the Letter, but all those that accompany'd him. The Letter was carry'd in a Silver Bason, in a Red Velvet Bag, with Gold Strings; being writ in the *Achen* Language, in Letters of Gold, upon very smooth Paper, with several Gildings and Colourings round it.

The Form of it was this:

The King's Letter.

THE Letter of the Grand Siri Sultan, *Subduer and Conqueror, by God's assistance, of several Kingdoms, King of* Achen, *and, by the Divine Favour, of all the Countries that lie to the East and West; to the Eastward, the Kingdom, Territories, and Sovereignties of* Deli; *the Kingdom of* Joor, *with its Lordships and Territories, the Kingdom of* Paham, *the Kingdom of* Queda, *and the Kingdom of* Pera, *with their Lands and Seigniories: To the Westward the Kingdom and Territory of* Priaman, *the Kingdom and Territory of* Ticow, *the Kingdom and Territory of* Passuruam. *To be deliver'd to the great and puissant King of* France. *May the King of* France *know, That the Letters he sent me by Admiral* Beaulieu *was deliver'd, and that I have seen all that was written in it: And forasmuch as he recommended the said Admiral, that I have done him a great deal of Honour, both in the Matters of Traffick, and in allowing him the Quality and Rank of my principal Gentlemen: As for the Offer made me, in case I have any Business in* France, *I send a Memorial by the said Admiral, to shew how much I esteem it; saying further, that if God bring this Letter safe to hand, I expect an Answer by the Ships that shall come to trade in this place, which will be to me a great Satisfaction. So, I pray God, preserve the States of the King of* France. *And since God has made us great Kings in this World, it seems reasonable we should live in Friendship, and correspond with one another. For a Token of Friendship I send Eight Bahars of Pepper, which is the Product of this Country. God preserve the illustrious Person of the King of* France.

Given in the Month *Raab* (or *June*), in the Year 1030.

The King of Queda stays at Achen.

June 28. My Goldsmith ask'd leave to stay at *Achen*, promising to find another to supply his place, that would be more serviceable than himself. And tho' he could not find one according to his Promise, yet considering that he was blinded by the Promises of the King, and the Orankaye *Laxemane*, who were mightily taken with his Work, and that he had a great mind to stay, I left him in the *English* House; wishing I had never brought him from *France*, or had turn'd him off sooner; for the King of *Achen* retarded my Affairs upon the account of having more of his Work.

The Reason inducing us to think of steering towards Queda.

July 1. The *Portugueze* Captives whom I had redeem'd, and some others, having advis'd me to go to an Isle near *Queda*, upon the Coast of *Malacca*, about 200 Leagues from hence, where I might have Pepper cheaper than any where else, *viz.* at 16 Rials the Bahar: I resolv'd to follow their Advice, considering that I had no prospect of a Licence to Trade at *Ticow*; that at *Achen* the Dearth and Scarcity of the Pepper, the Charge of keeping House and living ashore, the costly Presents and Bribes that the King and his Officers expect, cut off the Profit of the Trade; that I had no hopes of seeing our Vice-Admiral, or Advice-Boat there, the last being gone from me above seven Months, and there being no possibility of hearing from *Bantam*, or *Jacatra*, till *October*, by reason of contrary Winds; that the present Westerly Winds stood fair for *Queda*; and in *October*, when they begin to veer to the East,

East, they would favour my return; that tho' the King of *Achen* had lately conquer'd the place I was bound for, and prohibits all Persons to go there without his Consent; yet I could manage it so, as not to displease him, by pretending to be forc'd in by the Winds, which blow right upon it; besides, that the *French* having no Factory in *Achen*, and he having us'd me unkindly; I had no great reason to fear his displeasure. These Considerations induc'd me to resolve upon a Voyage to that Island, where I might lie more securely till the Westerly Winds were over, as well as make a better Bargain for Pepper. To this end, I resolv'd to give 250 Rials by way of Ransome, for two *Portugueze* Captives, one of whom having been in that Island would serve for a Pilot, and the other had been a Merchant at *Pera*. The number of my Men being reduc'd by Sickness and Detachments to a small Complement, I likewise redeem'd 7 more Christian Slaves, for 361 Rials, that had formerly serv'd the *Portugueze* at Sea. Some *English-men* offer'd to serve me, but not having leave of their Superiours, I rejected them.

The Surat Lades.

The 13th, I had Audience of the King, at which time the *Dabul* and *Surat* Captains presented their *Laden*, i. e. a Present of the Commodities of their Country, computed to be worth 1500 Rials. After these Captains had withdrawn, the King ask'd me, If the King of *France* was Subject to the King of *England*? I answer'd, That *France* was inferiour to no one of the Christian Monarchies, having continued for 1300 Years under the Government of their own Kings, without submitting to any Foreign Power whatsoever. Upon which he told me, He had seen a Letter from the King of *England*, in which he assumes the Title of King of *France*. But I shew'd him how slender a Right he had to that Title, which proceeded only from a spite that one of our Kings had against his Successor. After he had put several Questions about the Grandeur of Christian Princes; I humbly requested he would suffer me to put into *Ticow* for one Month, in order to buy only 200 Bahars of Pepper, and to send a Praw from thence to *Bantam*, to enquire after my two Ships; adding that such a Favour would be a lasting Obligation upon the *French* Nation. He answer'd me very coldly, That I might discourse that Subject with the Orankay *Laxemane*. This done, I took leave of his Majesty, who wish'd me a good Voyage.

After that, I went to wait upon *Laxemane*, who told me, that the King had sworn never to suffer any Nation to Trade at *Ticow* after the *Dutch*; and that 'twas a sign he had no mind to give me a Licence, since he had put it off by sending me to him. However, I press'd him to speak to the King about it, and let me have his Answer. After some time he sent me word, That the King would allow me to put into *Ticow* for a Month; provided I gave him half a Bahar (*i. e.* 3200) of Rials.

At last, being so much provok'd by the insatiable Avarice and Ingratitude of this Nation, that notwithstanding all my Presents, gave me such usage, I resolv'd to steer for *Ticow*, and if they would not deal with me in an amicable way, to stop the Ships that were to come from thence, and take out of 'em what Pepper I wanted, allowing for it the Market-price at *Ticow*: But if I could not weather the Point of *Ticow*, as 'twas probable I might not, by reason of the violent Winds and Tides from the West, I design'd to Sail for *Pulo Lançahuy*, alias *Pulo Lada* (so the Pepper Island near *Queda* is call'd) notwithstanding that about two Days before the King had sent three large Galleys, and thirty Sail of other Ships to *Pera*, with Orders to return by that Island, and cut down all the Pepper-Plants.

July 24. Having taken in 700 Bahars of Pepper at *Achen*, I set Sail from that Road, which lies in 5 Degr. 34 Min. North Lat. the Needle varying 5 ½ Degrees N. W.

The 25th, we weather'd the Isles of *Gomispola* and *Poolawy*, which fence in this Road on the North-side. In this Season the Trade-Wind blows S. W. with which I endeavour'd to double the Point of *Achen*, in order to reach *Ticow*, steering our Course W. N. W. But the Tides still bringing me right before the Wind, I was oblig'd to steer directly for *Pulo Lancahuy*; tho' the Calms were so great, that I could not make it till the Seventh of *August*, whereas it is but commonly four Days Sail with that Trade-Wind.

The next Day after my arrival, the Pangoulow, or Governour of the Island came aboard, and gave me to know, That he could not suffer me to Trade with the Inhabitants, without a Licence from the King of *Queda*, which he doubted not but I might have, especially if I assisted him with some Artillery.

The Scarcity of Pepper at *Queda*, and *Pulo Lancahuy*.

The 12th, The Governour accompanied with two of my Men (in lieu of whom he had left me his own Son, with one of the principal Men of the Island for Hostages), went in Person to acquaint the King with my Arrival. At that time the King of *Queda* had retir'd from *Queda* to *Perlys*, about three Days Journey further into the Country, for fear of the King of *Achen*'s Army.

The 20th, I receiv'd a Letter from Sieur *D'Espine* (one of our Company that went along with the Governour) acquainting me, That he understood the King of *Queda* had but little Pepper, and that this Island had not much. To my infinite regret I found this Intelligence to be true; for I found that we came too late for the last Year's Pepper, and too early for that of this Year, which is not gather'd till *December*.

September 2. Sieur *D'Espine* sent me word, That he could not come to speak with the King, who had retir'd into the Woods, under the apprehension that we were employ'd by the King of *Achen* to do him an Injury; but in the mean time he had order'd all the Pepper that could be had to be gather'd up, in order to buy some Cannon of me, if I would sell them. Upon this Advice I sent positive Orders to Sieur *D'Espine*, to inform himself particularly what Quantity of Pepper might be expected in that place, and if it was under 100 Bahars, to return immediately, without troubling himself about it, or if it was above that number, to solicite the King to send a Commissioner with full Power to treat with me, and that without any delay.

The 9th, Sieur *D'Espine* return'd in Person, and reported, That the King had but very little Pepper in *Queda*, but had a strong Mind for my Cannon, offering, if I would stay till *December* (which is the Season for gathering of the Pepper) to give me twice as much Pepper for my Cannon as I had ask'd; and farther, to furnish me with 1000 Bahars more, if I had occasion for 'em; and if I had a Mind to establish a Factory there, to furnish it every Year with 2000 Bahars of Pepper, and exclude all other Nations from trading in his Territories. The King sent me a Letter, empowering me to trade freely with the Natives, and desiring two of my Cannon for 30 Bahars of Pepper, which he said was all he had. In the mean time they had detain'd my Purser at *Perlys*, about 7 or 8 Leagues from this Island, thinking I would come and lie off of that place, to establish a Factory in the same. But I understood, that the Channel between this Island and *Perlys*, was embarrass'd with Shelves and Flats, and at the same time observ'd, that my Ship did not answer the Helm as it us'd to do: Upon which I resolv'd rather to continue where I was, threatning to set Sail with the Hostages I had on board, if they would not return me my Man.

The King of *Queda*'s Offers to obtain some Guns.

October 1. The Purser was return'd, and I deliver'd them their two Hostages. He reported, That the King had only 20 Bahars of Pepper, and design'd to pay the other 10 in Rials, at the rate of 20 Rials a Bahar; that the Country was very poor, and the Rice extream dear; that upon the arrival of every Praw, the People fled into the Country, thinking them to be the Partisans of the King of *Achen*; that about 8 or 10 Days before, they had receiv'd Advice, That 70 Sail were arriv'd at *Pera*, with the King of *Achen*'s Army on board; and by yet fresher Intelligence, that the King of *Achen* was dead. Upon this Report, tho' I had resolv'd not to let them have any Cannon, because I meant to return by the way of *Achen*, yet I thought fit to amuse 'em with fair Words, till I had taken in fresh Water; and with that view sent back the Purser, to acquaint them, that I was very much dispos'd to deal with them, that I could not bring my Ship to *Perlys*, because my Rudder was out of order, and that to shew my willingness to oblige 'em, I was ready to send one of my Cannons ashore, provided they gave me two Hostages to ensure the delivery of 20 Bahars of Pepper within eight Days, or else deliver'd the Pepper it self. This Offer pleas'd them so well, that they sent me word, There was no occasion for giving Hostages, or putting a Cannon ashore, till the Pepper was got ready, which would be in 6 or 7 Days.

In this place I did nothing to the purpose; only I caus'd to be cut down, a Main-top Mast, a Mizen-Mast, and Bolsprit, which I could not have had elsewhere. Could I have tarried there till *January*, I could have loaded my Ship with Pepper at a quarter of the Price it cost me at *Achen*; besides, that at that time the Trade-Winds come E. and so would have stood fair for returning directly to *France*: But the Men I had were so few, and withal so discourag'd, that I could not think of tarrying.

A Description of *Pulo Lancahuy*.

This Island call'd by the Inhabitants *Pulo Lancahuy*, and by the Natives of *Achen*, *Pulo Ende*; i. e. *The Island of Pepper*, lies in 6 Degr. 15 Min. N. Lat. the Needle varying 2 ½ Degr. N. W. It has about 15 or 20 Leagues in Circumference, and is Mountainous in some places, especially

cially where it faces *Pulo Botton*, where it lies 5 Leagues off to the Westward.

In the middle of the Country there's a high Mountain divided in two by a very narrow Vally, which is not observable but on the South-side. The Pepper grows at the foot of this Mountain, as well as in the intervening Plain, which extends it self about 3 or 4 Leagues in length. The Pepper-Plants are dress'd after the same manner with tall Vines. Were this Island more cultivated, it would produce many more than it does; for there are not at present above 100 Persons in the Island, whereas formerly it was inhabited by above 700.

Its Soil. The Soil of the above-mention'd places is very convenient for all sorts of Drugs, Fruits, Rice, and Cattle, being enrich'd with excellent Pasturage, and plenty of Rivers and Springs. The rest of the Island is cover'd with very thick Woods, in which especially upon the Mountains, there are some Trees exactly straight, of an incredible heighth and proportionable thickness.

On the South-side the Shoar is frequently interfected with Arms of the Sea, leaving little Islands and Rocks cover'd with Woods.

On the North, there lies a large Island about a League off.

On the East it has a Bay cover'd with a little Island, in which Ships of 200 Tun may ride with safety, and be shelter'd from all Winds. In a word, there is very safe Anchorage all round the Island; and any part of it affords excellent fresh Water.

From the beginning of *July* to the end of *October*, the Winds are there Westerly, at which time it rains very much, and the Climate is unhealthy, as it happens in all other places of the same Latitude.

The Pepper Season. This Island produces the best. The Pepper ripens in *November*. It's Harvest is from the middle of *December* to the end of *February*. At present this Island produces every Year 500000 Pound Weight of excellent large and dry Pepper, which is preferable to that of any other place in the *Indies*.

This Island is subject to the King of *Queda*, without whose permission no Trade can be carry'd on there. The *Portugueze* that reside in *Malacca*, come there every Year to Trade, and continue there from *December* to *February*. The Commodities they bring are *Guzurat* Plush, Salt, Rice, and a few Rials, which go well off there, by reason of the vicinity of the *Chinese*, a good number of whom are *Patani.* settled at *Patani*, a Town situated on the opposite Coast. They sell their Pepper by Measure, and not by Weight, which is better for the Buyer, since at that rate he cannot be so easily injur'd by wetting it, or deceiv'd by the putting Stones or Sand among it, as they commonly do at *Achen*. They sell it by the Nali, which contains 16 Gauta's, each Gauta containing 4 Chuppa's. Fifteen Nali make a Bahar, which is 450 Pound *Averdupois*: So that the Measure in this Island is greater by one quarter than in the King of *Achen*'s Territories. The common Price of a Bahar is 16 Rials.

Nali, what it contains.

The Pepper-Plants grow in a fat free Soil. They are planted at the Root of all sorts of Trees, round which they creep and twist like Hops. The way is, to take a Shot or Spring of an old Pepper-Plant, and plant it under some Shrub, taking care to clean the Ground, and weed out all the Herbs about it: It will bear no Fruit till the third Year, after which it bears every Year perhaps six or seven Pound Weight of Pepper. Its first, second, and third Crops are much at one; but the fourth, fifth, and sixth decrease one third, both in the quantity and size of the Pepper; and in the seventh, eighth, and ninth, the Pepper becomes very small and scanty: So that after its twelfth Year it bears no more; and a new Shot must be planted in its room. For the first three Years the Ground about 'em must be kept very clean, else they will not bear: And even that requires a great deal of pains, for the Climate is extream moist, by reason partly of the *A great Dew in this Island.* Rains, and partly of the Dew, which is so great, that if one walks among Trees, or Grass, before the Sun-rising, they will be as wet as if they waded through Water. When the Plant begins to bear, the Branches of the Tree round which it creeps, must be lopp'd off, lest they intercept the Rays of the Sun, which above all things that Plant stands most in need of. When the Clusters of the Fruit are form'd, care must be taken to support 'em with Poles, lest their Weight should draw down the Plant, which of it self is tender enough. Care must likewise be taken, that no Buffles, or Oxen, or large Animals, get in among 'em, for fear they be entangled among the Branches, and so break 'em. They must be planted at a convenient distance from one another, that one may get round 'em with a Ladder to prune them after their Fruit is gather'd; for otherwise they would grow too high, and so bear less Fruit.

Commonly this Plant has a white Flower in *April*, in *June* this knots, in *August* 'tis large, green, and strong, and the Natives make use of it for a Sallad, or make a Confit of it and other Fruits in Vinegar, which they call *Achar*, and which will keep for a Twelvemonth. In *October* 'tis red; in *November* it begins to grow black; in *December* 'tis all over black, and consequently ripe. This is the most general Method, tho' in some places 'tis ripe sooner or later than in others. When the Fruit is ripe, they cut off the Clusters, and dry 'em in the Sun, till the Grain falls off from its Stalk; which does not come to pass in less than 15 Days, tho' the Sun is very hot; and during that time they must be turn'd from side to side, and cover'd up in the Night-time. There are some of the Grains that neither redden nor blacken, but continue still white; which are made use of Physically, and sold for double the Price of the other.

A way of adulterating white Pepper. Of late Years, the Inhabitants understanding that Foreigners wanted these for the same use, have found out a way of whitening the black ones, by taking them when they are yet red, and washing off the red Skin with Water and Sand, so that nothing remains but the Heart of the Pepper, which of it self is white.

By this Account we may perceive that Pepper does not grow so easily as many are apt to imagine, and that the Pepper-Plants require a great many Hands to dress them; which at present is mightily wanted in this Island, both it and the Country of *Queda* being laid desolate by the King of *Achen* within these three or four Years, insomuch that the King of *Queda* is now oblig'd to put himself under the Protection of the King of *Siam*.

The Inhabitants are *Malays*, but not so crafty and roguish as these of *Achen*. Their Habit is much the same, but not so rich.

They are very zealous *Mahometans*, and in their Customs and Way of Living, differ but little from the Inhabitants of *Achen*.

They have a sort of Coin not unlike our *French Sols*, but of a little better Alloy, which they call Tras; and 32 of *Tras, a Coin.* these make a Rial. They reckon by Taels, but one of their Tels makes four of these of *Achen*.

Queda is a good Marshy Soil, cut by several Brooks, taking rise from a large River, in which are a great many large and dangerous Crocodiles. In former times the Country was well peopled, and abounded with all sorts *The Land of Queda.* of Provisions, especially Rice and Cattle: And *Queda* was resorted to by all sorts of Merchants from *Pegu*, *Arracan*, *Bengal*, *Jerselin*, the Coasts of *Coromandel*, and *Surat*, besides the *Portugueze* residing at *Malacca*, and even the Merchants of *Achen*.

The Customs and Imposts at this place were very moderate, till the Father of the present King came to Reign, who was a perfidious and cruel Tyrant, and by Divine Vengeance (as the Natives will have it) was carry'd off in Captivity by the King of *Achen* about three Years ago. In earnest, this place bears several Marks of the Divine Wrath; for about four Years before 'twas subdued, two thirds of the Inhabitants, amounting to above 40000 Souls, were carried off by a Plague.

The next Year after that, the Pestilence seiz'd upon the Cattle, and carried off all the King's Elephants, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of their other Cattle.

The third Year, there was such a Scarcity of Rice and all manner of Fruit, that they underwent a terrible Famine.

The Year after that, the King of *Achen*, who always lies in wait to pillage his Neighbours, laid Siege to *Queda*. The City held out three Months, and then the King with his Family and Retinue, consisting of 120 Men, retir'd to his Palace which he had fortified, and where he was reduc'd to the last extremity of want; till about two Months after, that the King of *Achen*'s Officers overperswaded him to surrender, by alledging, that their King admir'd him for his Valour, and would certainly re-install him in his Throne, if he trusted to his Discretion.

This Siege was carried on by the *Achen* Army with a great deal of vigour; insomuch, that they fought when up to their middle in Water, in Winter; for their King had sent 'em word, That he would cut 'em all in pieces, if they did not bring him the King of *Queda*. At last having demolish'd the City and Castle, they carried the King and his Family, and about 7000 of the Inhabitants to *Achen*.

The treacherous Reception of the last King and his Family. The King of *Achen* gave the Captive King a tolerable Reception, till he had drein'd him and his Friends of all they had; after which, he put to Death not only him and his Children, but the principal Men among the other Captives; confining the rest to a remote part of the City, where most of 'em were kill'd by Misery and Want; and the scory remainder, amounting to about 500 Souls, work-

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at present in little Huts one half of the Week, for their own maintenance, such as it is; and the other half in the building of the King of *Achen*'s Houses, and manuring of his Grounds.

The present King of *Queda*, the Son of this his miserable Predecessor, was shut up with his Father in the Castle of *Queda* before it was surrendred; but finding that his Father was inclinable to surrender, and carry all his Children and Treasures to *Achen*, to procure a better Reception from that King, he made his escape privately without his Father's knowledge.

October 12. I weigh'd Anchor, and stood for the Road of *Achen*, in order to try if I could hear any thing of our Ships.

Description of the Isles of Pulo Botton.

Soon after the Tides carried me upon the Isles of *Pulo Botton*, above five Leagues off, where I was oblig'd to drop an Anchor to keep clear of a Rock. These Islands are three in number, but accompany'd with a great many small ones. They are uninhabited and cover'd with Woods, in which there are some Trees fit for the Masts of Ships. They afford good Anchorage all about; and the largest of 'em has good fresh Water upon a Sandy Creek.

Next Day we came in sight of the Coast of *Sumatra*.

The 27th we came within two Leagues of the Isle of *Pooloway*; and I design'd to double it, in order to cast Anchor on the West-side of the Road of *Achen*, where I might easily get off, in case the King of *Achen* should use me otherwise than well. But the Tides were so strong, and the Wind blew so hard from the W. and W. N. W. that I was drove above six Leagues before the Wind, and oblig'd to put into a small Creek of Sand about half way between *Pedir* and *Achen*.

That Evening a Praw came up to me with a Commissioner from the King of *Achen*, to know who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going: For it seems the King had heard of a Ship cruising upon his Coast 15 Days before I came to an Anchor in this place. By this Commissioner I understood that a small *French* Ship had arriv'd in the Road of *Achen* about 8 Days before. It happen'd that the King's Commissioner knew me to be the Person that had been at *Achen* before: And when he ask'd me, whence I came, I order'd my Interpreter to say, That when I went from *Achen* I was bound for *Bantam*, by the way of *Ticow*; but having lost two of my Masts by a Storm, was forc'd to put into an Island to be refitted. I design'd to conceal the Name of the Island, knowing the King would be angry at my going thither without his leave, and to pretend that I knew not the Island, and could meet with no Inhabitants upon it to inform me. But my Interpreter precipitantly told him, I had been at the Isle of *Pulo Lancahuy*.

Next Day a Praw came on board with an *Achan-man* in her that I knew, and he assur'd me, there was a small *French* Vessel in the Road, and some *French-men* that said they belong'd to me; adding withal as a Secret, that the King of *Achen* detain'd 'em there against their Will. In the mean time I sent my Long-Boat ashore for some fresh Provisions; but the People would sell none, alledging that the King had prohibited them to sell without his Command. Upon the whole, I was apprehensive, that the King of *Achen* might stop our Advice-Boat (for I took the *French* Ship in the Road of *Achen* to be it), to prevent their coming to an Interview with me: And thereupon I weigh'd Anchor, and stood for the Road of *Achen*: But the Winds being contrary and very high, I was forc'd to come to an Anchor at the Point of a large Bay; and sent by Land one of the Men I had redeem'd at *Achen*, in a *Moor*'s Habit, to carry a Letter to the People belonging to the *French* Vessel in the Road of *Achen*; promising him his Freedom if he brought me an Answer in two Days; for we were then but four Leagues off of *Achen*, and he knew the way exactly well, for which reason I set him ashore in the Night-time, ordering him to walk it before Day, lest any Body might meet him, or enquire after his Business.

The next Day a large Ship, with *English* Colours, made up to us; and when they came within a quarter of a League, put out their Long-Boat, which brought on board of me Mr. *Du Parr*, one of the Men belonging to our Vice-Admiral, *The Hope*.

An Account of what befel the Hope and the Hermitage

The State of the Vice-Admiral's Affairs, according to *Du Parr*'s Report, was as follows:

This Great Ship was an *English* Ship of 600 Tun, and 32 Guns, and had on board Capt. *Grave*, the Captain of the *Hope*, who was very sick, and not finding me at *Achen*, was going to *Jacatra*, to find passage for *France*. After the *Hope* parted from me, they came to an Anchor at a long Island, about 20 Leagues from *Ticow*; and sent their Long-Boat to *Ticow*.

Twelve Days after the departure of their Long-Boat, they stood for *Ticow* themselves, to put ashore Mr. *Telier*, the first Commissary, who was then ill. But the Winds and Tides being contrary, they not only lost the Men in the Long-Boat, but even those they had on board were all sick, bating the Captain and five or six more. In this disasterous Condition they met with a *Dutch* Ship of 1200 Tun, call'd the *Leyden*, and commanded by *William Schouten*: And Capt. *Grave* went on board 'em, to desire their assistance: He was no sooner on board, but the *Dutch* Captain sent 60 Men in two Long-Boats to board the Vice-Admiral, which accordingly they did without any opposition, and not only plunder'd the Ship, but us'd our sick Men most barbarously, turning them out of their Hammocks, and throwing them upon the Deck. In the mean time, the *Dutch* Captain having detain'd Captain *Grave*, told him, both he and his Ship was a Prize, and if they met with me, they would serve me the same way.

The Cruelty of the *Dutch* to the *French*.

Some few Days after this, they met another *Dutch* Ship that had a great many Sick aboard, and was going to put 'em ashore on the Isle of *Nassaw*; Capt. *Grave* desir'd his Men might be likewise set ashore at the same place, for the recovery of their Health; which indeed they did, but with so much Cruelty, that one would think that Nation had neither Humanity, Religion, nor Conscience: For they threw the sick Men like so many Logs of Wood out of the Ship into the Boat; and some they dragg'd through the Water with a Rope fasten'd about 'em, particularly one who being so dragg'd, expir'd immediately upon the Rocks on the Shore.

In the mean time the first Commissary of the *Leyden*, being sensible of his Crime, told Capt. *Grave*, They were mistaken, and that upon a Review of his Commission, he found he had no Authority to take any *French* Ship; so that he was at liberty to return to his own Ship. Captain *Grave* considering that he stood in need of their assistance, answer'd with a great deal of Complaisance, That the Commissary was not the first that had been mistaken in Matters of as great consequence; and desir'd he might have some of their Sea-men to Man his Ship. The Commissary granted his Request, upon a Proviso, That the Captain should forget what had past, and give something to that effect under his Hand.

Captain *Grave* receiving this Reinforcement, went on board of his own Ship; but the *Dutch* Sea-men threatned every Day, to throw him and his Crew overboard; and he believ'd they had certainly done it, if the other *Dutch* Ship, namely, the *Horn*, had not been in Company.

Sometime after they fell in with three *Dutch* Ships near *Selibar*, upon the Coast of *Sumatra*; one of which having a Flag upon its Mast like an Admiral Ship, Captain *Grave* went on board of her; but as soon as he was on board, that Admiral Ship fir'd upon his, in order to make them take down their *French* Colours; upon which the Captain sent back his Boat, with Orders to take 'em down. This done, they sail'd all together for *Jacatra*, where they arriv'd in *December*; and Captain *Grave* went to wait upon the *Dutch* Admiral, and desir'd he would assist him with some Sea-men to conduct his Ship to *Bantam*, pursuant to his Commission.

The Admiral promis'd to assist him, and to allow him to go to *Bantam*, provided he would there buy up all the Pepper he could get, at a limited Price, *viz.* two Rials a Sack; and then distribute two thirds of it to the *Dutch* and *English* in that Road. The Captain considering his miserable Condition, was fain to submit and sign an Obligation of buying 15000 Sacks of Pepper, 5000 of which should be given to the *Dutch*, and 5000 to the *English*.

In the mean time the Pinnace I had sent in quest of him arriv'd at *Jacatra*, but the Bargain being struck before its arrival, Capt. *Grave* was oblig'd to go to *Bantam*. Accordingly he went, and arriv'd there the end of *January*, where the King gave him a welcome Reception, but would sell him no Pepper under four Rials a Bag. In the mean time, the *Dutch*, contrary to their Promise, sent out arm'd Barks up and down *Bantam* Road, in pursuit of the *Javans*; and these Barks having pursu'd the *Javans* within Cannon-shot of their Walls, return'd always on board of our Ship the *Hope*, in order to make those of *Bantam* believe, that the *French* gave shelter to their mortal Enemies. However, the King of *Bantam* resented it no otherways, than by keeping the Pepper at the first Price. Upon which Captain *Grave* resolv'd to take it at the Current Price, and when he had got his Loading, to return to *France*.

The Reception the *French* Ship met with at *Bantam*.

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He offer'd part of what he got to the *Dutch*, but they would not have it at that price; the *Engliſh* indeed took 150 Bags of him, but never paid for it. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* paying him no Money, he had not enough to pay the King of *Bantam* for the 15000 Bags he had bargain'd for, and therefore deſir'd he would let him have only 2000 Bags more; but the King refus'd to let him have any, unleſs he would take all he had bargain'd for. At laſt the Commiſſary of the St. *Malo's* Company at *Bantam*, ſupply'd him with as much as would compleat his Loading, taking the *Hermitage* Advice-Boat for 1500 *Rials* in part of payment.

This done, he reſolv'd to return directly for *France*. But three Ships that lay at an Anchor juſt by him, commanded him to go to *Jacatra*. Accordingly he went, and was there order'd to unlade ⅓ of his Cargo; and, notwithſtanding that he had ſhew'd Letters under the *Dutch* Preſident's Hand, importing, that they would not ſtand to the firſt Bargain, yet they arreſted the Captain aſhoar, and made ſeven or eight of their Ships to ride at Anchor round the *Hope*, and began to unload the Pepper themſelves, tho' none of Captain *Grave's* Crew put their Hand to it. In the mean time Captain *Grave* entér'd a Proteſtation againſt the Injuſtice of the *Dutch*, declaring that all Damages enſuing upon that Action, ſhould be put to their Account.

How they were us'd by the *Dutch* at *Jacatra*.

Soon after, in a very dark Night, a *Praw* was ſeen to come from the place where the *Dutch* Ships lay at Anchor, and make up to the Stern of the *Hope*, near which it continu'd for a little time, and after that putting off, one of their Men cry'd out in the *Malays* Language that the *Hope* was on fire. Immediately the *Dutch* Ships were ſeen under ſail, having weighed Anchor before, which was a certain ſign that they knew of the Deſign: And when the Preſident of *Jacatra* receiv'd the firſt Advice, that a Ship was on fire in the Road, he reply'd without any concern, that he knew it was the *French* Ship. In the mean time the *French* Sea-men finding the Fire too far advanc'd to be extinguiſh'd, came off in the Long-boat, and abandon'd the Ship. Next Morning Captain *Grave* ſent ſix *Praws* to ſave ſomething in the Ship; but the *Dutch* kept them off; So that they ſav'd all the Pepper and Artillery, and put it in their own Magazines, and ſold the very Hulk of the Ship by beat of Drum.

The King of *Achen* arreſts Capt. *Grave's* Men, and takes all from 'em.

This done, Captain *Grave* hearing I was at *Achen*, ſet out for *Achen* in the *French* Commiſſary at *Bantam* his Pinnace, and the reſt of the Men came in another Bark; but as ſoon as he arriv'd there, the Bark and all that was in it, was ſtop'd by the King of *Achen*; and Captain *Grave* being taken very ill, and not meeting with me there, took the opportunity of returning to *Jacatra* by the *Engliſh* Ships above mentioned. Having heard this fatal Account of our Affairs, I ſent out a Boat for Captain *Grave*, and receiv'd him aboard.

November the 5th, We weigh'd Anchor, and making the Road of *Achen*, came to an Anchor among five more Ships that were in that Road, in order to be in a capacity to force the King of *Achen* to deliver up my Men, if ſo be he would not do it with Good Will. Immediately upon our arrival the King ſent an Eunuch aboard to welcome me, and pray me to come aſhoar. I made anſwer, that I could not truſt my ſelf aſhoar, ſince the King had impriſon'd my Men like Robbers, and ſiez'd upon the ſorry Remains of a burnt Ship, contrary to what might have been expected after the Services profer'd him by the King of *France* and me in particular. The Eunuch reply'd, that the King took 'em to be *Portugueze* that had ravag'd his Coaſts, and as ſoon as he was undeceiv'd, had ſet them at liberty and return'd 'em their Money; that it was true, he had hinder'd them to go on board the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Ships, for fear they ſhould come at any harm from theſe their mortal Enemies, deſigning to put them into the Hands of the firſt *French* Captain that ſhould have arriv'd in that place. To this I anſwer'd, That the *French* were eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the *Portugueze*; and that I underſtood, that tho' the King had return'd 'em ſome *Rials*, yet he had not return'd the value of 2500 Rials, that he took from 'em in *Muſk*, *Jewels*, *Bezoar*, *Coral*, and other things. The Eunuch told me the King would certainly pay that. But after all I gave him to know that I was firmly reſolved not to come aſhoar till all my Men were aboard, after which I would come and receive his Commands. Then they demanded the Duties of the King's *Cappe*, beſides 400 *Rials* of Anchorage for the King, and 200 for the Officers of the *Alfan degue*, a late Impoſition laid upon all Ships that ſhould come into the Road. But I told them I did not come to Traffick, and therefore would not pay a Farthing.

His Apology for arreſting them.

Some time after the *Cappe* return'd and brought all my Men aboard; upon which, purſuant to my Promiſe, I went aſhoar. When I waited upon the King, he complain'd heavily that I did not come to ſee him ſooner, and told me that the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* had ſpread falſe Reports, in order to exclude the *French* from the Trade of *Achen*; that the Men he had impriſon'd were repreſented to him as Robbers and Pirats, but as ſoon as he underſtood they belong'd to me, he immediately ſet them at liberty; that he was afraid the King of *France* might have taken it ill if he had put his Subjects into the Hands of the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*, who were his Mortal Enemies; and that he only waited for the arrival of a *French* Ship, in which he might ſend them home. But after all, when I thank'd him for ſending the Men on board, he told me he had only ſent them to viſit me, but not to ſtay with me; for that they being ſhipwrack'd and loſt Men, belong'd to him into whoſe Port they came. This, as I took it, he ſaid to prevent my asking for what he had taken from them, the value of which amounted very near to 2000 *Rials*. However I reſolv'd to play him a trick for it; and with that view, deſir'd Mr. *Limmony* (ſo the firſt Commiſſary of the St. *Malo's* Company at *Bantam* was call'd) who was now Proprietor of the Pinnace, to retire from *Achen* as ſoon as he could, to avoid the Danger he might incur thro' the Inſolence and Perfidiouſneſs of the King. But *Limmony* made anſwer, That he had ſome Goods to put off, which would require ſome time; and he being of another Company I could not force him.

The Men deliver'd but not their Goods.

Upon this anſwer, I reſolv'd to put in for a Licence for *Ticow*; and for that purpoſe, offer'd *Orankay Laxemane* a Diamond if he would procure it me. The *Orankay* told me it might be done, provided I made a Preſent of ſome fine Diamond to the King, who was then paſſionately fond of Diamonds. I ſhew'd him a rough Diamond, weighing 12 Grains, which I deſign'd for the King, and another cut, of five Grains for himſelf. Next Day he acquainted me that he had ſhown the Diamonds to the King; but the *Engliſh* having lately preſented him with very large ones, he did not value mine; but after all, that if I could find any extraordinary Rarity, I might certainly obtain my Requeſt. Upon this Advice, I bought of *Peribey*, the *Portugueze*, who was lately return'd from *Maſulipatan*, Two Diamonds; One weighing 18 Grains, cut Lozenge-ways, and very pretily ſet, which coſt me 550 *Rials*; and another of nine Grains cut Point-ways, which coſt me 120 *Rials*. I ſhew'd them to *Laxemane*, who adviſ'd me to preſent them my ſelf. Upon which I deſir'd *Quylin* the Gold-Smith, who was my Interpreter, and who uſed to ſpeak very boldly to the King, to acquaint him that I had ſome Jewels to ſhow his Majeſty, without telling him whether I meant to ſell them or give them away.

A Preſent made to the King, in conſideration of a Licence to trade at *Ticow*.

Accordingly, after ſome time the King ſent for me, and deſired a ſight of the Diamond that he heard I had. I ſhewed him the large one, which he look'd mightily upon; and when he ask'd the price of it, I told him it was at his ſervice, if he would allow me to buy 300 *Babars* of Pepper at *Ticow*. His Anſwer was, That if the *Dutch* ſhould offer him 30000 *Rials*, for that Liberty, he would not give it them; but to me he would give a Licenſe of ſtaying at *Ticow* 20 Days, provided I gave him another Diamond like that. I told him I had none ſuch, nor could not poſſibly find any. Then he deſir'd I would preſent him with a Cannon in the room of it: But I beg'd his Majeſties Pardon. Upon which he ſaid, all other Nations had preſented him with Cannons, and I ought not to refuſe him. I pray'd him to excuſe me, in regard I had ſo many Enemies, and that there were ſome Ships near *Ticow*. He reply'd, I needed not fear the *Dutch* at *Ticow*, ſince they had a Factory at *Achen*, which was more valuable than my Ship. After all, finding he was ſo bent upon the Gun, I agreed to let him have it; upon which he call'd for the *Orankay Laxemane*, and order'd him to give me a Commiſſion to trade at *Ticow*. After that he queſtion'd me very particularly concerning Mr *Limmony's* Circumſtances; the force of his Ship, the value of his Cargo; and at laſt adviſ'd me to carry him and his Pinnace along with me, and not leave him expos'd to the indiſcretion of the *Portugueze*, *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, and even the *Moors* themſelves, who would be eaſily tempted to fall upon ſuch a ſmall Veſſel (repreſenting, that his Affection to the King of *France* mov'd him to give that Advice, and that, tho' Mr. *Limmony* was not under my Command, yet out of reſpect to my Countrymen and Acquaintances, I ought to reſcue them from the Danger they were in.

Tax.

December the 5th, Having ask'd *Laxemane* often for my Commiſſion, and finding he only ſhuffl'd and put me off, I complain'd of him to the King, who bid me give him

His Intrigue for getting another Diamond

him a Diamond, as if that had been agreed to at first.

To make short of the Story, I smell'd that the *Orancay Laxemane* could do nothing of the matter, for that the King dispatch'd all his Commissions himself; and that the design of turning me over to him, was, to worm out of me another Diamond for the King's own use. On this discovery, I gave him another Diamond that weigh'd about six Grains; and at last after many Stops and Delays, receiv'd out of the King's own Hand a Letter, empowering me to traffick in *Ticow* for 20 Days, and ordering the King and Governour of that place to assist me in carrying on the Trade of Pepper, for which, I was to pay the usual Duties. At the same time the King order'd me to pay the Duties of some Goods that I had bought up in order to sell at *Ticow*; which I thought to have been exeus'd from, in regard I mean'd to put 'em off within the Territories of the King of *Achen*. However I was forc'd to pay it. I had frequently order'd my Interpreter to desire Restitution of the King for what he had taken from my Men; but the Interpreter would not venture to mention it, because he found it was disagreeable to the King. After all, I pres'd *Orancay Laxemane* to represent my Request to the King, which at last he did, and then gave me to know, that it was in vain to expect it, that the King had a Title to all the Goods of those who were Shipwrack'd upon his Coast; and that the King had been very favourable in delivering the Men themselves.

1622. We take in Pepper at *Ticow*.

December the 16th, We weighed Anchor, and arriv'd in the Road of *Ticow* the last Day of this Year.

January the 1st, 1622. I shew'd the Inhabitants of the Island the King of *Achen*'s Letter, who receiv'd it with pleasure. In this place I bought about 400 *Bahars* of Pepper, which cost me about 25 *Rials* the *Bahar*, including the Charges of my Commission, and the Presents I made at *Achen*.

We steer Homeward.

February the 1st, We weigh'd Anchor from the Road of *Ticow*, in order to return home; having on board 75 Men all in good health, and Provisions for nine Months.

A Description of the Island of Sumatra.

THe Island of *Sumatra* is larger than *Great Britain*. It contains 11 Deg. in length, running S. E. and N. W. *i. e.* from the Point of *Achen*, which lies in 5 ½ Deg. N. Lat. to the Streight of *Sunda*, the Latitude of which is 5 ½ Deg. S. So that its length may be computed to be 300 *French* Leagues. Its South End is broader than the North; but one with another, its breadth will make 70 Leagues. The Coast for the most part lies low, tho' there are very high Mountains within the Country. Its Valleys afford excellent Pasturage, and are fertile in Rice, and all other Fruits. 'Tis water'd with many noble Rivers, some of which are very great, for instance, *Cinquel*, *Baaros*, *Dayn*, *Achen*, *Pedir*, *Jambi*, *Andripoura*; Besides several small Rivers and an infinity of Brooks. By which means 'tis render'd very moist, and in some places marshy. Besides 'tis subject to frequent Rains, for the Equinoctial cuts it directly in the middle. It bears very large Trees, which retain their verdure all the Year round.

Sumatra unhealthy.

The Air is unhealthy for Strangers, especially near the Equinoctial Line, as in *Ticow*, *Passaman*, &c. nay, the very Inhabitants of *Achen* don't care to live in those places during the wet Season, which lasts from *June* to *October*; and in which the Westerly Winds, mix'd with Whirlwinds, Rains, Tempests, and sudden Calms, blow upon that Coast. In these Calms the Air being unmov'd, and the Ground soak'd with constant Rain, the Sun with its perpendicular Rays, attracts very stinking Vapours, which occasion'd pestilential Fevers, that carry Strangers off in two or three Days, or at least terminate in obstinate Swellings and Dropsies.

Achen the most temperate place.

The City of *Achen* situated on the North Point, is more temperate. It stands upon a great River, about half a League from the Sea, in the midst of a great Valley, that is six Leagues broad. The Soil is very proper for all sorts of Grain and Fruit; but the Inhabitants sow nothing upon it but Rice, which is their principal Food, together with *Coco's* with which the whole Island abounds. This place is well stor'd with Fruit Trees, which bear in their proper Seasons; so that there is not a Month in the Year without some ripe Fruit. Here they sow no Pulse or Pot-Herbs; but they have excellent Pasturage, and a great many Buffles, which they imploy in manuring the Ground, and in drawing or carrying. They have plenty of Young Kids, and Horses of a small breed; but their Sheep are good for nothing. The Peasants breed up great numbers of Hens and Ducks, in order to sell their Eggs. Hunting and Game they are much accustom'd to, for they have an infinite number of Wild-Boars, tho' not so large and furious as they are in *France*; and their Stags and Does go beyond ours. They have but few Hairs or Roebucks; but in the Woods, and at the Foot of the Mountains, there are great numbers of Wild-Elephants. Upon the uninhabited Mountains and Hills, there are a great many Tigers, some Rinoceros, Porcupines, Wild-Buffles, Civet-Cats, Wild-Cats, Monkeys, Adders, large Lizards, and in some Rivers poisonous Crocodiles.

The Coast of *Sumatra*.

The better half of this Island is possess'd by the King of *Achen*. If you go along the Coast to the Eastward of *Achen*, about 12 Leagues from it you meet with *Pedir*, a large and populous City, and after that *Pacem* and *Dely*. About 12 Leagues to the West-ward of *Achen*, lies *Daya*, a considerable City; and then the King of *Achen*'s late Conquests, viz. *Labo*, *Cinquel*, *Barros*, *Batabam*, *Passaman*, *Ticow*, *Priaman*, and *Padang*. The other half of the Island is possess'd by five or six Kings, who, tho' they are Lords of very good Countrys, yet if you put them all together, they are not so considerable as the King of *Achen*.

Upon the East side, near the Equinoctial, lies the little Kingdom of *Andrigri*, and beyond that *Jamby*, the richest of them all; and a little farther *Palimbac*. To the West-ward of *Padang*, lies the Kingdom of *Manimcabo*, and beyond that *Andripoura*. The rest of the Coast extending to the Streights of *Sunda*, is woody and uninhabited. That part of the Coast that faces these Streights is subject to the King of *Bantam*. Thus you have an Account of the whole Coast of *Sumatra*, the Inhabitants of which are *Malayans*; so that they all understand the *Malays* Language.

Its Inland parts.

The Inland parts of this Island are inhabited by Natives that speak a different Language from the *Malays*; and are under the Government of several Petty Kings, of which the Richest and most Powerful is one that resides between *Ticow* and *Manimcabo*, as being possess'd of all the places where the Gold of this Island lies. 'Tis certain there is a great deal of Gold to be found in this Island; but the Inhabitants are altogether ignorant of the working of Mines, and what they gather is only in Torrents, and little Ditches, that they dig in the places where the Floods discharge themselves. This Gold the Natives truck with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo*, for Rice, Arms, and Cotton-Cloth; and with those of *Priaman*, for Pepper, Salt, *Surat*-Cloth, and *Masulipatan* Steel. *Ticow* and the other Kingdoms they have but little Commerce with. As for Strangers, they have no dealings with them; but murder and eat 'em wherever they catch 'em, as well as their Enemies. For when they war with one another, they never ransome Prisoners; but eat their Flesh raw with Pepper and Salt. Tho' they have no Religion, yet they have some Polity relating to Marriage, Justice, and their Duty to their King, which they observe with an Inviolable Respect.

The Islands upon the Coast of *Sumatra*.

Upon the West Coast of *Sumatra*, there are a great many Isles; some of 'em large, about 18 or 20 Leagues off, and others but small, about three or four Leagues from the Continent; which do not belong to any of the above-mention'd Kings. Those which are inhabited, are possess'd by the Original Natives, whom the *Malays* never expell'd, because these Islands were not to their purpose.

Engano.

Upon the South side of *Sumatra*, in the Latitude of 5 Deg. lies the Island of *Engano*, Inhabited by Barbarous Savages, that spare no body, but massacre all that come upon their Shoar, whether White or Black. They go naked with long Hair, and have *Canoos*, in which they fish. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows.

Nassaw.

Upon the same Coast, in the Lat. of 3 ½ Deg. lies a long Island, call'd by the *Dutch Nassaw*, which may contain about 14 or 15 Leagues in length; but is not inhabited.

About four or five Leagues from this, near the Equinoctial, we meet with another uninhabited Island, about 7 or 8 Leagues long.

Montabey.

Then we came to a great Island in the Latitude of 1 ½ Deg. call'd *Montabey*, above 20 Leagues long, the Inhabitants of which are cloath'd, and traffick with those of *Ticow*, tho' they speak a peculiar Language.

Under the Equinoctial there are 20 or 25 Islands, some great, some small, some inhabited, some not.

Pulo-Nyas.

Having cross'd the Line, we meet with the Isle of *Pulo-Nyas*, in 2 Deg. N. Lat. which is 15 or 16 Leagues long; and peopled with a good sort of People that hurt

no body, unless they be injur'd, and traffick with the People of *Barros* and Strangers, to whom they sell their Children and Slaves.

In 3 ½ Deg. N. Lat. there are several other inhabited Islands. Several of these Isles are cover'd all over with palm-Trees, that bear the Coco's, which the Inhabitants of the Maritim Towns carry off in their Ships and make Oil of. Others are cover'd all over with very high Trees that differ much from those of *Europe*.

The particular Kingdoms in *Sumatra*.

To return to the Great Island of *Sumatra*, and take a Circumstantial View of what it produces.

Andrigri.

The Kingdom of *Andrigri* affords a considerable quantity of Pepper; but is very small. Gold is cheaper there than in any other Country possess'd by the *Malays*.

Jamby.

The Kingdom of *Jamby* produces a great deal of Pepper, which is much better than that of *Andrigri*. The *English* and *Dutch* have a Factory in it, as well as the *Portugueze* of *Malacca*. The City, which is very unhealthy, lies 50 or 60 Leagues up a River, which one must row up with a Boat. The Inhabitants drive a great Gold Trade, not only with those of *Manimcabo*, but with the Natives of the Country.

Polimban.

The Kingdom of *Polimban* abounds in Rice and Cattle; and affords but little Pepper. 'Tis a pleasant Country towards the Shoar; and is possess'd by the King of *Bantam*.

Andripoura.

Andripoura is seated on a rapid River, in 3 ½ Deg. S. Lat. and furnishes every Year two Ships loading of such Pepper as we have in *Jamby*. The Inhabitants trade likewise in Gold with those of *Manimcabo*.

Manimcabo.

Next is the Kingdom of *Manimcabo*, which shoots into the Country, but has some Harbours upon the Sea-side, particularly *Cottatinga*, where the *English* and *Dutch* come often. They have little Pepper, but a great deal of Gold, which is not above 30 or 35 *per Cent.* cheaper there than in *France*, because they deal with so many Nations in that Commodity. They sell it by the *Tael*, of which 1 ½ makes sharp two Ounces. It is in dust and small pieces, for they make but few Bars of it.

The Dominions of the King of *Achen*.

As for the Dominions of the King of *Achen*, the Territory of his principal City, is not sufficiently cultivated for maintaining the Inhabitants; so that a great part of their Rice comes from abroad. In former times it produc'd a great deal of Pepper; but one of their Kings observing they minded nothing else, and neglected the manuring of the Ground, cut down all the Pepper Plants, so that at present it does not produce every Year, above 500 *Bahars* of Pepper, and that of the smallest sort. Six Leagues from *Achen*, towards *Pedir*, there is a high Mountain that furnishes great quantities of Sulphur, as well as the Isle of *Pooloway* in the Road of *Achen*, which supplies in a manner all the *Indies* with Sulphur to make Powder of.

Pedir.

The Territory of *Pedir* being very fertile in Rice, is call'd the Granary of *Achen*. This place affords pretty large quantities of a yellow and hard sort of Silk; part of which is by the Natives made into Stuffs, that are esteem'd all over *Sumatra*, and the rest they sell to the Inhabitants of the Coast of *Coromandel*.

Dely.

At *Dely*, there is a Fountain of Oil, which is said to be unextinguishable when once it is set on fire, and with which the King of *Achen* burnt two *Portugueze Galleons* near *Malacca*, about 8 or 10 Years ago.

Daya abounds in Rice and Cattle.

Maya.

Cinquel.

Cinquel affords every Year large quantities of Camphyre, which the Inhabitants of *Surat* on the Coast of *Coromandel* buy up very eagerly for 15 or 16 *Rials* the *Catti*, or 28 Ounces.

Barros.

Barros is a pleasant place, seated upon a large River, in an open and well cultivated *Champaign* Country, about a League from the Shoar. Its *Benjamin*, especially the White sort, is mightily esteem'd in these Islands; and it serves the Inhabitants for a Barter in all their Bargains, for they have no other Money. This place affords likewise plenty of Camphyre. The Camphyre of *Batabam* is reckoned the best, but there's very little of it.

Passaman.

Passaman stands at the Foot of a very high Mountain, that may be seen in a clear Day 30 Leagues off. It has excellent large Pepper, being the first place of this Coast where we meet with Pepper-Plants.

Ticow.

Seven Leagues from this place stands *Ticow*, which is yet more fertile in Pepper.

Priaman.

Priaman has not so much Pepper, but it is a better Air, and very well Peopled, and plentifully furnish'd with all sorts of Provisions; and drives a great Gold Trade with the Inhabitants of *Manimcabo*. The *Dutch* had a Factory there for a long time; but the last Year the King of *Achen* expell'd them

Padang.

Padang has little Pepper, but deals pretty much in Gold, and has the Conveniency of a fine River, where great Ships may come up and ride safe. All these places are well Peopl'd and Cultivated, and some of the Inhabitants are rich, and live happily by virtue of their Remoteness from the Tyrannical Court of *Achen*.

A Character of the People of *Achen*.

The Inhabitants of *Achen* are a worse sort of People than those of *Ticow* and *Priaman*, and the other places along the Coast. They are Proud, Envious, Men of no Faith or Conscience, especially in their Dealings with Christians, Treacherous, and given to Robbing and Poisoning. They despise their Neighbours, and take all other Nations but themselves to be brutal. They are very prodigal in their Cloths, and would be the same in their Houses, Slaves, and other things, if the King did not cramp 'em. They speak well in their own Language, and some of 'em set up for Orators. They are very fond of Simile's, and happy enough in applying them; but the Frequency with which they use them, would be nauseous and impertinent in any other Country. They compose some Poems and Songs, and apply themselves to Writing, and the *Arabian* Arithmetick, which differs but little from ours. Some of 'em are very good Mechanicks, especially for the building of Gallies; and they make all sorts of Iron Work as well as any where else, tho' they do not work with that same Facility and Dexterity as the *Europeans*. They work very well in Copper and Wood, and some of 'em are skill'd in casting of Artillery.

The King entertains 300 Goldsmiths in his Castle; besides a great many other Artisans.

Since this King came to the Throne, the Subjects of *Achen* have got the Name of the best Souldiers in *India*; for they endure Fatigue wonderfully, and are excellent *Pioneers*, as appear'd in the Siege of *Queda* and *Dely*, the last being a place of great strength; fortify'd by the Assistance and Contrivance of the *Portugueze*; and defended by a Person of great Valour and Reputation, which, nevertheless the King of *Achen* took in six Weeks time, by cutting Trenches and gradually advancing them.

They live very soberly, and for the most part upon Rice, to which the Richer sort may add a small matter of Fish and a few Herbs: And he must be a great Lord indeed, that, in a Day's time, eats a Hen boil'd or broil'd upon the Coals. 'Tis a common saying among them, That if there were 2000 Christians in that Country, all their Beef and Fowl would quickly be consumed.

They pretend to be very strict *Mahometans*, but are great Hypocrites and Dissemblers, especially in their Respect to the King, whom they would see hang'd if they could.

If they suspect, tho' without reason, that any one does not love them, to prevent his being in a Capacity to misrepresent them to the King, they'll form an Accusation against him before the King; and it is the frequency of these Accusations, that makes the King so cruel, forasmuch as it perswades him, that there are more Conspiracies against him than there are.

In fine, they are such a wicked sort of People, that it is a common thing among them, for one Brother to accuse another, or the Son the Father; and if you charge them with Inhumanity and want of Conscience upon that score, they'll tell you, that God is not far from them, but the King of *Achen* is near at hand.

Their Marriages.

Pursuant to the Law of *Mahomet*, they marry as many Women as they are able to maintain, one of which is entitul'd to a Preference before the rest, her Children being reckon'd the lawful Heirs. They suffer their Slaves and Concubines to go abroad, but not their Wives. If a Man marries a young Woman, he commonly pays some Money for her to her Relations, and allots her a Joynture upon his own Estate. If a Woman has any thing of her own, she lodges it in the Hands of her Husband, and takes of him a Note, entituling her to the Recovery of it in case of Separation or bad Husbandry: And if the Husband dies first, this Note, together with the Joynture, stipulated in the Contract of Marriage, must be first satisfy'd out of the Goods of the Deceas'd, to the prejudice of all Creditors. If the Woman dies first, the Husband is entitul'd to all that she brought him. Man and Wife may separate when they will, provided they both agree to it, for the Consent of one party is not sufficient.

Their Course of Justice.

In *Achen* Usury is prohibited, and the Interest of Money is limited to 12 *per Cent. per Annum*, without Pledges; whereas in *Bantam* they'll give 5 *per Cent.* a Month, and a Pawn besides. If the Debtor refuses to pay, he is cited before a Court of Justice, where, if the Debt be made to appear, he is condemn'd to pay it in a little time; and if he do's not pay it in the appointed time, he is cited a second time, and must either pay it in Court,

Court, or else have his Hands ty'd behind his Back with a Withe, in which posture he continues (for no Body dare to untie him), and is oblig'd to appear before the Court every Day that it sits, till he satisfies the Debt: At last, if the Judge perceives that he appears every Day, and is not capable to satisfie the Debt, he delivers him up to the Creditor to serve him as a Slave, empowering the Creditor to carry him home, or sell him, or to do by him as he pleases, so he does not put him to Death. This Court sits every Morning, excepting *Friday*, under a great *Bali*, near the great Moskey; and one of the greatest and richest Orankays presides in it.

Under another Bali, by the Castle-Gate, sits the Criminal Court, in which several of the principal Orankays preside by turns. Under the Cognisance of this Court are all Quarrels, Murders, Robberies, &c. committed in the City. Any Criminal may be stopp'd, or taken up by a Girl or Child of four or five Years of Age, for whenever Hands are laid upon him, he dares not but stand unmov'd like a Statue, and suffer his Hands to be ty'd, in order to be dragg'd before the Court, where Justice is immediately put in execution. I have seen great lubberly Scoundrels dragg'd in that fashion by little Children, and condemn'd to receive some Lashes of a Withe upon the Shoulders, for stealing the Value of a Farthing. After the Execution is over, neither Criminal nor Informer dare complain; nay, sometimes they return together equally unconcern'd.

I saw a Man ty'd there for having peep'd through a Hedge, to see his Neighbour's Wife washing her self, and condemn'd to receive thirty Lashes upon his Shoulders, but after the Sentence was pronounc'd, the Criminal capitulated publickly with the Executioner, and after some words gave him 20 Maes in the open Court, in Consideration of being only whipp'd above his Cloths. 'Tis a common Custom in that place, to bargain with the Executioner for mitigating the Punishment: For there's never a Day but the King orders a Nose, Eye, Ear, Hand, Foot, or Testicle to be cut off from some Body or other; and upon those occasions the Executioner gets Money for doing his Business handsomely, and with little pain; for if the Criminal does not come up to his Price, and pay him in ready Money, upon the spot, he'll cut the Nose, for instance, so deep that the Brain may be seen through the Wound, or mangle a Foot or a Leg in two or three pieces, &c. In all these cruel Mutilations, and even Gelding it self, scarce any one dies, tho' some of the Persons thus maim'd are above 50 or 60 Years of Age; and the only Remedy they use, is to put the wounded part immediately into Water, and after it has bled a little wash it, and bind it up with Linnen Clouts. After a Criminal has thus suffer'd Justice, whether by the King's Command, or by the Judge's Sentence, all the Ignominy of his Crime is wip'd off, and if any one upbraids him with it, he may kill him with Impunity. There is another Court, in which the Cady or Bishop presides; that takes Cognisance of all Infringements upon their Religion.

In the Alfandegue likewise there's a Bali for determining Differences among Merchants, whether Natives or Foreigners, the President of which is the Orankay *Laxemane*, who in a manner governs the whole City. In this Alfandegue they keep an exact Account of all the Customs, Gifts, Fines, and Commodities belonging to the King; with a particular List of the Persons Names that buy of the King, and pay the Duty, or make him Presents. To the end they may be capable to give his Majesty a satisfactory Account how every thing is dispos'd of; for if their Accounts be perplex'd, they can expect nothing but death. Besides these, there are four Officers call'd *Pangoulow Cavalo*, who take Cognisance of all things done in the Night-time, such as running of Goods without paying the Duty, Robberies, &c. Each of these has a quarter of the City under his Jurisdiction. Farther, each of the Orankays has a Province or Country District under his Jurisdiction, where they give Orders, and administer Justice to the Inhabitants. Some of the principal Orankays residing near the City, are oblig'd to give Orders for a Watch of 200 Horse, that Patrols every Night in the Country, and along the Shore.

The King's House. His Women.

As for the Castle, or King's Palace, the inner part is fill'd with 3000 Women, which he keeps partly for a Guard, and partly for other Uses. These Women come seldom out of the Castle; they have a Market-place of their own, and traffick with one another in such Commodities as they make. They are rang'd under several Captains, and have their Civil Judges, and Night Officers as well as the City.

His Wives.

None are allow'd to enter into their Apartments, but the King's Eunuchs, who are said to be in number 500. Besides these, the King has a great many Wives and Concubines; and of these his Wives, twenty are the lawful Daughters of the Kings whom he has pillag'd. The last Wife that he had by such means was the Queen of *Pera*, who is said to be very handsome; and from whom he contracted a Disease that is likely to carry him off, unless the Vigour of his Age, which is now in its prime, be able to overcome it.

Of all these Wives he has but one Son of 18 Years of Age, who is yet more cruel than himself. This Prince has only the Quality of a simple Orankay, and is always confin'd to the Castle, except when he goes to the Moskey, and then he has a pompous Retinue. Some time ago, his Father gave him the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Pedir*; but his Government was so cruel and licentious, that the King call'd him home, and put him to strange Torments, from which time he hath still kept him with himself.

In the great Court, where the King's Apartments are, the Eunuchs keep Guard; besides which, there is a Guard of 250 Slaves at one Gate, and another of the like number at the outer Gate of all.

These Slaves are mostly Foreigners, taken in young, and bred up in the Exercise of Arms and Shooting; they are confin'd within the Castle, and allow'd to converse with no Body: So that the King makes use of them to overawe his own Subjects, and scare them from treasonable Designs. All the Punishments inflicted in the Castle, are put in Execution by these Slaves.

To put the Orankays in the Custody of these Slaves, he ranges them in three Companies, one of which is oblig'd to keep Guard in the Castle Day and Night, without Arms, in a Court surrounded by Slaves; so that every third Night each Nobleman comes upon the Guard; and if any suspicious Plot should be discover'd, the King has always the third part of his Nobility in his hands. If any of the Orankays fail to observe the third Night, he undergoes the loss of his Life, together with the Confiscation of his Goods, Wives, Children, and Slaves. The Orankays dare not converse familiarly, or have frequent Interviews one with another, for the King suspects all Familiarity among them: So that they never converse together, unless it be upon an accidental Rencounter, that they salute one another with a great deal of Complaisance. When ever they, or any Body else, enters the Castle, they are oblig'd to take off their Sword, and put it into the Hands of the Guard at the Second Gate.

The Fortifications of the Castle.

The City of *Achen* is more like a Village than a City, being an open place without Walls, and the Castle is no more fortify'd than an ordinary Gentleman's House; it has about half a League in Circumference, of an Oval Figure, surrounded with a Ditch of 25 or 30 Foot depth and breadth, the Banks of which are almost inaccessible, by reason of their steepness and plenty of Thickets. Before the Castle the Earth is cast up in Banks, which serve for a Wall. On the top of this Bank there grows a great many large Reeds as tall as Ash-trees, and planted so thick that one cannot see through them. 'Tis present Death for any one to touch the least Branch of these Reeds; for the King of *Achen*'s Ambassador to *Holland*, upon his return home, having forgot that Order, and unluckily pulling off a small Twig, was immediately put to Death. These Reeds enjoy a perpetual Verdure, and can't be set on fire.

I could observe no Flanks or Bastions round the Castle; but upon that side which faces the Moskey, I saw the beginnings of several Ramparts, but nothing yet finish'd. Before the Gates there are neither Ditches nor Draw-Bridges; but on each side of every Gate there is a Stone-Wall, about 10 or 12 Foot high, supporting a Terrass, on which a couple of fine Brass Guns are planted. The Gates are as high as the Wall, and are made of a strong sort of Wood, being shut on the inside with two great Cross-bars fix'd in the Wall, besides other Bolts.

Through the middle of the Castle there passes a small River, that descends from the Mountains, the Water of which is extream cool and agreeable. Upon the Banks of this River, there are Steps for People to go down and wash themselves.

Before we come at the King's Apartments, we pass four Gates: From one of these Gates there runs a Brick-Wall, back'd with a Terrass, with several Brass Guns upon it, within which, as I take it, is the King's Arsenal: This Rampart incloses part of a very large Court upon the Front of the Houses, in which I have seen 300 Elephants at a time.

The other part of this Court is enclos'd by four great Pavilions, and a sort of a Stone Rampart, which commands the Terrass, being fortify'd with a Parapet. As for the inner part of the Castle, I can give no account of it, being deny'd access.

To conclude, the Fortifications of this place are inconsiderable; but its Avenues are very difficult; for the Country about it is full of Rivers, Marshes, Trees, and

very close Thickets. Where the River enters the Castle, there is a Stone Fort, consisting of a large round Bastion, and two Courtines, with several Guns mounted upon 'em. Upon the Land-side these Courtines are joyn'd by a Rampart made of Turf, in which there is a Gate, but without either Ditch or Draw-Bridge, as well as the whole Fort. The Walls both of the Bastion and Courtines are 18 Foot broad, and 20 Foot high.

Before this Fort the King has a sort of a Pleasure-house, by which there are several Fish-ponds and pleasant Walks; the whole being enclos'd with a Trench made of Turf, the Breast of which is 10 or 12 Foot high, and moted about, where 2 or 3000 Men may lie. Before this Trench is a small Fort cover'd with Thickets, and Ditch'd about, upon which there are several Pieces of Cannon. The Country round all these Forts is so full of Marshes, Ditches, and the Trees that they call Nippiers, that it is almost unpracticable.

Forts upon the Shore.

Passing Eastward from the Castle along the Shore, we meet with several little Forts of Turf, surrounded with Thickets, and plac'd at a Musket-shot distance from one another, on each of which there are two or three Pieces of Cannon, but so cover'd with the Bushes that they are not visible. In these Forts there is no Guard by Day; but in the Night-time the Horse-Watch above-mention'd patrols round 'em.

The Western Shore is more accessible, and destitute of Forts. About a Pistol-shot from this Shore, there is a wet Trench above forty Foot broad, and very deep, that rises out of the great River, and runs along the Shore to the side of the Mountains. Having pass'd that, we meet with a plain open Country, free of Ditches and Trenches. 'Tis computed that *Achen*, and the adjacent places in that Valley, are able to raise 40000 Men: But they have no Fire-Arms or Powder, for the King keeps these up in the Castle, as well as his Artillery: That Prince has above 2000 Brass Guns, in his Gallies, Forts, and two Houses, where they are heap'd one above another. He is likewise well furnish'd with Fire-Locks, but they are short and ill mounted.

The King's Elephants.

But his greatest strength he places in 900 Elephants, which are bred to tread Fire under their Feet, and to be unmov'd at the Shot of Cannons or Guns; and likewise to salute the King when they pass by his Apartments, by bending the Knee, and raising their Trunk three times. The King gives a Name to each Elephant, and confers much Honour upon such of 'em as are most stout and docile; for he orders Umbrello's to be carry'd before 'em as they pass the Streets, for some six, for others four, and for others two, in proportion to their merit. Now there is not a Man in *Achen*, besides the King, that is allow'd the Priviledge of an Umbrello. He matches the Male Elephants with their Females; and to some that are dearest to him, he allows several Concubines. The Elephants that the King commonly makes use of, have a great deal of Honour paid 'em; for as they pass along, every Body stops and makes way for them; for which purpose a Boy goes before 'em with a Copper Instrument in his Hand, with which he makes a Noise to give the People Notice. When the Oil drops from their Ears, they are furious, and it is not safe to come near 'em; and at that time the Boy runs above 200 Paces before 'em, to give the People earlier Notice: For they'll steal upon a Man strangely, and notwithstanding their huge bulk, make no more Noise when they walk than a Rat; tho' at the same time upon that marshy hollow Ground, the Trot of a Horse makes the Earth to tremble in a manner.

Sometimes the King is out of Humour with his Elephants, as well as with his Subjects, and shews his Displeasure by robbing them of their Wives, Concubines, and other Honours, and inflicting Corporal Punishments in presence of the rest: For exemplary Correction has the same Influence upon them as upon Men, as appears by the following Instance:

The King having order'd the Embarkation of 100 Elephants for the Siege of *Dely*, when the Elephants were brought down to the Shore, not one of them would enter the Ship: The King being acquainted with the matter (which some took to be a bad Omen) came in Person to the Shore, and having check'd and chid 'em with a great deal of Passion, and upbraided them with the Breeding and Honour he had bestow'd upon 'em, caus'd one of the principal Elephants to be cut in two before their Eyes, threatning the rest with the same usage, if they did not embark immediately. This done, they embark'd very peaceably, and were extream tractable during the whole Voyage.

There never was a Prince in *Achen*, that had such a dexterity of managing these Animals. He would stand upright upon their Backs, while they run a full speed: For my part, I had rather run ten Stages on Foot, than ride four Leagues upon an Elephant; for it is a very uneasie posture to those who are unaccustom'd to it, especially if one sits behind, for the forepart of the Shoulders is the softest.

His Horses.

When the King was well, he us'd to hunt every other Day. In his Stables he has about 200 Horse, 50 of which might be worth 500 Crowns a piece in *France*. All of 'em have rich and magnificent Trappings.

The *Achen* Gallies.

The King of *Achen* is stronger by Sea than any of his Neighbours; for he has about 100 great Gallies, of which a third part are much larger than any we build in Christendom. I saw the Keel of an ordinary one, that was 120 Foot long, all in one piece. They build their Gallies very prettily in that Country; but they are too heavy, for they are broader and higher than they should be. Besides, the Rigging is too small and weak for their bulk; their Oars have neither length nor weight sufficient, being only Poles, with a piece of Board at one end. They put but two Men to an Oar, who stand upright when they row. Their Sails are not made like Mizain Sails, but square like those of a Ship. The Sides or Planks of these Gallies are six Inches thick: So that considering their dulness, one of our *European* Gallies might beat ten of 'em. They have commonly three good Pieces of Cannon, of which that planted in the Boursey is not less than a Battery Gun, for some of 'em will carry a Bullet of forty Pound. Besides these, they have several Fauconites, which they plant before and abaft. The largest Gallies have commonly six or eight hundred Men: Their Crew consists not of Slaves, but of poor People that row very well.

This King's Wars are not very chargeable to him, for all his Subjects are oblig'd to march at his Command upon their own Charges, and carry Provisions with them for three Months. The King gives them Arms, of which a Register is kept, they being oblig'd to restore them at their return. Their Wives and Children, and their Parents, if they have any, are answerable for their Behaviour; for if they shrink or give way before the Enemy, not only themselves, but these their innocent Relations suffer for it: By this means the King has brought them to be good Soldiers, and the Terror of their Neighbours. If they continue above three Months in the Field, the King is at the Charge of Rice to maintain 'em.

His Gallies cost him as little as his Land-Armies; for he divides 'em among his principal Orankays, obliging them to fit them out, take care of 'em when they return, and repair 'em at their own Charges; and orders a certain number of People to be ready upon the Command of such and such an Orankay, to assist at these Services. The Orankays are very careful of the Galleys; for if these fail, they either lose their Lives, or must build new ones in their room: For that reason, when the Gallies come into the River to be laid up, they cleanse the Dock very carefully, and then lay great pieces of Wood a-cross it, which are ten Foot distant from one another, and lie upon an exact Level, least the Gally should bow when it lies upon 'em.

When the Tide comes in, the Elephants draw the Gally up upon these Sommers, which lie above ten Foot from the Ground, that they may get underneath to view and caulk the Ship's bottom. This done, they run a Dyke of Turf, Stone, and Planks, between the Dock and the River, and then fill the Dock with Water to the upper Surface of the Sommers. This they do that the Gally may be refresh'd by the Water, but so as not to dip into it, least Sea-worms should breed in it. Having laid up the Sails and Rigging, they cover the Masts very carefully with Palm-Tree Leaves, so that neither Rain nor Sun can hurt them. Besides they have a great Roof, that they bring entirely over the Gally. After that they put Water into it to the depth of four or five Foot, to keep the Planks fresh, and prevent their being split by the heat. All this is done in five or six Days; and one cannot imagine how well they preserve the Gally, and how readily they launch it again. For the Dock being full of Water, there is no occasion for caulking, the Rigging is at hand, and the Roof is taken off in a Minute; the Water within the Gally being thrown out into the Dock, augments the Water there, which sets the Sommers afloat, so that they are easily remov'd: Upon which the Water rushing into the River carries the Gally along with it.

A Custom peculiar to the King of *Achen*.

Every Morning and Evening, upon the opening and shutting of the Castle Gates, the King causes a Gun to be fir'd; and if any of the neighbouring Kings offer'd to do the like, he would declare War against them, alledging, That he being the Inventer of that Custom, he had a Right to engross it to himself, for a Badge of his Grandeur. He prohibits the shooting of Muskets, or Fire-Locks, in the City,

City, on any other Days but *Munday* and *Thursday*.

The Riches of the King of *Achen*.

From what has been said, 'tis manifest that this King cannot be but very rich. For in War he is only at the Charge of the Arms, Powder, Lead, and Rice, which is very inconsiderable: And in Peace he spends yet less, for as to the maintenance of his Family, he has more Rice, Flesh, Fish, Fowl, Oils, Sugar, and Herbs, paid him by his Subjects, than is consum'd in the Castle; and the Surplusage is sold in the Market to the King's advantage. Besides, he allows his Servants nothing but Rice; if they eat any thing else, they must purchase it by their Labour and Industry.

He amasses together great Quantities of Rice every Year; for having large Hereditary Countries, he parcels them out among his Subjects to be manur'd, obliging them to furnish him with a certain Quantity of Rice every Year, whether the Crop be good or bad; and he calculates the Product of his Land so nicely, that the Farmers can't be idle, if they maintain themselves, and pay the King, who never bates them a Grain. This Rice he puts into a Magazine, and keeps it up till the latter end of Autumn, at which time it fetches a double Price, and dreins all the poor People of their Money. If it be a plentiful Year in *Achen*, he sends it to some neighbouring Country, where Rice is scarce.

He has vast Herds of Cattle, kept by his Slaves.

His Elephants cost him nothing, for he gives them no Rice, but only the Trunks of *Banana*-Trees, which being cut, a Sprout comes up next Year that bears Fruit.

As for his Cocks, they cost him nothing, for the Orankays take more care of them, than of their own Children.

The Presents made him by his Officers.

He is at no charge for his own, nor his Womens Cloaths; for on a certain Day of the Year, all that have any Offices or Places in *Achen*, are oblig'd to make him a Present of one or more Garments, according to the Incomes of their Places, or else of Stuffs for Cloathing the Women: And every one strives to outdo another in the Magnificence of his Present, in order either to procure a better place, or to secure what he has. If he does not like the Garments or Stuffs, he turns them back, and the Officer that gave 'em is sure to be turn'd out of his Post, unless he quickly accommodates the matter with a large Sum of Money; or if he be a Man of Riches, he'll be charg'd with some Male-administration in his Office, and perhaps put to Death.

His Houses.

He causes a great many large Houses to be built of rough Stone, which cost him but little, tho' they would be very chargeable to another, because he has such large Numbers of Slaves. Tho' these Houses are reckon'd inimitable in that Country, yet they are infinitely short of what we have in *Europe*.

His Slaves.

His Slaves indeed have a better Life, than any Slaves I know; for he does not chain 'em, unless they seem to endeavour an escape, or to rebel against their Masters; and of eight Days he allows 'em four to work at what Work they will, for their own Livelyhood. And thus the King pays nothing for their Maintenance. He employs them mostly in cutting of Wood, making of Mortar, hewing of Quarries, and Building. There are three or four Overseers of their Work, who are maintain'd by the Slaves; for those who understand any Trade may live pretty handsomely, and be excus'd from working to the King for Five-pence a Day, which is receiv'd by Commissaries appointed for the purpose, and goes toward the Maintenance of the Overseers, and the buying of Iron, and all other Materials.

The King gives the Model of the Buildings himself; and very often, if a Window, or a Door, or any such thing, be not exactly according to his Fancy, down goes the House, and another must be built in its place. He appoints them a certain time, in which the Work must be finish'd, which is commonly but very short; for in the six Months that I was at *Achen*, I saw more Buildings rear'd up and pull'd down again, than I could have imagin'd to be done in the space of two Years. These Slaves may redeem themselves; but their Ransome rises according to their Quality.

Effates falling to the King.

The King is Heir to all his Subjects that die without Male Issue; and if they leave any Daughters then unmarried, he puts 'em into the Castle, which occasions the numerousness of his Women.

In that Country Daughters have no Title to any Heritage; and not only the People of *Achen*, but even all the *Mahometans* are so loth to part with their Money, and so buoyed up with the hopes of having Male Children, by some of their many Wives, that they seldome or never give any thing to their Sons-in-Law in their Life-time: And after their Death they can't have it; nay, even in their Life-time, if the King's Spies observe it, it may do them more injury than good.

The Royal Treasure is likewise considerably enlarg'd by the forfeited Estates of those whom he puts to Death every Day; for to prevent their alienating their Estate or Goods, he takes them at a surprizal, and has their Wives, Children, Slaves, Cattle, Money, and all sorts of Movables, lodg'd in the Castle, before they know their Sentence. While I was there, I saw the Jewels, Gold, Silver, and all the movable Goods belonging to his own Mother, brought in upon the same occasion. The Persons that he thus puts to Death, are commonly the Orankays, or great Lords; and that for one of these two Reasons, *viz.* Either their Reputation and Interest among the People, or their Riches, the former giving him occasion of Jealousie, and the latter awakening his covetous and avaricious Temper. Forfeited Estates.

The King is Heir to all Foreigners that die within his Territories; for as soon as a Foreigner sickens, the King's Officers presently take possession of his House, and upon his Death remove his Effects to the Castle: And oftentimes his Servants, Friends, and Slaves, are put upon the Rack to discover where his Gold, Silver, and Jewels are, or where any thing is due to him. But the *English* and *Dutch* having Factories here, are exempted from this Law; as we were while we staid there. The King is Heir to all Foreigners.

This King has another bad Custom, of impropriating the Men and Goods of all Ships that suffer Shipwreck upon his Coast.

No Audience of the King without a Present.

No Foreigner can enter the Castle, without making a Present to the King. 'Tis true, I often went without any, being allow'd the Quality and Privilege of a principal Orankay; but at the same time I never could have Audience upon my own Affairs, but when I usher'd it in with a Present. Nay, if either Foreigner or Native puts in any Request to the King without a Gift, the former is not heard, and the latter is punish'd. And after all, the Request will not be granted, unless the Present be lik'd; for I have seen the *Dutch* and *English* have their Presents frequently return'd, and in that case they were oblig'd to make more valuable Gifts, such as would please the King, before they obtain'd their desire.

No Foreigner can enter the King's Chamber without the Chappe, for which he pays a Rial to the Officers that bear it. When a Ship comes into the Road of *Achen*, none of their Crew must go ashore till the Chappe comes, and till the Duty of that be paid, which amounts to 50 or 60 Rials, according to the bigness of the Ship: And upon their departure from the Road, they are oblig'd to pay about half as much. The *Moors* pay nothing upon the Export of Goods, but upon the Import the Duty is very heavy; for they pay 10 *per Cent* in Gold for the Entry of all Goods, which are appris'd by the Officers of the Alfandegue, and commonly over-rated 50 *per Cent*. The *Dutch* and *English* pay as much; but then they pay it in the Commodity it self, and not in Gold. But the greatest Damp upon the Trade of that place, is, that the King engrosses it all into his own hands; for what Commodities he buys, he must have 'em under the Market-price, and what he sells rise to 50 *per Cent* above it: So that if he continues at this rate, the *Dutch* and *English* will be oblig'd to abandon this place; and 'tis with that view, as I take it, that he does as he does, for at present he is very jealous of their strength.

From what has been said, we may safely infer, that the King of *Achen* is infinitely rich; especially if we consider, that over and above the above-mention'd Articles, he had a rich Exchequer left him by his Father.

The ancient State of the Kingdom of *Achen*.

To understand how this present King of *Achen* came to the Crown, we must know, that before the Reign of his Grandfather, the Orankays being never oppress'd with their Kings, nor pillag'd by other Nations, were very rich in Lands and Houses, besides Gold and Silver, and gave a licentious Range to their insolent and proud Tempers. In those Days the City was six times greater than it now is, and so crouded with People, that one could scarce pass along the Streets: No City in *India* had so flourishing a Trade; the Alfandegue requir'd no Customs but that of the Chappe; Merchants might unload and load again, in 15 Days time.

The Orankays liv'd in great stately Houses, with Cannons at their Gates, and great Numbers of Slaves, both to serve and guard them, they had proud magnificent Garments, and pompous Retinues, and were much respected by the People. This Grandeur and Authority of the Orankays, not only lessen'd the King's Authority, but was oftentimes fatal to his Person. Insomuch, that it was a great matter, if a King enjoy'd his Crown two Years; or if he did, 'twas with so much trouble and dependance upon the Orankays, that nothing but the Title of his Dignity was left.

Things continu'd at this rate, till the extirpation of the

ancient

The ancient Line extinct.

ancient Royal Line, which happen'd about forty Years ago. Upon that the Orankays met in order to chuse a King: But every one affecting that Dignity for himself, they could not agree upon the matter, and resolv'd to decide it by force.

In this Ferment the Cady, or great Bishop, by his Authority and Remonstrances, perswaded them to listen to an Expedient that would remove all their Jealousies; namely, to put the Crown upon the Head of a certain Orankay, who in all these Divisions had not stirr'd or affected any thing for himself or his Family; but had liv'd in the Reputation of a wise experienc'd Man, being then 70 Years of Age, and descended of one of the Noblest Families in *Achen*.

The Orankays accepted the Proposal, in regard it did not sink their respective Pretensions, since they only entituled him to a preference by reason of his Age and Prudence. But after all, the old Nobleman desir'd to be excus'd; alledging, that he had retir'd for some time from the Affairs of the World, and desired to pass the remainder of his Life in peace and quietness. Upon this the Orankays fell together by the Ears: But at last finding that every thing run into confusion, they endeavour'd to threaten the old Orankay into an acceptance of the Crown: But both their Threats and Intreaties were equally ineffectual. At last they came all in a Body to his House; the Cady carrying the Crown, and one of the Orankays a naked Sword. There they represented to the old Gentleman, That they could not possibly find any other Remedy for their present Calamity, but that of making him King; that as they had frequently importun'd him to accept of the Crown, so they came now once more to make the last Offer; and that if he refus'd it, they were resolv'd to cut him off immediately, to prevent their insisting any longer on an useless Expedient.

The old Orankay finding himself in a quandary, told 'em, That tho' he had firmly resolv'd to finish his Days without the disturbance of Publick Affairs; yet since nothing but his mounting the Throne could prevent a pernicious War, he accepted their Offer; with this Proviso, That they should respect him as a Father, and he should treat them as his Children, that if any of them dissatisfy'd him, he should treat them as his own Children, and they should receive his Correction as from the Hands of their own Father.

The Accession of this King's Grandfather to the Crown.

This said, they all thank'd him, promising not only to honour him as their Father, but to respect him as their Sovereign Lord.

After his Coronation he took possession of the Castle, and invited all the Orankays to a Feast upon an appointed Day, and made such vast Preparations for their Reception, that the Orankays were struck with admiration. The Orankays were drawn up in order in a Court near the King's Apartment, and conducted by the Chappes into a Hall; but as every one entred the Hall, he was immediately seiz'd and dragg'd into another Court behind the Buildings, where the King had caus'd to dig a deep Ditch, upon the Brink of which their Throats were cut, and then their Bodies were thrown into it.

His Cruelty.

In the mean time the Musick play'd, and nothing but Songs and Mirth was heard in the Hall, and the matter was carried on so warmly, that 1100 were cut off before those in the Rear could perceive any thing of the matter; at which time the small Remainder slipp'd softly out of the Castle, without knowing distinctly the occasion of their mistrust, till the next Day that the principal Orankays were missing.

The King having thus cut off all those whom he suspected, and fortify'd himself with a good Body of Men in the Castle; he publish'd a Declaration, setting forth, That this great Execution was necessary for the Safety of his own Person, and the States; that as in former times the Orankays had made and dethron'd so many Kings at pleasure, and extinguish'd the Ancient Line, so when they were at the point of cutting one another's Throats, they could find no other Remedy but that of making him King by force, in order to use him as they did the former Kings upon occasion; that since he was King, he would not be expos'd to the inconstant Humours of the Orankays; who, after they should have massacred him, would have relaps'd into their former Animosities, and made the People to suffer by their Quarrels; and in fine, that all his Design was to preserve the General Peace, to Reign in Equity, and execute severe Justice upon Offenders.

After this Declaration, when he saw that no Body stirr'd, and none came near him to pay their wonted Respects in the Castle, he demolish'd all the Houses of the executed Orankays, and lodg'd their Cannon, Arms, and movable Goods in the Castle; he prohibited every one to build with Stone, or to have Cannons or Intrenchments about their Houses; he order'd the Trenches that then were, to be fill'd up, and the Stone-Walls to be pull'd down; he enjoyn'd, that all their Houses should be but one Story high, and their Walls be made of Mats, as they are at this Day; he conferr'd the Quality of Orankays upon his Favourites and Abettors, allowing them part of the Lands of the executed Lords; he put to Death the ancient Orankays, and those of the People, that testify'd any dislike of his Conduct: Insomuch, that the first Year of his Reign he put to Death 20000 Persons; and in the second, some thousands more. This Prince reign'd a long time, and reduc'd the City to the pitiful Condition that it is now in. He us'd the *Moorish* Merchants very unkindly; but was extream civil to the *English* and *Dutch*, who settled there in his time. He brought up this present King, who is the Son of his own Daughter, and whom he had a particular Love for.

He divides his Kingdoms between his two Sons.

He died in the Year 1603, aged 95 Years, leaving behind him two Sons, who were already advanc'd in Years. To the eldest of these he left the Kingdom of *Achen*, and all his Territories along the Coast of *Sumatra* to the Westward; and to the other the Kingdom of *Pedir*, with the Territories upon the East Coast of *Sumatra*. These two Princes were of too meek and humane a Temper for their Subjects; so that Murders, Robberies, Oppression, and an infinity of Disorders, reign'd in *Achen*, for want of a severe execution of Justice.

The King of *Achen* happening to give some slight Rebuke to his Nephew, the present King, whom he entertain'd in the Castle, the young Prince made his escape out of the Castle, and fled to his Uncle the King of *Pedir*, who gave him a very kind Reception. The King of *Achen* desir'd his Brother to send his Nephew back to *Achen*; but his Brother made answer, That he would not offer to force a young Prince, whom their Father had recommended to their care. Upon this, the two Brethren declar'd War one against another, the Forces of *Pedir* being commanded by the Nephew, now King. In this War above 60000 Men were kill'd between 'em; and the Nephew had oftentimes the advantage. But at last the Forces of *Achen* being more numerous, those of *Pedir* refus'd to march; upon which there King was oblig'd to deliver his Nephew into the hands of the King of *Achen*, who immediately put a strong Guard upon him, and laid him in Irons.

A War between the Brethren.

Some time after, the *Portugueze* made a Descent upon *Achen*, and carried the first Turf Fort at the entry of the River, but could not master the Stone one. In this Juncture the young Prince desir'd his Uncle would let him go and fight against the *Portugueze*, remonstrating, that he had better die in a Battle with the *Casires* (so they call the Christians) than lie in Chains to no purpose. The King of *Achen* being at that time in a Consternation, releas'd him, and suffer'd him to go upon that Design. The young Prince behav'd himself with so much Bravery in two or three Engagements with the *Portugueze*, that he acquir'd a great Reputation among the People of *Achen*.

Upon this, his Mother, being an Active ambitious Woman, forms a Design of making him King of *Achen*, and furnishes him with great Sums of Money to be distributed among the principal *Orankays*. With the same view, the young Prince was very familiar in his Conversation, what ever he had was common to his Friends and Courtiers, he refus'd nothing that was ask'd of him; in a word, he shew'd himself liberal to the *Orankays*, affable to the Rich, a Companion to those that profess'd Arms, and extream courteous to the Common People. In the mean time the King of *Achen* dy'd suddenly. At the Hour of his Death, the young Prince gets into the Castle, bribes the Guards, makes large Promises to the Officers, advances a large Sum of Money to the Governour of the Castle, distributes Money among the principal *Orankays*, and threatens the *Cady* who scrupled to Crown him. In fine, he managed the Intriegue so happily, that he was proclaim'd King that very Night, to the great joy of all the People; who had conceiv'd great Hopes of him, in regard of his Liberality, Courtesy, and Familiarity, as well as his Valour.

This King's Accession to the Throne.

Pedir being 12 Miles from *Achen*, the King of that place was quickly acquainted with his Brothers Death, and came next Day to receive the Investiture of his Patrimony: But as he approach'd to the Castle with a small Retinue, he came into the Hands of his Nephew the King of *Achen*, who forgetting his former Favours, kept him a Month Prisoner in the Castle, and then pretending to send him out to a more agreeable Retreat at a distance from the City, caus'd his Throat to be cut by the way. Those who put the Crown upon his Head were not better us'd: For he began with the *Maraja*, or Governour of the Castle, who had taken most of his Money, and ended with those that receiv'd the last. In a Years time they found a great alteration upon him; for, instead of being

This King cuts his Uncle's Throat.

being *Human* he was very *Cruel*, instead of *Liberality* he display'd an extream *Avarice*, and his *familiar meek* Temper became *austere* and *inexorable*. In fine, he has shed more Blood than his Grandfather did in his whole Reign; he has dispeopled the whole Territory of *Achen*, and drain'd, not only the Natives, but, the Foreigners that reside there, of all their Money. 'Tis true, he endeavour'd to repeople this City with his Conquests or rather Ravages (properly speaking) for having ruin'd the Kingdoms of *Jor*, *Dely*, *Laban*, *Queda* and *Pera*, he transported from thence to *Achen* about 22000 Persons; but at present there are scarce 1500 of them left, so that that Policy serv'd rather for an instance of his Cruelty than any other thing, for the People being brought naked to *Achen*, and allow'd not a Grain of Rice for their Maintenance, dy'd of Hunger in the Streets. Hitherto this King has been successful in all his Enterprises, insomuch that some take him for a great Sorcerer. For my part *I* take him to be a Man of great judgment, one that undertakes nothing rashly or unseasonably, but after a mature Deliberation, and upon the Foot of very probable Conjectures. He never assaulted one of his Neighbours, but when they were reduc'd to some Extremity. All his preparatory Measures are incomprehensible, till the Design is put in execution; for he never asks nor receives Advice of any, and being invested with an absolute Authority, his Commands are immediately put in Execution. Now, all this may be done without the Assistance of Devils: Besides, *I* have often heard, that Sorcerers are poor sorry Wretches, but *I* am certain, that this King is the richest of all his Neighbours.

His Character.

February the 3d, We came in sight of the Isle of *Montabey*. The 5th, We came to an inhabited Isle that lies between *Nassaw* and *Montabey*. The 6th, we pass'd between *Nassaw* and another Island not mark'd in the Charts. This Channel is four or five Leagues broad. All these Islands lie very low, whereas the opposite Coast of *Sumatra* is very high and conspicuous. I would advise all Sailors rather to put in to *Sumatra* than into any of these little Islands; for the former is peopled all along the Shoar with Persons acquainted with the Conversation of Strangers, whereas the Inhabitants of these are barbarous Savages, that have no communication with any other People.

Islands upon the Coast of Sumatra.

April the 20th. In 33 ½ Deg Lat. the Needle varying 7 ¾ Degr. N.W. We descry'd a smooth and uniform, but rocky Coast; upon which, we stood to the Sea, and next Day encounter'd a violent Storm that lasted to the 23d. *May* the 1st, We perceiv'd the Land between Cape *Anguillas* and Cape *Falco*; and *May* the 5th, we came to an Anchor in *Table-Bay*. Our sick Men did not recover at this place as I expected; either by reason of the extream cold, or because I could not take in such fresh Provisions has I had a mind to, there being some *Dutch* Ships in the Bay that I mistrusted. I bellieve the Cold had a great hand in it, for all the *Dutch* Sick died as well as mine. The Wind continu'd at W. N. W. from my first arrival in this Bay to the 24th, that I weighed anchor, and a bad Rudder obliging me to pass by the N. E. of the little Island, was becalm'd within a Cannon shot of it. *May* the 30th, we set sail, the Wind at S. S. E. *June* the 21st, we descry'd St. *Helens*, about 15 Leagues W. N. W. of us. Next Day I came to an anchor before it, and sent our sick Men ashoar, who were something benefited by the Air. This is a very convenient place for the refreshing of Men, not only with regard to the Temperateness of the Air, but by reason of the plenty of young Kids and Hogs, the facility of coming at good Water, the conveniency of good Fishing in the Road and upon the Shoar, the abundance of Oranges and Citrons, which are excellent Remedies against the Scurvy, besides several good Herbs, such as Purslain, a sort of Tarragon in large quantities, some Fenugreek, Tobacco, and the Herb Mayoc; not to mention the Partridges, Pidgeons, and, as some say, Oxen, that this Island abounds with. For tho' the Island be mountainous and very steep and wither'd like, yet on the top there's a great deal of moisture, and there is not a Gap or Valley without a Brook or Rivulet, the greatest of which runs in the large Valley, where a Chapel is built, tho' the Valley is not above 150 Paces broad, and 1000 long; at the end of this Valley there's a ragged cleft hill of Rocks, upon which there falls down a Stream of Water from a very high Mountain, insomuch that it is beat as small as Rain before it falls. This Isle lies in 16 Deg. S. Lat. the Needle varying 5 ¼ Deg. N. E. and always has the Wind at S. E.

We return to Table-Bay.

S. Helen.

July the 16th, we saw the Isle of *Ascensim*, about 12 Leagues N. E. of us. 'Tis very high, and its Anchorage lies over against a Sandy Creek. This Isle has neither Wood nor fresh Water, nor any green Herbs, being nothing but parch'd Rock. Yet it affords some Hogs, and a great many Fowls, such as can live without fresh Water. Upon the Rocks and in the Road it has abundance of Fish, and Tortoises. Its circumference will make about 8 Leagues, as well as that of St. *Helens*. It lies in eight Deg. S. Lat.

Isle of Ascensim.

After we cross'd the Equinoctial we had such Calms and drizling Rains, that most of our Men were siez'd with Dropsies and Tumours, upon which there ensued a great Mortality in the Ship. *August* the 11th, the Calms and drizling Rains continuing, there came a sudden Whirl-wind that lasted for two Minutes, and broke all our Sails, carrying the Main-top-Sail quite off. The next Day we saw some Swallows and Butter-flies, which signified that we were near the Land. The 13th, we saw an Island to the North, in 16 Degr. Lat. which we knew to be St. *Nicolas*, one of the *Cape Verd* Islands. The 16th, we made the Isle of St. *Vincent*, and cast Anchor at five Fathom Water. The 17th, *I* set my sick Men ashoar, who were very numerous and in a sorry condition; but when they came upon Land retriev'd apace. The ordinary Anchorage of this Island lies in 17 Deg. 20 Min. Lat. the Needle varying 2 Deg. 15 Min. N. E. It affords at this Season great plenty of excellent Tortoises, which they call Free-Tortoises, and are distinguish'd from the others they call *Cahouanes*, by the smoothness, plainness, and green colour of the Shell, the largeness of their Body, and the smalness of their Head, and the form of their Snout, which resembles the Teeth of a Saw. These eat as well as a young Heifer, and some of 'em are so large that they'll weigh 300 Pound. They come out in the Night time, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, which they bury a Foot deep: Those who have a mind to catch 'em, watch 'em at that time, and getting behind 'em, turn 'em over upon their Back, after which they cannot turn themselves to get upon their Feet, and so lie there till the Morning: Most of 'em have 250 Eggs shell'd and as many unshell'd in their Belly, which are very good. In this Island we meet with an Herb, that in some measure resembles *Spinege*, but is infinitely better. We us'd it both in Sallad and Soup; and both it and the Tortoise Flesh, kept our Bellies open, and cur'd our Men of great Dropsies, without any other Purgation, in the space of eight Days, which perhaps could not be cur'd in *France* in a Month. 'Tis well stor'd with young Kids, but you are not sure of catching them, unless you have Dogs. We saw no Fruit in it, but Wild Figs, which were all spoil'd with Worms. To the East-ward, under a high Mountain, there are vast quantities of Purslain. Commonly the Water of this Isle is brackish; but upon the S. W. Point of the Bay, where the Anchorage is, there's a small Spring, that, if it were cleans'd and deepen'd, would afford pretty good Water. 'Tis furnish'd with a considerable quantity of Wild Pines, which may serve for firing; besides which, it has no Wood, unless it be some Shrubs that cast forth a white milky Juice, that's very dangerous and painful to the Eyes, if it touches 'em. There's very good fishing along the Rocks, especially at a little Rock at the entry of the Bay, about ¼ of a League from the Anchorage. In two Hours time seven or eight Men may there catch Fish enough for 200 Men. In fine, 'tis not inferiour to St. *Helens* for a place of refreshment, bating that its Water is not good; in compensation of which Defect, 'tis all over accessible, and furnish'd with pleasant Walks, whereas the other is the most inaccessible Country *I* ever saw. This Isle is about 9 Leagues in circumference, and it has always the Wind at N. E. It has several pleasant Bays; but that towards the Isle of St. *Anthony* is the best Road for Ships that can be, for we rode at five Fathom Water on an excellent sandy Ground, and were shelter'd from all Winds. We saw neither Men nor Horses, tho' we travel'd over most of the Island.

The Isle of St. Vincent.

After our departure from St. *Vincent* (which happen'd *September* the 15th) we had several violent Storms. *October* the 12th, we descry'd the *Azores* Islands; but it was the 17th before we could weather 'em. The 19th, we had a violent Storm from the N. W. that broke our Mizen-mast, and oblig'd us to bring our Main-top-Mast upon the Deck. The 30th, we were in 50 Deg. Lat. and had 70 Fathom Water; upon which most of our Pilots agreed that the *Sorlingues Isles* lay about 20 Leagues to the W. of us. *November* the 3d, we descry'd the *Lizard* Point in *England*; and *December* the 1st, came safe to *Havre de Grace*, having been out 38 Months.

The End of Admiral Beaulieu's *Voyage to the* East-Indies.

THE

The VOYAGE OF *Francis Pirard de La Val* to the *East-Indies*; AND HIS Remarks upon that Country.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH, *and Abridg'd.*

The *French* put to Sea *May*, 1601.

IN the Year 1601, a Company of Merchants of St. *Malo's* fitted out two Ships for the *East-Indies*; one of 400 Tun, call'd the *Croiſſant*, and another of 200, call'd the *Corbin*; the former commanded by *Sieur de la Bardeliere* as Admiral, and the latter by *Francis Grout* of *Cloſneuf*, in the quality of Vice-Admiral. Our Author being on board the *Corbin*, drew up a Journal of the Voyage, the Subſtance of which is as followeth.

May the 18th, 1601. We ſet ſail from St. *Malo's* with a N. E. Wind; and at the Diſtance of nine or ten Leagues from the Shore, the Mizen-maſt of the *Corbin* ſplit in two.

They encounter ſome *Dutch* Fly-boats.

May the 21ſt, We fell in with nine great *Dutch* Hoys, each of which ſaluted us with a Gun; but one of 'em being loaded with Ball, beat the Sail of the *Corbin* to pieces; upon which the Vice-Admiral fired two Guns upon the Rigging of the Ship that had injur'd him; and the Admiral taking to the Windward of the *Dutch* Admiral, made to with all his Sails, and fir'd a Gun upon 'em. The *Dutch* Admiral preſently ſtruck, and having inform'd himſelf that the Miſchance was occaſion'd by the over-ſight of a Gunner that was in drink, deliver'd up the Gunner to the *French* Admiral, in order to condign Puniſhment, and beg'd he would pardon the Miſtake. Our Admiral finding how the Matter ſtood, ſaid, he deſir'd no further Satisfaction, and having return'd the Gunner, intreated the *Dutch* to vouchſafe him a Pardon. How the *Dutch* treated him afterwards I know not; tho' I do not much doubt, but they hang'd him up immediately at the Yard's Arm; for the *Dutch* obſerve an exact Diſcipline in their Ships, and ſuffer no Crimes to paſs with Impunity; and from thence it comes to paſs that their Navigation is more ſucceſsful than the *French*.

June the 3d, We deſcry'd the *Canary* Iſlands in 28, 29, and 30 Degrees North Latitude: The 12th and 13th, we came in ſight of the Iſlands of Cape *Vard*, which run from 20 to 14 Degrees North Latitude.

June the 29th, We were in five Degrees Latitude, and deſcry'd the South Star call'd the *Croſs*; at the ſame time we ſaw a prodigious quantity of flying Fiſh, with Wings like thoſe of Bats, which are very plentiful near the Equinoctial Line, whether on the North or South ſide.

July the 14, We diſcover'd the unhealthy Coaſt of *Guinee*, being carried out of our Courſe in a Calm, by the ſtrength of the Currents.

The Weather unconſtant near the Equator.

Auguſt the 24th, We croſs'd the Equator, on both ſides of which, for the extent of ſeven or eight Degrees, we had very unconſtant Weather, and an extremity of Heat in an inſtant of time: The greateſt Calms were frequently turn'd into Thundrings and Lightnings (eſpecially when the Sun is near the Equinoxes) and with boiſterous Winds; which ſurpriſ'd us ſo ſuddenly, that we could ſcarce get our Sails down in time: The Heat was ſo great, that it melted our Candles and Butter, corrupted our Water, and ſpoil'd our Meat and Fiſh, tho' never ſo well ſalted. Oftentimes we ſaw great Whirl-winds riſing at a diſtance, call'd by the Sea-men Dragons, which ſhatter and overturn any Ship that falls in their Way. When theſe appear, the Sailors have a ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of repairing to the Prow, or the ſide that lies next the Storm, and beating naked Swords againſt one another croſs ways, upon a vain Apprehenſion of preventing their approach by that Means. In this Air the Rains are very dangerous, for if one is wet, and does not immediately ſhift himſelf, his Body is ſoon after cover'd all over with Botches, and his Cloths with Worms. In the time of a Calm, Ships roll prodigiouſly in thoſe Seas; but when they run with a freſh Gale, they are more ſteddy.

Auguſt the 29th, Our Pilot (an *Engliſh* Man) deſcry'd Land ten Leagues off; for tho' we mean'd to ſtand 100 Leagues off to the Sea, the Currents drove us towards the Shore. This we found to be the Iſle of *Anabon*, poſſeſs'd by the *Portugueſe*, where we took in freſh Water and Fruit; and after a Show of Civility at firſt, treacherouſly ſlew one of our Men, and took five Priſoners.

A Deſcription of the Iſle of *Anabon*.

This Iſland is govern'd by a *Portugueſe* Lord, who had the Gift of it from the King of *Spain*; the other *Portugueſe* who inhabit it, being only his Factors and Commiſſaries. The Natives, who are all his Slaves, are *Negro's*, and go naked, covering their Privities with Cotton. Their Women carry their Children upon their Backs, and ſuckle them over their Shoulder, their Breaſts being very long. The Iſland is ſituate in 1 D. S. Lat. and is five or ſix Leagues in Circumference. 'Tis high, mountainous, and always green. The Road is on the N. W. ſide, and is very dangerous, by reaſon of Flats and Rocks. We lay there ſix or ſeven Weeks, and during that time, it rain'd every Day more or leſs. The Country produces great plenty of Fruit and Cotton, in which all the Revenues are paid; their Fiſh is extraordinary good, and very plentiful. The diſtance of a League and a half from *Anabon*, there is a little ſcorch'd Iſland, that affords no Greens; but is ſo cover'd with the Fowl call'd *Pinguin's*, that one cannot walk any where without treading upon their Eggs. This Fowl is no bigger than a Pigeon, and its Fleſh is black, but it eats admirably well. *Pinguins*.

October the 16th, We put to Sea again, and *November* the 17th. we made the Iſland of St. *Helens*, which lies in 16 Degrees S. Lat. at a diſtance of 600 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. Upon the Altar of a Chapel in this Iſland, we found ſeveral Letters, adviſing, that the *Dutch* had paſs'd that way. Here we thought to have fitted our Mizen-maſt, but found no Wood fit for the Purpoſe. The Air, Fruit, Fleſh and Water of that place are ſo healthy, that our Men who were much oppreſs'd with the Scurvy, recover'd in the ſpace of nine Days *St. Helens*.

November the 26th, We ſet ſail, and ſtood for the Cape of *Good Hope*; and three Days after doubled the *Abrolles*, i. e. a Bank of Shelves upon the Coaſt of *Braſil*, which lies in 18 Degrees South Latitude and is 70 Leagues long. The doubling of theſe Sands is both difficult *Abrolhos*.

difficult and dangerous; and in sailing to the *East-Indies*, an expert Pilot ought to be very cautious, in keeping to a just distance from the *Guinee* Coast, which is very unhealthy, and incommoded with Calms and Currents, and at the same time standing off from the *Abrolles*: For the doing of which, there is Sea room enough, since we reckon 1000 Leagues from the Coast of *Africa* to that of *Brasil*.

The Guinee Coast unhealthy.

Having doubled this Cape, we continued our Course for the Cape of *Good Hope*, and in few Days knew that we approach'd to it, by the appearance of the Reeds call'd Tromba's, and white speckl'd Fowls. Having weathered the Cape of *Good Hope*, we came in sight of that of *Aiguilles*, or *Needles*, which shoots 15 Leagues further into the Sea, and lies in 35 Degrees South Lat. This Cape derives its Name from the Observation, that when a Ship comes before it, the Needle of the Compass Points directly Northward, without declining to the E. or W.

The Cape of Needles.

January the 6th, 1602, We met with a violent Storm, in which one of our Sea-men fell over-board, and his Companion would have jump'd after him, if we had not prevented him; tho' after all, I take his Offer to be the effect of Wine rather than true Affection, for there is but little Friendship among Sea-faring Men.

Pursuing our Course, we steer'd by the Country of *Nathal*, upon the Coast of *Ethiopia*, without any Storm, which was an uncommon Favour in those Seas; for between the 33 and 28 Degrees, they are never almost without violent Storms.

Coast of Nathal very stormy.

After that we mistook our Course through the Ignorance of the Pilot, and *February* the 4th, finding our selves on the Land-side of St. *Lawrence*, tack'd about, in order to make the other side.

February the 7th, 1602, Having pass'd that Island according to our Wishes, we were surpriz'd all of a sudden, with a violent Storm from the South-West, being less acquainted with those Seas than the *Portuguese*, who make timely Provision for such Accidents. In this Storm, it was so dark in full Day, that we could not see the Heavens or one another; our two Ships were separated, and our Sails were tore to rags; such was the Force of the Rain and Wind, that they wounded our Faces like so many Lashes of Whip-cord; the Waves swell'd so high, and wash'd in with such Force upon the Ship, that we could not stand upon the Deck. In this place we continu'd four Days and four Nights, and the Men of Sense that were on board, apply'd themselves to devout Exercises, while the Sailors redoubled their Oaths and Blasphemies. Our ancientest Pilots and Sea-men protested they never encounted such a violent Tempest; but the Business was, they never had been in those Seas, which swell higher than else where.

A violent Storm off of St. Lawrence.

February 11, The Storm being over, we stood in for St. *Lawrence*, being much disabled. All our Men were in a Manner half dead, and we had not a Man on board but a *Dutch* Gunner, that had ever been in the *Indies* before. When we came within 30 or 40 Leagues of the Island, the Sea appear'd yellowish and frothy, and was cover'd with Reeds and floating Herbs, which continued to appear on its Surface till the 19th, that we arriv'd and cast Anchor at St. *Augustine*'s Bay, in 23 ½ Deg. S. Lat. This Bay is large and very convenient, having an excellent Ground of Clay and Sand. The same Day the *Cressant* rejoin'd us after twelve Days Separation, and was more disabled than we. The Sea-men being Scorbutick, we mark'd out a place on the Shore for the Sick: And at the same time a *Dutch* Ship was forc'd into the same Harbour by stress of Weather, which had not one sick Man on board. The Natives gave us Cattle, Fowl, Honey, Milk and Fruit, in exchange for Knives, Cissars, and Trinkets of little value. But the place was so unhealthy, that many of our Men were swept off, partly by the Scurvy, and partly by a Phrentick Fever. We lay directly under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and the Sun Beams darted upon us almost in a perpendicular Line; some had their Legs scorch'd and ulcerated thro' their Stockings; nay, the extream heat would have incommoded us yet more, if it had not been for the Conveniency of a fine River to bath in, and the Shades of a large Wood. We were posted at the Foot of a great Mountain, which was cover'd with an infinity of large Lizards, that offer'd no hurt to any body. The Wood was repleniish'd with an innumerable quantity of little Monkeys and Apes, which entertain'd us with a pleasurable Shews, in dancing about, and skipping from Tree to Tree. Parrots are there very numerous, and make an agreeable Harmony with their various and warbling Notes. Not to mention the Indiscretion of our Men, in over feeding in so hot a Climate, and the pernicious Consequences that attended it; I shall only take notice further of the unspeakable Uneasiness that attended from the Flies by Day, and the Gnats that pester'd us in the Night time, in piercing the Flesh till the Blood came, and an Inflamation insued. This Inconvenience was so cutting, that some crept into Sacks and Bags, leaving only a small hole to breath through, and all of us were forc'd to make Fires, and lie down in the midst of the Smoak.

St. Augustin Bay describ'd

The Island of St. *Laurence* has 700 Leagues in circumference; It lies between 26 and 14 Deg. South Lat. It abounds in Cattle, especially Sheep, which bring forth three or four Lambs at a time. The Cattle are not impropriated, but common to all that catch 'em; for the Inhabitants, and indeed most of the other *Indians*, choose rather to feed on Fish, Fruit and Milk. 'Tis common there to see 200 or 300 Bulls and Cows in one Herd; and when they come to cross a broad deep River, the Cows raise their Heads upon the Bull's Rump, and so get over. We anchor'd at the Mouth of a River that afforded great plenty of Fish and Crocodiles; and when we kill'd a Crocodile and took out its Intrails, we obserr'd, that like Musk, they made a very agreeable Perfume in the Air. The Natives are of a tawny Olive Complexion, inclining to a red; they are tall, streight, well made, and not only of a ready Apprehension, but wise. Their Hair is long, and reath'd into Tresses; they go naked all over, excepting that their Privities are cover'd with Cotton Cloth. Their Women wear one Piece of Cloth that covers 'em from under their Breast to their Girdle, and another that reaches from thence to the Knees, their Head being bare and shav'd. Their Arms are Darts and Javelins, call'd *Azagayes*, for the Noise of a Gun frights 'em exceedingly. 'Tis said, that this Island was formerly peopled by the *Chinese*, upon the Occation of a Ship's being cast away upon that Coast; and indeed they resemble the *Chinese* very much, bating, that their Complexion is not near so white, which perhaps may proceed from their going naked, and living in the Torrid Zone. At present the Island is very populous, and govern'd by several Kings, that wage War with one another. Some of the Inhabitants are *Mahometans*, and circumcis'd, and the rest are *Pagans*: The inland Parts of the Island are in great want of Water.

A Discription of St. Laurence.

May the 15th, 1602, Having refitted our Ships as well as we could, and provided our selves with Water, Wood, and Flesh, which after all would not take Salt so well as what we have in *Europe*, we set sail, and steer'd for the *Comorro* Islands, upon the Consideration, that our complement of Men was very short and sickly.

The Islands of Comoro.

The 23d, we made these Islands, which lie in 12 ½ Deg. South Lat. between S. *Laurence* and the Continent of *Africa*, at the distance of 70 Leagues from *Mozambick*. There are five of 'em, each of which has a peculiar King; and one of 'em, call'd *Malatli*, being surrounded by the other four, we chose to anchor in its road. We saw several Villages athoar, the Inhabitants of which us'd us kindly, and gave us Fruit in exchange for Trinkets made of Iron. The Inhabitants of these Islands are *Mahometans*, being a Medley of several Nations, viz. *Ethiopians*, *Caffres*, *Arabians*, and *Persians*. They are true Friends to the *Portuguese*, and a cunning sharp sort of People, that are not fit to be confided in. When our Men offer'd to land at a little Village to take in Water, the Inhabitants rose up in Arms, and oppos'd their landing, till they sent 'em five or six Crowns, after which they allow'd 'em to take as much Water as they pleas'd. All these Islands are extream fertile in Oranges, Citrons, Coco's, Honey, Betel and Rice, which we bought up at the cafie Purchase of a few Iron Trinkets, and Flanders Ware. Flesh indeed is as dear there as here, tho' they have plenty of Oxen, Cows and Sheep. They have Barks made altogether of the Core and Tree, in which they send their Fruit to *Mozambick*, to be exchang'd for Cotton, Cloth, Gold, Ivory, &c. One Day we saw a monstrous Fish rise above the Water, which had the Form and Figure of a Man, with a sort of Beard towards the Chin, that seem'd to be its Fins, and a long shaly Head, terminating in a Point. When we offer'd to come near him, he plung'd his Head under Water, and so discover'd part of his Back, which was scaly. We stay'd a Fortnight in this Road, and the Goodness of the Fruit and the Air, cur'd our Men of the Scurvy, to a miracle; and indeed I have always obserr'd, that Citrons and Oranges, and their Juices, are of soveraign use in Scorbutick Cases.

June the 17th, 1602. We set sail, and the 24, repass'd the Equinoctial Line, standing to the Northward. In the Lat. of 5 Deg. N. Lat. we perceiv'd some great Shelves surrounding little Islands, which were the *Maldives*, tho' most of our Masters and Pilots mistook for the Islands call'd *de Diego des Roes*, which we had left 80 Leagues a-stern to

The Cuvin is cast away on the Coast of the Maldives.

the West. Our Admiral design'd to pass to the North of the *Maldives*, between them and the Coast of *India*; But on the contrary we run directly upon 'em, whereas we ought to have stood 100 Leagues off 'em, if we had a mind to be safe. In fine, such was our Misfortune, that the *Corbin* which sail'd in head, struck thrice upon a Rock, at the distance of five or six Leagues from the Shoar of the *Maldives*. In this Disaster we saw a Bark belonging to the Islands, which would not come near us, by reason of a strict Prohibition in that Country, to approach any Ship in distress, without the King's especial Leave. In the mean time the Sailors eat and drank heartily, and treated their Commanders with a flaming sort of Insolence; insulting all those that shew'd any regard to Religion, and loudly proclaiming, that since Death was so certain, they were resolv'd to render its Approaches easy and soft. This fill'd me with Horrour, and convince me that most Sailors leave their Souls and Consciencies a-shoar. In fine, after continuing two Days in this deplorable and desperate Condition, we made a shift to refit our Galioon, and haul it over the Flats, and with infinite Labour and Difficulty, arriv'd on board of it, at one of the Islands call'd *Pouladon*, which is not a League in circumference. We had carried some Arms along with us, but the Inhabitants disputed our landing, till we gave up our Arms, and surrender'd our selves at discretion. There was not above 20 or 25 Inhabitants in the Island; but they concerted their Measures so wisely, that they sent off our Boat and all their own to the other Islands, to prevent any Insurrection from us. They carried us all to a Lodge in the middle of the Island, where they entertain'd us with some Fruit, Coco's and Limons, and rifled us of all we had, pleading, that it belong'd to their King, as being Wreck. We had a piece of Scarlet Cloth with us, which (we pretended) was design'd for a Present to the King of the Islands, alledging at the same time, that the whole Cargo of our Ship was mean'd for a Compliment to him. Upon this, no body dar'd so much as touch the Scarlet; but after all, we cut a piece of two or three Ells off it, and presented it to the Governour of this little Island, in order to oblige him; and the Governour, who was a very old Man, took it very kindly, conjuring us not to speak of it. Soon after, the Governour sent the Master and two Sailors to the King, who resided in the Capital Island call'd *Male*, and the Master presented him the piece of Scarlet. Immediately the King sent for his Brother-in-Law to save what was on board our stranded Ship. Tho' the Flats were such that no Boat could come near it, yet they found a way of getting at it, by the means of a Rope fasten'd at one end to the Ship, and at the other to the Rock; for tho' the Waves wash'd over 'em, they held fast by the Rope, and so got to the Ship; nay, they are so ingenious, that they took the very Cannon and the heaviest Goods, and laugh'd at any Advice we could give 'em. When we left the Ship, we brought with us about 1000 Crowns in several Girdles, and bury'd it a-shoar for a common Reserve to supply our Necessities: But some of our Men being in want of Sustenance, dig'd up the place, and offer'd the Natives pieces of Money for Food; after which, the Natives would never allow us Sustenance, without pieces of Money; and in regard that the least piece in the whole Bank was worth 20 pence, their Provisions were much over-valued. Every Seaman hid from his Neighbour what he had got, and would not assist him even at the point of starving; nay, when any lay very sick, the rest came and rifled him before he dy'd. As for my own part (says our Author) I and two more were transported to the Island of *Pandowe*, the Natives of which being acquainted with what pass'd in the other Islands, and thinking we had Money about us, refus'd us Sustenance, till we gave 'em pieces of Silver; but in effect we had none of the Money, and were reduc'd to great Extremities. In the mean time I made it my Business to learn their Language, and by the being able to discourse with 'em, insinuated my self into the Favour of the Governour of the Island, who sent me to *Male*, with Recommendation to the King, and both the King and his Queen were so well pleas'd with my saluting 'em in their own Language, and according to the Custom of the Country, and with the Account I gave 'em of the things that were took out of our Ship, the Manners of the *French* Ladies, &c. that they took a distinguishing Care of me, particularly in a fit of Sickness, that lasted for several Days. In a word, I rose by the King's Favour and Bounty to a competency of Riches; and having by virtue of a long Stay in the Country, an Opportunity to inspect their Constitution, Customs, Laws, &c. am now going to gratifie the Publick with what I have learn'd upon that Subject.

The Natives covet pieces of Silver.

The Sufferings of the French.

The King of the Maldives favours those that learn his Language.

The Maldives, Their Situation, Division and Number.

The *Maldives* lie between 8 Degrees North Latitude and four Degrees South Latitude, being 200 Leagues in length and 35 in breadth. They are distant from *Spain* (according to the Course of Sailing) 4500 Leagues, and from the Continent or Cape *Comorin*, 150 Leagues. They are divided into 13 Provinces, call'd *Attollons*, each of which comprehends a great many small Islands, and is of a circular form, containing about 30 Leagues in circumference. These Islands are surrounded with a great ridge of Rocks, which breaks the Shocks of the Sea, and raises prodigious Surges. 'Tis said the number of Islands amounts to 12000, a great part of which is nothing but uninhabited Hillocks of Sand. But the Inhabitants inform'd me, that the daily Incursions of the Sea had impair'd the number both of the Islands and Inhabitants; and that the Isles of one *Attollon*, were formerly one continued Tract of Land. 'Tis plain that the Seas which divide the Isles of one *Attollon* are so shallow, that at low Water one might easily wade over, were it not that the bottom is rocky and sharp, and apt to wound the Feet to a flaming degree; and that those Seas are pester'd with the Fish call'd *Paimones*, which break Mens Legs and Arms, and devour 'em. Another great Inconvenience that attends the going into the Water, proceeds from a rough, sharp, polous, hard and ponderous sort of Substance, not unlike white Coral, which they call *Aquiry*, and make use of in boiling it with Coco Water, for 'tis that which forms their Sugar or Honey. A great part of these Islands are uninhabited, and produce nothing but Trees and Grass; others are only a moveable Sand, without any Green; and others again are overflowed at high-water. The rest are cover'd all over with great Crabs call'd Cacouue, and Cra-fish, or else with the Fowls call'd *Pingui's*, insomuch that one cannot place their Foot in any part, without treading upon their Eggs and Young ones, or upon the old Birds themselves, which do not fly far upon the approach of a Man. This Fowl is as big as a Pigeon, with white and black Feathers, and is excellent Meat, tho' the Natives do not eat it. The uninhabited sandy Islands appear at a distance, as if they were cover'd with Snow; for the Sand, which is as fine as that of an Hour-glass, is extream white, and withal so very hot, as to hatch the *Pingui's* Eggs. These sandy Islands afford little or no fresh Water; but the covered Islands whether inhabited or not, enjoy that Benefit, abating for a very few, the Inhabitants of which are forc'd to have recourse to the neighbouring Islands for Water, and make use of certain Inventions for the receiving of Rain Water. The Water of some Islands is better than that of others. Their Well-water is neither very sweet nor wholesome, but it is very plentiful and fresh, even within four Paces of the Sea-side; for they dig not above three or four Foot, and where the Sea makes frequent Inundations. This Water is very hot in the Night time, and extream cool in the Day, especially about Noon.

The Inconvenience of going into the Water.

The Fowl call'd Pingui's.

Scarcity of fresh Water.

Fresh Water just by the Sea.

The Names of the Attollons.

To return to the 13 *Attollons*; the first (beginning from the North) is call'd *Tilla Don Matis*, i. e. the *High Point*. In this lies the Head or Cape of the same Name, call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Cabeza Des Las il has*, and situated in eight Degrees North Latitude; the second is call'd *Milla dene Madone*; the third *Padypolo*; the fourth *Malosmadon*; the fifth *Arratollon*; the sixth *Male Attollon*, in which lies *Male*, the head Island of the *Maldives*; the seventh *Poulisdous*; the eighth *Molucque*; the ninth *Nillandous*; the tenth *Collomadons*; the eleventh *Adoumatis*; the twelfth *Souadon*; the thirteenth *Addon* and *Pona Molubque*, these two being reckon'd but one by reason of their smalness. Each *Attollon* is separated from the adjacent Provinces, by an Arm of the Sea, which is in some places narrow and in some places broad. There are only four of these limiting Chanels, that being much broader than the rest, are navigable by great Ships, but not without danger, especially in the Night, by reason of their Flats and Rocks, which are mark'd very exactly in some Sea Charts, which I saw in that Country. The Natives have a wonderful Dexterity in avoiding these dangerous places; I have seen 'em sail so nicely, as to rub upon Rocks on both sides, without any damage. Both the Rich and the Poor are inur'd to the Sea from their Infancy, and fear not to encounter the most turbulent and foaming Seas, in little Boats and Barques, the number of which is unaccountable, for the poorest Man that is has one, and the Rich have several. They never sail by Night or out of sight of Land, unless it be when they undertake some great Voyage; and accordingly the Provisions they have on board, are calculated only for one Day. The greatest part of the Islands comprehended in one *Attollon*, are surrounded with a common Flat or Bar, that's only passable at one or two narrow places, which

The Maldivians sail very dexterously.

are not easily observ'd; and for that Reason it is necessary for 'em to be very expert in the Management of their Boats or Barques, since the least Ship is certainly followed with Shipwrack and the loss of their Goods. As for their own Persons, indeed they have no great Reason to fear, for all of 'em swim admirably well. Notwithstanding their wonderful Dexterity in Sailing, they frequently loose their Barques, which is chiefly occasion'd by the Currents call'd *Oyvarou*, which run East and West Currents, six Months upon the East Coast, and six Months upon the West, but with such uncertainty, that the change happen'd sooner or later at one time than another. Tho' their Winds are frequently fix'd, as well as the Currents, in the East and West quarter, yet they sometimes shift to the N. and S.

The necessity of four landing places in each *Atrollon*.

'Tis observably, that the *Atrollons* lie all in a line, the end of the one facing the end of the next adjacent; and that they have two Entrances or accessable places on each side, which is a wonderful Conveniency; for if there were only one landing place at each end, the impetuosity of the East and West Currents would break their Communication with one another, or at least 'twould be impossible to practice it in all Seasons. The necessity of four landing places in each *Atrollon* will be evident, if we consider the following Instance. Suppose a landing place on the East Coast, almost directly opposite to the Entry of the other *Atrollon*, and another on the West, opposite to that of the adjacent *Atrollon*; if the Current runs from East to West, we cannot cross directly from Entrance to Entrance, but set out from the East Coast, which is then the Head of the Current, and taking it sideways, steers for the West Entry of the other *Atrollon*. In order to return, we set out from the East Entrance, and overthwarting the Current, make to the West Entry of the other *Atrollon*. When the Current changes its Course, we observed the same Contrivance in setting out from the Head of the Current, and entring the other *Atrollon* at that place which lies under the Current. Of these Entrances, some are broad and some narrow, but the widest is not above 200 Paces broad, and some of 'em are less than 30. Each Entrance is guarded with an Island on each side; and if Cannon were planted on these Islands, 'twere easy to hinder any Ships to enter.

The Chanels that parts the *Atrollons*.

Of the Chanels that part the *Atrollons*, there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great Ships, and frequently visited by Strangers, when the Currents carry them in against their will. To begin from the North side; the first of these four washes the *Atrollon*, call'd *Malos Madou*, and 'twas in this that we were cast away. The 2d, call'd *Caridou*, has *Malé*, the greatest of all these Islands in the middle of it. The 3d call'd *Addou*, lies to the South of *Malé*. The fourth call'd *Souadou*, lies directly under the Equinoctial Line; and in regard that it is the broadest of 'em all, being 20 Leagues over, the Natives don't fail upon it without a Compass, tho' they never use any in the other Chanels. Besides these, there is a narrow Chanel, which separates *Malé* and *Polisdou*, in which the Sea appears as black as Ink, but the Water taken up in a Vessel, looks like other Water. That Sea boils like Water on a Fire; it swells into great black Surges, but is not mov'd from one side to another, which renders it very terrible.

A Sea as black as Ink.

The Climate of these Islands.

The *Maldives* lie so near the Equinoctial on both sides, that their Climate is extream hot. Their Day and Night are always equal; and their Nights are very cool and dewy, which renders the heat of the Sun more tolerable, and shoots forth their Herbs and Trees. Their Winter commences in *April* and continues till *October*, at which time the Summer begins, and lasts likewise six Months. In Winter they have perpetual Rains but no Frost; and the westerly Winds are very boisterous. In Summer their Winds are Easterly, with an excessive Heat and no Rain.

The Original of the Inhabitants.

'Tis said, that the *Maldives* were in former times peopled by the *Cingala* (so the Inhabitants of *Ceylon* are call'd.) But 'tis observable, that the *Cingala* are black and ugly, whereas the Inhabitants of the *Maldives* are handsome, well made, and of an Olive Complexion: Tho' after all 'tis possible, that the Climate and process of time, may have alter'd the Complexion and Shapes to their advantage; besides, that a great many Forreigners being cast away on their Coast, are blended with 'em by intermarriages: And by this Means it comes to pass, that those who live about *Malé*, between it and the North Cape (where the Shipwracks happen) are more polish'd and civiliz'd, than those on the South Coast, who are not only blacker, but much coarser in their Language, Customs, and the shape of the Body; nay, many of their Women, especially such as are poor, go naked, with a small cover for their Privities. This North side of the Island is not only richer and more civiliz'd, as being the common Passage for all Ships, but the Seat of all the Nobility and Men of Fortune; and when the King punishes a Criminal with Banishment, he only sends him to the South parts: The Souldiers are all rais'd in the North parts. But after all this Difference, I must say, that the Inhabitants of the South parts are naturally as apprehensive and ingenious, as those of the North.

The North parts more civiliz'd than the South.

A Character of the Inhabitants.

In general, the *Maldivans* are very ingenious; they apply themselves with great Industry and Success, to all sorts of Manufactures, and even to Letters and Sciences, (after their manner) especially to Astrology, which they hold in great esteem. They are a wise cautious People, and very sharp in their Merchandize and way of living; they are brave, and skill'd in Arms, and their Policy is very regular. Their Women are very handsome, abating for their Olive colour; nay, some of 'em are as white as the *Europeans*. Their Hair is black, which is reckoned a great Ornament; and in order to turn it exactly black, several Women keep their Daughters Heads shav'd till they are eight or nine Year old, leaving only a little Hair upon their Forehead to distinguish 'em from Boys, who have none at all. I have seen some Children have half flaxen Hair, which was turn'd very black, by being shav'd every eight Days. Both Sexes affect black Hair, but the Women place an Ornament in having theirs thick and long, which they wash and dress very frequently. They wash their Head and Hair with Water and Lye made for that purpose, after which their Hair hangs dishevel'd in the Wind (but within-doors) till it dries, and then they rub and perfume it with an odoriferous Oil, which renders their Head always moist and oily. Both Sexes anoint their Bodies after washing, but tho' they wash their Bodies oftner than once in a Day, their Hair is not wash'd above twice or thrice a week. They may wash their Hair when they please, but they are oblig'd to do it after copulation, and particularly on *Fridays*, which is their Sabbath for the Women, and Festival Days for the Men. After the Women have wash'd, rub'd and perfum'd their Hair, they stretch all the Hair from before backwards, without leaving so much as one straggling Hair, and tie it behind in a great tuft or knot, which they enlarge by a Perriwig of Mans Hair, made in the form of a Horse's Tail; nay, some of 'em have two such Perriwigs; besides which, they add odoriferous Flowers.

How the Women dye, wash, perfume and dress their Hair.

How the Men wear their Hair.

As for the Men, none but Gentlemen and the King's Officers and Soldiers are allow'd to wear long Hair, and these indeed wash, perfume and dress their Hair after the same manner with the Women, excepting that they make the tuft not behind, but on the Crown of the Head, or on one side, and that they wear no false Perriwigs. However they are oblig'd to wear long Hair, against their own pleasure; and most of those who do cut it off when it gives over growing, in order to be made into Perriwigs for the Women; for the Women's Heads are never shav'd, whether dead or alive; and indeed the greatest part of these Perriwigs come from the Continent, particularly from the Coast of *Malabar*, where every Man wears his Hair long. Their Hair grows much fatter than ours, by reason partly of the frequent washing and perfuming, and partly of the excessive heat, which occasions thick and strong Hair, and for the same reason their Hair is never curl'd. The Men are hairy all o'er the Body, and despise those that are not; but the Women have no Hair but what's usual. They have no Combs, but they have Cissars of cast Copper, and Copper Looking-glasses, which they make use of in shaving themselves with Steel Razors, made after another fashion than ours. There are no profess'd Barbers in the Country, for every one shaves himself, excepting the King and some Peers, who are serv'd by Persons that are proud of that Honour, without any Prospect of Gain; so that in all these Islands both Men and Women are provided with Utensils for shaving, and are very nice in taking off their Hair when it begins to be uneasy to 'em. The Girls have their Heads shav'd once a week, from their Infancy to the 8th Year of their Age, at which time their Hair is suffer'd to grow to its full length, and dress'd as above, for then is the Season of looking out for Husbands. Before that Age they have no Garments, but only a Cloth that hangs down from their middle to the Knees; and the Occasion of their being cloth'd afterwards, proceeds from the rising of their Breasts, which commences at that time; for the Women in that Country are as tender of shewing their Breasts, as our Women are of their secret parts. Before the swelling of their Breasts, they are look'd upon as Children, and 'tis not allowable for Men or Boys to discourse to 'em of Love Matters. The Cloth that

The manner of shaving, both for Men and Women.

The Mode of the Girls.

hangs down from their middle to the Knees, they put on as soon as they begin to go; but the Boys have none till they are seven Years old, and circumcis'd. As for the Men who are hairy all over, they only shave their Breast, which is left uncover'd; but they shave it so as to leave Hair standing here and there. Their Beards are of two sorts; Ecclesiastical Persons, and those who have perform'd Pilgrimages to *Mecca*, wear long Beards, shaving under the Throat, and upon the upper and lower Lip, all round their Mouth; for 'tis reckon'd the greatest nusance in the World, to have their Meat or Drink touch'd with Hair. The other sort of People have little *Spanish* Beards without Mustaches, being shav'd round the Mouth and under the Chin. They are very careful in saving the Parings of their Nails and the Shavings of their Hair, which they wrap up in Cotton, and bury in their Church-yards, with a little Water, upon the Plea, that being parts of the Body, they require interment as well as the whole, and for that reason, many of 'em chose to be shav'd in the Porches of their Temples; for they would not for any thing in the World, either trample upon these Excrements, or see 'em thrown in the Fire. They are so hardy, that tho' their Rasours are very bad, yet they use nothing but cold Water, and never complain of any Pain in shaving.

The Mens Beards.

They save their Shavings and Parings.

To give a particular Description of the *Maldives*, we shall begin with its Fertility. It produces great plenty of Millet, call'd there *Pura*, and another little Grain call'd *Briney*, which resembles Millet, but is black like Rape-seed, these two sorts of Grain they sow and reap twice in one Year. They make a sort of Meal of 'em, of which they make Pottage, with Milk, Coco, Honey, as well as Cakes and Fritters.

The Fertility of these Islands.

The Country produces likewise several sorts of Roots, which the Inhabitants feed upon, particularly one call'd *Nelpeu*, which grows wild, being round, and as big as two Fists. They bruise it upon a rough Stone, and then expose it to the Sun, upon which it turns to a white sort of Meal, that eats admirably in Pottage or Cakes, only it must be very fresh, and 'tis apt to lie heavy upon the Stomach.

Natural Root.

Another Root that grows there plentifully, and eats well, is call'd *Alas*, which must be sown and cultivated, and is commonly as big as a Man's Thigh; some of this sort of Roots are red and others white. The Inhabitants boil 'em several ways, and make 'em the most of their food, keeping 'em for a whole Year, for they come to maturity only once a Year, in *September*. They have no Rice but what is imported from the Continent; however they have it pretty cheap, and use a great deal of it, either boiling it with Water, or mix'd with Spices, or boil'd with Milk and the Sugar of Coco's, or boil'd with Pullets or Fish, or turn'd into Meal after drying and bruising, and then made into Cakes and Fritters with Eggs, Honey, Milk, and the Butter of Coco's.

Alas a Root.

This Country is well replenish'd with Herbs and Trees, some of which bear Fruit and some do not, tho' the Natives eat their Leaves, these being very sweet and well tasted. As for their Fruit, they have an infinite plenty of Citrons, Pomgranates, and Oranges of *Bannanes*, call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Indian* Figs, and by the *Maldives*, *Quella*, which is a large, delicious, and nourishing Fruit, insomuch that it serves their Children instead of Broth.

Their Fruit.

Bannanes a Fruit.

The most profitable Fruit is the Coco, or *Indian* Fruit, call'd by them *Koul*, which is more plentiful in the *Maldives*, than in any other part of the World; so that the Inhabitants know how to manage it better than others. This Tree alone might supply all the Necessities of Life, for it affords Wine, Honey, Sugar, Milk and Butter, besides, that its Kernel may be eat as Bread, of which they have none in that Country. Further, most of their Utensils are made of the Wood, Bark, Leaves and Nutshells of this Tree.

Coco's.

In fine, the whole Country is shaded and refresh'd with Trees, many of which serve for no other use but burning, so that there's no occasion to buy Firewood; besides, that there are whole Islands cover'd with Trees, from whence they fetch what Fire-wood they please.

Great plenty of Wood.

'Tis very remarkable, that tho' all the thirteen *Attollons* are in the same Climate, and all very fertile, yet they produce such different Commodities, that one cannot live without another; for what is plentiful in one is scarce in another, or at least not so good. This occasions a Necessity of Mutual Commerce, and pursuant to Nature's Method, the Inhabitants have so divided themselves, that one Province cannot live without the other; for the Weavers repair all to one Island, the Goldsmiths to another, and so on. Now to render the Communication easy, these Artificers have little Boats with Cheeks, where they work, sleep and eat, while they are sailing from one Island to another, to vent their Manufacture, and sometimes they are a Year out, before they return to their fixt abodes.

The Products of one Province different from the other.

As for their Animals; they have prodigious numbers of wild Pullets, which are sold for a Penny a-piece; and for the same price will fetch three dozen of Eggs; next to Fish; this is the most of their Food. They have great plenty of Wild Pigeons, Ducks, Rayls, Birds resembling Spar-hawks, black and gray Muskits living not upon Prey but upon Fruit, *&c.* as for Domestick Fowl they have none. The Crows are here very troublesome, for they are numerous to a miracle, and so bold as to take things out of the Houses, before the Peoples Faces. Their Bats are as big as Ravens; and their Gnats or Muskito's bite more severely than in any other part of the *Indies*. But they are most incommoded by Rats, Dormice, Pismires, and other sorts of Vermine, which over-run all their Houses, and spoil their Grain, Provisions, Fruit, and tender Commodities. To obviate this Inconvenience, they build Granaries and Ware-houses, on Piles or Stakes in the Sea, at the distance of 200 or 300 Paces from the Land; and most of the King's Magazines are built after the same manner. They have no poysonous Animals but Snakes, of which a very dangerous kind frequents the Sea. Cats, Pole-Cats and Ferrets are likewise found there; but there are no Beasts for riding, nor indeed any great Beasts, whether wild or tame, excepting a few Sheep, and some 3 or 400 Cows and Bulls in the Island of *Male*, which belong only to the King, and of which they never eat but on Festival Days and Solemn Occasions; for their Kind is imported from the Continent. They have no Dogs, nay, they abhor 'em so much, that when the King of *Portugal* sent two as a Present to their King, he order'd 'em to be drown'd immediately.

The Animals.

Crows.

Bats as big as Ravens.

Rats very troublesome.

No large Beasts in this Country.

The Sea affords wonderful plenty of all sorts of Fish, especially between the *Attollons*, where 'tis shallow and calm; and the Fishery is the most constant Exercise of the Natives, who feed mostly upon Fish, whether fresh with Rice or other Meat, or fry'd with the Oil of Coco's, or boil'd in salt Water, and dry'd for keeping. They send every Day, Ships loaded with Fish for *Sumatra*, *Achen*, and other places. Many of the Fishermen want Arms and Legs, that have been bit off by a sort of great Fish that frequents those Seas.

Great plenty of Fish.

This great plenty of all Necessaries occasions an easy Purchase; 400 Coco's cost but a Larin, which is eight Pence; the same price will purchase 500 *Barmenes*, or a dozen of Fowls, or 300 pound weight of Roots, or 100 large Fish, *&c.* In fine, there is no part in the *Indies*, where a Stranger can get an Estate so soon as here; for it lies conveniently for Trade, and requires but an inconsiderable Charge for Maintenance.

All things very cheap.

The Natives 'tis true do not grow rich, and that I take to proceed from their cheap and easy living, which encourages 'em to Negligence and Idleness.

The Natives lazy.

Male, the Principal Island, gives name to all the rest, *Dives* signifying a heap of little Islands. This Island stands almost in the middle, and is one League and a half in circumference. 'Tis the most fertile of 'em all, the staple Port and Magazine of all the rest, and the Residence of the King and the Court. By this means 'tis better peopled, but at the same time 'tis not so healthy, for which the Natives give this Reason, *viz.* The King and the Court having resided there time out of mind, and the Corps of all that dy'd being interr'd apart, the whole Surface of the Island becomes a continued Series of Graves, from whence the perpendicular Sun extracts pernicious Vapours; and accordingly the Water is here so bad, that the King and the Persons of Quality send for Water from other Islands.

The Isle of Male.

In all the Islands, even in *Male* it self, there's no such thing as enclos'd Towns, but the Houses lie scatter'd here and there, tho' not without some Order, and the Distinction of Streets. The common Peoples Houses are built of Coco Wood, and cover'd with Coco Leaves sow'd double, one within another. Persons of Quality and Fortune, have Houses built of Stone taken out of the Sea from under the Flats and Rocks. This sort of Stone is very smooth and white, and somewhat hard to cut, but when it is wet with Rain or fresh Water, it looses its hardness, and at last becomes all over black; the manner of taking them out of the Sea is very remarkable. There grows in that Country a sort of Tree call'd *Candou*, which is as big as our Walnut-tree, and resembles the Aspin in its shaking Leaves and whiteness, but is extream soft; it bears no Fruit, and is not proper for burning. When 'tis dry they saw it into Planks, like our Fir Dales; this Wood is lighter than Cork; this premis'd,

Their Houses.

The way of taking Stone out of the Sea.

Candou Tree.

we come to shew how they draw out the Stone. Being the experteſt Swimmers that can be, they dive under Water, and having pitch'd upon a Stone fit for their Purpoſe, faſten a great Cable to it, then they take a piece of the *Candou* Wood, and having boar'd it, run it along the Cable quite up to the Stone; after this they run on ſuch a number of Pieces as they have occaſion for, till the light and floating Wood drags up along with it, a Stone or any other weight of 100000 pound weight. 'Twas by this Convenience that the Natives took up the Canon and Anchors of our Ship that was caſt away; and I was Eye-witneſs to their clearing, by the ſame means, in the ſpace of 15 Days, the Harbour of *Malé*, which was choak'd with great Rocks, inſomuch that no Ship could come in.

The Advantage of the floating *Candou* Wood.

When the *Candou* Wood is once ſoak'd in Water, it muſt be dry'd in the Sun before it be us'd again, elſe 'twill not float. Upon other Occaſions they take five or ſix large pieces of Wood, and having rang'd 'em all in a line, raiſe upon 'em Planks of the ſame Wood to ſit upon, and ſo paſs from one Iſland to another; and 'tis by this Contrivance that they chiefly manage their Fiſhery. In the Canals that run between the *Atollons*, one Man can work theſe Inſtruments of Navigation, tho' they are not proper for the Sea; for they know how to trim their Dale Seats ſo well, that there's no fear of over-ſetting, and if that happens, their Planks will always ſwim above. All the Danger lies in the disjoyning of the Pieces; and this ſort of Float is call'd *Candoupatis*, from the Wood of which it conſiſts. The *Candou* Tree has yet another Property, namely, that when one piece is ſtruck againſt another, they will ſtrike fire, and this ſerves 'em in the place of Tinder-Boxes.

The Lime they make uſe of.

So much for the way of dragging their Stones from the bottom of the Sea; and as to Lime, they ſupply its room with an excellent Cement, made of the Shells that they find on the Sea-ſide.

Their Language.

Our Method directs us in the next place to ſpeak of their Language, which lies in two Chanels. The firſt is the *Maldivan*, properly ſo call'd, which claims a large extent. The ſecond is the *Arabick*, which runs upon the ſame lay with the *Latin* in a Popiſh Country, and is the Language of their Devout Addreſſes. I paſs over the *Cambaye*, *Guzeratta*, and *Portugueſe* Tongues, which are depriv'd from their Commerce; and ſhall only take notice, that in the Southern parts they ſpeak a coarſe unpolite ſort of Language, which, after all, is a Retainer to the common Tongue of theſe Iſlands.

Their Religion.

Their Religion and Ceremonies come next in courſe. All the Inhabitants are *Mahometans*, and the greateſt part of the Foreigners (viz. *Arabians*, *Malabars*, and *Sanatrans*) are the ſame.

Temples.

Their Temples, *Alia's*, *Moſchees*, are built of good Stone well cemented, and have a thick Wall. They ſtand in the middle of a ſquare wall'd Encloſure, where they bury their Dead, abating for thoſe who deſire a ſeparate Sepulchre. Their Temples are ſquare and face the Weſt, as pointing to *Mahometan's* Tomb, with reference to their Poſition. They have three Doors, each of which is fac'd by a broad Well, with Steps, the bottom and ſides of which are lin'd with poliſh'd and flat Stones, the Floor of the Temple being cover'd with Mats and Tapeſtry, whereas the Church-yard is nothing but Sand. Their Temples are kept ſo clean, that if they want to ſpit or blow their Noſe, they muſt either do it in their Handkerchief, or get out of doors. The Roof or Ceiling of the Temples is of Wood admirably well poliſh'd, and the Walls are Wainſcoted, both of 'em being firmly join'd without Nails or Pegs or any other viſible Artifice. Upon the Walls of the Temples we met with large Tables of Stone or of Wood, with *Arabick* Inſcriptions. They have a particular place for the King and his Court, and Galleries for the Guards, with ſeparate Apartments for certain Dignities, Qualities and Ages, inſomuch that any Perſon who takes up an improper place, is fin'd accordingly. They are never without burning Lamps, for which end certain Coco Trees are conſecrated. Some of the Iſlands have nine or ten Temples; but that in which they ſolemnize a general Feſtival, is built and ſupported upon the common Charge, under the Name of *Ou couru Meſquite*.

Their Prieſts.

Each Moſche has it Prieſt call'd *Moudin*; and each Iſland that has 40 Perſons above the 15th Year of their Age, is dignified with a *Catibe* or Curate, who aſſiſts as Principal in all publick Exerciſes, and governs the inferiour Prieſts. He pronounces the publick Prayers, and by Sermons and Exhortations, explains and recommends the Law of *Mahomet*; under him the *Mondins* teach Children to read and write their Mother Tongues and that of *Arabia*, for which Service their Parents give a voluntry Reward.

Their way of Worſhip.

Every Day in the Week all above 15 Years of Age, repair by the break of Day to the Temple, and declare their Creed, *viz.* That the World is flat and not round; That 'tis ſurrounded with a Wall of Braſs, which prevents its being drown'd in the Waters that encompaſs it; That the Devil, the general Enemy of Mankind, indeavours every Night to break through and undermine this Wall; And that he is not much ſhort of compaſſing his end when the Day-light arrives. Upon this Belief they all join in Prayer at the break of Day, to prevent the Deſtruction of the World, which (as they believe) would otherwiſe inſue. They repair to the Temple four times a Day, beſides, namely, at Noon, at three a Clock in the Afternoon, at Sun-ſet, and at ten a Clock at Night, tarrying each time half an Hour. Thoſe that have no mind to go to Church, may ſay their Prayers at home, or ſay none at all if they will; but if it be known that any Perſon neglects the Duty of Prayer altogether, no body will eat or converſe with him; from whence it comes to paſs, that almoſt all of 'em, whether Tradeſmen or others, ſpend a great part of their time in Publick Service. They make uſe of Beads as well as the Papiſts, but they have no Croſſes. Before they enter the Temple, they waſh their Feet, Hands, Ears, Mouth and Eyes, obſerving at the ſame time certain Ceremonies, and pronouncing Prayers ſuitable to the Sin they repent of. They are ſo ſcrupulous, that no Temptation in the World can oblidge them to forbear this ſolemn way of Waſhing, upon the Apprehenſion, that it certainly purges 'em of all Sin and Pollution. The greateſt Indecency of their Worſhip is, that they waſh and bath publickly and promiſcuouſly, and offer their Penitential Prayers with a loud Voice, and ſo diſcover to all the world all the ſecret Tranſactions of their Life, whether in the way of Luſt or otherwiſe. At this rate all the ſecret Adventures of Man and Wife are laid open to the World, by the publicks Prayer of both Parties; for the Women pray aloud as well as the Men, only they do it in their Houſes, in regard that they never go to Church.

Their Prayers.

Circumciſion of Males.

The Male Children are circumcis'd when they are ſeven Years of Age; and upon that Occaſion the Parents and Relations divert themſelves with Muſick and Publick Feaſting fourteen Days. They have particular Operators for Circumciſions, who apply themſelves to nothing elſe; and the Ceremony of the Action is after this manner. For ſix or ſeven Hours before the Circumciſion, the Child is bath'd in the Sea, in order to make the Yard ſhrink, and to render the Skin ſoft and tender. When the Hour of Action comes, the Child is brought to a Lodge built on purpoſe, and held by two or three *Moudins* or Prieſts, who in the mean time chant Verſes and Prayers ſuitable to the Occaſion; then the Operator, having drawn over the Prepuce and ty'd it with a String, cuts it with a Razor; after which he heals it in the ſpace of 15 Days. Before Circumciſion, they alledge, that the Child is innocent and cannot ſin; and for the ſame Reaſon they do not cover the Privities of the uncircumcis'd Children. As for the Girls, their Circumciſion conſiſts in drawing two or three drops of Blood from their Privy Parts, when they are two Years of Age, but 'tis attended with no Solemnity. When the Children are grown up, they pay a profound Deference to the Operator that circumcis'd them, and call 'em their Maſters.

of Females.

Their Feſtivals.

The Feaſt of *Friday*.

They celebrate ſeveral Feſtivals all the Year long, particularly every *Friday* is with them a Day of Feaſting, at which all the Males above 15 Years of Age are preſent, but no Females. On the preceding Eve they pray in their Houſes, ſome for their Health, others for the Dead; and for that end ſend for the Prieſt to their Houſes, where an Entertainment is provided; and when the Prieſts have no Stomach for eating, they chooſe rather to abſent, for if they come they muſt eat tho' againſt their Appetite. On *Friday* Morning, the publick Crier goes round the Iſland, with a ſort of caſt Bell in his Hand, and a Hammer of Wood to beat it withal: He is aſſiſted by three Trumpeters, who ſound often to give the People notice of their Duty. Upon this Warning the People throw aſide all work for that day, and after waſhing and bathing, and putting on their beſt Cloths, repair to the Temple. In the mean time the King's Muſicians play before his Palace on divers Inſtruments; and ſoon after, the King's four Prieſts, who are Men of Quality and Learning, and never aſſiſt but at publick Solemnities; theſe Prieſts, I ſay, aſcend an high Stone Edifice, adjoining to the Temple, where they clap their Hands upon their Ears, and with a loud and fearful Voice, cry thrice, *Alas*, *Alas*, *Aquebar*, i. e. *Great God*, and then they add ſomething of *Mahomet*. This done, they repair to the King's Palace, and pronounce the ſame Words after the ſame manner; upon which, if the King has a mind to be

Prieſts overfed.

ſeen,

seen, as he commonly is, sends a Carpet of Silk to be spread on the place where he means to sit. Then the *Moudins* do the like at the *Catibe's* House; and he comes and waits upon the King, who walks in great magnificence to the Temple, his Head being cover'd with a white Vail above a great Turband, so that he cannot see, and is oblig'd to be led by one of the *Moudins*. The King comes last to the Church, and immediately says his Prayers; after which the *Catibe*, being mounted on a rais'd place at one end of the Temple, takes a naked Sword in his Hand with the point downward, and flourishing it about, recites his Prayers. In the mean time the People pray without ceasing, putting themselves into ...ers Postures, and observing several apish Gestures. The *Catibe* has a new Prayer for every *Friday* in the Year, and when that Year is expir'd, makes use of the same Prayers for the next. He repeats all without book, and if he happens to be out in one Word, Syllable or Letter, the *Moudins* reprimand him publickly, and the Feast is thought to be of no avail. This Service lasts about two Hours, and after it is over, the People salute one another, and the King returning in great state to his Palace, entertains 'em at his own Charges.

The New Moon Feasts.

They observe the like Solemnity on the Day of every New Moon, and rejoice when they see it. Upon this Occasion they clean their Houses, Courts and Streets, garnishing the Entries of the Churches and the Gates of their Houses, with Coco Shells cut in the middle, and fil'd with white Sand and burning Coals, upon which they burn almost all Night, sweet scented Gums and Woods; at the same time the inside of their Houses, their Beds, &c. are perfum'd after the same manner.

The Lent call'd *Ramedan*.

Tho' the *Maldivans* celebrate every New Moon, yet they observe four beyond the rest, particularly in *December* or thereabouts (for their Months are lunar) they have a Feast call'd *Ramedan*, which commences at the New Moon, and lasts till the next New Moon. They take their Measures, not from the real change, but from the Appearance of the New-Moon; by which means it comes to pass, that some Islands begin the Feast sooner than others. The first Night of the *Ramedan* Feast, the Men and Women visit one another apart, and divert themselves with Feasting, Dancing, &c. till 'tis near day; having prepar'd themselves for eating by fasting the preceding Day, in which Custom they are so superstitious, that for that Day they will not only avoid the tasting of any thing, but even the washing of their Mouth, or putting their Finger in their Mouth, or swallowing their Spittle. The prohibition of swallowing their Spittle, puts them to a great Inconvenience when they are in Church, for that 'tis not allowable to spit there, and so upon every turn they are forc'd to run out of Doors. Nay, such is their Superstition upon the Fast-Day, that the Men who are allowed to bath, are prohibited to plunge their Heads in the Water, lest some drop of it should enter their Mouth or Ears; and the Women are downright forbid to bath at all, lest the Water should get in at their lower Parts. Half an hour before Sun-set, all above 15 Years of Age repair to the Temple, and in the space of that half hour, cleanse their Mouths and pick their Teeth very nicely, being furnish'd by the *Moudins* with Pick-tooths and other cleansing Instruments made of Coco Wood. This done, the *Moudin* makes his Cry three times, and enters the Temple at the head of the People, who then say their Prayers, the Women being at the same time imploy'd in saying theirs at home: When that Service is over they feast and make merry with one another. During the *Ramedan* the King entertains all the People at several times, inviting only Persons of one and the same quality at a time; for they are such religious Observers of their Quality, that they will not eat with any Persons of a different rank. The Nobles &c. entertain their Friends in like manner, and thus do the Men and Boys Feast; but the Women, who are not allow'd to go to the Feasts, send only Presents at Night to one another. The Women bath themselves in the Evening, at which time the Men are enjoin'd to avoid bathing. During the whole course of the *Ramedan*, they fast after the above-mentioned manner in the Day time, and avoid Sin and Pollution as much as they can; nay, in the Day-time the married Men must not imbrace their own Wives, and if they do it in the Night, they must bath with their Wives, and say certain Prayers before the Day comes. If any one breaks any of the fast Days, he is oblig'd to fast as many more after the end of the *Ramedan*: In this Month no body will either work or travel be they never so poor. The *Pandiare* preaches every Day at three a Clock in the Afternoon, in the King's Palace, or in the Church, or in his own House. After the Sermon is over, they divert themselves with the Exercise of Arms, and several sorts of Plays, particularly the Foot-ball: At the same time the Women and Girls visit one another, and have particular sorts of Plays and Diversions suitable to their Sex. The Intriegues of Love run higher in this Month than in any other: and the Courtship consists in sending to one another Songs and Verses, inscrib'd with Bodkins on Coco-leaves, which are as white as Paper. The Youths do likewise present their Mistresses with Garlands of sweet smelling Flowers, and receive a Counter Present of Betel nicely dress'd: In fine, they take all possible Measures to heighten their Mirth and Diversion. After the Month is over, the Women and Girls are oblig'd to fast eight Days longer, upon the account of their Menstrual Flux.

The Divertisons of Men and Women.

How they carry on their Intrigues.

On Fast-Days they must not swallow their Spittle.

They are very scrupulous on Fast-Days.

Three Days before it ends, the Bell-man and the Trumpeters go round the Island, requiring all the Inhabitants, whether Men or Boys, Women or Girls, to send their Names in writing to the *Nayro* of their respective *Atollon*, and to pay an Offering of half a Larin a Head, which the People pay very willingly, as a Tribute to God and *Mahomet*; for they imagine, that without the paying of that Tribute, their Fasting would not avail 'em. In this Tax the Parents pay for their unmaried Children, and for their Servants and Slaves; and if any poor Person has not the Money to lay down, the King or any rich Man pays for 'em very willingly. The Money arising from this Tax is lodg'd in the Hands of four Receivers, one on the behalf of the King, a second for the Clergy, a third for the New Converts, and a fourth for the Poor; one third of it goes to Ecclesiastical Persons, another to the Proselytes, and the last third to the Poor.

A Poll Tax.

When this Lent is over, they celebrate a great Festival call'd *Ydu*, which is one of the greatest New-Moon Solemnities that they have.

The Ydu Feast.

The next New-Moon after that, they celebrate a Festival call'd *Mas Ydu*, i. e. a *Great Feast*, which lasts three Days. The Day of this New-Moon is that Day in which the Pilgrims observe so may Ceremonies before *Mahomet's* Tomb in *Mecca*.

Sirat Festival.

About the Month of *April* or *May*, at Full-Moon, they have a Solemnity of three Days, call'd *Feycacan*, i. e. the *Full-Moon*, at which every one carrys some Rice along with them, and boils it over a great Fire, being entertain'd at the same time with Musick, Dancing, &c. for they date the Arrival of Rice in these Islands from that Full-Moon.

In *June* or thereabouts (for, as I said above, their Months being *Lunar*, do not agree with ours) they observe a Feast for the Dead with a great deal of Superstition. On this Occasion they visit the Sepulchres of Holy Men, and of their Ancestors, Relations, &c. where they make Offerings and burn Perfumes.

The next Day after that Solemnity is a Day of general Alms-giving, and even the King himself gives Alms with his own Hand to the Poor, who upon that Occasion resort to *Malé* from the other Islands.

About *August* and *September*, they have a Solemnity of two Days, in which they send about to one another boil'd Wine with Honey and Coco Milk: This Festival is said to take its Rise from a Miracle that *Mahomet* acted on that Day.

There remains yet another very solemn Night-Festival, call'd *Maulude*, which happens about the Month of *October*, being the Night on which *Mahomet* dy'd. Upon this Occasion they have a large House or Hall of Wood, in several parts of the Island, which is hung within with the finest and richest Tapestry, the Floor being cover'd with white Sand and Mats above it, and the Cieling adorn'd with white Cotton Cloth, supported with black Strings that run along it like Stripes. In this great Hall hang up so many Lamps that 'tis as light as day, and the Smell and Smoak of the Perfumes they burn, fills the adjacent Air. In the midst of the Hall, there's a Table cover'd with several sorts of Meat and liquid Mixtures. The Women do not assist at this Solemnity, but the Males repair thither about eight a clock at Night, and sit down in order according to their respective Stations, there being Officers appointed to rank 'em. All the Night long the Priests and other Ecclesiastical Persons sing Songs, which they call the Psalms of *David*. When Mid-night approaches, the whole Assembly falls down flat upon the Ground, as in an Extasy, and continue in that posture for some time; after which the *Pandiare* and the *Caribes* start up of a sudden, and all the rest following their Examples, skip about and leap upon each other as if they were mad. The People are serv'd with Betel well dress'd, and Drink, by 50 Persons chosen into that Office, which is reckon'd very honourable. When the Night

The time of the Feast.

Their present to Divers.

The Funeral Ceremonies.

Night is almoſt over, the Prieſts give over ſinging and ſay Prayers; after which they all go to the middle of the Hall where the Table ſtands, and every one takes a Plate of Meat and ſome Aromatick Liquors, which they carry home with them and value very much.

The ſolemnity of Marriages.

After their Religious Rites, 'twill be proper to ſubjoin the Ceremony of Marriages and Funerals. Upon a Deſign of Marriage, they addreſs themſelves to the *Pandiare* or *Naylies*, who after the being ſufficiently inform'd and ſatisfied that things really are as they are repreſented, takes the Man by the Hand, and asks him if he is willing to take ſuch a Woman on the Conditions propoſs'd, and (the Woman being always abſent) he likewiſe queſtions her Parents and Relations, upon their Conſent. If they all agree he marries 'em, and calls the By-ſtanders to witneſs their mutual Conſent. Then the whole Company waits upon the Woman at home, and ſeveral other Perſons viſit her, all the Viſiters being entertain'd with Feaſting, Muſick, Dancing, &c. The new-married Man makes Preſents to the King and the great Lords, and the Bride pays the like Complement to the Queen and the other Ladies; both of 'em makes Preſents likewiſe to their Relations. But when the King is married he does not give, but receives Preſents from all his Subjects, ſuitable to their Stations, *viz.* Cloth, Garments, Turbands, Victuals, Fruit, Flowers, &c. and all theſe Preſents, which in the bulk riſe to a great value, belong to the new-married Queen. A Man may have three Wives if he can maintain 'em, but not more; and if all the three live in one Iſland, he is oblig'd by the Law, to beſtow as many Nights upon one as upon the other; tho' after all, this Law is not obſerv'd; and indeed 'tis a hard Law in that Country, where the Women are ſo laſcivious, that three Men cannot ſatisfie one Woman. The Bridegroom receives no Dowry with his Wife; and is oblig'd not only to be at the Charge of the Nuptial Solemnity, and to maintain her, but to ſettle upon her a Joynture equal to what her Mother and other Anceſtors had. They are ſo nice upon this laſt Condition, that if the Prieſts apprehends that the Man can't afford ſuch a Joynture, he refuſes to marry 'em, notwithſtanding that both Parties require it. But after all, the Bride may renounce either the whole, or part of her Joynture, after marriage, and indeed that is frequently practis'd. Brothers and Siſters, First-Couſins, and thoſe who by way of Friendſhip and Intimacy, have us'd to call one another by the Names of Son or Daughter, Father or Mother, Brother or Siſter; theſe, I ſay, are prohibited to marry. The Males may marry when they will, but a Female Orphan cannot marry till ſhe is 15 Years of Age. Indeed if her Father be alive (for the Mother has no Power) he marries her at ten or eleven Years of Age, and that to the firſt Suitor, whether old or young, provided his Quality is in ſome meaſure ſuitable to hers; for they reckon it a great Sin to keep up their Daughters from the injoyment of a Man. A Man may turn away his Wife; but unleſs ſhe conſents to the Separation, ſhe may demand her Joynture; tho', after all, that Demand is ſeldom made, as being reckon'd a mean and deſpondent Action, and a ſign that the Woman fears that her Merit will never procure her another Husband; on the other Hand, the Woman cannot part from her Husband without his conſent. This ſort of Divorce, which is very frequent, muſt be atteſted by Witneſſes, or elſe they can't have the Benefit of ſecond Marriages. The divorc'd Parties frequently repent of their Separation, and marry again a ſecond, third, or fourth time, but after three Divorces, ſuch Re-marriages are not allow'd, tho' ſuch is the Levity of the People, that they frequently deſire 'em; and in order to elude the Law, they have a common trick of getting ſome profligate Scoundrel to marry the divorc'd Woman, and lie with her one Night without touching her: after which, he quits her before Witneſſes, and ſo ſhe is married again to her former Husband. Such is the frequency of theſe Divorces, that a Man ſhall have 100 Wives; and the Women look upon the multitude of ſeparated Husbands, as a recommending quality for future Marriages. When a Woman is ſeparated from her Husband by death, ſhe muſt mourn four Months and ten Days, before ſhe can marry again; and if the Separation is accompliſh'd by Divorce, ſhe muſt prove, that after that, her Menſtrual has return'd three times, before ſhe offers to marry. This Caution is us'd, for fear ſhe ſhould prove with child to her former Husband.

The laſciviouſneſs of their Women.

Their Joynture.

Their frequent and voluntary Divorces.

The forbidden Degrees.

The Funeral Ceremonies.

Their Funeral Ceremonies are ſuperſtitious to a flaming Degree. In the firſt place the Corps are waſh'd by ſix Perſons of the Sex, who buy that Office of the King, and are paid for their Service, then they are wrap'd up in Cotton, and cover'd with fine white Cotton-cloth (which goes afterwards to the Prieſt) the Right-hand of the deceaſed Perſon being laid upon his Ear, and the Left upon his Thigh. This done, the Corps are laid upon the right-ſide in a Coffin of *Candou* Wood, and carry'd to the Burying-place by ſix Relations or Friends, attended by the Women-waſhers, who cry and howl moſt hideouſly. Every Man in his life-time, provides for himſelf a Burying-place, and all the other Neceſſaries for his Funeral; nay, they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that they'll rather ſtarve, than touch the Money they have laid up for the Charges of their Funeral. Beſides the ſix principal Mourners, the other Relations and Neighbours are preſent without invitation; and upon the march from the Houſe of the deceas'd Perſon to the Grave, they ſcatter Shells for the Benefit of the Poor, to whom they likewiſe diſtribute Bags and Sacks of Rice and Millet. At the ſame time they give to the Prieſt pieces of Gold and Silver, the number of which is proportionable to the Eſtate of the deceas'd Perſon; and theſe Pieces are diſtributed by the Prieſt to thoſe who have aſſiſted in praying for the dead Perſon, and particularly to thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtick Order, who alledge, that they have the only right to 'em. The Prieſts ſing continually, during the whole courſe of the Ceremony, and in the Proceſſion, a Perſon of Quality ſprinkles the Aſſiſtants with a Water made of ſweet Flowers. The Grave is cover'd with a large piece of Silk or Cotton, which upon the Interment goes to the Prieſts of the Temple. When the Corps are laid in the Grave, they turn the Face of the deceas'd Perſon to the quarter that faces *Mahomet*'s Tomb, and then fill up the Grave with fine white Sand, ſprinkling it with Water. When the Ceremony is over, the Relations entertain all the Company with Victuals, and the three following *Fridays* they pray over the Grave, where the Prieſts ſing, eat and pray every Day, till the third *Friday* paſſes, after which a General Feaſt is prepar'd for the Relations, Friends and Prieſts, who pretend that the Soul of the deceas'd Perſon is then convey'd to Paradice. This Feaſt is repeated every Year, and on *All-Souls* Day they throw freſh white Sand on the Grave, and perfume it with burnt Incenſe. The Grave is ſurrounded with wooden Pails, for they reckon it a great ſin to walk over it. They never bury two Corps in the ſame place; for they have ſuch a Reverence for the Bones of the Dead, that even the Prieſts do not dare to touch 'em. If a great Lord dies, the Prieſts ſing for him a whole Year, and are entertain'd every day with Diſhes of Meat and Betel; but if the King or Queen dies, the Ceremony is continued to the Death of the next Succeſſour.

The Benefit accruing to the Prieſts.

A yearly Feſtival Feaſt.

In this Country the Mourners make no alteration in their Habit, only they go bare-headed to the Grave, and continue ſo for a few Days after the Interment. Thoſe who die in fighting with Perſons of a contrary Religion, are buried upon the Spot where they fall, without any ceremony; and in regard that they are accounted holy and happy, neither the Prieſts nor their Friends pray for 'em: They never tranſport Corps out of one Iſland to another; and even the King himſelf is buried where he happens to die.

If any Perſon dies at Sea, they waſh the Corps and put 'em into a Coffin, which they place upon a float of *Candou* Wood; within the Coffin they put Silver in proportion to his Means, and a written Paper, deſcribing his Religion, and withal praying thoſe who meet with the Corps, to take the Money and bury 'em handſomly.

How they bury thoſe who die at Sea.

In purſuit of the other Cuſtoms of the *Maldivans*, we come next to their Apparel. The Men tye about their Privities a great Swathe of Cloth, which comes round about, to prevent any diſcovery in working or walking. Above that they have a piece of blue or red Cotton Cloth that reaches to their Knees, and then a larger piece of Cotton or Silk, reaching to their Ankles, and girded with a ſquare Handkerchief, imbroidered with Gold and Silk, which is ſpread upon their Backs and ty'd before. Above theſe they have a little piece of tranſparent and particolour'd Silk, which reaches only to the middle of their Thighs; at laſt they gird themſelves with a great fring'd Silk Girdle, the ends of which hang down before. Within this Girdle on the left ſide they keep their Money and Betel, and on the right ſide a Knife.

The Men's Cloaths.

Theſe Knives are made of excellent Steel, the common Sheaths being of Wood, and the Hafts of Fiſh-bone, for the Bone of a Land-creature they will not wear; the richer ſort have both their Hafts and Sheaths of wrought Silver.

Their Knives.

Every one wears a Knife, and eſteems it very much, as being his only Arms; for none but the King's Officers and Soldiers are allow'd to wear any other. Theſe indeed have a wrought Dagger at their ſide, and when they walk along the Streets, a drawn Sword in one Hand, with a Buckler or Javelin in the other.

Their Arms.

The

The *Maldivans* place their chief Ornament in the Silver Chains that hang about their Girdle, and of which the meaneſt Boy or Girl has more or leſs in proportion to their Means; but 'tis only the Perſons of Quality and Fortune that ſhew 'em openly. In theſe they place their chief Treaſure, and commonly they appropriate 'em for the Charge of their Funeral.

The common People are naked from the Girdle upwards, abating for the Feſtival Days, on which they wear Cotton and Silk Jerkins and Weſtcoats, with gilt Copper Buttons. The Sleeves of theſe Coats reach only to their Elbow; for they alledge, that if their Wriſts were ty'd up like ours, they could not have the free uſe of their Arms. The Perſons of Quality do commonly wear ſuch Coats; but ſome have a Cuſtom of covering their Skin from the Girdle upwards, with an odoriferous Paſte, made of the Pouder of Camphy and Sanders, beaten upon a ſmooth Stone, and incorporated with the diſtill'd Water of ſweet ſcented Flowers. They make their Wives or Friends anoint their Backs, &c. with this Paint, and draw various Figures upon 'em; However they muſt not appear with that piece of foppery before the King or be ſeen in his Palace. The Men of this Country wear upon their Heads red or particolour'd Turbants, ſome of which are of Cotton for the meaner ſort of People, and others of Silk for the Perſons of Quality. The King's Officers or Souldiers have frequently embroyder'd Handkerchiefs on their Heads, which the other Subjects are not allow'd to wear. Their Feet are always naked, excepting that within doors they uſe wooden Sandals, which they pull off when viſited by a Perſon of a ſuperiour rank; oftentimes their Legs are likewiſe naked.

A ſweet ſcented Paint.

Turbants.

Sandals.

The Women wear a Coat of Cotton or Silk, which reaches from their middle to their Ankles; above that they have a long robe of Taffata or fine Cotton, reaching to their Feet, without any ſlit beſides the Neck, where 'tis faſtened with two little gilded Buttons; this Robe they pull quite up when they ſuccle their Children. Their Arms are loaded from the Wriſt to the Elbow with great Bracelets of Silver, inſomuch that ſometimes they have three or four Pounds of fine maſſy Silver upon 'em, tho' indeed the poorer ſort alloy the Silver with Braſs. The Women of quality have many Chains of Gold or ſtrings of little pieces of Gold upon their Necks, and rich Pendants in their Ears. They have their Ears pierc'd when they are young, not only in the Cap, upon which there hangs an Ear-ring, but in 24 places of the Griſtle, in which they put as many gilded Nails, with a precious Stone or Pearl upon the Head of 'em. When the Women walk in the Streets they cover their Heads with a Veil, and are very cautious of ſhewing their Faces before Men, tho' in the Preſence of Women of a ſuperiour rank, they take off their Veil. They are not allow'd to wear Rings, Jewels, Bracelets or Ear-rings or Chains of Gold, till they ask and obtain leave of the Queen, as the Men do of the King for the ſame Priviledge, which commonly coſts 'em Money. The different quality of the Women is diſtinguiſh'd by the Nature of their Ornaments; for none but Queens and Princeſſes are allow'd to wear Gold Bracelets or Gold Rings on their Arms or Legs; beſides, the Queens put Rings on their fore-Fingers, the Princeſſes and Perſons of the firſt quality do upon their middle-Finger; ſo that all other Women have their Rings upon the Ring-Finger and little-Finger, and the Men have theirs upon their Thumb only. If a Man's Wife begins to wear richer Ornaments than ſhe us'd to do in former times, the Man's Taxes are rais'd, unleſs he be one of the King's Officers or an Inhabitant of *Malé*; for theſe are exempted from all Taxes upon the Head of Apparel. Forreigners and their Wives are free from the above-mentioned Reflections; for they may wear what they pleaſe as well as the Clergy.

The Women's Habit.

Bracelets.

Ear-rings.

Veils.

Foreigners incourag'd.

The Women place a great part of beauty in redding the Nails of their Fingers and Toes, which they effect with the Juice of a certain Tree. In a Word, they have very handſome and proper Bodies, and are very careful in ſetting themſelves off with a genteel Habit, and with frequent waſhing and perfuming. Generally ſpeaking, their Complexion turns upon an Olive Colour, tho' ſome of 'em are brown, and others very fair.

The Women very handſome.

The People of this Country have many peculiar Cuſtoms with reference to their way of eating. They reckon 'tis very diſhonourable for a Perſon of a ſuperiour rank to eat with his inferiour; and indeed they ſeldom regale one another, unleſs it be at ſolemn Feſtivals. If they mean to complement a Friend with a Treat, they ſend a cover'd Table with ſeveral Diſhes of Meat to their Friend's Houſe, who is thereby much honour'd; but in their own Houſes they are cautious of eating before others. Before and after eating they ſay Prayers; and their Table is the Floor cover'd with a fine Mat, upon which they ſit croſs legg'd. They feed ſo nicely, that they will not drop one Crumb upon the Floor, nay, not ſo much as a drop of Water, tho' they waſh their Mouth before and after. Inſtead of Table Cloths and Napkings they uſe Banane-leaves. Their Diſhes are made of Earth or of the *China* Porcelain, which is very common in that Country, Gold or Silver Veſſels being prohibited by the Law; they are all round like Boxes, with an Earthen Cover, above which they put a piece of Silk; for the Piſmires are there ſo numerous and troubleſome, that 'twould be impoſſible to keep Meat without a Cover upon it; nay, the People are ſo nice, that they will not taſte any Meat that has been touch'd by a Flie, Piſmire, or any Inſect or unclean thing, but give it to the Fowls. As for the Poor, whom they look upon as the Servants of God, they ſcorn to offer 'em what they will not eat themſelves, and entertain 'em with the beſt Victuals they have. If they ſpie the leaſt crack in a Diſh, they eat no more out of it, upon the Plea of its being polluted. All Spoon-meat they eat with their Fingers, but withal ſo nicely, that they let nothing fall, that being accounted a very martial piece of Civility and Decency. If they have occaſion to cough or ſpit in the time of eating, they riſe from the Table and walk out, for they muſt not do it at Table. They never feed themſelves with their Left-hand, becauſe they make uſe of it in waſhing their Privities. They chooſe to begin their Meals with the eating of a Coco-nut half ripe, and drinking the Water of it, which they ſay is very healthful, and looſens the Body. While they eat they are all ſilent, and make very quick diſpatch; for with them 'tis an unmannerly thing to be long at eating. They take it for a piece of rudeneſs and incivility to drink before they have done eating, and even then they drink but once, either Water or Coco Wine freſh drawn. They drink out of Copper Cups well wrought, with Covers to 'em. After eating and waſhing, they ſerve up a Plate of Betel inſtead of Sweatmeats, for the Fruit is ſery'd up along with the Meat. They have no ſet Meal times, but eat when their Appetite provokes 'em; and the Victuals are dreſs'd only by the Women; for the Men deſpiſe the Character of a Cook in ſuch a violent manner, that they will not converſe with a Man-Cook, or admit him to a ſhare of their Exerciſes, he being doom'd to the Company of Women.

Gold and Silver Dishes prohibited.

A generous Regard to the Poor.

A Man-Cook contemn'd.

When they kill a Beaſt for Food, they turn their Faces towards *Mahomet*'s Sepulchre, and ſo cut its Throat in a particular place; after which they ſuperſtitiouſly avoid the touching of it till 'tis quite dead: Their Butchers muſt be ancient and the Fathers of Children. When they awake out of their ſleep, they preſently waſh their Eyes and Face, and rub 'em with Oil, and blacken their Eye-lids and Eye-brows; for before the Performance of that Duty, they muſt not ſpeak or bid any one good morrow.

Superſtitious Cuſtom in killing of Beaſts.

They are very careful in waſhing or cleanſing their Teeth, to the end that the Betel and Arecqua may the more readily impreſs their red Colour upon 'em, which they are very fond of. They are always chewing Betel, which they carry about in the plaits of their Girdle, and mutually preſent to one another upon occaſional Salutations. They bath before they enter the Temple, and waſh their Privities with their Left-hand after the natural Evacuations. When they bath at home for their Adventures with their Wives, they plung their Head three times under water; and in regard that they always bath and pray publickly; and that the reſpective Crimes have peculiar Ceremonies calculated for 'em, every Man's Crimes or Miſdemeanours are thus expos'd to the publick view.

To Waſh.

When they ſet out upon a Voyage, they avoid touching or meeting with any body; for if any unluckly Accident befals 'em, they impute it to the Perſon that touch'd 'em. When they go a fiſhing, they muſt not ſalute any, nor bid 'em good morrow.

To Sail.

From the Sun-ſet on *Thurſday*, till three of four a Clock next Morning, they ſuffer nothing to be carried out of their Houſe, but receive all that's brought in. If they fall out one with another, they never rail or throw about Calumnies; for if they did, all the World would fall upon 'em. When croſs'd at Sea, they addreſs themſelves to the King of the Winds (for they do not call him a God) and in every Iſland there's a deſolate by-place, call'd *Siave*, where thoſe who have eſcap'd danger, make Offerings of little Boats and Ships made on purpoſe, and loaded with Gums, Perfumes, Flowers, and odoriferous Woods. They burn the Perfumes, and having ſet fire to the Boats and Ships, turn 'em a-drift, ſo that they float up and down till they are quite burnt: And this they

take

take for a Sacrifice that's acceptable to the King of the Winds. But when they cannot eaſily ſet their Boats and Gallies afloat, they kill Hens and Cocks, and throw them into the Sea right afore the Ship they mean to ſail in. They likewiſe pay a Superſtitious deference to an Imaginary King of the Sea; and dare not ſpit to the Windward of the Ship, nor look behind them. All their Boats and Ships are devoted to the Powers of the Winds and Seas, and they keep them as neat and clean as Temples. They place a wonderful vertue in certain Characters call'd *Tavide*, which they wear under their Garments in little Boxes; and ſometimes upon their Arms, Necks, Girdles or Feet, according to the Seat of the diſtemper: For their imaginary vertue is ſaid to conſiſt in curing or cauſing Diſeaſes, procuring Love or Hatred, Safety or Danger, &c. Theſe they buy of the Magicians, who are their only Phyſicians. They impute Death, Sickneſs, and all Affliction, to the Devil; and in order to pacify him, make him Offerings of Flowers and Banquets, in a certain place, where they let them conſume, unleſs ſome poor Body has the ſenſe to take them. With the ſame view they offer him Cocks and Hens, which they kill with their Faces directed towards *Mahomet*'s Tomb.

The Magical cure of Diſeaſes.

The Worſhip of the Devil.

To give a ſhort view of their moſt common Diſtempers: The firſt in that Claſs is a Fever, which is of dangerous conſequence to Strangers. An epidemical and contagious Diſeaſe call'd *Curiadin*, and not unlike the Small-Pox, viſits them once in ten Years, and ſweeps off a great many. They are very liable to the diſorders of the Eyes; many of them are quite blind, and moſt of them have little Eyes. When they have occaſion to be long in the Sun in the height of the Day, oftentimes they loſe their ſight when the Sun goes down; and for a cure of that infirmity, they take the Liver of a Cock boil'd, and after the writing of certain words and charms upon it, ſwallow it juſt before the Sun ſets. By this Remedy, both I and my Companions receiv'd a ſenſible benefit, tho' we omitted the Magical part. They are very ſubject to the Itch, which they heal with the Oil of Cocoes; and ſome of them are cover'd all over with incurable Tettars, all which is owing to their feeding moſtly upon Salt Fiſh, and their pouring Salt Water upon their Salt Meat.

Their Diſeaſes.

Diſeaſes of the Eyes.

Itch.

Tettar.

In the Winter, at which time they go barefoot, notwithſtanding that it rains continually, a ſort of Hand-worm breeding in the Mud ſeizes upon the Soals of their Feet, and the intervals of the Toes, where they raiſe wheals that degenerate into Ulcers, ſo that they cannot walk. Their whole Body is likewiſe infeſted with theſe Hand-worms. Commonly their Spleens are large, and liable to Obſtructions; and their Bellies are apt to ſwell and be hard, which they take to proceed from their unhealthy Water. In all external Inflamations or Aches they apply Fire, which raiſes an *Eſchar*; and upon that they lay Cotton ſteep'd in Coco-oil, which proves very ſucceſsful. Their Ulcers which happen chiefly in their Legs, are perfectly cur'd by the application of Plates of Copper. As for their Wounds, they cure them very dexterouſly by the application of Ointments, without any Bandages or Tents. They are ſometimes troubled with Catarrhs, Defluxions, and Aches in the Bones. Venereal Diſeaſes are not frequent among them, however they cure them with *China*-wood, without Swearing; and thoſe diſtempers are communicated to them from the *Europeans*. They are altogether unacquainted with the Tooth-ach, which advantage they owe to the continual chewing of Betel, for that fortifies the Gums.

Hand-worms.

Obſtructions of the Spleen.

Ulcers.

Wounds.

Pox.

Tooth-ach prevented.

As ſoon as the Children come into the World, they waſh them for a conſiderable ſpace of time ſix times a Day in cold Water, and then anoint them with Oil. When they void their Excrements, they waſh their Privities with water. All Mothers, even the Queens themſelves, Suckle their own Children; and beſides the Breaſt-milk, feed them with a ſort of Pap made of Rive or Millet bruis'd, and ſteep'd in water, and afterwards boil'd in Milk, and the Sugar of Cocoes. Tho' they never Swaddle their Children, yet I never ſaw any of them deform'd. They rock them in hung Beds of Cord, or in little Chairs hung up in the air, which they ſwing to and again. At the Age of nine Months the Children begin to go; and when they are nine Years old, they commence the purſuit of the Studies and Exerciſes of the Country.

The Education of Children.

All Mothers Suckle.

Their Studies conſiſt in Learning to Read and Write, to underſtand the *Alcoran*, and to know their Duty. They have three ſorts of letters; namely, the *Arabick*, the *Maldivan*, and a third ſort which is commonly made uſe of in moſt Parts of the *East-Indies*. Their Leſſons are writ down on white Tables of Wood, which they clean and whiten again after they have got their Leſſons by heart; for durable and laſting Writings are done upon Parchment made of the leaf of a Tree call'd *Macare Queau*, that leaf being a fathom and a half long, and a foot broad.

The Learning of the Country.

To teach the Children to write, they make uſe of no Paper, but make draughts of Letters with a Bodkin upon ſmooth plain Boards of Wood, cover'd with fine white Sand. The Children have ſuch a profound veneration for their Maſters, that they cannot marry them no more than their own Parents. Some of them, eſpecially the *Moudins*, *Naybes* and *Catiles*, carry their Studies a great length, and acquire great Skill in the *Alcoran*, and the Ceremonies of the Law.

Their way of writing.

The Mathematicks are much eſteem'd in this Country, eſpecially that part call'd Aſtrology, for they always conſult Aſtrologers not only upon Nativities and Births, but upon all Undertakings whatſoever, as Travelling, Building, &c.

Aſtrology much eſteemed.

As for their Exerciſes, they have Schools for learning the Exerciſe of a Sword and Buckler, of a Bow, of a Gun, and of a Pike; and the Maſters who teach them are much reſpected. They have no ſort of Plays but that of the Foot-ball, which they toſs very dexterouſly. Many of them apply themſelves to Manufactures, for Houſhold-Goods, and other Commodities, which they make very ingeniouſly. But the moſt univerſal, and moſt conſiderable Exerciſe they have, is that of Fiſhing.

Their Exerciſes.

Fiſhing is ſo common an Exerciſe all over the *Maldives*, that there's no ſuch thing as a particular Trade of that nature; for the Gentlemen, and even their King, purſue Fiſhing, as we do Hunting in this part of the World. Every Man there enjoys the natural liberty of fiſhing where and what he pleaſes. The Fiſh which are always taken in the deep Sea, about 6 or 7 Leagues off the Bars of the *Atollons*, are large, and of 7 or 8 ſorts, ſuch as *Bonito's*, *Albachores*, *Guiltheads*, &c. which are all much of the ſame taſte and reſemblance, and have no more Scales than a Mackrel. The Inſtruments with which they catch them are, a Line of a fathom and a half of a great Cotton thread, made faſt to a great Cane of very ſtrong Wood; together with a Hook, that in form reſembles the Letter h. The bait is not faſten'd upon the Hook, but thrown about in the Sea; for they drag after their Boat a quantity of ſmall Fiſh like our Roches, which are very numerous among the Banks and Sands, and which are preſerv'd alive in Purſe-nets of Coco-thread. And when they come to the deep Sea, they ſow theſe little Fiſhes about, and throw in their Line; upon which the great Fiſhes perceiving an unwonted quantity of little Fiſh croud upon them in ſhoals, greedily ſwallow the whiten'd Hook as being one of the little Fiſh. The Fiſh that ſwallows the Hook falls off as ſoon as the Line is brought into the Boat, and ſo the Line is thrown in again. At this rate they'll fill their Boat with Fiſh in three or four hours time; and, which is very ſtrange, the Boat is all along under Sail. The Fiſh thus taken are all black, from whence they are called *Cobolly Maſſe*, i. e. *the black Fiſh*.

The way of fiſhing in the deep Sea.

The Bait is not faſten'd to the Hook.

They have another way of Fiſhing in the Night time, upon the Banks that ſurround the *Atollons* at every Full and every New Moon. They convey themſelves to the Banks upon Hurdles, and the fiſhing laſts three days every time. 'Tis perform'd by Lines of hard coarſe Cotton-thread, which is 50 or 60 fathom long, and is blacken'd over with the Bark of a Tree that ſerves inſtead of Pitch, in order to preſerve it from corruption. At the end of this Line they have a Hook, with a Bait faſten'd upon it, after the ſame manner as is uſual among us; by this means they catch a prodigious quantity of large and red Fiſh, ſuch as I never ſaw elſewhere, which eats moſt deliciouſly, and is by them call'd *the King of the Sea*.

How they fiſh upon the Banks in the Night-time.

In fine, they have ſuch plenty of divers ſorts of Fiſh unknown to us, that 'tis impoſſible to recount or diſtinguiſh them; for beſides the Lines above-mention'd, they have all ſorts of Nets of Cotton-twine, Wheels, and other Inſtruments of Fiſhing. Upon the Flats, near the ſhore, they catch ſmall Fiſh like Pilchards with caſting Nets.

At the two Equinoxes of the Year they have a General Fiſhing, which is very remarkable. At thoſe two periods of the Year, as the Tides flow beyond the wonted Bounds, ſo they ebb more than uſually, and uncover ſeveral Rocks and Flats which at other times continue under water. Upon this occaſion the *Maldivans* pitch upon ſeveral dry corners, which they incompaſs with Stones, rais'd like a Wall to a great heighth, being forty paces in circumference, with a door or entrance left that is three paces wide. This done, 30 or 40 of them

A general fiſhing twice a Year.

ſtretch out all round the Flats a large wide Circle of the great Coco-cords, at each fathom of which they tie a piece of Coco-ſhell dry'd, and that ſupplies the place of Cork in making the Line float. Now the Fiſh incloſed within the Circle are ſo fear'd with the ſhadow of the floating Line, as if it had a Net underneath it, that inſtead of making their eſcape by ſwimming out underneath it, they fly from it, and by the gradual contraction of the Line are brought into the wall'd Incloſure; the entry of which is thereupon ſtopp'd with all expedition with Faggots of the Boughs and Leaves of Cocoes compacted together to the thickneſs of a Man. After all, the Sea runs out, and leaves the Fiſh on the dry Land. This Fiſhery, which continues 15 days together, produces 10 or 12000 Fiſh. To conclude, I know of no place in all the *Eaſt-Indies* that can vie with the *Maldives* for a rich and plentiful Fiſhery.

Fiſh frighted with the ſhadow of a Line.

Having thus diſpatch'd the Learning and Exerciſe of the *Maldivians*, 'twill not now be improper to take a view of their Temper and Inclinations. They are a lively brisk wiſe People, and very diſcreet in moſt of their Actions; they love Arms and Exerciſe, and are not deſtitute of Courage. They diſplay a great deal of Induſtry in Arts and Manufactures, and are polite enough in their Manners. They are Religious to a diſtinguiſhing degree, and Superſtitious beyond meaſure, tho' at the ſame time they are extremely given to Wantonneſs and Debauchery, and purſue the embraces of Women without controul. Adultery, Inceſt and Sodomy, are their common actions, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of their Laws and Penalties. Fornication is accounted no crime, and a young Woman ſuffers no affront for obliging a Friend before Marriage; nay, ſhe will not ſtand to procure the abortion of a ſpurious Birth, or to make away with it if it comes to maturity.

The Vertues and Vices of the *Maldivians*.

Horrid lewdneſs.

The impúdence of the Women is unparallel'd, and the Men are as vicious as they, tho' indeed they can't outdo them if they would. The Men bend all their thoughts upon the ſpurring up of Nature, and ſcrewing their luſtful Appetites to the higheſt pitch. They'd give their whole Eſtates for a *Recipe* to corroborate drooping Nature, and to enable them for repeated Adventures. The Feats of Letchery engroſs all their Diſcourſes, and their Wives or Whores are their inſeparable Companions. But after all, 'tis plain that they have not Mettle enough to ſatisfie their Wives, which may be imputed partly to the ternary number of their Wives, which makes an unfair odds; partly to the heat of the Climate, which exhales their Spirits, and exhauſts their vigour; partly to their continual Bathing, which unbends the Nerves and Sinews; and partly to the eating of Opium, which palls, clouds and diſpirits them.

Women impudent.

Men perform but weakly.

The Women are as cautious in uncovering or mentioning their Breaſts, as they are with reference to their lower Parts; and kiſſing is with them a nicety of the ſame extent with actual Enjoyment. Tho' they are impudent to the laſt degree, yet the regard they have for their Parents and Relations ſtifles it in their preſence; for if a Man talks a little pointedly to a Woman before any of her Relations, they will reſent it ſo far as to proſecute him at Law, and oblige him to own in Court that he takes them for Perſons of Honour, unleſs it be that he declares he did not know of their affinity to the Lady.

Womens Breaſts reckon'd Privy-parts.

A Man muſt not enter where a Woman bathes, or is preſent without her Garment; for tho' ſhe never takes off the Cloth that ſupplies the place of a Petticoat, yet her Boſom and Breaſts are liſted into the number of her Privy-parts. When a Man is in company of a Woman, if another Man meets them he muſt not ask if ſhe be his Daughter or Wife, but if ſhe be his Kinſwoman, and what degree of Affinity or Conſanguinity ſhe ſtands in to him; for if the Woman be really the Man's Daughter, and the other asks if ſhe is his Wife, he'll take the Queſtion for an inſinuation of Inceſt. While a Woman is under her Menſtrual Flux, ſhe neither bathes nor ſhifts her ſelf, ſhe does not Bed with her Husband; neither does ſhe eat or converſe with any body; only ſhe is allowed to waſh her Mouth and her Hands.

A profound regard to Relations.

As I intimated above, the Women ſeldom ſtir abroad in the Days, ſo that they make all their Viſits at Night, being accompany'd with a Man who walks before; and when he ſpies any one approaching, calls out thrice, *Gas*, i. e. *Take care*. Upon this Signal the Man betakes himſelf to the other ſide of the Street, without ſeeming to ſee or know the Woman; nay, if one Woman meets another, ſhe takes to the other ſide of the Way, and does not ſalute her, unleſs ſhe be very intimately acquainted with her. The outer Gate of the Houſes being always open till Eleven a Clock at Night, at which time every body is at home, the Viſitants have no occaſion to knock; and, indeed, the Gates have no Knockers. After entring the outer Gate, and approaching to the Door of the Houſes, which is always open, and ſpread with Tapeſtry of Cotton-cloth, or ſome other Stuff, they cough once; upon which the People of the Houſe come out. In the Iſland of *Male*, the King's Officers and Soldiers cough frequently, to give notice to one another in the dark Streets, for fear of receiving mutual Wounds from their Arms, which are always naked.

The Women viſit at night.

We proceed in the next place to take a view of their Publick Government, which is an abſolute and ancient Monarchy, for the King is fear'd and rever'd by all, and every thing depends upon his pleaſure. Under him each *Atollon* has a *Naybe*, or Governour, who is a Prieſt and Doctor of the Law. The *Naybes* govern the inferiour Prieſts, and are intruſted with the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the management of Religious Concerns. The *Cantons* or *Atollons* being ſubdivided into many Iſlands, each of theſe Iſlands, that contains above 41 Men, is allotted a Doctor call'd *Catibe*, who preſides there in Religious Matters, and rules over the particular Prieſts of the Moſques.

The nature of the Government.

The Offices of the *Naybes*.

The *Catibes*.

All theſe Prieſts are imploy'd in Inſtructing the People in the Law, and live upon a certain Portion of Fruits collected from every Inhabitant, and a Salary allow'd them by the King in proportion to their Dignity.

The Offices and Livings of the Prieſts.

The *Naybes* indeed are likewiſe imploy'd in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; nay, they are the only Judges both in Civil and Criminal Caſes; and 'tis for the ſake of Juſtice, as well as the promoting of Religion, that they make four Circuits in the Year through all the Parts within their Juriſdiction. When they go the Circuits they gather their Dues, and greedily receive Preſents from an infinity of Perſons; ſo that the Circuits raiſe the beſt part of their Incomes.

Thirteen Judges in the Kingdom.

The *Naybes*, or Thirteen Judges, are under the direction of a Superiour, call'd the *Pandiare*, and in Arabick *Cady*, who reſides in the Iſle of *Male*, and is not only the Supreme Judge of all Cauſes, but likewiſe the Head of the National Church. He receives Appeals from the *Naybes*, but does not paſs Sentence without taking the Advice of four or five *Moncouris*, i. e. Doctors learned in the Law, and divers other Sciences; who are univerſally honour'd and reſpected, there being but about fifteen of them in all the *Maldives*. The Judgment pronounc'd by the *Pandiare* may be revers'd by appealing to the King himſelf, who upon ſuch Occaſions orders Juſtice to be done by ſix principal Officers, theſe being the Managers of the moſt important Affairs of the State.

Pandiare the Supreme Judge.

Six Counſellors of State.

The *Pandiare* makes a Circuit once a Year through the Iſle of *Male*, as every *Naybe* does in his reſpective *Atollon*, and condemns all to be whipt that can't ſay their Creed and Prayers in the Arabick Tongue, and conſtrue them in the *Maldivian*. When he goes along the Street the Women muſt not ſhew themſelves, for if he ſpies any unveil'd, he orders their hair to be ſhaven.

The yearly Circuits.

Each *Atollon* has, beſides the *Naybes*, a Collector of the King's Revenues. Juſtice is diſpens'd in the Houſe of the *Naybe*, or elſe at the *Pandiare*'s Houſe in *Male*; and ſometimes, in caſes of moment, in the King's Palace.

The Defendant is ſummon'd by Serjeants, call'd *Devaints*, to come before the *Naybe*, by vertue of a ſpecial Letter or Writ from the *Naybe*; but if he lives out of the *Naybe*'s Juriſdiction, he is ſummon'd by Letters from the *Pandiare*, which injoyn him to come from any part of the Realm to the Iſland of *Male*. The *Pandiare*'s Writ is ſerv'd publickly upon the Defendant by the *Calibe*, or Superiour of the Iſland; and if he does not appear at the place appointed, he is not only excommunicated and excluded from eating or drinking with his Neighbours, or coming to Church, but ſeiz'd with main force by a Party of Soldiers.

The manner of Writs or Summons.

If either Plaintiff or Defendant ſuſpects the partiality of the *Naybe*, they have recourſe to the King, who orders the Cauſe to be tried before unſuſpected Judges. The contending Parties pleads their own Cauſes: In the buſineſs of Right or Title they are judg'd by the Law; and in Allegations of Matter of Fact, the Plaintiff muſt have them atteſted by three Witneſſes, or elſe the Defendant's own Oath will bring him off. In adminiſtring an Oath, the Judge holds up the Book of the Law, and the Evidence is oblig'd to touch it with his Hand, and that not ſuperficially, but ſo that every one may obſerve a real Contract. Whatever is adjudg'd to the Plaintiff, a 12th part of it goes to the Serjeants, but nothing to the Judges. If Women are call'd in as Witneſſes, three of them are reckon'd equivalent to one Man.

The trial of Civil Caſes.

Slaves can neither Witneſs nor Plead; and the meaneſt of them, call'd *Allo*, have but one Wife, whereas the reſt

Slaves.

rest are allowed three. By Slaves, they understand such only as voluntarily sell themselves, or are Imported as Slaves from Foreign places; for a Shipwrack'd stranger, that was not a Slave before that misfortune, continues in the injoyment of his liberty. The punishment for beating a Slave, is the half of what they inflict for beating a Freeman.

Debtors become Servants.

An Insolvent Debtor is oblig'd to become a Servant to his Creditor, but not a Slave; and he and his Children after him, continues in the Service till the Debt is work'd out. If he thinks himself ill us'd, he may turn himself over to another Master, who lays down the Money due to the former.

Murderers how prosecuted.

If a Man be murder'd, his Wife can't prosecute the Malefactor, but the Judge obliges him to maintain her Children, and bring them up to a Trade, till they are of Age; at which time they are qualify'd either to forgive or prosecute the murderer, for the State takes no cognizance of Personal injuries, unless the Parties aggrieved complain of them.

Punishments. Whipping the most severe.

The ordinary punishment of Criminals is whipping, which indeed is very severe, and frequently mortal; but in some Cases they are banish'd to the Southern desart Islands, and in others they are doom'd to the mutilation of a principal Member. The Whips are made of thongs of thick leather, which are a fathom long, two fingers thick, and four fingers broad; five or six of them being fasten'd together in a wooden handle. Whipping is the punishment of Sodomy, Incest, Adultery, Perjury, and Rapes: But over and above that punishment, an Adulteress has her hair cut off; a perjur'd Criminal pays a pecuniary Mulct for the benefit of the Poor; and a Ravisher is oblig'd to give a Dowry to the injur'd Woman. The stealing of any thing of value is punish'd with the loss of a Hand, and the disobeying of the Law with publick Penance; for they are of the Opinion, they can never come at Paradise without satisfying the demands of the Law. The Sentences pronounc'd by the Judge are executed by the Serjeants, for they have no Hangman or publick Executioners. Tho' Death is by Law intail'd upon Homicide, they never condemn a Prisoner to die unless the King expresly requires it, which seldom happens; and when it does, the King sends his own Soldiers to execute the Sentence, for he reserves the Power of Life and Death to himself alone, whereas the inflicting of other punishments lies in the hands of the Judges. Their tenderness in not sentencing Criminals to die, is grounded upon the Plea of not dispeopling the Country, there being so great a number of Criminals whose just demerit is Death. When the King is Personally offended, he makes the Criminal lie on the ground flat upon his Belly, his Arms and Legs being held by four Men, while his Back is soundly thrash'd with a *Bengala* Cane call'd *Rotan*, which takes off the Skin, and leaves a perpetual mark.

Few put to death.

No Writings.

Neither Indictments, Depositions, nor Sentences, are put in writing, as being all very short; nay, in Civil Matters the Allegations are never written, unless it be in a Suit for a Land, Inheritance, or Coco-trees, which are reckon'd immoveable, then indeed the Judges give Letters seal'd with Ink (Wax they do not use) for an Evidence of the Person's Right to be transmitted to Posterity.

Four ranks of Persons.

Noblemen.

The Inhabitants of this Country rank'd in four Classes, namely the Royal Family; Persons invested with Dignities and Offices; the Nobility or Gentry; and the Common People. The third rank is distinguish'd from the fourth by their Birth; and the distinction is so nicely kept up, that the latter dare not sit in the presence of the former. If a noble Woman marries a Plebeian, she retains her rank, and upon her account the Children are reckon'd Noble. But a Woman of the lowest Form can't ennoble her self by marrying a Nobleman. Besides the Nobles by Birth, there are some ennobled by the King, who upon such Occasions gives them Letters, intitling them to that Privilege, and sends an Officer round the Island to make publication of the promotion. The first rank comprehends the King, call'd *Resquan*; the Queen call'd *Renequillague*; the Princes and Princesses of the Blood call'd *Calans* and *Camenaz*; and all who are descended of the King's Predecessors. The next Station is allotted to the great Officers of the Kingdom; particularly to the *Quilague*, or the King's Lieutenant-General, who commands in the King's absence; the *Eudequerry*, who always attends the King's Person as chief Counsellor; the *Velannas*, who takes care of all strangers, and takes the Rudder off all the Ships that arrive, for fear they should set Sail without taking leave; the General of their Forces call'd *Dorimenaz*; the *Manpas* or Chancellor, who affixes to all Letters the King's Seal, *i. e.* the impression of his Name in Arabick ingraven on Silver; the Secretary call'd *Carans*, &c. These Officers have, besides the Rents of certain Islands allotted them, the King's Rice for their Provision, (which is a great honour allow'd likewise to the Soldiers) and the Toll of the Ships that Traffick to the *Maldives*. The Officers and Soldiers are so much esteem'd, that a Nobleman is not respected unless he be an Officer; and a Gentleman will hardly pass for such, without he be listed into the King's Service.

The King's Guards and other Troops.

The King's Guards consist of 6 Companies of 100 Men apiece, commanded by the 6 ancient Counsellors call'd *Moseculis*. Besides these, there are ten large Companies commanded by ten of the Grandees of the Country, which serve the King not in fighting, but in the launching of Ships, building of Palaces, and such other work, being call'd together by the sound of a Bell. In five of these Companies none but Gentlemen are receiv'd, but the other five take in the Common People. Slaves are always excluded, as well as those who work in a Mechanical mean way, as the dressing of Coco-trees, &c. and particularly such as serve others, or cannot read nor write. Whoever is listed a Soldier, pays twenty Lovins to the King, and forty to be distributed among the Company in which he is to serve. To conclude, all Offices are bought of the King, and much coveted by reason of the Honour, Authority and Power that attends them; but the Persons invested with these Offices can neither sell nor resign them.

The Names of the Natives.

The Islanders having but one Name, such as *Mahomet*, *Haly*, *Hussum*, *Assan*, *Ibrahim*, &c. are distinguish'd by their Stations, as Noble, Plebeian, &c. added to their Name, and sometimes by the addition of the Island in which they live.

The King's Palace.

The Royal Palace is of Stone one story high, and has a great many fine Apartments, tho' without the Ornaments of Architecture. 'Tis surrounded with Gardens, in which there are great Fountains and Cisterns of Water wall'd in, and pav'd with great smooth stones, and guarded continually to hinder People from washing in them, as being reserv'd for the King and Queen's sole Use. The Palace is divided into several Courts, each of which has a Well in the middle garnish'd with fair white stones; and in one of these Courts the King has two Magazines, one for Ordnance, and the other for Ammunition. At the Palace-gate there's a Guard-House, with many pieces of Ordnance, and other Arms. The Portal is made like a square Tower, and on Festival-days the Musicians sing and play upon the top of it. Passing on from the Gate you come first to a Hall, where the Soldiers wait; then to another great Hall, where the Noblemen and Gentlemen attend, for none but the Officers of the Houshold, with the King and Queen's Slaves or Servants, are allow'd to go farther. The floor of these Halls is rais'd three foot from the ground, to avoid the Ants, being neatly boarded with well-plain'd Wood, and cover'd with a sort of parti-colour'd Mats which they make in these Islands, and which have several Characters, and other Figures, work'd upon them. The Walls are hung with silk Tapestry, as well as the Ceiling, which has pretty Fringes hanging round it. The Noblemen sit down cross-legg'd on the Mats which cover the floor of the Hall, observing nicely the order of their Dignities. The Gentry of the Isle of *Male*, and the ordinary Courtiers, who are oblig'd to salute the King every day after Noon, sit in an outer Hall till the King comes forth. The Gentry of the other Islands come likewise to wait upon the King in the same manner, and always bring Presents with them; for no body salutes the King without one. The Chambers and inner Apartments are hung with silk Tapestry, and inrich'd with gold flowers and branches of divers colours. The Beds in the Palace, and those of all the great Men, are hung with Cords upon a Beam supported by two Pillars; and so the Person is rock'd asleep. 'Tis usual among the better sort of People to make their Servants move and chafe their Bodies when they lie down, and to give them little flaps or gentle blows with both their hands, upon the apprehension that it promotes Sleep, and expels the Spleen.

Fountains for washing.

Two great Halls.

Chambers.

Beds.

The King's Ministers and Officers.

The King's Habit.

Commonly the King is Cloath'd with a fine white Robe or Coat of Cotton, reaching to the Girdle, or a little lower, with white and blue Edgings, and made fast before with massy gold Buttons. Then he has a piece of red imbroider'd Tapestry, reaching from the Girdle to the Heels, and girded with a long large Girdle of Silk fringed with Gold, and a great Chain of Gold before, upon which there hangs a large Jewel as big as one's fist, of the finest and most precious Stones. He wears likewise a Knife made after the fashion of the

Country, only 'tis richer than ordinary. Upon his Head he has a Cap of Scarlet, that Cloth being so much esteem'd in this Country that none but the King must wear it. This Cap is lac'd with Gold, and has on the top of it a great gold Button with a precious Stone. The Grandees and Soldiers wear their hair long, but the King has his Head shav'd every Week. His Legs are naked, after the fashion of the Country; and his Feet are cover'd with Slippers of gilt Copper, imported from *Arabia*, and made like Sandals, which none are allow'd to wear but the Queens, and the Princesses of the Royal Blood.

His Retinue when he goes abroad.

When the King goes abroad, the chief mark of Majesty about him is a white *Umbrella*, which none are allow'd to use but strangers, who may have what they will. Upon the same Occasion he has three Pages near his Person, one carrying a Fan, another his Sword and Buckler, and the third a Box full of *Betrel* and *Averqua*, which he chews every hour. He is likewise attended by a Doctor of Law, who reads in his presence, and puts him in mind of Religion. This King does not pursue the Diversions of going abroad, and fishing as his Predecessors were wont to do, but mews himself up in his Palace, and spends his time in Caressing his Queen, giving Audience to his Courtiers, and seeing a great many Mechanicks and Artificers work; for he keeps in his Palace Painters, Goldsmiths, Imbroiderers, Cutlers, Joyners, Turners, Armourers, &c. and finds them work. Nay, he works frequently with his own hands, and accounts it a sin to be idle. He is a Man of a lively quick apprehension, and very curious to learn Mechanick Trades. He incourages all strangers that practise Arts unknown to his People, and makes inquiry after those that excel in their way.

His esteem for Mechanick Arts.

His Parade to the Temple.

On *Fridays* he goes in great Pomp to the Temple, being attended by his Guards, (consisting of 100 Men) and his ordinary Officers, with the agreeable Musick of Drums, Flutes and Trumpets. After Service is over, he returns with the same Retinue, the Soldiers leaping all along to the sound of the Musick, and striking with their Swords on one another's Bucklers, and that in such a successive manner as to avoid confusion. He is likewise attended in his return from Church by all the People of the Island, and regales with a Dinner the *Pandiare*, *Nayber*, *Catibes*, *Moudins*, Gentlemen and Soldiers. After Dinner he hears Causes, and administers Justice. These Islands affording neither Horse nor Beast, the King walks abroad on foot, unless he be carry'd in a Chair upon Slaves shoulders; which happens but seldom, for he is a brawny strong Man, and chuses rather to go on foot. In speaking to the King or Queen, or to the Princes of the Royal Blood, and in speaking of them, they have peculiar expressions that they dare not apply to others; as when they say of another Man *he is asleep*, in talking of the King they say *he takes his rest*.

The Habit of the Queens.

The Queens wear the same sort of Habit with the other *Maldivian* Women, only their Cloaths are richer. The Noblemen's Ladies and Daughters are oblig'd to wait upon them every evening; and when the Queens go abroad, (which happens but very seldom) all the Women in the Island run to meet them in their respective Districts with Presents of Flowers and Fruits, the She-Slaves giving notice at a great distance before them for all Men to get out of the way. Upon that occasion, four great Ladies carry over the Queen's Head a Veil of white Silk reaching to the ground; so that she is not seen. The Queens bathe frequently in the Sea, as well as the other Women; such being the Custom of the Country, which they reckon very conducive to health. For this end they have an Inclosure in the Sea, cover'd with Cotton Cloth, and upon the shore a little House, with a fresh water Bath, which they use as they come out of the Sea. Daylight is never seen in the Queen's Chambers, or those of the Ladies of Quality, for their only light is Lamps burning continually. And the place of the Room where they usually retire, is block'd up with four or five rows of Tapestry, the innermost of which neither Man nor Woman dares to pull up without coughing or hemming first, and telling who they are. When they undress, they pull off only their Robe, for neither Man nor Woman in the *Maldives* dares to throw off the Cloth that surrounds their middle.

They bathe in Salt water.

The King's Revenue.

As for the King's Revenue, he has many Islands of Crown-Lands, besides a fifth part of all the Grain and Fruits of the Country, and a Tax of dry'd Fish, Shells call'd *Boly*, and Cords of Cocoes, which he lays upon them according to their circumstances; for he has no Taxes paid him in Money, abating for what is paid as a Purchase for Titles and Offices, or for Licenses to wear fine Apparel. He obliges his People to make him every Year as much Cotton-Cloth as Cloaths his Soldiers, for he gives them Cloaths as well as Pay. His Revenue is further inlarg'd by his Claim to the Goods imported by Shipping; for a Ship no sooner arrives than the Owners repair to him, and give him an account of their Cargo, out of which he takes what he pleases at low Rates, and obliges his Subjects to take it of him again at what price he pleases, by way of exchange for such things as he wants; oftentimes he fits out Ships laden with the Commodities of his own Country. All wreck found on the Sea shore is immediately brought to the King, for no Subject dares to keep it; no more than Ambergreese, call'd by the *Maldivians Gomen*, which is more plentiful here than in any part of the *Indies*, and which is so narrowly look'd after, that whoever appropriates it to his own use loses a Hand. In a word, whatever the Sea casts upon the shore is the Kings; particularly, a sort of Sea-Nuts call'd *Tauacarre*, as big as a Man's Head, which they fancy to grow upon Trees under water. The *Portuguese* call them *Cocos* of the *Maldives*; 'tis used in Physick, and is very dear. Their Money is Silver only, and but of one sort, called *Larins*. However, all Gold and Silver is current here by weight, as 'tis all over the *Indies*; before they take it 'tis try'd in the fire, and every Man keeps Weights for that purpose. There's a sort of Metal named *Calin*, resembling Tin, much esteem'd in the *Indies*, but 'tis not current here. Iron-money passes no where in the *Indies*, but in the Dominions of the Prince that Coined it. Having but one sort of Coin, they are forc'd to cut it, by which they lose the 12th part. Instead of smaller Coins, they use sometime Shells, 12000 of which makes a *Larin*, and a *Larin* is worth about eight *Sols*, being long like one's finger, and much folded. The King's Name is set upon these in *Arabick* Letters. Their Gold and Silver is all Imported from abroad, but in their own Markets they often Barter one thing for another.

Sea-Nuts.

Coin.

The *Maldives* are well frequented with Merchants; the Commodities they send abroad are chiefly the *Cocos*, with which they lade above 100 Ships Yearly. Of this the Cordage is made that serves all the Ships of *Arabia*, *Malebar*, and all the *Indies*; they make also Oil and Honey of that Tree, and by weaving the leaves of the Tree make Sails. They vend also little Shells that contain a Creature in them as great as the end of one's little finger, white, very smooth and glittering. They fish for them but twice a Month; three days before, and three days after the New Moon, and so before and after the Full. The Women gather them in the Sands and Flats of the Sea, standing up to the middle in water. These go only to *Bengala*, the Inhabitants of which esteem them so much, that I have seen thirty or forty Ships laden, without any other Commodity bound thither. Tho' in *Bengall* they have enough of other Metals, yet these Shells pass there as Money, and the King and Noblemen hoard up vast quantities of them, accounting it part of their Treasure. They give twenty Measures of Rice for a Fardel of Shells, each Fardel containing 12000. They have besides these a sort of Tortoise-shells named *Cambe*, which is black and smooth, and has many natural figures; 'tis found no where but here, and in the *Philippines*, and goes off best in *Cambaie*. Here they make fine Reed-Matts, and Cloaths of Cotton and Silk.

The Wares they export.

What they import.

In exchange the Merchants import some Cotton and Silk Cloaths, a sort of Oil, *Arecque*, Iron and Steel, Spices, Porcelane; and, in short, all the Necessaries of Life, and yet every thing is cheap, because of the number and frequency of Ships. They import all their Gold and Silver, which they never send out again, but lay it up among their Wives Jewels as their chief Treasure.

The Author's liberty foretold by a Dream.

To return to our Author, who pursuant to the foregoing account was Prisoner in the *Maldives*, he dream'd he was set at liberty, and as soon as he awaked made a Vow to undertake a Voyage to St. *James* of *Gallicia*, to give God thanks if it so happen'd. Two days after, News came of the approach of 16 Gallies; upon which, the King order'd what Shipping he had to be got ready, but the Enemy were in sight e'er it could be done. So imbarking his best Goods, he thought to save himself and Women in the Southern Isles; his haste was so great, he was forc'd to leave his Arms and Ammunition behind. But the Wind failing, the Enemy sent eight Gallies after him, in an Engagement with which the King was slain, and his Wives and Goods taken. The other eight put into the Land, and our Author surrender'd himself into their hands. They staid till they laded their Gallies with the Booty, and 100 or 120 pieces of Ordnance at their departure; they left all behind at liberty, except the chief Queen's Brother, and the King's Brother-in-Law.

The King slain.

I must

Vast Power of the King of Bengala.

I must not forget to acquaint you, that when this Author left *Bengala*, the chief King there was raising a Million of Men, and ten thousand Elephants, to oppose the *Great Mogul*, who had proclaim'd War against him; but having us'd our Author only in relation to the *Maldives*, I've omitted his passage from thence to *Bengala*, nor need I now mention the particulars of his return from that place homewards.

The End of De la Val's *Voyage to the* East-Indies.

Brief Collections of Voyages, chiefly of Spaniards *and* Portugueſe, *taken out of* Anthony Galvano's *Book of the Diſcoveries of the World. Publiſhed by* Purchas.

IN the Year 1300. the Soldan of *Cairo* commanded the Drugs and Merchandize of *India* to be carried through the Red-Sea, as they had been formerly; they were unladed on the *Arabian* ſide, and carried by the Pilgrims to *Mecca*. Each Prince receiv'd a Cuſtom for them through whoſe Country they paſs'd, but chiefly the Soldans of *Cairo*, from whence the Wares were carried into *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Africa*, *Tunis*, *Fez*, *Morocco*, &c. And this was the common way of carrying the *Indian* Drugs, until the *Portugueſe*, by turning the *Cape of Good Hope*, brought them to *Lisbon* by Sea.

The Canaries.

In 1344. when *Peter* the Fourth was King of *Arragon*, one *de Cerda* went to conquer the *Canaries*, lying in the 28 degr. of North Lat. whereby theſe Iſles came to be commonly known in *Europe*, and ſpecially in *Spain*.

Madera diſcover'd by Macham an Engliſhman.

About this time the firſt Diſcovery of *Madera* was owing to the Misfortune of one *Macham* an *Engliſhman*, who ſailing from *England* to *Spain* with a Woman, was driven by a Tempeſt upon that Iſland, where he landed with ſome of his Company, and was left behind by the Men in the Ship, who weigh'd and put to Sea. The Woman died, for whom he built a Chapel, and engrav'd on her Tomb her Name and his, with the occaſion of their coming thither. After this he made a ſmall Boat out of one Tree, and ventur'd with his Men to ſail along the Coaſt of *Africa*, without Sail or Oars: And the *Moors*, among whom he came, wondering much how he came there, preſented him to the King, who ſent him and his Men to *Caſtile*.

Canaries diſcover'd.

In the Year 1395. in the Reign of *Henry* III. King of *Caſtile*, upon the Information which *Macham* gave them, many of *France* and *Caſtile* went to diſcover this Iſland and the great *Canary*, who ſeem to be the firſt that diſcover'd the *Canaries*, and landed in them.

The firſt Portugal Diſcoveries.

In 1415. King *John* I. of *Portugal* went from *Lisbon* with his three Sons, and other Nobles, and took the great City of *Ceuta*, which lies between 35 and 36 degr. of North latitude.

Canaries conquer'd.

In 1417. King *John* II. and his Mother *Katherine*, granted to Monſieur *Betancourt* the Government of the *Canaries* with the Title of King: Whither he went with a good Army, and conquer'd *Lancerota*, &c. where they built a Caſtle of Stone, and ſent home Wax, Hides, and other Commodities.

The Monument built by Macham found in Madera.

In 1418. ſome Gentlemen ſent by *Henry* the King's third Son, ſail'd into a Haven on the Coaſt of *Africa* called *Santo*, where they remain'd two Years: And after that, in 1420. they ſail'd alſo to the Iſland *Madera*, where they found the Monument of *Macham* the *Engliſhman*.

Canaries given to Spain by the Pope.

In 1431. the *Canaries* were given to the King of *Caſtile* by Pope *Eugenius* IV. The Iſlands are 7, call'd *Fortunate*, lying in 28 degr. of North latitude. The People

Their ancient Manners and Commodities

eat raw fleſh, Till the ground with Ox-horns: The Commodities of them are Wheat, Barley, Wine, Sugar, and certain Birds call'd *Canary-Birds*.

Cape Boiadez, firſt paſs'd.

In 1434. the ſaid *Henry* ſent out one *Gonſales* and *Giliennes*, who had formerly paſs'd the terrible Cape *Boiadez*, and went to another Cape beyond it, where they landed, and found the Country inhabited.

Cape Blanco.

In 1441. the ſaid Don *Henry* ſent two Ships, with *Triſtan* in one, and *Gonſales* in the other, who ſail'd to *Cape Blanco* in 20 degrees, and brought *Moors* from thence to inform Don *Henry* of the State of the Country, who were afterwards return'd, and ranſom'd for other *Moors* with curled hair, and ſome Gold; whence the place was call'd *Rio de Oro*, or the *Golden River*.

Rio de Oro why ſo called.

The River Senaga and Cape Verde diſcovered.

In 1446. one *Ferrandes* of *Lisbon* went to the River *Senaga*, between 15 and 16 degrees of Lat. and having taken ſome Negroes there, he went on and diſcover'd *Cape Verde* in 14 degrees, where he ſet upon the Land a Croſs of Wood.

Rio Grande.

In 1447. one *Triſtan* paſs'd *Cape Verde* and *Rio Grande*, and went to another Cape lying in 12 degrees North latitude.

Azores firſt Inhabited.

In 1449. Don *Henry* went to dwell in the *Azores*, by whom was diſcover'd the Coaſt of *Africa* from *Cape Non* to the Mountain *Sierra Leona*, in 8 degr. of latitude.

Alcacer taken.

In 1458. Don *Alfonſo*, King of *Portugal*, went into *Africa*, and took the Town *Alcacer*: And in 1461. he built the Caſtle of *Arguin*, and appointed *Mendez* his Governour there.

Guiney let out to farm.

In 1469. the King of *Portugal* let out the Trade of *Guiney* to one *Gomez*, for 5 Years, for 200000 Reyes a Year, *i. e.* 138 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.* half-penny *Engliſh* Money, upon condition that he ſhould diſcover every Year 100 leagues. In 1470. this King went into *Africa*, and

Azila and Tangier taken.

took the Town of *Azila*, and the City of *Tangier*.

The Iſles de Poo, St. Thomas, and Del Principe.

In 1471. *John Azen* and *Scouar* found the Mine in 5 degrees of lat. and the next Year *de Poo* diſcover'd the Iſland now call'd after his Name. About this time *Sequeiza* diſcover'd the Iſlands *St. Thomas* and *del Principe*, lying under the Line of the firm Land as far as *Cape Santa Catharina*, lying in 3 degr. South lat. in which is

Benin a Kingdom.

the Kingdom of *Benin*.

Rio de Congo.

In 1484. King *John* II. ſent out *Caon*, who went to the River of *Congo* in 7 or 8 degr. South lat. and from thence to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, ſetting up Pillars of Stone in both places: He return'd to the King of *Congo*, who ſent an Embaſſador to *Portugal*.

Alexandria, Cairo, Tozo, &c.

In 1487. King *John* ſent *Pedro de Covillan* to diſcover *India* over Land, who went out in *May*, and took Shipping at *Naples* the ſame Year, and went to the Iſle of *Rhodes*; and from thence to *Alexandria*, and ſo to *Cairo*, and the Haven of *Tozo*, in the company of the Caravans. Again he took Shipping at the *Red-Sea*, and went to the City of *Aden*, and from thence to *Cananor* and *Calecut*, and came back again to *Goa*; from whence he ſail'd unto *Sofala*, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, in 20 degrees South lat. to ſee the famous Mines there. And from *Sofala* he turn'd back to *Moſambique*, and to the Cities of *Quiloa*, *Mombaza* and *Melinde*, until he came to *Aden*, and having ſail'd through the *Red-Sea* to *Cairo*: here he receiv'd Letters from King *John*, requiring him to go to *Ethiopia*, and ſo he turn'd back again to *Aden*, and went to the famous City of *Ormuz*, in 27 degrees North lat. where he heard of the Streight of *Perſia*, and of that Country; and there he paſs'd over the *Red-Sea* to *Preſter John's* Country, where he was detain'd till 1520. that an Embaſſador came there from *Portugal*. This *Covillan* was the firſt *Portugueſe* that diſcover'd the *Indies*, and Seas and Places adjoining.

Preſter John's Country.

The firſt that ſaw the Indies.

The greater part of Congo baptiz'd.

In 1490. the King ſent back the Ambaſſador of *Congo*, who with ſome others of his Company had been baptiz'd in *Portugal*; and when the *Portugueſe* came to *Congo*, the King, and the greater part of his Realm, turn'd Chriſtians, and were baptiz'd.

The firſt that ſail'd by Latitudes.

In 1492. *Ferdinando*, King of *Caſtile*, ſent *Chriſtopher Columbus*, with 3 Ships, to diſcover *Nova Spayna*: He ſet out from *Palos* in *Auguſt*, having with him ſeveral Captains, and 120 more in company; and 'tis ſaid they were the firſt that ſail'd by Latitudes. In his return home he took the Iſles of *Azores*, which offended the King of *Portugal*, but theſe Iſles were given to the King of *Caſtile* by Pope *Alexander*.

Columbus's Voyage.

In 1493. the ſaid *Columbus* ſail'd from *Cadiz* with 17 Ships, and 1500 Men in them, among whom were his two Brethren, and many other Gentlemen, and on the tenth day after their ſetting forth they arriv'd at the *Canaries*, from whence in thirty days they ſail'd to the *Antibes*, of which the firſt Iſland lies in 14 degrees North lat.

lat. and is distant from the *Canaries* 800 leagues, and they call'd it *Defeada*, i. e. the *Desired Island*. After that they discover'd many more, which they call'd *Virgines*, which are nam'd *Caribas* by the Natives, who poyson their Arrows, so that a Man dies like a mad Dog. From these Islands he went to the principal call'd St. *John*, and from thence to *Hispaniola*, where he found all the Men dead he had left: And leaving here the most part of his People to plant it, and his Brethren *Gors*, he went to discover the other side of the Isle *Cuba*, and from thence to *Jamaica*; all which Isles lie between 16 and 20 degr. of North lat. But when he return'd, he found his Brethren, and the rest of the company, distress'd by the Insurrection of the Natives, whereupon he went back to *Spain* to inform the King of his Adventures.

Defeada discovered. *Las Virgines.* *St. John.* *Jamaica.*

In 1496. *John Cabot*, a *Venetian*, was sent out by *Henry* VII. King of *England*, with two Ships and 300 Men, who sailed Westward till they came in sight of Land in 45 degr. of lat. and then went Northward till they came to 60 degr. of lat. where the Day is 18 hours long. There they met with great Isles of Ice, and Coasting along the Land which turn'd Eastward, they discover'd the River *Defeada*; and then sail'd back towards the Equinoctial to 38 degr. and so to *England*.

The Discoveries of *John Cabot.*

In 1497. *Ferdinando* King of *Spain* sent out *Christopher Columbus* with 6 Ships, who carried with him two Ships of his own, and sail'd to *Cape Verde*, and running along by the Line, the first Land of the *Antilles* they came to was an Island in 9 degr. of lat. which they call'd *Trinidada*; and so he enter'd into the Gulf of *Paria*, and came out by the *Dragons-mouth*, and steering near the Coast he found 3 small Isles, which he nam'd *Testiges*, beyond which lies the Isle *Cubagua*, where is fishing for Muscle-Pearls, and, as some say, a Well of Oil. And beyond that Isle they came to the Isles *Frailes*, *Rogues*, &c. with other small ones along the Bay; and at last to the Point of *Cape de Vela*, having discover'd along the Coast about 200 leagues, whence they cross'd over to *Hispaniola*.

Trinidada. *Testigos, Cubagua.*

In the same Year 1497. *Vasquez de Gama* sail'd from *Lisbon* with three Ships and 120 Men, and in 14 days came to *Cape Verde*, and the Isle of *St. Jago*, from whence he sail'd along the Coast beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*, and having erected there Pillars of Stone, he came to *Mosambique*, in 15 degr. of South lat. and thence to *Mombasa* and *Melinde*, where the King gave them Pilots to conduct them to *India*, and they discover'd the Flats of *Padua*.

Mosambique, Mombasa, Melinde.

In 1498. they anchor'd before *Calecut*, and sailing from thence Northward, they discover'd the Coast all along till they came to *Angediva*: And in 1499. they sail'd thence to *Melinde*, and so to *Mosambique* again, and the *Cape of Good Hope*, and thence sailing along the Coast they came to *Cape Verde*, and at last to *Lisbon*, in 26 Months.

Calecut.

In 1499. one *Pinson* went from *Palos* at his own Cost, with the leave of the King of *Castile*, to *Cape Verde*, and pass'd the Line Southward, and discover'd the Cape of *St. Austin* in 8 degr. of lat. The chief places besides this Cape where they touch'd, were the Point of *St. Luke* and *Terra de los Humos*, the Rivers of *Marannon*, *Amazones* and *Rio Dulce*, and other places along the Coast, till they came to 10 degr. of North lat.

St. Luke. Rivers *Marannon, Amazones, Dulce.*

In 1500. *Pedro Cabral* sail'd from *Lisbon* with 13 Ships, and in seeking one of his Ships lost his way, and fell upon the Coast of *Brasile*, and put into a Haven which he call'd the *Safe-Haven*, in 17 degr. South lat. From thence he sail'd towards the Cape of *Good Hope*, and cross'd over the River *Cochin*, which was not known before, and laded himself with Pepper, and in his return discover'd *Sofala* on the Coast of *Africa*.

Safe-Haven in Brasile. *Sofala.*

In the same Year 1500. *Gaspar Cortereal* went with two Ships at his own Cost from *Tercera*, and sail'd to a Land in 50 degr. North lat. call'd after his Name, and return'd to *Lisbon*.

Cortereal's Discovery.

In 1501. *John de Nova* went from *Lisbon* with 4 Ships, and pass'd the Line to 8 degr. and discover'd the Isle of *Ascension*; and from *Melinde* he cross'd to the other side, where he took lading, and so came back and doubled the Cape, and found the Island *St. Helena*.

The Isle of Ascension. *St. Helena.*

In the same Year 1501. three Ships were set out by the King of *Portugal*, which pass'd the Line, and having seen the Land of *Brasile*, in 5 degr. of lat. they went on to 32. and it was very cold.

Brasile discover'd to 32 degrees.

In 1502. one *Roderigo Bastidas* went with two Caravels, and steering Westward from the *Green Island* in the *Antibes* to *St. Martha*, *Cape de la Vela*, and *Rio Grande*, he discover'd the Haven of *Zamba*, the *Coradas*, *Carthagena*, and the Islands of *St. Bernard*, *Baru* and *Arenas*, and went forward to the Point of *Caribana*, at the end of the Gulf of *Uraba*, which is within sight of the *Farallones*, hard by the River *Darien*, which is distant from the *Cape de la Vela* 200 leagues, lying in 9 degr. North lat.

The Haven of *Zamba*, the *Coradas* and *Carthagena*, the Isles of *St. Bernard*, &c. discover'd.

In the same Year 1502. *Christopher Columbus* went a fourth time upon Discoveries, and he went first to *Hispaniola*, *Jamaica*, and the Cape of *Honduras*; from whence he sail'd Eastward to *Gracias a Dios*, and discover'd the Province and River of *Veragua*, and *Rio Grande*, and to the River of *Crocodiles*, within four leagues of *Panama*, which runs into the North Sea. And so he went to the Isle *de Bastimentos*, *Puerto Bello*, and *Nombre de Dios*, *Rio Francisco*, and the Haven of *Retreat*, and then to the Gulf of *Cabesa Cattiva*, the Isles of *Capercsa*, and lastly to the Cape of *Marble*, being 200 leagues upon the Coast; from whence he turn'd again to the Isle of *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, where he grounded his Ships much eaten with Worms.

Veragua and *Rio Grande*, &c. discover'd.

In the Year 1502. *Vasques de Gama* went from *Lisbon* with ten Carvels, and from *Cape Verde* he went to *Mosambique*, and was the first that cross'd from that Isle to *India*: And he discover'd another Isle in 4 degr. of latitude, which he call'd the *Isle of the Admiral*, where he took his lading of Pepper and Drugs, and left there one *Sodre* to keep the Coast of *India* with five Ships. These were the first *Portuguese* that with an Army run along the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, which is so barren, that Cattel and Camels are maintain'd with dry Fish brought from Sea.

The Isle *Mosambique.* Cattel fed with dry fish.

In 1503. *Antony de Soldania* discover'd *Socotora*, and the Cape of *Guardafu* adjoining to it.

Socotra.

In 1504. *Bastidas*, with the leave of *Ferdinando* King of *Castile*, went with two Ships to discover that part of *Terra firma* where *Carthagena* is, being in 10 degr. and half of North lat. and having landed in *Codego*, he took 600 of the Natives: And going further, he enter'd into the Gulf of *Uraba*, where they found Sand mingled with Gold, being the first that was brought to King *Ferdinando*; from whence they return'd to *Santo-Domingo* laden with Slaves, but the Natives would not sell them Victuals.

Codego. *Uraba.* Gold Sand.

In 1505. *Almeida*, Vice-Roy of *India*, went thither with 22 Sail, and when he came to *Quinola* he built there a Fort; and beyond *Melinde* he cross'd to *Angediva*. In *Cananor* also and *Cochin*, he built Forts; to each of which he appointed a Captain. And at *Sofala*, *Peter Anheya* built a Fortress, whereof he was made Captain. In this Year the Vice-Roy sent his Son towards the Isles of *Maldiva*, and he came to the Isles now call'd *Ceylan*, and having made Peace with the People there, he came back to *Cochin*, and sailing along the Coast he fully discover'd it.

Fort built a *Quilon*, &c. *Ceylan.*

In the Year 1506. *Diego Columbus* succeeded his Father *Christopher* as Admiral of the *West-Indies*, and *Tristan de Acuna* went to *India* with 14 Ships, and by the way cast Anchor at the Town of *Bezequiche*, and before he arriv'd at the *Cape of Good Hope* in 37 degr. he found certain Isles now call'd the Isles of *Tristan*. *Alvaro Telez* ran so far that he came to the Isle *Sumatra*, and so back again to the Cape of *Guardafu*, having discover'd many Isles and Lands, and a Sea never seen before by any *Portuguese*. *Emmanuel Telez* being driven without the Isle *St. Lawrence*, ran along the Coast and came to *Mosambique*; from whence he sail'd to *Melinde*, and ran along that Coast and entred into *Brava*, from whence he cross'd over to *Socotora*, where he built a Fort, and made one Captain of it.

Bezenicch. Isles of *Tristan.* *Sumatra.* A Fort in *Sumatra.*

In 1509. *Lopez Sequeira* went with 4 Ships to *St. Lawrence*, and in the same Year he arriv'd in *Cochin*; from whence passing between the Isles of *Nicubar*, he went to the Land of *Sumatra*, and along that Coast to the Isle *Polvoreira*, and the Flats of *Capacia*, from whence he went over to *Malacca*, in two degr. North lat. but because the Natives there kill'd some of his Men, he turn'd back to *India*, having discover'd in this Voyage 500 leagues. *Sumatra* is the first Land where they found Man's flesh to be eaten. The flesh of Kine and Hens there is as black as Ink.

Cochin. *Polvoreira.*

In 1508. one *Alfonso de Hoida* went at his own Charges to conquer *Darien*, and having discover'd firm Land at *Uraba*, he call'd it the *Golden Castile*, because of the Gold found among the Sand along the Coast; and they were the first that did this. He went first from the Isle *Hispaniola*, and the City *Domingo*, with four Ships and 300 Soldiers, and landed at *Carthagena*, where he was distress'd by the Natives, who slew and eat 70 of his Soldiers; but in the same Year, *Diego Niquesa* having 7 Ships and about 800 Men, came to *Carthagena* and join'd him, where having landed, they aveng'd themselves of the Natives. In this Voyage *Niquesa* discover'd the Coast of *Nombre de Dios*, and went into the Sound of *Darien*;

Darien. *Golden Castile.* *Nombre de Dios.*

Darien; and when they came to *Veragua*, he went ashore with his Army, having no hopes of returning to *Hispaniola*. *Alfonso de Hoida* built a Fort in *Caribana*, which was the first the *Spaniards* built on firm Land, and another in *Nombre de Dios*, and also the Town of *Uraba*.

A Fort in Caribana.

In 1509. *Columbus* went to *Hispaniola* with his Wife, who carried with her many other Women, which were there married; and so they began to People the Country, which was afterwards much frequented by *Spaniards*. He plac'd also a Lieutenant over the People of *Cuba*, which is a very large Isle.

Hispaniola and Cuba peopled with Spaniards.

In 1511. *Alfonso de Albuquerque* went from *Cochin* to *Malacca*; and the *Chinesians* leaving *Malacca* in the same Year, to go to their own Country, he sent with them *Duarte Fernandes* with Letters to the King of *Mantias*, now call'd *Siam*, who pass'd through the Streight of *Sincapura*, and sailing North went to *Odia*, the chief City of the Kingdom, lying in 14 degr. North lat. *Fernandes* being the first *Portuguese* the King had seen, was much honour'd by him, who sent back with him Ambassadors to *Albuquerque*, who pass'd over the Land to the City *Tenazerim*, a Sea-Port in 12 degrees, where they embark'd, and sail'd along the Coast to *Malacca*. This Kingdom of *Siam* is 150 leagues long, and 80 broad; the King can bring into the Field 30000 Elephants.

The Streight of Sincapura, and chief City of Siam.

After this, *Albuquerque* sent *D'Acuna* with Letters to the King of *Pegu*, who went in a Junk of the Country to the City *Pegu*, near the River *Salano*, and many other Villages lying along this River; and to the Cities *Tanazerim* and *Martauan*, in 15 degr. North lat. and *Pegu* in 17. He was the first *Portuguese* who travell'd in that Kingdom, and gave an account of the Country, and of the People, who wear Bells in their Privities as the *Siamites* do.

Pegu.

Pegu.

One Fitch brought Name of these Bells to England.

In the end of 1511. *Albuquerque* sent three Ships, with 120 Men, to the Isles of *Banda* and *Maluco*, which pass'd through the Streight of *Saban* along *Sumatra*, and other Isles, towards the East, which they call'd *Salites*. They sail'd also to the Isles *Palimbam* and *Puparam*, and pass'd by the noble Isle of *Java*, and steering Eastward sail'd between it and the Isle *Madura*. Beyond *Java* they sail'd by another Isle call'd *Bali*, and came to many other Isles lying in the same Parallel in 7 or 8 degr. South lat. their Course along these Isles being above 500 leagues. Beyond these there are other Isles towards the North, inhabited by whiter People, who wear Shirts and Doblet.

The Isles of Banda, Maluco.

Java, Madura.

Anthony de Bron the Admiral, went towards the North to a small Isle call'd *Ternate*, from the highest place whereof fall Sea-flakes like streams of fire. From thence he went to the Isles of *Burro* and *Amboyno*, and anchor'd in the Haven call'd *Guliguli*, and landed in a Village where the Natives are Man-eaters; and then crossing over to a place on the other side in 8 degr. they laded Cloves, Nutmegs and Mace, in a Junk brought here.

Ternate.

Burro, Amboyne, Guliguli.

In 1512. they went from *Banda* towards *Malacca*, and the Junk being lost on the Flats of *Luzapinho*, nine or ten *Portuguese* escap'd to *Mindanao*, whom the King of *Maluco* sent for; and these were the first that came to the *Isle of Cloves*, in one degr. North lat.

Mindanao, Maluco.

In the same Year 1512. *Albuquerque* went back from *Malacca* to *Goa*, and the Ship in which he went being lost, a few Men were driven to the Isles of *Maldiva*, where they first saw Coco's.

In the same Year 1512. *John Solis* went from *Castile* to discover the Coast of *Brasile*: He came to the Cape of St. *Austin*, and Coasting Southward he went to the Port *Lagoa*, and in 35 degr. of South lat. he found a great River, which he called *Rio de Plaza*, i. e. the *River of Silver*.

Rio de Plata.

In the same Year 1512. *John Pence* went with two Ships to find out the Isle *Boyuca*, and the Well there which was said to make Old Men young; but there was no such thing. He entred into the Isle of *Bimini*, and discover'd a Point of Land in 29 degr. North, which he call'd *Florida*.

Florida.

In 1513. *Vasco Nunnes Valboa* having heard of the South-Sea, with 290 Men went from *Darien*, carrying some *Indians* to be his Guides march'd over Land, and on St. *Michael's-day* came to the South Sea, where he embark'd, tho' he was told of great danger, and came back to Land in safety, having taken there store of Gold, Silver and Pearls.

The South-Sea.

In the same Year *Albuquerque* went from *Goa* to the Streight of *Mecca*, with 20 Ships: He batter'd *Aden*, enter'd the Streight, and winter'd in the Isle of *Camaran*, being the first *Portuguese* Captain that gave information of those Seas, and of that of *Persia*.

The Streight of Mecca.

In 1514. *Pedro d'Avila* went from *Lucar* with his Wife and 1500 Men, in 7 Ships, being the 4th Governour of *Golden Castile*, as they nam'd the Countries of *Darien*, *Carthagena* and *Uraba*; and *Valboa* was made Governour of the South-Sea of that Coast.

In 1515. *Pedro Arias d'Avila* sent one *Gaspar Morales* with 150 Men to the Gulf of St. *Michael*, to discover the Isles of *Tararequi*, *Chiapes* and *Tumaccus*. A Cacique, friend to *Valboa*, gave him many Canoes, wherein they sail'd to the Isle of *Pearl*; the Lord whereof at first oppos'd their Landing, but being afterwards pacified, he took them home to his House, and was baptiz'd *Pedro Arias*, for which he gave them a Basket full of Pearls, weighing 110 pounds, whereof some were as big as Hazel-nuts, weighing 25, 26, or 31 Carats, every Carat being 4 grains. There was given for one of them 1200 Ducats. This Isle *Tararequi* lies in 4 degr. lat. towards the North.

The Gulf of St. Michael.

Isle of Pearl.

In the same Year 1515. *Albuquerque* sent from *Ormuz* *Fernando Gomez* as Ambassador to *Ismael* King of *Persia*, who travell'd in it 300 leagues, and reported that it is a pleasant Country like *France*, and that there are the fairest Women in the World.

An Embassy to the King of Persia.

In 1516. about 100 Years after the taking of *Ceuta*, *Lopez Suarez* being Governour of *India*, one *Fernando Perez* was sent to *China*, where he received much Pepper; and after that to *Bengala*, to a Knight call'd *John Calo*. He was the first *Portuguese* that saw *Ganges*.

Pepper a great Commodity in China.

In 1517. the same *Perez* went to the City of *Malacca*, and from thence towards *China*, with 8 Sail, 4 *Portugueses*, and 4 *Malayans*. He went with *Thomas Perez* the Ambassador from the City of *Canton*, by Land 400 leagues to the City of *Pekin*, where the King was; the Province whereof is the biggest in the World, extending from 20 to 50 degr. of Latitude, *i. e.* 500 leagues in length, and it's said to be 300 leagues broad. *Perez* was 14 Months in the Isle *de Ventaga*, learning as much as he could of the Country, of which he discover'd very much by Land and Sea.

China first discover'd.

Pekin.

In 1518. *John Silveira* went to the Isles of *Maldiva*, and made Peace with them; and from thence to the River *Ganges*, 100 leagues beyond *Canton*, and discover'd the Country and Manners of the People.

Maldiva.

In 1518. *John Grisalva* went with 4 Ships and 200 Soldiers from *Cuba*, to discover *Yucatan*; and in their way they found the Isle of *Cosmel* in 19 degrees North lat. and nam'd it *Santa Cruz*, because they came to it the 3d of *May*. They coasted the Land, and came to an Island call'd *Ascension*, because they came to it on *Ascension-day*, and finding no place to go out at, they went round about it to another River, which they call'd the River of *Grisalva*, in 17 degrees lat. where they got Gold, Silver and Feathers.

Yucatan.

Santa Cruz.

Ascension.

In the same Year 1518. *Francis Garay* went with three Ships from *Jamaica* towards the Point of *Florida*, but when they came on Land the Natives kill'd many of them, so that they durst not stay; whereupon they sailed along the Coast, and came to the River of *Panuco*, 500 leagues distant from the Point of *Florida*.

Panuco.

In 1519. *Fernando Cortes* went from *Cuba* to *Nova Spania*, with 11 Ships, and 550 Men in them: and the Country of *Tenich* being at War with *Montezuma*, sent Ambassadors to *Cortez* with Presents, offering him their Country and Friendship; and they which went to *Tutepeck* near the South-Sea, brought some Samples of Gold, and prais'd the pleasant Country, and many good Harbours, but nothing could be done at that time.

King of Mexico.

Tutepec.

In 1520. *Lopez de Sequeir* went to the Streight of *Mecca*, in the Isle of *Macua* in the *Red-Sea*, in 17 degrees North.

In the same Year, *Vasquez Ailon* went with two Ships to the Isles of *Lucayes* to get Slaves, and finding none, they pass'd along the firm Land beyond *Florida* to certain Countries call'd *Chichora* and *Guadalupe*, and to the River of *Jordan*, and the Cape of St. *Helen*, in 31 degrees North. The Natives came to the Sea-side to see the Ships, having never seen the like before, and the *Spaniards* went on Land and receiv'd such things as they wanted; but having got many of them into their Ships, they set Sail and brought them away for Slaves.

Chichora, Guadalupe, &c.

In 1522. one *Gilgonzales* went with four Ships from the Isle *Tararequi* in the South-Sea, to discover the Coast of *Nicaragua*, and especially the passage from the South into the North-Sea: And sailing along the Coast, he came to a Haven call'd St. *Vincent*, and there landed 100 Foot and some Horsemen, and went 200 leagues within Land, and brought with him 200 Peso's of Gold, and so came back to St. *Vincent*, and thence to *Panama*.

Nicaragua.

St. Vincent.

In 1522. *Gonzalo Gomez* went from the Isle *Tidore* towards *Nova Spania*, and wanting Wind they steer'd towards the North-east into 16 degrees, where they found two Isles which they nam'd the Isles of St. *John*, and in that

St. John.

that Course they came to another Isle in 20 degrees, which they nam'd *la Griega*, and after four Months they came into 42 degrees of North lat. where they saw Sea-fishes call'd Seales; but the Climate was so cold, that they turn'd back to *Tidore*.

In 1522. *Cortez* desirous to have some Havens on the South-Sea, and to discover the Coast of *Nova Spania* on that side, that he might bring the Drugs from *Malucco* and *Banda*, and the Spicery from *Java*, with less trouble, sent four *Spaniards* with their Guides to *Teco antepec*, and other Havens, where they were well receiv'd, and brought some of the Natives to *Mexico*; and *Cortez* afterwards sent 10 Pilots, who went 70 leagues in the Sea, but found no Haven. One Cacique, or Lord, sent with them to *Cortez* 200 Men, with a Present of Gold and Silver, and other Goods, the Product of the Country.

Teco antepec.

In 1523. *Cortez* sent to the Aid of the said Saique 200 Foot and 40 Horse, who went through the Country and built the City of *St. James*, and the Town of *Segura*, leaving People in them. The Saiques wondred much at the Monsters of the Sea, as they call'd the great Ships.

St. James and Segura built.

In this Year 1523. *Simon de Breu* was sent to learn the way by the Isle of *Borneo* to *Malacca*: They went thro' the Streight of *Treminao* and *Tagui* to the Isles of *St. Michael*, in 7 degrees, and from thence discover'd the Isles of *Borneo*, pass'd through the Streight of *Cincapura*, and so to *Malacca*.

The Isles of St. Michael and Borneo.

In the same Year 1523. *Cortez* went with 300 Foot, and 150 Horse, and 40000 *Mexicans*, to *Panuco*, which after some resistance was conquer'd; and upon the River near *Chila*, he built a Town call'd *Santo Stephano del Puerto*, leaving in it 100 Foot and 30 Horse, with a Lieutenant. This Journey cost 76000 Castilians, besides *Spaniards*, Horses and *Mexicans*, who died there.

St. Stephano de Puerto.

In 1523. *Francis Garay* having a Grant from *Charles* the Fifth, of the Coast of *Florida* to *Panuco*, went with 9 Ships and 2 Brigandines, carrying 850 Soldiers and 140 Horses to *Panuco*; but hearing that it was Peopled by *Cortes*, he went to *Rio de Palmas*, and having sent one up that River, he travell'd by Land, and having pass'd *Rio Montalto*, at last he came to *Panuco*, but finding there no Victuals, and having lost 40 Horse in an Ambush, and 4 of his Ships, he gave over the design; and hearing that the Government of *Nova Spania* and *Panuco* was given to *Cortes*, he yielded to him.

Rio de Palmas. *Rio Montalto.*

In 1523. *Gonzales d'Avila* discover'd and Peopled a Town, call'd *Gil de buena Vista*, in 14 degrees of North latitude, which lies in the bottom of the Bay call'd the *Ascension*, which he knew to be a rich Country.

Gil de buena Vista in the Bay of *Ascension.*

In 1523. *Alvarado* was sent from *Mexico* with three hundred Foot, one hundred and seventy Horse, and four Field-pieces, to discover and conquer *Qualutemallan*, *Xochuuxco*, and other Towns towards the South-Sea. He went by *Teco antepec* to *Xochuuxco*, and other places, and discover'd and subdu'd all the Country: In which he found some Hills that had Alom, and a Liquor like Oil and Sulphur, of which he made Gun-powder. He travell'd four hundred leagues, and pass'd some Rivers so hot that they could not well wade through; and built a City call'd *St. Jago Quahutemallan*. 'Tis said he had the Government of that Country for his labour.

Alom Hills. *St Jago Quahutemallan.*

In 1523. *Godoy* was sent by *Cortes* to the Town *del Spiritu Santo*, whose Captain joyn'd with him and went to *Chamolla*, the chief City of that Province, which being taken all the Country submitted.

Chamolla.

In 1524. the *Zapotecas* and *Nixticas*, and other Countries, were subdu'd by *Bangel* with one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*.

Zapotecas and *Nixticas.*

In the same Year the Country of *St. Martha* was discover'd and conquer'd by *Bastidas* and *Villa Forte*.

St. Martha.

In 1524. *Cortes* sent one *Christopher Olid* to discover and People the Country about the Cape *Higueras* and the *Honduras*; but this *Olid*, when he came to *Cuba*, leagu'd with *Volasquez* against *Cortes*, and landing hard by *Puerto de Cavallos*, in ten degrees North latitude, built *Triumpho de la Cruz*. *Cortes* went from *Mexico* to seek *Olid*, with three hundred Foot and Horse, and carry'd with him the King of *Mexico*, and other Lords; and coming to *Del Spiritu Santo*, ten Guides were sent him, who gave him a Map of Cotton-wooll, shewing the situation of the Country from *Xicalanco* to *Naco* and *Nico*, and as far as *Nicaragua*. But when he came to *Izancanac*, he understood that the *Mexicans* and their King conspir'd against him, wherefore he hang'd the King and two of the chief Leaders; and so he came to *Mazatlan* and *Tiaca*, and to *Nito*, and the Bay of *St. Andrew*, where finding a good Haven, he built a Town call'd the *Nativity of our Lady*. From thence he went to *Truxillo*, where he heard the

Triumpho de la Cruz. *Nativity of our Lady.*

News of a Sedition in *Mexico*, and he went thither by Sea, after he had travell'd five hundred leagues.

In 1525. *Garsia de Loaisa* went from the *Groyne* with 7 Ships to the Isles of *Malucco*. He pass'd by the *Canaries* and came to *Brasil*, where he found an Isle in two degrees call'd *St. Matthew*: A Pinnace of theirs pass'd the Streight of *Magellan*, and run along the Coast of *Peru* and *New Spain*. The *Malucco's* were kind to them.

St. Matthew.

In the same Year *Stephen Gomez* went from the *Groyne*, to discover the Streight to *Malucco* by the North. 'Tis said he came to Cape *Razo* in 46 degrees North, and thence came back laden with Slaves.

Cape Raz.

In 1525. *Gomez Sequeira* going from *Malucco*, found some Isles in 9 degrees North, and call'd them after his own Name.

In 1526. *Sebastian Cabot*, Son of a *Venetian*, born at *Bristol*, went from *Sevil* with four Ships towards *Malucco*, which they could not reach because the Admiral Ship was lost in the Bay of *Patos*, where they made a Pinnace to go up the River of *Plate*; and having run up sixty leagues to the Bar, they left there their great Ships, and with their Pinnaces row'd up the River *Parana* one hundred and twenty leagues, where they built a Fortress, and staid above a Year, and then row'd further till they came to the River *Paragion*, and perceiving the Country yielded Gold and Silver, they kept on their Course; but hearing that a Brigantine which he had sent before was taken by the Natives, he sail'd back again, and return'd to *Sevil* in 1530. having discover'd about two hundred leagues in this River which is very Navigable.

River Parana. *Paragion.*

In 1527. *Cortes* sent three Ships to discover by the way of *New Spain* the Isles of *Malucco*, with his Cousin *Saavaedra*, who sail'd from *St. Christophers* in twenty degrees North, to the Isles call'd by *Magelian* the *Pleasures*, and those discover'd by *Sequeira*, which he nam'd the *Isles of Kings*; and having lost two Ships by the way, he sail'd to the Isle of *Candiga*, and in 1528. arriv'd at last at the Isles of *Malucco*, and anchor'd before *Gelilo*, distant from *New Spain* 2050 leagues.

The Isles of Kings.

In 1528. *Cortes* having discover'd and planted the Country of *Chichimecas*, which was said to be rich in Gold, went to *Castile* in great pomp, carrying with him 250000 Marks of Gold and Silver, and was nobly receiv'd by the Emperor at *Toledo*, who made him a Marquis and Governour of *New Spain*.

In 1529. *Saavaedra* returning towards *New Spain*, had sight of Land in two degrees South, and ran along it above five hundred leagues, where he saw People of black curled hair call'd *Papuas*; but having sail'd four or five degrees to the South, he return'd towards the North, and discover'd an Isle which he call'd the *Isle of painted People*. And a little beyond it, in ten or twelve degrees, he found many low small Isles full of Palm-trees and Grass, which he call'd *los Jardines*. The Natives wear white Cloaths made of Grass, never saw fire, eat Coco's and Fish, dig Boats with shells. *Saavaedra* perceiving the Weather to be good, sail'd towards the firm Land and City of *Panama*, there to unload the Cloves and Merchandize he had, which might be carry'd in Carts four leagues to the River *Chagre*, which is said to be Navigable into the North-Sea, not far from *Nombre de Dios*; by which way all Goods might be brought a shorter way than round about the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Papuas. *Isle of painted People.* *Isle of Palm-trees, or Jardins.*

In 1529. one *Tavarez* went from the City of *Ormuz* unto *Balsera*, and the Isles of *Gissara*, with some Ships of War, and went up to the place where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet; and tho' others had sail'd through that Streight, yet never any before him sail'd so far upon fresh, and discover'd that River so fully.

In 1531. *Dacugna* with ten Ships, nine hundred Foot, and one hundred and thirty Horse, went to the River *Maragnon*, in three degrees South, being fifteen leagues broad at the entrance, having many Isles inhabited, wherein grow Trees that bear Incense, bigger than in *Arabia*. Gold, rich Stones, and one Emerauld as big as a Man's Hand, was found there. The Natives make their Drink of Dates as big as Quinces.

River Maragnon. *Incense-trees.* *A great Emerauld.*

In 1531. one *Gusman* went from *Mexico* towards the North-west, with 250 Horse and 500 Foot, to discover and conquer the Countries of *Valisco*, *Ceimtili quipac*, &c. He went through the Country of *Mechuacan*, where he had much Gold, ten thousand Marks of Silver, and six thousand *Indians* to carry burdens. He conquer'd many Countries; call'd that of *Valisco*, *Nova Gallicia*. He built a City which he call'd *Compostelle*, and another which he nam'd *Guadalaiara*, being the name of the place of his Nativity. He built also the Towns *de Santo Epirito*, *de la Conception*, and *de la San Miguel*, in 24 degrees North latitude.

Mechuacan. *Nova Gallicia.* *Compostella, &c.*

In

In 1533. *Francis Pizarro* went from the City of *Tumbez* to *Caxamalca*, where he took the King *Attabalipa*; Mountains of Snow under the Line. *Alvarado* found Mountains of Snow so cold, that seventy of his Men were frozen to death, but when he came to *Quito* he begun to inhabit it, and call'd it *St. Francis*.

In 1534. *Cartier* a *Britain* went with three Ships to *Corterealis*, and the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, and sail'd North to 51 degrees, hoping to go that way to *China*, and bring thence Drugs to *France*. The next Year he went into those Parts, and found plenty of Victuals, many Houses, and great Rivers. He sail'd in one River S. W. three Nova Francia. hundred leagues, and call'd the Country *Nova Francia*; but finding the Water fresh, he perceiv'd he could not go that way to the South Sea.

In 1535. *Trisalva* sail'd three hundred leagues from *Teco antepec* to the Isle he call'd *St. Thomas*, in 20 degrees latitude.

The Fort of Diu. In the same Year *d'Acuna*, Governour of *India*, built a Fort at *Diu*, and sent a Fleet to the River *Indus*, which is distant from it about one hundred leagues North; he sent also an Army against *Badu* King of *Cambaia*.

In 1535. *Alcazava* went from *Sevil* with two Ships, and 240 Men, and entred the Streight of *Magellan*, without touching at *Brasile*; he went to a Haven in 53 degrees South, and was kill'd by his Soldiers.

In 1535. *Mendoza* went from *Cadiz* with 12 Ships and 2000 Men; he died, and his Men built in that River a great Town, wherein are two thousand Houses inhabited by *Indians* and *Spaniards*. They discover'd and con- The Mines of Potosi. quer'd the Country till they came to the Mines of *Potosi*, and the Town *la Plata*, distant from them five hundred leagues.

St. Jago. In 1536. *Cortez* with 3 Ships sail'd to a Point which he call'd *St. Philip*, and an Isle hard by he call'd *St. Jago*. After this he came into the River call'd *Rio San Pedro y San Paulo*, where having lost two of his Ships by a Tempest, he entred into the Gulf now call'd *Mar de Cortez*, The Gulf of California. or the Gulf of *California*, and went fifty leagues within it, where he had been lost, if he had not found a Ship at Anchor to succour him. While he was at *Acapulco*, being inform'd by *Francis Pizarro* that *Mango Inga* was risen against him with a hundred thousand Men, who had kill'd his Brother *John*, he sent two Ships with Men and Victuals to *Tangarara* in *Peru*, to succour *Francis Pizarro*, which sail'd from thence along the Line to *Malucco*, and 'tis said they went above a thousand leagues without sight of Land, and in two degrees North they Asia an Isle. discover'd an Isle nam'd *Asea*, which seem'd to be one of the Isles of *Cloves*; and having sail'd about five hundred leagues more, they saw another which they call'd the Isle de los Piscadores. *Isle de los Piscadores.* Going on in this course, they saw another Isle towards the South call'd *Hayme*, and two o- Hayme, &c. thers call'd *Apia* and *Seri*; but turning towards the North one degree, they anchor'd at the Isle *Coroa*, from whence they came under the Line to *Meousum* and *Bufu*, lying in the same course. The People eat Mens flesh, and are Witches in all these Isles. Here is a Bird as big as a Crane, which flies not, but runs on the ground like a Deer. From these Isles we came to others call'd *Guelles*, lying one degree towards the N. E. and West from the Isle *Tenerate*, where the *Portuguese* have a Fort, being distant from it about forty leagues, and from *Moro* 124. From whence they went to the Isle of *Moro* and the The Isle of Cima. Isle of *Cloves*, where they cou'd not land without leave from *Galvano*.

In 1537. *Vadillo*, Governour of *Carthagena*, went with a good Army from *Sebastian* in the Gulf of *Uraba*, and from thence to *Rio Verde*, and thence by Land, without knowing any way, to the end of the Country of *Peru*, and the Town of *la Plata*, being twelve hundred leagues. The Mountains of Abibe. From this River the Country is full of Hills, Trees and Rivers, to the Mountains of *Abibe*, which are said to be leagues broad, and must be pass'd over in the first four Months, before the Rains fall which swell the Rivers. There are in these Mountains Herds of Swine, Lyons, Tygers, Cats, Monkies, and vast Snakes; and also Partridges, Quails, Pigeons, and other Fowls, and plenty of Fish, which they could kill with their Staves. They pass'd through many Countries, and made great Discoveries by Land.

In 1538. *Galvano* sent *Francis de Castro* towards the North, to convert as many as he could to the Christian Faith. He himself christen'd many Lords, of *Celebes*, *Amboynos* and *Moros*, and other places: and *Francis de* Six Kings baptized at Mindanao. *Castro* at *Mindanao*, caus'd 6 Kings to be baptiz'd, with their Wives, Children, and Subjects; most of which were call'd *John*, after *John* the Third King of *Portugal*.

In 1539. *Cortes* sent three Ships with *Villoc*, to discover the Coast of *Culuacan* to the North, which went from *Acapulco*, and entred into *Cortes*'s Gulf, and sail'd to 32 degrees, which is at the further end of it, and call'd the place *Ancon de St. Andres*. When they came *Ancon de St. Andres.* out of it, they doubled the point of *California*, and going between certain Isles and the Point, and so sail'd along by it till they came to 32 degrees, whence they return'd to *New Spain*.

From the Cape *Enganno* to the Cape *Liampo* in *Spain*, the sailing is a thousand or twelve hundred leagues. *Cortes* and his Captains discover'd *New Spain* from 12 degrees South to 32 North, being seven hundred leagues. In *New Spain* are many Trees, but the chief of them is The beneficial Tree Meth. the *Meth*, which hath forty kind of leaves like woven Cloths: When they are tender they make Conserves, Paper, and a thing like Wax; of which they make Mantles, Mats, Shoes and Cordage. The prickles serve for Needles, the Juice of the Root is like Syrup, the Fruit is Cocoes, the Rind roasted cures Sores, and the tops expel Poyson, being mingled with Incense. There A Bird that dies and revives in the Spring. are also Birds call'd *Vicmalim*, which live of dew and the juice of Flowers: They die or sleep every Year in *October*, and revive or wake in *April*, when the Flowers spring.

In 1538, and 1539, *Pizarro* sent *Baldivia* with many Chili. Men to discover and conquer the Country of *Chili*, who discover'd much Land, and the Sea-coast towards the South-east, to 40 degrees and more in latitude. About this time *Alvarado* went to conquer the Province of *Guanuco*, *Chavez* to subdue the *Couchincos*, *Vergara* to the *Bracamores*; the *Pizarro's* to subdue *Collao* rich in Gold. Collao rich in Gold. And thus they subdued seven hundred leagues of Country.

Brasile and *Peru* are distant almost eight hundred leagues East and West, lying both almost in one parallel.

In some places of the *Andes* the Earth is of divers colours, as black, white, &c. wherewith they Die. On Strange Root. these Mountains grow several Roots, whereof one heals Sores, but eats found flesh to the bone. Those who live People blind of one Eye. on them are for the most part blind of one Eye, by the great cold and heat. There grows in the Fields good Maize and Potatoes, and an Herb call'd Coca, that's always in their Mouths, as in the *East-Indies* the Herb called Beetle, which they say satisfieth both hunger and thirst.

From *Tumbez* Southward, they say it neither Rains nor Thunders for five hundred leagues of Land, but at some times there falls a little shower; and that from *Tumbez* to *Chili*, there are no Hens or Cocks, or Birds of prey, but Ducks, Geese, &c. There are Bitterns which fight Bitterns fight with Seals. with the Seals, and pick out their Eyes, that they may not see to get into the Water; and *Xacos*, having Wool like Sheep, and a Saddle-back, on which Men ride.

From the River *Plata* and *Lima* Southward, there are no Lizards nor venemous Vermine, but store of good Fish. On the Coast of *St. Michael* on the South-Sea, are Rocks of Salt cover'd with Eggs. many Rocks of Salt cover'd with Eggs. On the Point of *Helena*, are Springs of Liquor which serves for Pitch and Tar.

In 1540. *Gonsalvo Pizarro* went out of *Quito*, to discover the Isle of Cinnamon, with 200 *Spaniards*, and 300 *Indians* to carry burdens. He came to *Guixos*, the last place govern'd by the Inga's, and pass'd over snowy Hills, where many *Indians* were frozen to death, and found much Snow under the Line. Thence they went to *Cumaco*, where they tarried two Months for the continual Rains. And beyond they saw the Cinnamon-trees, Cinnamon-trees. whose leaves are like Bay-leaves, and the leaves, branches and root, taste of Cinnamon; but the best have certain knops like Acrons, which is a good Commodity. It appears to be wild Cinnamon, and there is much of it in the *East-Indies*, and the Isle *Java*. From hence they went to the City *Coca*, and forwards along a River's-side being 60 leagues long, without either Bridge or Ford, which in one place had a fall 200 fathoms deep; and a little below this fall they made a Bridge to pass over to the other side, where they came to a Country call'd *Guema*, which had only Fruits and Herbs to eat. Going from hence forward, they met with a People in Cloaths of Cotton-wool, and found Canoes wherein they put their sick Men, and their Treasure, trusting them with one *Orellana*; and *Pizarro* went by Land along the River's-side, 200 leagues, going at Night with his company into the Boats. When *Pizarro* came to the Pizarro's hard Journey. place where he thought to find the Canoes, and could not hear of them, he was so distress'd, that they were forc'd to eat their Horses and Dogs, the Country being poor and barren, and the Journey long to *Quito*; in which, 'tis said, that they travell'd 500 leagues without seeing the Sun, and being out 18 Months, there were not of 200 that came out, above 10 that return'd to

River of Amazons. *Quito*. In the mean time *Orellana* went 500 leagues down the River, and saw divers Countries and People on both sides of it, which is call'd the River of the *Amazons*.

In 1542. *Diego de Freitas* being in *Siam*, in the City of *Dodea*, chas'd 3 *Portuguese* in a Ship towards *China*, who directed their course towards *Liampo* in 30 degrees, but there fell such a Storm upon their Stern, that it set them off the Land, and they saw an Isle to the E. in 32 degrees, call'd *Japan*.

Japan d.sco. vered.

In 1542. *Mendoza*, Vice-Roy of *New Spain*, sent Captains and Pilots to discover the Coast of Cape *Euganno*, who sail'd to the snowy Mountains in 40 degrees North, where they saw Ships which had the Yards of their Sails gilded, and their Prows laid over with Silver, which seem'd to be come from the Isles of *Japan* or *China*, for they said 'twas but 30 days Sail to their Country.

The Isles St. Thomas, Cloudy Isle, & Cloven Rock.

In 1542. *Mendoza* sent unto the Isles of *Mindanao* a Fleet of 6 Ships, with 400 Soldiers, and as many *Indians*, under *Rui Lopez* as General. They set sail from the Haven of *Natividad*, in 20 degrees North, and steer'd towards the West, where they saw the Isle of *St. Thomas*, and another which they nam'd the *Cloudy Isle*, and a third call'd the *Cloven Rock*. They saw the Isles discovered by *Roca*, *Sequeira* and *Saavedra*, and beyond them they found other Isles standing round, in 10 degrees.

In *Jan.* 1543. they departed from the said Isles with all the Fleet, and saw other Isles, out of which came Men in Boats with Crosses in their hands, who saluted them in the *Spanish* Tongue, saying, *Good morrow Companions*, who were some of those that had been Christned by *Castro*.

Mindanao.

In *February*, the same Year, *Lopez* saw that noble Isle *Mindanao*, lying in 9 degrees, but could neither double it, nor cast Anchor there, being oppos'd by the Christned Kings, who had promis'd Obedience to *Galvano*; whereupon he sail'd along the Coast, and in 4 or 5 degrees took a small Isle perforce, which he call'd *Antonia*.

Antonia.

In the same Year he went to many other Isles, in 11 or 12 degrees North latitude, where *Magellan* and *Castro* had been, which were call'd the *Philippines*. He saw also the Isles call'd the *Evil Roads*, the *Two Sisters*, the *Vulcano's*, and *Farfara*, beyond which there is a high Rock which casts out fire in five places. They found also an *Archipelagus* of Isles, in 15 or 16 degrees, where the People are white, well array'd, and wore Bracelets of Gold. Here also were Barks three Cubits long, row'd with Oars; and the Natives told the *Spaniards*, that with them they us'd to go to *China*, which was not above five or six days sailing from thence.

Philippines.

Archipelagus of Isles.

In 1544. *de Vargas*, Bishop of *Placenza*, sent a Fleet from *Seville* to the Streights of *Magellan*, but none of them could pass the Streight for contrary Winds, except one Bark, which discover'd the Land to *Chirimai* and *Arequipe*.

The Isle of Moro.

In 1545. *Rui Lopez* and *Giraldo*, with the *Castilians*, came to the Isle of *Moro*, and the City of *Camafo*, where they were well receiv'd by the Kings of *Gilolo* and *Tidore*, and the People of the Country.

In the same Year 1545. *Rui Lopez* sent from the Isle of *Tidore* a Ship towards *New Spain*; by the South-side of the Line they sail'd to the Coast of *Os papuas*, but knew not that *Saavedra* had been there before.

Os papuas.

In 1545. there went a Junk from *Borneo* with a *Portuguese*, which by contrary Winds was driven Northward, where he found an Isle in nine or ten degrees that reach'd to 22 degrees of Latitude, which is call'd the Isle of the *Lucones*; it runs from North to S. W. and lies between *Mindanao* and *China*.

The Isle of Lucones.

A Letter from Trigantius *a Jesuit, concerning Affairs in* China *and* Japan.

22 Jesuits to Japan. 22 to China. The Portuguese give the English 80000 Rials of Eight to avoid fighting.

'THree Ships sail'd from *Lisbon*, *April* 1618. In one of them, call'd *St. Mauro*, were 12 Jesuits for *Japan*: In another were 22 for *China*, whereof I was one. After five Months and a half sailing we came to *Goa*, whither the *St. Mauro* came a Month after us. A Fortnight after that the Admiral arriv'd with Disgrace, because falling in company with 6 *English* Ships, he chose rather to pay them 80000 Patacas than engage in a fight; for which Cowardice, he and some other Officers were sent back Prisoners to the King to be punish'd.

'At *Nanquin* Christianity flourish'd and encreas'd, until *Xin*, a chief Judge in the third Tribunal, oppos'd it, by sending many reproachful Petitions secretly to the King, and engaging the chief President of the said Tribunal against us, to which Court belongs the Cognizance of Foreign Affairs and of Religion. Yet this did not move the King to write any Answer, (which with the *Chinese* is Interpreted a denial) until at last the President wrote to the King, that he would banish them all out of the Kingdom, except such as were in the Royal City, as by his Office he was oblig'd. This he did, but none of the Magistrates executed his Order where the Christians resided, except *Xin* at *Nanquin*, who Apprehended two Priests, a Brother, and others, but durst not send them away before the King's Answer, tho' they were often cruelly whipt, and one or two of them died in Prison. At last *Xin* of *Nanquin*, having brib'd the Eunuchs with 10000 pieces of Gold, obtain'd an Order from the King that the Christians should be sent to *Canton*, which was their own. And two of *Pequin* were honourably dismiss'd, but two of *Nanquin* were carried in Cages, and all the rest continued in the Kingdom. After this the Magistrate of *Pequin* was depriv'd, and he of *Nanquin* fell sick.

Persecution of the Christians in China.

'As to the *Japan* Church: After *Daifusama* obtain'd the Victory over *Fideri*, and transmitted the Empire to his Son *Combosama*, the Church was quiet for a Year and a half; but by the Indiscretion of some at *Nangasaque* the Persecution was begun, in which twenty have died for the Faith, and others have been banish'd.

'In *India* things continue in the same state. At *Bazain* there was an unusual Tempest; and two Comets were seen, whereof one directed his Course to the North, and so is seen this 20th of *December*, 1618.

Two Comets in Bazain.

Extracts out of Trigantius's *Martyrology.*

THE Emperor of *Japan* is he that possesseth *Tensa*, the Imperial Province, so call'd by the *Chinese*, of whom the *Japan* Islands are a Colony; for that which the *Chinese* call *Thienhia*, *i. e.* whatever is under Heaven, the *Japonese* term *Tensa*, express'd with the same Characters, however differing in pronunciation. *Taicosama* died 1598. and left *Fideri* his Heir; but *Daifusama*, with others, being appointed his Tutors, quarrell'd for themselves in 1600. At last *Daifusama* getting the better, entitled himself *Cubosama*, but left *Fideri* in the best Fort of *Japan*, with a tolerable Revenue; and having remov'd the Imperial Seat from *Meaco* to *Surunga*, he married his Son to the Niece of *Nabunanga*, which was next Emperor before *Taicosama*, and Aunt to *Fideri*, whom he besieg'd and kill'd in *Osacca*, fearing lest he should divert the Inheritance from his Son. For which end he set *Fideri* at work, to build his Father's Temple which was consum'd by Fire, hoping thereby to exhaust his Treasures; but when he came before *Osacca*, with an Army of 200000 he lost 30000, and was forc'd to raise the Siege, in 1615. Yet after this, he return'd with another Army as great as the former, to which *Fideri*'s was equal, and in two Battels was defeated; so that *Daifusama* despairing of success, desir'd some to dispatch him, rather than he should fall into the Enemies hands. But at last, *Fideri*'s General thinking the Victory sure, sent for him to have the honour of it, who leaving his Captains in haste, so provok'd them by that seeming contempt, that they set fire to *Osacca*. Whereupon *Fideri*, to save his Relations, return'd to the Castle, in which both he and they perish'd. *Osacca* was destroy'd in 1615. and the Emperor return'd Victorious to *Surunga*, and prais'd his Idols for this Success, which he attributed to his Persecution of the Christians. But in *March*, 1616. this Triumph was turn'd to his Funerals, and one of his Sons succeeded. The Christians had some hopes of more liberty after his Death, and perform'd their Religious Offices secretly, lest they should seem to Insult over the Dead. For under pretence of Injuries done by *Portugal*-Merchants, and Contempts of his Imperial Edicts, and the Reports of worshipping some Christian Malefactors that were Executed, (because some at their Death had commended them to Christ) he had banish'd many, and put many to several cruel kinds of Death. *But one true Cause was Jesuitical Hypocrisy, for they, under pretence of converting Souls, were become Factors for the* Portugal *Merchants, as will appear in part by the Letters which follow from Captain* Saris *and* Cock.

Osaca besieg'd and burnt.

Fideri kill'd and Daifusama made Emperor.

Causes of Persecuting Christians in Japan.

A

A Letter concerning some later Transactions in Japan, *from Mr.* Cocke *to Captain* Saris. *Written at* Firando, December 13. 1622.

Captain Saris,

'I am inform'd of the greatest Conspiracy that ever 'was heard of in *Japan*, against *Shonga Samma* the 'present Emperor, carry'd on by Nine of the greatest 'and richest Kings and Noblemen in that Empire, *viz.* 'by *Cangano Figen* the Emperor's Kinsman, having the 'greatest Revenue in *Japan*, being worth *per Annum* '200 *Mangocas*, i. e. 1875000 pounds Sterling, as Mr. *Saris* cast it up.

By { *Shimasza* King of *Xaxica* and *Liqueas*, the most powerful Prince in *Japan*, worth more than 100 / *Micanano Camy*, Son to the Emperor's Eldest Brother, worth 70 / *Massa Monede*, King of *Osheow*, worth 70 / *Yechew*, K. of *Cocora*, worth 34 / *Catto Samma*, King of *F. O.* worth 30 / *Mengamy*, King of worth 35 / *Nancobo*, High Priest next to the *Dairo*, worth 1 / *Codgsq*; Secretary, worth 15 } Mangocas *per Annum.*

The way of summing up the Revenues aforesaid.

'Every Mangoca is 10000 Gaca's, and each Gaca is '100 Ganta's of Rice, and each Ganta is about 3 Alepints in *England*. The present King of *Firando* has but '6 Mangocas, out of which he maintains 4000 Soldiers, 'two to keep his Country, and two to serve the Emperor, but is able to set out many thousands more. 'About 6 or 7 Years ago, *Calsa Samma*, this Emperor's 'ad Brother, was Disinherited by his Brother, and shaven, 'and confin'd to a Pagan Monastery, expecting when 'the Emperor his Brother will command him to cut up 'his Belly.

The *Unicorn* wreck'd on the Coast of *China*.

'Mr. *Seyer* is gone towards *Edo* with Presents to the 'Emperor, and arriv'd at *Osacca* about ten days ago. 'The *Unicorn*, in which were Mr. *Roberts* and *Pickering*, 'was wreck'd on the Coast of *China*, but the Company 'sav'd themselves, and carry'd part of their Goods ashore, 'where they bought two Vessels, with all necessary Provisions; and one part of the Company went to *Japan*, 'the other to *Malacca*.

A Letter describing the Government, Country and People of Japan. *Written by Mr.* Hatch, *a Minister, to Mr.* Purchas.

SIR,

The Country of *Japan*.

'THE Country of *Japan* is very spacious, consisting 'of several Islands and petty Provinces: It is so 'mountainous and craggy, that a third part of it is not 'Inhabited or Manur'd. The Soil is not fat enough for 'Corn and Fruit, which makes the People pitch upon 'the lowest and plainest places to Till and Dwell in. 'The Climate is temperate and healthful, free from 'infectious Airs, but subject to fierce Winds, which 'over-set the Ships in the Harbour; and to terrible 'Earthquakes, which shake their Houses in pieces.

The Government of *Japan*.

'It is govern'd by an Emperor, who hath 65 Kings 'under him; and tho' they have but petty Kingdoms, 'yet all of them assume the Royal State and Dignity. 'There are but five of them of the Emperor's Privy-Council, who are very vigilant in managing all State-Affairs. No Cause is brought before the Emperor till first the Council is acquainted with it; and if they approve of it he shall know it, if not, it is drop't. The Emperor lives in great State, and seldom goes to Hunt or Hawk without a thousand followers. He is much admir'd for contenting himself with one Woman, his Wife, whereas his Subjects are scarce contented with a hundred Women; of which they make their boast. This Emperor hath great store of Silver and Gold: And 'tis reported, that from *Osacca*-Castle were brought to his Court some Balls of Gold, so great, that 15 or 16 Men can scarce carry one of them.

The Emperor's State and Chastity.

'The Princes of *Japan* impoverish themselves to enrich the Emperor with Presents, and each of them must be either in Person, or by a Deputy at his Court, to give an account of all Matters relating to the several Kingdoms, and keep them quiet. The Emperor, to requite his Princes Presents, gives commonly some Kerrimoons, or Coats, for Gold, Silver, and precious Commodities; and to prevent their growing Rich, he raises Taxes on them for building his Castles, and repairing his Fortifications.

The Presents made by the Princes.

'*Osacca* is the most famous Castle within the Empire, being compass'd round with three several Walls: The Castles at *Edo*, and other places, are Wall'd and Moated about, being two Miles in compass. The Noblemen live within these Castles, and in each of them there is a Store-house of Rice. At *Faleata* there is a Wood of Pine-trees three Inches square; in the midst of which there is a Temple adorn'd with gilded Images, and all sorts of curious Works.

Osacca, a Fort very famous.

Customs of the People.

'The People are generally courteous, and very punctual in their Ceremonies to strangers: Their common Diet is Fish, Roots and Rice; and rarely they kill a Hen, Pig or Duck, to treat their Friends. Their common Drink is Water, which is commonly heated in the same Pot that Seethes their Rice. They have Wine and Rack distill'd of Rice, of which they drink largely at their Feasts; and being heated with it, they are very obstinate and wilful in their anger. Their Laws are strict and severe, and know no other punishment but Death or Banishment. Murder, Theft, Treason, Violence of the Emperor's Edicts, are punish'd with Death; and so is Adultery also, if the Parties be taken and convicted, which they seldom or never are. In all Causes, Civil and Criminal, they proceed according to the Verdict of Witnesses; and Sentence being once past is certainly executed. Criminals suffer Death either by Beheading or Crucifying; the Head is cut off with a Catan, and after that the Cavaliers try their weapons, whether they can cut off a Leg or a Limb at a blow. When any one is Crucify'd, his Arms and Legs are spread on a Cross set upright, and then one runs him through the Body with a Lance or Spear, where he must hang till he rots off.

The Laws.

'Every one may change his Name three times, when he is a Child, a young Man, and when he is Old. 'They have had Writing and Printing for many Years; a single letter stands for a Word, and, as it is variously plac'd, stands for six or seven. They have seven sorts of letters, and each Alphabet has forty eight; they cannot pronounce *D*.

'They observe no Sabbath, but certain Feasts-days, as the 1st or 15th of the Moon, but the 9th is held accursed; and therefore they never begin any business of importance on that day.

'They keep the Day of their Parents death so strictly as a Fast, that they will not touch nor eat any thing that has Blood.

From Wingham *in* Kent,
Nov. 25. 1623. *Arthur Hatch.*

An Abstract of Mr. Cæsar Frederick's Indian *Observations for Eighteen Years.*

The way from Venice to Ormuz.

IN 1563. he went from *Venice* to *Aleppo*, and from thence, with some Merchants of *Armenia*, to a City call'd *Bir*; thence to *Bagdat*, and so to *Basora* and *Ormuz*.

The Election of the King of *Ormuz*.

Ormuz hath a Moor King of the Race of the *Persians*, who is created by the Captain of the Castle in the Name of the King of *Portugal*; he is chosen out of the Blood Royal, and sweareth to be true and faithful to the King of *Portugal* as his Lord and Governour. After which, he is brought with great Pomp to the Royal Palace in the City. He keeps a good Train, and has sufficient Revenues, and is defended by the Captain of the Castle; without whose Leave he cannot go abroad.

Diu.

From hence, going for *Goa*, I came to *Diu*, a strong City, of great Trade, in *Cambaia*, where the *Christians* and *Moors* (with the leave of the *Portuguese*) lade many

Cambaietta.

Ships with Goods brought from *Cambaietta*, another City in *Cambaia*, in small Barks, because no great Ships can go thither for the sholes in the water, which are 100 miles about, in a Gulf call'd *Macareo*, i. e. the race of a Tide. *Cambaietta* is a fair City, and when he was there was in so great Calamity, that the *Pagans* were forc'd to sell their Children to the *Portugueze* for 8 or 10 Latins apiece, *i. e.* 10 or 13 *s.* 4 *d.* There is a vast Trade at the New and Full Moon, when the Tides are higher, for then very many Barks come in, and are laded with all sorts of Spices, *China* Silk, Elephants Teeth, Velvets of *Vercini*, *Chickinos*, which are pieces of Gold worth 7 *s.* Sterling, and other Commodities; such as Cloth, white and painted, Indigo, Ginger, Myrobalans, Agats, Hematites, and natural Diamonds.

Womens Bracelets.

When he was at *Cambaietta*, he saw an infinite number of Artificers employ'd in making of Bracelets for the Women, who break them off when their Relations die, and buy new ones.

Coco tree most profitable.

There come every Year to *Chaul*, from *Cochin* and *Lananor*, ten or fifteen Ships laden with Nuts, and Sugar made of them call'd *Giegra*. The Tree on which they grow is call'd the Palm-tree, which is the most profitable Tree in the World, for with the Wood of it they build Ships, with the Fruit of it, which are Nuts, they make Wine, and of the Wine Sugar. Out of this Tree there runs a white Liquor in the Spring, which being distill'd with Fire makes a strong Liquor, and being put into Buts with a quantity of *Zibibbo*, in a little while becomes perfect Wine. Of the Nuts, after this, they make Oil; of the Bark they make Cables; of the Boughs, Bedsteds; of the Leaves cut small and woven, they make Sails and fine Mats; of the outer rind of the Nut they make Ockam to caulk Ships; and of the hard Bark, Spoons and other Vessels for Meat.

A good Sale for Horses.

In 1567. he went from *Goa* to *Bezeneger*, the chief City of *Narsinga*, 8 days Journey from *Goa* within Land, in company with two other Merchants, which carried with them three hundred *Arabian* Horses to the King of that Country; and as they went out of *Goa*, the Horses paid Custom 42 Pagodies apiece, *i. e.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for in these Countries *Arabian* Horses are valued from 300 to 1000 Ducats.

Bezeneger Sack'd.

In 1565. the City of *Bezeneger* was sack'd by four Kings of the Moors, who could not take it but by the treachery of two of the chief Captains under the King of *Bezeneger*, who commanded about 80000 Men; and after these Kings had search'd the City six Months they left it.

Merchants gull'd.

After these Moorish Kings were gone, one *Temiragia* a Tyrant came to the City to repeople it, and invited all Merchants to bring Horses to it, promising to give them what price they would; upon which account the two foresaid Merchants brought their Horses, but after he had got great numbers he paid for none.

Wives burn with their Husbands.

While he staid at *Bezeneger* seven Years, he observ'd among other Customs of the *Gentiles*, that when a Nobleman or Woman die they burn their Bodies; and if a married Man die, the Wife must burn her self alive with the Body of her Husband, which is done with much

After what manner.

pomp and ceremony. For she having appointed a day for her burning, goes out that Morning early on an Elephant or Horse, apparel'd like a Bride, and is carry'd round about the City deck'd with Jewels and Flowers, having a Looking-glass in one hand, and an Arrow in the other, singing all the way, That she is going to sleep with her dear Spouse. Thus accompanied with her Relations, about One or Two a Clock she goes out of the City to the place for burning of Women, where there is a great square Cave full of dry Wood, and hard by it a Pinacle four or five steps up. When the company is come there, they make ready a great Banquet, where the Woman eats with the rest of the company as joyfully as if it were her Wedding-day; and the Feast being ended, they sing and dance for some time. But when she is certified the Fire is kindled by her Order, she leaves the Feast, and goes with her Husband's nearest Kinsman to the Bank of the River *Nigondin*, where she strips her self of her Jewels and fine Cloaths, and gives them to her Parents or Kindred; and then covering her self with a Cloth, she throws her self into the River, saying, *O wretches, wash away your sins.* After she is come out, she goes with her Husband's Kinsman to the Pinacle of the square Cave, where the Fire is made, and having talk'd to the People, another Woman anoints her Head and all her Body with Oil, and then throws the Pot and Woman into the Fire; whereupon the People round about the Cave, throw at her great pieces of Wood to hasten her death. And after this, all their mirth is turn'd into bitter howling and weeping. When any great Man dies, his Wife, with all his Slaves, with whom he has had Carnal copulation, burn themselves with him. Among the meaner sort of People, the Wife claspes the dead Husband about the Neck, until a Mason builds a Wall round about them; and she being strangled, the Wall is finish'd over their Heads, and so they lie buried both together.

Another way of Wives dying with their Husbands.

About six days Journey from *Bezeneger* is the place where they get Diamonds, which is a large Plat of ground compass'd with a Wall, which they us'd to sell for so much a foot square, and dig for Diamonds; whereof the lesser are for them, and the bigger for the King. But they have not got any there now of a long time, because the rightful King being put to Death, there is great division in the Kingdom, and *Bezeneger* is left almost desolate. This City is 24 Miles in compass, in which there is a very stately Palace for their Kings, having nine Gates, which are kept with a Guard of Porters. After two Months he went for *Goa*, in the company of two *Portugal*-Merchants, with two Palankins or Litters, and eight Falchines to carry them. He bought two Bullocks, one to ride on, and the other to carry his Provision, which they ride on there like Horses; but the Burden-Bullock grew weak and could not go, and the other going through a River, got to a little Isle in the middle, where I could not come at him, and so I was forc'd to travel on foot till I met with some Falchines to carry my Victuals. At last he got safe to *Ancola*, which is Tributary to the King of *Bezeneger* to *Goa*. The Merchandize from *Bezeneger* are *Arabian* Horses, Velvets, Damasks and Sattins, China, Saffron and Scarlets. And for their Commodities, they have in *Turky* Jewels, and Pagodies, which are Ducats of Gold. The Apparel in this City is Velvet, Sattin, Scarlet, and long Hats made of them: They have Breeches like the *Turks*, and at their Ears great plenty of Gold hanging.

Men ride on Bullocks, and use them as Pack-Horses.

At *Ancola*, one of my Companions staid all Winter, which begins there in *May* the 15th, and lasts to the end of *October*, but I went for *Goa* with some Merchants and Soldiers in a Palankin, with eight Falchines to carry me; and from *Goa* I went for *Cochin*, which is a Voyage of 300 Miles. Between these two Cities there lie three Forts belonging to the *Portuguese*, call'd *Onor* and *Mangalor*, and *Bazelor*, where is good store of Rice that's carried to *Goa*. And from thence you go to *Cananor*, out of which Kingdom, when they are at peace with the *Portuguese*, is carried *Cardamomum*, Pepper, Ginger, and great quantities of *Archa*, a Fruit about the bigness of a Nutmeg, which the *Indians* eat with the Herb Bettel, made up with the Lime of Oyster-shells; which, they say, makes the spittle red, and gives them a stomach. From *Cananor* you go to *Cranganor*, a Country full of Thieves, who divide the Spoil with the King of *Calicut*; so that there is no sailing there but with great Ships well arm'd.

Their Winter is our Summer.

Forts of the Portugals.

Betel much eaten in the Country.

From

Cochin the chief place for Spices and Pepper.

From *Cranganor* we came to *Cochin*, 15 Miles distant, the chief place that the *Portugueſe* have in the *Indies*, where is the greateſt Trade of Spices, Drugs, and all other Merchandize; and within the Land is the Kingdom of Pepper. In *Cochin* there are two Cities, whereof one belongs to the King of *Portugal*, and the other to the King of *Cochin*, a *Pagan*, in whoſe Country are many Chriſtians of *St. Thomas*'s Order. All Chriſtians through the *Indies*, that come from the Weſt, are call'd *Portugueſe*; and they that marry in *Cochin* have Offices, and great Privileges, in the two Commodities they deal with in that place, which are Silk that comes from *China*, and Sugar that comes from *Bengala*, for the married Citizens pay no Cuſtom for theſe Commodities and for others only 4 *per Cent.* whereas all ſtrangers pay 8 *per Cent.* to the King of *Portugal*.

Anochi and Nairi.

The King of *Cochin* keeps but 70000 Men in Arms, whereof ſome are call'd *Anochi* and *Nairi*, who are deſperate Fellows, and run upon any danger for the honour of their King. They go naked from the Girdle upwards, with Targets and naked Swords, and have their Wives in common. The King's Children here do not inherit after their Father, becauſe perhaps they were begot by ſome other Man, but the Sons of the King's Siſter, or ſome other, who are certainly of the Blood Royal.

The *Nairi* and their Wives make ſo great holes in their Ears, that one may put his arm into them.

The Ships go from *Cochin* to *Portugal* every Year, on the 5th of *December* or *January*. From *Cochin* we went to a Fort call'd *Coulam*, 72 Miles diſtant, and from thence to Cape *Comori*, where endeth the Coaſt of the *Indies*: And along this Coaſt to the low Land of *Chilao*, for 200 leagues, the People are Chriſtians.

Coulam.

Chriſtians.

The Sea that lieth between the Coaſt from the Cape *Comori* to *Chilao*, they call the fiſhing for Pearls, which begins in *March* or *April*, and laſts 50 days, but every Year they change the place. When the time of Fiſhing draws near, they ſend good Divers to diſcover where the greateſt heaps of Oyſters lie under water, and right a gainſt that place they make a Village with Houſes, and a Bazazo of Stone, which ſtands as long as the Fiſhing-time laſts, and is furniſh'd with all Proviſions. The Fiſhermen are all Chriſtians, and pay a Duty to the King of *Portugal* and the Friars of *St. Paul*, and are defended from Rovers with three or four Fuſts. I ſaw the manner of their fiſhing, which is this: Three or four Barks go together, with 7 or 8 Men in a Bark, and anchor in 15 or 18 fathom water, the ordinary depth of that Coaſt; and then they caſt a Rope into the Sea with a ſtone faſten'd to the end of it, and one that hath his Ears and Noſe well ſtopt and anointed with Oil, and a Basket under his arm, goes down by the Rope to the bottom of the Sea, and fills the Basket as faſt as he can, and when it is full he ſhakes the Rope, and his Fellows in the Bark hale him up with the Basket. And thus they go one by one, until they have laden the Bark with Oyſters, and at Evening they come to the Village, where they lay their heap of Oyſters diſtant from one another, and when the fiſhing is ended, every company ſits round their own heap and opens them, and gather all the Pearls they can find in them; on which the *Chitini*, being expert in them, ſet a price, according to their Caracks, Beauty and Goodneſs, thoſe that are round and large being of greateſt value, and there are Merchants ready to buy them all at the prices ſet.

The way of fiſhing for Pearls.

The prizing of Pearls by Caracks, each of which is four grains.

In this Sea of fiſhing for Pearls, there is an Iſle call'd *Manar*, between which and *Zeilan* all Goods are firſt carried in ſmall Ships for the ſhallowneſs of the Chanel, and then laded into great Ships to go for the *Indies*; but thoſe that go thither Eaſtward paſs by the Coaſt of *Coromandel*.

Zeilan.

Zeilan is an Iſle bigger than *Cyprus*, diſtant from Cape *Comori* 120 Miles over-thwart, wherein there grows fine Cinnamon, Pepper, Nuts and Arochoe. There alſo they make great ſtore of Cairo for Cordage, and there grow cryſtal Cats-eyes. I ſaw the manner of gathering Cinnamon, which is this: We went to a Wood about three Miles from the City, where was ſtore of Cinnamon-trees among other wild Trees; and in the Month of *March* and *April*, when the ſap goes up to the top, they cut the Bark off the Tree from knot to knot, and then take it away, laying it in the Sun to dry, and the Tree dieth not, but has a new Bark againſt the next Year, and that which is gather'd every Year is the beſt Cinnamon. And in this Wood there groweth alſo much Pepper.

The cutting and gathering of Cinnamon.

From *Zeilan* we went to *Negapatan*, and from thence towards the Eaſt 150 Miles: We came to the Houſe of *St. Thomas*, a Church much eſteem'd by the *Pagans*, for the many Miracles which are reported to be done by that bleſſed Apoſtle; near to which Church the *Portugueſe* have built a City, which is one of the faireſt in that part of the *Indies*.

Negapatan.

St. Thomas's Houſe.

As I return'd in 1566. I went from *Goa* to *Malacca*, which is 1800 Miles, and paſs'd through the Chanel of *Nicubar*, and from thence to *Pegu*; there is an infinite number of Iſles call'd *Andemaon*, which are inhabited with Savage People that eat one another, and if any Ship be loſt on theſe Iſles, every Man in it is eaten up. As I came from *Malacca* through the Chanel of *Sambere*, I paſs'd that way, and there came two of their Barks laden with Fruit to our Ship; they would neither come into our Ship, nor take Money for the Fruit, but when we let down into their Bark ſome pieces of old Linen, they faſtned to the Rope ſo much Fruit as they thought them worth, which we hal'd into our Ship.

In Andemaon are Cannibals.

Siam was beſieg'd in 1567. by the King of *Pegu*, 21 Months, with an Army of 1490000 Men, and was taken by treachery, one of the Gates being left open for him to enter in: Whereupon the Emperor of *Siam* poyſon'd himſelf, and his Relations and Nobles were carried Captive to *Peru*, where I was when the King return'd in triumph, with many Elephants laden with Gold, Silver and Jewels, and Noble Priſoners.

Siam.

I went from *Malacca* to *St. Tome*, on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, but going away in the Night without Leave, we made no Proviſion of Water, and could not take any in for 42 days, till we arriv'd at *Oriza*, 500 Miles beyond *St. Tome*, and many of our Men were ſick, and died for want of Water.

When *Oriza* was govern'd by its lawful King, 25 or 30 Ships were uſually laden every Year in that Port with Rice, white Cloth, Butter, Lacca, Pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans, Cloth of Herbs; but ſince that time it has been conquer'd by the *Great Mogol*, who ſets a great Cuſtom on the Commodities. From *Oriza* I went towards *Bengala*, and having row'd along the Coaſt 54 Miles, we enter'd into the River *Ganges*; and we row'd to *Satagan* from the mouth of that River, when the Tide flows, for there is no rowing againſt the ſtream, which is very ſwift. By the way there is a Port call'd *Buttor*, where they make a Village for Trade, and burn it when the Ships go off.

The Kingdom of Oriza, and the River Ganges.

Strong Tides.

In the Port of *Satagan* 30 Ships are uſually laden every Year with Rice, Lacca, Sugar, Long Pepper, Oil of *Zezelyne*, and other Commodities. Here the Merchants buy and fraight Ships, with which they travel up and down the River *Ganges* to Fairs, and make great profit. The People here within Land worſhip the River *Ganges*, for when any one is ſick he is brought to the Bank of it, where they make a ſmall Cottage, and every day wet him with the water, whereof many die; and when they are dead, they half roaſt their Body with a Fire made of Sticks, and then, with an empty Jarr tied about their Neck, they throw them into the River.

The Commodities laden in Satagan.

The People worſhip Ganges.

The ceremony of their Burial.

From Port *Piqueno* I went to *Cochin* and *Malacca*, and thence I ſail'd for *Pegu*, being 800 Miles diſtant; and after three Months our Ship was without Victuals, and the Pilot told us we were not far from *Tanaſary* in *Pegu*; which we found not to be true.

Tanaſary is ſituate on a Rivers-ſide, which runs into the Sea; and there is a Village call'd *Mirgim*, in whoſe Harbour every Year they lade ſome Ships, with *Verzina*, *Nypa*, *Benjamin*, Cloves, Nutmegs and Mace, which come from the Coaſt of *Siam*. But the greateſt Merchandize is *Verzina* and *Nypa*, which is an excellent Wine made of the Flower of a Tree call'd *Nyper*, whoſe Liquor they diſtil, and the Drink is clear, good for the Stomach, and is a certain Remedy for the *French-Pox*: For tho' the Perſon be rotten with it, this Liquor will cure him if he drinks good ſtore of it, as I ſaw prov'd in a Friend, whoſe Noſe began to drop away. From the ſaid River, having endur'd great hardſhip for want of Victuals, and thence to *Martavan*, from thence we went in Barks like our Pilot-Boats, which go as ſwift as an Arrow out of a Bow when the Tide runs with them, but when it turns they draw to a Bank, and lay the Barks on high in the Land. The ſudden encreaſe and decreaſe of the Water makes a horrible noiſe, which they call a *Macareo*. At laſt we arriv'd at the City of *Pegu*, in the Kingdom of the ſame Name, where the Merchants have all one Houſe call'd *Gedon*, in which they put their Goods of value. There is a new City beſides the old, in which is the King's Palace, Wall'd and Moated about; the Lodgings within are of Wood gilded, with fine Pinacles, and much curious Work, cover'd with Plates of Gold. The King of *Pegu*, among his other Titles, is call'd the King of the white Elephants, whereof he keeps four, every one of which is

Tanaſary.

Nyper Wine good for the Pox.

Strange Tides.

The King's Palace in Pegu.

Four white Elephants kept.

kept

kept in a House gilded all over, and is serv'd in Vessels of Silver and Gold. He has 4000 Elephants of War, and to their upper Teeth is fasten'd Pikes of Iron, wherewith they fight. They hunt them by riding on Female Elephants, who draw in the wild Males by the smell of their Tail into a Trap; and when they are alone, they rage till they are weary, and then are forc'd into a House, where they are tam'd.

The great strength of the King of *Pegu*.

The great strength of the King of *Pegu* consists in his Elephants when they go to Battel, for they set on their backs a Castle of Wood, bound on with Bands under their Bellies, and in this Castle four Men sit to fight with Harquebusses, Bow and Arrows, Darts and Pikes. They keep good order in their Armies, having 4 several Squares of Elephants, Horsemen, Harquebussers and Pike-men, but their weapons are naught except their Harquebusses, which are excellent, and some Ordnance of good Metal.

He is the greatest King on Earth for Armies and Riches.

He is the greatest King on Earth, for he hath 26 Kings under him, and can bring into the Field a Million and a half of Men. He has no Navy by Sea, but for People, Dominions, Gold and Silver, he far exceeds the Great *Turk*; for he hath divers Magazines full of Treasure, and he is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Saphires and Spinels. Near his Palace there is an unvaluable Treasure in a Court Wall'd round, which every one may see. In one House there is a very large Statue of a Man in Massy Gold, and on his Head a Crown of Gold beset with Rubies and Saphires, and round about him are four little Children of Gold. In another is a Statue of Silver, which is as high as the Roof of a House, and has a Crown on his Head like the first. In the third there's a Statue of Brass, with the like Crown on his Head: And in a fourth there's a Statue of *Ganza*, (which is a mixture of Copper and Lead) with the like Crown on his Head as the first.

The Order of Justice.

The King sits every Day in Person on a high Tribunal, to hear the Suits of his Subjects, who bring their Supplications, written with a sharp Iron on long leaves of a Tree, and Presents according to the value of their Suit. The Secretary reads their Petitions before the King, who commands to take the Presents if he grants their desire; but if he refuses it, he takes no Present.

The Commodities sold in *Pegu*.

The most valuable Commodity that's brought to *Pegu* comes from *St. Tome*, which is Cloth made of Bombast, so woven and painted, that the more it is wash'd the colours are the more lively; which is so highly valu'd in *Pegu*, that a small Bale of it is worth one or two thousand Ducats. There goeth also from *St. Tome* a Ship laden with Yarn died red with a Root, so that it never changes the colour; and if it sets out *September* 6. they make a sure Voyage, but if it stays some days after the 6th, they are catch'd with contrary Winds, which blow in one place three or four Months.

There goes also from *Bengala* another Ship laden with Bombast of all sorts to *Pegu*. From *Malacca* to *Martavan*, there come small and great Ships laden with Pepper, China, Camfora, and other Wares. From *Mecca* the Ships bring Woollen Cloth, Scarlet, Velvet, Opium and Chickino's. From *St. Tome* going to *Pegu*, (which is 300 miles) they sail up a River to *Cosmin*, where the King's Officers come and take the note and marks of all the Merchants Goods, and convey them to the King's House at *Pegu*, until they have receiv'd the Custom. All

Merchants carry Provisions because there are no Inns.

Merchants that travel through the *Indies* must take all manner of Provisions with them, for there are no Inns in that Country. From *Cosmin* to *Pegu* they sail in six hours with the Flood, and in eight days to *Macceo*, 12 miles from *Pegu*, where they lade their Goods on Carts drawn with Oxen, and the Merchants are carried in a Litter call'd *Deling*. The Custom of *Pegu*, and Fraight thither, is about 20 or 22 *per Cent*.

Broker's Law for Bankrupts.

There are in *Pegu* eight Brokers, who are oblig'd to sell all Commodities that come there at the current price: they have two in the hundred, and are bound to make good the Debts of the Goods; and if payment be not made, the Creditor may shut up the Debtor in his House, and if he is not able, the Creditor may take his Wife, Children and Slaves, and sell them. The current Money in this Kingdom is call'd *Ganza*, which is stamp'd not by the King but the Subjects; and with that Money you may buy Gold, Silver, Rubies, and Musk, for there is no other Money current among them.

Ganza the Money, and the way of making it.

This *Ganza* goeth by weight of *Byza*, which makes a hundred weight of *Ganza*, which is about half a Ducat; and this *Byza* is always the same, tho' the price of Gold and Silver varies. He that Winters there must take all his payment in *Ganza*, wherewith he may buy and sell every thing: and when he takes this Money, he must give it to a publick Weigher, and two *Byza's* a Month; and he is bound to make it all good, otherwise the Merchant may be deceiv'd in the weight and falseness of the Money.

Merchandize that go out of *Pegu*.

This Money is so heavy, that 40 *Byza's* is a good Porter's Load, and it must be paid by the Common Weigher of Money for the Merchant that buys any thing. The Merchandize that go out of *Pegu*, are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Spinels, Benjamin, Long Pepper, Lead, Lacca, Rice-Wine, and some Sugar; for tho' they have abundance of Sugar-canes, many of them are eaten by the People and the Elephants. Besides that, many of them are spent in making a Covering for their Pagods, which they plaister with Lime, and over-lay with Leaf-gold every fifteen Years; which makes Gold the dearer in *Pegu*.

Rubies cheap.

There are four Brokers of Jewels and Rubies, who have them all in their hands, and in such quantities, that they sell them very cheap. When the Merchant has agreed for them he may carry them home, and take the advice of other Merchants; and if he does not like his bargain he may return them, without any loss: Which is counted such an affront by the Brokers, that they commonly afford good Penniworths, especially to those that understand not Jewels, to keep up their Credit.

The form of making bargains.

At the buying of these Jewels, many Merchants are present; but the bargain is made between the Broker and the Merchant, by holding their hands under a Cloth, and touching the Joints of their fingers, to signify what is ask'd and bidden, which the standers by know nothing of, because it might breed a Controversy among them.

Tufan great storm at Sea.

Intending to return to *Venice*, I went aboard a Ship of *Bengala*, and met with a cruel Storm call'd *Tuffon*, (which happens every ten or twelve Years in these Seas) which carried away our Sails, Yards and Rudder, and forc'd us to throw our Mast over-board. After this Storm we discover'd an Island call'd *Sondiva*, where we had plenty of salted Kine, wild Hogs, Hens and Rice, at cheap rates. From *Sondiva* we went to *Chatigan*, and thence to *Ormuz*, where I and Mr. *Berettin* fraighted a Bark to go for *Basora* for seventy Ducats, and there we staid forty days waiting for a Caravan of Barks, which consists of twenty five, or thirty, because in the Night we fasten our Barks to the banks of the River, and then we must keep a strong Guard to secure our Goods from Thieves; and at last we arriv'd at *Babylon* in fifty days. And there we staid four Months, until the Caravan was ready to go over the Desert for *Aleppo*, and bought a Tent, and Horses and Mules, and Victuals for them. We had also thirty two Camels laden with Commodities, at two Ducats a Camel, and three Men to serve us by the Way for five Ducats a Man. The Caravan travels twenty Miles a day, and rests about Two in the Afternoon. We wanted no Water because it rain'd, and we eat fresh Mutton every day, having bought twenty Sheep at *Babylon*, which the Shepherds that came with us with their Flocks did keep, and kill for us. In thirty six days we pass'd over the Desert to *Babylon*, and saw neither House, Trees nor People. The Caravan has certain Stations where the Wells are; and there always goes with it a Captain to do Justice, and every Night a Watch is kept about it. From *Aleppo* we went to *Tripoly*, and thence to *Venice*, where we arriv'd *November* 5. 1581.

The way of providing to go over the Desert from *Babylon* to *Aleppo*.

When you travel in the *Indies*, you must always keep your Will about you; and there is a House of the *Portuguese*, call'd the School of *Santa Misericordia*, where it may be Registred. Among the *Moors* (i. e. the *Mahometans*) and *Pagans*, there goes always a Captain along with you to do Justice, who has Authority to recover the Goods of those that die in their Voyages, if their Wills be Registred in the said Schools.

The way of recovering the Goods of the Dead in these Countries.

There goeth also in these Voyages some Merchants, who are Commissaries of the School of *Misericordia*, that if any Merchant die, and hath given Order in his Will that the School of *Misericordia* shall have his Goods to sell them, they send the Money by Exchange to the School of *Misericordia* in *Lisbon*, with that Copy of his Will; and from *Lisbon* they give Intelligence to any Part of *Christendom*, and the Heirs of such a one coming thither, with a Testimonial that they be Heirs, shall receive there the value of the Goods without loss. But every Christian that dies in *Pegu*, loseth a third part of his Estate to the King and his Officers, but the rest is honestly paid.

Gasparo

Gaſparo Balbi *his Voyage to* Pegu, *and Obſervations there; gather'd out of his* Italian *Relation.*

IN 1579. *Balbi*, a Jeweller of *Venice*, travell'd with the Caravan from *Aleppo* towards *Bagdat*, and came by the way to *Bir*, or *Abir*, on the Banks of *Euphrates*, where we met with great Cold and Snow in *January*, and there embark'd our Goods for *Felugia*; and thence to *Elder*, the River *Cabur* of a red colour, *Elerſi* and *Giuba*, near which is a Fountain of Pitch, wherewith the Natives build their Houſes, daubing it on the boughs of Trees, and at laſt to *Felugia*, and thence paſſing by the Ruins of *Old Babylon* we came to *Bagdat* in 49 days from *Bir*.

A River of red Water.

A Fountain of Pitch.

In *March* 1580. we embark'd from *Bagdat* towards *Balſara*; and at *Encaſerami*, each Mariner caſt a whole Biſket for Devotion to one buried there: And there the River *Tigris* had a very noiſome ſcent, and we were in danger by a Whirlpool. At *Corno* we met with a very hot Wind, which ſtrangled four of our Company; and thence we came to *Balſara*. The reſt of this Voyage to *Negapatan* is here omitted.

Tigris ill ſcent.

A hot deadly Wind.

In *May* 1582. we ſail'd to *St. Thomas*, ſituate in thirteen degrees and half, wherein are three Chriſtian Churches; and that belonging to the Jeſuits is ſaid to be finiſh'd by a Miracle, for when Money fail'd, the Sea caſt up a piece of Timber, of the ſame length with the Church, which ſerv'd for that end. Without this City is another Inhabited by *Pagans*, who bury the Wife alive with the Husband, and worſhip the figure of a Cow and a Serpent. And the *Bramins*, with the aſhes of Cows-dung burnt, daub the *Pagans* Forehead and Noſe, which out of Devotion to the Cow they will not waſh off that day. The worſhippers of a Pagod having liv'd a whole Year in carnal Pleaſures, are wont to cut off pieces of their own fleſh, and ſhoot them up in the air; and when they can live no longer, they cut their own throat, and ſo ſacrifice their Body to the Pagod. Some People from *Chiava* ſtand in the way with a weapon, and kill as many as they can, until ſome body kills them, being weary of their Life.

The Jeſuits Miracle, a fatal accident.

Stinking Devotion.

Deſperate men.

I ſaw one Cuſtom there which is us'd by thoſe who make a Vow to a Pagod, and they are drawn up with hooks faſtned to their ſhoulders to the top of a high Tree with a Croſs-bar, where having ſaluted the Pagod three times they let them down, and colour the Tree with their Blood, in reverence to the Pagod; which they do to obtain health, or any thing elſe.

They have another Feaſt by Night: When in a Street full of light, three or four take one another by the hands, and having Baskets full of Rice and Milk, they caſt the Meat behind them, and ſays the Devil eats it; but they never look back leſt they die, as they think they ſhall.

On the 5th of *October* we came to *Coſmi*, in ſixteen degrees one third, where are many Parrots, wild Boars, Apes and Tygres, which often devour Men and Beaſts by Night.

Dangerous Tygres.

After this I came to the Old City of *Pegu*, in ſixteen degrees one third, where I and the Druggerman, or Interpreter, having three times fallen proſtrate on the ground, were admitted to the preſence of the King, where I preſented ſome Emeralds to my Interpreter, who having made his Rombee, *i. e.* his Reverence, gave them to the King's Interpreter, and ſo they came to the King's hand; and then being ask'd I told him my Name, whence I came, what *Philip* King of *Portugal* was, and what a Victory the *Venetians* had obtain'd over the *Turks*, making a Rombee at every word: And the King gave me a Cup of Gold, and five Pieces of *China* Damask; and order'd me to be paid out of his Treaſury, and that my Goods ſhould be Tax-free.

Audience before the King.

His Bounty.

The King of *Avna* conſpir'd againſt the King of *Pegu*, his Nephew, with his chief Courtiers, who ſent to *Avna* one of his Domeſticks, to clear himſelf from all ſuſpicions conceiv'd againſt him; but he was murder'd by *Avna*, who truſted to the Grandees of *Pegu* for Victory. Whereupon the King of *Pegu* declar'd War againſt *Avna*, and Order'd his Grandees to be Impriſon'd, and to be burnt alive on a large Scaffold, with their Wives and Children; which I ſaw, hearing with great pity their lamentable ſhrieks and cries. And after this, he encamp'd without the City with 300000; where I ſaw the King upon an Elephant cover'd all over with Gold and Jewels, with a Sword ſent from *Goa*, and while the Guards fought one another, he fought the King of *Avna* hand to hand, firſt with Harquebuſſes, then with Darts, and at laſt with the Sword, and his Elephant having broke his right Tooth with charging that of *Avna*, he ſo engag'd with the other Elephant, that the King of *Pegu* kill'd the King of *Avna*, and mounted on his Elephant, his own being kill'd. And when the Army of *Avna* ſaw their King dead, gave over fighting and begg'd Pardon, which the King of *Pegu* granted, and found upon a Muſter that he had loſt 200000 Men, which loſs was little leſs than that of *Avna*.

Terrible Execution.

Combat of Kings.

400000 Men ſlain.

The

The Voyage of Mr. Ralph Smith, *Merchant of* London, *to* Ormuz, *and ſo to* Goa *in the* Eaſt-Indies; *to* Cambaia, Ganges, Bengala; *to* Bacola *and* Chonderi, *to* Pegu, *and* Jamahay *in the Kingdom of* Siam, *and back to* Pegu; *and thence to* Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, *and all the Coaſt of the* Eaſt-India.

IN 1583. I *Ralph Fitch*, Merchant of *London*, went with Mr. *Newberry*, *Leeds* and *Storey*, for the *Eaſt-Indies*, and having paſs'd through *Tripoly*, *Aleppo*, *Birra* and *Felugia*, we came to *Babylon*, or *Bagdat*, which is a place of great Traffick for ſtrangers, being the way by which the Caravans paſs to *Perſia*, *Turkey* and *Arabia*. Here are great ſtore of Victuals which are brought down the River *Tigris*, upon Rafts made of Goats Skins, blown full of Wind, and Boards laid upon them. From thence we came to *Baſora*, which ſtands near the Gulf of *Perſia*, and is a Town of great Trade for Spices and Drugs that come from *Ormuz*; and there is great ſtore of Wheat, Rice and Dates, wherewith they ſerve *Babylon* and *Ormuz*, and all the Parts of *India*.

Ormuz barren, but of great Trade.

From *Baſora* we came to *Ormuz*, where there grows nothing but Salt, being furniſh'd with all Neceſſaries from *Perſia*, about twelve Miles diſtant; yet here is a great Trade of Spices, Drugs, Silk Tapeſtry of *Perſia*, ſtore of Pearls, which come from *Baharim*, and *Perſian* Horſes which ſerve all *India*.

Womens ſtrange Apparel.

The Women here wear on their Noſes, Ears, Necks, Arms and Legs, many Rings ſet with Jewels, and a long Bar of Gold on the ſide of their Noſes. Here we were put in Priſon, and ſent to *Goa*, and by the Way we came to *Na-Malucco*, a place of great Trade for Spices, Drugs, Silk, Elephants Teeth, *China*-Ware and Sugar. Here they worſhip a Cow, and will kill nothing that has life, and burn their dead Bodies, for fear that the Worms that are bred of them ſhould lack ſuſtinance.

Goa.

When we came to *Goa* we were caſt into Priſon, and examin'd before the Juſtice, who charg'd us to be Spies, but could prove nothing againſt us: whereupon we were ſet at liberty finding Sureties, to whom we paid 2150 Ducats, which we could not have again, but were threatned with the Strapado; and therefore we ran away, and went on foot two days in great fear, having no Guide.

Bellagan.

The firſt Town we came to is call'd *Bellagan*, where is a great Market of Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, and many other ſoft Stones. From thence we went to *Biſapor*, where the King keeps his Court, and there is great ſtore of Gold and Silver; and then to *Gulconda*,

Gulconda.

where be the Diamonds of the old Water.

In theſe Parts is a Port call'd *Muſulipatan*, whither come many Ships out of *India*, *Pegu* and *Sumatra*, laden with Pepper, Spice, and other Commodities: Thence we went to *Bellapore*, a populous Country, where is good ſtore of Cotton-cloth, Corn and Rice.

Bellapore.

Here we found Boys of eight or ten Years, and Girls of five or ſix, married, who feaſt, pipe and dance, on the Day of Marriage, but lie not together till they are ten Years old; which they do for this reaſon, That if the Husband dies, and the Wife be burn'd with him, the Children may have a Father-in-Law to bring them up.

Agra and *Fatipore* great Cities.

Thence we came to *Mandovay*, and ſo to *Agra* and *Fatepore*, where the Great *Magor* keeps his Court. In theſe two Cities the King keeps a thouſand Elephants, thirty thouſand Horſe, fourteen thouſand tame Deer, eight hundred Concubines; either of them is bigger than *London*. Hither is a great reſort of Merchants from *Perſia* and *India*, and much Merchandize of Silk, Cloth, Rubies, Diamonds and Pearls; Mr. *Newberry* went homewards, and I left Mr. *Leeds*, the Jeweller, in *Fatepore* with the King, who gave him a Houſe, five Slaves, and 6 *s.* a Day.

From *Agra* I went to *Satagam* in *Bengala*, in company with 180 Boats laden with Salt, Opium, Lead, Carpets, and other Commodities, down the River *Jemena*.

Superſtitious Cuſtoms of Bramins.

Here the *Pagans* eat no fleſh, nor kill any thing; they pray in the water naked, dreſs their Meat and eat it naked, and for their Penance they lie flat upon the Earth, riſe up and turn themſelves thirty or forty times, lift up their hands to the Sun and kiſs the Earth. The *Bramins* mark themſelves with yellow pouder, and ſo do their Men and Women mark themſelves in the face.

From *Agra* I came to *Prague*, where *Jemena* enters into the River *Ganges*. Here be many Beggars highly valued by the People: I ſaw one who could cover his Privities with the hair of his Head, and his nails were two Inches long, waited on with eight or ten, who will not ſpeak to the King. Thence we went to *Bannaras*, where is great ſtore of Cotton-cloth and Saſhes; hither come *Pagan* Pilgrims from far Countries, to worſhip their Images ſtanding in Houſes by the River *Ganges*, which are made like Lyons, Leopards, Monkies, Peacocks and Devils.

Pilgrims go to the River Ganga.

They waſh themſelves early in the River, and give ſomething to the Old Men that ſit there praying; and then they go to their Images, and give them of their Sacrifices, while the Old Men are praying, and ſo they are Holy. They throw water upon great carved Stones, and then lay upon them Rice, Wheat or Barley. They alſo go down into a Well to waſh themſelves, that their Sins may be forgiven, for they ſay God waſh'd himſelf there. They never pray but in the water, and then waſh themſelves over Head, and drink of the water three times, and ſo go to the Idols in the ſaid Houſes; and ſome of them are fann'd in warm Weather, eſpecially one, who they ſay gives them all things.

From *Bannaras* I went to *Patanaw* down the River *Ganges*, where they dig deep Pits in the Earth, and waſhing the Earth in great Bowls, they find Gold in it. Here is a great Trade of Cotton-cloth, and Sugar, which they carry hence to *Bengala*, much Opium, and other Commodities. From *Patanaw* I went to *Tanda*, in the Country of *Bengala*, where there is a great Trade of Cotton, and thence to the Country of *Couche*, 25 days Journey Northwards, where they have much Silk, Musk, and Cotton-cloth.

Pythagoras Superſtition.

They kill nothing, but have Hoſpitals for Sheep, Goats, Dogs, Cats, Birds, and all living Creatures, and keep them when old till they die. If a Man bring any thing alive thither, they give Money for it, and keep it in their Hoſpitals. Their ſmall Money is Almonds, which they often eat. Thence I return'd to *Hugeli*, in 23 degrees North Latitude, call'd *Porto Piqueno*; whence I went to *Angeli* in *Orixa*, where there is much Rice, Cotton-cloth, and Cloth of Graſs call'd *Teiva*, Sugar and Pepper, whither they come from *India*, *Sumatra*, *Malacca*, and lade with theſe Commodities.

Cloth of Graſs.

About four days Journey from *Couche* is a Country call'd *Bottanter*, and the City *Bottia*, where are Merchants that come from *China*, *Muſcovy* or *Tartary*, to buy Musk, Cambals, Agats, Silk, Pepper and Saffron. They cut the Tails of their Kine, and ſell them very dear, for they are much us'd for bravery in *Pegu* and *China*.

Cow-tails ſold dear.

From *Chatigan* in *Bengala* I went to *Bacola*, *Serrepore* and *Sumergan*, in all which places there is great ſtore of Cotton-cloth.

From *Serrepore* in 1586. I went to the Bar of *Negrais*, and ſo to *Pegu*, and within three days we came to *Coſmin*, where the Houſes are high built for fear of Tygres; here are great Figs, Oranges, Coco's, and other Fruit. Within the Bar the People live in Boats, which they call Paroes. From *Coſmin*, paſſing by *Medon*, *Delu*, *Cirion*, *Macao*, we came to *Pegu*, which was deſcribed before.

In *Pegu* there are a great many Tallipoies and Prieſts, which preach againſt all Abuſes in their Kiacks or Churches; when the People enter into them, they waſh their feet with Water that ſtands at the Door, and then lift up their hands to their Heads, firſt to the Preacher, and then to the Sun, and ſo ſit down.

Tallipoies & Prieſts of *Pegu*.

After they have been at School till they are twenty Years old, they are examin'd by *Rouli* the High Prieſt, whether they will leave their Friends, and the company of Women, to take upon them the Habit of a Tallipoie? And if they be content, they ride upon a Horſe richly Apparell'd, with Drums and Pipes; and after that they take the Habit of a Tallipoie, and become Prieſts. They go about with a great Pot, and ask nothing; but when they come to the

Their Ordination.

Door,

Their way of begging. Door, the People give them something or other. They keep their Feasts by the Moon, and the greatest when it is New-moon; and then the People send Rice, and other things, to the Kiack, with which all the Tallipoies of that Church feast. When they preach, the People carry Gifts into the Pulpit, which one sitting by receives from them.

Their Feasts of the Moon.

Caplan in *Pegu* is the place where they find Rubies, Saphires and Spinels, which are dug out of some high Hills; but none may come near the Pits but the diggers.

At *Caplan* are Rubies.

In *Pegu*, and all the Countries of *Ava*, the Men wear little round Balls in their Privy Members; for which they cut the Skin, and put on in one side, and another in the other, when they are about 25 Years old. This is said to be done to prevent Sodomy, to which they were before addicted.

Round Balls us'd in Mens Privities.

The Bramas, who are of the Kings, have a black spot in their Skins, which none but they use.

They have no Beards, which they pluck out with Pincers; they black their Teeth, because a Dog's are white.

If they have a Suit in Law which cannot easily be determin'd, both Parties go into the water with Poles; and he that dives longest under water wins the Suit.

A strange Tryal of Suits.

When the *Portugueſe* go from *Macao* in *China* to *Japan*, they carry much white Silk, Gold, Musk and Porcelane, and bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Carack which goes there every Year, and brings from thence above 600000 Crusado's; and all this Silver of *Japan*, and 200000 Crusado's more, they employ with great profit in *China*, from whence they bring good Musk, Silk, Copper, Porcelane, and many other things. When they come to *Canton* in *China*, they must remain but certain Days, and must lie at Night in their Boats.

Voyage to *Japan*.

600000 Crusado's employ'd in *Coins*.

Laban is an Isle among the *Java's*, whence come the Diamonds of the new Water, which they find in the River, for the King will not suffer them to dig the Rock: And the King hath a Mass of Earth which is Gold, that groweth in the middle of a River; and when the King wants Gold, he cuts part of the Earth and melts it, out of which comes Gold.

Gold.

From *Malacca* I return'd to *Martavan*, and so to *Pegu*, and thence to *Cochin*, where I took Shipping, and went to *Bengala* and *Ceylon*, where the King keeps a Guard of a thousand Men, and the People burn Cinnamon-wood, and have store of Rubies, Saphires and Spinels, of the best sort; and thence to *Coulam*, *Cochin*, *Goa* and *Ormuz*, which places have been above described.

Rubies and Saphires.

Pepper grows in many Parts of the *Indies*, especially about *Cochin*: The Shrub is like our Ivy-tree, which twines about some Tree or Pole to keep it up. They gather it green, but when dry 'tis black.

Pepper.

Ginger groweth like Garlick, the Root is Ginger, and groweth in many Parts of *India*.

Ginger.

Cloves come from the *Molucco's*; their Tree is like our Bay-tree.

Cloves.

Nutmegs and Mace grow together, and come from the Isles of *Banda*; the Tree is like our Wallnut-tree.

Nutmegs and Mace.

White Sandol is a very sweet Wood; it comes from the Isle of *Timor*.

Camphire is very precious among the *Indies*; that which is compound comes from *China*, but the best from *Borneo*.

Camphire.

Lignum-Aloes comes from *Cochin-china*; Benjamin from *Siam* and *Jangomes*.

Long-Pepper grows in *Bengala*, *Pegu*, and the Isles of the *Java's*; and Musk comes from *Tartary*.

Amber is thought by most Men to come from the Sea, and they find it on the shore's side.

Amber.

Rubies, Saphires and Spinels, are found in *Pegu*.

Rubies.

Diamonds are found in *Bisnagar*, *Agra*, *Delli*, and in the Isles of *Java's*.

Diamonds.

The best Pearls come from *Baharim*, the worse from *Piscaria* and *Aguam*, on the South Coast of *China*.

Spodium, and many other Drugs, come from *Cambaia*.

But to return to my Voyage: From *Ormuz* I went to *Basora*, and so to *Babylon*; and thence by Land I came to *Mosul*, which stands near to *Niniveh*, wholly ruin'd now. And thence to *Merdin* and *Orfa*, where the *Moors* have a great Opinion of *Abraham*, who they say did once dwell there. Thence I went to *Bir*, and so to *Aleppo* and *Tripoly*, where I found an *English* Ship, in which I came to *London* in 1591.

Indian *Observations*, *gather'd out of the Letters of* Nicolas Pimenta, *Visitor of the* Jesuits *in* India, *and many others of that Society.*

WE went for *St. Thomas* in 1597. travelling twelve days in a pleasant Country; but so many and prodigious were the Idols we met with in their Temples, that Superstition seem'd to contend with Ambition. And by the way we saw *Cidambaran*, the Mother-City of Superstition, whither the *Naichus*, or King of *Gingi* was come, who commanded us to be brought into his presence. Two hundred Brachmans went before us to sprinkle the House with Holy water, and prevent Sorcery against the King, whom we found lying on a Silk Carpet, with a great Chain hanging from his Neck, set with Pearls and Gems all over his Breast, and his long hair ty'd up, and adorn'd with Pearls. He entertain'd us kindly, and offer'd us Beetle to chew, and dismiss'd us with Gifts of Cloth wrought with Gold.

Audience before the King of *Gingi*.

The King of *Pegu*, Father of the present, was the mightiest King that ever reign'd there, for he subdu'd twelve Kingdoms to his Empire, and could bring into the Field 1060000 Men, taking one out of ten. He reign'd 36 Years in so great plenty, that a hundred Ships laden with Rice would not have been miss'd in his Store; and he had such plenty of Gems, that a Man might have laid out in one Month many Talents of Gold on them. But in his Son's time, by the Murders and Oppressions of his Subjects, and the Invasions of Foreign Enemies, there are found in that Kingdom only a few Men, who, with the King, have betaken themselves to the Castle, which, with Women and Children, are said not to exceed 7000. And in late times they have been reduc'd to such extremity of want, that they did eat Man's flesh, and sold it at the publick Shambles; Parents spar'd not their own Children, and Children devour'd their Parents. For *Martavan*, a fruitful Country, which yielded yearly a threefold Harvest, is now made desolate by the *Siamites*; and *Cochin* and *Malacca*, abounding in Grain, Gold, Silver, Brass, Rubies and Gems, are lost. And the King of *Pegu* being besieg'd by the Kings of *Tangu* and *Arracan*, deliver'd himself up (being unable to hold out longer) to the King of *Tangu*, who caus'd him to be beheaded with his Queen and his Son. And after this he went to the Tower, where the King's Treasure was kept, which was so great, that he loaded six hundred Elephants, and as many Horses, with Gold and Gems only, leaving the Silver behind him, which the King of *Arracan* seiz'd, exceeding three Millions, besides many Brass-Guns in the Castle.

The miseries of *Pegu*.

The vast Treasure of the King of *Pegu* seiz'd.

The *Jesuits* say there is a Temple of *Perimal*, in which the *Pagans* worship an Ape, whom they report to have been a God, and for some Offence to be transform'd into an Ape; and that he leap'd over the Waters upon some occasion, and at every leap made a Hill of Sand for himself.

Another *Jesuit* mentions their Superstitious Opinion about the Sun's Eclipse, caus'd like that of the Moon, when the Dragon, one of their Constellations, biteth them; and therefore they fast all that day, crying out, The Dragon devoureth the Sun. At the Feast of *Perimal* there was such a concourse of People, that that day's Offering amounted to 200000 Ducats, the King, Queen and Courtiers, being present. The Idol call'd *Perimal*, which is a gilded Poll, with an Ape at the foot of it, was drawn by ten thousand Men, about Midnight, a Mile and a half. The Feast of *Cows* was solemniz'd a

An Ape worshipt.

Feast of *Perimal*.

Month before, for they hold *Perimal* to be the Son of a Cow. 'Twas said the King of *Bisnagar* would make War upon the King of *Tanagor*, but his Death prevented it, his three hundred Concubines being buried with him, who willingly leapt into the flames.

Linschotten's *Voyage to* Goa, *and Observations on the* East-Indies, *Abridg'd.*

Goa described. GOA is the chief City of the Oriental *Indies*, in the possession of the *Portuguese*, where the Archbishop, the Viceroy, the King's Counsel and Chancery reside, and govern all other places in the *Indies* subject to them. It is the Staple for all *Indian* Commodities, whither all Merchants resort to buy or sell, from *Arabia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, *Cambaia*, *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Malacca*, *Java*, *Molucca*, *China*, &c. it lieth in 15 degrees North, and is above three Miles in circumference, being compass'd about with a River; on the North-side is the Land of *Bardes*, which is high Land, under which the *Portuguese* anchor, and lade and unlade their Ships. This Land is subject to the *Portuguese*, and is full of Villages inhabited by *Canarins*, who for the most part are Christians, but go naked, only covering their Privy-members, and is full of Palm-trees whereon grow Coco's. On the South-side is the Land of *Salsette*, planted with People and Fruit like the Land of *Bardes*. These two Lands are Lett by the King of *Portugal*, and the Rents of them pay the Yearly Stipends of the Archbishop, Cloysters, Priests, and other the King's Officers. The Town has fair Houses and Streets, with Gardens and Orchards full of *Indian* Fruits, and hath all sorts of Cloysters and Churches as *Lisbon*, only it wanteth Nuns.

The Laws of Goa. The *Portuguese* here use the same Laws, in Spiritual and Temporal Causes, as in their own Country. There dwell and traffick in the City some of all Nations, as *Indians*, *Heathens*, *Mahumetans*, *Jews*, *Armenians*, &c. and every one enjoys the liberty of his Religion, only the *Pagans* are forbidden to burn their Dead, and marry publickly: But if any one hath been Christned, and after that uses *Pagan* Superstition, or teaches Heresy, he is liable to the Inquisition.

The Soil. The Isle is very hilly and barren, and hath nothing to maintain it self but a few Cattel, Hens, Goats, Doves, &c. All their Necessaries come from *Salsette* and *Bardes*, from *Cambaia*, and the Coast of *Malabar*. They have but one Well of fresh Water, a quarter of a Mile without the City, which is carried by Slaves and sold, to serve all the Inhabitants.

The *Portuguese* there are many of them married to *Indian* Women, and the Children born of them are call'd *Mestiso's*, but the Children of the *Portuguese* are call'd *Castiso's*, and they incline to a yellowish colour, and in the third Generation they become like Native *Indians*.

The Traffick. There is daily Traffick to *Bengala*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Cambaia*, *China*; and there is a Meeting of all Nations like a Fair, whither come Gentlemen, as well as Merchants, to buy or sell *Indian* Commodities. At this Leylon or Outcry, there are Cryers who go about with Gold Chains, Jewels, Pearls, Rings; and Slaves, Men and Women, young and old: all which are daily sold there at a certain price. As also *Arabian* Horses, Spices, Drugs, sweet Gums, fine Coverlets, and many curious things out of *Cambaia*, *Bengala* and *China*. And when any one dies, his Goods are here sold, to do Justice to Orphans and Widows. Some get their living by their Slaves, both Men and Women, whereof some have 12, 20 or 30, for the Men sell fresh Water about the Streets for Money, and the Women make all sorts of Conserves, and fine Needle-work, and sell them, and the use of their Bodies too, for Money; all which they bring home to their Masters. Others trade in the exchange of Money, and buy Rials of Eight when the Ships come from *Portugal*, which they sell in *April*, when the Ships go for *China*, at 25 or 30 in the Hundred profit: And then they receive a Money brought from *Ormuz* call'd *Larrins*, which they exchange again with the *Portuguese* at 25 *per Cent.* profit for Rials of Eight, who carry these *Larrins* with them to *Cochin* to buy Pepper, and other Wares.

There are but two sorts of People in *India*, married Men and Soldiers, as they call all the common sort of People. The married Men keep 5, 10, or 20 Slaves, in their House, according to their Quality, who wait upon them with a Hat or Veil when they go abroad, to keep off the Sun or Rain. They are very nice in their Ceremonies of saluting one another, and if any one fail in those Punctilio's, they either beat him unmercifully, or cause him to be stabb'd by their Slaves; for which no redress is to be had.

Of the Marriages, and other Customs of the *Portuguese* and *Mestizos*. When any one is married, there are fifty or a hundred Horse that ride in good order to the Church, and then follow the Parents and Friends; and in the last row the Bridegroom between two Gossips, and the Bride between two Commeres, upon whom, as they return home again, the People looking out of the Windows throw Rose-water, with Roses and Sugar-comfits. Their Slaves having plaid upon Shalmes and Trumpets all the way, take their leave of the Company when the married Couple come to their House, where they sit at a Window and see the Horsemen run several courses. After which they go off with the Gossips, who wish them much Joy, leaving only three or four of the neareſt Friends and Relations to dine with the Bride and Bridegroom.

The same Ceremonies they use at a Christning; but then one on foot carries a Silver Vessel full of cracklings, with a Wax-candle stuck with Gold or Silver, for an Offering: and another carries a Silver Salt-cellar and Lamp, with rich Towels; and the Commeres, with the Midwife and Child, are carried in Litters.

The Soldiers live ten or twelve in a House, and have but one Suit of Cloaths among them, which is wore by one that goes abroad, and then the rest stay at home. They get Money by serving in the Fleet, or by revenging the Affronts done to Gentlemen, or by fulfilling the Lusts of the Women, who reward them well.

Of the *Portuguese* and *Mestizo* Women, their Manners and Customs. The *Portugal*, *Mestico's* and *Indian* Christian Women, seldom go abroad except it be to Church, or to visit a Friend, and then they put on very costly Apparel, with Bracelets of Gold and Rings upon their Arms, beset with precious Jewels and Pearls. The Men are so Jealous of them, that they suffer no Man that comes to their Houses to see their Wives or Daughters, or to dwell in the House where they are, tho' he be a Friend or near Relation: But most of the Women have one or two Soldiers for their Gallants, whom their Slaves fetch to them by night; and sometimes they Lie with them in the presence of their Husbands, to whom they give the Juice of *Deutroa*, which makes them senceless, but as soon as their feet are wash'd with cold Water they revive. They are very Skilful in preparing Poyson to kill their Husbands, which sometimes lies in the Body for six Years without doing any hurt, and sometimes kills them in one, two or three Years, Months, or Days, as they design'd it. And tho' there are many Women dispatch'd by their Husbands every Year, if they be either taken in Adultery, or strongly suspected of it, yet this does not hinder them from pursuing their pleasures; but, on the contrary, they esteem it a great honour to die a Sacrifice to Love. They are very cleanly, and wash their Bodies all over at least twice a day, and rub them with sweet Herbs, and Sanders steep'd in Water; they are no great workers, but are continually chawing Beetle and Arrequa by Day and Night, which they also give to their Husbands, with Cloves, &c. to increase Letchery.

The Women Lust and Skill in Poyson.

The Men's Revenge.

Every three Years there is commonly a new Viceroy sent to *Goa*, where he gathers a great Treasure, partly by the Revenues allow'd him by his own King, and partly by the rich Presents that are sent to him from the neighbouring Kings.

Of the Viceroy and his Treasure.

In the City of *Goa* there are many Heathens, *Moors*, (who are *Mahumetans*) *Jews*, and many strange Nations, which have every one their several Customs and Superstitions. The *Moors* eat all things except Swines-flesh, and when they die are buried like the *Jews*. The Heathens, as *Decanyns*, &c. being dead, are burnt

Of the Heathens, Jews, and other strangers in Goa.

to

to ashes; and if they be Gentlemen or Bramens, their Wives are burnt with them. Some of the Merchants eat all things, except Cows and Buffles, which they esteem Holy; others eat not any thing that hath Life or Blood, as the *Gusazates* and *Banians* of *Cambaia*. Most of them pray to the Sun and Moon, yet acknowledge a God that created all things, and that there is another Life after this, wherein Men shall be rewarded according to their Works. They have Images call'd Pagods, cut in uggly shapes, to whom they Offer, and say that they were holy Men when alive, and that they are now Intercessors between them and God. The Devil often answers them out of these Images, whom they honour for fear he should do them hurt. When any Maid is married, they bring the Bride before their Pagod, made with a Pin of Ivory-bone, and there the nearest Kindred by force make the Image take the Bride's Maiden-head, which the Bridegroom takes as a great honour done to him. They commonly pray the whole Day to the first thing they meet with in the Morning, be it a Hog, or any thing else; but if a Crow happens to be the first thing they see, they look upon it as so bad an Omen, that they will not stir out of doors all that day upon any account. They pray to the New Moon when she first appears, and in their Travels offer to their Pagods on every Hill, after they have wash'd their feet in a Cistern that stands always near them, Fruits, Rice, Hens, *&c.* which the Bramen takes away, and makes the People believe the Pagod hath eaten it. They feast them with sound of Trumpets, and great Fires, for fourteen days, before they go into a Ship, that they may have a good Voyage. The like they do at their Return, at their Feasts, Marriages, *&c.*

Of their Religion, and uggly Idols.

A Hog god.

There are in *Goa* many rich Heathen Merchants, who sell all kind of Silks and Sattins, and *Banians* who have all sorts of Wares from *Cambaia*, and of precious Stones; but those who Till the ground are a sort of Christians, who retain still many of their Pagan Superstitions, and all the Money-changers, or Xaraffo's, are Christian *Jews*.

Winter begins through the whole Coast of *India*, from *Cambaia* to Cape *de Comorin*, on the last of *April*, and begins with Thunder and Lightning; after which follows a constant Rain night and day till *September*, and then Summer begins, and it continues fair Weather till the last of *April*, and all the Ships which could not stir out in the Winter, are made ready to sail to all places. The East-wind which cometh from the Land, blows always from Midnight to Noon; and then the West-wind, which comes from the Sea, blows constantly until Midnight. When it is Winter from *Din* to the Cape of *Comorin*, on the other side of that Cape, call'd the Coast of *Choramandel*, it is Summer, tho' they lie under the same Degrees, and are but a few Miles distant; and which is more strange, as Men travel by Land from *Cochin* to *St. Thomas*, which lies on the same Coast, they find it clear Sun-shiny Weather on one side of the Hill of *Ballegate*, and stormy Wind, Rain and Thunder, on the other side of the Hill. So it is also on the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, clear Weather on one side of the Cape of *Rosalgate*, and Rain on the other. The Days, both Summer and Winter, are alike long, only there is an hours difference at the Change.

Of the Time of the Year in *India*.

Constant Winds.

Summer and Winter under the same Degree.

The *Bramens* are the most esteem'd among the *Indian* Heathens, for they serve in the chiefest places about the King, and are the Priests of the Pagods. They eat not any thing that hath life, but feed upon Herbs and Rice; and will not be let Blood for any Sickness, but heal themselves by Herbs and Ointments. The Women have but one Cloth about their Bodies, which reacheth down to their Knees, and have Rings through their Noses, about their Legs, Necks and Arms, and upon each Hand seven or eight of them, which are made either of Silver, or more commonly of Glass. When a *Bramen* dies, his Body is burnt with sweet Spices and much Oil, and commonly the Wife is burnt with him.

Of the *Bramens*, the Priests of their Pagods, their Manners.

The *Guzarates* and *Banians* are of the Country of *Cambaia*, and many of them dwell in *Goa*, *Din*, *Chaul*, *Cochin*, and other places of *India*, for they traffick in all kind of Wares, as Corn, Cotton, Linen, Rice, *&c.* but chiefly in all sorts of precious Stones, in which they have great Skill. They eat not any thing that hath Life or Blood in it, neither would they kill any such thing for all the World. They will give Money to Christians for Fowls and Beasts, which are to be kill'd, to save them alive. In *Cambaia* they set Pots of Water in the High-ways, and cast Corn on the ground to feed the Birds and Beasts; nay, they have Hospitals to cure them of any ails, and when they are heal'd let them fly or run away. They eat no kind of Herbs that hath any red in it, and drink nothing but Water. If their Provision happens to fail when they go from *Goa* to *Cochin*, they will rather starve than eat with Christians.

Of the *Guzarates* and *Banians* of *Cambaia*.

The *Canaras* and *Decanyns* are of the Country of *Decan*, commonly call'd *Ballagate*, and many of them live in *Goa*. They eat all things except Kine, Hogs and Buffles, Flesh and Fish. They account the Ox, Cow or Buffle, to be Holy, with whom they eat and sleep in their Houses as if they were rational Creatures, and thereby think they do God good Service. Every one follows his Father's Trade, and marries with the Daughters of such Tradesmen, to whom they give Bracelets and Earings, for the Sons inherit all; and in other Customs and Ceremonies they resemble the *Bramens*. They commonly farm the King's Revenues, in *Bardes*, *Salsette* and *Goa*; and when any question arises in Law, they plead their own Cause without any Counsel. And when they take an Oath as a Witness, they stand in a Circle of Ashes, still laying Ashes on their bare Heads; and with one Hand on their Head, and the other on their Breast, they swear by their Pagod to tell the Truth.

Of the *Canarins* and *Decanyns*.

Their way of taking an Oath.

The *Canaryns* and *Corumbyns* are those that Till the Land, and live very poorly. They sow the Rice upon low grounds, which in the Winter-time is cover'd with Water; and upon that the *Canaryns* maintain themselves in their little Straw-houses, which are so low, that a Man must creep in and out. Their Women are commonly deliver'd of a Child all alone, who lay the Child upon a Fig-leaf, and then go about their business. Their Children go naked till they are seven or eight years old, and nothing is done to them but only wash'd in a little cold Water. In their Marriages and Religion they follow the *Canaras*.

The *Canaryns* and *Corumbyns* of *India*.

There are many *Arabians* and *Abexins* in *India*. The *Arabians* are *Mahometans*; and of the *Abexins*, some are *Mahometans*, some a sort of *Christians* of *Prester John*'s Country. The Christian *Abexins* have on their face four burnt marks in the form of a Cross, one in their Forehead, one on each Cheek, and one under the nether-lip. These *Arabians* and *Abexins* serve as Sailors in Ships for a small hire, and commonly have their Wives and Children in the Ship with them, and dress their Meat by themselves, which is Rice sodden in Water with Salt Fish. They have a chief Boatswain, who is call'd *Mocadon*; he bargains with the Owners of the Ships for so many Sailors, and receives the Money monthly for their Wages, which he pays to every particular Sailor.

The *Arabians* and *Abexins* in *India*.

The black People, or *Caffares*, of the Land of *Mosambique*, and along the Coast of *Ethiopia*, go commonly all naked, and have all their Bodies scar'd with Irons like rased Sattin; and some of them file their Teeth as sharp as Needles. They account themselves very fair, and despise all white Men as Monsters and uggly People, in whose colour they represent the Devil. When they kill any of their Enemies in a Battel, or take Men Prisoners, they cut off their Privy-members, which being well dry'd they lay at the King's feet, and the King orders them to be deliver'd again with thanks, and that they shall be accounted as Knights; all which Members they tie upon a string like a Bracelet, and when they marry, or go to Weddings or Feasts, the Bride, or Wives of those Knights, wear the Chain of Men's Members about their Neck, which is counted with them as great an Honour, as with us to wear the Garter.

Of the *Caffares*, their Manners and Customs.

A costly Chain for Women.

Great numbers of these *Caffares* are carry'd into *India*, and sold at low rates, especially in a time of Dearth, when they will exchange Children of eight or ten Years for five or six Measures of Rice, or sell them for three or four Ducats a-piece; and some come with their Wives and Children, to sell themselves for Slaves.

The *Malabars* dwell on the Sea-coast between *Goa* and Cape *Comorin*; they are very black, and of a smooth Skin, which they anoint with Oil. Their hair grows very long, which they tie up on their Heads with a Lace; and the laps of their Ears being open'd hang down to their shoulders, which with them is a great beauty. They are so lecherous, that few Girls of seven or eight Years old have their Maiden-heads. Of these *Malabars* there are two sorts, one call'd *Nairos*, who are Gentlemen and Soldiers, and are oblig'd to carry Arms night and day, that they may be always ready to serve the King. Some

Of the *Malabars* and *Nairos* in *India*, with the Manners and Customs.

carry a naked Rapier or Cutlass in their Right, and a Target in their Left Hand, or a Bow and venemous Arrows upon their shoulder; others carry long Pikes, or Muskets, with a lighted Match wound about their Arms. None of them are married, but they freely Lie with the *Nayro's* Daughters, or any other Women, though they be married; and leaving their Arms at the Door, they go into any House where they have a mind, and Lie with the Wife or Daughter, and then come and take their Arms at the Door, which stands open all the time, none daring to hinder them, or trouble the Woman with whom they have to do.

As they walk the Street, they cry *Po, Po, i. e.* stand out of the way, for if any of the *Polyasses*, (who are the other sort of *Malabars*) or any Man of another Nation, happen to touch them, they run him through, and then wash themselves with much ceremony before they eat, or converse with other *Nayro's*.

But a *Portuguese* having slain a *Nayro*, in a Duel fought on purpose to decide the quarrel, it was agreed between the two Nations, That the *Nayro's* should give place to the *Portuguese*.

The *Nayro's* wear the Nails of their Hands very long, the better to gripe a thing in their hands, and to show that they are Gentlemen. The Captains and Officers among them wear a Gold or Silver Bracelet above their Elbows, to distinguish them from others, and are guarded by other *Nayro's* when they go abroad. If they deserve Death, they are secretly dispatch'd at the King's Order by other *Nayro's*.

At their Dwelling-place, they have a Well of Water dug in the High-way, wherein Men and Women wash themselves every Morning from Feet to Head, which though green and stinking, yet being Conjur'd by the *Brannens* with many Ceremonies, is thought of so great Vertue, that without it they would be Unclean and full of Sin.

Their Sons are not their Heirs, for they use all Women when they will, and know not who is their own Son; and the *Brannens* also have the King's Wives at their pleasure, and do him great Honour when it pleaseth them to Lie with his Queen; but their Sister's Sons are their Heirs, because they are sure of their Mothers.

The common People of the *Malabars*, call'd *Polyes*, are the Labourers, Fishermen, and such like, who live poorly, and wear no weapon. In other things they follow the Customs of other *Indians*.

Of the *Moors* and *Jews* in *India*.

There are great numbers of *Jews* and *Moors* at *Goa*, *Cochin*, and in all places of *India*: Amongst the *Indians* they have their Churches, Synagogues, and Mesquita's, wherein they use all Ceremonies according to their Law; but in places where the *Portuguese* govern, they must not openly use any of them. And if it be found that they mingle any Christian Ceremonies with theirs, both Men and Women die for it, unless they turn Christians. Most of them are of a white colour, and many come from *Pelestine*, and speak good *Spanish*.

The *Moors* also have their Mesquitos, wherein they pray: They wash their Feet before they go into the Church, in a Cistern of Water that stands at the Door, and in the Church they fall down prostrate on their faces, and with their hands lifted up make faces. They are Circumcis'd like the *Jews*, and eat no Swines flesh: They have no Images in their Churches, but only some round Pillars, on which some *Chaldean* Letters, taken out of the Alcoran, are graven. They will not suffer Christians to enter into them, unless they put off their Shoes; and if you ask what Saints they pray to, they will tell you, That they do not pray to Stocks and Stones, but to the living God; and that the *Portuguese* and Heathens, who worship Images of Wood and Stone, are all of one Religion.

Of their Pagod.

In the Kingdom of *Narsinga*, or the Coast of *Choromandel*, there standeth a Pagod very great and rich, which is so highly esteem'd, that many Pilgrimages are made to it from all the Countries round about. Upon a large Cart drawn by four Elephants, there is a Seat whereon this Idol sits, and under it sit the Kings Wives, which play upon all Instruments; which Cart is drawn forth with great Devotion at Fairs, Feasts, and Processions, for some of the People out of Zeal cut out pieces of their own flesh, and throw them before the Pagod. Others lay themselves in the way for the Cart to run over them, and are crush'd to pieces; who for that are accounted Holy Martyrs, and all the Parts of their Body are kept as Relicks.

In all the Villages where the *Indians* dwell, there are carved Pagods of most hellish shapes; but we found in one Village a Church of Stone, wherein there was nothing but a Table hanging in the middle, and the Image of a Pagod painted, having many Horns and long Teeth hanging down to the Knees; and beneath his Navel, such another Face with Horns and Tusks, having a Triple-crown'd Mitre on the Head of it. It hung before a Wall, which made a Partition from another Chamber, and in the middle of the Wall there was a little Door, before which stood a Calf of Stone, on which one of our company leap'd and fell a laughing, for which we begg'd pardon of the *Brames* to prevent mischief. This Door being open'd, we saw what they count their Quire, which is close Vaulted like a Lime-kiln, and admits no light but by the Door; on each side of which there is a Furnace within the Wall, having certain holes to let the smoke of the Fire enter into that place, wherein the Offerings are made of Rice, Fruits, Hens, *&c.* which makes the place very foul and stinking. But in this Quire there hung at least a hundred burning Lamps, in the middle whereof stood an Altar cover'd first with Cotton, and over that with pure Gold; under which sate the Pagod of Gold, about the bigness of a Puppet, which we saw brought out of his Cell, and set in a Palankin, born by the chief Men of the Town, all the rest following with great Devotion, with sound of Trumpets, and other Instruments. And having gone round about a Field, they brought him to the Stone Cistern that stands before the Church-door, and wash'd him in that stinking water, and then shut him up in his Cell, with all his Lamps, to make good cheer with the Offerings they left behind them, wherewith the *Brames* feasted instead of the Pagod.

Of their Pagods.

All the way as we went we found Pagods of Stone, under certain Covers, before which all Travellers fall down and say their Prayers, and Cisterns of Water to wash their feet. By these Pagods commonly stand two little Furnaces, with a Calf or Cow of Stone, before which they set their Offerings of such things as are to be eaten, of which we found some standing in every place, but had no stomach to taste of them, but we could not sufficiently admire the monstrous shapes of their Idols, which we found every where.

All over *India* there are great store of Cattel, as Oxen, Kine, Sheep, Hogs, Goats, Kids, *&c.* which are very cheap; but the flesh, by reason of the heat, is not so well tasted as in *Europe*. There are Sheep of five Quarters, the tail being as great and fleshy as any of the other Quarters, but their flesh is not counted so good as that of Hogs.

They have some Bats so vastly great, that the *Canaryns* are forc'd to watch them for the mischief they do to Trees and Herbs.

There is a prodigious number of black Crows, which came in at the Window, and take the Meat out of the Dish when the People are at Dinner; one of them, in my sight, took the Cotton out of my Ink-horn, and blotted all the Paper upon the Table. They sit upon Buffles backs, and pick all the hair off them, so that they are forc'd to stand in the water up to the Neck to get rid of them.

There are some Rats as big as young Pigs, so that the Cats dare not touch them, which dig down Walls and Houses: There are also other little reddish Rats which smell sweet like Musk.

There is an incredible number of Ants, which destroy all the Meat and Clothes they come at, so that they are forc'd to set their Cupboards and Chests upon Cisterns full of water to keep them off. The like Cisterns some use under their Beds and Tables, and to preserve their *Canary*-Birds, and other Fowls.

They are also plagu'd with Moths and Worms, which destroy all their Clothes and Papers; and with Baratta's, twice as big as Bees, which eat up all sweet and fat things, and stain all their Clothes with their Eggs.

There is a Bird call'd Noyras, which comes from *Molucca*, that surpasseth all other Birds for beauty, and speaks like a Parrot; it claws Men with the Tongue upon the Head and Beard, the Ears and Teeth, to make them

them clean; but they cannot be brought alive into *Portugal*.

They have Elephants in many places of *India*, which the Merchants hire of their Keepers to draw Pipes, Buts, or Packs of Goods. When they are chid for not drawing strongly, they will sometimes refuse help, and burst themselves with striving. They are mad all the Winter when it rains, and are kept tied to a great Tree till the rain ceases, and then they come to themselves. Their Docility and Ingenuity is so well known that I need not describe it.

The Rhinoceros is not in *India*, but only in *Bengala* and *Patane*; it hath a short horn upon the Nose, whereof the hinder-part is bigger, and towards the end it is sharper, and so by some it is thought to be the right Unicorn. The horns in *India* are much esteem'd, and us'd against Poyson, and many Diseases: His Teeth, Claws, Flesh, Skin and Blood, nay, his very Dung and Water, are us'd for curing many Diseases, and I my self have found them good by Experience. But there is a great difference among the Rhinocerots as to their value, which the *Indians* can discern, which is suppos'd to arise from the different Herbs they feed upon in *Bengala*, which gives them great vertue, for some of them are sold for two or three hundred Pardaws, and others for three or four Pardawes a-piece.

(Of the Fishes in *India*.) Fish in *India* is very plentiful, as Shads, Soals, *&c.* and are commonly eaten with Rice, which is instead of Bread. Crabs are very great and good; and contrary to what it is with us, they are empty at Full Moon, and full at New Moon. Fish is so cheap, that with the value of a Stiver one may buy as much as will serve five or six Men for a Meal.

When our Ship lay at *Cochin*, we let down one of our Sailors, with a Rope about his middle, to place the Rudder on the hooks, and while he hung with half his Body in the Water, there came a Shark which bit off one of his Legs at one bite; and when he put down his Arm to feel his wound, it bit off his Arm above his Elbow, and also a piece of his Buttock.

A monstrous Fish. There was a monstrous Fish taken in the River of *Goa*, of the bigness of a middle-siz'd Dog, with a Snout like a Hog, and four Feet like an Elephant, wherewith it run on the Floor, grunting like a Hog. The whole Body was cover'd with Scales of a Thumb's breadth; harder than Iron; and when we struck him, he roul'd himself up like a round Ball so close, that we could not by any means open him again, which at last he did and run away.

When a Ship was sailing from *Mosambique* into *India*, with a fair Wind, steering their Course towards the Equinoctial Line, it was much wondred at by those who took the height of the Sun for a Fortnight, that instead of lessening their Degrees, they found themselves every Day further backward than they were, until at last the Boatswain spied a great broad tail of a Fish, that had winded it self about the Beak-head of the Fish, the Body of it being under the Keel, and the Head of it under the Rudder, swimming in that manner, and drawing the Ship with her against the Wind and their right Course, which we, with much ado, struck off with Staves, and then the Ship went right on.

There are by *Malacca* certain Shell-fish, so great and heavy, that two strong Men can hardly, with a Lever, draw one of them after them: And to the South of *Goa*, at a place call'd *St. Peter's Sand*, there are Crabs so great and numerous, that Men are forced to keep a good Watch to defend themselves, for if they get one in their Claws it costs him his Life.

(Of the Fruits, Trees and Plants in *India*.) *Ananas* is a Fruit of the best taste in all *India*, which was at first brought by the *Portuguese* from *Brasil* and planted there, but now is grown very common: They are as big as a Melon, of colour red and greenish, and grow about one third of a Fathom high from the ground. When they eat them they pull off the Shell, and the Juice tastes like sweet Musk.

Jaaca's grow on Trees like Nut-trees by the Sea-side, not upon the small branches, but upon the trunks or great branches; they are as big as a great Melon, and much like it in shape, the Fruit within is in husks, like Chesnuts, each of which has a Nut white and yellow, and very sweet.

Manga's grow upon Trees like Jaaca's, in size and colour like a great Peach, having a bigger stone and better taste. It serves for Food to the common People and Slaves, being salted in Pots, and eaten with Rice; they are like the white *Spanish* Olives, and much of the same taste.

Caions grow on Trees, and are in size and shape like Pears, but instead of a Stalk they have a Chesnut, which must be roasted before it be eaten, else it makes your Tongue smart.

Jambo's grow on Trees like Palm-trees, are white and red, of a sweet smell and taste, both pleasant and wholsome. The Tree bears Fruit three or four times a Year, and when the leaves fall off on one side, and the Fruit is ripe, the other side begins to have leaves and to blossom.

Jangomas grow on Trees, and are in size, colour and taste, like our round Plums.

There is a Fruit that came out of the *Spanish Indies* call'd Papaios, which is very like a Melon, and will not grow but when there are two together, *i. e.* Male and Female. The Male Tree never yields Fruit, but only the Female; and when they are parted they yield none at all. Oranges, Limons and Citrons, are very good and plentiful. They have very few Grapes, and sweet Herbs and Flowers, but they have great abundance of Cucumbers, Radishes and Melons.

Indian Figs there are many, and of divers sorts, some small, some great. That on which they grow may be rather call'd a Cane than a Tree, the Bark of it being like a Hair-Sieve, which within is full of large leaves, that by degrees shoot upwards, till the Tree comes to its full growth. Out of the midst of these leaves grows a Flower with a long Stalk, which grows full of Figs, bearing at least two hundred in clusters like Grapes. The Tree bears but one bunch at a time, and being cut down, out of the root presently grows another, which within a Month beareth Fruit, and so continueth to do all the Year long. They are very plentiful in all places, and yield the greatest part of the Food of the Country. When they are eaten, they pull off the Shells; the Garden Figs are thicker and more common, but those that are thinner are better for smell and taste. The Figs of *Cananor* are dried, and carry'd over all *India*.

(Of the Palm-tree wherein the *Indian* Nut call'd Cocus grows.) The Palm-tree is the most profitable Tree of all *India*; it grows tall and straight, is a Span thick, and hath no branches but in the top where the leaves grow, under which grow the Coco's, commonly ten or twelve together. These Coco's are first planted, out of which spring the Trees, and when they are about a Man's height they plant them again, and dung them with ashes, and they yield Fruit in a few Years.

The Wood of this Tree, tho' it be spungy, is good for many uses, for in *Maldiva* they make whole Ships of it, without any Iron-nail, for they sow the pieces of Wood together with the Cords that are made of the Cocus; they make Ropes and Cables of the same Tree, and Sails of the leaves, call'd *Olas*. They serve also to make *Canaryns* Houses, and Hats to carry over their Heads, and Mats to cover Palankins. The Nuts or Coco's are as great as an Ostridge-Egg, and are cover'd with two husks, whereof the outmost is hairy, and of it they make all their Cables and Ropes, call'd *Cairo*; and it serves instead of Ocam or Tow, to stop all Crevices in Ships, and keeps them closer in Salt water. Of the inner husk they make Drinking Cups, of which we have some here. The Cables serve as well as those of Hemp, if they be wash'd every Fortnight in the Sea. The Fruit, when it is almost ripe, is call'd *Lanha*, and within is full of water white and sweet, which increases the longer the Cocus in on the Tree, but when the Fruit is ripe the water thickens, and is not so pleasant Drink as that which comes of the *Lanha*. With the Milk of these Nuts they seethe the Rice, which is the Sauce of their Meat; and sometimes they dry it, and carry it out of *Malabar* to *Cambaia* and *Ormuz*, and other places, to traffick with it. And sometimes they make Oil of it, which is very good to eat; either of the green Nuts stamp'd with water and press'd, or of the dried Cocus, which is call'd *Copra*, both which are accounted Medicinal. When they have no mind to any Cocus, they cut the Blossoms away, and bind a round Pot so close to the Tree that no air can enter in, which in a little time is fill'd with Water call'd *Sura*; that tastes like sweet Whey. If this Water

stands

ſtands but one hour in the Sun it is good Vinegar: when it is diſtill'd it is excellent *Aqua-vitæ*; and being diſtill'd a ſecond time it is call'd *Uraca*, and is very good Wine, and is the only Wine in *India*. The *Portugueſe* put to a Pipe of it three or four Hands of Raiſins, (every Hand being twelve pound) and leaving the Bung open, and the Pipe not full, it boils like Water over a Fire for fourteen or fifteen days; and then becomes in colour and taſte like red *Portugal* Wine, wherewith there is a great trade to *Bengala*, *Malacca*, *China*, and other places, every Pipe in *Goa* being worth thirty Pardawes. Of the foreſaid *Sura* being boil'd, or ſet in the Sun, they alſo make a brown Sugar. The innermoſt part of the Tree is call'd *Palmito*, which is thin and white, having many plaits and folds which is us'd by the *Indians* for Paper, whereon they write when it is green; and after it is dry, the ſame folds continue, and 'tis impoſſible to get the letters out, which are printed in it with an Iron-Inſtrument call'd *Olla*. And thus are all their Writings made.

Of the Duryoen a Fruit of Malacca.

Duryoen is a Fruit that groweth only in *Malacca*, and is eſteem'd the beſt for taſte in the World, tho' it ſmells like rotten Onions when firſt open'd. It is outwardly like a Melon, and like it in its partitions within, wherein is the Fruit which contains the Nuts as big as Peach-ſtones: It taſtes like *Mangiar blanco*, made of Hens fleſh diſtill'd with Sugar.

Of the Tree *Arbore de Rays*, or the Root-tree.

When *Arbore de Rays* groweth and ſpreadeth branches, they are full of Roots, and grow downwards, and take faſt root again in the ground; and ſtill the more the Branches ſpread, the more Roots ſhoot downwards, ſo that ſometimes it covereth forty paces, and, as ſome ſay, extends to a Mile's compaſs, and is ſufficient to ſhadow a thouſand or three thouſand under it. It hath no Fruit good for any thing but for the Birds to eat.

Near *Cochin* there are Trees call'd *Angelina*, ſo thick, that of the Wood in one piece, without ſeam or joynt, there are made Skiffs call'd *Tones*, which will lade twenty or thirty Pipes of Water; the Wood is harder, and will laſt longer than Iron. There are alſo Sugar-Canes and Bamboo's, which have a pith that is Medicinal. Theſe Bamboo's grow very high, and are as thick as a Man's Thigh.

Of the Tree call'd *Arbore Triſte*.

Arbore triſte is ſo call'd, becauſe it never bears Bloſſoms but in the Night-time, for when the Sun ſets there is not one Bloſſom to be ſeen, but within half an hour there are as many Bloſſoms as the Tree will bear, which ſmell very ſweet; and when the Sun riſes the Bloſſoms fall off, and the Leaves ſhut themſelves cloſe together. If you cut off a branch, and ſet it in the ground, it preſently takes root, and in few days has Bloſſoms.

Beetle.

Beetle is a Leaf a little larger than Orange-leaves, planted by Sticks, upon which it climbs up like Ivy. The leaves keep long green, and are ſold by the Dozen, and every Man and Woman in all *India* eats every day a dozen or two of them, for they are continually chawing them by night and day: And becauſe they are bitter, they are eaten with a Fruit call'd *Arecca*, which is like a Nutmeg, and groweth upon Trees like Palm-trees, whereof one ſort being cut in the middle is white and red, another makes the Mouth black and red, and a third ſort makes them light-headed for a little time. With this Fruit they mix alſo a Cake of the Tree call'd *Kaate*, and ſome powder of Oyſter-ſhells, which they ſprinkle upon the Beetle; and when they chaw all this, they ſwallow down the Juice and ſpit out the reſt. They think they cannot live a Day without it; and they ſay 'tis good for the Maw, the Teeth and Gums, and againſt Scurvy.

Of the Herb *Datura*, and the Plant call'd *Herba ſenſata*.

Datura is an Herb very common in *India*, and groweth in every Field; the Leaf of it is ſharp prinked, and indented on the edges. The Bloſſom is like that of Roſemary, out of which groweth a bud like the bud of Poppy, wherein are ſome kernels like thoſe of Melons, which being ſtamp'd and put into any Liquor or Meat, whenever it is eaten or drunk, makes a Man ſometimes laugh like a Fool, without any ſenſe of what is done before him; and ſometimes makes him ſleep for 24 hours as if he were dead, but if in that time his feet be waſh'd with cold water he comes to himſelf.

There is another Herb in *India* call'd the *Senſitive Herb*, which ſhrinks up and cloſes the leaves if any Man touches it, as long as he ſtands by it; but as ſoon as he is gone, it opens the leaves and looks freſh again.

At one end of *Goa*, where Oxen, Sheep, and all kind of Cattel are kill'd for Meat, there is a place where all the Horns of Beaſts lie ſcattered up and down; for beſides that no body uſes them, 'tis counted a great affront to the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* to have any Horns, or to ſtrow a Horn to another, or throw it before his Door, for that is to call him Cuckold, which he would revenge by killing the Offender, and Juſtice there will ſeverely puniſh. Now theſe Horns having lain a certain time ſtick faſt in the Earth, and the inner-part of the Horn taketh root, as if it were a Tree, whereof I have ſeen many pull'd up that had Roots two or three Spans long, which was never ſeen in any other Place of the World.

Of the Pepper-tree, and like Beetle or Ivy, and Ginger, &c.

Pepper is planted at the foot of another Tree, commonly of the *Arecca*, and grows upon the Tree like Beetle or Ivy. The Leaves of it are green and ſharp pointed; it grows in bunches like Grapes, but thinner, and ripens in *December* and *January*, when it is gather'd. The Long-Pepper grows in *Bengale*, and is as long as a Needle, but a little thicker; without it is of an Aſhy-colour, but within ſomewhat white, with ſmall Seeds. The White and Black Pepper in taſte and form are alike, but the White is ſtronger and leſs plentiful than the Black.

Cinnamon.

Cinnamon-trees are commonly as great as Olive-trees, with leaves like Citron-leaves. They have white Bloſſoms, and a Fruit as big as black *Portugal*-Olives, whereof Oil is made, which is us'd for many things. The Tree hath two Barks, whereof the ſecond is the Cinnamon, which is cut off in four-ſquar'd pieces, and ſo laid to dry; if it be not well dried it is of an Aſh-colour, if it be too much dried it is blackiſh, but when it is well dried it is reddiſh. After this Bark is taken away, within three Years the Tree hath another Bark as it had before. The Trees grow of themſelves without planting, in the open Fields, like Buſhes: The beſt is in the Iſle of *Seylon*, but that in the Coaſt of *Malabar* not half ſo good; in both places there are whole Woods full of Cinnamon-trees. There is an excellent Water diſtill'd from Cinnamon while it is half green, which is very pleaſant to the Taſte and Smell, but very hot and ſtrong. It is much us'd in *India* and *Portugal* againſt the Cholick, and other Diſeaſes; the Water made of the Bloſſoms is not ſo good.

Ginger.

Ginger grows in many places, but the beſt is in the Coaſt of *Malabar*; it grows like thin Reeds, two or three Spans high, the Root whereof is Ginger, and is much us'd for Sallads while it is green. They dry it by covering it with Pot-earth, to ſtop up the holes, and preſerve it from Worms, which would deſtroy it. Tho' it is little eſteem'd in *India*, there is much of it ſhipp'd off to the Red-Sea, as to *Ormuz*, *Arabia* and *Aſia*.

Cloves.

The Trees whereon Cloves grow are like Bay-trees, the Bloſſoms at firſt white; then they have the pleaſanteſt ſmell, and are green, and at laſt red and hard, which are the Cloves. They grow very thick, and when they are dried their right colour is a dark yellow, but they are ſmoak'd to make them black; and thoſe that are left on the Tree ungather'd, are call'd the Mother of Cloves. The Stalks are commonly gather'd and mingled with them, but they are ſever'd in thoſe that are ſent to *Portugal*. The Cloves are of ſo hot a nature, that no Graſs grows near the Trees on which they grow; and when they are made clean, a Pail of Water, or any other Liquor in the Chamber where they are cleans'd, will within two days be dried up, as I have often ſeen. And ſo whenever unſpun Silk of *China* lies upon the Floor, which is a Foot or two above ground, it ſucketh up quickly all the Water that covers the Floor, tho' it touches not the Silk, which is a trick us'd to make the Silk heavy when it is ſold.

Nutmegs.

The Nutmeg-tree is ſomewhat leſs than a Peach-tree, which hath round Leaves, and grows in *Banda* and *Java*; from whence they are carried to *China* and *Malacca*, and *India*. The Fruit is like a great round Peach, the inner-part whereof is the Nutmeg, which hath a hard ſhell cover'd over with the Flower call'd Mace, wherein the Nut lieth looſe.

Cardamomum.

Cardamomum is a Spice much us'd in *India* to dreſs Meat withal, and chaw upon: The huſks are like thoſe of Panick, having ten or twelve grains of Berries,

ries, which is the Cardamom; whereof some is great, some smaller. It grows on the Coast of *Malabar*, and in *Java*.

Lac is brought from *Pegu* to *Sumatra*, and from thence is carried to the Red-Sea, *Persia* and *Arabia*. In *Pegu* there are very great Pismires, which fly up the Trees, on which there is a Gum which the Pismires suck up, and then make the *Lac* round about the branches, as Bees make Honey and Wax; and when it is full, the Owners break off the branches, which being dry'd they shrink, and the *Lac* remains behind. The Crums that fall upon the ground they melt together, which has some filth in it, and so is not so good. The *Lac* as it comes from the Tree is of a dark red colour, but when it is beaten to powder they mix all sorts of Colours with it, as red, black, green, *&c.*

Benioin groweth much in *Syan*, *Sumatra* and *Java*, upon high Trees full of branches, with a thick Stem in the middle; whence proceeds the Gum call'd *Benioin*. When the Tree is young it yields the best, which is of a blackish colour, and a very sweet smell, and is call'd the *Benjamin of Flowers*; but the second, call'd *Benjamin of Almonds*, is not so good, being mix'd with white Flowers.

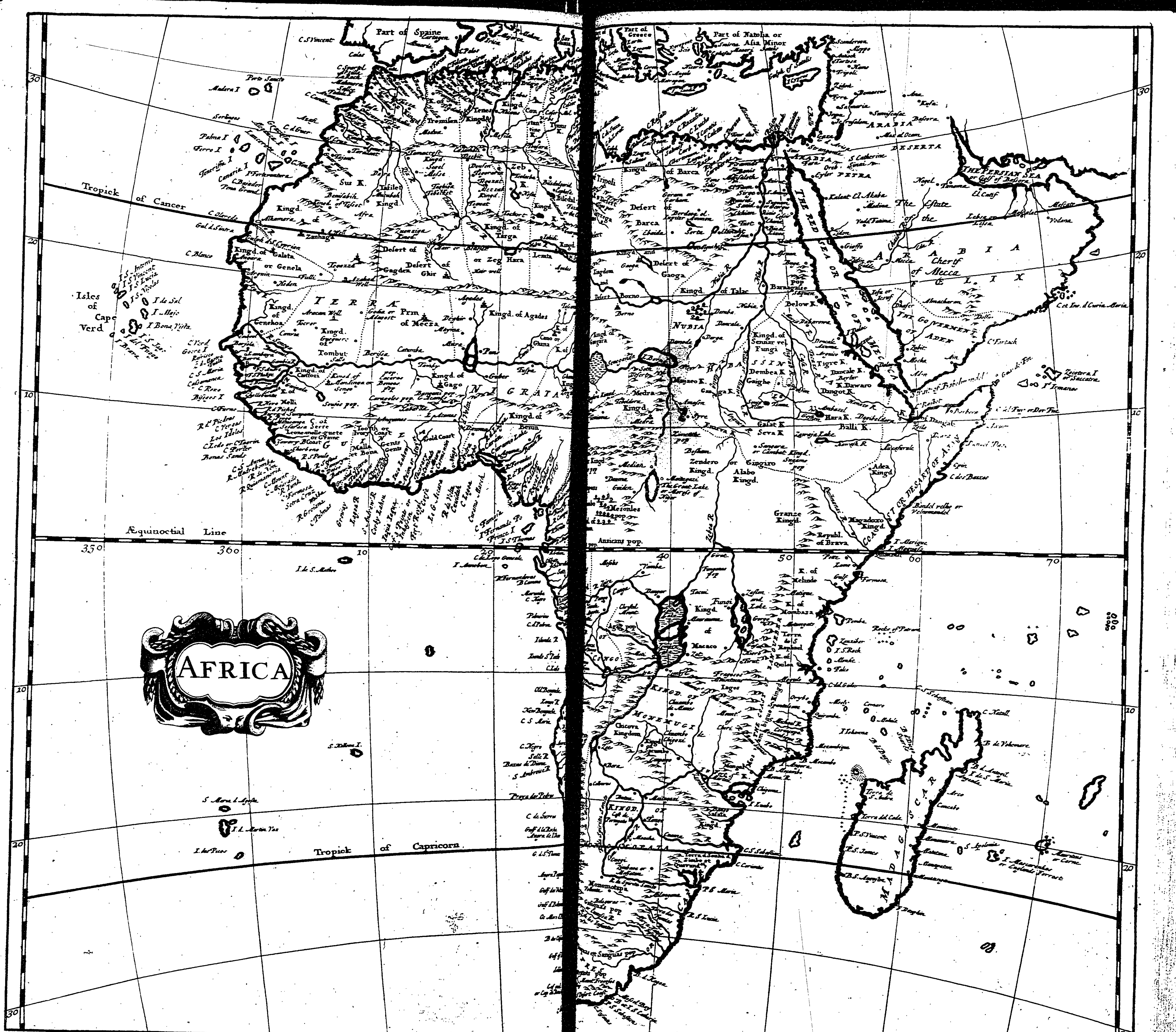
Frankincense and Myrrhe are Gums from Trees, which grow in *Arabia-Felix* and *Alexin*.

White and yellow Sanders, which are the best come from *Timor* near *Java*, which hath whole Woods of them, from whence it is carried to *India*, and other Countries; but the red Sanders grow most in *Choromandel*. The Trees of Sanders have Fruit like Cherries, of no value, but the Wood is the Sanders.

Snakewood is the Root of a low Tree of a whitish colour, and bitter in taste, which being bruis'd in Water or Wine is good against burning Fevers, Cholick, Worms, and specially against the stinging of Snakes; whence it has its name. It was first found out by a little Beast call'd *Quil*, which is of the size and nature of a Ferret, and being bit by a Snake, heals it self by this Wood in *Seylon*, where there is great store of these Ferrets and Snakes.

Lignum-Aloes abounds most in *Malacca*; the Trees are somewhat greater than Olive-trees. The best, and that which smells most, is the innermost part of the Wood, and is call'd *Calamba*, which is heaviest and yields most moisture, and is so much esteem'd, that it is sold by weight against Silver and Gold. The *Palo daguilla* is next to it in esteem; but there is another sort call'd *Wild Aquilla*, which is us'd for burning the Bodies of the Bramens; and being costly, is accounted as great an honour with them as with us to be buried in Tombs of Marbel-stones. These Woods are much us'd in *India* for Beads and Crucifixes, which are held in great Veneration.

Navigantium



AFRICA
Part of Spaine
Part of Greece
Part of Natolia or Asia Minor
Tropick of Cancer
Æquinoctial Line
Tropick of Capricorn
Isles of Cape Verd
Madera I
Porto Sancto
Tripoli
Kingd. of Barca
Desert of Barca
Desert of Gaoga
Kingd. of Agades
Kingd. of Gago
Gold Coast
NUBIA
Kingd. of Sennar vel Fungi
THE RED SEA OR
ARABIA
DESERTA
THE PERSIAN SEA or Gulf of Balsora
Zanhaga
Desert of Gogden
Kingd. of Galata or Genela
Kingd. of Targa
Kingd. of Talac
Grange Kingd.
Magadoxo Kingd.
Republ. of Brava
Zendero Kingd.
Alabo Kingd.
Macaco
Fungi Kingd.
Chicova Kingdom
S. Helena I.
Monomotapa
Madagascar
Mascarenas or Cerne
Tropick of Cancer
350
360
10
40
50
60
70
30
20
10

Navigantium atq; Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

Book III.

A DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA, and all its Provinces.

Taken from John Leo and Marmol.

Chap. I.

Containing a General Deſcription of the Limits, Soil, Product and Climate of the Country: Together with the Original, Tribes, Cuſtoms, Language, Religion, Conſtitution, Vertues and Vices of the reſpective Inhabitants.

John Leo's Account of the Name, Bounds and Division of Africa.

AFRIC A, is by the *Arabians* call'd *Iphrithia*, either from the Wood *Faraca*, i. e. *to divide*, with regard to its being divided from *Europe* by the *Mediterranean*, and from *Aſia* by the *Red Sea*, or elſe from *Ifricas*, a Prince of *Arabia Fœlix*, who being diſpoſſeſs'd of his own Country, by the King of *Aſſyria*, croſs'd the *Nile*, and ſettled with his Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*; for which Reaſon, the *Arabians* and Ancient Geographers took that part of *Africa* for the whole.

As to its ancient Bounds, 'twas reckon'd to have ſome Rivers ſpringing from a Lake in the Deſart of *Geogo*, on the South, *Nilus* on the Eaſt, on the North, the Coaſt extended from *Non*, the out-moſt Sea Town of *Lydia*, to the Mouth of the *Nile*, and the Ocean to the Weſt.

Ancient *Africa* was commonly divided into four parts, namely, *Barbary*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, and *Negro-land*.

Barbary. *Barbary*, extends it ſelf from the out-moſt Point of the Mountains of *Atlas* (near *Meſſa*) to the Streight of *Gibralter*, and paſſing along the *Mediterranean* Sea, to Mount *Meies*, about 300 Miles from *Alexandria*, is bounded on the South with that ſide of the *Atlas*, which faces the *Mediterranean*. This Country is the beſt part of all *Africa*, its Inhabitants being brown and tauny, but withal a civil and well-govern'd People. 'Tis divided into four Kingdoms, namely, *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Telenſtin* or *Tremizen*, and *Tunis*. The firſt of theſe Kingdoms is divided into ſeven Provinces, namely, *Hea*, *Sus*, *Guzula*, the Territory of *Maroco*, *Ducoala*, *Aazcora*, and *Tedles*: The ſecond into other ſeven, namely, *Temeſne*, the Territory of *Fez*, *Azgara*, *Elabat*, *Errif*, *Garet*, and *Elcaux*: The third into three, *viz.* the *Mountains*, *Tenez*, and *Algezer*: And the fourth into four, namely, *Bugia* (which was a Kingdom of its ſelf, till its Principal City was taken by *Ferdinando*, King of *Caſtile*) *Conſtantina*, *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, and *Ezzaba*.

Numidia. The ſecond part of *Africa* is call'd by the Latins *Numidia*, and by the *Arabians Beledulgerid*, or *the Land of Dates*, as being the Country of *Africa*, that produceth moſt of that Fruit. Its Boundaries are, on the Eaſt the City of *Eloacat*, about 100 Miles diſtant from *Egypt*, on the Weſt the Town of *Non*, on the North the South ſide of *Atlas*, and on the South the ſandy Deſarts of *Libya*. This is the ſorrieſt Country in all *Africa*, and by reaſon of the Remoteneſs of its Inhabitants, is ſcarce dignified with the Name of a Kingdom; particularly *Teſſet*, one of its Cities, lies at almoſt 300 Miles diſtance from any Inhabitants, and does not contain in it ſelf 400 Families. However its three principal Regions are, *Segelmeſſe*, upon the Confines of *Mauritania*; *Zeb*, oppoſite to *Bugia*; and the Territory of *Biledulger'd*, extending to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. The firſt has but one City of the ſame Name; the ſecond includes theſe five, *Percara*, *Elborh*, *Neſta*, *Taolac* and *Deuſin*: and the third as many, namely, *Teozar*, *Capheſa*, *Nefreca*, *Elchamid* and *Chalbin*.

The third part of *Africa* is call'd by the Latins *Libya*, and by the *Arabians Sarra*, i. e. a *Deſart*. Its Bounds are the *Ocean* on the Weſt, the *Nile* on the Eaſt, *Numidia* on the North, and *Negro-Land* on the South. 'Tis divided into five parts, namely, *Zanega*, *Gauziga*, *Terga*, *Leuta* and *Berdeoa*, ſo called from the five Tribes of *Numidians* that inhabit it. Libya.

The fourth and laſt part of *Africa*, viz. *Negro-Land*, is bounded by *Geoga* on the Eaſt, *Gualata* on the Weſt, and *Libya* on the North, but its Southern Boundaries are yet unknown. In this Country there's a famous River, call'd from it *Niger*, upon the Banks of which its moſt fertile Countries are ſeated. This River, which empties its ſelf into the Weſtern Sea, takes its Riſe Eaſtward, out of a Deſart call'd *Negros Sea*, or elſe out of a certain Lake, which ſome will have to ſpring from the *Nile*, after its confinement under the Earth for a conſiderable ſpace. This *Negro-Land* contains a great many Kingdoms, fifteen of which I viſited my ſelf, namely, *Gualata*, *Chinea*, *Melli*, *Tombuto*, *Gego*, *Guber*, *Agadez*, *Cano*, Negro-Land.

Cano, Casena, Zegzeg, Zanfara, Guangara, Berne, Gaoga, and *Nubi*. These Kingdoms had formerly their respective Kings, but now they are subject, the greatest part of 'em, to the King of *Tombuto*, a lesser part to the King of *Berne*, and the rest to the King of *Gaoga*. They are parted from one another, either by the River *Niger*, upon which most of 'em lie, or else by some sandy Desart. They lie close by one another, and are the common Road for the Merchants, who travel from *Gualata* to *Alcair* or *Cairo* in *Egypt*. Besides these, this Country has other Kingdoms upon the South Frontiers, namely, *Bito, Temiam, Dauma, Medra* and *Gorhar*, which are inhabited by a rich industrious and just sort of People.

Marmol's General Description of Africa.

This part of the World which is call'd *Africa*, takes its Name from one of its own Provinces, where *Carthage* once stood. Some *African* Authors say, the Name was deriv'd from *Melec Ifriqui*, an *Arabian* Prince, who being outed of his own Country, settl'd in the East Parts of *Barbary*, as being a fertile Country, and fit for Pasturage.

The Names.

Ancient *Africa.*

Ptolomy gave this whole Country the Name of *Libya*, and divided it into twelve parts, namely, *Mauritania* (divided into *Cæsariensis* and *Tingitana*) *New Numidia*, the Province of *Africa*, *Cyrenaick*, *Libya*, *Marmarica*, *Lower Egypt*, *Thebait*, *Inner Libya*, and the two *Ethiopia's*. The most Southern Part of *Africa*, known to *Ptolomy* was *Mozambick*, which lies in 14 Degrees South Latitude; so that what we call *New Africa*, extending from that to the Cape of *Good Hope*, was unknown to *Ptolomy*, and the Knowledge of it was owing to the *Portuguese* Discoveries. As for the *African* and *Arabian* Geographers, they were yet less acquainted with the true Extent of this Country; for they not only join *Egypt* to *Asia*, calling it *Mezra*, but leave out all that Tract of Land that lies between the *Nile*, the *Red-Sea*, and the Ocean. In describing the Boundaries of *Africa*, they begin with the Extremity of *Nubia*, and the first Arm of the *Nile* in *Æthiopia* near *Egypt*, following that River down to the *Mediterranean*-Sea, about 15 Leagues to the East-ward of *Alexandria*; and from thence coasting on to the Streights of *Gibralter*, from whence they run along the Western Ocean to the Cape of *Non*, that separates the white *Africans* from the black: After that they coast on till they arrive at the Mouth of the River *Zayre*, and then trace that River up to a Lake in the Desart of *Zeeg*, whence it rises: From this Lake they return to *Nubia* and the *Nile*, where they first set out. 'Tis likewise observable, that these Geographers give quite different Names to the Provinces, Gulfs and Capes from those recorded by *Ptolemy*. The Occasion of the Alteration may be this, When the *Arabians* setl'd in *Africa*, they alter'd the Names of Places, in order to extinguish the very Memory of the first Inhabitants; and upon the Declension of their Empire, the *Africans* revolting against them and recovering their former Seats, did the same with respect to them. Besides, several Provinces have been laid waste, and several Cities destroy'd, that had a Being in *Ptolemy's* time, not to mention, that several others have been built and planted since.

The *African* and *Arabian* Geographers differ from *Ptolemy.*

The Limits of modern *Africa.*

The true Bounds of *Africa* lies thus: From the Mountain of *Ayauacal*, call'd by the *Ptolemy*, the *Great Atlas*, you pass to the City of *Messa* in the Province of *Sus*, then to Cape *d' Aguer* and Cape *Non*, and after that to the River *Senega*, which severs the Whites from the Negroes. Next comes *Cenoa*, and the Province of *Jalofes*, which extending a great way along the Ocean, leads you to *Mesala*, inhabited by the *Barbacines* or *Berberes* (as the *Arabian* Authors call 'em) through which there runs a great River, that enters the Sea by two Mouths, and gives an Opportunity of sailing far up into the Country. The next in order is *Gambu*, call'd by *Ptolemy Fisicharra*, and water'd with another deep River that receives Vessels above 300 Leagues up; then the Province of *Cesa-Mansi*, and that of *Papais*, water'd by a great River call'd the *Isletes*, from two little Islands, peopled with Negroes, that stand in its Mouth. After these we meet with the Province of *Biafer*, where *Riegrande* empties it self into the Sea, being so call'd, for that it is the greatest of all and receives several Navigable Rivers. Having pass'd *Biafer*, we came to *Cocoli*, inhabited by the *Idolaces*, and to the River *Vagues* alias *Tabite*, which the *Portuguese* Vessels sail several Leagues up. From thence we pass to the Country of *Safe*, watered by two great Rivers, namely, *Caluz* and *Caeres*, where the Inhabitants of the *Canaries* come to traffick with the Negroes. Next are the Rivers *Marive* and *Sicagliona*; and beyond that the *Gold Coast*, whence the *Portuguese* import great quantities of Gold, having a Fort there to secure that Trade. From thence we advance to the Coast of *Malagette*, which extends it self to the Kingdom of *Manicongo*, where the River *Zayre* swell'd with six great Rivers, falls into the Sea. From this Kingdom to the Cape of *Good Hope*, there are great Desarts, and two Capes, namely, Cape *Negro*, and Cape *Peron*. Having pass'd the Cape of *Good Hope*, we turn up to the Coast of *Zanguebar*, upon which we meet with Cape *Anguillas*, the River *Fumes*, the Province of *Melinde*, Cape *Corientes*, Cape St. *Sebastian*; and farther up *Sofala*, a long Province, surrounded with a great River, call'd *Zambere*, that divides it self into two Arms, and incloses it like an Island. This Province is follow'd by the Kingdom of *Angos*, and then by the Cape of *Mozambick*, call'd by *Ptolemy* the Promontory of *Prese*, in *French* Cape *Verd*. In this place the *Portuguese* have a Port for refreshing the Ships that go to the *East-Indies*. Passing *Mozambick*, we coast on to the Province of *Quiloa*, and then to that of *Mombaze* and *Melind*, where the great River *Obii*, call'd by *Ptolemy Rasi*, falls into the Sea. Next in order are *Magadochzo, Adea, Adel*, and Cape *Guardafui*, the most Eastern point of *Africa*. Beyond these are the Province of *Debas*, and the Mouth of the Streight of the *Red Sea*, from whence the *Abissinian* Coast extends to *Sues*, the uppermost Port in that Gulf, and the Boundary of *Egypt* to that side. Then we cross an Isthmus about 16 Leagues long, reaching from the bottom of the *Arabian* Gulf to the *Mediterranean* Sea. This done, we descend by the *Nile* to the City of *Damiette*, where that River enters the Sea; then turning to the West-ward, we pass by *Alexandria*, the Coast of the Desart of *Barca*, Cape *Mesurate*, *Tripoli* of *Barbary*, *Carthage* and the Coast of *Tunis*. A little farther are *Gigery, Tidelez, Algiers*, the Ruines of *Cæsarea, Sergiei* and *Quyza*, all Maritime Places of the Kingdom of *Tremesen*. Then we advance to the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and entring the Ocean from whence we set out, meet with the Cities of *Tangier, Arzile, Mecheemer*, and the other Ports of the Kingdom of *Fez*. Advancing thence to *Morocco*, we came in sight of the Cities of *Adzamor, Mazagan, Sefi, Tefrani*, and *Messa*, where this Description commenc'd. And thus you have a Circumstantial Account of the Circumference and Limits of *Africa*.

Being thus bounded, it is divided into six parts, viz. *Barbary, Biledulgerid, Sahara*, Lower *Æthiopia, Egypt*, and High-*Æthiopia*.

The Division of *Africa.*

Barbary is separated from *Biledulgerid*, by a long Tract of Mountains, running from East to West, call'd by *Ptolomy* the Great *Atlas*, and by the Natives *Ayduacal*. *Ptolomy* places it in 8 Degrees Longitude, and 26 Degrees Latitude. The Little *Atlas* is another Ridge of Mountains, running from the Streight of *Gibralta* to the Neighbourhood of *Bone*. *Barbary* is so call'd, either from *Ber*, a Name given to that Country before it was peopled, whence the Inhabitants were afterwards call'd *Berebers*, or from some of the Inhabitants, who call'd themselves *Barbares*, and are still possess'd of a City call'd *Barbera*, and a large Tract of Lands in *Genetoc* and *Zinque*; or, as some will have it, the Name must be deriv'd from the *Romans*, who christen'd it so by reason of the Barbarity of their Language. This Country contains four large Kingdoms, namely, *Morocco, Fez*, (both included in *Mauritania Tingitana*) *Tremesen* or *Mauritania Cæsariana*, and *Tunis*, which contains the Country that was properly called *Africa*.

Barbary.

Biledulgerid, the second part of *Africa*, was call'd by the Ancients *Getulia* or *Numidia*, from *Nomades*, i. e. *Shepherds*; for the Inhabitants of that Country, are always wandring after their Flocks, and live in little Sheds made of the Branches of Trees, call'd by the Ancients *Mapalia*. The most Eastern Part of *Numidia* was by *Ptolomy* call'd *Libya Cirenaica*, or *Pentapolis*, because it contains five large Cities.

Biledulgerid.

Sahara, the third part of *Africa*, signifying *Desarts*, is the most inconsiderable part of *Libya Interior*, which according to *Ptolomy*, included likewise *Numidia* and Lower *Æthiopia*.

Sahara.

The fourth part of *Africa* is call'd Lower *Æthiopia*, or *Beled-Alc-Abid*, or the Land of Negroes. 'Tis larger than all the above-mention'd parts put together, and is not only well peopl'd, but water'd with very large Rivers that empty themselves into the Sea. Its Bounds are, the Ocean on the West, the Country of the *Abissines* on the South, on the East *Æthiopia* near *Egypt*, and on the North the Desarts of *Sahara*.

Lower *Æthiopia.*

Egypt, the fifth part of *Africa*, is by *Ptolomy* join'd to *Marmarica*, but the *African* Authors exclude it, or at least its Eastern Part from *Africa*. 'Tis call'd by the *Arabians*

Egypt.

rabians Mezra, by the *Jews Mezraim*, and by the Natives *Elzuybet*. Its Limits, according to the *Africans*, are, the Desarts of *Barca*, *Libya*, and *Marmarica*, on the West, those of *Asia* on the East, the Mediterranean Sea on the North, and *Æthiopia* near *Egypt* on the South.

Higher Æthiopia.

The last part of *Africa*, call'd Higher *Æthiopia*, comprehends the Kingdoms of the *Abissines*, and all the Provinces terminating upon the *Arabick* or *Red-Sea*, together with that Country which is call'd *Æthiopia* above *Egypt*, where the Kingdom of *Nubia* or *Neuba* lies. This Country extends it self from the Mouth of the *Red-Sea* Southwards, to the Mountains of *Telme*, or the Golden Mountains under the Equinoctial Line. Its Northern Limits are the *Nile*, *Nubia*, and the lower and most Western part of *Genecoa*; to the West it borders upon *Negro-land* or Lower *Æthiopia*. There are several Kingdoms in this Country, the Prince of which, tho' diversify'd by their Sects, Language, Customs, and Colour, are all tributary to the Emperour of the *Abissines*, who possesses the greatest part of it. It contains above 700 Leagues in length, and is very near as large as all *Spain* and ancient *Gaul*.

John Leo's Account of the Inhabitants of Africa.

In ancient Times *Negro-land* was the only inhabited Country of *Africa*, at least *Barbary* and *Numidia* were for many Ages destitute of Inhabitants, till the Tawny People settled in that Country, who were call'd by the name of *Barbar*, an *Arabick* Word, probably deriv'd from *Barbara*, i. e. to *Murmur*, because the *Arabians* look'd upon the *African* Language as an articulate sound of Beasts. Others will have *Barbar* to be only the Repetition of *Bar*, i. e. *Desart*, supposing *Bar-Bar*, *To the Desart*, *To the Desart*, to have been the Word among *Ifricus*'s Followers, when they fled out of *Arabia Felix*.

Five Tribes of Tawny Moors.

These Tawny *Mores* are divided into five Tribes, namely, the *Zanhagi*, inhabiting the Western and Southern part of Mount *Atlas*; the *Musmudi*, inhabiting the Provinces of *Hea*, *Sus*, *Guzula*, and the Territory of *Maroco*; the *Gumeri*, possessing the *Barbary* Mountains upon the *Mediterranean* Sea; and the River *Rif*, which takes its Rise near the Streights of *Gibralter*, and runs Eastward to *Tremesen*, or *Mauritania Cæsariensis*; the *Hoari* and *Zeneti*, who are dispers'd all over *Africa*. These Tribes are distinguish'd from one another by certain Marks, and wage continual War among themselves. In former Times they had their Habitations and Tents in the Fields, every one favouring those of their own Tribe, and labouring for their mutual and common Benefits. The Governours of the Country attended their Droves and Flocks, and the Citizens followed Husbandry, or some manual Art. *Ibnu Racco*, who writes of the Genealogies of the *Africans*, divides these People into 500 several Families. Tho' their Posterity is run out into innumerable Branches, and at that great distance from one another, yet they retain one Language, call'd by them *Aquel Amarig*, i. e. *The Noble Tongue*, which is the true *African* Language, and branded by the *Barbarians* for a barbarous Tongue. The *Gumeri*, and most of the *Hoari*, understand the *Arabick*, by vertue of their long Acquaintance with the *Arabians*.

Several Languages among the Negroes.

As for the *Negroes*, they have several Languages, particularly the *Sungai*, which is current in *Gualata*, *Tombuto*, *Guinea*, *Melli*, and *Gago*, and another call'd *Gubir*, commonly spoken in *Guber*, *Cano*, *Casena*, *Perzegreg*, and *Guangra*. *Borno* has a peculiar Language, resembling that of *Gaoga*, as well as *Nube*, whose Speech bears great affinity to the *Caldean*, *Arabian*, and *Egyptian* Tongues. All the Sea Towns from the Mountains of *Atlas* to the *Mediterranean*, speak *Arabick*, excepting *Maroco* and the *Inland Numidians*, who speak the *Barbarian* Tongue. About *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, they speak *Arabick*, but very corruptly.

How the Arabians came to invade Africa.

To understand how the *Arabians* came to settle in *Africa*, we must know, that in the 400th Year of the *Hegeira*, *Hutmen* the Mahometan Califa and Patriarch of *Arabie*, sent an Army of 80000 Men to *Africa*, under the command of one *Hucha Hibnu Nafich*, who to avoid the People of *Tunis*, whom he dreaded, travell'd into the Desarts, and built *Cairoan*, about 120 Miles from *Carthage*. 'Tis true, the *Mahometan* Priests forbad the *Arabians* to cross the *Nile*, but this factious *Calif* permitted them to go, because one of his Noble-men had rebell'd against him, and usurp'd a great part of *Barbary*. After that, the *Califa Elcain* sent another Army of 80000 Men, under the command of one *Geboar*, whom of a Slave he had made a Counsellor. This *Geboar* conducting the Troops through the Desarts of *Egypt* and *Barbary*, defeated the *Vice-Califa* of *Egypt*, and recover'd all *Numidia* and *Barbary*; and to cover the Garrisons he had left in *Barbary*, from the Incursions of the *Califa* and *Badget* out of *Asia*, built a City call'd *Alchair*, and afterwards *Cairo*, which he wall'd round, and which is said to have increas'd so prodigiously, that it out-strip'd all the Cities of the World for Buildings and number of Inhabitants. After that, while *Califa Elcain* was preparing for a War against the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, the Vice-Roy of *Barbary* betray'd all *Barbary* into the Hands of the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, who thereupon made him King of all *Africa*. *Elcain* being much discourag'd with his Loss, was told by one of his Counsellors, that if he would suffer the *Arabians* to invade *Africa*, they would not only do him good Service, but likewise present him with a large Sum of Gold for their Licence, especially considering, that they were then grown so populous, that *Arabia* was not able to maintain them. *Elcain* knew very well, that the *Arabians* would so waste all *Africa*, as to render it equally unprofitable, either for himself or for his Enemies. However his Kingdoms being in great danger, he permitted all the *Arabians* who would pay him Ducats a piece to go and invade *Africa*. Upon which ten Tribes of *Arabia Deserta* join'd by some of the Inhabitants of *Arabia Felix*, invaded *Africa*, amounting in all to about 50000 Men in Arms, besides their Women and Children, and innumerable Droves of Cattle. These *Arabians* having travers'd the Desart between *Egypt* and *Barbary*, first laid siege to *Tripolis*, a City of *Barbary*, which being Master'd, they slew a great part of the Citizens, the rest escaping by flight. Then they took the Town of *Capes* and after a Siege of six Months *Cairoan*, putting all to the Sword. By this means they came to possess all that Country, and continued their Possession, till one *Joseph* the Son of *Jesser* mounted the Throne of *Morocco*. This *Joseph*, the first King of *Morocco*, expell'd the *Arabians* out of *Cairoan*, and prefer'd the Friends of the late King of *Africa* to the Government. However the *Arabians* possess'd the adjacent Regions, and liv'd upon robbery and spoil. But *Marsor* the fourth King of *Morocco*, oppos'd the Friends of the late King of *Africa*, and in conjunction with the *Barbarians*, subdu'd 'em. This *Mansor* settled most of the *Arabians* in the Western Dominions of *Africa*, allotting to the better sort *Duccala* and *Azgara*, and to the rest *Numidia*. But afterwards he planted the *Numidian* Slaves in that part of *Numidia* which he had allotted to the *Arabians*, and brought those of *Azgara* under his Subjection. For the *Arabians* being then out of the Desarts, were like Fishes out of the Water; and the *Barbarians* planted upon the Mountains of *Atlas* in the Plains, prevented their Return to the Desarts, which they often endeavour'd. Being thus humbl'd, and confin'd to Villages, Cottages, and Tents, they apply'd themselves to Husbandry, and pay'd a large Tribute to the King of *Morocco*. Indeed the *Arabians* of *Duccala*, being a great body, exempted themselves from the Tribute. When *Mansor* first transplanted these *Arabians* to the West, he left a Body of 'em at *Tunis*, who after his death, became Lords of *Tunis*, and continued such, till they resign'd their Government to the People call'd *Abu-Hasi*, upon condition of receiving from them half the Revenue thereof, which Condition is still observ'd. After that these *Arabians* multiplying in innumerable swarms, and not being able to live upon the stipulated Revenue, betook themselves to Robberies, Murders, and other Ravages, insomuch, that no Merchants could pass that way, without endangering both his Goods and Life. Some of 'em indeed are in pay with the King of *Tunis*, for bringing the Merchants safe through, which they do effectually; but then they often-times constrain the Merchants to give them great sums of Money over and above their Pay.

Cairo built.

The Progress of the Arabians in Africa.

To be short, the *Arabians* that inhabit *Africa* are drawn up in three Classes, viz. *Cachin*, *Hilel*, and *Machil*. *Cachin* is divided into three Tribes or Nations; viz. *Etheg*, *Sumair*, and *Sehid*; and *Etheg* is subdivided into the Families of *Delleg*, *Elcuntefig*, and *Subair*, which are dispers'd into several places. *Hilel* is branch'd out into the People of *Benihemir*, *Reih*, *Sufien*, and *Chusain*; under *Benihemir* are the Lineages of *Huroam*, *Hucben*, *Habrum*, *Mussein*; under *Reih* these, of *Devead*, *Suaid*, *Asgeg*, *Elchyrith*, *Enedri* and *Garfam*. *Machil* has three Tribes, viz. *Mastar*, *Hutmen*, and *Hussau*; under *Master* are *Ruchen* and *Selim*; under *Hutmen*, *Elhasi* and *Chinau*; under *Hassau*, *Dewighessen*, *Dewigmansor*, and *Dewihubeidulla*; and each of these have their respective Subdivisions. All these Tribes are so widely dispers'd, that it is not possible to trace their distinct Seats.

The Tribes of the Arabians in Africa.

Cachin and its Subdivisions.

To begin with that of *Cachin*; *Ethbeg* was the noblest and most illustrious Tribe of all the *Arabians*, being planted in *Duccale* and *Tedles*, by *Almanſor*. Tho' they are able to raiſe 100000 Men, many of which are Horſe, yet the Kings of *Portugal* and *Fez* have often maul'd them. The Tribe *Sumait* poſſeſſes that part of the *Libyan* Deſart, that's oppoſite to the Deſart of *Tripoli*. It raiſes 80000 Men, moſt Foot, and frequently invades *Barbary*. *Sahid* poſſeſſes the *Libyan* Deſart, is ſtrictly allied with the King of *Guargala*, raiſes 150000, moſt Foot, and ſupplies all the Cities of that Country with Fleſh, being mew'd up in their Deſarts in Winter. Moſt of the Tribe *Dellig* inhabits *Cæſarea*, ſome of 'em the Frontiers of *Bugia*, who have a Yearly Allowance from their next Neighbours, and a ſmaller number *Acdes* and part of Mount *Atlas* being ſubject to the King of *Fez*. *Elmunlefig*, call'd by latter Writers *Elcaluth*, inhabits *Azgar*, raiſes 8000 Horſe, and pays Tribute to the King of *Fez*. *Sobair* enjoyns a great part of *Numidia*, takes pay of the King of *Tremeſen*, is able to raiſe 3000 Warlike Horſes, and having many Camels lies all Winter in the Deſarts. Part of this Family poſſeſſes the Plain between *Sala* and *Mecnes*, being 4000 Warlike Horſe ſtrong, and applies it ſelf to Husbandry, paying a yearly Tribute to the King of *Fez*.

Hilel and its Branches.

As for the ſecond Principal Tribe call'd *Hilel*; *Benihemir* poſſeſſes the Frontiers of *Tremeſen* and *Oran*, has always in readineſs 6000 Horſe, takes pay of the King of *Tremeſen*, and ſcours the Deſart of *Tergorazin*. *Harva* are Savages, Strangers to War, but devoted to Robbery. They have 2000 Horſe poſſeſſing the Borders of *Muſtuganim*, but never peep out of the Deſarts. *Huchan* lives in the Neighbourhood of *Melin*, and takes pay of the King of *Tunis*; they are an inhumane People, and their Strength lies in 1500 Horſe. *Habrum* are planted between *Oran* and *Muſtuganim*; they are Tributary to the King of *Tremeſen*, and can ſcarce make 100 Horſe. *Muſſim* poſſeſſes the Deſart of *Muſila*, and purſues Theft and Robbery. *Riech*, living in the Deſarts of *Libya* near *Conſtantina*, is a Warlike Nation, that poſſeſſes Ample Dominions in *Numidia*, has 5000 Horſe at command, and receives pay of the King of *Tunis*. *Suaed* poſſeſſes the Deſart adjoyning to *Tenez*, and receives pay of the King of *Tremeſen*, being a People of great dexterity, both in Wars and other Actions. Part of *Azgeg* inhabits *Geret*, and part of 'em poſſeſſes that part of *Duccala* that joins *Azaphi*. *Elcheret*, a barbarous inhuman Tribe, poſſeſſes *Heliu*, in the Plain of *Sabidim*, and commands Tribute from *Hea*. *Emedri* inhabits the Plains of *Hea*. *Garfa* having neither King nor Governour, are diſpers'd among the other Families, and are employ'd in carrying Dates from *Segelmus* to *Fez*, and bringing Commodities from Fez to *Segelmes*.

Machil and its Dependants.

To come to the laſt Tribe call'd *Machil*. *Ruchen* poſſeſſes a ſmall Deſart between *Dedes* and *Forcala*: 'Tis not rich, but boaſts of 8000 Warlike Footmen, that run more ſwiftly than any Horſe, let the Journey be never ſo long. *Selim* have a great Juriſdiction upon the River *Darha*, and great plenty of Camels: They are very rich, and trade every Year to *Tombuto*, and have always 3000 Horſe in readineſs. *Elbaſi*, lives upon the Sea-Coaſt near *Meſſa*, and does not raiſe above 500 Horſe, being altogether unacquainted with War or Dependance; the one part of them planted near *Azgara*, is ſubject to the King of *Fez*. *Chinau* are ſubject to the King of *Fez*, being a Warlike People, able to raiſe 2000 Horſe. *Dewiheſſen* has ſeveral Deſcendants, known by the Names of *Dulein*, *Berbun*, *Vode*, *Racmen*, and *Hamrum*. *Dulein* having neither Dominions nor Pay, are Poor Robbers, that range among the People call'd *Zanhagu* in the Deſarts of *Libya*, and carry Cattle to *Dara* to be exchang'd for Debts: They have 4000 Horſe and 6000 Foot, and are equally Strangers to Gallantry, and neatneſs of Apparel. *Burbun*, a numerous People, without any other Riches but Camels, inhabits the *Libyan* Deſart, in the Neighbourhood of *Sus*, and commands the City of *Teſſet*, which is ſcarce ſufficient for the few Horſe that they have. *Voden* poſſeſſes the Deſart between *Guaden* and *Gualata*, is able to raiſe 60000 good Souldiers, but very few Horſe, commands the *Guadenites*, and puts the Duke of *Gualata* under Tribute. *Racmen* inhabits the Deſart near *Hacha*, and being rich in Poſſeſſions, has above 12000 Men fit for Arms, but few Horſes. In the Spring they uſually travel to *Feſſet*, where they have always buſineſs. *Hamrum* poſſeſſes the Deſarts of *Tagaoſt*: It raiſes above 8000 Men, moleſts the People of *Non*, and puts the Neighbours under Contribution. The Tribe of *Dewimanſor* has five Branches, namely, *Debeucrum*, in the Deſart oppoſite to *Segelmes*, where the Plenty of Dates alone is able to maintain them, who put *Segelmes*, *Todgaton*, *Terbellbelt* and *Dara* under Contribution, and bring into the Field 3000 gallant Horſemen; *Menebbo* in the ſame Deſart, a moſt valiant Nation, able to raiſe 2000 Horſe, that commands the two Provinces of *Metgara* and *Retebbe*, and receives Tribute of *Segelmes*. *Huſein*, poſſeſſing divers Caſtles and rich Cities, upon the Mountains of *Atlas*, which 'tis thought the Vice-Roys of *Marini* gave 'em in conſideration of their Service, a rich honeſt ſort of People, able to raiſe 6000 Horſe, and uſing many other *Arabians* for Servants; and *Albahuſein* in the Deſart of *Eddara*, living in great miſery in their Tents, where they have ſcarce ſufficient Suſtenance. The Tribe of *Dewihubaidulle* has the following Branches, viz. *Gharrag* in the Deſarts of *Benigeni* and *Tighig*, a People given to Theft and Robbery, Stipendaries to the King of *Tremeſen*, and able to raiſe 4000 Warlike Horſes; *Herdeg*, poſſeſſing the Deſart call'd *Haugad*, near *Tremeſen*, able to raiſe 500 Horſe, and minding only Rapine and Stealth, and having neither Juriſdiction nor Pay of any Prince; *Teleb*, conſiſting of 3000 Horſe inferiour to no other Nation, who inhabit the Plain of *Algezer*, and were Maſters of the famous Cities of *Algiers* and *Tedelles*, till in our Days *Barbaraſſa*, the *Turk* diſpoſſeſs'd them, and cut off their principal Heads; and laſtly *Gehoan*, ſcatter'd among the People of *Glorrag* and *Hedig* in the quality of Servants.

So much for the Branches of the three Principal Tribes of the *Arabians*, two of which, namely, *Cachin* and *Hilel*, being originally of *Arabia Deſerta*, derive their Pedegree from *Ismael* the Son of *Abraham*, and the other call'd *Machil*, ſpringing from *Arabia Fœlix*, traces its Original to *Saba*. Tho' the *Mahometans* give the Preference to the *Iſmaelites*, yet ſeveral Epigrams and Dialogues have been writ both *pro* and *con* upon the comparative Nobility of their Extraction. The Ancient *Arabians* that were before the time of the *Iſmaelites*, were call'd by the Ancient Hiſtorians *Arabi-Arabia*, i. e. *Arabians of Arabia*; but the *Iſmaelites* were call'd *Arabi-Musaraba*, i. e. *Arabians ingrafted in Arabia*, as being bred and born elſewhere. Thoſe which came after them to *Africa*, were call'd *Muſtealgemi*, i. e. *Barbarous Arabians*, becauſe they joyn'd in with Strangers, and corrupted both their Speech and Manners.

Cachin and *Hilel* deſended from *Iſmael*.

Of all the parts of *Africa* after the Deluge, *Egypt* was firſt inhabited by *Mexraim*, the Son of *Ham*, and Grandſon of *Noah*, and was call'd after his Name. Sometime after *Æthiopia* was peopled by *Chus* another of *Cham*'s Sons, and *Libya* by *Futh*, a third Son, from whom it derived the Name of *Futeia*. *Sabatha* the Son of *Chus*, peopl'd the Deſarts between *Numidia* and *Negroland*, as *Tut*, another of *Cham*'s Grand-children did that of *Mauritania Tingitana*. The *African* Authors aſſure us, that *Barbary* and *Numidia* have been long inhabited, but they are not agreed upon the firſt Inhabitants. Some ſay, an *Aſiatick* People expell'd their own Country, and finding no Security in *Greece*, went and peopled *Barbary*. Others alledge, that the People of *Phanicia* in *Peleſtine*, being expell'd their own Country by the *Aſſyrians*, and coldly receiv'd by the *Egyptins*, paſs'd on to the Deſarts of *Africa*, where they ſettl'd.

Addition to John Leo's Deſcription of the Ancient Inhabitants of Africa, out of Marmol.

But the *African* Authors of the beſt note aſſur'd us, that the firſt Inhabitants of *Barbary* and *Numidia*, now call'd *Barbarians*, were five Colonies or Tribes of *Sabeans*, that came thither along with *Melec Ifirqui*, a Prince of *Arabia Felix* mention'd above, to which 600 Families of *Berebers*, and the greateſt Lines of all *Africa*, owe their Original. Theſe Tribes did firſt people the Eaſtern Parts of *Barbary*, from whence they diſpers'd themſelves over moſt of *Africa*, retaining the name of *Berebers* from *Barbary*, their firſt Habitation; whereas the former Inhabitants of *Tingitana*, *Numidia* and *Libya*, were call'd *Chilobes*. Tho' theſe five Tribes liv'd firſt of all in Tents of the Fields, yet when they came to War with one another, thoſe who were defeated and rob'd of their Flocks, fled from the Plains, where the Conquerours remain'd to the Mountains, where mixing with the Ancient *Africans*, *Chilobeans*, and *Getulians*, they built Houſes to ſcreen themſelves from the Weather.

Barbarians a Colony of the Sabeans.

This occaſion'd the Difference between the *Berebers* that live in the Fields and thoſe that dwell in Houſes, the former of which, have the Preference for Riches and Power, tho' both of 'em are equally zealous in keeping up their Ancient Cuſtoms, and celebrating the Honour of their Original. Three of theſe five Tribes, namely, the *Muſmudi*, *Zeneti*, and *Zanhagi*, have reign'd ſeveral times in *Barbary*, *Numidia*, and *Libya*, upon

Berebers, ſome live in the Fields, ſome in Houſes.

upon the Declension of the Empire of the *Arabians*; for before that they were only govern'd by Heads or Leaders for each Community, call'd *Cobeila's*, and were several times worsted by foreign Nations. The Kings of *Tunis* and *Tremesen* are descended of these Tribes, and their Crowns continued in that Line till the *Turks* was possess'd of 'em. The other two Tribes, namely, *Gomeri* and *Hoeari*, were Masters of several Provinces, tho' they did not arrive at the Dignity of Crowns: So that it is manifest, that all the Kings that reign'd in *Africa*, from the Declension of the Empire of the *Arabians*, were descended of these five Tribes.

The People call'd *Azaggues*.

Besides these, there was a noted People in *Africa* call'd *Azuagues*, who are now scatter'd up and down the Provinces of *Barbary* and *Numidia*, and most of 'em are Shepherds, tho' they have some Artizans among 'em, that make Linen and Cloth. They live upon Mountains and Hills, and nestle in little Holes and Chinks; and notwithstanding their extream Poverty, are commonly Tributary to the Kings or *Arabians*. The *African* Authors say they are *Phenitians* expell'd by *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*, who being deny'd Admission by the *Egyptians*, pass'd on to *Libya*, where they built *Carthage* 1268 Years before *Christ*: And a long time after that, if we credit *Ibni-Abragiyq*, a great Stone was found there with these Words engraven upon it in the *Punic* Language, *We fled hither from the Presence of that Notorious Robber*, Joshua *the Son of* Nun: Before the Arrival of this People, *Asclepius* and *Hercules* had reign'd in *Africa*. But after the first Destruction of *Carthage*, before it was rebuilt by *Dido*, this People retir'd to the West part of *Barbary*, under *Hannon* their Leader, and there built *Liby-Phenician* Cities, in which they still continu'd when the *Romans* invaded *Africa*. Some say that Country was call'd *Mauritanian* from them, because they call'd themselves *Mauri* or *Maurophori*. However 'tis certain the *Azagues* are a warlike industrious People, and very formerly very puissant.

Expell'd Phenitia by Joshua.

Their Language.

Their Language is that of the *Berbers*, tho' they likewise speak *Arabick*, especially those of 'em that frequent the Neighbourhood of *Lorbus* upon the Frontiers of *Tunis*, where they have a perpetual Traffick. Their principal Residence is in the Provinces of *Tremesen* and *Fez*.

Warlike.

But the most puissant Branch is seated between the Kingdom of *Tunis* and *Biledulgarid*, from whence they have several times had the confidence to attack the Kings of *Tunis*, and not many Years ago defeated the Governour of *Constantina*, who mean'd to subdue them. By vertue of that Victory, their Leader became one of the most puissant Soverains in *Africa*. At present he is known by the Name of *Cuco*, and wages perpetual War with the *Turks*.

Religion.

This People boasts of being originally Christians, and distinguish themselves from the *Mahometans*, by not shaving their Beards nor cutting their Hair as they do. By an ancient Custom they make a blew Cross upon their Cheek or Hand with an Iron, which they take to be a Mark of their Original. But the true Occasion of that Custom was this, When the *Romans* and *Goths* reign'd in *Barbary* and *Numidia*, they exempted the Christians from all Tribute; And for as much as every body had a trick of calling himself a Christian when the Commissaries came to collect the Taxes, to avoid all Mistakes, those who were really Christians, were ordered to have a Cross engraven upon their Cheek or Hand. Upon that Occasion the *Azuagues* did so, and continued the Profession of Christianity till the Arrival of the *Arabians*. There are other *Africans* that likewise carry such Marks, but by the process of time, instead of Crosses they make other Figures, with no other Design but to denote the Antiquity and Nobility of their Extraction. The *Arabian* Girls also have, by way of Ornament, upon their Breasts, Hands, Arms, and Legs, several Figures of a blew colour made with a Lancet; but these Figures are different from those of the *Azuagues*. As for the other Inhabitants of *Africa*, we must call to mind that *Zabatha* the Son of *Chus*, peopled the Deserts of *Libya Interior*, and the Inhabitants were call'd after him *Sabatheans*, and are divided into five Tribes, viz. *Senega*, *Zuenzigar*, *Terga*, *Berdoa*, besides a poor miserable sort of People, that inhabit the rough and barren places upon the Confines of *Negroland*.

Christians distinguish'd by the Mark of a Cross.

The Nomades or Numide.

These the *Grecians* call *Nomades*, and the *Latins Numide*. They live in Tents like the *Arabians*, and run up and down after their Camels. Those of *Senega* live upon the Western Coast, extending eastward to *Tegaza*, northward to *Sus*, *Hacha*, and *Dara*, and southward to *Gualata* and *Tombut*. These *Zuenzigues* or *Guenezeries*, extend from the Frontiers of *Tegaza* on the West, to the Desart of *Hair* on the East, on the North to the Provinces of *Segelmes*, *Tebelbeled* and *Benigoray*, and on the South to the Kingdom of *Guber*. Those of *Terga* extend from *Hair* on the West, to *Iguil* on the East, and from the Deserts of *Agadez* on the South, to that of *Tuat* and the Province of *Tegorarin* and *Mesgab* on the North. Those of *Lempta* extend from *Iguidi* on the West to *Berdoa* on the East, and from *Cano* in *Negroland* on the South, to *Tecourt*, *Guerguelau*, and *Gademis* on the North. Those of *Berdoa* run from thence Eastward, to the Frontiers of *Angela*, and are bounded on the North by the Deserts of *Fez* and *Barca*, and *Bemo* on the South. Some *African* Historians say, the race of *Senega* did and does still reign in *Meli*, *Tombut*, and *Agadez* in *Negroland*. Each of these Families has a respective *Cheque* or Prince; and, which is very remarkable, they never War or quarrel with one another about the Division of their Lands.

The Manners and Customs of the *African* People, from *Leo*.

The five Tribes of the *Numide* are equally Strangers to Civility or Laws. They cover about half their Body with a piece of narrow course Cloth; some of 'em wrap a piece of black Cloth about their Heads, in the form of a Turkish Turbant, part of which, like a Mask, covers all the Face but the Eyes. The better sort wear a Jacket of blue Cotton, with wide Sleeves, the Cotton being imported from *Negroland*.

Their Garments.

Manner of Riding.

They have no Beasts fit to ride upon but Camels, which Nature has furnish'd with a sort of Saddle between their Necks and the Bunch upon the hinder part of their Backs. Sometimes they lay their Legs across upon the Camel's Neck; and sometimes they make use of a Rope cast over his Neck for Stirrops. Their Spurring consist in pricking the Cammel's Shoulders with a Goad fasten'd to the end of a Truncheon of a Cubit's length. Their Bridles are a Ring of Leather fasten'd to a hole boar'd thro' the Gristle of the Camel's Nose, with which they curb 'em very easily, as some do the Buffloes in *Italy*.

Beds.

Their Beds are Mats made of Sedge and Bulrushes.

Tents.

Their Tents are commonly cover'd with a coarse sort of Cambler, or with a rough sort of Wool, which commonly grows upon the Boughs of their Date-Trees.

Way of eating.

Their only Food is Camel's Milk and dry'd Flesh steep'd in Butter and Milk. For their Breakfast they drink up a great Cup of Camel's Milk; and for Supper they take a piece of the above-mention'd Flesh in their Fists, and so eat it up, drinking afterwards out of the Palms of their Hands, the Broth in which 'twas steep'd, in order to promote Digestion, and after that a Cup of Milk. The better sort, who cover their Heads and Faces with the black Cloth mention'd above, remove the Mask when they put the Meat into their Mouths, and immediately cover their Mouths again; for which Custom they offer this Plea, that as Vomiting is undecent, so is eating with an uncover'd Mouth. While their Milk lasts, *i. e.* for the Spring of the Year, they never mind Water, nay, some of 'em wash neither Hands nor Face; and in like manner their Cammels never drink any Water so long as they can feed upon Grass.

Business.

Their whole Imployment is Hunting or Theiving; but they cannot tarry above three Days in one place, for want of Pasture for their Camels.

Government

Notwithstanding their unacquaintedness with Civility or Laws, they tender Homage and Obedience to a Prince that governs 'em.

Learning.

But they're altogether ignorant of Learning, and destitute of Vertue; nay, such is their contempt of liberal Sciences, that they can neither condescend to purchase 'em at the Expence of quitting their Deserts, nor brook the Conversation of Learned Men. A Man of Sense and Prudence is a *Phenix* among them.

Judges.

If any one means to commence a Law Suit against his Neighbour, he must ride five or six Days before he can meet with a Judge; Tho' after all, if any Judge would condescend to live among'st 'em, they'd make him a good Allowance, perhaps 1000 Ducats a Year, some more, some less.

Women.

Their Women are gross, corpulent, and swarthy, small wasted, and fat about their Breasts; they are modest in their Speech and Gestures. Whoever offers 'em more than a bare Kiss, endangers his Life; for the Men can by no means brook a whorish Wife; nay, such is their nice Jealousy, that it frequently prompts 'em to murder one another in a very savage manner.

Liberality and Hospitality.

This People are noted for their generous Liberality. When any Travellers pass the Deserts, they neither repair to their Tents, nor travel upon the High-way. If any *Ceravan* or Company of Merchants passes those Deserts, they must pay to the Prince a piece of Cloth

worth

worth a Ducat for every Camel's Load. I remember I once travel'd with some Merchants thro' the Desart *Araan*, and there met with the Prince of *Zanaga*, who after the Receipt of his Custom, carry'd the Merchants to the place of his Residence, and there entertain'd 'em very handsomely. We stay'd with him two Days, and convers'd with him and his Courtiers frequently, by the Intervention of an Interpreter. He entertain'd us with great plenty of roasted and boyl'd Flesh, particularly roasted Ostriches (which he had hunted and taken by the way) serv'd up in Wicker Servers, and season'd with several Herbs and Spices; besides the Flesh of Camels, of which he kill'd several every day, notwithstanding our Remonstrances to the contrary, alledging, That small Cattle was too mean Entertainment for such unfrequent Guests as we. He regal'd us likewise with Bread made of Milk and Panicke, the Taste of which was very pleasant and savoury. For the King had laid up great store of Corn for the Entertainment of Strangers, tho' his own Country bears none; and for that Reason neither he nor his People eat of it, unless it be when they sacrifice at the Feast of the Passover, and other Feasts. He did not eat with us himself, but order'd several Religious and Learned Men to make us welcome, who fed only on the Flesh and Milk without Bread; our constant Desert was plenty of Milk and Dates. On the third day we took leave, and he accompany'd us to the place where we overtook our Camels and the rest of our Company that we had order'd to go on while we went to the King's Residence. What we have said of the Customs of this Nation, may be apply'd to the other four Tribes of the *Numida*.

The Customs of the *Arabians* in *Africa*.

As for the *Arabians*, their Customs vary according to their respective Seats. Those who are seated between *Numidia* and *Libya* are very valiant, but live in great Want and Misery. They commonly exchange Camels in *Negro-land*, and have great plenty of Horses, call'd by the *Europeans Barbary-horses*. They take great delight in hunting Deer, Wild Asses, Ostriches, and the like. The *Arabians* which inhabit *Numidia*, have a peculiar Talent of setting forth their Love Intreagues, Hunting Adventures, Combats, and other memorable Actions in Rhime. They are naturally generous, but dare not make any shew of Wealth by their Liberality, for fear of the daily Inconveniences that oppress 'em. They dislodge the Native *Numidians* of the Desarts they now possess, *i. e.* those which border upon the Land of *Dates* or *Biledulgerid*, and about that time the *Getuls* and *Numidians* fled to the Frontiers of *Negroland*.

The *Arabians* between Mount *Atlas* and the *Mediterranean*.

The *Arabians* between Mount *Atlas* and the *Mediterranean*, are much wealthier than those. Their Horse-meat is better, as well as their Cloaths and Tents. Their Horses are better shap'd and more corpulent, tho' not so swift. Their Husbandry is rewarded with great increase of Corn. Their Flocks of Cattle are almost innumerable, so that they can't live just by one another for want of Pasture. But after all, they are far from being generous and liberal, and are more barbarous than those which inhabit the *Numidian* Desarts. Part of these, dwelling in the Territory of *Fez*, are subject to the King of *Fez*. The rest in *Morocco* and *Duccala*, continued a long time free from Exaction and Tribute, till being attack'd by the King of *Portugal* on one hand, and the King of *Fez* on the other, they were reduc'd to the extremity of Famine, and thereupon offer'd to submit to any one that would supply their Necessities. Thus they became Slaves to *Portugal*, and were almost totally extirpated out of *Duccala*.

The *Arabians* upon the Borders of *Tremisen* and *Tunis*.

Those who inhabit the Desarts bordering upon the Kingdoms of *Tremizen* and *Tunis*, may be call'd Noblemen and Gentlemen, upon the comparison with the rest. The King of *Tunis* pays great Revenues every Year to their Governours, who destribute the same among the People, and that renders their Peace and Mutual Concord firm and inviolable. They have a notable Dexterity in making Tents, and in breeding and keeping Horses. They continue in the Desarts all Winter; in the Spring they hunt with wonderful success; and in the Summer they approach to *Tunis*, in order to have their Pay, and to provide themselves with Bread, Armour, and other Necessaries. I have seen in their Tents, tho' not without danger, greater quantities of Cloath, Brass, Iron, and Copper, than the richest Ware-houses of some Cities can match. They have some shew of Civility, but upon occasion will steal very dexterously. Their Language is pure and elegant. They take great delight in Poetry, and indeed their Verses are very fine; and the Governour treats their best Poets with a distinguishing Respect and bounty.

The Habit of their Women.

Their Women are very gorgiously attir'd, according to the Custom of that Country. They wear Linen Gowns died black, with exceeding wide Sleeves; over which they sometimes cast a Mantle of the same Colour, or of blue, the Corners of it being very artificially fasten'd about their Shoulders with a fine Silver Clasp. They have Ear-rings, for the most part of Silver, besides many Rings upon their Fingers, and some Scarfs or Rings about their Arms and Ankles. Their Faces are cover'd with Masks, which they pull off only to their Relations. They accompany their Husbands to the Wars, in order to chear up and hearten 'em, and to avoid the Trouble and Affliction of their Absence, and ride upon Camels, having Wicker Saddles so contriv'd, as to be fit only for one Woman to sit upon. The Maids paint their Faces, Breast, Arms, Fingers and Legs, for Ornament's sake; but the married Women abstain from counterfeit Colours. Sometimes indeed they make use of Hen's Dung and Saffron, to paint a round spot about the breadth of a French-Crown, in the Balls of their Cheek, a triangle upon their Eye-brows, and the resemblance of an Olive leaf upon their Chins. But upon the Use of these Ornaments, which are highly esteem'd by the *Arabian* Poets, and reckon'd Incentives to Venery, they are seen by none but their Husbands and Children.

The *Arabians* between *Barbary* and *Egypt*.

The *Arabians* inhabiting the barren Desarts between *Barbary* and *Egypt* live in great Misery and Want. They are not without Camels and other Cattel, which they exchange for Dates and Corn, but they have very little Fodder. The Soil produces no Corn; and all the Labour and Industry of the Inhabitants of some few Villages is only rewarded with a plentiful Harvest of Dates; besides, they are a numerous multitude. When they come to *Sicily* to buy Corn, their Money falls short, they leave their Sons in pawn in great numbers, many of which turn Christians; and if the Money be not paid on a certain Day, the *Sicilians* claim their Sons for Slaves, and put a Ransome upon 'em, amounting to the triple or quatriple of the Debt. For which Reason they take all the Strangers they meet, and after having strip'd 'em of all they have, sell 'em to the *Sicilians* for Corn; nay, sometimes they pour warm Milk down their Throats, and hang 'em up by the Heels to make 'em vomit up their Gold, in case they have swallow'd any to prevent their coming at it; and upon that account the Merchants which Traffick to *Africa*, keep above 500 Miles off of their Country, especially towards the Sea-Coast. In fine, they are a rude, Forlorn, beggarly and slav'd Crew.

Shepherds inhabit the Mountain *Atlas*.

There are many *Africans* who are dispers'd about the Mountain *Atlas*, living altogether the Life of Shepherds or Drovers, which pay Tribute either to the King of the Country where they dwell, or else to the *Arabians*; excepting only those which inhabit *Temesna*, who are very powerful and independant. Most of 'em speak the same Language with the other *Africans*, only those who lie near *Urbs* (a City in the Neighbourhood of *Tunis*) speak the *Arabian*.

A puissant People between *Numidia* and *Tunis*.

Farther, the Region which divides *Numidia* from *Tunis*, is inhabited by a sort of People, who oftentimes wage War with the King of *Tunis*, and in the 915 Year of *Mahomet's Hegeira*, routed the King of *Tunis*'s Army, and slew his Son who commanded 'em. From that time their Fame spread it self into all places, and many of the King of *Tunis*'s Subjects revolted from him to them, insomuch that the present puissance of the King of this People, is scarce to be parallel'd in all *Africa*.

The Religion and Letters of the ancient *Africans*.

The Ancient *Africans* had magnificent Temples, dedicated to the Honour of the *Sun* and *Fire*, which they worship'd, and kept a perpetual Fire in 'em. Those of *Libya* and *Numidia* worship'd some certain Planet, with Sacrifices and Prayers. But those of *Negro-land* worship'd *Guihimo*, i. e. *The Lord of Heaven*, and that by a natural Instinct without the Influence of any Teacher. After that, the Jewish Law prevail'd among 'em for some Years, till they imbrac'd Christianity; which at last they exchang'd for Mahometanism, in the 208th Year of the *Hegeira*, being at that time inveigled by *Mahomet's* Disciples, insomuch that they put to death all the Jews, Christians, and Professours of the *African* Religion that were then found among 'em. But in process of time, their Civil Dissentions mov'd 'em to neglect *Mahomet's* Law, and revolt from the *Califa* of *Badget*; for which they were severely punish'd by the *Mahometan Califa's*. However the *Africans* that dwell near the Ocean, are, all of 'em very gross Idolaters. The *Arabian* Historians agree, that the *Africans* us'd only *Roman* Letters, but others alledge that they had peculiar Letters of their own, which were lost when the *Italians* first fell upon *Africa*; For, that when the *Africans* revolted from the *Califa* of *Badget*,

Badget, the *Mahometan Califa's* caus'd all the *African* Books to be burnt, upon the apprehension that the knowledge of Arts and Sciences prompted 'em to contemn *Mahomet's* Law. And the same Fate befel the *Persian* Books and Letters, their knowledge in Natural Philosophy and Idolatrous Religion being reckon'd by the *Mahometan* Prelates, an Incentive to the contempt of the Precepts of *Mahomet*.

'Tis true, all the Cities of *Barbary* use only Latin Letters, whether in Verse or Prose; but that does not argue that the *Africans* in times past might not have peculiar Characters, by which they describ'd their Exploits, especially if we consider with *Ibim Rachich*, that as 'tis certain they had a peculiar kind of Speech, so 'tis not to be imagin'd that they borrow'd Characters unsuitable to their Mother Tongue. Probably the *Romans*, when they subdued *Barbary*, abolish'd the use and memory of the ancient *African* Characters, in order to raise the Fame and Reputation of the *Roman* People, by introducing *Roman* Letters.

Additions to the foregoing Head, out of *Marmol*.

The *Arabians* of *Numidia* and *Libya* are of a frank hospitable Humour, and value their Reputation; but they are miserably poor, as well as the Natives of that Country. They are not only Lovers of Poesie, but likewise of natural Philosophy and Eloquence. The Poems they make, are set to their Tabors, Lutes and Violins, and sung along with them; nay, many of 'em sing, play and compose all at once. The *Arabians* that live in *Barbary*, between Mount *Atlas* and the *Mediterranean*, are a People of less courage, and more barbarous, than those of the Desarts; tho' at the same time they entertain and regale Strangers without any Reward. The *Arabians* in *Morocco* being divided among themselves when the King of *Portugal* took the Towns of *Sasi* and *Azamor*, most of 'em were forced to offer themselves as Slaves to the *Portuguese*, and sell their Wives and Children for Bread. A small handful of 'em retir'd further into the Country, under the conduct of *Cherif*, who at last made himself Master of a Province, and at present all the Inhabitants of that and the neighbouring Provinces are his Vassals. The *Arabians* who inhabit the Desarts upon the Frontiers of *Tremizen* and *Tunis* came to *Tunis* in the Summer, to have their Pay from the King of *Tunis*, but continue with their Flocks in the Desarts all Winter, because they afford Grass in that Season. In the Spring they are much taken up with Hunting and Hawking, being furnish'd with excellent Dogs and Falcons. Their Women accompany 'em to the Field when they are engag'd in a War.

The Customs of the *Arabian* Women in *Africa*.

The Girls adorn several places of their Body with blue spots made with Vitriol and the point of a Launcet, and the *African* Girls follow their Example in that point. But the married Women do not disguise their natural colour; only they black their Eyebrows, and make some black spots upon their Cheeks, Forehead and Chin, with the Soot of Gall-nuts and Saffron.

The Arms of the *Arabians*

All the *Arabians* that live towards the West, where the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco* lie, do commonly carry Spears about twenty five hands long, which are made of Beech, for they have none of Ash but what are brought from *Europe*, and are so much valued, that they are sold for twenty Crowns. They likewise make use of Bucklers made of a sort of Buff, of which they have a great deal. Their Kings are very curious in making Magazines of Arms, in which there are a great many Coats of Armour and Headpieces. Most of their Swords are imported from *Christendom*, and are very dear; for those they make in the Country are neither of good Steel, nor well temper'd for want of Water fit for that purpose. There are some Horsemen among 'em that carry Crossbows, and manage 'em very dexterously. They use no Musquets or Pistols, neither do they love 'em. When they go upon a Skirmish, they take the Saddles or Coverings off their Horses, that they may sit with more freedom, and be less incommoded by the Wind when they wheel. They affect rich Harness and Trappings mightily, and those who have 'em never ride without 'em. Some Horsemen carry six or seven Javelins, which they throw so dexterously, that they'll hit a small Mark at forty paces distance; and their Horses turn and wheel with an unimaginable celerity.

Their way of fighting.

The *Arabians* who live towards the East, from the Kingdom of *Tremizen* to the Desarts of *Barca*, carry Pikes about forty or fifty hands long, which are steel'd at both ends for pushing both backwards and forwards, and the most dangerous Wounds they give is upon a Retreat; for when an Enemy pursues 'em close, they lay the Pike upon the left Arm, and dart it back upon him when he least thinks of it: this they do with so much agility, that one of 'em would be hard enough for twelve Horsemen upon a Plain. The better sort of these Pikes are made of a black, hardy and weighty Root, which they bring from the Desarts of *Libya*, and which the heavier it is, is reckon'd the better for that use. Those who use these Pikes carry no Bucklers, but sometimes the Javelins I mention'd above. Headpieces and Coats of Armour are only us'd by the Spearmen, because they would hinder the Pikemen to turning so nimbly as they commonly do. Some of 'em carry Cross-bows, but they use no Fire-arms, especially upon Horseback.

Those of *Tremeren* and *Fez* go beyond all the rest in the Goodness and Ornaments of their Horses; and those who live further to the West, are more nimble, and have somewhat in 'em that's nobler and greater.

They commonly fight on Horseback; but some of their *Cherifes*, especially those of *Tremizen*, have of late years made some Musquetiers, who serve only to frighten the *Arabians*, that are wonderfully afraid of 'em, for they cannot make use of Guns without running into disorder: And indeed they have a peculiar way of fighting upon all occasions, for they never fight in a Body, but as soon as they are attack'd, they disperse and charge the Enemy upon several Quarters. In a word, they are so handy and expert in the management of their Arms, that they fall presently in with the Enemy upon all hands, and retire or advance with incredible celerity.

When they engage with the *Christians*, they aim chiefly at their Horses, as knowing that themselves, being in Armour, are not so easily wounded.

Their Superstition.

As for the ancient Custom and Superstition of the Inhabitants of *Africa*, the ancient *Africans* in *Barbary* continued in the idolatrous adoration of the Sun and Fire, till the Year 349, (the 387th of *Cæsar's* Calendar) at which time they were converted to Christianity. This People, after long Wars and many Battels with the *Arabians*, were at last vanquish'd by 'em. The Negroes of lower *Æthiopia* worship'd some the Sun, others the Moon, others the Stars, others again Water or Fire, and some the first living thing they met upon their going abroad. Those of *Æthiopia* the higher worship'd the God of Heaven, under the name of *Guiguame*, till they embrac'd the *Jewish* Religion, which happen'd when the Queen of *Sheba* or *Maqueda* was instructed by *Solomon* in the Law of *Moses* and the Prophets. Some of the Inhabitants of lower *Æthiopia* did likewise receive the *Jewish* Religion, and continued in it till the Queen of *Candace's* Eunuch, baptiz'd by St. *Philip*, taught 'em the Christian Faith. After that, in the Year 1067, (the 469th of the *Hegeira*) *Yebaye*, the Son of *Abdelquer*, invading lower *Æthiopia*, gave an opportunity to the Mahometan Doctors to impart their Religion, particularly to the Inhabitants of *Libya* and *Genoua*, bordering upon *Egypt* and the Desarts of *Libya*, among whom there are several *Alfaqui's* and *Alcadrenists* to this day. Those of the lower *Æthiopia*, that live towards the Sea-side, are most brutish Idolaters, and deserve the title of Monsters rather than that of Men; tho' some few of 'em have been converted to Christianity since the *Portuguese* extended their Navigation to that Coast. The *Egyptians* were first Idolaters, then Christians and Monothelites, after which the greatest part of 'em took up with *Mahomet's* Law.

Their Letters.

As for the Letters in use amongst the ancient *Africans*, tho' all the ancient Writings to be found in *Africa*, before the arrival of the *Arabians*, are in Latin or Gothick Characters, as the modern are in Arabick, yet that does not argue that the ancient *Africans* had no peculiar Letters; for it cannot be thought strange, that they should lose their Letters, after passing so many Ages under the Yoke of divers Nations, who were of different Religions.

Leo's account of the Soil and Climate of *Africa*.

After the Customs and Manners of the *Africans*, we come to their Climate and Soil, and the natural Conveniencies or Inconveniencies of their Country.

The Mountains of *Barbary*.

Barbary and its Mountains are more subject to cold than heat, for Snow accompanies almost every gale of Wind. These Mountains have plenty of lofty Trees, Fruits and Beasts, but little Corn, so that the Inhabitants live mostly upon Barley Bread; and the Springs or Rivulets descending from them are muddy, and represent the quality and taste of the Ground they glide from. The little Hills and Valleys lying between these Mountains and Mount *Atlas* abound with Corn, being water'd with Rivers, which run from the *Atlas* to the Mediterranean Sea; they are not so plentifully replenish'd with Woods, but are more fruitful than the plain Countries between the *Atlas* and the Ocean.

Of *Atlas*.

The Mountains of *Atlas* are very cold and barren; they are cover'd on all hands with Wood, and afford but little Corn; they give rise to almost all the Rivers in

Africa.

Africa, and their Springs are cold even in Summer, insomuch that they'll stupifie ones Hand, if it be held there for any time. Some parts of these Mountains are less cold than others, and well inhabited; but the inhabited places are either cold to an extremity, or very rugged: Such are those opposite to *Temesca*, upon which the Winter North-wind is so furious, and the Snow so copious, as to destroy all the People and Cattle; for which reason the Merchants carefully avoid that Road in the Winter time, for one Nights Snow will drown not only Men and Carts, but even the very Trees.

Snowy places dangerous.

I remember (says *John Leo*) that as I travel'd towards the *Atlas*, in the company of several Merchants, a cold and snowy Hail fell upon us in *October*, about Sun-setting, upon which meeting with eleven or twelve Horsemen, whom we took to be *Arabians*, upon their perswasion we left our Carts, and follow'd them, in hopes of being conducted to a secure place. We rode on quietly till midnight, at which time one of the *Arabians* stripp'd me naked, in quest of my Money; but finding none about me, (for I had buried it in a certain place by the way) they said in a jocose way, That *they had stripp'd me only to try how hardy I was in enduring Cold.* After that, we continued our wandring Journey, and in a short time heard the bleating of Sheep, upon which we directed our course to the place from whence the sound came; and leading our Horses thro' thick Woods, and over steep and craggy Rocks, to the great hazard of our Lives, came at last to a Cave where some Shepherds had with much labour shelter'd themselves and their Cattel, and had kindled swinging Fires to guard off the extream Cold.

Upon our first arrival the Shepherds were afraid the *Arabians* meant 'em harm; but afterwards being convinc'd that the extremity of Cold forc'd us thither, they entertain'd us very kindly, with Bread, Flesh and Cheese, and after Supper we all went to sleep before the Fire. Our Horses they lodg'd in another Cave, and gave 'em good store of Hay. After two days the Snow ceas'd, and the Shepherds clear'd the Door of the Cave, which the Snow had block'd up, this done, we mounted our Horses, and were directed by the Shepherds how to avoid the Snowy depths; however, the clear Sunshine of that day dispel'd the Snow and Cold of the preceding days. At length we came to a Village near *Fez*, where we receiv'd Advice, that our Carts were left drown'd in the Snow: Upon this, the *Arabians* who had defended our Carts from Thieves, and conducted our selves, took my Horse from me, and carried off a *Few* of our company as their Prisoner, till they should be rewarded for the pains they had taken.

The Soil of *Numidia*.

To return; the Country beyond the *Atlas* is hot and dry; it affords plenty of Dates, but no Corn; what Rivers it has spring from the *Atlas*, some of which are dried up by the Sands, and others gather into Lakes.

People kill'd by Thirst in the Desarts.

In that part of *Numidia* which borders upon *Libya* we met with barren naked Hills, the lower parts of which afford only unprofitable Thorns and Shrubs; these Hills have neither Springs nor Rivers, nor indeed any Water, unless it be in some few Pits and Wells, which the very Inhabitants scarce know of, for most of their Water is brought to them by Merchants, upon Camels Backs, especially in those parts which lie upon the Road from *Fez* to *Tombuto*, or from *Tremizen* to *Agad* or *Agadez*; so that 'tis dangerous travelling that Road for fear of perishing by Thirst. 'Tis true indeed, that between *Fez* and *Tombuto* there are Pits surrounded with the Hides or Bones of Camels, but when the South Wind blows, these are oftentimes stopt up with Sand. In this Extremity some have a way of relieving themselves by killing their Camels, and squeezing Water out of their Entrails.

In the Desart call'd *Azaad* there are two Monuments of Marble, the Inscription of which sets forth, that a wealthy Merchant travelling that way, gave ten thousand Ducats to a Carrier for a Cup of Water, but that not being sufficient, both of 'em died for thirst.

The Soil of *Negro-land* and *Libya*.

The Land of Negroes is extream hot, but well moisten'd by the River *Niger*, so that it abounds with Cattel, Corn, Cocao's, Cucumbers, Onions, and several other Herbs and Fruits; it has no Trees but some great ones, which bear a bitter Fruit like a Chesnut, call'd *Goron*. Neither this Country nor that of *Libya* have any Mountains, but they present us with several Fens and Lakes, occasion'd (as 'tis reported) by the Inundations of the *Nile*.

The Climate of *Barbary*.

After the Soil of *Africa*, we come to the Climate. In *Barbary* the stormy cold weather begins about the middle of *October*; in *December* and *January* the cold is greater, but not very sharp, unless it be in the Mornings; *February* mitigates the cold, but brings such inconstant weather, that it changes perhaps five or six times a day: In *March* the North and West Winds blow, and the Trees are adorn'd with Blossoms: In *April* the Fruit are form'd, and the Cherries ripen towards the latter end of it: In *May* the Figs are gather'd, (tho' the greatest plenty of Figs and Peaches is in *September*) and the Grapes are ripe about *Midsummer*: About the midst of *August* they beg'n to dry their Grapes in the Sun, in order to make Raisins, and if the unseasonable weather overtakes 'em before they have dried all, they make Wine and Must of the rest. Their Harvest for Honey, Pomegranates, and Quinces falls in *October*, as their Olive-harvest does in *November*; their Olive-trees are so tall, that they cannot get at the Olives by a Ladder, but beat off the very Boughs with long Poles. Some great Olive-trees bear Olives which, being unfit for Oyl, are eaten when ripe.

Their *Spring* begins on *Febr.* 15, and ends *May* 18, all which time they have most pleasant weather. They take it for a fatal Omen, if no Rain falls from *Apr.* 25. to *May* 5, for the Rain of that season is call'd *Nuisan*, i.e. *Water blessed of God*, and some religiously preserve it in Vessels.

Their *Summer* extends from *May* 18. to *August* 16, and for the most part is attended with hot and clear weather, unless it be sometimes that a fatal Rain falls in *July* and *August*, upon which a mortal Pestilence ensues.

Their *Autumn*, in which the heat is moderate, commences *August* 16, and terminates *November* 16, from which time they reckon it Winter till *Febr.* 15.

They fix their *Equinoxes* upon *March* 16. and *Sept.* 16. For their *Solstices* they reckon upon *June* 16. and *Dec.* 16. The Interval of time between *Aug.* 15. and *Sept.* 15. is by them call'd *the Furnace of the Year*, in regard it brings to maturity their Figs, Quinces, and such other Fruits. They hold it for a firm truth, that every Year has forty extream hot Days, commencing from *June* 12, and as many extream cold following *Dec.* 12.

Upon the Mountains they begin to plough in *October*, but in the Plains they delay it till the beginning of Winter. In fine, they have such settled Rules relating to the Seasons of the Year, as are not only regarded in the business of Husbandry and Navigation, but in that of finding the Houses and Places of the Planets; and these are the first Documents they give to their Children. These things they are so well vers'd in, that many Country People, that know nothing else, can dispute learnedly of Astrology, and all their computations relating to Law or Religion, are taken from the course of the Moon. However, they ow'd their first Knowledge of Astrology to the *Latins*, as appears from their calling the Months of the Year by the Latin Names, and from a great Book call'd *The Storehouse of Husbandry*, that was translated out of Latin into their Language when *Marsi* was Lord of *Granada*; tho' indeed the Latin Tongue, as it stands at this day, does not afford words for a great many particulars contain'd in the three Volumes of that Book.

The Seasons of the Year nicely distinguish'd.

Their Year differs eleven days from that of the *Romans*, for they allow to six Months thirty Days each, and to the other six but twenty nine, which makes in all three hundred fifty four days. At divers times they have Festivals and Fasts.

This Country (viz. *Barbary*) is infested, about the end of Autumn, all Winter and a great part of the Spring, with boisterous Winds, Hail, and terrible Thunder and Lightning, and in some places it snoweth very much. The East, South and South-East Winds happening in *May* and *June*, prejudice their Corn and Fruit mightily, and so does the Snow, especially if it falls in the day-time, when the Corn begins to flower. So much for the Climate of *Barbary*.

The Climate of the Atlas Mountains.

Upon the Mountains of *Atlas*, where Snow continues all the Year round, they reckon it Winter from *October* to *April*, and Summer from *April* to *October*; so that they divide the Year only into two parts.

Of *Numidia*.

In *Numidia* they have Winter from *September* to *January*; they reap their Corn in *May*, and gather their Dates in *October*, unless the *September* Rain spoils them. If there falls but little Rain upon the Mountains of *Atlas*, the *Numidian* Rivers grow dry, and the Fields are parch'd and barren for want of their due watering; so that a dry *October* and *April* signifie a sorry Crop: and indeed all the Corn that grows in *Numidia* in one Year, does scarce suffice the Inhabitants for half a Year: But they have great plenty of Dates, which succeed best in a Drought, and these they give to the *Arabians* in exchange for Corn.

Of *Libya*.

In the *Libyan* Desarts they have incredible plenty of Grass and Milk, when a change of Weather happens

about

about the midst of *October*, and it continues to rain for all *December*, *January*, and some part of *February*, the Country being then well stor'd with Lakes and Fenns, 'tis the best Season for the *Barbary* Merchants to travel to *Negroland*.

Negroland is neither benefitted nor injur'd by rain. 'Tis render'd extream fruitful by the Water which falls from certain Mountains, and by the overflowing of the River *Niger*, which increases for forty days from *June* 15, and then decreases as many. During its inundation, one may go over all the Country in a Bark, tho' not without great danger.

The Constitution and Humour of the Africans; *the Diseases they are subject to*; *together with their Vertues and Vices. From* John Leo.

IN *Barbary* 65 or 70 Years is the common Period of their Lives; only in the Mountains some live to 100 and above, retaining all the while, a vigorous, active Constitution of Body. In *Numidia* they live a long time, only their Eyes become wonderful dim, and they loose their Teeth very soon; the first of which Infirmities perhaps is owing to the Dust and Sand that the East Winds toss in the Air, as the latter may be to their continual feeding upon Dates. The *Libyans* are shorter liv'd; perhaps the most healthy among 'em may live to 60 Years, but at the same time they are very lean and thin. The Negroes live not so long as any of the other *Africans*, but are very strong and active; they are strangely addicted to Venery, and their Teeth continue sound till their dying day. In fine, the *Barbarians* are of a weaker Constitution than any of the rest. The Children, and sometimes the ancient Women of *Barbary*, are subject to an incurable shedding of the Hair.

The common Diseases of that Country are the Head-ach without a Fever, the Toothach, which some impute to their drinking of cold Water immediately after hot Pottage. Pains of the Stomach, call'd by them Pains of the Heart; Gripings, proceeding, perhaps, from the continual use of cold Water; Pains in the Bones, and the Gout, occasion'd by their going bare-foot, and sitting upon the bare ground. In the Spring-time they sit very much upon the Ground, upon which those of a sanguine Complexion, are frequently siez'd with a Cough.

Upon *Fridays*, on which they assemble to hear the *Mahometan* Sermons, if any one neezes in the Church, every one neezes to bear him company; so that they never leave neezing till the Sermon is done; and he that goes to hear the Sermon, gets but little good of it, the Noise being so very great.

In *Barbary* the *French-Pox* is for the most part fatal. This Disease begins with a swelling and languishing, and at last breaks out into Ulcers. Some of the *Barbarians* have been cur'd of it, only by travelling to *Numidia* or *Negroland*, where the Air is very temperate and wholsome, and the name of that Disease is scarce known. It was not known among any of the *Africans*, till the *Jews* being expell'd *Spain*, fled to *Africa*, where their Wives receiving Promiscuous Embraces, contracted the Distemper, and so it spread all over the Country. For this Reason they call it the *Spanish Pox*, tho' in *Tunis*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Italy*, it goes by the Name of the *French-Pox*.

The Women of *Barbary* and *Negroland* are subject to the Falling-Sickness, which they, by way of Excuse, give out for Possession with a Spirit.

The *Rupture* or *Hernia*, is not very common among the *Barbarians*, but the *Egyptians* are mightily troubled with it, probably by reason of their eating so much Gum and Salt Cheese. The *Egyptian* Children are subject to the Falling-Sickness, which leaves 'em when they grow up.

The Plague sweeps off great numbers of the *Barbarians*, every tenth, fifteenth, or twentieth Year; for which they have no other cure, but rubbing the Sore with Ointments made of *Armenian* Earth. But it scarce visits *Numidia* once in 100 Years, and in *Negroland* the Name of it is not so much as known.

The *Arabians* in *Barbary*, who live upon the Mediterranean Coast, were in former times great Pursuers of Mathematicks, Philosophy, and Astrology, but these Arts were quite extinguish'd about 400 Years ago, by the chief Professors of their Law and Religion, whom they honour as Petty Gods. They go frequently to Church to repeat some formal Prayers, esteeming it unlawful to wash some of their Members on the Day they say these Prayers, tho' at other times they wash their whole Bodies. They are very ingenious in Mathematical Inventions and in Building. The Vertues of the *Africans*. Knowledge of Mathematicks.

Some Latin Authors do 'em injustice in charging them with Fraud and Guile, for they are very honest and sincere, and great Lovers of Simplicity and Truth in others, and for their own part will rather dye than break their Promise. No Nation in the World is so subject to Jealousy, for they will rather loose their Lives, than suffer any Affront upon the score of their Women. Riches and Honour they covet insatiably. Sincerity.

They travel all the World over, and trade in *Egypt*, *Arabea*, *Ethiopia*, *Persia*, *India*, and *Turky*, meeting every where with esteem; for they never profess any Art without being perfectly well vers'd in it.

Baudy and Indecent Expressions are heinous Crimes among them. They will not suffer a Youth to speak or hear any thing of Love Matters, especially in the Company of his Superiours. Modesty.

As for the *Arabians* which dwell in Tents and bring up Cattle, Their Devotion, Valour, Civility, Hospitality, Veracity, and Integrity of Life, is inferiour to none. And the same is the Character of the *Moors* and *Arabians* that inhabit *Libya*. The white or tawny *Moors* are steddy Friends, and all their aim is to lead a pleasant easy Life, upon which score they are as happy as any People of *Africa*. They give honourable Allowances to Professours of Religion and liberal Arts. Such are the Vertues of the *Africans*; but their Vices are yet greater. Integrity.

The Inhabitants of the Cities of *Barbary*, are very proud, cholerick, needy, and covetuous, and never forget Injuries. They always speak with an angry loud Voice, and are always quarreling with one another. They are so unmannerly and clownish, that no Stranger can obtain their Familiarity or Friendship. The Vices of the *Africans*.

Their Credulity is such, that they'll believe Impossibilities; and such is their Ignorance of Natural Philosophy, that they impute all Natural Phænomena's to a Divine Power. They are Men of no reach or head, and are ty'd to no Laws or Rule of Life, being without either Judges or Lawyers. Their Governours treat 'em like Dogs; and for want of Money-Changers, no Merchant can trade with them at a distance. Credulity.

They vouchsafe no Entertainment to Strangers, upon any Consideration whatsoever; and are very apt to forget Benefits. Peevish Guests.

In fine, they are so avaritious and covetuous, that they are eternally peevish and uncivil. The Shepherds of that Country are a miserable, poor, wretched Crew, addicted to nothing but Theft, Deceit, and brutish Customs. Their Batchelours keep company with several Ladies, till they light upon one that they like for a Wife; so that few can pretend to marry a Maid. Ingratitude.

This People have no Religion; Churches or Prayers they know nothing of; In a Word, they lead a savage and brutish Life. Irreligion.

As for the *Numidians*, all of 'em are quite destitute of any sociable Principles; Treason, Treachery, Murder, Theft, and Robbery, are the Business of their Life. Their mean slavish Temper prompts 'em to serve the *Barbarians*, as Dung Farmers, Scullions, Ostlers, or in any other other Servile Capacity. In like manner, the Inhabitants of *Libya*, neglecting all Arts and Sciences, apply their Minds only to Theft and Violence. The scene of their Lives is only miserable, lawless, and disorderly. There is no Villany so black, that they will not undertake upon the Prospect of Gain. They spend their Days in Hunting, Warfare, or lewd Practises; and use neither Shooes nor Garments. The Negroes are likewise Strangers, not only to Arts, but to Sense and Reason: Their Life is a Copy of that of the wildest Beasts, most of their Women being common, unless it be in the Principal Towns and Cities, where, 'tis probable, Civility may in some measure take place. Robbery.

Additions to CHAP. I.

Containing a Description of the Rivers of Africa. *Taken from* Marmol.

The famousest Rivers of *Barbary*.

Sus River.

SUS, the first River of *Barbary*, lies on the West side of that Kingdom, and the Province of *Sus* takes its Name from it, which some take for the Island in which the Palace of *Antheus* and the Gardens of the *Hesperides* were seated: However it seems very probable, that this was *Ptolomy*'s *Una*, which he places in eight Degrees Longitude, and 28 Degrees 30 Minutes Latitude. This River rises out of the great *Atlas*, between the above-mention'd Province and that of *Hea*, and gliding to the Southward, traverses the Plains of *Sus*, from whence it repairs to the Sea near *Guerteſſen*. It waters the most fertile and most populous places of that Country, and supplies the Inhabitants with Trenches or Ditches, with which they moisten the Sugar-cane Fields. In Winter it swells to that height, that 'tis scarce fordable in any part; tho' in Summer 'tis fordable almost every where.

Tenſift River.

Near to the City of *Animmey*, in the Province of *Morocco*, there springs from the great *Atlas* another River, call'd *Tenſift*, which traverses the Province of *Duquela*, and falls into the Ocean near *Safi*, being first join'd by several Rivers from the Mountains, namely, *Ecifelmel*, *Hueduefuſa*, and *Agmet*. The *Tenſift* is deep, but in Summer is fordable in some places not far from *Morocco*, 'tis cover'd with a Stone Bridge, which has fifteen great Arches, and is one of the stateliest Structures in all *Africa*, being built (as 'tis said) by *Jacob Almanſor*, King and Pontiff of *Morocco*. *Budobus*, the last King of the *Almohade* Family, pull'd down three of these Arches, with a Design to prevent *Jacob* the first King of the *Benemerinis*, from besieging *Morocco*, tho' it did not avail him; and those Arches are not yet rebuilt. *Ptolomy* calls the Mouth of this River *Aſama*, and places it in seven Deg. Long. and 32 Deg. Lat. In Mount *Gugidrine*, a part of the great *Atlas*, there springs two Rivers, which traversing the Plains of *Eſcura*, disembogues in the River call'd *Huedela-Abid*. Each of these Rivers is call'd *Teccut*, and when they join, they assume the Name of *Tevecin*, i. e. *Limits*. The Gutters and Ditches drawn from 'em, render the adjacent Fields very fertile.

Tevecin River.

Huedala-Abid River.

Huedala-Abid, i. e. The *River of Negroes* or *Slaves*, springs from *Animme*, a Mountain of the great *Atlas*, between the Provinces of *Eſcura* and *Tedla*, and traversing rugged Rocks, and deep dark Valleys, runs to the Northward, where its Chanels sinks so low, that it affords no moisture for the adjacent Fields. After that, 'tis swell'd by the Accession of the *Tevecin*, and other small Rivers, and disembogues in the *Ommirabi*, not far from a very broad Ditch call'd *Megerat Eſſa*, i. e. The *Flat Ditch*. This River is very deep, especially in *May*, when the Snow melts off the Mountains.

Ommirabi.

Between the Province of *Tedla* and the Kingdom of *Fez*, there rises from the great *Atlas*, a great River call'd *Ommirabi*, which runs thro' the Plains of *Adaeſam*, and passing thro' a narrow Valley, is adorn'd with a Bridge built by *Abuchaſten*, the fourth King of the *Benemerina*. After that it turns to the Southward, and traversing the Fields which separate the Province of *Tremeſen* from those of *Tedla* and *Duquela*, empties it self in the Ocean near *Azamor*, being first join'd by the River of *Negroes*, and by *Derna*, another River that falls likewise from the Mountains. This is only fordable in Summer, and that where it spreads out upon the Plains; in other places the Inhabitants swim, a-cross it upon bundles of Reeds bound up with blown Balls of Leather, for there's no Bridge upon it. It affords such plenty of Shad-fish, as serves to supply the City of *Morocco* and the adjacent Provinces, besides what is exported to *Andaluſia* and *Portugal*. The Season for fishing in this River, falls commonly upon the middle of *May*: and it turn'd to a great account to the King of *Portugal*, while he was Master of *Amazor*. But at present the *Xeriff* appropriates the Right of that Fishery to the Christian Merchants. *Ptolomy* calls this River *Ruſibides*, and places its Mouth in 6 Deg. 40 Min. Long. and 32 Deg. 30 Min. Lat. The Entry of it is so difficult, that it oblig'd the King of *Portugal* to abandon *Azamor*.

Burregreg River.

Burregreg, a great River, springs from the great *Atlas* in the Kingdom of *Fez*, and falls into the Ocean near *Gibraltar*. *Ptolomy* calls it *Sala*, and places it in 6 Deg. 10 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 10 Min. Lat. Its Mouth is so foul for Ships, that it serves for a Barriar to guard the Inhabitants from the Christians.

Beht and *Behet* Rivers.

From the great *Atlas* in the Kingdom of *Fez*, there springs two Rivers, call'd *Beht* and *Behet*, which fall with a rapid Current over steep Mountains into the Plains of *Azgar*, and there are turn'd into Lakes full of Fish. Upon the sides of these Lakes great numbers of *Arabians* feed their Cattel, and by the frequent eating of Butter and Fish, which they have in great plenty, are cover'd with a sort of Leprosy. Several of the Inhabitants of *Fez* and *Mequinez* resort to these Lakes to drink of the Water, which is of excellent use against the Stone.

Sulu River.

Sulu, one of the greatest Rivers in all *Barbary*, derives its Source from *Cililgo*, a Mountain of the great *Atlas* in the Province of *Cus*. After its Descent into the Plains, it passes at the Distance of a Mile and half from *Fez*, and having sever'd the Provinces of *Habat* and *Azger*, falls into the Ocean near the City of *Memor*, not far from the Streight of *Gibraltar*.

Guarga River.

Ador River.

It is join'd by several Rivers, particularly *Guarga* and *Ador*; but those who assert, that it receives the River *Fez*, and several others, from the Country of *Tezar*, are much mistaken; for they falsely suppose, that the *Sulu* takes its Rise from the Mountains of *Gaiata* and *Zarehamuni*. Tho' the *Sulu* be a very great River, yet 'tis fordable in some places, unless it be in Winter and Spring, at which time the Inhabitants cross it in Barks. This River affords such plenty of Fish, especially Shad-fish, that it supplies *Fez*, and several other Towns in that Province. Its Mouth is capable to receive very large Vessels, and if the Inhabitants of that Country were industrious, they might make it navigable up to *Fez*, and so sink the Price of their Corn, which is now brought over land from *Azgar*. *Ptolomy* calls it *Subura*, and places its Mouth in six Degrees 20 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 28 Min. Lat.

Lucus River.

Lucus, a great River, springs from the Mountains of *Gomera*, and turning to the Westward, traverses the Provinces of *Aſgar* and *Habar*, after which it runs near *Aſcaſar-Quivir*, and after forming Lakes that abound in Fish, falls into the Ocean near *Arays*, where these two Provinces join. The Port of *Arays* lies in its Mouth, and is resorted to by the Christians, who import thither European Commodities; but the Entry is so difficult, that they run a great risque, unless they have a very expert Pilot. *Ptolomy* calls this River *Liſſa*, and places its Mouth in six Deg. 20 Min. Long. and 35 Deg. 15 Min. Lat.

Melulo River.

Melulo, another great River, rises out of the great *Atlas* near the Town of *Dubudu*, and traverling the parch'd Desart of *Teoreſt* and *Tafrata*, falls into the *Mulucan*, which is likewise a great River which springs from the great *Atlas* in the Province of *Cus*, and passing to the Westward of *Teſaſa*, falls into the Ocean not far from that place. This last River is very broad, but easily fordable in Summer in several places. The Christians were wont to row up this River in Barks cover'd with Leaves, in order to surprise the Moorish Fisher-men, for its Mouth is plentifully stock'd with excellent Fish. *Ptolomy* call's it *Molocat*, and makes it to lie in ten Deg. 45 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 45 Min. Lat.

Muluya Rivers.

Muluya springs from the *Atlas*, and directing its course Northward, disimbogues in the Mediterranean Sea near *Onus*; *Ptolemy* calls its mouth *Mala*, and places it in 11 d. 10 m. Long. and 35 d. 50 m. Lat.

Zis and *Hued-habra* Rivers.

Zis and *Hued-habra* are two Rivers, the first of which springs from the great *Atlas*, and the second rises in the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*, near *Moheſcar*: they fall with a joynt Stream into the Mediterranean, near the Ruins of the ancient *Arzea*, and assume the name of *Sirat*, from the Plain thro' which they pass. The puissant *Arabs*, call'd *Bemamir*, live upon the Banks of *Sirat*, and frequently make Excursions as far as *Oran*.

Fesne River. A small River call'd *Fesne* springs from the great *Atlas* near the ancient *Numidia*, and joyns the Mediterranean about seven leagues to the Westward of *Oran*. It affords very few Fish, and at present is call'd *Aresgol*. *Ptolemy* gives it the name of *Siga*, its mouth being seated in 21 d. Long. and 34 d. 40 m. Lat.

Mira River. *Mira* is a pretty great River, which runs from its source in the great *Atlas* thro' the barren Plains in the neighborhood of *Bathaha*, and turning Northward, falls into the Mediterranean not far from *Arzea*. Of late years the Moors call it *Cena*, from the name of a *Mozabite* that repeopled *Bathaha* after its being destroy'd by the *Benimerims*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Quilemat*, and allots to its mouth 13 d. of Long. and 34 d. of Lat.

Chief River. *Chief* is a great River, that runs from its source in the Mountains of *Guanceceris*, thro' the Desart-Plains between *Tenes* and *Tremesen*; and turning Eastward, joyns the Mediterranean near *Mostagan*. There's very good fishing in its mouth, which *Ptolemy* ranks in 14 d. 15 m. Long. and 33 d. 40 m. Lat. under the name of *Cartena*.

Celef River. *Celef* is a great River, that springs from the great *Atlas*, and grazing along the Fields of *Metigia*, falls into the Mediterranean about five leagues to the Westward of *Algiers*. It assumes the name of *Asafran*, near its mouth, which *Ptolemy* places under the name of *Quinalak*, in 16 d. 40 m. Long. and 33 d. 20 m. Lat.

Cesaya River. *Cesaya*, another River in *Barbary*, takes its Rise from the great *Atlas*, and traversing the Fields of *Metigai*, enters the *Mediterranean* on the East side of *Algiers*, not far from the Ruines of *Mitafus*, call'd by the *Africans Temendafust*. *Ptolomy* ranks its Mouth, under the Name of *Seva*, in 18 Deg. 10 Minutes Long. and 33 Deg. 20 Min. Lat.

Hued Iter River. *Hued-Iter*, is a great River that rises out of the great *Atlas*, upon the Frontiers of *Numidia*, and running from thence Northward, enters the Mediterranean Sea, on the East side of the Ruines of *Metafus*, and affords very good Fishing. *Ptolomy* calls it *Serbet*, and places its Mouth in 19 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 32. Deg. 50 Min. Lat.

Hued-el-Quivir River. *Hued-el-Quivir*, springs likewise from the great *Atlas* in the Province of *Zeb*, and passing thro' very high Mountains, falls into the Mediterranean near *Bugia*. When it rains, or when the Snow melts, it swells very much. 'Tis full of Fish, but the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country love the Sea-fish better. The Christians call it *Zinganor*, and *Ptolemy* gives it the name of *Nasaova*, placing its mouth in 22 d. 10 m. Long. and 32½ d. Lat.

Sef-Gemar River. Among the remaining Rivers of *Barbary*, we meet with *Sef-Gemar*, a great River that springs from Mount *Aouraz*, in the Province of *Bugia*; and after washing the Walls of *Constantina*, falls Northward into the Mediterranean Sea. This River separates *Mauritania Cæsariana* from the Province of *Africa*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Ampsagus*, and places its mouth in 26 d. 15 m. Long. and 31 d. 45 m. Lat.

Tadock River. *Tadock* is another River that rises out of the *Atlas* near *Constantina*, and falls into the Mediterranean about a league to the Eastward of *Bona*. About a quarter of a league above its mouth we meet with some Remains of *Hippona*, of which St. *Augustine* was Bishop, and which *Ptolemy* places in 30 d. 20 m. Long. and 32 d. 25 m. Lat.

Hued-el-Barbar River. There's another great River in *Barbary* that goes by the name of *Hued-el-barbar*, and springing from the great *Atlas* near *Lorbus* in the Kingdom of *Tunis*, makes so many windings and turnings thro' these Mountains, that those who travel from *Bona* to *Tunis* are oblig'd to cross it twenty five times, without the conveniency of either Bridge or Boat for so long a course; at last it falls into the Mediterranean near the Port of the *Taburc*, about six leagues from *Bigga*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Rubricata*, and places its mouth in 30 d. 45 m. Long. and 35 d. 20 m. Lat. Great quantities of Coral are found upon the brinks of this River.

Megerada River. To conclude our Account of the Rivers in *Barbary*, we shall mention only three more, namely, *Megerada*, *Capes*, and *Magro*. *Megerada* is a very great River; its Source lies in the great *Atlas*, upon the Confines of *Zeb*, not far from *Tebsa*; it runs with many windings to the Northward, and falls into the Mediterranean thirteen leagues to the Westward of *Tunis*: in the time of Rain it swells mightily, which stops Travellers sometimes for five or six days, for there's neither a Bridge nor a Boat upon it. *Ptolemy* gives it the Name of *Bragada*, and places its mouth in 38 d. 40 m. Long. and 30 d. 45 m. Lat.

Capes River. *Capes* takes its rise from Mount *Bacalisa*, in the Desarts of *Libya*; and falls into the Sea near the City of *Capes*: The Water of this River is salt, and when 'tis drawn up is so hot, that it must stand in the Air to cool for above an hour before 'tis drinkable. *Ptolemy* calls it *Triton*, and assigns to its mouth 38 d. 40 m. Long. and 30 d. 45 m. Lat.

Magro River. *Magro* descends from the great *Atlas* near Mount *Meres* and crossing the sandy Desarts, disimbogues in the Sea near *Tripoli* in *Barbary*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Cinifa*, and places its mouth in 42 d. 25 m. Long. and 31 d. 30 m. Lat. So much for the Rivers in *Barbary*.

The Rivers of Biledulgerid.

The most noted Rivers in *Biledulgerid* (alias *Numidia* or *Getulia*) are *Dara*, *Zis* and *Guin*.

Dara River. *Dara* is a very great River; it springs from the great *Atlas* upon the Confines of the Province of *Escura*, and directing its course to the South, traverses the Province of *Dara*, to which it owes its Name, being pleasantly shaded on each side with very tall Date-trees; after that it enters the Desart of *Sahara*, and spreads out into great Lakes, round which the *Numidiæ* straggle with their Cattle in the Spring-time, upon the account that their Camels find there a great deal of very good Grass. In Summer this River becomes so dry, that one may pass it on foot in several places without being wet; but after Rain it swells so high, that 'tis not fordable by either Foot or Horse, and runs so rapidly, that a Boat cannot cross it. Its Chanel is very hollow and uneven, and in the time of the great heat the Water is bitter and brackish.

Zis River. *Zis* is another great River, that springs from the same Mountains, and passing from thence to the neighborhood of *Garci-luyn* in the Kingdom of *Fez*, traverses the Territories of *Quenena*, *Matagara*, *Reteb* and *Segelmesse*; after which it enters the Desarts of *Sahara*, and runs thro' the Palm-trees, till it comes near the City of *Sugayhila*, where it makes a fresh appearance, and forms a great Lake in the middle of the Sands. This Lake has no Habitation round it, but is resorted to by wild Beasts.

Guir River. *Guir* is likewise a great River that springs from Mount *Atlas*, and passing thro' the sandy Desarts of *Libya* and *Sahara*, is there converted into a Lake, round which a great many Societies of *Arabs* and *Africans* are wont to straggle with their Flocks.

The Rivers of Negro-land. *Sahara*, the third part of *Africa* has no Rivers. As for the fourth, *viz. Negro-land*, we there met with the famous River of *Niger*, call'd in Arabick *Hued-Nichar*, or the *black River*. Some alledge, that the *Niger* and the *Nilus* are two Branches of the River *Geon*, which descends from the terrestrial Paradise; and that the first of these Branches deriv'd its Name from the Negroes, among whom it passes: But the *Arabians* take the *Niger* to be a part of *Nilus*, which runs under-ground to the Lake of *Nubia*, and then turning Westward, forms another Lake call'd *Nigritis*; after which it is swell'd by the accession of several Rivers, and marches with great windings to the Western Ocean, into which it falls by two Chanels, the one call'd *Senega*, and the other *Gambra*. The first of these separates *Sahara* from the Negroes on the West side; and, which is very wonderful, the People that live on the South side are black, robust and proper Persons, and the Country is fertile and admirably well shaded with Trees; whereas on the North side the Inhabitants are little and Mulattoes, and some of 'em white and puny, the Soil being nothing but a barren dry Sand. The mouth of the first Branch (namely, *Senega*) is very deep, and above half a league broad, but the other is somewhat smaller. These two Branches form an Isle, which has great Banks of Sand before it, that shoot out a league into the Sea. The Tide, which flows and ebbs every six hours, runs above twenty five leagues up the Country, and no Ships can come up without the Flood, because the Sand-beds are then cover'd. The most considerable Negroes live upon the brinks of this River, and of the other Rivers which fall into it. It overflows and decreases at the same time and after the same manner with the *Nilus*; and when the overflowing season comes, the Negroes go up and down in Barks, which are neither so well built nor so strong as those of *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* affirms, that the *Nige*, in conjunction with the *Mandrus* and *Thalamatis*, forms the Lake *Nigritis*; and that it divides to the Northward into two Arms, that march towards the Mountains of *Ursegula* and *Sagapula*; after which it forms (according to him) a third Arm, which runs to the Eastward above the Lake of * *Libya*: But *Leo Africanus* affirms the contrary, and his relation is confirm'd by the Merchants that go up this River from *Gualata* and the *Geloses* to *Grand Cairo*, for they assure us that all its Branches run to the Westward.

Niger River.

* This Lake is 25 d. long. and 16 d. 30 m. broad.

The Country of the Negroes is water'd by several other Rivers, most of which were discover'd by the *Portuguese*,

who sail two or three hundred leagues up the Country, in order to traffick. Of these elsewhere.

Nile River. *Nilus* retains the same Name both in *Africa* and *Europe*; 'tis the greatest of all the *African* Rivers, and for that reason the *Ethiopians* call it *Abanhi*, i. e. *Father of Rivers*. The Ancients took it for a Branch of *Gehon*, which descends from the terrestrial Paradise; and indeed that Opinion is countenanc'd by several Authors, particularly by *Lucan*, *lib.* 10. who brings in the *Egyptian* Priests discoursing at large upon that Head; but, it seems, the Ancients were not well acquainted with its Source; for some pretend that the Lakes from which it springs derive their Original from the Snow that falls from the Mountains of the Moon; others alledge, that these Lakes rise at a great distance from each other in the Desart; others again maintain, that the Head of the River comes from the above-mention'd Mountains, and falling off the steep Rocks with a violent shock, makes a Gap in the Earth, and conveys it self to these Lakes by subterranean Chanels. But Experience baffles all these Opinions, and our modern Discoveries make it out, that the Water which falls from the Mountains of *Luna* are the true source of the *Nile*, and that the Snow and Rain is the occasion of its Inundation.

These Mountains are at present call'd the Mountains of *Beht*, i. e. *a Confluence of Waters*. They are a ridge of Mountains, extending from the Equinoctial Line to the Kingdom of *Efceca*, and running across the Kingdom of *Gogiana*, both of which Kingdoms lie in upper *Ethiopia*: They are higher than any other Mountains, whether in *Africa* or *Europe*, and are perpetually cover'd with Snow and Ice: Forasmuch as they lie under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, when the Sun shines upon 'em in a perpendicular line, the Snow and the Ice melts, and falls with a precipitant current into the abovemention'd Lakes. Now the accession of this Water joyn'd to the Rain that falls very plentifully in upper *Ethiopia* in the Month of *May*, occasions the overflowing of the *Nilus*; but the Inundation does not appear in *Egypt* till towards the middle of *June*, by reason (as the *Abyssins* say) that this accessory Flood must have so much time before it can reach *Egypt*. The *Ethiopian* Merchants that trade to *Nubia* and *Egypt* tell you, that the exact Source of this River cannot be found out, by reason that Mount *Beht* and the adjacent Fields are surrounded by large bushy Forests, and Desarts replenish'd with wild Beasts; so that one cannot approach 'em without the hazard of their Lives. They add, that the Waters run from that Mountain to the Southward with a continued encrease, and form a great Lake that seems to have no current: That several Rivers issue from the South side of this Lake, some of which direct their course to the East, and others to the West, and form so many Arms and Lakes, that one would wonder from whence such a quantity of Water should spring: That the *Ethiopians*, upon the loss of their Camels in those Desarts, pursue 'em sometimes two or three hundred leagues to the Southward, and still find the Rivers spread out into Arms and Lakes after the same manner. Upon this pursuit the *Ethiopians* meet with desart and barren Mountains, in which (according to *Mosandi*) they find the richest Emeraulds, call'd by them *Dubenis*, and Savages that avoid the conversation of other Men.

The first Lake form'd by the *Nile* is call'd *Safa*, and has above twenty Islands, inhabited by *Abyssins*, who are Vassals to the Emperour of *Ethiopia*. The *Nile* glides gently from this Lake, and afterwards with a rapid current traverses the whole Country of that Emperour, and grazes upon *Negro-land*, without being confin'd to a Chanel, till it arrives at certain Mountains where the Cataracts of *Mesar* or the ancient *Catadupes* are plac'd: Each side of it is inhabited by several Nations of Negroes, who sow upon its Banks the Grains of *Binque*, commonly call'd the *Nile Grains*, and by the *Arabians*, *Beladur*. Cataracts.

After the passing of the abovemention'd Cataracts, the *Nile* spreads out in breadth, and runs with a gentle stream, but is not either fordable or navigable in any place, till it arrives at the Island of *Meroe*, call'd by the *Egyptians*, *Naulebaal*, i. e. *the Mother of good Ports*; by the Natives *Seula*, and the *Abyssins*, *Saba*; in which place ('tis said) the Queen of *Sheba*, that visited *Solomon*, had her residence. Some Authors alledge, that she could not reign here, because there was a Law in *Ethiopia* against the Succession of Females to the Throne; [for this reason, 'tis probable, she was not of *Ethiopia*, but of *Arabia*, which goes by the name of *Ethiopia* in Scripture; and hence 'tis that *Moses*'s Wife is call'd an *Ethiopian*:] but 'tis answer'd, that she might be a Queen by Marriage, and not by Succession. The Queen of *Candaces* was likewise Soveraign of this Country, and sent her Eunuch with Offerings to *Jerusalem*, where St. *Philip* baptiz'd him.

The Island of *Meroe* is very large, and contains at present three Kingdoms, the Soveraigns of which differ from one another in their Religion and Customs, and sometimes wage War one against another with incredible Cruelty. The most puissant of these Kings is a *Mahometan*, and has his residence on the West side of the Island; the second, being a Negro and a follower of Idolatry, lives on the North side; and the third, who reigns on the South side, is an *Abyssinian* Christian, subject to the Emperour of *Ethiopia*. Island Meroe.

After the *Nile* passes this Island 'tis navigable, and in the space of fifteen days the Boats go from thence to the City of *Guaguera*, call'd by the Ancients *Siena*, where, according to the allegation of the Poets, the Rays of the Sun fall in a perpendicular line, and cast no shadow at Noon. This is the first Frontier of *Egypt* upon the Confines of *Nubia*, below which the *Nile* affords a very safe Navigation. In fine, the *Nile* falls into the Mediterranean by several Chanels, opposite to the Island of *Cyprus*. As for the Inundation of the *Nile*, and the other circumstances that attend it, we refer the Reader to *John Leo*'s Description of *Egypt*. Siena.

CHAP. II.

Containing a particular Account of the Kingdom of Morocco; *from* John Leo.

The Limits of *Hea*. IN describing the several Kingdoms of *Africa*, we shall set out from the West, and so advance Eastward. The most Western Province of *Morocco* is bounded with the Ocean on the West and North, with the Mountains of *Atlas* on the South, and on the East with the River *Effinalo*, which springs out of the foresaid Mountain, and falls into the River *Tensift*, dividing *Hea* from the next Province.

Its Soil. This Country is uneven and rugged, full of rocky Mountains, Woods and Rivers; 'tis very rich, and well Peopled, and affords plenty of Deer, Hares, Goats

Product. and Asses, but few Sheep, Oxen or Horses, and very little Fruit: The Inhabitants feed upon unleaven'd Barly-bread, baked in a sort of an Earthen Pan in the form of

The Inhabitants, their Food, Attire, and Qualities. a Cake. Their Cloathing for the most part is a Woollen Coverlet (call'd *Elchise*) not unlike the *Italian* Blankets, wrapt about 'em, and girt with a Woollen Girdle about their Hips. The Batchelors always keep their Beards shaven, but the married Men suffer their Hair to grow. Here is nothing to be found of Virtue or Learning, unless it be some small knowledge of the Laws of the Country, which some few pretend to. They have neither Physician nor Surgeon, unless it be a sort of Surgeons who are imploy'd in circumcising their male Children: When any illness seizes 'em, they cauterize the affected part with red-hot Irons. They have no regard to Justice, and when any of 'em travels abroad, he takes along with him a Wife or a Whore, or a religious Person of the Country he goes to. The few Horses this Country affords are so nimble and mettled, that they will climb like Cats over the steep and craggy Mountains; they are always unshod, and together with the Asses serve to till the Ground.

The ancient City of *Tedneste* (one of the Cities of *Hea*) was built by the *Africans* upon a most beautiful large Plain, and surrounded with a lofty Brick Wall. It affords no Inns or Publick Houses, so that a Stranger (being a Merchant, must find out an Acquaintance to lodge with, or if he has none, the Inhabitants cast lots who shall entertain him; and let his Condition be never so mean, he meets with a hospitable and honourable Tedneste a City of Hea. Its Hospitality

ble Reception; only upon his Departure he muſt beſtow a Compliment upon his Landlord, to make him the more welcome at his next Return. A Stranger that is not a Merchant, may pitch upon any great Man's Houſe to lodge in, and is oblig'd to make no Compliment at his Departure. If a Beggar or Pilgrim paſſes that way, he is entertain'd in a Hoſpital, built at the publick Charge, for the Relief of the Poor.

A Temple. In the midſt of the City there ſtood an ancient magnificent Temple of a huge bigneſs, which is ſaid to have been founded when the King of *Morocco* was Soveraign over that Country. This Temple has a great Ciſtern in the midſt of it, and a great many Prieſts and Religious People belong to it. There are ſeveral other Temples in this, which are but little, but withal very neat and clean. About 100 Families of *Jews* liv'd in it; but in the 920th Year of *Hegeira*, it was ſeen to lie in ruines, being only reſorted to by Ravens and other Birds.

Tedneſt. At the Foot of an Hill, 18 Miles Eaſtward from *Tedneſt*, ſtands *Teoulet*, a Town containing about 1000 Houſes, a ſtately Temple, four Hoſpitals, and a Religious Monaſtery. It has a famous Port upon the Ocean, call'd *Gos*, which renders it richer than *Tedneſt*. The adjacent fertile Fields ſupply it with great plenty of Corn and Pulſe: 'Twas deſtroy'd by the *Portugueſe* in the Year 1514.

Hadecchis. Eight Miles ſouthward of *Teoulet*, ſtands the City of *Hadecchis* upon a Plain, containing 700 Families. Its Walls, Churches, and Houſes, are all built of Free-ſtone. It has yearly Fairs, laſting for 15 Days, at which they ſell great ſtore of Cattle, Butter, Oil, Iron and Cloth to the neighbouring Nations. The Women of this City are white, fat, and very comely; and their Husbands are ſo brutiſhly jealous, as to attempt to murder whoſoever does but talk with 'em. They have no Judges, no Learning, nor any Diſtinction of Worth among the Citizens; ſo that he who is richeſt rules as a King. Their Religious Matters are manag'd by *Mahometan* Prieſts, who are exempted from all Taxes. The *Portugueſe* ſack'd this Town in the 922 of the *Hegeira*. *Sack'd 1513.*

Ilenſugaghen. Eight Miles to the South of *Hadecchis*, on the top of a high Mountain, ſtands *Ilenſugaghen*, containing 200 Families, which carries on a perpetual War with its Neighbours in a moſt bloody and barbarous manner. 'Tis utterly a Stranger to Juſtice and Honeſty; for it has neither Prieſts, Judges, nor Lawyers. In a word, no People under Heaven are more treacherous and wicked. Their Mountains, tho' deſtitute of Fruit, afford great plenty of Honey, which ſerves 'em both for Food and Traffick, but the Wax of it they throw away, being ignorant of its Uſe.

Teſegdelt. Twelve Miles to the South of *Teyent*, ſtands *Teſegdelt* upon the top of a Mountain, fortified naturally with a high Rock inſtead of a Wall, and containing above 800 Families. 'Tis ſurrounded with moſt pleaſant Gardens and Orchards, repleniſh'd with all ſorts of Trees, eſpecially Walnut-Trees. The Inhabitants are rich, and pay no Tribute to the *Arabians*, with whom they wage eternal War. They have great plenty of Horſes. For Civility and Hoſpitality, they come ſhort of no People whatſoever, there being Watchmen ſet at every Gate, to conduct all the Strangers that come, either to the Houſe of their Acqaintance, if they have any, or to a publick Inn, where they are entertain'd according to their quality, upon the publick Charge. They are religious Obſervers of their Words, but mightily ſubject to Jealouſy. In the midſt of the Town they have a ſtately Temple, to which a certain number of *Mahometan* Prieſts belong. The neighbouring Villages lodge their Corn in this City, where 'tis defended from the Excurſions of their Enemies.

Tagteſs. Having paſs'd *Teſegdelt* 14 Miles, we come to *Tagteſs*, an ancient round City, ſtanding upon the top of a Hill, which has winding Steps hewn out of the hard Rock, upon its Sides. The Inhabitants have no other Water, but what their Women fetch from a River that runs by the Foot of the Hill about ſix Miles off, tho' when view'd from the City, it ſeems to be not above half a Mile off. The way leading to this River is very narrow, being cut out of the Rock in the form of a pair of Stairs. This Country is much infeſted with Locuſts, which devour their Corn, and ſometimes cover the whole Surface of the Ground.

Eitdeuet. Fifteen Miles to the South of *Tagtes*, ſtands *Eitdeuet*, a Town inhabited by *Jews*, who derive their Extraction from King *David*, tho' they have exchang'd their own Law for the *Mahometan*. The Lawyers of this place are admirably well vers'd in their Laws and Conſtitutions, which are collected into one Volume, call'd *Elmudvuana*, and commented upon by a famous Author, call'd *Melic*.

Eighteen Miles from *Eitdeuet*, and about half a Mile from *Teſegdelt*, there ſtands a Caſtle call'd *Culcibat Elmurid*, i. e. *The Rock of Diſciples*, built on the top of a Mountain, which is ſurrounded with divers other Mountains, of equal height with it ſelf, and cover'd with craggy Rocks and huge Woods. The Caſtle is only acceſſable by a narrow Path upon one ſide of the Mountain. 'Twas built but lately by *Hemar Seyeff*, a *Mahometan* Preacher, who by making ſeveral Innovations in Religion, drew after him a great number of Diſciples and Sectaries, and at laſt became a cruel Tyrant. His Government laſted twelve Years, and at the end of which he was ſlain by his own Wife, for lying with her Daughter by a former Husband. Upon that his Ignorance and Wickedneſs was detected, and the Inhabitants of the Country ſlew all his Diſciples and Sectaries, excepting his Grand-ſon, who defended the Caſtle, notwithſtanding a whole Year's Siege, and to this Day (ſays *Leo*) moleſts the People of *Hea* with continual War, living upon Robbery and Spoil, which he affects, partly by ſome Horſe-men, who purſue the Travellers that paſs by the Caſtle, and partly by Gunners, who fire upon 'em at a diſtance, the High-way being almoſt a Mile off from the Caſtle. However he is ſo hated by the People, that he has no footing without the above-mention'd Mountain. He has carry'd his Grand-father's Body to be honourably inter'd in the Caſtle, and ador'd by his People as a God. *The Caſtle of Hea.* *A noted Mahometan Apoſtate.*

The greateſt part of the People of *Hea* dwell upon Mountains. One part of 'em (call'd *Idenacal*) inhabit that part of *Atlas*, which runs from the Ocean Eaſtward to *Igilingigil*, and divides *Hea* from *Sus*. The breadth of this Ridge is three Days Journey. 'Tis well ſtock'd with Country Villages and Inhabitants, who feed upon Barley, Goats-Fleſh, and Honey; and wear neither Shirts nor any ſew'd Garments, being altogether unacquainted with Needle Work. What Apparel they have hangs by a Knot upon their Shoulders, being faſten'd with Silver Buttons of an Ounce weight. Their Women wear three or more Silver Rings upon their Ears The richer ſort of People wear Silver Rings on their Fingers and Legs, but the poorer have only Rings of Iron or Copper. This Country affords Horſes, of a ſmall ſize, but wonderfully ſwift; and great ſtore of Wild-Goats, Hares, and Deer; and yet the Inhabitants are not given to Hunting. It abounds with Fountains and Trees, eſpecially Walnut Trees. The Inhabitants frequently ſhift their Seats, for moſt of 'em live after the *Arabian* Way. Their Arms are broad crooked Daggers, and Swords as thick as Sythes. 'Tis ſaid they are able to lead 20000 Men into the Field upon occaſion. They have neither Judges, Prieſts or Temples; and being altogether unacquainted with Learning, perſue nothing but Lewdneſs and Villany. *The Inhabitants of the Mountains of Hea.* *A Ridge of the Atlas.*

Another Mountain in the Country of *Hea*, call'd *Demenfera*, is likewiſe part of *Atlas*, and runs Eaſtward from the above-mentioned Ridge about 50 Miles, dividing part of *Hea* from *Sus*. 'Tis well ſtock'd with moſt barbarous Inhabitants, who have Horſes in great plenty, and frequently wage War with the neighbouring *Arabians*. They have a great many Noblemen or Governours, to whom the reſt are very obedient. They have no Towns nor Caſtles, but only ſome Villages or Cottages, where the better ſort reſide. The whole Country abounds with Springs, which run into a River call'd *Siffaia*. Their Apparel is decent; and they are very induſtrious. They poſſeſs great Quantities of Iron, which is exported to other places. There are a great many *Jews* in this Country, who ſerve as mercenary Souldiers, and are call'd by the other *Jews* in *Africa*, *Carraim*, i. e. *Scripture-men*, for they rejected Tradition. It affords plenty of Box, Maſtich, and high Walnut-trees. They have a kind of Olives, call'd *Argans*, from which, together with Walnuts, they expreſs a very bitter Oil, and uſe it both in their Lamps, and by way of Sauce to their Meat. 'Tis ſaid this People can lead into the Field 25000 expert Soldiers. *Demenfera.*

The Mountain of *Iron*, commonly call'd *Gebelelbadith*, and lying within the Territory of *Hea*, is not to be accounted any part of *Atlas*. It extends from the Ocean Southward to the River *Tenſift*, and divides *Hea* from *Duccala* and *Morocco*: The Inhabitants are call'd *Regraga*. This Hill, which is full of waſte Deſarts, abounds with clear Springs, Honey, and Oil *Arganick*; but it affords little Corn or Pulſe. The Inhabitants are all very devout and religious, but few of 'em are rich. A great many *Hermites* live upon the top of the Mountain, who drink Water, and feed only on the Fruit of ſome Trees; and whatever theſe *Hermites* do, is eſteem'd a Miracle. Their Puniſhment of Theft or any other Crime, is immediate *Gebelelbadith.*

mediate Baniſhment for a certain ſpace of Years. Being of a quiet peaceable Temper, they chooſe rather to pay Tribute to their Neighbours the *Arabians*, than to repulſe their Invaſions by War. So much for the Region of *Hea*.

The Limits of Sus. Next in courſe is the Province of *Sus*, beginning Weſtward from the Ocean, Southward from the ſandy Deſarts, Northward from the utmoſt Town of *Hea*, and Eaſtward from the River *Sus*. To begin from its Weſtern Point. Upon the Sea-ſhore, where *Atlas* takes its Riſe, the ancient *Africans* built three ſmall Towns, at the diſtance of a Mile from one another, which were *Meſſa.* all call'd by one Name, viz. *Meſſa* (i. e. *Houſe of Prayer*) and ſurrounded with a white Stone Wall.

Sus River. Through theſe three runs a great River call'd *Sus*, which gives name to the Country, and in Summer is ſo low, that one may paſs it on foot. The greateſt Wealth of the Inhabitants of this Country (where the three Towns ſtand) conſiſts in Dates; for they have plenty of Palm-trees; but their Dates are not worth much, becauſe they will not keep above a Year. They all apply themſelves to Husbandy in *April* and *September*, at which times the River ſwells, or if it does not, their Harveſt is good for nothing. Their Corn is ripe in *May*: Their Grounds are very ſandy, ſo that Cattle is very ſcarce among 'em.

Its Temple much eſteem'd. Not far from the Sea-ſide they have a Temple, the Rafters and Beams of which are made of Whale Bones; for Whales of a monſtrous ſize are oftentimes caſt up dead upon that Shore. The common People imagine, that by a ſecret Power beſtow'd by God upon the Temple, no Whale can paſs by it without immediate Death: But the Truth of the Matter is, that on either ſide of the Temple, there are Rocks that ſhoot two Miles into the Sea, and wound the Whales when they light upon 'em. They keep a Whale's Rib of an incredible length for a Miracle, which lying upon the Ground with its convex part uppermoſt, makes an Arch, the Head of which cannot be reach'd by a Man upon a Camel's Back. This Rib (ſays *John Leo*) is ſaid to have layn there a hundred Years before I ſaw it. Their Hiſtorians affirm, that a Prophet who propheſy'd of *Mahomet*, came from this Temple; and ſome do not ſtand to aſſert, that the Prophet *Jonas* was caſt forth by the Whale upon the Shoar of *Meſſa*. Upon this Shore there is great ſtore of Amber to be found, which the *Portugueſe* and *Feſſan* Merchants buy very cheap (i. e. leſs than a Ducat *per* Ounce). Some ſay 'tis made of Whales Dung, and others of *Sperma Ceti*, which being harden'd by the Sea, is caſt upon the next Shoar.

Monſtrous Whales. The Original of Amber.

Teyent. Not far from *Sus*, ſtands *Teyent*, which contains 4000 Families. The adjacent Country produces plenty of Grain, Barley, Pulſe and Dates, as alſo of Sugar, only for want of the being acquainted with the way of preſſing, boyling and preparing it; what they have is black and unſavoury, and the *Morocco*, *Fez*, and *Negroland* Merchants buy up what they can ſpare. The only Money they uſe, is the Gold dig'd out of their own Grounds; for they have no Silver but what goes towards their Womens Ornaments: The leaſt Iron Coin they have weighs almoſt an Ounce. Figs, Grapes, Peaches, and Dates, are the only Fruits that thrive upon that Soil.

Cordovan Leather of Morocco. The famous *Cordovan* Leather of *Morocco*, is dreſs'd here, where 12 Hides coſt ſix Ducats, and eight at *Fez*. The South part of this Country is diſpeopl'd, and ſubject to the neighbouring *Arabians*; but the North part lying towards the *Atlas*, is well ſtor'd with Towns, Villages, and Hamlets.

A River running thro' a Temple. In the midſt of this City, there ſtands a ſtately Temple, call'd *The Greateſt*, or *The Chiefeſt*, thro' which runs a branch of the River *Sus*. Each quarter of the City has its peculiar Governour, choſen every three Months; and theſe Governours act as States of a Commonwealth. They are perpetually engag'd in War, which renders 'em rough and unpoliſh'd.

Tarodant. The next Town in *Sus* is *Tarodant*, which contains above 3000 Houſes. When the Family of *Marin* ſway'd the Scepter of *Fez*, this was the Seat of the King of *Fez* his Vice-roys. Their preſent Government is lodg'd in the Hands of four Noble-men, elected every ſix Months.

Tedſi. At the diſtance of 30 Miles Eaſtward from *Tarodant*, 60 from the Ocean, 20 from *Atlas*, and three from the River *Sus*, we meet with *Tedſi*, a very great Town, built many Years ago by the *Africans*, in a moſt pleaſant fertile place, abounding in Corn, Sugar, and wild Wood, and reſorted to by many of the *Negroland* Merchants. The Citizens cultivate Peace and Civility, and have a very flouriſhing Commonwealth, govern'd by ſix Magiſtrates, who are choſen by lot every ſixteen Months. There are a great many *Jews* in this City, who are very expert in the Goldſmith, Carpenter, and ſuch like Trades. It has a weekly Market every Munday, which draws in great numbers of *Arabians*, both from the Valleys and Mountains. It is adorn'd with a ſtately Temple, and maintains at the publick Charge, many Prieſts and Doctors of the Law.

Taganeſt. The greateſt City in *Sus* is *Taganeſt*, containing above 8000 Families, ſurrounded with a rough Stone Wall, and lying 60 Miles from the Ocean, 50 to the Southward of *Atlas*, and ten Miles of the *Sus* River. 'Tis ſaid the *Africans* built it. 'Tis never without Civil Wars, the Inhabitants being divided into three Factions, one of which the *Arabians* always ſide with, according as their Pay goes. They have great plenty of Corn and Cattle, but their Wool is very coarſe. They make a ſort of Garments, which are exported once a Year to *Tombuto*, *Gualata*, and other places in *Negroland*: They have a Market twice a Week. Their Attire is in ſome meaſure decent; and their Women are beautiful; but the Men being deſcended of black Fathers and white Mothers, are of a tawny ſwarthy Complexion.

The Mountains of Hanteſa. As for the Mountainous parts. The Mountain *Hachiſa*, ſtretching from the *Atlas* almoſt 40 Miles Eaſtward, is inhabited by valliant Foot-men, one of whom will encounter with two Horſe-men. It produces Barley, and plenty of Honey, but no Corn. 'Tis never without Snow, and yet the Inhabitants are ſo hardy as to wear but one ſingle Garment all the Year round. The Mountain *Halem* beginning Weſtward from that Mountain, runs Eaſt to the Region of *Guzula*, and South to the Plains of *Sus*. 'Tis furniſh'd with plenty of Horſes, and inhabited by a valliant People, who wage eternal Civil Wars, upon the account of ſome Silver Mines, out of which the prevailing Party digs Silver, and diſtributes it equally among the Partiſans.

Mounts a Halem.

The Limits and Soil of Morocco. Its Cities. The third Province of the Kingdom of *Morocco*, is that call'd *The Region of Morocco*, extending Eaſtward from the Mountain of *Neſifa* to the Mountain *Hadimes*, and Northward to the Eaſt Border of *Hea*: Its Form is almoſt triangular. The whole Country is a moſt fertile green Plain, well ſtock'd with Cattle. As for its Towns and Cities.

Teneſſa. About eight Miles to the Eaſt of the River *Aſſifinual*, ſtands *Teneſſa*, upon a Hill of *Atlas*, call'd *Ghedmin*. The Inhabitants till the Ground upon the ſide of the Mountain, and pay a third part of the Product by way of tribute to the *Arabians*. But they dare not till the excellent fertile Plain at the Foot of the Hill, for fear of the plundering *Arabs*.

New Delgumucha. A large and impregnable Fort lately built, call'd *New Delgumucha*, ſurrounded on all hands with Mountains, ſtands about 40 Miles from *Morocco*, upon the top of a Mountain, under which ſprings *Aſſifinual*, i. e. *The River of Noiſe*, ſo call'd, becauſe it breaks out of the ſide of a Hill with a hideous Noiſe, and makes a very deep Gulf. This Fort contains almoſt 1000 Families, being well ſtock'd with a civil People, that wear decent Apparel, and cultivate Mechanick Arts. About 14 Miles to the Weſt of *Delgumucha*, upon a part of *Atlas*, ſtands a City call'd *Imizmizi*, near to which lies the Road over the Mountains to *Guzula*, known by the Name of *Burrit*, i. e. *A Way ſtrew'd with Feathers*, alluding to the Snow that often falls there, apparently in the form of Feathers rather rather than Snow.

Imizmizi. *Burrit.*

Not far from hence there's a fair large Plain, of 30 Miles extent, producing incomparable Corn, but a great part of it is uninhabited, by reaſon of the Depredations of the *Arabians*, and the Souldiers of *Morocco*.

The City of Morocco. About 14 Miles from *Atlas*, and ſix from the River *Tenſift*, upon a very large Field, ſtands *Morocco*, one of the greateſt Cities in the World; founded (as 'tis ſaid) in the 424 Year of the *Hegeira*, by *Joſeph* the Son of *Teſſin*, King of the Tribe of *Luntuna*, when he march'd to the Region of *Morocco*. The Buildings of this City are ſtately and artificial beyond expreſſion. In the Reign of King *Hali*, the Son of *Joſeph*, it contain'd above 100000 Families, being adorn'd with 24 Gates, and a very thick ſtrong white Stone Wall, beſides a great many Temples, Colleges, Bathing Places, and Inns, built after their own Faſhion.

The great Temple of Hali. The moſt magnificent of all their Temples, is that in the midſt of the City, built by *Hali* the Son of *Joſeph*, the firſt King of *Morocco*, whence 'tis commonly call'd the Temple of *Hali ben Joſeph*. *Abdul-Mumen* his Succeſſour pull'd down this ſtately Edifice, and rebuilt it more ſumptuouſly than before, in order to ſink his Predeceſſour's Fame, and eternize his own; but he miſs'd

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his aim, for it still bears the name of *Hali*. The second Tyrant built another Temple near a Rock in the City, which his Grandson *Mansor* enlarg'd to the extent of 50 Cubits every way, and adorn'd with Pillars imported from *Spain*. The Roof of this Temple was cover'd with Lead, and at every Corner were Leaden Pipes, which convey'd the Rain Water down to a Cistern or Vault below the Temple, of equal bigness with the Temple it self. The Steeple is built of hard smooth Stone, in the form of an Amphitheatre, being above 100 Ells round, and higher than the Steeple of *Bononia*. The Stairs of the Steple are seven Hands broad, and well lighted with Windows, that are contriv'd to be wider within than without. The Steeple rises to a Spire, in the form of a Sugar-loaf, about two Spears long and 25 Ells in compass, which has three Galleries, that they get up by wooden Ladders. On the top of a Spire stands a Gold Half-moon, upon an Iron Bar, with three Golden Balls of different sizes underneath, the greatest of which is plac'd lowest and the least highest. From the top of this Steeple one may descry the Promontory of *Azaphi*, which lies 130 Miles off, and carry his Eye above 50 Miles into the plain Country. The inside of this Temple is but ordinary, but the Arches of the Roof is very artificial. This great Temple is never frequented by the People but on *Fridays*; and that part of the City where it stands is now uninhabited, whereas in former times (as 'tis reported) there were above 100 Booksellers Shops under its Porch. In fine, the third part of the City is at present uninhabited, and there is not now one Bookseller in the whole Town.

The occasion of the decay of Morocco. Tho' 'tis not above 500 Years standing, yet the Inconvenience of continual Wars, and the frequent Alterations of their Magistrates, have brought it to decay. In the Reign of *Abraham* King *Hali's* Son, one *Elmaheli*, a Highlander, and a *Mahometan* Priest, rebell'd against his Natural Sovereign, and having levy'd his Army, intercepted his Return to the City of *Morocco*, and oblig'd him to fly to the Mountains of *Atlas*. After which the King came to *Oran*, and finding no Relief there, *The King and Queen thrown headlong over a Rock.* mounted his Horse, and taking his Queen behind him, fled to a Rock upon the Sea-shore, where he threw himself, his Queen and his Horse headlong. In the mean time *Elmaheli* dy'd, and *Abdul-Mumen* his Successour besieg'd the City of *Morocco* for a whole Year, and at last took it, upon which he kill'd *Isaac* the Son of King *Abraham*, with his own Hands, and order'd all the Souldiers and a great part of the Citizens to be put to the Sword. This Man's Posterity reign'd from the 516th to the 668th Year of the *Hegeira*, at which time they were dispossess'd by a King of the Tribe call'd *Marin*. This Family of *Marin* kept their Court at *Fez*, and govern'd *Morocco* by Vice-roys. They continued in the Government till the 785 year of the *Hegeira*. This City of *Morocco* has Vines, Palm-trees, large Gardens, and very fruitful Corn Fields within the Walls; but the Ground without the Walls lies unmanur'd, upon the account of the Excursions of the *Arabs*.

The Castle of Morocco. It has an impregnable large Castle within it, the Walls, Towers and Gates of which, are of pure Marble. Within this Castle stands a stately Temple, with a lofty Steeple, and a Golden Half-Moon, with three Golden Sphears on the top of it, weighing together 130000 Ducats. Some Kings have attempted to take down these rich Sphears, but their Design was always baulk'd by some great Misfortune or other. This Castle contains *A noble Colledge within it.* likewise a great Colledge, that has 30 Halls belonging to it, one of which standing in the middle, is very large, and admirably well painted and carv'd, being the place allotted for the publick Lectures, while Learning flourish'd among 'em. All their Porches and Roofs were of painted glittering Stone, call *Ezzulleia*. In the midst of this Colledge they have a most pleasant clear Fountain, enclos'd with Walls of white polish'd Marble. In former times there were a great many Students in it, who had their Diet and Cloathing given them *gratis*, and several Professours, who had, some 100, some 200 Ducats a year, and admitted of no Hearers, but such as were perfectly well vers'd in the Arts they profess'd. Further, The Castle has likewise twelve Courts of curious Buildings within it. The first was the Apartment of above 500 Christians, who always attended the King, carrying Cross-bows before him. The second was call'd *The House of Affairs*, being the Lodgings appointed for the Lord Chancellour and the King's Privy Council. The third was call'd *The Court of Victory*, in which the Armour and Ammunition was lodg'd. The fourth was allotted to the King's Master of Horse, having three Stables adjoining, each of which contain'd 200 Horse, and large Conveniencies for the keeping of Straw, Barley and Corn. The Corn is lodg'd in several Rooms, each of which will contain above 300 Bushels. These Rooms have a whole in the Roof, to which the Beasts laden with Corn, ascend by Stone Steps, and so the Corn is put in at that hole; and when they want to take out any Corn, there are other holes below, out of which it runs upon the first opening. The other Courts are employ'd for the lodging of the King's and Noblemens Sons, the King's Concubines, and other Ladies of Honour, and the King's Guard, the Reception of Ambassadours, &c. Among these there's a square Building, containing several Galleries with stately Glass Windows, in which several Histories are curiously painted. Upon that side of the Castle that is next the Fields, you have the prospect of a very pleasant large Garden, adorn'd with all sorts of Trees. Not far from the Garden there's a Park wall'd round, in which Elephants, Lions, Stags, and all kinds of wild Beasts were kept, only the Lions had a peculiar Apartment, call'd to this Day, *The Lions Den*. *The Porch of the Castle.* This sumptuous Structure had a Magnificent Porch of excellent Marble, in the midst of which a Lion of Marble stood upon a Pillar, and threw out of his Mouth clear Christal Water into a Cistern. Each corner of the Porch was adorn'd with a Leopard of party colour'd Marble, that naturally represents its spots. This sort of Marble is not to be found any where but in a certain place of *Atlas*, about 150 Miles off. Such was the Magnificence of this noble Structure, in the time of *Mansor*, who built it, which at this day affords only Nests to the Fowls of the Air. Such an Edifice became so great a Prince as *Mansor*, whose Dominions reach'd from *Messa* to *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, and *The Greatness of King Mansor.* who was Lord, not only of all the Kingdom of *Granada* in *Spain*, but of a great part of *Castile* and *Portugal*. 'Twas in his Son's time that the Success of the Christians made way for the decay of *Morocco*; and after his death the Civil Dissentions between his ten Sons, gave the People of *Fez*, call'd *Marini*, an Opportunity of usurping the Government, and leaving this famous City expos'd to the Insults of the *Arabs*, who have reduc'd it to extream Misery.

Agmet. Another Town in the Region of *Morocco*, is that call'd *Agmet*, built by the ancient *Africans*, upon the top of a Hill, about 24 Miles off *Morocco*. While *Muachidin* was Prince of it, it contain'd 6000 Families; the People were noted for Civility, and the Town boasted of Plenty and Magnificence, having in its Neighbourhood plenty of Vines, pleasant Gardens, a River at the Foot of the Hill, the Water of which looks always white, and a Field by it that yielded a fifty fold Increase every Year. But now it's only Inhabitants are Wolves, Foxes, Deer, and other wild Beasts.

The Mountains of Morocco. Nififa. The most Western Part of the Region of *Morocco*, is the Mountain of *Nififa*, which divides it from *Hea*, and which is both well peopled and exceeding fertile in Barley, notwithstanding that its top is continually cover'd with Snow. The Inhabitants of this place are Strangers to Civility; they gaze at any Stranger that comes among 'em. I stay'd there two Days (says our Author) and being clad in white, which is the usual Garb for the Learned Men of our Country, the Mob came about me, and being surpriz'd at the white Garment, handled it so often, that instead of white it became black in a little time.

M. Semede. This Mountain is separated by the River *Sessana* from another Mountain of 20 Miles extent Eastward, call'd *Semede*, inhabited by a People unacquainted with good Laws, Civility or Honesty. It enjoys plenty of Springs, and is always cover'd with Snow. In this Country (says our Author) I was forc'd to eat Barly-meal mingled with Water, and stale tough Goats Flesh, and to lye upon the bare Ground; and it being the Custom there, that, whatever Stranger comes amongst 'em, he is constrain'd *Strangers Judges.* to decide the Controversies of the Inhabitants. I was forc'd to stay there nine Days to decide their Quarrels, after which, by way of Recompence, they plac'd me in a Church Porch, and after a short Prayer, presented me, some with a Cock, some with Nuts and Onions, some with a handful of Garlick, and the richer sort with a Goat, for there is not a farthing of Money in the Country. This done, they sent 50 Horse to conduct me upon the Road, and defend me from Robbers.

M. Seusana. Where *Semede* ends, the Mountain *Seusana* begins, the top of which was never without Snow: It sends forth a River of the same name. The brutish Inhabitants wage eternal War with their Neighbours, but their only Arms are Slings, out of which they throw Stones with a wonderful dexterity. They feed upon Barley, Honey, and Goats-Flesh. The Walls of their Houses are of rough Stone and Lime, and the Roofs are thatch'd. A

great

great many *Jews* live among 'em, and exercise Mechanick Trades, such as Mason Work, making of Soap, Iron Hooks, and Horse-shooes. Neither do they want learned Men and Lawers, whose Counsel they use at all times. This Mountain is much infested with Robbers as well as the last I mention'd.

M. Hanted. The highest Mountain I ever saw, is that call'd *Hanteta*, which at the first view I took to be Clouds. Its top is always cover'd with Snow. The sides of it are destitute of Herbs or Trees, and might afford plenty of excellent white Marble, if the sloathful ignorant Inhabitants knew but how to hew and polish it. Here are many sumptuous Pillars and Arches design'd by the King's of *Morocco*, for supporting Water Conduits; but the Violence of the Wars hinder'd 'em to put their Designs in execution. Many of the *Carrain Jews* follow Mechanick Trades in this place, and pay great Sums to the Governour of the Mountain for their Licence.

The Province of Guzzula. The fourth Province of the Kingdom of *Morocco* is *Guzzula*. Its Limits are *Ilda* a Mountain in *Sus* to the East, *Atlas* to the North, and *Hea* to the South. 'Tis inhabited by a numerous savage People, that abound in Cattle, but want Money. Some Villages in this Province contain above 1000 Families. It has excellent Iron and Copper Mines. Having no King nor Laws, nor form of Government, they are continually at war one with another; only they observe three Days truce every Week, which a Hermite that they rever'd, enjoyn'd to 'em; and once a Year they have a Fair for two Months, during which time they give free Entertainment to all Merchants that come either to sell or buy, and observe a Truce among themselves, appointing Captains out of each Faction, to preserve the Peace and Security of the Fair, and to punish Thieves, who immediately upon their Conviction, are slain like Bruits, and their Carcasses are thrown out to the Dogs and Fowls.

Province of Duccala. Azapi. We come next to the Province of *Duccala*. Its Towns are *Azapi*, upon the Shore of the Ocean, containing 4000 Families, of a barbarous ignorant People, that know not how to till, sow or plant the fertile Soil they possess.

Centum Putei *Centum Putei*, standing upon a Rock of excellent Marble, so call'd from the number of Pits or Caves in its Suburbs, which preserv'd Corn 100 Years from corruption; and inhabited by a sloathful People, there being no Mechanicks among 'em, excepting a few *Jews*.

Azamur. And *Azamur*, seated on the Mouth of the River *Ommirabih*, by the side of the Ocean, containing 5000 civil and decently apparell'd Families, who live in peace one with another. The Inhabitants of *Azamur* are mightily given to Sodomy. The *Jews* surrender'd this City to the King of *Portugal*, upon the Condition of Security to themselves; so that this is now the Residence of the *Portuguese* Merchants. Tho' the Gardens and Orchards about it bring forth nothing but Figs, yet they have plenty of Pulse and Corn, and such abundance of Fish, as brings 'em in 6 or 7000 Ducats a Year. Their Season of Fishing lasts from *October* to *April*.

The Green Mountain. In this Province we meet with a very high Mountain, call'd *The Green Mountain*, which extends from the River *Ommirabih* to the Hills of *Hasara*, and separates *Duccala* from some part of *Tedles*. 'Tis rough and woody, and affords great store of Acorns, Pine-apples, and a red Fruit, call'd *Africano*. It shews a great many Fountains, Mahometan Altars, and the Ruins of ancient Houses, built by the *Africans*. Several Hermites live upon this Mountain, and feed only upon what the Woods afford, for they lie at the distance of 25 Miles from any Town.

The Province of Hazcora. Tedast. The sixth Province of this Kingdom is *Hazcora*, in which we meet with *Tegodast*, a Town standing upon the top of a Mountain, surrounded with other four, the space between these and the Town being full of large, pleasant and fruitful Gardens. Here the Quinces are incredibly big, and the Vines shooting round the Boughs of Trees, make most delicious Walks. The Grapes are red, and for their bigness are call'd Hens Eggs, in the Language of the Country. They have plenty of Oil, which they export to the adjacent Cities, and excellent Honey, both white and yellow. Their Fountains are very numerous, and joining in one Stream, serve their Water-mills. The Inhabitants have some measure of Civility. Their Women are handsome, and set out with Silver Jewels. They have among 'em Judges, Priests, great numbers of Gentlemen, and a great many Tradesmen. Their Leather, of which they have abundance, they export to *Fez* and *Mecnaza*. Under the Town lies a fertile Plain, almost six Miles long, for which they pay tribute to the *Arabians*.

Within five Miles of that Town, stands *Elgiumaa*, on the top of a high Mountain, containing 500 Families, besides as many more in the Villages upon the Mountains. 'Tis enrich'd with innumerable Springs, pleasant Gardens, tall Walnut-trees, and excellent Iron Mines, which afford 'em plenty of Horse-shooes. A great many Trades-men live in this Town, such as Smiths, Leather-dressers, &c. The adjacent Hills yield Barly and Olives in great abundance. El Gumaa.

The Province of Tedles. As for *Tedles*, the last Province of *Morocco*; its chief Town is *Tefza*, built by the *Africans* upon the side of Mount *Atlas*, about five Miles off the Valley, and taking its Name from the excellent Marble (*Tefza*) of which its Walls are built. Many rich Merchants reside in it, besides 200 Families of Jewish Tradesmen and Merchants. Several outlandish Merchants trade to it for black Mantles with Hoods, call'd *Ilburnus's*. It entertains many Judges and Priests, and has several Mahometan Temples. The Inhabitants are decently cloath'd; their Women are handsome and graceful; their Coins of Gold, bears no Image or Superscription. They pay the King of *Morocco* 20000 Ducats a Year. Tefza.

M. Magra. In this Province is Mount *Magran*, having the Region of *Farcali* on the South, Mount *Seggheme* on the West, and Mount *Dedes* on the East. Tho' 'tis always cover'd with Snow, the Inhabitants have such Droves of small and great Cattle, that they are oblig'd to move from place to place, and carry their Houses along with 'em upon Mules, for they are made of the Bark of Trees, supported with slender Spares: Only during the Spring they continue in one place, and to defend their Cattle from the cold, lodge 'em in the night time in Cottages cover'd with the Boughs of Trees, near which they kindle great Fires, and if the Wind blows hard, the Cattle are sometimes endanger'd by the Fire. Lions and Wolves never cease to molest 'em.

M. Dede. Another high and cold Mountain in this Province, is Mount *Dedes*. It extends from Mount *Magran* on the West, as far as Mount *Adesan*, and on the South Borders upon the Plains of *Todga*, being almost 80 Miles long; 'tis full of Fountains and Woods. The Ruines of an old City are to be seen upon the top of it, with some Inscriptions upon the Stones that the Inhabitants do not understand. This I take to have been the same City, that *Scriffo Essacalli*, an Historian, calls *Tedsi*, and places near to *Segelmesse* and *Dara*. The Inhabitants of this Mountain are very barbarous. Most of 'em dwell in Caves under ground, and likewise lodge their Cattle in Caves, which are full of Salt Petre, but they know not the use of it. Some of 'em have Houses built by pailing one Stone above another, without any Morter; but there's no Town or Castle in all the Country. They have nothing to feed upon but Barley Meal boyl'd with Water and Salt, which they call *Elhasid*. They have large numbers of Asses and Goats, and their very Houses are tainted with the stench of Goats Their Garments scarce cover half their nakedness. They are wonderfully haunted by prodigious swarms of Fleas. Having neither Judge, Priest, nor Governour, they steal from one another, and quarrel upon the least occasion. Few Merchants visit 'em, because they have no Commodities to sell; and if any one imports Goods among 'em, he must pay a fourth part for Custom, and runs the risque of having all taken from him, unless he be conducted safe by their Captain. Their Women are a slovenly miserable crew, and their Toil and Slavery is greater than that of *Asses*.

Additions

Additions to CHAP. II.

Collected out of Marmol.

The Province of Hea.

MOrocco, the most Western Kingdom of all *Barbary*, is bounded by the Ocean on the West, the River of *Sus* on the South, Mount *Atlas* on the East, and the River of *Ommirabi* on the North.

Hea, the most Western Province of *Morocco*, is so craggy and mountainous, that it nourishes few other Beasts besides Goats, very large Hares, and Asses, which are very numerous there.

Its Products.

It produces great quantities of Barley, but no Corn. What traffick the Inhabitants have, is owing, not only to their Goats, but to their Bees, from which they gather a great quantity of Wax, and sell it to the *Europeans*. The Natives are a warlike People, but withal very brutish and uncivil. Tho' their Valleys being well watered with Springs and Rivers, might make good Vineyards and Gardens, yet they neglect both. Neither do they plant Olive-Trees, for what Oil they use is made of the Kernel of a certain Fruit that grows upon a thorny Tree call'd *Erquen*. This Fruit is as big as a large Apricock; it contains nothing but a Stone cover'd with a Skin, and when 'tis ripe, shines like a Star in the Night-time. The Goats feed upon it, but are not able to break the Stone; so that the Natives gather the Stones in their Folds, and from the Kernels draw an Oil, that both stinks and tastes very rank. The Inhabitants are so brutish, that not one among 'em can read, excepting a few *Alfaqui's*, whose Example and Precepts are a standing Law to the rest; for tho' they are all *Mahometans*, yet they know nothing either of *Mahomet* or his Sect. They wear no Shirts, because they have no Linen, but what is bought up at *Morocco* or *Safi*, for the use of the Courtiers and Ladies of Quality. They have neither Hats nor Caps upon their Heads, but only woolen Rowlers about half a Foot broad, which they run five or six times about their Heads, in the form of Turbants. The finest of these Welts or Fillets are of Cotton-Cloth strip'd with red, with Tassels hanging down on each side like a Fringe, but the *Alfaqui's* wear, by way of distinction, red Caps imported from *Toledo* or *Cordova*. The young Men shave their Face and Head, but married Men suffer not only their Beards to grow, but likewise a Tuft of Hair upon the Crown of the Head, by which (say the *Arabians*) the *Mahometans* will be distinguish'd on the Day of Judgment. Those who live in Cities have a decenter Garb than the rest; for they wear Doublets of colour'd Cloth, with long Skirts and half Sleeves, with a great many Buttons upon the Breast, and over it a Cassock that's somewhat finer. Their Women have long and large Linen Shifts, and a sort of Veil or Mantle, call'd *Haique*. Within doors, if they are Ladies of Quality, they cover themselves with a Cloth that's half Linen half Silk, and fasten it upon their Breasts with a Silver Buckle. Upon their Arms they have Silver Bracelets, and large Silver Rings upon their Ankles, besides three or four large Ear-rings of Gold, or Silver, or Iron, according to their Ability. The People of Fashion lie in Coverings of shag'd Tapistry, lying several Plaits of it underneath 'em, and leaving a piece to cover 'em: But the common People have nothing to lye upon but Mats made of Bulrushes, or some Goats Skins, and cover themselves with their Cloaths. The Men are of a robust Constitution, and infinitely jealous of their Wives, who are commonly handsome, and of a clean, white and amorous Complexion.

Their Diet.

Their ordinary Food is Barley Meal, which they either bake into Cakes, either in an Oven or in an earthen Pan, and eat it hot with Butter or Honey, or the Oil of *Erquen*, or sometimes with Goats Flesh stew'd. Sometimes they boil the Meal with Milk or fresh Butter, and so eat it, calling it *Hacua*: But their *Hacida* is a piece of Paste or Dough boil'd with Water and Salt, and having a hole in the middle of it, fill'd with Butter or Oil, in which they dip their Bread when they eat it, and then drink up the Broth.

They eat with their Right-hand, and why.

When they eat, they sit down, both Men and Women, upon the Ground, and the earthen Vessels being plac'd in the middle, grapple up the Victuals with their Right-hand, accounting it unlawful to eat either with Spoons or with the Left-hand, that being the Hand with which they wash themselves when they go about their Devotion; when they have done eating, they wipe their Fingers by rubbing 'em against the other Hand or their Arms; for they use neither Napkins, nor Towels, nor Handkerchiefs; and when they wash their Hands, they hold 'em in the Air till they dry of themselves. Their Women are commonly imploy'd in grinding their Meal in little Stone Hand-mills; for notwithstanding the Advantage of excellent Rivers falling down from the Mountains, they have no such thing as Water-Mills. They know no such thing as Soap, for they whiten their Linen with a sort of Herb call'd *Gazul*.

All this Province is very well peopled, being full of large Villages stock'd with a turbulent sort of People, who liv'd in eternal war with one another, till the Government fell into the Hands of the *Xeriffs*; for they liv'd at large, and neglecting the Measures either of Law or Justice, were impatient under Controul.

Their Arms.

Their Arms are three or four Darts with sharp Steel Points, and a sharp Poinard bow'd like a Sickle, which cuts on the inner side, and three or four Slings ty'd about their middle. They knew nothing of Guns or Cross-bows, till within these few Years, that the *Xeriff* call'd them to assist him in the Wars. Their Horsemen carry Spears with Leathern Targets, and Cutelaxs's made like Sickles.

Their way of fighting.

In fighting they always betake themselves to steep and unaccessable places, from whence they tumble down Stones upon their Enemies; and upon an Attack they make such a noise, that one would take 'em to be much more numerous than they are. What has been said of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of *Hea*, may be apply'd to all the Mountaneers of *Barbary*.

The City of Tedneſt.

The Metropolitan of all *Hea*, is the City of *Tedneſt*, wash'd by a River that rises in its Neighbourhood, the Banks of which are beautify'd with fruitful Trees and all sorts of Kitchin Herbs. Both its Houses and Walls are built of Wood and square Lays of Earth, cemented with Plaister.

Most of the Inhabitants of this City are Shepherds and labouring Men, who spend their time in the Fields. The rest are Trades-men, particularly Shooe-makers, Taylors, Carpenters, Lock-smiths, to which we may add some Jews that are Gold-smiths, and some Merchants, who sell the coarse Cloth made in the Country, and trade in the Linen Cloth imported from *Safi*, where the *European* Merchants exchange it for Wax and Leather. This City has less Polity than any other City in all *Barbary*, for it has neither Baths, Inns, Colleges nor Hospitals, excepting one for the poor People that pass that way.

Severe Taxes upon the Jews.

About 200 Families of *Jews* live in a separate quarter of the City, where they are allow'd to observe the Measures of their own Law, and pay a Ducat a Head to the Governour, besides the extraordinary Taxes which are ten times heavier upon each of them, than upon the richest Merchant of the City; and after all, they are uncapable of being the Proprietors of Houses or Lands, or any other immoveable thing. *Tedneſt* has been destroy'd several times, particularly when the *Almuhades* master'd *Morocco* and *Abdulmumen*, after an obstinate Siege, reduc'd it to such extremity, that it became a Receptacle to wild Beasts. But the adjacent Country being fertile and pleasant, 'twas soon after rebuilt and repeopled, and render'd it self famous by declaring first for the *Xeriffs*. Upon which *Xeriff Mahomet* pitch'd upon it for the place of his Residence, and adorn'd it with a sumptuous Palace, with fine Gardens and Water-works adjoyning. 'Twas his place of Arms against the Christians of *Safi* and *Azamor*, who infested his Provinces under the conduct of *Tahaya Aben Yasuf*, an *African* Captain, and Vassal of the King of *Portugal*.

The Portugueze take Tedneſt. A. D. 1511.

This Captain being a mortal Enemy to the *Xeriffs*, and a particular Friend to *Nugno Fernandez de Atayde*, General of the *Portugueze* Army, and the bravest Officer of his time, join'd with him (*A. D.* 1512.) in marching against *Xeriff Mahumet*, who was then at *Tedueſt*, accompany'd by his two Sons, and the Flower of his Army. Upon their Approach at the Head of 400

Christian Horse, 3000 Morish Horse, and 800 *Arabian* Foot; the *Xeriff* march'd out of *Tedneſt* with 4000 Horse, and meeting the Van-guard, commanded by the *African* Captain, was routed before the *Portugueze* General come up with the Rear. In this Battle he lost 800 Men, besides 200 Prisoners, and upon that, he and his two Sons betook themselves to flight. The Victors having possess'd themselves of a Booty of 3000 Head of Cattle small and great, besides a great many Horses, Camels and Mules, march'd up to the City, and took it without any Opposition. After that it continued in the Hands of the King of *Portugal*, as well as many other places in that Country, till the *Xeriff* having drawn together an Army, recover'd it; so that his Posterity enjoys it to this Day.

The *Xeriff* retakes it.

Agobel, a small fortified Town, not far from *Tedneſt*, was likewise taken by the above-mention'd General, who was the first that scal'd the Walls, and by his Personal Braveries, not only animated his Men, but astonish'd his Enemies: But the *Xeriff* has since retaken it, for it always follow'd the Fortune of *Tedneſt*.

The Town of *Agobel.*

Alguel, a strong Town in this Country, standing on the top of a steep Mountain, was attack'd by the *Portugueſe*, but they did not carry it.

Alguel a Town.

Teculeth, another City in this Country, has a small Harbour, with an old Castle call'd *Agus*, upon the Mouth of the *Diura*, which *Ptolomy* places in 7 Deg. 20 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 40 Min. Lat. Both the Houses and Walls of this Town are built of Earth. 'Twas first sack'd and dispeopled by *Abdulmumen*, and afterwards (*A. D.* 1514) by the *Portugueſe*. But since that the *Xeriff* have repeopled it, and indeed the Inhabitants are both civiler and richer than those of *Tedneſt*; for the adjacent Plains are very fertile, and the Mountain affords great Hives of Bees, the Wax of which they sell to the *European* Merchants.

Teculeth.

Tesgdelt is look'd upon as the Key of the whole Province; and the Governour appointed by the *Xeriff*, to collect his Revenues and administer Justice, resides in it.

Tesgdelt.

The Castle call'd *Culeyhat Elmuhayden*, built by *Omar* the *Mahometan* Preacher, was a great annoyance to the Neighbours, by reason of the Robberies and Excursions of his Grandson, till at last he came to an Accommodation with the *Xeriffs*, and paid 'em homage.

Culeyhat. Elmuhayden.

Upon the point of the Promontory of *Hea*, that shoots out into the Ocean, there stands a little Town call'd *Teſtana*, with a pretty good Habour, where the *European* Merchants use to land. 'Twas formerly call'd *Hercules*'s Port, which *Ptolomy* places in 7. Deg. 30 Min. Lon. and 30 Deg. Lat. It has Walls and Towers built of Brick and Free-stone, and was once a Sovereign Republick, and maintain'd a Garrison upon the Custom of 10 *per Cent.* of the Wax, untann'd Leather, Indigo, and other Goods that were exported or imported. At present 'tis subject to the *Xeriff*, and kept under by a Governour and a Garrison. The Inhabitants are very white, and liberal to Strangers. They have large places set apart for Bee-hives.

Teſtana.

The second Province of *Morocco* is *Sus*, which contains the greater part of the whole Kingdom. The best part of this Country is a Plain, lying to the Westward along the River *Magarib*, which waters it, and is convey'd by Conduits to the respective Villages.

The Province of *Sus.*

The Inhabitants of this Province are richer and more civiliz'd than those of *Hea*; for besides their large stocks of Corn and Cattle, they have dealt in Sugars, being provided with Sugar Mills ever since the Reign of the *Xeriffs*, which is the most profitable Trade in all *Morocco*. When the *Xeriffs* conquer'd *Mauritania Tingitana*, the eldest Brother gave the Kingdom of *Sus* to the younger, upon the condition of paying homage; which he did for a while, till at last he outed his elder Brother, and made himself Master, not only of all *Mauritania Tingitana*, but of several Provinces in *Numidia* and *Libya*.

Its Inhabitants.

This Country affords good Indigo, Allum, and the best sort of Lattin, which goes by the name of *Suſi*, not to mention the *Gencova* Slaves, and the *Tibar* Gold, call'd by the Negroes *Narnaqui*, which are brought from thence by Caravans every Year.

Commodities

Among the remarkable places of this Province, we must take notice of *Tejent*, or *Techeit*, where they make great quantities of fine Sugar, ever since a *Jew* that was turn'd *More*, taught 'em how to prepare it, by the Assistance of some Prisoners that the *Xeriff* had took at Cape *d' Aguer*. The Inhabitants of this place are very proud, and were always quarreling among themselves while they enjoy'd their Liberty. But about 100 Years ago some of 'em usurp'd the Government, and upon the Commencement of the *Xeriffian Adventures*, the then Governour married his only Daughter to a *Genoveſe* Merchant that had turn'd *Mahometan*; and this Merchant was so much belov'd by the People, that after the Death of his Father-in-Law, he succeeded to the Crown, and being a Friend to the *Xeriffs*, allow'd 'em to pass thro' his Country upon their march to *Hea*. The eldest Son and Successour of this Merchant was the bravest alive that the *Xeriffs* had, and they confided most in him. His Grandson is at present Lord of *Chechuan*. These Princes imbellish'd the City very much, and at this Day the Inhabitants are very rich, and live at their ease. However they have among 'em above 200 Jewish Merchants and Trades-men.

Tejent;

Twelve Leagues to the East of *Tejent*, we fall in with *Tarudant*, call'd by the Mores *Teurant*, which is not inferiour to the rest in Magnificence and Commerce. When the *Beninnerins* master'd *Mauritania Tingitana*, they imbellish'd it, and made it the Seat of their Vice-roys. After their fall, it recover'd its Liberty, and was govern'd by four Magistrates elected every six Months, till the *Xeriffs* possess'd themselves of it, under the Pretence of waging War with the Christians at Cape *d' Aguer*. At present (says our Author) 'tis well fortified, and one of the principal Cities in all *Africa*; in which the *Xeriff* lodges his Magazines, his Arsenal, and the greatest part of his Treasure, as being the securest place in the Country. Some say the *Xeriffs* were the Founders of it, but the Antiquity of its Walls and Buildings, and the Testimony of Historians, are sufficient Evidence that it was built by the ancient *Africans*.

Tarudant.

Tedsi was likewise much improv'd by the *Xeriffs*; for it submitted voluntarily to them, when it was govern'd by six Magistrates chosen every sixteen Months, upon which they establish'd a Court of Judicature in the City, and render'd it one of the richest and most considerable Towns on that side the *Atlas*. The same was the Fate of the great City of *Taganeſt*.

Tedsi.

Within these few Years there was a small Town built at the Foot of the Cape of Mount *Atlas*, call'd *Cape d' Aguer*, and formerly *Cape d' Usagre*, which *Ptolomy* places in seven Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 29 Deg. 15 Min. Lat. This place has a good Harbour, where large Ships may ride. It owes its Original to *Diego Lopez de Seguera*, a *Portugueze* Gentleman, who built a Castle there to secure his Fishery. This Castle was call'd *Saint Croix*, and by the Mores *Dar Kumia*, i. e. *The House of a Christian*. But K. *Don Manual* perceiving that this Castle might be of great importance in securing the Navigation of those Seas, and carrying on the Conquest of *Africa*, bought it of the Gentleman, and having enlarg'd it, fortified it like a City, with Stone Walls and Bulwarks. Here the *Portugueze* kept a Garrison, which assisted by their *Arabian* and *African* Vassals, made many successful Excursions into the Country: And indeed nothing has contributed more towards the aggrandising of the *Xeriffs*, than the *Portugueze*, their loosing this and their other Possessions in *Africa*. *Muley Hameh* laid siege to this place, in the Year 1536 for seven Months together, and after the Loss of 13000 Men, took it upon the accidental blowing up of a Barrel of Powder, which was under a Bulwark, and made a great breach in the Wall. At that time the *Portugueſe* Governour had a Daughter that was married to one *Don Jon de Carval*, a Man who signaliz'd his unparell'd Courage, by killing 30 *Mores* with his Sword in one Engagement, and fighting upon his Knees after he was wounded in both his Legs, insomuch that the *Mores* were forc'd to kill him at a distance with Darts, for no body durst venture to come near him.

Cape d'Aguer.

Taken by the *Xeriffs*.

When the victorious *Xeriff* saw his Lady (*Degna Mencia* by Name) he was so charm'd with her Meen and Beauty, that he instantly offer'd to lie with her; and upon her refusing to grant that Liberty, he threatn'd to make two Negroes hold her by force till he satisfied his Passion. In this Extremity the Lady consented, upon condition that he should marry her, and allow her to continue a Christian. After that, the *Mores* were uneasy upon her enjoyment of the Priviledges of a Christian, insomuch that he was forc'd to desire her to pretend to be converted to *Mahometaniſm*. She being then big with Child comply'd with his Request; and after her Delivery (as the Report goes) both she and her Child were poyson'd by the *Xeriff*'s other Wives. But before her Death, she protested in the presence of some Christian Slaves, that she dy'd a Christian, and had ever been such, but that she could not refuse to make a Shew of the contrary, upon several Considerations tending to the Benefit of the Christians, and especially of her Father who was then in prison. This she desir'd them to make known to the World: And since her Death, the *Xeriff* sent

The Vertue and Constancy of a Portugueſe Lady.

sent her Father-in-Law and some Christian Slaves back to *Portugal*, and furnish'd him with Horses, Equipage and Money.

The Province of Morocco. The third Province of *Morocco* bears the Name of the whole Kingdom, but formerly 'twas call'd *Bocano Emero*, and its Capital City was *Agmet*, before the building of *Morocco*, which is now the Metropolitan, not only of that Province, but of all West *Barbary*. The Inhabitants of this Province who live in Towns and Villages, are a cunning People; they carry on a sort of small Traffick, and are cloath'd decently enough in their way. They have numerous Troops of Horse, besides Muskateers and Cross-bowmen on foot. But the Inhabitants of the Mountains are of the same Kidney with those of *Hea*.

Agmet. *Agmet*, which was once the Metropolitan, and is now a heap of Ruines, is call'd by *Ptolomy Emere*, in his Map of *Libya*, and plac'd in 9 Deg. 20 Min. Long. and 29 Deg. 30 Min. Lat. The most remarkable thing about that place, is a Lake that receives all the Water that descends from the Mountain, and is equally deep all over, notwithstanding that 'tis prodigious large and extream deep, which renders it very obnoxious to Storms.

The City of Morocco. The City of *Morocco* is the pleasantest and best situated City in all *Africa*.

The Original and Antiquity of the City. In some of its ancient Buildings we find Tables of Alabaster, with Inscriptions in *Arabick* Letters, importing, that they were built by the Tribe of *Luntuna*, in the Reign of *Joseph Abu Techifien*, who to carry on the Work with more expedition, imploy'd 30000 Slaves in the building of it, and made it the place of his residence. 'Tis surrounded with delicate Walls made of Chalk and Sand mix'd with a fat sort of Earth, which renders the Cement so hard, that if you strike upon it with a Pick-ax, it casts fire like Flint: And considering the uncommon height of these Walls, 'tis very remarkable, that there is not so much as one breach in 'em, notwithstanding that the City has been several times sack'd. The Contrivance of this Town speaks the Skill and Ingenuity of its Architects. It has 24 Gates, and once contain'd 100000 Inhabitants. In a word, in the Reign of the *Luntunes* and *Almohades*, 'twas, without dispute, the greatest and richest City in all *Africa*. I have seen (says our Author) a piece of Alabaster as high as a Man, plac'd upon an ancient Tomb, with this Inscription in *Arabick*. *I was Ali the Son of Atia, who commanded 100000 Men, possess'd 10000 Horse, and in one Day caused 101 Pits to be digged for watering of them. I married 300 Girls, and always faithful and victorious; being of* Jacob Almansor's *24 Generals. The 40th Year of my Age put an end to my Life. May whoever reads this Epitaph, pray to God to pardon me.* This justifies what Historians assert of the Puissance of those Princes, who have cross'd over so often to *Spain* with such numerous Armies; for here we see one General commands 100000 Men.

The Puissance of the ancient Lords.

A stately Temple. Not to mention the great Temple of *Hali* and the King's Palace; there's a large magnificent Temple in this City, which was built by *Abdulmumen*, and much improv'd and beautify'd by *Jacob Almansor* his Grandson, who carry'd the Gates, and several other Ornaments of the great Church at *Seville* as Trophies to *Morocco*, and adorn'd this Temple with 'em, as well as with two Bells that he brought out of *Spain*; for the *Mores* use no Bells. The Spire of this Temple has upon it four Balls of Gold fasten'd upon an Iron Spike, the lowest and largest of which will hold eight Measures of Corn, the next four, and so on in proportion. The Body of the Ball is of Copper, which is cover'd with a thick plate of *Fine* Gold; and the *African* Historians alledge, that one of *Jacob Almansor*'s Wives sold her Jewels, in order to make 'em. But the vulgar People fancy, that some Spirits brought them thither, and still guard 'em, which has scar'd several of their Kings from medling with 'em in Cases of Extremity. When King *Nacer Bucheritus* was attack'd on all hands by the *Arabians*, the *Portuguese* and the King of *Fez*, he would fain have taken 'em down, and pay'd his Troops with 'em; but the Inhabitants remonstrated, that rather than the Honour of their City should be so far sunk, they and their Children should be expos'd to sale. However the *Xeriff Muley Hamet* took down the uppermost Ball but lately, and sold the Gold of it for 25000 Pistols of pure Gold; after which, to appease the People, he caus'd the Copper Body to be guilt, and put up in its place, and hang'd up upon the Spire of the Steeple, the Jewish Goldsmith who had taken off the Gold by his Orders. But the *Alfaqui's* gave it out, that 'twas the Guardian Spirits of the Golden Balls that had taken up the Jew and hang'd him there. Not long after, that Prince lost both his Crown and his Life, and the People imputed his Misfortune to his Sacriledge, so that no body has since offer'd to touch 'em.

The Avarice of the Xeriff.

The Superstition of the People.

In ancient times there were two large Apartments in this City, which were set apart for the Christians that they call'd *Musarabians*, whom the King of *Morocco* imploy'd to serve him as Souldiers, and allow'd to live there with their Wives and Children, in the free Exercise of their Religion. These Christians were call'd *Musarabians*, not from their serving *Musa* after the defeat of King *Roderick*, but from their Knowledge of the *Arabick* Tongue. They were brought from *Spain* by *Jacob Almansor*, for a Guard to his Person, and commonly their number amounted to 500 Horse, well mounted and well paid. They continued a long time in this Service, till *John* I. King of *Castile*, recall'd 'em to *Spain*, and bestow'd on 'em large Possessions and Priviledges. The Name of *Musarab* is still made use of in seven Parish Churches at *Toledo*, where the *Musarabian* Service and the *Gothick* Ceremonies do still take place.

The History of the Musarabians.

In the Year 1219, *S. Belaid* and five more went to *Morocco* to preach in this place, but the *Mores* condemn'd 'em to martyrdom, because they inveighed against the *Mahometan*. And *Don Pedro*, the King of *Portugal*'s Son, being then at *Morocco*, carry'd their Reliques to *Caimbra*. Since that, the *Musarabians* had such an Interest with the King, that they obtain'd leave for erecting a Convent of Grey Friars; upon which, several *Franciscans* came from *Spain*, and preach'd there; but by the Instigation of the *Alfaqui's*, they all suffer'd martyrdom.

Several Saints suffer Martyrdom.

In the same place where these two Palaces stood, are the present *Xeriff*'s Magazines, where they make 4600 weight of Powder, and several sorts of Arms, every Month. But in the Year 1569, a clap of Thunder set fire to the Powder, and burnt, not only the Magazine, but several Neighbouring Houses.

The King's Magazine.

Formerly the *Jews* had a place allotted 'em to live in, near the heart of the City, but the present King transported 'em to a remoter corner, in order to separate 'em from the *Mores*. The place of their present Residence is wall'd round, having only one Gate that leads to the City, and another that leads to their Church-yard. Most of these *Jews* are Gold-smiths, and some are Merchants and other Tradesmen. The richest among 'em are those that manage the Revenues of Governours and of the King's Children; for the *Mores* love to entrust the management of their Incomes to the *Jews*, and find their account in it. All the *Jews* pay a Ducat a head, besides the ordinary Taxes.

The *Jews* separated from the *Mores*.

About the middle of the City we meet with a large wide place, with a Plot of Earth in the middle of it, rais'd higher than the adjacent Shops and Houses. This is the place where the Criminals are executed, and 'tis never without several Gybits, upon which some hang by the Feet with their Throats cut, some are left to dye in that posture without cutting their Throats, and others are hung up by one Arm with their Bellies ripp'd open. This is the way of punishing Criminals when there is no Plaintiff; but if there be any Plaintiff, he executes Justice himself, either by smothering the Criminal, or cutting his Throat, or running him thro with a Spear, or selling him for a Slave, or suffering him to buy his Life for a sum of Money.

The Place and the Manner of Execution.

One of the most remarkable things in this City, is a lofty Edifice, containing a general Cistern for Water, which shews how puissant these Infidels have been in former times. It receives 400 Aquæducts, which lye very deep in the Earth, and were digg'd (as some say) by 20000 Christian Slaves. Some say, the Water of these Aquæducts come six Leagues off, from a River that springs out of Mount *Atlas*, the Channel of which is cover'd all the way to the City, so that no body can discover whence the Water comes. To discover the truth of the matter, several Kings have put Men into the Aquæducts with Lights in their Hands, in order to trace the source, but all of 'em pretended they could not get along, some for one obstacle, and some for another. However the present *Xeriff* has within these few Years digg'd great Pits about two or three Leagues off the City, where the Ground begins to rise; and having gather'd all the Water into a Cistern, conveys it by an Aquæduct into the City, the Pits and their Avenues being shut up; so that in case of a Siege, no body can trace the Aquæduct, or know whence the Water comes, in order to cut it off; and probably all the former Aquæducts were of the same nature. The *Xeriff* that now reigns, has lately drawn a Canal upon the East side of the City, from Mount *Agmet* to *Morocco*, which serves above 50 Mills in a plain one after another, and Waters several Gardens kept by the *Andalusian Mores* on its Banks. For the *Xeriff* parcell'd out Lands to 'em upon that

Noble Aquæducts.

The *Andalusian Mores*.

quarter, allowing 'em pay like Souldiers; and 'tis from thence that they come to *Salé*, and infest the Spanish Coast with the light Galleys that are commonly in that River. Their Leader is an *Andalusian More*, call'd *Dgali*, i. e. The Cheat; and at *Morocco* they have a separate quarter for themselves, which is call'd *New Orgive*, because the first that came thither were of that City.

The Humour and Customs of the Citizens.

The Inhabitants of *Morocco* are a proud sort of People, and mortal Enemies to the Christians. They speak the *Berebers* Language. They wear Cassocks of colour'd Cloth, embroyder'd down to the Feet with small pieces cut out like Lozenges; over these they have Vests of fine Camlet or Silk, and worsted Stuffs. They have Shirts and Drawers of white Cloth, and Scarlet Caps with small Turbants. The Women are very civil and airy. Their Garments are either of Silk, or of fine Linen, and reach down to their Feet. They wear no Drawers as the Women of *Fez* do, and never stir abroad, unless it be to Church, or upon a Visit; and when they go to a Bath, they cover their Faces very carefully, that they may not be seen. But after all, they are very coquette, and their Husbands are very jealous. The Citizens feed higher than those of *Sus*; for besides plenty of Corn, Meat, Butter, and Dates, they have great store of Fowls and Venison, and all the Niceties that *Europe* affords. At present the Town is very populous, and improves every Day, by vertue of the Prince's Favour.

The Province of *Gesula*. A celebrated Fair.

The next Province is that call'd *Gesula*, the Inhabitants of which are a barbarous quarrelsome crew.

They have a celebrated Fair once a Year, that commences on *Mahomet's* birth-day, and lasts for two Months. During this Fair, they entertain above 10000 foreign Merchants, and observe a very regular Order, notwithstanding, that at other times they are the most brutish turbulent People in all *Africa*. They are mostly Coppersmiths and Tinkers, and were the first that discover'd to the *Africans* the way of melting and casting Iron. They liv'd formerly without any form of Government, but at present they are subject to the *Xeriffs*, who favour 'em upon the account of their faithful Services, and their keeping Foot-Guards which carry Firelocks. Their Customs are much of a piece with those of *Hea*.

The Province of *Duguela*.

The fifth Province of *Morocco* is *Duguela*, which is 30 Leagues long and 24 broad. Its Limits are the River of *Tansift* on the West, the River of *Ommirabi* on the East, the Ocean on the North, and *Morocco* on the South. It affords plenty of Corn and Cattle. Most of it lies in Plains, inhabited by wrandring *Arabians*, and by *Berebe-es*, some of whom likewise wander from place to place, and others fix in Houses and Villages.

Safia a *Liby-Phœnician* City.

One remarkable City in this Province is *Safia*, call'd by the *Africans*, and by the *Portuguese Asaphi*. Some affirm, that 'tis one of those Cities which *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* General built in *Libya*, by the Senate's Order, and which from thence were call'd *Liby-Phœnician* Cities. It has very good Walls, but is of no great Strength, by reason that it lies under the view of several rising Grounds. In ancient times it was subject to the Kings of *Morocco*, and in that State its Trade was better than afterwards, for the *Spanish* Merchants imported Cloth, Linen, and other Goods, in exchange for their Wax, Indigo, Gums, and other Commodities. But upon the Declension of the Reign of the *Menimerini*, it shook off their Yoak, and one of their own Citizens usurp'd the Government; upon which they fell into Civil Wars, and one of the Factions calling in the *Portuguese* to their assistance, occasion'd their Subjection to the Crown of *Portugal*. Tho the Garrison of this place reduc'd a great part of the adjacent Country, and carried several important Victories, yet the *Portuguese*, after the loss of Cape *d' Agner*, being apprehensive of the growing Power of the *Xeriffs*, thought fit to abandon it, especially considering that 'twas a place commanded by the neighbouring Mountains, and that it could not be well reliev'd by Sea, by reason of its bad Harbour; and not to mention that it cost more than 'twas worth. While the *Portuguese* were Masters of *Safia*, they destroy'd *Cerne Miarbir*, and several other Villages and Castles in this Province, that depended upon *Safia*.

Possess'd by the *Portuguese*, who afterwards abdicate it.

Azamor taken and abdicated by the *Portuguese*.

Azamor, another City in this Province, is by some reckon'd one of the *Liby-Phœnician* Cities. 'Twas formerly call'd *Cusa*, and plac'd by *Ptolomy* in six Deg. 40 Min. Long. and 32 Deg. 45 Min. Lat. Before the *Portuguese* were Masters of it, 'twas a rich neat Town; for it drove a great Trade, especially in Fishing. It continued in the *Portuguese* Hands 32 Years; after which they deserted it, and remov'd their Troops, Artillery, and Ammunition to *Mazagan*. Their Plea for their Abdication was, that 'twas over-aw'd by an adjacent Hill, and the Mouth of the River was very dangerous for their Shipping; besides, that the keeping of it was very chargeable. Upon their Removal, the *Xeriff* repeopled it by sending two *Alfaqui's* to dwell in it that were in great repute for their Sanctity. But soon after the Governour of *Mazagan* surpriz'd it in the Night-time, and sent the two *Alfaqui's* and the Governour Prisoners to *Portugal*. From that time the *Mores* durst not offer to replant it, so that it became a Receptacle for wild Beasts. At this Day the *Xeriff* farms the Fishery of the Shads to some Christian Merchants at a very dear rate, but they are not in safety if they come ashoar.

Mount *Benimager*.

About four Leagues to the East of *Safia*, there's a high Mountain, call'd by the Ancients the Mountain of the *Sun*, at present *Benimager*, where 300 *Mores* upon Horseback sheltered themselves for some time, when the *Portuguese* were Masters of *Safia*, and made Excursions upon the Christians; but at last they were reduc'd. At this Day the Inhabitants of the Mountain are subject to the Governour of *Safia*.

The Green Mountain.

Another Mountain in that Province, is that call'd *Julel Hadra*, or the Green Mountain, which was very well peopled in the time of the *Almohades*, but since the Devastations of the *Benimerini's*, is only inhabited by Hermites and visited by Pilgrims. The many Springs that issue from its Rocks, form a great Lake at the Foot of the Mountain, which is wonderfully stock'd with Eels, Trouts, Barbels, and a sort of large white Fish call'd *Bognes*, which tasts very sweet. But the most remarkable thing of all, is the multitude and diversity of Fowls and Venison, for certainly there is not such plenty of Game in all *Africa*, as upon this Mountain.

The Province of *Hazcora*.

Having dispatch'd *Duguela*, we proceeded in order to *Hazcora*, the next Province, which was formerly call'd *Dominet*. Its Limits are the Green Mountain on the North, the River *Animmey* on the West, the *Negroland* River on the East, and on the South some Mountains of the *Atlas*, which it receives into its Bosom, and which furnishes the City of *Morocco* with Vines, Olives, and all sorts of Fruits, that City being 20 Leagues distance to the Westward. 'Tis inhabited by *Africans*, who are descended of one of the Branches of the Tribe of *Musamoda*, from whom it took the Name of *Hazcora*. The Inhabitants are richer than those of *Duguela*, as being less disquieted by the *Arabians*; and cultivate a fertile Country, abounding with Corn and Cattle. They carry on a considerable Traffick; for they make good Cloth, and dress Leather very well. They used the same Arms with the *Berebers* upon the Mountains of *Hea*, till of late, that they have learn'd the Use of Cross-Bows and Fire-locks. Such of 'em as live in Towns, resemble the Citizens of *Morocco* in their Habit, Customs, and way of living; But the Inhabitants of the Mountains are more brutish. Upon the Declension of the Empire of the *Benemerini's*, the Towns of *Almedine* and *Elemedin*, (both in this Province) set up for two Soveraign Republicks, and wag'd continual War with one another, till the Year 1516, at which time they submitted to the King of *Fez*, who put an end to their mutual Jars.

Almedine, Elmedin.

The Province of *Tedla*.

Tedla is the last and most Eastern Province of *Morocco*. Tho' 'tis small, yet 'tis enrich'd with good store of Corn, Oil, and Cattle, and wealthy Inhabitants. Those who inhabit the Mountains, are *Bereberes* of the Tribe of *Musamoda*; but the Valleys are possess'd by two Lines of *Arabians*, each of which will raise 9000 Horse. The Province is of a triangular Figure, and lies between the River of *Negroes* and the River *Ommirabi*. 'Twas subject to the *Benemerini*, while they were Masters of *Mauritania Tingitana*; but upon the declension of their Reign, it fell into the Hands of the King of *Fez*, tho' at the same time it belong'd to the Kingdom of *Morocco*. At present it peaceably obeys the *Xeriffian* Family.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Containing John Leo's *Description of the Kingdom of* Fez.

The Limits and Division of the Kingdom of Fez.

THE Limits of the Kingdom of *Fez*, are the River *Ommirabih* on the West, the River *Mulvia* on the East, the Ocean and Mediterranean on the North, and the Ridge of *Atlas* on the South. It owes the Title of a Kingdom to the Family of *Marin*, who getting the upper hand, fix'd their Residence in the City of *Fez*. This Kingdom is divided into seven Provinces, namely, *Temesne*, the Territory of *Fez*, *Azgar*, *Elhaler*, *Erna*, *Garet*, and *Elchanz*, of these in order.

The Limits and Revolutions of Temesne

The Frontiers of *Temsne*, are, the River *Ommirabih* on the West, the River *Baragrag* on the East, the *Atlas* on the South, and the Ocean on the North. 'Tis all over a plain Country, being in length from West to East 80 Miles, and in breadth 60. It contain'd 40 great Towns and 300 Castles; and was always reckon'd the head of the seven Provinces of *Fez*. In the 323d Year of the *Hegeira*, one *Chenlim* a Mahometan Apostate, setting up for a Prophet, perswaded the People to pay no Homage to their Prince; and after a War with the King of *Fez*, had his Title to the Province confirm'd by a Treaty of Peace. Accordingly he and his Successours govern'd it almost 135 Years; till *Joseph* King of the Tribe *Luntuna*, having built *Morocco*, sent *Mahometan* Doctors to retain the Governour and his People, and perswade 'em to pay Homage to the King of *Morocco*. For upon that, the People slew the Ambassadours, and the Governour march'd with 50000 Men against *Joseph*; but *Joseph* in the mean time invaded *Temesne*, where he put Man, Woman and Child to the Sword, and levell'd all their Towns and Castles with the Ground. On the other Hand, the Governour of *Temesne* with his 50000 Men fled to *Fez*, upon the News of which, the King of *Fez* surrounded 'em near the River *Buragrag*, and they being constrain'd to run up the craggy Mountains and Rocks, most of 'em were either drown'd in the River or thrown head-long from the Rocks, the havock lasting for the space of 10 Months. *Temesne* being thus bereft of her People, became the Habitation of wild Beasts, and continued such, till 150 Years after that King *Mansor* returning from *Tunis*, gave the Possession of it to some *Arabians* that he had brought with him. Fifty Years after, King *Mansor* being outed of his Kingdom, these *Arabians* were dispossess'd of *Temesne* by the Tribe of *Luntuna*, and reduc'd to extream Misery. Afterwards the Kings of the Family of *Marin* gave it to the People of *Zenete* and *Hoara*, who enjoy it to this day.

The Cities of Temsne, viz. Anfa.

Among the Towns of this Province, the most famous is *Anfa*, the most pleasanteſt Town in all *Africa*, built by the *Romans* on the Coast of the Ocean, 60 Miles North of *Atlas*, and East of *Azamur*. The Inhabitants are civil and wealthy. They wear a decent Apparel, and trade with the *Portuguese* and *English*. The adjacent Country is very fertile, the Plain round it being almost 80 Miles over. In ancient times it had many learned Men, and was adorn'd with stately Temples and Palaces, rich Shops and Ware-houses, and charming Gardens, which to this day yield great plenty of Melons and Citrons, and these being ripe by the middle of *April*, are carried to *Fez*, where the Fruits do not ripen so soon: But now the *Portuguese* have laid it waste.

Rebat.

The next Town is *Rebat*, seated on a Rock upon the Coast of the Ocean, just by the Mouth of the River *Baragrag*; so that it has the Ocean on one side, and the River on the other. 'Twas built but lately by *Mansor* King of *Morocco*, while he possess'd *Granada* and a great part of *Spain*, as being a convenient Frontier, from whence he might, upon occasion, pour in Forces upon the Christians, from whom *Morocco* lay at a great distance. He adorn'd it with Temples, Palaces, Colleges, Hospitals, Baths, Shops, &c. and built a Tower without the Walls on the South side, the height of it exceeds that of any Building I ever saw; so that from the top of it, Ships may be descry'd at a vast distance. 'Tis built after the fashion of the Tower of *Morocco*, only its winding Stairs are broader, for three Horses may go up abreast. He gave all Trades-men and Merchants a yearly Allowance proportion'd to their Business, by which means *Rebat* came in a little time to be better furnish'd with Artisans and Merchants, than any other Town in *Africa*. Here us'd *Mansor* to remain with his Troops from *April* to *September*, and in regard the Sea runs ten Miles up the River, which makes all the Water in the Town brackish, he supply'd the Town with fresh Water from a Fountain 12 Miles off, raising the Aquæducts archwise like those of *Rome*, and dispersing the Water over the Town in separate Pipes. But after *Mansor's* death, this noble Water-work was demolish'd in the Wars between the *Marin* Family and *Mansor's* Successors, and the Town has dwindled ever since, insomuch, that scarce the tenth part of it is now standing. The same *Mansor* caus'd *Sella* to be wall'd round, and for the conveniency of his Army, built in it a noble Hospital, a stately Palace, and a magnificent Temple, within which was a pretty Chapel, where he order'd his Corps to be inter'd. Accordingly he was buried there, and not only the honourable Branches of his own Family, but even the Kings of the *Marin* Family lie inter'd in the same place.

A noted Water Conduit.

Thagia.

The next Town in this Province is *Thagia*, which is famous for the Sepulchre of one that is said to have wrought many Miracles against the fury of Lions, and was accounted a great Prophet. After the solemnizing of Easter, the People of *Fez* make an annual Visit to this Tomb, which lies at the distance of 120 Miles from *Fez*. They perform this Pilgrimage in 15 Days, carrying their Tents and other Necessaries along with 'em; and the Pilgrims are so numerous, that one would take 'em for an Army.

The Territory of Fez.

The second Province of this Kingdom, is that call'd *The Territory of Fez*. It extends almost 100 Miles in length, from the River *Buregrag* Eastward, to the River *Inauen*. Its Northern Limit is the River *Subu* or *Cebu*, and the Southern is the *Atlas*. It abounds in Corn, Fruit, and Cattle, as much as any other Country.

Sella.

In this Province the first Town we meet with is *Sella*, the Buildings of which have a stately shew of Antiquity, being supported by Marble Pillars: The Temples are very magnificent, and the Shops are built under large Porches, with an Arch at the end of every row, to divide (as 'tis reported) one Trade from another. The *Genoese*, *Venetians*, *English*, and *Dutch*, are wont to trade with them. The adjacent Grounds being sandy and unfit for Corn, yield plenty of Cotton, and the Inhabitants weave it very fine. Fine Combs are likewise an useful Commodity in this place; for they have a great deal of Box and other Wood fit for that Purpose. They have Judges, Arbitrators, and a very regular form of Government.

The City of Fez.

The principal City of this Territory, and indeed of all *Barbary*, is *Fez*, which was built *An. Dom.* 786. by one *Idris Antimahumitan*. Some think the occasion of its Name was the finding of Gold (in Arabick *Fez*) where its Foundation was laid.

Idris its Founder.

Idris the Founder, liv'd in the time of *Aron*, a *Mahometan* Patriarch, and deriv'd his Extraction from *Mahomet* himself, both by the Father and the Mother's side: For after the death of *Mahomet*, when the War commenc'd between *Umene* and the Family of *Hali*, one of the last Family continued at *Elmadina*, and left behind him two Sons, who growing into favour with the People of *Elmanin*, were thereupon persecuted; and the one being taken and hang'd, the other (whose name was *Idris*, made his escape into *Mauritania*). This *Idris* dwelt upon Mount *Zaron*, about 30 Miles from *Fez*, and govern'd that Country both in Civil and Religious Matters. *Idris* dying without lawful Issue, left one of his Maids big with Child, who had been converted from the *Gothick* to the *Moors* Religion. The Maid being brought to bed, the People christen'd him *Idris*, after his Father, elected him for their Prince, and took care of his Education. The Child being train'd up by a skilful Captain, came to be famous for valiant Exploits when he was but fifteen Years of Age. This enlarg'd his Dominions and Family, upon which he took up a Resolution to build a City, and for that end pitch'd upon the Ground where *Fez* now stands, by reason of its plenty of Springs, and the Conveniency of an adjacent River and Wood. Accordingly upon the East Bank of the

River

River a Town was built, that might contain 3000 Families. After the death of this *Idris*, his Son built another Town on the oppoſite Bank of the River. About 180 Years after, a Civil War broke out between the two Towns, that laſted 100 Years, at the end of which, *Joſeph* King of *Morocco*, put the two Princes to death, ſlew 30000 of the Inhabitants of the two Towns, and having demoliſh'd their Walls, united 'em into one by a Bridge. This being the Metropolitan of all *Africa*, 'twill be proper to give a particular Account of the State 'tis in at this day, i. e. *A. D.* 1526.

A particular Account of the Town of *Fez*.

It ſtands upon great and little Hills, without any Plain round it. The River enters the Town by two Branches, one on the South ſide, the other on the Weſt. Thus it diſperſes it ſelf all over the City, and is convey'd in Conduits and Pipes, to every Temple, Colledge, &c.

Their Houſes.

And moſt of the Houſes are built of fine Bricks and Stones curiouſly painted. Their Portals and the ſides of the Windows are made of party colour'd Brick, like *Marmora* Stone. The Roofs of their Houſes they adorn with Gold, Azure, and other fine Colours. The Roofs are of Wood, and ſquare, ſo that Carpets may be laid upon 'em in Summer. Some Houſes are two, and ſome three Story high; the middle part is uncover'd, and the Chambers are built on every ſide with fine Stair-caſes. The Chamber Doors are very high and wide, and in great Houſes are made of fine carv'd Wood. Each Chamber hath a Preſs or Cabinet contriv'd in the Wall, and curiouſly painted. In like manner, the Beams and Joyces of the Chambers are all curiouſly painted.

Water Conduits.

Some Houſes have ſquare Ciſterns of Brick, about ſeven Cubits broad, twelve Cubits long, and ſeven Hands high; upon the ſides of which are Cocks that convey the Water into Marble Troughs. When the Conduits are full, the overflowing Water runs by certain Pipes into theſe Ciſterns, and when the Ciſterns are full, 'tis carry'd by other Paſſages to the Common Sewers, and ſo to the River. Theſe Ciſterns are always kept ſweet and clean, and are never cover'd but in Summer, at which time Men, Women and Children bath in 'em. Upon the tops of their Houſes, commonly they have Turrets, with pleaſant Rooms in 'em, where the Women divert themſelves in having a view of almoſt the whole City.

Mahometan Temples.

In this Town there are 700 *Mahometan* Temples and Chapels, fifty of which are very ſumptuous and ſtately; their Roof are of Joyces and Planks, like thoſe of the *European* Churches; the Floor is cover'd with Mats, neatly ſew'd together, as well as the Walls for a Man's height. Each Temple has a Steeple, where a Man ſtands and calls the People to Prayers. Thoſe that call to Prayers in the Day-time have no Profit, but that of being exempted from Taxes; but they who call in the Night-time, receive Wages from the Prieſt of the Temple, as well as the Door Keepers. For the Prieſt of the Temple (who is always but one) receives all the Revenues, and defrays the occaſional Charges of Lamps and Servants.

The chief Temple.

The chief *Mahometan* Temple, call'd *Caruven*, is a Mile and a half about, including the Buildings that retain to it. It has 31 very large and high Gates. Its Roof is 150 *Florentine* Cubits long, and 80 broad. The Steeple, which is very high, is ſupported by 20 Pillars in the breadth, and 30 in length. It has Galleries on the Eaſt, Weſt, and North ſides, which are 40 Cubits long, and 30 broad; and under theſe Galleries is the Store-houſe for Oil, Candles, Mats, and other Neceſſaries. There are 900 Lights in it every Night, and ſome Braſs Candleſticks, that have Seckers for 1500 Candles, which are ſaid to be made of the Bells that the King of *Morocco* took from the Chriſtians. Several Pulpits are ſet round the Walls of the Temple, from which the *Mahometan* Doctors inſtruct the People, not only in *Mahomet's* Law, but in Moral Philoſophy. The Winter Lectures begin ſoon after Sun-riſe, and continue for the ſpace of an Hour. The Summer ones continue from the going down of the Sun, till within an hour and a half of Night. None read in Winter but the noted Doctors, but in Summer private obſcure Perſons read. All theſe Lecturers or Profeſſours have yearly Salleries. The Prieſt of this great Temple, his Buſineſs is only to read Prayers, and diſtribute Corn and Money to the Poor every Feſtival Day. The Treaſurer of this Church has a Ducat a Day allow'd him, and eight Clerks under him, with the Allowance of ſix Ducats a piece *per* Month. There are other ſix Clerks, who receive the Rents of the Houſes, Shops, &c. retaining to the Temple, and have the 20th part of what they collect for their Pains; beſides 20 Bayliffs, who overſee the manuring of the Grounds, and managing the Lime Kilns, and Brick Kilns, &c. belonging to the Temples without the City Walls, who have three Ducats a Month.

Its Revenues.

The Revenues of this Temple amount to 200 Ducats a day, a great part of which is laid out upon the Particulars abovementioned, and upon the Reparation of the Temple and its adjoining Houſes. The Surpluſage is imploy'd in the maintenance of the other Temples that want Livings, and promoting the good of the Common-wealth. In our time the King demanded an immenſe Sum of the Prieſt of that Temple, and never repay'd it.

The Colleges in *Fez*.

There are ſeveral ſtately Colleges in this City, the Walls of which are of Marble and Free-ſtone, and the Inſide curiouſly painted and carv'd. One of theſe, erected by King *Habutelcnon*, has an excellent Marble Fountain, with a large Ciſtern, and a ſtream of Water running thro' a Court in a Channel of Marble and *Marmora* Stone. The Gates of this College are of Braſs curiouſly grav'd, and the Doors are of Wood well carv'd. Near that are three cover'd Walks, with ſquare Piazza's overlaid with Gold, Azure, and other Colours. In ſome places there are Verſes in great black Letters, ſetting forth the Antiquity of the College and the Merit of its Founder. The Chapel has a Pulpit, with nine Steps or Stairs made of Ivory and Ebony. 'Tis computed that this noble Structure ſtood the King in 480000 Ducats. The other Colleges are ſomewhat like this, each of 'em being furniſh'd with Lecturers and Profeſſours, who read, ſome in the Forenoon and ſome in the Afternoon. In former times the Students had Diet and Cloth for ſeven Years, but now they have nothing *gratis* beſides their Chamber, for the War of *Sahid* deſtroy'd many Poſſeſſions, by which Learning was encourag'd; ſo that now the greateſt College has not 200, and the next 100 Ducats a Year, for the maintenance of the Profeſſors. And 'tis probable the Suppreſſion of Learning is the occaſion of the irregular Government, not only of this, but of all the Cities in *Africa*. At preſent the Colleges have no Students but Strangers, and ſuch as live upon the Charity of the City. When the Profeſſours goes to read, one of the Audience reads a Text, and he harangues upon it. Sometimes the Students have Diſputes before the Profeſſours.

The Hoſpitals of *Fez*.

Both the Town and Suburbs have noble Hoſpitals, in which every Stranger is entertain'd upon the publick Charge. The Incomes of theſe Hoſpitals were very large, till the War with *Sahid*, at which time the King ſold their Properties, alledging, that they were the Gifts of his Predeceſſors, and promiſing to make Reparation upon the concluſion of the War; but the King dying ſuddenly, there was no Reparation made: So that at this Day there are no Strangers entertain'd, but ſuch as are Scholars or Gentlemen; and 'tis only the poor decay'd Citizens that meet with any Relief from the Hoſpitals. There is one Hoſpital indeed for ſuch Strangers as are ſick, where they have their Diet and Women to attend 'em, but no Phyſician and no Medicines; and one Apartment of this Hoſpital is allotted for Lunaticks and Mad-men, where they are bound in ſtrong Iron Chains, and ſeverely laſh'd when they offer any Extravagance.

Their Baths.

The next thing remarkable in this City is their Baths, which are both pretty and magnificent, being all of one form, tho' not of equal bigneſs. Here are two Baths, each of which has four Halls, with Galleries without, rais'd four or five Steps higher, where the People ſtrip themſelves. When any Perſon bathes, he goes firſt thro' a cool Hall, where the Water is luke warm, then thro' a hotter Room, where he is cleans'd and waſh'd, and at laſt is put into a third Hot-houſe, where he ſweats as long as he pleaſes. The fire that heats the Water, is made only of the Dung of Beaſts parch'd in the Sun. The Womens Baths are ſeparate from thoſe of the Men; or if they both uſe the ſame Bath, 'tis at different Hours; for while Women are bathing, a Rope is hung out at the outer Door, ſignifying that no Man muſt enter; nay, a Husband is not admitted to ſee his Wife in the Bath. When Men enter, they cover their Privities with a Linen Cloth. Before any one baths, he is laid upon the Ground (or a Carpet for the richer ſort) and anointed with a certain Ointment, his Body being clean'd with Inſtruments made for the Purpoſe. After bathing, the Men and Women together divert themſelves with Muſick, Singing and Feaſting. Theſe Baths belong to the Temples and Colleges, and raiſe, ſome 100, ſome 150 Ducats a Year. The Servants and Officers attending the Baths, have a peculiar Cuſtom of marching on a certain Feſtival Day out of Town, with Trumpets and Pipes, and there gathering a wild Onion, which they put into a Brazen Veſſel, cover'd with a Linen Cloth dip'd in Lee, and ſo carry it to the Hot-houſe, and hang up the Veſſel,

over

over the Door, as a lucky Omen to the Bath. This I take to be the Remains of some ancient Sacrifice, among the uncivilis'd *Mores*,

The Inns of Fez.

This City contains almost 200 Inns; the greatest of these are in the principal part of the City, near the great Temple; each of which is three Story high, and contains above 120 Chambers, with a Gallery to each Chamber. Every Inn is accommodated with a Fountain, Water-pipes, and Sinks to carry off the Filth. But after all, the Entertainment they give to Strangers is but very sorry, for they have no Beds, unless it be a coarse Blanket and a Mat, and no Victuals, unless the Stranger goes to the Market and buys it. The Office of Chamberlain and Cook is perform'd by Poor Citizens Widows, who are entertain'd in the Inns upon Charity. The Inn Keepers are all of one Family, call'd *Elchera*. They shave their Beards, and not only wear the Habit of Women, but imitate them in their Speech and Actions. Every one of these has a Concubine, that he entertains as a lawful Wife: These Concubines are not only ugly, but notoriously lewd, and none but lewd Persons do either frequent the Inns, or keep company with the Inn Keepers; for they buy and sell Wine openly, and are prohibited to enter the Temple or Exchange, or any Bath.

The Mills.

There are some thousands of Mills in this City, which do all belong to the Temples or Colleges; every Mill stands in a large Room upon a strong Post.

The Trades and Shops.

Each Trade has a peculiar place allotted to it, and that mostly about the great Temple. There you may see 80 Scriveners Offices together, 30 Book-sellers Shops, 50 Fruit Shops, where all sorts of Fruit are to be had, 50 Shoe-makers, besides Shoe Merchants, several Braziers, and Wax Merchants, who are very ingenious in their way. Here are a few Merchant Factors, and next to them is the Herb Market, where most of the Taverns are, because People love to drink Wine under the green and shadie Boughs; after them come the Milk-Sellers, who vent 25 Tuns of Milk a day; then the Cotton Sellers, then those who deal in Hemp and Ropes, then the Girdlers, the Sadlers, (who cover Saddles with incomparable Leather) and the Sword-cutlers, next are the Potters, and those who sell Salt and Lime; passing these you come to the Porters Street. These Porters are so loving a Corporation, that they maintain the Widows and Orphans of their own Members. They have a Consul or Governour, who parcels out some set Business to part of 'em every Week, and at the Weeks end, the Profit of the Work is equally divided among the Work-men. The Cooks and Victuallers are next. Then you come to a square House covered with Reeds, where 500 Sacks of Pease and Turnips are sold in a day. Every one cannot buy these of the Country People, there being a particular number qualified for that Office, who pay Tole and Tribute to the Custom-House Officers. On the North side of the Temple, they sell Fritters and Cakes fry'd in Oil, whence the place is call'd, *The Place of Smoak*. At the same place they sell roasted Flesh, fry'd Fish, and a sort of Bread bak'd with Honey. The Flesh is not roasted upon a Spit, but in an Oven, with another Oven underneath it, in which the Fire lies, so that the upper Oven is free from smoak and excessive heat. They sell of these Fritters and Cakes to the value of above 200 Ducats a Day. Then follow the Shambles, where the Butchers sell their Flesh by weight. They kill no Beasts within the Shambles, there being a place alloted for that use near the River; and after the killing, they cannot bring it to the Shambles, till they have shewn it to the Governour of the Shamblers, who sets down the Price of each Joint in a piece of Paper, the Butcher being oblig'd to shew that Paper when he shews his Meat, and not to ask more. Then you pass on to the Market for coarse Cloth, there being 60 Criers, who carry the Cloth about, telling the price of it, as 'tis adjusted by the Custom House Officers, who receive Custom for it. After that to the Cage Makers, who make Coops and Cages for Poultry, of a certain hard Reed; for every Citizen brings up a great many Hens and Capons, which are always pen'd up in Coops, to prevent the fowling of their Houses. Next to them is the Market for Thread and Linen Cloth. On the West side of the Temple, are 150 Taylors Shops, several Laundresses, Stirrup-makers, Spur-makers, Pipe-makers, &c. Beyond them there stands a Rock or Mount, with a Walk leading from thence to one of the King's Palaces, where the King's Sisters or some of his Relations are wont to live. In the next place you advance to the Exchange, which may well be call'd a City, for 'tis wall'd round, and has twelve Gates, with an Iron Chain before every Gate, to keep out Horses and Carts. 'Tis divided into several Parts or Wards, two of which are allotted to such Shoe-makers as serve only Noble-men and Gentlemen with Shooes, and two to the Silk Merchants and Haberdashers of small Wares. The other parts are taken up by those who sell European Linen or Woolen Cloth, Silk, Stuffs, Caps, Mats, Cushions, &c. and especially by those who sell Smocks, and other things for Women, who are reckon'd the richest Merchants in all *Fez*. On the North side of the Exchange, there's a Palace appointed for the Grocers and Apothecaries, fortified on both sides with two strong Gates, and guarded in the Night-time by armed Watch-men with Partisans and Mastives. The Apothecaries can make neither Syrups, Ointments nor Electuaries, those being made and sold by Physicians, whose Houses for the most part join to the Apothecaries; but few People mind either the Physician or his Medicines. However the Apothecaries Shops are the goriest Shops I saw any where. Just by the Apothecaries, follow the Comb-makers, Turners, Upholsterers and Poulterers, who, tho' they are but few, are provided with all sorts of Fowl; then the Makers of Cork Slippers for the great Men to walk abroad in when 'tis foul weather; these Slippers have very fine upper Leathers, and being trim'd with Silk, will cost, some one, some ten, some twenty five Ducats a pair. Their finest Slippers are made of the black and white Mulberry Tree, of the black Walnut Tree, and the Jujuba Tree; but the Cork ones last longest. Adjoining to these are ten Shops of *Spanish Mores*, who make Cross-Bows; and those who make Brooms of a certain wild Palm Tree, which are carried about Streets and exchang'd for Bran, Ashes and old Shooes; the Bran is sold again to Shepherds, the Ashes to the Bleachers of Thread, and the old Shooes to the Coblers. The next are the Smiths and the Coopers, who make and sell great Vessels in the form of a Bucket, and Corn Measures. The Corn Measures must be try'd and approv'd by an Officer appointed for the Purpose, who receives a Farthing a piece as his due: Then you come to the *Makers* of certain Langols or Withs, which the *Africans* put upon their Horses Feet. The Dyers live by the River side, and have each of 'em a clear Fountain or Cistern to wash their Silk Stuffs in. The Makers of Bulwarks and Trenches, live over against the Diers in a very large place, which being planted with shady Mulberries, is very pleasant in Summer. Next to them are the Farriers, then the Black-Smiths, and at last the Whitsters of Linen Cloth. And here ends the West part of the City, which in former times was a separate City from that on the Eastern Bank of the River, that was first built.

An Account of the Eastern part of Fez.

The Eastern part of *Fez* is beautify'd with noble Palaces, Temples, Colleges and Houses; but it has not so many Shops and Trades-men as the Western part. Some it has, but then they are of the meaner sort, and are dispers'd all over the City. Here is a Corn Market with divers Granaries for Corn, and 520 Weavers Houses handsomely built, which yielded great Rents. By report, there are 20000 Weavers and as many Millers in it, and a great many Houses for the saving Wood, in which Service the Christian Captives are employ'd, their Earnings being return'd to their Owners. These Christian Slaves have no Days of rest but *Fridays*, and eight Days of the Year, on which the *Mores* solemnize their Feasts. In this Eastern part there are several publick Bawdy Houses, which the great Men, and sometimes the Governours of the City countenance; and great Taverns, where Whores are kept for occasional Service. It has above 600 clear Fountains, wall'd round, and carefully kept up, the Water of which is convey'd by Pipes to each Temple, College, Hospital, and House. This Fountain Water is preferrable to that of the River; for oftentimes in Summer the River Cisterns are dry, and when the Conduits are cleans'd, the River Water must of necessity be turn'd off. Besides, 'tis cooler and pleasanter in the Summer-time, tho' in the Spring 'tis quite otherwise. These Fountains have their Source for the most part from the West and South. The North part is Mountainous and full of Marble Rocks, in which are Caves where Corn may be kept for many Years; some of 'em being so large as to contain 200 Bushels. The Proprietor of these Caves lets them out every Year, for one *per Cent.* of the Corn they'll hold.

Pleasant Gardens in the South part.

As for the South part of *Fez*, 'tis not half inhabited, but its Gardens abound with Fruits and Flowers of all sorts, and the Noble-men choose to live here from *April* to *September*; for every Garden has a House belonging to it, and a Chrystal Fountain encompass'd with Roses and odoriferous Flowers.

West-

The Castle. Westward, that is, towards the King's Palace, there stands a noble Castle, built by the King of the *Lumtuna*'s Family, where the Kings of *Fez* kept their Court before that Palace was built; but now 'tis the Residence of the Governour of the City.

The Prison. In this Castle there's a large Prison for Captives, supported by many Pillars, which will hold 3000 Men in one Room; for in *Fez* one Prison serves for all, without any distinction of Rooms.

The Government of the City. Their Judges. To give some Account of the Government, Constitution, and Customs of this great City. The Governour of the City is Judge both in civil and criminal Matters, and pronounces the Sentence by word of mouth, for he has no Clerk. Besides him, there's a Judge of the Canon Law, who adjusteth what relates to the *Mahometan* Religion. A third Judge sits and gives Sentence upon Marriage and Divorce; from these there lies an Appeal to the High Advocate. The Criminal is punish'd in this manner, After he has receiv'd 100 or 200 Stripes before the Governour, the Executioner puts an Iron Chain about his Neck, and leads him stark naked (his Privities only excepted) thro' all parts of the City, from midnight till two a-clock in the Morning, and a Serjeant follows the Executioner, proclaiming his Crime to the People. This done, they put on his Cloths and bring him back to Prison; Sometimes several Offenders are led thro' the City together. For every Criminal the Governour receives a certain Duty upon his first Imprisonment, and one Ducat and a half upon his Condemnation; so that he gets a great deal of money by condemning Prisoners. Besides these Perquisites, he has several Possessions, one of which yields him 7000 Ducats a Year; upon which account he is oblig'd upon occasion, to levy and maintain 300 Horse for the King's use. The Judges and Barristers of the Canon Law, are prohibited by the Law of *Mahomet* to take any Fee, or to earn Money otherwise than by their Priesthood and the reading of Lectures. A great many Advocates and Proctors of this Profession are very dull and illiterate. The Serjeants or Officers who lead the Criminals about the City, are but four in number, and have no other Sallery but a certain Fee from the Criminal, proportion'd to the Crime, bating that they are allow'd to sell Wine and keep Whores.

The Punishment of Criminals.

The Customs and Taxes. The Customs and Taxes of the City are collected only by one Man, who pays the King 30 Ducats a day, and has his Substitutes to watch at every Gate, and sometimes to go out and meet the Carriers; so that nothing can pass without paying the Custom. If any thing be catch'd upon concealment, the Owner pays double. The general proportion of the Custom is two *per Cent.* of the intrinsick Value; But Onyx Stones, great quantities of which are brought hither, pay a fourth part, and Wood, Corn, Oxen, and Hens, pay nothing. The same Collector is Governour of the Shambles, and if he finds any Bread short of the due weight, he causes the Baker to be soundly drub'd, and led in contempt up and down the City.

The Custom of the Inhabitant. Their Apparel. The Citizens of *Fez* wear a decent Habit. Over their Shirts they have narrow half sleev'd Jackets, and over these a wide Garment close before, which in the Spring is commonly made of outlandish Cloth. Upon their Heads they have thin Caps, which do not cover their Ears; these Caps are cover'd with a Scarf, which is twice wreath'd about, and then hangs down in a Knot. They wear neither Stockings nor Breeches, but when they ride a Journey in the Spring, they put on Boots. The Doctors and ancient Gentlemen wear a Garment with wide Sleeves, not unlike that of the Gentlemen of *Venice*. The common sort of People are for the most part clad in coarse white Cloth. The Women have nothing but their Smocks on in Summer, but in Winter they wear a wide Garment like the Mens. When they go abroad they put on long Breeches that cover their Legs, and have a Veil hanging down from their Heads, that covers their whole body. Their Faces are mask'd, their Ears adorn'd with Gold Earings and precious Jewels, and their Arms and Legs with Bracelets and Rings of Gold or Silver, according to their quality.

Their Diet. As for their Diet. The Gentlemen have fresh Meat every Day, and the common People twice a week. They take three Meals a day; they breakfast upon Fruit and Bread, or upon a thin Pap made like Furmety, or in Winter upon the Broth of salt Flesh thicken'd with coarse Meal. For Dinner, they have in Winter, Meat, Sallets, Cheese and Olives, but in Summer they have better Cheer. They sup in Summer upon Bread, Melons, Grapes and Milk, in Winter upon boyl'd Meat, and upon *Cuscusu*, i. e. a lump of Dough set first upon the Fire in Vessels full of Holes, and then temper'd with Butter and Pottage; some have roast Meat. When they eat, they sit upon the Ground at a low uncover'd natty Table, and use neither Knives nor Spoons. Tho' their *Cuscusu* is serv'd up all in one Dish, they take it out with their ten Talons. They tear and devour their Victuals like hungry Dogs. They seldom drink till their Paunch is well stuff'd, and then they'll swill down a whole Bowl full of cold Water. The Doctors are a little more orderly at their Meals, but not much.

Ceremony of Marriage. In the Business of Marriage, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with their Parents and Relations, and two Notaries go to Church, where the Nature of the Dowry and the Particulars of the Contracts are set forth before all that are present. Then the Bridegroom entertains all the Guests with a noble Feast of Fritters, or Bread fry'd with Butter, and temper'd with Honey and of roast Meat. After that, the Bride's Father makes such another Entertainment.

The Bride's Dowry. As for the Bride's Dowry, among the meaner sort, her Father usually gives her 30 Ducats, a Woman Slave of 15 Ducats price, a party colour'd Garment embroyder'd with Silk, some Silk Scarfs or Jags to wear upon her Head instead of a Hood or Veil, a pair of fine Shooes, two pair of fine Startups, and a great many little Trinkets made of Silver and other Metals, such as Combs, Perfuming Pans, Bellows, &c. Tho' the Father promises but 30 Ducats for her Dowry, yet sometimes they'll give her the Value of 200 or 300 Ducats in Cloth and other Ornaments, for Houses, Fields and Vineyards are seldom dispos'd of that way. Besides the above-mention'd Particulars, they bestow upon the Bride three Gowns of fine Cloth, three Gowns of Silk or Camlet, or some other valuable Stuff, Smocks curiously wrought, fine Veils, and other embroyder'd Garments, besides fine Pillows and Cushions, four fine Carpets or Coverlets, to spread upon the Presses and Cup-boards, two coarse ones for Beds, and two of Leather to lay upon the Floor of the Bed Chambers; some Rugs 20 Ells long, and three Quilts stuft with Flocks, about 10 Ells long, one half of which they lay under em in the Night-time, and cover themselves with the other half. To these add eight Silk Coverlets, embroider'd on the upper side, and lin'd underneath with Linen and Cotton, and some woolen Hangings, with pieces of gilt Leather, and Jags of party colour'd Silk sow'd upon 'em, and a Silk Button on every Jag to fasten the Hangings to the Wall. In fine, they strive to out-do one another in making rich Presents to their Daughters, and some Gentlemen have ruin'd themselves by so doing.

The Manner of her going home. When the Bridegroom is ready to carry home his Bride, they put her into a large wooden Cage cover'd with Silk, in which she is carry'd by Porters, the Bridegroom's Relations going before her with Torches, and the Bride's Kins-folks following after her with the sound of Trumpets, Pipes, Drums, and a great number of Torches. Having thus made a Procession thro' the Market-place, and pass'd the great Temple, the Bridegroom steers off and makes the best of his way home. Upon the Bride's arrival, her Father, Brother, and Uncle conduct her to the Bridegroom's Chamber Door, where they deliver her to his Mother. As soon as she enters the Bed-Chamber, the Bridegroom toucheth her Foot with his, and so they go together.

The Tryal of her Virginity. In the mean time a Woman stands at the Chamber Door, to whom the Bridegroom reaches a Cloth stain'd with the Blood of the Bride's Virginity, as soon as he has enjoy'd her. This Cloth she shews to all the Company, proclaiming the Bride's Purity and Innocence; upon which she and her Companions are honourably entertain'd, first by the Bridegroom's Parents, and then by the Bride's. But if no Marks of Virginity appear, the Bride is turn'd home to her Father with disgrace, and the Marriage declar'd *Null*. As soon as the new married Man goes abroad (which commonly happens on the seventh Day after marriage) he buys a great many Fishes, which his Mother or some other Woman superstitiously casts upon his Wife's Feet. The next Morning after the Bride's going home, a Company of Women dresses and combs the Bride, and paints her Cheeks with Vermillion, and her Feet with a black Dye. Then another Feast insues, the Bride being seated on a high place, in view of all the Company. The preceding Night is spent in dancing, the Women dancing alone, and all of em one by one. At the end of each Dance they reward the Musicians; and if any one means to honour the Dancer, he bids him kneel down, and fastens pieces of Money all over his Face, which the Musicians take off for their reward. At the same time there are Minstrels and Singers present, who entertain the Company, sometimes with Instrumental and sometimes with Vocal Musick;

sick; but if the Bride be a Widow, the Solemnity is not near so great.

The Circumcision of their Children.

They likewise make solemn Feasts at the Circumcision of their Male Children, which is on the 7th day after their Birth; upon that Occasion every one gives a Present to the Circumcisioner, by laying Money on a Lad's Face that comes along with him; after which, the Youth calling every one by his name, returns 'em thanks; this done, the day is spent with all the Mirth imaginable; but at the birth of a Daughter they are not so much mov'd. The People of this Country, on their Festival Days observe a great many Ceremonies instituted by the Christians, without knowing their Original or meaning.

Their other Feasts.

Upon Christmas they eat a Sallad made of divers Herbs; and that night boil all sorts of Pulse, which they feed upon as nice Food. Upon New-Year's-Day the Children sing at Gentlemens Doors in Masks, and have Fruit given 'em for a Reward. On *St. John* the Baptist's Day they make Bonfires of Straw. When the Childrens Teeth begin to grow, they solemnize a Feast call'd by the Latines *Dentilla*. In like manner their Rites of Divination and Soothsaying seem to be borrow'd from the Christians.

Their Funerals.

When Husband, Father, Brother or Relation dies, a Company of Women related to the Person deceas'd, put on Sack-cloth and cover their Faces with Dirt; then having call'd some Men dress'd in Womens Apparel, with four square Drums, they sing at the noise of these, a Funeral Song in praise of the deceas'd, giving hideous Shreeks at the end of every Verse, and tearing their Hair, and beating their Cheeks and Breasts, till they are cover'd all over with Goar. This Superstition, which prevails more among the common People than the Gentry, continues for seven Days together, at the end of which, they intermit Mourning for forty Days, and then renew it in the same manner for three Days more. In the mean time the Widow's Friends come to comfort her, and send her divers Dishes of Meat, for they dress no Meat in the Mourning House, till the Corps are carried off. The Woman her self that looseth Husband, Father, or Brother does not attend the Funeral.

Their Games.

The most usual Game among the Citizens of *Fez* is the Chesse, which they have had time out of mind.

Their Poets.

They have very good Poems in their own Language, most of which treat of Love. Their Poets write commentary Verses upon *Mahomet* every Year, especially upon his Birth-day, on which, early in the Morning, they recite their Verses to a numerous Audience from the Governours; and he whose Verses are most applauded, is proclaim'd Prince of the Poets for that Year. During the Prosperity of the *Marin* Family, the King us'd to regale all the learned Men of the City, and hear the Recital of their Verses, upon which they gave 50 Ducats apiece to all the Poets, excepting the very best, who received as a Royal Gift 100 Ducats, a fine Horse, a Woman Slave, and the Robes that were then upon the King's Back. But that Custom fell, together with the Splendour of the *Fezzan* Kingdom, 150 Years ago.

Their Grammar Schools.

The *Alcoran* learn'd by heart.

In this City there are almost 200 Schools, like great Halls, for the Instruction of Children; there they are taught to write and to read, not only out of a Book, but out of a certain great Table, and go over the *Alcoran* again and again, till they have got it by heart, which they usually compass in the space of seven Years. Then their Masters read to 'em some part of *Orthography* and Grammar; but this is better taught in the Colleges. When a Boy has perfectly learn'd the whole *Alcoran*, his Father invites all the Boy's School-fellows to a Treat, and his Son rides thro' the Streets to the Banquetting House, in rich Cloaths, upon a fine Horse, accompanied by the rest of his School-fellows on Horse-back, who sing divers Songs to the Praise of God and *Mahomet*. The Governour of the Royal Cittadel is oblig'd to lend his Father the Horse and the rich Apparel. The Father's Relations are all present at the Feast, and every one of 'em makes some small Present to the School Master, but the Father gives him a new Suit of Cloths; for the School-Masters have but small Salleries; and even when the Children have learn'd but part of the *Alcoran*, their Fathers reward their Masters according to their Quality. The Boys of these Schools use likewise to celebrate a Feast upon *Mahomet*'s Birth Day, upon which occasion every one brings a Torch to the School. These Torches, some of which weigh 30 Pound, are set round with divers sorts of Wax, and being lighted betimes in the Morning, burn till Sun-rising. In the mean time the Praises of *Mahomet* are celebrated in Songs, and as soon as the Sun rises, the Solemnity is at an end. This Day's Solemnity turns to a good account to the School-Masters, for sometimes they sell the remaining Wax of the Torches (which the Boys Fathers provided) for 100 Ducats, and sometimes for more. Both these Schools and the Colledges have two Holy Days every Week. The Masters pay no Rent for their Schools, they being erected for that use many Years ago.

Three sorts of Diviners.

The Fortune-tellers and Diviners are very numerous in this City. There are three sorts of 'em, one sort uses Geomantical Figures, others pour a drop of Oil into a Glass of clear transparent Water, in which they pretend to see whole Armies of Devils, some travelling, some fighting &c. and to receive Responses from these Devils, by a nod of their Head, or some motion of their Hands or Eyes. Many of the Citizens are so infatuated with these Vanities, that they spend great Sums upon 'em. The third sort are Witches, who pretend to Familiarity with Devils, calling some of 'em red, some white, and some black; and when they read ones Fortunes, perfume themselves with certain odoriferous things, alledging, that then they are possess'd with the Devil they call'd for. After which, they change their Voice, and counterfeit the Devil speaking within 'em. These Cheats are by the wiser sort of People call'd *Sahaeat*, i. e. such as commit unnatural Venery with those of their own Sex; for they make it their business to inveigle handsome Women, and perswade 'em to receive their unnatural Embraces, upon the Plea of obeying the Devil's Command. Nay, some Women are so taken with the abominable Vice, that they'll feign themselves sick, and send their Husbands for these Monsters, under the Pretence of having their Destiny read to 'em: And oftentimes the Witches will perswade the Husband that his Wife is possess'd with a Devil, and cannot be cur'd without entring into their Society; upon which the credulous Husband entertains the damn'd Crew at a sumptuous Feast, and with a Solemnity forsooth, commits his Wife to their brutish Management. But other Husbands are so wise, as to beat the Devil out of their Wives with a good Cudgel, and under the pretence of Possession, to deceive the Witches themselves.

Witches.

Conjurers.

There is yet another kind of Juglers or Conjurers, call'd *Muhazzaim*, who are said to cast out Devils with great success, and in performing it, to repeat these Words, *It is an Airy Spirit*. They draw certain Characters upon a heap of Ashes, or some such place, then they draw certain Signs upon the Hands and Forehead of the Party possess'd, and perfume him after a strange manner. This done, they enquire of the Devil how he enter'd the Person, what he is, and by what name he is call'd, and at last commands him to come forth.

Cabalistes.

There are others that work by a certain Cabalistical Rule, call'd *Zairagia*, which is thought to be natural Magick. They draw many Circles within a great one, and drawing the Diameters of the first Circles, mark down the two Poles and the East and West quarters. About the circumference of the first Circle, they paint the four Elements; then having divided this Circle and the next into four parts, they divided each four parts into seven, distinguish'd with certain *Arabick* Characters. In the third Circle they mark down the seven Planets, in the fourth the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*, in the fifth the twelve Latine Names of the Month, in the sixth the 28 Houses of the Moon, and in the seventh the 365 Days of the Year, and about the convexity thereof, the four Cardinal Wines. Then they take one Letter of the Question propos'd, and multiply it by all the above-mention'd Particulars; the Product of all they divide after a certain manner, placing it in some Room or other, according to the quality of the Character, and as the Elements requireth wherein the said Character is found without a Figure; this done, they mark that Figure which seemeth to agree with the said Number or Product, and proceed with it as they did with the former, till they have found 28 Characters, of which they make one Word, and of this Word the Speech is made that resolveth the Question. The Speech always turn'd into a Verse of the first kind, which the *Arabians* call *Ethauil*, consisting of eight Stipites and 12 Chords, according to the *Arabian* Metre. This Art of the *Cabbala* (says our Author) never errs, and tho' it be accounted natural, yet I never saw any thing that has more affinity with supernatural Knowledge. However the Cabbalists are in great esteem, and their Art is very difficult to be learn'd. I saw (continues our Author) two thirds of a pav'd Marble Court, (in King *Abulaman*'s College at *Fez*) that was 50 Ells square, taken up with one of their Figures; and at *Tunis* I met with just such another Figure. I never saw but three Professours of this wonderful Art, one at *Tunis* and two at *Fez*. Indeed I have seen

Books of the Cabbalistick Art.

two Expositions of the Precepts of the Art, with a Commentary writ by one *Margian*, and another by *Ibnu Caldim* an Historian.. Any of these Men may see it if he will but go to *Tunis*. However the Law of *Mahomet* prohibits this and all other kind of Divination, and the Cabbalists are persecuted by the *Mahometan* Inquisition.

A noted *Mahometan* Sect.

In this City we meet likewise with some learned Men, that call themselves Wizards and Moral Philosophers; and are rever'd by the common People as Gods, notwithstanding that they depart from *Mahomet*'s Law in several things, for instance, in allowing the Expression of Love Matters in Songs. This Sect (which is but one of a great many among the *Mahometans*) sprang up about 80 Years after *Mahomet*. The Author of it was *Elbesen Ibnu Abelhasen*, born in *Basora*, who gave his Followers certain Precepts, but left no Writings behind him. about 100 Years after, one *Elharet Ibnu Esed*, of *Bagadet*, a famous Doctor of that Sect, left his Disciples whole Volumes of Writings: upon that the *Mahometan* Patriarchs condemn'd his Followers. About 60 Years after, a famous Professour that headed the Sect, being condemn'd to die as well as all his Followers, wrote to the Patriarch, desiring Leave to dispute the Case with the Doctors of the Law, and offering to undergo Death willingly if they convicted him of an Errour. Accordingly a Free Conference was granted, and the Professour put the Doctors to silence; upon which the Patriarch revers'd the Sentence, and caus'd Colleges and Monasteries to be erected for him and his Followers; But after 100 Years, the Emperour *Mabiesah* of the *Turkish* Line came thither, and persecuted the whole Sect. Upon which they fled to *Cairo* and *Arabia*, and were dispers'd here and there, till the Reign of *Caselsah*, Grandson to *Maliesah*, whose Favourite *Nidam Elmule* restor'd 'em, and by the help of one *Elgazzuli*, a very learned Man, who had written upon that Controversy, reconcil'd 'em with the Lawyers upon these Terms, That the Lawyers should be call'd the *Preservers* of *Mahomet*'s Laws, and the Sectaries the *Reformers* of the same. This Union lasted till the 756 Year of the *Hegeira*, when *Bagadet* was sack'd by the *Tartars*, at which time those Sectaries swarm'd over all *Asia* and *Africa*, and had strengthen'd their Party, by admitting none into their Society but Men of learning, but now the Case is alter'd. They despise all Learning as superfluous, deriving the Knowledge of the Truth from Revelation alone; and departing from the Measures of their Ancestors, who observ'd the Law very strictly, pursue Feasting, Lascivious Songs, and all sensual Pleasures. 'Tis true, they'll tear and rend their Garments, pretending to be ravish'd with a fit of divine Love; but that's rather owing either to their Gluttony, for every one of 'em devours more Meat at a time, than is sufficient for three Men; or else to their unlawful and filthy Passions, which they display too openly when invited to Feasts; for if any one happens to fall down drunk, their Disciples presently take him up, and ply with him lascivious Kisses. Hence the *Hermites Feast* became a Proverb among the People of *Fez*, pointing at those Masters who make their Disciples their Minions.

Mahometan Hereticks.

There are some *Mahometan* Sects, that depart not only from the Law but from the Creed of the other *Mahometans*, who brand them for Hereticks. Some assert, that a Man by good Works, Fasting, &c. may attain to the nature of Angels, and purify himself beyond all possibility of sinning any more. This Pitch of Purity they do not pretend to reach, till they have run the rounds of 50 Disciplines or Sciences; alledging, that God will not impute to 'em what Sins they commit, before they arrive at the fiftieth Degree. This Sect upon its first appearance, wasted themselves with fasting and Pennance, but soon after they gave way to licentious Humours. *Esschrauar de Schranard*, one of their own Party, has publish'd their form of living, which is very severe: And *Ibnul Farid* has given an account of their Religion, by way of Allegory, in excellent Verses, which they always repeat at their Feasts, and which are reckon'd the most refin'd piece that has appear'd in their Language these 300 Years. They take the Heavens, the fix'd Stars, the Elements, and the Planets, to be one God; they allow every Man to worship what he pleases, pleading, that no Religion whatsoever is erroneous. They alledge, that God pitch'd upon one Man call'd *Elcorb*, and by infusion, made him equal to himself in Knowledge. When this *Elcorb* dies, another is chosen in his room, out of a Company of 40 Men, whom they call *Elauted*, i. e. *A Stock of a Tree*. There are 70 Electors appointed for this Purpose, and 765 Candidates, who are capable of being qualified as Electors, when vacancy happens among the 70.

Unaccountable Learning.

By an order of the Sect, these 765 are oblig'd to live incognito; so they range almost all the World over in a natty beggarly Habit, as if they were Strangers to all Humanity; and without any regard to Shame or Modesty, ravish Women in publick Places, tho' at the same time their Holiness is cry'd up by the People; *Tunis* and all *Egypt* is full of these Miscreants. In *Alcair*, I saw one of 'em ravish a very handsome Woman in the Market-place, as she was coming out of a Bath; upon which the infatuated Mob possess'd with a notion of the Adulterer's Sanctity, who, as they thought, did not commit, but seem'd to commit the Sin, crowding about the Woman to touch her Garment as a holy thing, and even the Cuckold her Husband return'd thanks for the Adventure to his false God, in feasting and Acts of Charity. The Magistrates would have punish'd the foul Adultery, but they were afraid of the Mob.

Strange Credulity.

Another Sect.

There are other Sectaries, who may be properly call'd Cabbalists; these fast very strictly, and abstain from the Flesh of Animals, confining themselves to a particular Food and Habit. They have very set Prayers for every Hour of the Day and Night, calculated according to the variety of Days and Months, and these they are oblig'd to rehearse. They carry about with 'em square Tables, with Characters and Numbers engraven upon 'em; and pretend to derive the Knowledge of all Things from the Angels, with whom they have daily Conferences. They have among 'em a Catalogue of 99 Vertues, which they are contain'd in the Name of God.

Hermits.

Another Sect among the *Mahometans*, are Observers of a Rule call'd *Suvach*, i. e. *The Rule of the Hermits*. These inhabit Woods and solitary places, and have no other Food than what the wild Deserts afford. In fine, *Elefacni* has publish'd a particular Account of all the principal *Mahometan* Sects, which are 72 in number. At this Day, there are but two principal Sects of *Mahometans*, namely, that of *Leshari*, dispers'd over all *Africa*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, and *Turkey*, and that of *Iniania*, which the *Sophi* of *Persia* has establish'd in his Country by force of Arms.

Seventy two Mahometan Sects.

Searchers for Treasure.

In this City of *Fez*, there is a set of Men that make it their Business to search for Treasure under the Foundations of old Houses. They are continually at work about the Caves and Dens without the City Walls; for they are perswaded, that when the *Romans* were forc'd to retire from *Africa* to *Spain*, they hid much of their Treasure in the Bowels of the Earth, because they could not carry it off; only they apprehend, that this hidden Treasure is so enchanted by the Art of *Magick*, that without that Art it cannot be found out. They'll tell you they saw Gold or Silver in such a Cave, but could not dig it out for want of Perfumes and Enchantments fit for the Purpose. Upon the Influence of this Delusion, they turn up the Foundations of the old Houses and Sepulchres, paying for what Damage they do, and look upon all Books of the Art of digging Gold, as divine Oracles.

Alchimists.

The Alchymists in like manner make a noise in this place. They are a parcel of nasty Fellows, that stink of Sulphur and other Steams; they assemble every Night at the great Temple, where they dispute of their false Opinions. A great many learned Books of their Arts are in great esteem, particularly the Works of one *Geber* a *Grecian* by birth, who lived 100 Years after *Mahomet*, and renounc'd his own Religion. This Author has a dark allegorical way of writing. Another Author of that Faculty, who was Secretary to the *Soldan* of *Bagadet*, has publish'd a large Volume, entituled *Albogrebi*, and one *Muhairibi* of *Granada*, has writ the Principles of their Art, upon which a learned *Menmuluch* of *Damascus* wrote a Commentary more intricate than the Text it self. There are two Families of these Men at *Fez*; one bears their Bains for the *Elissir*, i. e. a Matter which colours Brass and other Metals; the other seeks after the multiplications of Metals.

Coiners.

But their true Trade is coining of false Money, and for that Reason there are but few Alchimists in *Fez*, that have not their Hands cut off.

Mountebanks.

There is yet another sort of rascally Fellows about this Town, whom the *Italians* call *Curmatori*, who sing comical Songs in the Streets, accompanied with Drums, Harps, and Citterns, and sell *Charms* to the People under the Notion of Preservatives.

Of the same Kidney are another Gang in this Town, who carry dancing Monkeys up and down, and have Snakes round their Necks and Arms: They likewise pretend to foretel Fortunes, and lead Stone Horses up and down the City, which they allow to cover Mares for a certain price.

Such

Such is the State of this beautiful City, in which the Gentlemen, Doctors and Judges, keep at a great distance from the common Citizens. The City is most commodiously situated; for, tho in Winter the Streets are so durty that one cannot walk in 'em without Startups, yet their Conduits throw in abundance of Water to wash off the Dirt; and where there are no Conduits, the Dirt is carry'd off to the River in Carts.

The Suburbs of *Fez*.

The chief Suburb of this City lie at the West end, and contain almost 500 Families of poor Trades-men, Day Labourers, Water-bearers, Mountebanks, and Whores. In this place there are above 150 Caves or Cellars of fine Marble, where the Noblemen of *Fez* us'd to lay up their Corn; for the least of 'em will contain above 1000 Measures of Corn: But at present they lie empty and open, and Walls are built before 'em to prevent the Peoples falling into 'em. This Suburb is the very Sink of the City; for there any one may freely sell Wine or keep a Baudy-house. After the 20th Hour the Tradesmens Shops are shut up, and every one goes to sot in the Tavern.

An Apartment for Lepers.

There is another Suburb separate from this, where 200 Families of Lepers live, under the management of a Governour, who collects some yearly Revenues from the Noble-men for their Use, and suffers 'em to want for nothing. This Governour is by his Office oblig'd to purge the City of all Leprous Persons, and shut 'em up there. A Leper's Children enjoy his Estate after his Death, but if he dies without Issue, part of his Estate goes to the Lepers common Stock, and part to the Governour.

Places for Burials.

There are likewise without the Walls of the City, several Fields, appropriated by some Noble-men for the burial of the Dead. The common Graves have a long triangular Stone upon 'em, but the Noblemens has one Stone at his Head and another at his Feet, with Epitaphs inscrib'd upon 'em.

Tombs of the Kings of Fez.

The Tombs of several Kings of the *Marin* Family, artfully made of fine Marble, with Epitaphs upon 'em, are to be seen in a Palace that stands upon a Hill on the North side of the City, and indeed they are Majestick and Pretty beyond expression.

New Fez.

New Fez, is a place added to *Old Fez* by King *Jacob*, for the accommodation of his Court. 'Twas divided by King *Jacob* into three parts; one contain'd his own Palace and the Noble-mens Houses, to every one of which he allotted a pleasant Garden; not far from his Palace he built a stately and sumptuous Temple; in another part of the City he built a large and fair Stable for the King's Horses, and appointed a Market place, extending from the West to the East Gate, which is a Mile and a half, Shops being plac'd on each side.

Goldsmiths.

The third part is now the apartment of the *Jews*; for most of the Goldsmiths in *New Fez* are *Jews*, who carry their Plate to *Old Fez*, and there sell it at a higher rate than the Weight, which is a Privilege not allowed in *Old Fez* to *Mahometans*, as being usury.

Jews.

These *Jews* dwelt once in *Old Fez*, but being all robb'd by the *Mores* upon the death of one of their Kings, King *Abusabid* order'd 'em to remove to *New Fez*, and doubled their yearly Taxes. Accordingly they at this Day possess a long Street in *New Fez*, and have many Shops and Synagogues, their number being wonderfully enlarg'd since they were expel'd *Spain*. The Street where they now live, was the place allotted for the King's Guard in former times, but now the Kings have no Guards. These *Jews* are dispis'd by every body; they are not allow'd to wear Shoes, but only a sort of Socks of Sea Rushes. They wear black Turbants on their Heads; or if they use a Cap, they must tack a piece of red Cloth to it. They pay the Kings of *Fez* 400 Ducats a Month. About 140 Years after the building of this new City, it was surrounded with impregnable Walls, and adorn'd with Temples, Colleges, Palaces, and other Buildings.

Water-Engines.

Without the Walls, the River Water is rais'd by huge Wheels and Engines, invented by a *Spaniard*, which turn round but once in 24 Hours. By this means 'tis carry'd over the Walls into Cisterns, from whence 'tis convey'd in Pipes to the Temples, Palaces and Gardens. This was effected scarce 100 Years ago; for before that the City was supply'd with Water from a Fountain ten Miles off, by the means of a Conduit invented by a *Genoueſe*, that was the King's Favourite. To conclude, there are few Gentlemen in this new City, excepting such as retain to the Courts; for the bulk of the Inhabitants are Tradesmen, who contemn the Courtiers so much, that they will by no means suffer them to marry their Daughters.

Having thus dispatch'd the City of *Fez*, and what relates immediately to it, 'twill be proper, before we dismiss this Subject, to give a brief Account of the Kings of *Fez*, and their Court, which is kept in *New Fez*.

Africa knows no such thing as Elective Princes, or the calling of a foreign Prince to a Throne. *Mahomet*'s Law confin'd all secular Power to the *Mahometan* Patriarchs and Prelates; but in process of time, the Authority of the Patriarchs declin'd: and the Ringleaders of the People, that ranged up and down in Desarts, invaded civiliz'd places, and by force of Arms, gave 'em Princes contrary to *Mahomet*'s Law. The Families of *Zeneta*, *Luntuna*, and *Marin*, are Instances to this Purpose.

The Officers of the King's Court.

As for the Kingdom of *Fez*, as soon as any Prince is proclaim'd King there, he singles out one of his Peers for a Chief Counsellour, and bestows on him one third of all the Revenues of the Crown. Then he nominates another to be Secretary, Treasurer and High Steward of his Houshold. After that, he appoints a Captain of the Horse or of the Guards, who commonly live with their Horses in the Fields: In the last place he nominates a new Governour of the City. Some time after, he sends Commissioners and Deputies to govern the *Highlanders* and *Arabians* that are subject to him; and appoints Collectors of the Revenues of the Crown; and nominates a certain number of *Keepers* or *Guardians* (as they call 'em) giving to every one of 'em a Castle or Village, by which they may maintain themselves in Peace, and be serviceable to him in time of War. This King maintains, besides his Guards, a Troop of Light Horse-men, who live upon the King's Provisions while they serve in the Field; but in time of Peace, the King gives 'em Corn, Butter, and powder'd Flesh for the whole Year. Money they seldom finger; but the King provides entirely for their Horses, and Cloths them once a year. Those who look after their Horses, are Christian Captives, who go sack'd in great Chains, and when the Army removes, are carry'd upon Camels Backs. The Camels are taken care of by an Officer appointed for the Purpose, who disposes of the Pasture as he pleases, and looks after the King's Furniture, that's carry'd upon their Backs. Another Officer is the Purveyor, who provides and distributes Corn to the King's Houshold and his Army. In time of War he has ten or twelve Tents to lay up Corn in, and sends every Day fresh Camels for new Corn. Another Officer is the Groom of the Stables or Master of Horse, who provides for the King's Horses, Mules, &c. being furnish'd with all Necessaries by the Steward. There is likewise an *Overseer of the Corn*, who provides Provender for the Beasts, and being accountable to the High Steward as Clerk under him, who keeps an exact Account of what is laid out. The King of *Fez* has also a Captain over 50 Horse-men, who may be call'd Pursuivants, for they execute the King's Orders; an Officer of great Authority, who in the King's Name, can force the Judges to do justice, and put their Sentences in execution, and can both imprison and punish the Principal Noble-men. A Chancellour, who keeps the great Seal, and writes and signs the King's Letters. A Governour of the King's numerous Foot-men, who always attends him. A Commissary for the Baggage of the Army, who takes care to carry the Tents of the Light Horse-men upon Mules, and the Tents of the other Souldiers on Camels. A Master of the Ceremonies, who sits at the King's Feet in the Senate House, and commands each Member to speak according to his Dignity. Add to these a Company of Standard Bearers, who upon a March, carry their Colours wrap'd up, only he that goes before the Army, has his Banner display'd. Every one of this Company is particularly well acquainted with the Fords of Rivers, and the Passages thro' Woods; for which Reason they are for the most part the Guides of the Army. There are a great many Drummers in the Army, who beat with a Bull's Pizzle, upon certain Drums of Brass as big as a great Kettle, the lower part of which is narrow, and the upper broad, being cover'd with a Skin. These Drummers ride on Horse-back, having always a great weight on one side to counterpoise the weight of the Drum on the other. Their Horses are very swift, for the *Mores* account it a great disgrace to lose a Drum; and the Drums make not only a lould but a terrible noise, such as affects both the Men and the Horses. The Musicians that attend the Army are not pay'd by the King; for the Cities are bound to send a certain number of 'em to the Wars, who are admitted or not admitted to the King's Table, according to their Behaviour in the Field. All the Women Servants in the King's Houshold are Negro Slaves, tho' the Queen is always a White. Some *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Women Captives, are likewise kept about the Court, having Eunuchs who are Negro Slaves, that

The Revenues of the Crown.

watch 'em very narrowly. Notwithstanding the King of *Fez* his large Dominions, his Revenues will scarce amount to 300000 Ducats a Year, the fifth part of which does not come to him. Most of his Incomes are paid in Corn, Cattle, Oil and Butter, which fetch but little Money. In some places they pay 1 ½ Ducat *per* Acre, in other p'aces a whole Farm pays no more. In some Regions every head pays as much as a whole Families does in another: And indeed the Citizens of *Fez* are more dissatisfied at the Payment of the Taxes than at any thing else. By the Law, a *Mahometan* Prince (unless he be a Priest) can exact no more than what was settled by *Mahomet*, viz. 2 ½ *per Cent.* of the ready Money, and ½ of all their Corn: And of that a part is to be imploy'd in relieving the Poor, and carrying on necessary Wars. But the secular Princes neglect *Mahomet*'s Model, have not only consum'd these Taxes, but exacted greater; and at this Day all the Inhabitants of *Africa* are so oppress'd with daily Exactions, that they scarce have where withal to feed and cloth themselves; and upon that Consideration no Man of Sense or Honesty will either converse or entertain a Courtier, or accept of a Present from him, presuming that all his Possessions are the Product of Theft and Bribery. In time of Peace, the King maintains 6000 Horse, 500 Cross-bows, and as many Musqueteers, who lie within a Mile of his Person when he goes a Progress; but at *Fez* he has no occasion for so strong a guard. When he wages War with the *Arabians*, he obliges the *Arabians* that are subject to him to find him a great Army of Men upon their own Foot, and these Men are better Souldiers than his own. There is but little Pomp or Ceremony about his Person; neither does he care for it, unless it be upon Festival Days, or when necessity requires it.

When the King is to ride out, the Master of the Ceremonies send Messengers to give notice to his Relations, his Nobility, Senators, Captains, Guardians, and Gentlemen, who immediately draw up in a Body before the Palace Gate.

The order of the King's Retinue.

Upon the King's coming out of doors, the Messengers put the Retinue in the following Order. The Standard Bearers go first, then the Drummers, then the chief Groom of the Stable with his Attendants, then come the King's Pensioners, his Guard, his Master of Ceremonies, his Secretaries, his Treasurer, his chief Judge, his Captain-General, three Officers, one carrying his Sword, another his Shield, and a third his Cross-Bow, and at last the King himself, accompanied by his Chief Counsellor and some other Peer; his Foot-men march on each side of him, one carrying a pair of Stirrups, another his Partisan, the third a Covering for his Saddle, the fourth a Halter for his Horse, another his Slippers, which are very fine; and as soon as the King dismounts, the Cover and Halter are put upon his Horse. After the King follows the Captain of the Foot-men, then the Eunuchs, the King's Family, the Light-horse, and in the Rear of all the Cross-Bows and Fire-locks. Upon such Occasions, the King's Cloths are but very thin and ordinary, but his Retinue is very fine; Besides, the Law of *Mahomet* prohibits any Prince to wear a Crown, Diadem, or any such like Ornament upon his Head.

The manner of his Encampments.

When the King encamps with his Army, his own great Tent, which is 50 Ells square, is first pitch'd. This Royal Pavilion has four Gates kept by Eunuchs, and on each corner of the square a Spire of Cloth, with a glistering Ball on the top of it. There are divers other Tents within the Pavilion, particularly one for the King, so contriv'd, that it may be easily remov'd from place to place; next to the Pavilion are the Tents of the Noble-men and the King's Favourites, then the Lodgings of the chief Guard, made of Goats Skins after the *Arabian* Fashion, and in the midst of all, the King's Kitching and his Pantry. The Light Horse-men lie near the Pavilion; and next to them are the Stables, where their Horses are wonderfully well fed; without the Circle are the Baggage-men, Butchers, Victuallers, &c. Whoever comes to the Camp, must come no farther than the quarter for the Baggage-men; for the Royal Pavilion is so environ'd on all Hands by the Lodgings of the Guard and other Tents, that 'tis very hard to get at it. Some Watch-men are set to guard the King's Pavilion all night long, as well as the Stables, but they are sorry helpless Fellows without Arms, and sometimes so negligent, that not only Horses have been stole, but Enemies have been taken in the King's Tent that came with a Design to murder him. The King lives the greatest part of the Year in the Fields, both for the safe guard of his Kingdom, and for keeping his *Arabian* Subjects in obedience. His Diversions are Hunting and playing at Chess.

Mount Zarhon.

To return. About ten Miles from the City of *Fez*, lies a noted Mountain call'd Mount *Zarhon*, which is ten Miles broad and 30 long. It bears plenty of Olives, but at the same time is crowded with wild Woods. There are about 50 Sheep-folds and Castles upon it, and the Conveniency of its situation between *Fez* on the East and *Mecnasa* on the West, renders the Inhabitants very rich. The Women of that Country are clad in Wolen, and adorn'd with many Silver Rings and Bracelets. The Men are brave, and noted for the taking of Lions, of which they send a great many to the King of *Fez*, and these the King hunts in this manner.

Hunting of Lions.

Several little Cells in which a Man may stand upright, are made in a large Field, and secur'd with strong Doors. In each of these an armed Man is plac'd, who shewing himself to the Lion, and upon the Lion's approach shutting himself up, inflames his Fury; upon which a Bull is let loose upon him, and if the Bull kills the Lion, the Sport is at an end, but if the Lion kills the Bull, all the Men in the Cells (who are commonly twelve in number) jump out upon him, being armed with a Javelin and a Pike of a Cubit and a half long. If the armed Men seem to be too hard for the Lion, the King orders their number to be diminish'd; and if they appear to be too weak, he and his Company shoots at the Lion with their Cross-bows, from a high Hill where they stand to see the Show. But it oftentimes happens that some of the Men die, and all are severely wounded before their Cross-bows kill the Lion. Those who encounter the Lion, receive ten Ducats apiece, and a new Garment; but 'tis only the Men of known Valour, and such as come from Mount *Zelagi*, that are honour'd with the Employment.

Gualili.

A Town call'd *Gualili*, stands upon this Mountain, which became very populous after it was repair'd and replanted by *Idris* the Elder, who lies buried there, and whose Sepulchre is superstitiously visited by almost all the People of *Barbary*; for they look upon him as a great Patriarch. After the death of that *Idris*, his Son being wholly bent upon the building of *Fez*, neglected *Gualili*.

Pietra Rossa.

Upon the side of the Mountain, there's a small Town call'd *Pietra Rossa*, which stands so near the Forest, that the Lions come tame in, and pick Bones off the Street, without hurting any body.

Castle Shame.

At the Foot of the Mountain near the high Road, leading from *Fez* to *Mecnese*, there stands Castle *Shame*, so call'd from the shameful covetuousness of the Inhabitants. 'Tis reported, that the Inhabitants invited the King to diner as he was passing by, in order to get the ignominious Name alter'd, and next Morning prepar'd for his Breakfast a couple of Rams, and some large Vessels full of Milk and Water, presuming that the King would not know but that it was all Milk: Upon which the King perceiving the Milk to be half Water, smill'd and said, *What Nature hath given no Man can take away.*

Province of Azgar.

The third Province is that of *Azgar*, in which are many Lions, and those so timerous, that the Voice of a Child will fright 'em; whence *The Lion of Azgar* became a Proverb, signifying a cowardly *Braggadocia*.

Province of Habat. Arzilla.

As for the Province of *Elhabet* or *Habat*, it contains within its Bounds the great City of *Arzilla*, built by the *Romans* upon the Shore of the Ocean, about 70 Miles from the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and 140 from *Fez*. In ancient times it was subject to the Prince of *Ceuta*, who was tributary to the *Romans*, and afterwards was taken by the *Goths*, who restor'd the Prince of *Ceuta* to his former Government. But in the 94th Year of the *Hegeira*, the *Mahometans* took it, and kept it 200 Years, till the *English* (a) upon the Sollicitation of the *Goths*, besieg'd it with a huge Army, and put all the Citizens to the Sword. The Design of the *Goths* was only to draw the *Mahometans* out of *Europe*, for they being Christians, were Enemies to the *English*, who worship'd Idols. Some time after this Disaster, the *Mahometan* Patriarchs of *Cordoua* being Sovereigns of *Mauritania*, rebuilt, enlarg'd, enrich'd and fortified *Arzilla*; the Inhabitants of which distinguish'd themselves by their Riches, Learning and Valour. The adjacent Fields are fertile, only their distance from the Mountains, occasions a great want of Wood, which is in some measure supply'd by Coals brought from *Harair*.

(a) This seems to be *Danes*, whom those often infested *England*, *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, and being at this time beaten out of *England*, were call'd *English*.

Taken by the Portuguese.

In the 882 Year of the *Hegeira*, this City was surpriz'd and taken by the *Portuguese*, who carry'd the Inhabitants Prisoners to *Portugal*, and among the rest, *Mahumet* the present King of *Fez*, together with his Sister, both of 'em being Children. *Mahumet* continu'd seven Years in *Portugal*, and learn'd the *Portuguese* Language perfectly well; at last his Father ransom'd him for a great sum of Money, and the Son being afterwards preferr'd to the Throne, endeavour'd to retake *Arzilla* from the *Portuguese*, and gain'd his Point so far as to master

maſter the Town; and oblige the *Portugueſe* to retire to the Caſtle and promiſe to ſurrender in two Days. But in the mean time *Pedro de Navarro* came up with a potent Fleet and rais'd the Siege. After that the *Portugueſe* fortified the City on all ſides, ſo that the King of *Fez*, who often attack'd it, was always repuls'd.

Tangier. The next Town that comes in our way, is the great and ancient City of *Tangia*, call'd by the *Portugueſe Tangiara*, which the *Romans* built upn the Shore of the Ocean, when they ſubdu'd the Kingdom of *Granada* or *Boetica*.

Ceuta. Then comes *Septa*, call'd by the Latines *Civitas*, and by the Portugueſe *Ceuta*, and built by the *Romans* upon the Streights of *Gibraltar*. In former times it was the Metropolitan of all *Mauritania*, and being much valued by the *Romans*, was both civiliz'd and well peopled in their time. After that, the *Goths* maſter'd it, and kept it, till the *Mahometans* invading *Mauritania*, ſurpriz'd it, at the ſame time that the *Mores* conquer'd *Spain*. After that, it came to be the famouſeſt City of all *Mauritania*, both for Civility and number of Inhabitants. It was adorn'd with Temples and Colleges, and reſorted to by Men of Learning, Students and Trades-men. Their Mechanicks, eſpecially the Braziers, went beyond all others. The adjacent Fields are but barren, which makes the Corn dear: but they are well ſtor'd with pretty Villages, eſpecially in that part which from the abundance of Vines, is call'd *The Vineyards*. From hence you have a noble Proſpect of the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and may even diſcern moving Animals there, the diſtance being but 12 Miles.

Taken by the Spaniards and Portugueſe. But in late times this noble City was raz'd by *Habdulmumen*, the King and Patriarch, who likewiſe baniſh'd the principal Inhabitants; and not long after it was ſack'd by the King of *Granada*, who carry'd the Nobles and chief Citizens in captivity to *Granada*; and at laſt, in the 818 Year of the *Hegeira*, 'twas taken by the *Portugal Armada*, and all the Citizens abandon'd it. The cowardly and unactive King of *Fez*, who neglected to ſuccour it, was by the juſt Judgment of God, brought to condign Punithment, he and his ſix Sons being murther'd ſoon after by his own Secretary, whoſe Wife he had endeavour'd to debauch; and the Baſtard Son, who was ſpar'd and ſucceeded him, was in like manner ſlain by his own People, and was the laſt of the *Merin* Line.

The King of Fez and his ſix Sons murder'd.

Mount Quadres. Mount *Quadres*, in this Kingdom, is famous for the birth of *Hellal*, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his valiant Exploits againſt the *Spaniards*, and at laſt was kill'd in *Catalonia*, *A. D.* 1160. at a Battle, in which 60000 *Mores* fell, and none eſcap'd but the King and a few Noblemen. After that Battle, the *Spaniards* were ever ſucceſsful againſt the *Mores*.

60000 Mores kill'd.

Province of Erif. Velles de Gomera. We come next to the Province of *Erif*, the ancient Town of *Beles*, call'd by the *Spaniards*, *Velles de Gumera*, ſtands upon the Shore of the Mediterranean in this Province, and contains 600 Families. It has no drinking Water, but one Well in the Suburbs, juſt by the Sepulchre of one that was once very famous among them; and this Well they dare not make uſe of in the Night-time, becauſe 'tis full of Leeches. However 'tis adorn'd with a ſtately Temple, and ſo overſtock'd with Fiſh, that they give 'em away *gratis*, eſpecially to any one that helps to draw up a Net, for one Man is not able to do it. The Fiſh they take are Pilchards, and theſe they ſalt and ſend to the Mountains to be ſold. A long Street in this Town is inhabited by *Jews*, many of whom ſell excellent Wines; nay, in a calm Evening the Citizens are wont to divert themſelves with ſinging, and the drinking of Wine in their Pleaſure Boats upon the Sea.

A Fort poſſeſs'd by the Spaniards. Being expos'd to the fire of a Fort that King *Ferdidando* of *Spain*, built upon an Iſland within a Mile of the Town, they implor'd the aid of the King of *Fez*, who accordingly ſent out an Army, moſt of which never return'd. The *Spaniards* kept the Iſle for ſeveral Years, till the Year 1520, in which a *Spaniard* provok'd by the Governour, who had taken his Wife from him, betray'd it into the Hands of the *Mores*, and all the *Spaniards* were put to the Sword, excepting the Traytor, who was well rewarded.

Province of Garet. The Province of *Garet* is divided into three parts; the firſt contains the Towns and Cities, the ſecond the Mountains, and the third the Deſarts.

Mount Beni-Meſgalda. The Mountains are Mount *Benigazenal* and Mount *Beni Meſgalda*. The former has a Town upon it indifferently well peopled, and provided with many Judges and Lawyers, and all ſorts of Trades-men, particularly Linen Weavers. The adjacent Fields are wonderfully fertile in Grapes, Quinces and Citrons, which are all ſold at *Fez*. This Town has a good Market, frequented by the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Mountains. On the top of this Mountain, there's a Cave that perpetually throws up Fire, and conſumes Wood to Aſhes.

Mount Beni meſgalda. The Inhabitants of Mount *Beni Meſgalda* maintain many Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, and ſeveral inferiour Students, for which Reaſon their Taxes are but very ſmall in compariſon with their Neighbours. Theſe Doctors drink all the Wine themſelves, and perſwade the People that 'tis unlawful for them to drink it.

Melila. Among the Towns of this Province, we muſt take notice of *Melila*, the Inhabitants of which being threatned by the *Spaniſh Armada*, and finding the King of *Fez* his Succeſſours but weak, deſerted the Town, and fled with their Effects to the Mountains of *Buthoia*; upon which the Feſſon General, in reſentment of their cowardice, and in order to leave nothing for the *Spaniards*, burnt down all the Houſes and Temples. However the *Spaniards* poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Town, waſte as it was, *A. D.* 1487, and built a ſtrong Caſtle upon it, ſince which time they have repaird the Walls and continue in poſſeſſion of it to this Day.

The Deſarts of Garet. The Deſarts of *Garet* are bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the North, the Deſarts of *Chauz* on the South, the Mountains I mention'd but now on the Weſt, and the River of *Mulvia* on the Eaſt, being 60 Miles long and 30 broad. There's no Water in theſe Deſarts, but that of the River *Mulvia* us'd to retire in Summer, upon which many *Arabians* as well as a fierce People call'd *Batalisa*, have great ſtore of Horſes, Camels and other Cattle, and wage perpetual War with the *Arabians* that border upon 'em.

Province of Chauz. Dubdu. The laſt Province in this Kingdom is that of *Chauz*. The Town of *Dubdu* ſtanding in this Province, was poſſeſs'd by one *Mahumet*, who adorn'd it with many fine Buildings, and reform'd the Government of the Town, being diſtinguiſh'd by his Civility to Strangers. This *Mahumet* having a Deſign to wreſt *Fezza* out of the Hands of the King of *Fez*, and to go diſguis'd in a Country Habit to the Market-place of that Town, in hopes that the Towns-men would make an Inſurrection, the King of *Fez* came to know of the Plot, and marching againſt *Dubdu* with a vaſt Army, encamp'd at the Foot of the Mountain. In the mean time 6000 of the Inhabitants of the Mountain lay in ambuſh among the Rocks, and after the *Fezzan* Souldiers had gone up the difficult Paſſages of the Mountain a pretty way, ſo that they could not conveniently get back again, ſallied out and kill'd 3000 of 'em. But the King of *Fez* not mov'd, advanc'd with 500 Croſs-bows and 300 Firelocks to make a new Attack: Upon which *Mahumet* finding himſelf not able to ſtand out any longer, diſguis'd himſelf in the Habit of an Ambaſſadour, and went and deliver'd a Letter with his own Hand to the King. Being ask'd by the King what he thought of *Mahumet* the Governour of *Dubdu*; he anſwer'd, that he thought he was mad in offering to withſtand his Majeſty. Then the King threatned to tear him in pieces as ſoon as he was Maſter of the Town; upon which the feign'd Ambaſſadour ask'd if his Majeſty would not receive him into favour upon a ſubmiſſive Acknowledgment of his Offence. His Majeſty promis'd upon that Condition, not only to forgive him, but to give his two Daughters in marriage to his Sons, and for his further Security, back'd his Promiſe with a ſolemn Oath, in the preſence of four of his Principal Nobility. Upon this, *Mahumet* fell down at the King's Feet, and diſcovering himſelf, humbly beg'd Pardon for his Offence, and the King made good his Promiſe. This happen'd *Anno Dom.* 1495.

Fezza is another City within this Province, which ſtands upon the Road from *Garet* to *Caſaſan*, at the diſtance of 50 Miles from *Fez*, 130 from the Ocean, and ſeven from the *Mediterranean*. In former times it contain'd 5000 Families. Its Palaces, Temples, and Colleges are in ſome meaſure pretty, but the other Buildings are very ordinary. A ſmall River runs thro' the chief Temple, that ſprings out of the *Atlas*; and ſometimes when the Citizens quarrel with their Neighbours, theſe incommode 'em very much, by cutting off this River, and turning it into another Channel, for then they have nothing but ſtinking Water, and are forc'd to ſtrike up a Peace. For Riches, Civility and Populouſneſs, this City is reckon'd the third City of the Kingdom. The Chief Temple is greater than that at *Fez*; beſides which it has three Colleges, ſeveral Baths, and a great many Hoſpitals. Each Trade in this place has a peculiar place allotted to it, as well as in *Fez*. The Inhabitants go beyond thoſe of *Fez*, in Valour and Generoſity; and there are a great many learned and rich Men among em. The adjacent Fields are extream fertile. The Plains without the City Walls are very large, and enrich'd

rich'd with many pleasant Brooks, that serve to water their Gardens, which are stock'd with all sorts of Fruit.

Their Vines produce great plenty of sweet Grapes, of which the *Jews* (there being 500 Families of 'em in this City) make as good Wine as any in *Africa*.

An old Man rever'd. In this place, says our Author, I saw a very ancient Man, that they rever'd as a God, insomuch, that the People of *Fez* came 50 Mile off to see him; and this old Gentleman, who had the Art of deluding the People, was prodigiously rich in Fruits, Grounds, and other Commodities that they had given him.

Soffroi. Tame Lions. *Soffroi* is another Town in this Country, which has a Temple with a River running thro' it, and an excellent Fountain at the Door. There's a Forest just by it, where the Lions are very tame.

Ham-Lisnan. There's a Town in this Country call'd *Ham Lisnan*, near to which the *Africans* had a Temple, that in the time of their Idolatry, they resorted to in whole Shoals in the Night time; and after the Performance of Sacrifice, us'd to put out the Lights, and divert themselves with promiscuous Embraces. The Children that were begotten in this adulterous way, were brought up by the Priest of the Temple, and set apart for sacred Service: But the Women that acted a part in this foul Action, were prohibited to lye with any Man for a Year after.

Publick Adultery in a Temple.

Numen Giunaibe a Dancing-road. Not far from another Town call'd *Numen Giunaibe*, there's a Road, which whoever passes without dancing and leaping, falls into an Ague.

Mount *Beni-Jessenten.* The Mountain subject to the Governour of *Dubdu*, is call'd *Beni Jessenten*, and is inhabited by a unhuman, base, beggarly crew. Their Houses and Shoes are made of Sea-rushes. *Panick* is the only thing that grows upon the Mountain, of which they make Bread and other Victuals; but at the Foot of it Grapes, Dates, and Peaches grow plentifully in Gardens. They dry their Peaches in the Sun, cutting 'em into quarters, and throwing away the Stones; and these are accounted a choice Rarity after a Years keeping. They have some Iron in Mines, of which they make blunt pointed Daggers and Horse-Shooes, which sometimes serves 'em for Money, for that's a scarce Commodity upon the Mountain. Their Women are proud of Iron Rings on their Fingers and Ears, and are scandalously rigg'd; for they stay mostly in the Woods, where they keep Goats and gather Fuel.

Mount *Selelgo.* Another Mountain in this Province, call'd *Selelgo*, is inhabited by a People who descend to the Valleys every Spring, carrying their Houses of Sea-rushes along with 'em, and continue there till about the end of *May*, at which time the *Arabians* coming from the Deserts in quest of Fountains and moist places for their Cattle, dislodge 'em. But in the Winter these *Arabians* resort to Woods, and warm places to shelter their Camels, which cannot bear cold. This Mountain is well stock'd with Lions, Leopards, and Apes. It gives rise to *Subu* the greatest River in all *Mauritania*, and has a stream of Water that runs so rapidly, as to carry a Stone of 100 weight along with it.

Mount *Beni-Jasga.* The River *Subu* separates Mount *Selelgo* from Mount *Beni Jasga*, the Inhabitants of which are a rich and civil People. They have a way of pullying People over from one Mountain to the other, in a great Hamper that will hold ten Men, that being fasten'd to a Rope which runs from a strong Post on one side, to another on the opposite side; but this airy Bridge is not always very safe. This Mountain affords plenty of Oil, great store of Cattle, and very fine Wool, of which the Women make Cloth as fine as Silk, and sell it at *Fez* for a great Price.

Mount *Centopozzi.* Mount *Centopozzi*, boasts of a great many ancient Houses, and a bottomless dry Pit, into which some People have been let down by a Rope with Torches in their Hands, who report, that below 'tis divided into a great many Rooms, and that at last they come to a large artificially hewn out of a Rock, and encompass'd with a Wall that has four Doors leading to some narrow places, where are Springs of Water. Some of these bold Adventurers have lost their Lives, in the Discovery; for if their Lights happen to be put out by any sudden blast of Wind, they can by no means find the place where the Rope hangs, and so die by famine. 'Tis said that three Men being let down, came to the four Doors above-mention'd, where they parted, one going one way, and the other two another. After the two that kept together had gone on one fourth of a Mile, one of their Lights was put out by swarms of Bats; at length they came to the Springs, where they found the Whites of Dead Men, and five or six Candles, some of which were fresh and some wasted with long lying. Then they return'd the same way they came, and were scarce gone half way, when a sudden blast put out their other Light, upon which they were scrambling among the Ropes, and after many fruitless Attempts, lost all Hopes of finding their way. In the mean time their Companions that tarry'd at the Mouth of the Cave expecting their return, let down some of their own number to see what was become of 'em; and these Men having Lights in their Hands, and making a great Noise, found 'em out at last, and brought 'em up. But the third that went by himself was not found at that time; he wander'd up and down in a forlorn Condition, and at last hearing a noise like the barking of Dogs, made up to 'em, and met four strange new-born Beasts, with a Dam not unlike a She Wolf, which fawn'd gently upon him with her Tail. Soon after that he began to perceive a glimmering of light, and so found his way out. But now-adays this famous Pit is fill'd with Water to the very Mouth.

Mount *Gunaigel Gherben.* Near this Mountain is Mount *Gunaigel Gherben* (the Mountain of Ravens) which is full of Woods and Lions, and has no Inhabitants, perhaps by reason of its extream coldness. Here is a very high Rock, the top of which is frequented by infinite numbers of Crows and Ravens, whence 'tis thought, the Mountain derivd its Name. Sometimes the terrible northerly Wind bring such abundance of Snow upon this Mountain, that those who travel from *Numidia* are lost in it. Every Summer the Neighbouring *Arabians*, call'd *Beni-Essen*, resorted to this Mountain for the Benefit of its cool Water and pleasant Shades, notwithstanding its being over-run with Lions and Leopards.

Mount *Zin.* The last Mountain I shall mention, is Mount *Zin*, inhabited by a parcel of Thieves and Robbers, who are continually molesting the *Arabians*, and are so spiteful as to throw their Camels over the Rocks.

Tame Serpents. In this place the Serpents are so inoffensive, that they come to peoples Houses at dinner-time, and gather the Crumbs under the Table, without offering any violence, unless they be injur'd.

Additions to CHAP. III.

Out of Marmol.

THE Kingdom of *Fez* is the second or eastern part of *Mauritania Tingitana*, being sever'd from *Morocco* or the Western part, by the River *Ommirabi*. It contains seven Provinces, the most western of which is *Temesen*, a Province, that after many Revolutions, came to be possess'd by the People of *Zenete* and *Haoara*, who are commonly call'd *Chawians*, and not only live in Tents like the *Arabians*, but speak broken *Arabick*, tho' at the same time they are an *African* Nation. In former times this People were so powerful, that they could bring into the Field 50000 150000 Foot; but their continual Wars with the Kings of *Fez*, and of *Morocco*, and with the *Portuguese*, added to a three Years Plague and Famine, have reduc'd 'em to that extremity, that at this day they are Vassals to the *Xeriff*, and cannot raise above 8000 Horse and 50000 Foot: Their Cavalry is good, but their Infantry does but little. However they are so proud, that they sit uneasily under the Yoak, and take all Occasions to revolt, skipping from one Kingdom to another with their Tents and Flocks. Their Women are white, and proud of their Beauty and gay Apparel, particularly of Jewels and Trinkets of Gold and Silver hanging about their Neck, Ears, and Arms. The Country is very well qualified both for Corn and Pasture, but the Inhabitants manure only what lies just by their Inhabitations.

In

Behima a Fattening Herb. In the Fields there grows an Herb call'd *Behima*, that fattens Horses and Cattle in 12 or 15 Days, but kills 'em after it shoots forth a bearded Ear, for which reason they keep their Cattle from it in that Season. This Province was once beautified with numerous Towns and Castles; but now there remains nothing but the Walls of some Towns without any Houses, within which the Inhabitants incamp in Winter.

Mount Cuma. *The Province of Fez.* The Province of *Fez*, is the next in order, pursuant to our wonted Method, by proceeding from West to East. Both the Mountains and Valleys between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, are inhabited by *Berebers*, and by *Holots*, which is a mixture of *Africans* and *Arabians*, and not to mention the other puissant *Arabians*, who possess all the Fields between *Fez* and the Sea, where they wander up and down, and find excellent Pasture for their Flocks. The Country that lies between the City of *Fez* and the *Great Atlas*, is not so well peopled, being inhabited only by poor *Arabs*, who pay some Acknowledgment to the King and the Citizens of *Fez*, for what Lands they possess.

Sala. *Fez* is now the Metropolitan of this Province, but in the time of the *Goths*, *Fella* or *Sala* was entituled to that Honour. The latter was built either by the *Romans*, or by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and is enrich'd with a tolerable Harbour, the Mouth of which is somewhat dangerous. It has been famous for Galleys or Rovers that infest the European Coast, ever since a *Granada More* retir'd thither. In former times 'twas very rich and populous, and committed several Ravages upon the *Europeans*, which provok'd *Alphonsus* the Wise, King of *Castile*, to take it *A. D.* 1263. But soon after 'twas retaken by the first King of *Fez*, of the *Benemerini* Family. However these sudden Revolutions brought it so low, that it never recover'd its ancient splendour. At present 'tis defended by a Governour, with 300 Horse and some Firelocks.

Tifelfet. About four Miles from the Ocean, we met with the Ruines of the ancient City of *Tamisidis*, now *Tifelfet*, which *Ptolomy* places in 7 Deg. Long. and 34 Deg. 15 Min. Lat. It has thick Forests in its Neighbourhood, where furious Lions resort, and attack Passengers, especially in the Night-time; for which Reason there is a House cover'd with Earth upon the Road, where the pursued Traveller may be shelter'd from their fury.

Mequinez. At the distance of 17 Leagues from *Sella*, not far from Mount *Atlas*, lies a large City, which containing above 8000 Inhabitants, which is now call'd *Mequinez*, and which *Ptolomy* places under the Name of *Silda*, in seven Deg. 50 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 15 Min Lat. It has good Walls and large Streets, and stands in a very fertile Country. The Inhabitants are proud and stout, and mortal Enemies to the *Fezzans*. They derive their Extraction from *Mecca*, and apply themselves for the most part to Traffick. The Kings of *Fez* are wont to bestow this place as a Portion upon the Cadets of their Family, tho' sometimes they have had occasion to repent it.

The City of Fez. *Fez*, the Metropolitan of all *Africa*, is call'd the Court of the West, as *Constantinople* is entitled that of the East. 'Twas call'd *Fez* from the River it stands upon, which has such rich and verdant Banks, that it merited the Name of *Huet-Fez*, i. e. *The Golden River*.

Bulibile. That part of it which was first built, and stands upon the East Bank of the River, is the same with what *Ptolomy* call'd *Bulibile*, and plac'd in eight Deg. 15 Min. Long. and 33 Deg. 40 Min. Lat. But that part which was built since upon the Western, is the chief Body of the City. It has seven Gates, and is divided into twelve Wards, each of which is commanded by one of the principal Citizens, who like a Colonel, takes to see them provided with Arms, at the Peoples Charge.

Its Force. Upon occasion they can raise 30000 Soldiers, among whom the *Moorish Spaniards* that retir'd from *Granada* and *Andalousia*, are much the bravest, for the rest mind nothing but their Ease and Pleasure.

Its peculiar Privilege. The first King of *Fez* vouchsaf'd to the City the distinguishing Priviledge of not being oblig'd to stand out against an Enemy, when the King is not able to keep the Field; so that they are not ty'd up to a vain and dangerous Fidelity to a Prince that is not able to defend 'em, but may prevent the Ruin of their City by an early Surrender. For this Reason, their Kings are always very strong in Horse, that they may be able to keep the Field upon all Occasions.

Temples. This great City has many fine Temples, Colleges, and other Structures. The principal Temple, call'd *Caruoin*, is the richest and greatest in all *Africa*. Within its compass, there's a College, where they teach their Theology, and the other Arts and Sciences.

The Great Mufti. The Rector of this College, is commonly the most learned Man in the Country; his Title is *Mufti*, and all other *Alfaqui's* receive their Orders from him as from a Bishop, and depend upon him for the Solution of their Doubts and Difficulties. He us'd to receive the Revenues of the Church, which amount to 80000 Ducats a Year; but the *Xeriff* that now reigns, saves him that Trouble, in taking up the whole Revenue, and providing him with what is necessary for himself and the other Officers of the Temple.

Colleges. There are several other Colleges in *Fez*, in which they teach Grammar, Rhetorick, *Mathematicks*, Theology, Philosophy, Orthography, Mathematicks, and other Sciences: In former times they taught *Negromancy*, but that has been prohibited these several Years.

Schools. There are above 200 Schools in the City, where they learn to read, notwithstanding that the *Arabick* Grammar and Orthography are taught in the Universities.

Inns. Not to mention their Hospitals; their Inns for the Accommodation of Strangers, are very large and well built: The best of 'em are near the great Temple, where the Christian Merchants and the honester sort of People are lodg'd, but the rest are Houses of notorious lewdness; their Keepers are dissolute Ruffians, and entertain Whores, Boys, Robbers, Assassins, and all the Miscreants of the City; nay, which is very strange, they are free in those places from the Hands of Justice. The Inn-Keepers, who go by the Name of *Bads*, pay a round Sum every Year to the Governour for his Licence, and as often as the Army marches under the command of the King or the Prince, they are oblig'd to send some of their number, to attend the Officers of the Retinue, and dress their Meat.

Mills. The River which passes thro' *Fez*, has a great many Mills upon it, out of which the King has half a Rial for every Mine (or two Bushels) of Corn that is ground there.

East Fez. So much for the Western part of *Fez*; The Eastern is chiefly considerable for its Manufacture of Linen Cloth, and Silk.

New Fez. As for *New Fez*, or the King's Court (which may be call'd a third part of this great City) 'twas christen'd the *White City* by King *Jacob*, its Founder; tho' now it has assum'd the Title of *New Fez*. All the Inhabitants besides the King and his Court, are Persons of no great Figure; for those who have either Riches or Quality, are not very fond of being known at Court. The Prince who built this place, has spar'd nothing to render it a place of Conveniency and Safety, tho' after all it might easily be taken, partly because it lies expos'd to easy Attacks in several places, and partly because it wants Ramparts and Platforms for planting the Artillery, not to mention that it contains such a number of useless Mouths, as would quickly reduce it to famine in case of a Siege. At present 'tis constantly guarded by 2000 Firelocks on Foot, and 1500 Horse well mounted, and provided with Artillery and Ammunition.

The Suburbs of Old Fez. The West end of *Old Fez* is join'd by a Suburbs, containing about 300 Families, where Ruffians and Debauchees resort, and escape justice; for the Houses are built just upon the brink of the River, and as soon as a Magistrate or Officer appears, they cross over and get into a thick Wood on t'other side of the River, where 'tis impossible to find 'em.

Not far from this place, there's an Apartment of 60 Houses, with an Hospital for leprous Persons; for Lepers, and indeed all Persons that are ill of incurable Diseases, are prohibited to walk the Streets; nay, the Lepers are not suffer'd to continue at their own Houses, but forc'd into the Hospital.

Above 120 Families of Whites live at a small distance from thence upon the side of the River, where they have an admiral Green for bleeching Cloth, which is green all the Year round, and wash'd by a Crystal Stream, for the Water of the River is so clear, that in Summer one may count the small Flints at the bottom.

Mount Zalag. At the distance of a League from *Fez*, there's a fertile Mountain call'd *Zalag*, which produces the best Grapes in all *Africa*. Most of the Citizens of *Fez* have their Estates upon this Mount, and the Inhabitants are very rich, being for the most part Husband-men and Gardeners.

Lampta. The chief Town is *Lompta*, which stands just under the Ruines of an ancient City, that seems to have been built by the *Romans*, and probably was *Ptolomy's Aobrisis*, which he places in nine Deg. 20 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 15 Min. Lat.

M. Zarhon. *Zarhon* is another large and well peopled Mountain in the Neighbourhood of *Fez*, where we meet with a Town built by the *Romans*, call'd *Darel Hamara*, that seems to be *Darel Hamra.*

be *Ptolomy's Septicenna*. In this place (says our Author) I saw a Lion come into the Town and snatch up a little Child; upon which the Child's Sister, that was not above twelve Years of age, run after him, and beat him till he drop'd the Child; So great is the Influence of Custom as to tame the fiercest of Creatures, and render Men fearless of any Hurt from 'em.

Gemaa. Upon the Road between *Fez* and *Mequinez*, there was a small Town, call'd by the Inhabitants *Gemaa*, and by *Ptolomy Gontiana*, which was strong both by Art and Nature, but was dispeopl'd and demolish'd by the last King, but one of the *Beneme-rini*'s Family, as being only a Nest of Robbers and profligate Scoundrels.

M. Tagat. *Tagat*, a strong and narrow Mountain, to the West of *Fez*, is the last place I shall take notice of in this Province. That side of it which faces the City of *Fez*, is cover'd with Vines, most of which belong to the Citizens of *Fez*.

Finding Treasure by Magick. Some poor *Fezzians* come every Winter and dig in this Mountain in quest of some Treasure that they imagine the *Romans* to have left behind 'em. They alledge, that this Treasure is enchanted, and cannot be had without Magick, and are great Admirers of such Books as treat upon that Subject. So much for the Territory of *Fez*.

The Province of *Asgar*. *Asgar* is the third Province of the Kingdom of *Fez*. Its name signifies, *Flying the Sea*; for 'tis alledg'd, that 'twas once cover'd with the Sea, which has since retir'd. It extends from the River *Burregreg* on the West, to the Mountains of *Errif*, *Zarhon*, and *Zalag*, on the East, and from the Ocean on the North, to the River of *Bunacer* on the South, being in length 27 Leagues, and in breadth 20. 'Tis the richest Province in *Africa* for Corn, Cattle, Wool, Butter and Leather, and provides the City of *Fez* with these Commodities. In former times it had several rich Towns and Villages, which are now demolish'd; and is inhabited at present by two puissant Races of the *Arabians* of *Mauritania Tingitana*, who are the King of *Fez* his Vassals, and oblig'd to furnish him with a certain number of Troops. Their Cavalry is very brave, but if the Campagn be tedious, and plunder scarce, they commonly take the first opportunity of sliding home.

El Arays. *El Arays*, an ancient Sea-Town in this Province, was very populous before the Christians were possess'd of *Arzilla*, at which time the Inhabitants deserted it, till 'twas fortified by *Muley Nacer*, for a Frontier against the Christians of *Tangier* and *Arzilla*. It has a good Harbour for small Ships, in which the *Portugueze* Governour of *Arzilla* burnt, and took several Moorish Vessels, *A. D.* 1504. Most of the Inhabitants are Colliers, and the chief Traffick of the place consists in Coals, Cotton and Shads, taken in the River *Lisse*, upon the Mouth of which the Town stands.

Alcasr-Quivir, or the Great Palace. *Alcaser-Quivir*, another Town in this Province, signifying in *Arabick The great Province*, was built by the fourth King of the *Almohada* Family. The occasion was this: The King lost his way in hunting among a great many Lakes and Morasses, and was forc'd to stand under a Tree with his Horse in his Hand a great part of the Night; at last he spy'd an Eel Fisher-man, who shelter'd him under his shead, and conducted him thro' the Marshes, to the great danger of his life. Upon this the King ask'd him what reward he would have; The Fisher-man reply'd, that the most agreeable Reward to him, would be a House built in that place, where he and his Family might be lodg'd. Accordingly the King built a rich Palace upon the spot, where he came sometimes to divert himself with hunting, and made the poor Man House-keeper. At the same time he gave such Privileges and Immunities to all that would build about it, that in a short time 600 Inhabitants settled there, and the Town was fortified. 'Twas call'd *Alcaser-Quivir*, i. e. *The Great Palace*, to distinguish it from *Alcasr-Saguer*, i. e. *The Little Palace*. The Inhabitants are a good humour'd sort of People, and since the Abdication of *Arzilla* by the *Portuguese*, are possess'd both of Peace and Riches. The River *Lisse* runs so near the Town, that sometimes upon an Inundation, it sweeps away the Houses.

The Province of *Habat*. *Habat*, the fourth Province of the Kingdom of *Fez*, extends from the Fens of *Asgar* on the West, to the Mountains of *Erriff* on the East, and from the Ocean on the North, to the River *Erguile* on the South, being in length (*i. e.* from East to West) 27 Leagues, and in breadth 35. The plain Country lies all upon a level, being rich in Corn and Cattle, and water'd with several great Rivers that spring from the Mountains and disembogue in the Ocean. The *African* Historians take great notice of this Province, as being the most noted District of the whole Country, and known formerly by the name of *Tiaritena*, where the *Romans* and *Goths* built more Cities than in any other part. But since the building of *Fez*, the better sort of the Inhabitants are remov'd thither, in order to avoid the lash of the War, the *Portuguese* having possess'd themselves of the principal Towns all along the Coast.

Amergue. At the distance of three Leagues from the side of *Erguile*, there stood a Town call'd by the Inhabitants *Amergue*, and by *Ptolomy*, *Tocolosia*.

Tenzert. *Tenzert* or *Tehart*, another Town in this Province, plac'd by *Ptolomy* under the name of *Trisidis*, in nine Deg. Long. and 33 Deg. 20 Min Lat. was built by the *Romans* upon a rising Ground. *Aben Gezar* says in his Geography that 'twas founded by the Giants, and that in his time, they found in some ancient Tombs, several Skulls that were two Foot every way.

Besara. Another Town in this Province was *Bezar*, *Besir*, or *Besara*, where the Kings of *Fez* us'd to spend the Summer, upon the account of its cool Waters and shady Woods, and its lying conveniently for Hunting. But this and the two foregoing Towns were level'd with the Ground by *Caim*, the Schismatick Calif, in the Wars with *Idris*.

The Agreeable. About three Leagues from the Ocean, we meet with an Island in the *Lisse*, call'd by the *Portuguese*, *The Agreeable*, upon which the King of *Portugal* built a Fort, but was afterwards oblig'd to abandon it, when the King of *Fez*, pursuant to the Advice of a Deserter, stopp'd the course of the River, by cutting down the Wood that grew on its Banks, and throwing it in, and turn'd the Water into another Channel that join'd the old one about half a Mile below the Fort.

Arzilla. *Arzilla*, a very ancient strong and well situated City, belonging to this Province, is placed by *Ptolomy* under the name of *Zilia*, in six D. 30 Min. Long. and 35 D. 10 Min. Lat. 'Twas a strong Frontier for the *Portugese*, while they kept their Footing in *Africa*.

Tangier. The next place we come at is the ancient City of *Tangier*, call'd by the *Romans Tingidis*, which was built by the *Romans*, upon the Mouth of the Streights, and afterwards taken by the *Goths*, who annex'd it to the Government of *Ceuta*. It continued in their Hands till the taking of *Arzilla* by the *Mahometans*. During that space of time, 'twas a splendid place, adorn'd with an University, and resorted to by a great many Noblemen and Gentlemen. Its Houses are very fine, and several Governours of *Mauritania Tingitana*, chose it for the place of their Residence. The adjacent Valleys being admirably well water'd, were imbellish'd with Gardens, Vineyards, and Houses of pleasure. The Inhabitants being a warlike People, infested the Coast of *Europe*; upon which account the King of *Portugal* sent his Son, (*A. D.* 1437.) to besiege it. But the King of *Fez* coming to relieve it, and great numbers of the *Portuguese* Gentry being lost in several Engagements before the Town, the Prince was forc'd to come to a Treaty with the Moorish King, and promise to surrender *Ceuta*, upon the Condition, that the King of *Fez* should release all the Christian Prisoners. At the same time he could not avoid the delivering himself as an Hostage, till the King of *Portugal* should ratify the Treaty. However 'tis said, he privately diss'waded the King from ratifying it, chooling rather to die in captivity than to see Christendom bereft of the Key of the Streights. For this Reason the King of *Fez* us'd him very roughly, upon which he sicken'd and died. After that *Alfonsus* King of *Portugal* went in Person to besiege *Tangier* (*A. D.* 1463.) and after several unfortunate Engagements, was forc'd to return without compassing his end. But in the Year 1471. the King of *Fez* being diverted by Wars in his own Country, and King *Alfonsus* being Master of *Arzilla*, the Citizens of *Tangier* saw themselves expos'd, and dreaded that King *Alfonsus* would take that Opportunity to revenge upon them the many Losses and Misadventures he had suffer'd before their City. Upon this Apprehension they privately abdicated *Tangier*, and so the King of *Portugal* became the peaceable Possessour of a place that had cost him so much Blood and Pains, for so many Years together. From that time the Kings of *Portugal* assum'd the Title of Kings, both of this and the other side of the Sea; and the important Conquest was celebrated by Processions, not only in *Portugal*, but in *Andalousia*, *Granada*, and *Castile*.

Alcasr-Saguer. *Alcasar-Saguer*, is another Town in this Province, standing upon the narrowest part of the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and enrich'd with a convenient Harbour. *Jacob Almansor* built it for the conveniency of crossing from thence over to *Spain*, which is but three Leagues sailing. Being provided with Woods all about it, the Inhabitants us'd

us'd to fit out Rovers that infested the Coast of *Europe*, and were very troublesome to the Ships that pass'd the Streights. In the Year 1458, *Alphonsus* King of *Portugal* took it after an obstinate Siege; and tho' the King of *Fez* laid Siege to it twice with great vigour, continued still Master of it, till he thought fit upon the consideration of the Charge and the small Profit that attended such Conquests, to quit this and all his other Possessions in this Country, excepting *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, and *Mazagan*.

Near to this place a River discharges it self into the Sea, which *Ptolomy* calls *Valona*, placing the Mouth of it it seven Deg. Long. and 35 Deg. 50 Min. Lat.

Ceuta. As for *Ceuta*, which was once the most considerable City, not only in this Province, but in all *Mauritania Tingitana*. Some take it to be the same with *Ptolomy's Essilissa*, plac'd by him in seven Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 35 Deg. 56 Min. Lat. Historians say, that 'tis the best air'd place in all *Africa*, and upon that Consideration the richest Families repair to it from all quarters. There are several Mountains in this Province, inhabited by *Bereberes* of the Tribe of *Gomera*, who live after the same manner with their Neighbours, bating, that they drink Wine, contrary to *Mahomet's* Law. These are a hardy robust sort of People; but their heavy Taxes keep 'em miserably poor. They are mortal Enemies to the Christians, and were the best Troops that the Kings of *Granada* had in the *Spanish* Wars.

The Province of Errif. The next Province in order is that of *Errif*, extending from *Tetuan* on the West, along a Plain, above 50 Leagues long, to the River *Nocor* on the East, and from the Mediterranean Sea on the North, to the Province of *Fez* on the South. This Country is inhabited by *Bereberes*, who are very proud of their Valour, and enrich'd with fine Gardens, Olives, and all sorts of Fruit. There are but six Towns in the whole Province; for most of the Inhabitants live in small Villages and Hamlets scatter'd here and there, among the Rocks and Mountains, which are unsufferably cold, in so much, that both the Men and Women that live there, have great swoln Chops occasion'd by the cold. Their Houses are built of Earth, and cover'd with the Leaves or Rinds of Trees.

Targat. *Targat* is one of the Cities of this Province, which *Ptolomy* call'd *Tagat*; and which is environ'd by rugged cold Mountains, and Forrests replenish'd with Apes. The Inhabitants of this place are great Drunkards and very brutish. They live by fishing, and some say they have Fish enough to supply half the Kingdom of *Fez*. It stands upon the Mediterranean Shore, but has no Harbour, the whole Coast being nothing but an open Road.

Velez de Gomera. The next Town is *Velez de Gomera*, inhabited by a drunken barbarous Crew, who being well accommodated with Wood and a good Harbour, us'd to fit out Galleys to infest the Coast of *Europe*.

Pegnon de Velez. To prevent their Excursions, the *Spaniards* built a Fort call'd *Pegnon de Velez*, upon a Rock in the Sea, within 700 Paces of the Shore. This Fort was afterwards betray'd into the Hands of the *Mores*, who continued in Possession of it till the *Turks* master'd it, at the same time that *Salarraes*, Governour of *Algiers* possess'd himself of *Fez*. After that, the *Spaniards* attempted to retake it, and after one or two successless Expeditions, took it at last, in the Year 1564; so that 'tis now in the *Spanish* Hands, and defended by a good Garrison, who are well provided with Artillery and Ammunition.

Tellez. The other Towns in this Province are *Tellez*, inhabited by poor Fisher-men, who fly to the Mountains upon the least apprehension of an Invasion.

Tagaza. *Tagaza* standing upon a River of the same name; the Mouth of which *Ptolomy* places under the name of *Talud*, in eight Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 35 Deg. Lat.

Gebha. *Gebha*, a small wall'd Town upon the Mediterranean Shore, near to which the Cape of *Olives*, so call'd from the multitude of wild Olives that grow upon it, and plac'd by *Ptolomy* in nine Deg. Long. and 34 Deg. 56 Min. Lat.

Cape of Olives.

Megyma. And *Megeyma* or *Mezemme*, call'd by *Ptolomy Acrat.* There are many Mountains in this Country, the Inhabitants of which are all *Bereberes*, of the Tribe of *Gomera*.

Mount Chechuan. The most remarkable of these Mountains is that call'd *Chechuan* or *Sesavon*, the pleasantest Mountain in all *Africa*, and adorn'd with a Town of the same name, which is surrounded with several Springs, Gardens, and fertile Fields. This place is famous for the Exploits of *Ali Barrax*, who by his Valour, render'd himself Master of this and the neighbouring Mountains, and bore the like of King of *Chechuan*. He made several Inroads upon the *Portuguese* Frontiers, and having obtain'd frequent Victories, lodg'd all the Spoil in the Town of *Chechuan*. In his time the People (who are of a warlike and brave Temper) were exempted from Taxes; and he was confirm'd in the Possession of that State, by *Abu Sayd* King of *Fez*; but his Posterity was confirm'd by *Abdala* to *Marocco*, where they live miserably, and the Seignory was bestow'd upon the Grandson of *Muley Belelche*, who still possesses it under the Title of *Xeriff*, and obliges the People to pay Tribute.

The Province of Garet. *Garet*, the sixth Province of the Kingdom of *Fez*, are the Province of *Errif* and the River *Melua* on the West, the Kingdom of *Tremesen*, and the same River on the East (This River severs *Mauritania Cæsariana* from *Tingitana*) the Mediterranean on the North, and the Mountains in the Desarts of *Numidia* on the South. 'Tis a dry barren Country, not unlike the Desarts of *Libya Interior*.

Melila. It has but few Towns, the most remarkable of which is *Melila* or *Milila*, taking its name from the plenty of Honey and Wax. It stands upon a Plain at the bottom of a Gulph, being commanded by a Mountain on its West side, and was call'd *Russadira* by *Ptolomy*, who allots it 10 Deg. 10 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 45 Min. Lat. It has large Territories and very considerable Iron Mines, and was once a very rich and populous City. 'Twas render'd famous by the *Romans*, while they were Masters of *Mauritania Tingitana*. After their departure, the *Goths* possess'd it, till the arrival of the *Arabians*, who enlarg'd its former Splendour, by settling a great many Merchants and Trades-men in the place. Many Years after the Schismatick *Califa* of *Carovan* took it by Capitulation. And in the Year 1482, His Catholick Majesty perceiving that the Citizens fitted out Privateers and Galleys that infested the Coast of *Europe*, sent the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* to take possession of the Town, which accordingly he did, and built a Citadel to defend it. It continued in the *Spanish* Hands till of late, that it return'd to the King of *Fez*.

About half a League off to the East of *Melila*, there's a Lake seven Leagues round, where 1000 Galleys may ride very safely. About 18 Years ago (says our Author) there was a Passage made between this Lake and the Sea, at the Foot of a Rock that makes a Barr, which in some places is pretty broad. When the Tide flows, several Galleys abreast may enter here; but when 'tis low Water they must enter one by one, and be conducted by an experienc'd Pilot. When the East or North Wind blows hard, they sometimes rise above the Bank, and leaves Water in some hollow places upon the top of the Rock, of which the Christians are wont to make Salt Pits.

About half a League from the Lake there's a place of Strength call'd *Zangaran*, where the present *Xeriff* keeps three or four hundred Firelocks to secure the *Arabians* that feed their Flocks along the Lake, from the Invasion of the Christians, and from the Turkish Pyrats.

Casasa. The next Town in this Province is *Casasa*, built upon a Cape of the same Name, which *Ptolomy* calls *Metagonitea*, and places in 13 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 34 Deg. 56 Min. Lat. It has a good Habour, where the *Venetian* Galleys us'd to touch; and the Merchants of this place carry'd on so great a Trade, that the King of *Fez* was considerably enrich'd by its Customs. 'Twas taken by the *Spaniards*, and afterwards betray'd into the Hands of the *Mores*, by three of the Garrison that the Governour had disoblig'd. Upon the News of which, the Governour of *Melila* sent some Troops by Sea to recover it, but the *Mores* having put the *Spanish* Garison to the Sword, put on their Coats, and so march'd out in disguise to meet the Recruits, who taking them for *Spaniards*, came on shore, and were all cut to pieces. At present 'tis level'd with the Ground, and there remains nothing but a strong Castle standing upon a Rock, that cannot be undermin'd.

Tezote. *Tezote*, a small Town, standing upon the point of a steep Rock, about three Leagues from *Melila*, is now the head Town of the Province, and guarded by 300 Foot and 60 Horse, under the command of a Governour; for if the *Turks* should take it, they would master the whole Province.

The Province of Cuta. The last or most eastern Province of the Kingdom of *Fez*, is that call'd *Cuta*, i. e. *Much*. It contains a larger Tract of Ground than any two Provinces in the Kingdom, and perhaps derives its Name from thence, being 80 Leagues in length from the River *Gurugure* to that of *Esaga*; for it includes all the Mountains of *Great Atlas* that lie between these Rivers, together with a great part

of the Plains of *Numidia*, and the Mountains that border upon *Libya Interior*. Some say this Province was divided into three parts, which were confer'd by the first Kings of *Fez*, upon three Branches of the *Benemerini's* that were their Allies, and since that, have defended themselves against the *Turks* and the Power of the *Xeriffs*. However 'tis certain, that of late they have made themselves Allies, or rather Vassals to the Kings of *Fez*, who has a particular respect for 'em, upon the account of their brave Nobility, that has all along kept up the Independency of the Province, in opposition to the Lords of *Tremesen*. The whole Province lies among Mountains, and does not touch upon the Sea.

Teurert. It contains several Cities, particularly *Teurert*, an ancient Town built by the ancient *Africans* on the top of a Mountain, surrounded with fertile Fields, which was formerly one of the Principal Cities in *Mauritania*, and receiv'd Tribute from all the *Arabians* in the adjacent Desarts, but is since dispeopled by the Wars of *Tremesen*.

Hadegia. *Hadegia*, a large City, standing upon an Island, made by the Rivers *Mulvlo* and *Mulucan*, which was deserted by the Inhabitants, when oppress'd by the *Mahometan Arabians* on one hand, and the Armies of *Fez* and *Tremesen* on the other.

And *Garcis* or *Gafala*, a Town standing upon a Rock, *Galafa.* in which the *Benemerini's* lodg'd their Magazines before their Accession to the Imperial Crown, and which they have since ruin'd upon a Revolt of the Citizens. *Ptolemy* places the last in the Maps of *Libya*, in 11 Deg. Long. and 32 Deg. 40 Min. Lat.

Dubudu, a great strong City in this Province, was built by the *Benemerini's*, upon the side of a high *Dubudu.* Mountain, being only accessable by a steep and difficult Road; and was govern'd by the Descendants of that Family, till 1563, at which time the *Xeriff* that now reigns, possess'd himself of it.

The chief City of this Province is *Tezza*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Teyfor*, allotting it nine Deg. Long. and 33 Deg. 10 Min. Lat. Not to mention *Soffroy*, which is enrich'd by its Oil, and *Umen Genuabo*, which was built for the Security of the Road, from *Fez* to *Numidia*. *Tezza.*

The remaining Towns in this Country are *Mezdaga*, call'd by *Plini Mu'uleca*, and by *Ptolomy Molocat*. *Benibubelul*, call'd by *Ptolomy Ceuta*; and *Mehidia*, founded by *Mehedi*, a famous *Mahometan* Preacher. As for the Mountains in this Province, they are all inhabited by the *Zeneta's* who have all along wag'd War with the *Turks* of *Tremesen*.

CHAP. IV.

Containing John Leo's *Description of the Kingdom of* Tremesen.

The Limits of Tremesen. THE Limits of *Tremesen*, call'd by the *Romans Caesarea*, are, the Rivers *Zha* and *Muloia* on the West, the Great River on the East, the Desart of *Numidia* on the South, and the Mediterranean on the North; being 380 Miles long, and 25 broad. It was possess'd for some time by the *Romans*, but afterwards return'd to its ancient Sovereigns, call'd *Beni Habdulgiad*, who continued in possession of it for 300 Years, after which time the Posterity of *Zeyen* injoy'd it for almost 380 Years, but not without frequent Molestations from the King's of *Fez* and *Tunis*. Its lying so near the *Numidian* Desarts, exposes it to the Inroads of the *Arabians*; and tho' the Kings of *Tremesen* have frequently endeavour'd by great Gifts, to procure the Friendship of the *Numidians*, yet they could never satisfie the *Numidian* Avarice. Tho' 'tis not safe travelling thro' this Country, yet a great many Merchants reside in it, either because 'tis the Road to *Negroland*, or because it joins to *Numidia*.

Its former and present State. It has two famous Ports, viz. *Oran* and *Mersalcabir*, which were much frequented by the *Venetians* and the *Genoese*, and which were both taken by *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*. This provok'd the Inhabitants to dethrone *Abuchemmeu*, who reign'd then, and prefer another, who was afterwards miserably slain by *Barbarossa* the *Turk*, that conquer'd the whole Kingdom. However *Albuchemma* receiving Succours from the Emperour *Charles* V. dispossess'd *Barbarossa*, and retriev'd his Crown, allowing liberal Rewards to the *Spanish* Officers, and a large yearly Revenue to the Emperor as long as he liv'd. But *Habdulla* his Brother and Successour, confiding in *Soliman* the *Turk*, refus'd to pay the Emperours Tribute, and continues to this Day (*A. D.* 1526.) in possession of the Kingdom. The Sea-Coast of this Country is in some measure fertile, but the Southern and greater part of it is dry, barren and unmanur'd. The Desart of *Angad*, its Western Frontier, is eighty Miles long and five broad, being well stock'd with Roes, Deer, and Ostriches.

Ned Roma. To give some account of the Towns and remarkable places in this Country. *Ned Roma* (i. e. *like Rome*) an ancient City, built by the *Romans* while they were Masters of *Africa*, stands upon a large Plain, about 12 Miles from the Mediterranean Sea. Historians say it resembled *Rome* every way, and from thence deriv'd its Name: But at this Day the Ruines of the *Roman* Buildings are scarce to be seen; the Wall indeed is yet standing, and some places of the Town are lately rebuilt, there being in it a tollerable number of Inhabitants, particularly Weavers of Cotton-Cloth, who are exempted from all Taxes. 'Tis surrounded with fertile Fields, and a great many Gardens planted with the Trees, that bear the *Carobs*, which is a Fruit not unlike *Cassia Lignea*, that the Inhabitants of the Suburbs feed upon.

The great City of *Tremesen*, the Seat of the Kings, was once very regularly govern'd. It stood out a seven Years Siege carry'd on by *Joseph* King of *Fez*. In the time of that Siege, the Citizens being reduc'd to the greatest Extremities by Famine, petition'd the King to surrender; but the King shewing them what his own Fare was, *viz.* boil'd Horse-flesh and Barly, they were satisfied, and the next Day resolved to sally out upon the Enemy, accounting it more honourable to die in battle for the defence of their Country, than to live such a miserable life. In the mean time they receiv'd the unexpected News of *Joseph* his being kill'd by one of his own Men; upon which they march'd with greater courage against the Enemy, who was then in confusion, and defeated 'em. About 40 Years after, *Abulhesen* King of *Fez* built a Town within two Miles of the West end of *Tremesen*, and after a Siege of 30 Months, took it, and carried their King to *Fez*, where his Head was cut off, and his Carcase thrown upon a Dunghil. But after the Declension of the *Marin* Family, *Tremesen* was recruited, and the number of its People enlarg'd to 12000 Families. The Buildings of this place are not so stately as those of *Fez*, but every Trade has a separate place allotted to it as well as at *Fez*. It has many fine Temples, to which *Mahometan* Priests and Preachers belong; besides five very sumptuous Colleges, a great many Inns, and several handsome Baths, tho' indeed Water is not so plentiful here as at *Fez*. There are many Conduits in it, but their Fountains, which are not far from the City Walls, may easily be stop'd by an Enemy.

The City of Tremesen. *Suffers a Seven Years Siege.* *Their King taken Prisoner.*

A great part of the City is inhabited by *Jews*, distinguish'd from the other Citizens by Turbants upon their Heads, who were formerly very rich, but now are extream poor, by reason of their being robb'd of all they had upon the death of King *Abuhabdilla*, in the 923 Year of the *Hegeira*. The City Wall is very high and strong, having five great Gates upon it, with a Guard of Soldiers and Custom House Officers at each Gate. *Jews in it.*

The King's Palace. The King's Palace, standing upon the South side of the City, has two Gates, one leading to the Fields, the other to the City, at which the Captain of the Guard stands. This Palace, which is very large, is surrounded with high Walls, and beautified with Fountains and pleasant Gardens. The South part of the City is inhabited by Jews, Lawyers, and Notaries, besides a great many Students and Professours, which have Allowances from the five Colleges.

Four sorts of Citizens. In fine, the Citizens are divided into four Classes, *viz.* The Trades-men, who live a secure, quiet, and merry life; The Merchants, who are just, generous and publick spirited Men,

Men, and very genteel in their Cloaths, and trade for the most part with the Negroes: The Souldiers, who are personable brave Fellows, and honourably paid; for they have three *Italian* Ducats *per* Month; And Scholars, who live meanly while they are Students, but after the obtaining a Doctor's Degree, are preferr'd to be either Professours, Notaries, or Priests. The adjacent Country is beautified with charming Seats, where the Citizens retire in Summer. There they enjoy all the Pleasures that fine Pastures, clean Fountains, and all sorts of Fruit can give. Almonds, Peaches, Melons, and Citrons, are very plentiful. As for the Figs, they dry 'em in the Sun, and keep 'em till Winter.

The magnificence of the King's Palace.

The King of this Country is not to be seen or spoken with by any, but his principal Noble-Men, who serve in Offices proportion'd to their Dignity. The King's Lieutenant is the principal Officer, who levies the King's Armies, and sometimes heads 'em. The second is chief Secretary, the next is the High Treasurer, then the Almoner, then the Captain of the King's Guard, who draws up the Guard at the Palace Gate, as often as the Noble-men are admitted to his Presence. The meaner Officers are, the Master of the King's Stables, the Overseer of his Saddles and Stirrups, and his Chamberlain, who never attends but when the King gives Audience to any of his Courtiers, for at other times his Office is perform'd by the King's Wives, together with some Christian Captives and Eunuchs. Sometimes the King rides out upon a stately Horse, with costly Furniture; but, unless it be in time of War, he has not above 1000 Men with him. Tho' his Dominions are but sorrily peopled, yet he reaps great Profit of the Goods of that pass thro' his Country, from *Europe* to *Æthiopia*.

Hubbed.

The next Town is *Hubbed*, where the numerous Inhabitants are for the most part Cloath Dyers. One *Sidi Bu Mediam*, a Holy Man, to whom they pay Divine Reverence, was buried here, and has a Monument over him, to which they ascend by Steps. One of the Kings of *Fez*, built in this place a stately College and a Hospital, for the entertainment of Strangers.

Babah, A famous Hermit.

The Plain of *Bel ha*, which lies likewise in this Country, was inhabited till lately, that a famous *Hermite* settled there, who pays no Taxes, and yet has in his Possession 500 Horse, 10000 small Cattle, 2000 Oxen, and reaps every Year 5000 Bushels of Corn, besides four or five thousand Ducats, that are sent him every Year from divers parts of the World. He maintains 500 Disciples at his own Charge, who have nothing to do but to read a few Prayers a day; for which Reason Disciples come to him from all parts of *Africa* and *Asia*, and return home after they are instructed in some Ceremonies. He has about 100 Tents ready pitch'd, some of which are design'd for Strangers, others for Shepherds, and the rest for his own Family; for he has four Wives, and a great many Women Slaves that go very fine; and in like manner his Sons have their Wives and Families; so that the whole Family may amount to 500 Persons. He is much respected by the King of *Tremesen*, and by the *Arabians*, and is a great Admirer of Magick, tho' he does not practice that Art.

Oran.

The Town of *Oran* was built many Years ago by the *Africans*, upon the Mediterranean Coast, about 140 Miles off *Tremesen*. 'Tis grac'd with many sumptuous Temples, Colleges, Hospitals, Baths and Inns; being surrounded with high impregnable Walls, and having a noble Plain on one side, and Mountains on the other. Most of the Inhabitants were Weavers, and the rest liv'd upon their Estates, being a courteous hospitable sort of People. They make all their Bread of Barly, because the adjacent Country produces but little Corn. In former times it was much frequented by the Merchants of *Catalonia* and *Genoua*. The Citizens were always quarrelling with the King of *Tremesen*, and would not accept of any Governour, for they chose one of their own Burgo-masters, to be the chief Judge of Civil and Criminal Causes. The Merchants of the Town fitted upon their own Charge, out several Brigandines, which committed many Pyracies upon the Coast of *Catalonia*, *Genoua*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*; so that *Oran* was crowded with Christian Captives.

Taken by Spain.

In order to set these Captives at liberty, *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* laid siege to the Town, and while the *Moors* sallied out upon him and left the Town destitute, his Men got into it, and put most of 'em to the Sword, in the 916 Year of the *Hegeira*.

Mersalcabir, a great Harbour.

The next Town we meet with, is *Mersalcabir*, i. e. *A Great Haven*, where an infinity of Ships may ride safely in the greatest Storm; perhaps there is not such another Harbour in the World. Upon the Apprehension of a Storm, the *Venetian* Merchants us'd always to put in here, and send their Goods to *Oran* in other Vessels. The *Spaniards* master'd it at length as well as *Oran*.

Bresch.

Another Town call'd *Bresch*, is well stock'd with Inhabitants, who are mostly Weavers, and commonly paint a black Cross upon their Cheeks, and two upon the Palms of their Hands; which as I said before, is a Custom as ancient as the Gothith Invasion.

Serfel.

Serfel, built by the *Romans* upon the Mediterranean Coast, was afterwards taken by the *Goths*, and at last by the *Mahometans*. Its Wall which is very high and strong, is eight Miles round. The *Romans* built a magnificent Temple in that part of it which faces the Mediterranean, the inside of it being all Marble.

Algiers.

The City of *Gescir*, i. e. *an Island*, so call'd from its nearness to the Isles of *Mejorca*, *Minorca*, and *Yeniza*, was founded by the *African* Family of *Mesgano*, whence in former times 'twas call'd *Mesgana*; the *Spaniards* call it *Algier*. It contains 4000 Families, every Trade living apart from the other. It has noble strong Walls and sumptuous Buildings. The Temples, Baths and Inns are all very fine; but the noblest Structure of all is the Temple upon the Shore. The Waves of the Sea beat upon a part of the Town Wall, upon which there's a very pleasant Walk. The Gardens in the Suburbs are clad with all sorts of Fruit. The Water they use is deriv'd from a River that runs by the East end of the Town, and has a great many Mills upon it. This City has a glorious Prospect of plains about it, especially of one call'd *Metegegia*, which is 45 Miles long and almost 30 broad, and abounds with all sorts of Grain. 'Twas many Years subject to the King of *Tremesen*; but the Citizens perceiving that the King was not able to defend 'em, and that the King of *Bugia*, who lay nearer them, was more capable of doing 'em either an Injury or a Kindness, offer'd him a voluntary Tribute. Some Years after they began to commit Pyracies upon the adjacent Islands in the Mediterranean; upon which *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* fitted out a Fleet, and built a Fort upon a Rock within Gun-shot of the City. Then the *Algerines* sent an Embassy to the King, and obtain'd a ten Years truce upon the Condition of paying him a yearly Tribute. But not long after, *Barbarossa* the *Turk*, being oblig'd to break up a Siege of *Bugia*, because the approaching Season of Sowing made all the Husband-men of his Army desert him, set on fire 12 Galleys with his own Hands, that lay in the River but three Miles from *Bugia*, and retir'd to the Castle of *Gegel*, in their Neighbourhood; And it happen'd at the same time that *Ferdinand* died. Upon this, the *Algerines* perceiving *Barbarossa* to be a brave General, and an Enemy to the Christians, refus'd to pay any more tribute, and chose *Barbarossa* to be Captain General of all their Forces. *Barbarossa* being thus entrusted, privately murder'd the Governour of the City, and usurp'd the whole Government himself. Some time after, the Emperour *Charles V.* sent two Armies to take *Algiers*, the first of which was destroy'd upon the Plain of *Algiers*, and the second far'd but little better. But since that *Barbarossa* was kill'd at *Tremezen*, and his Brother *Cairadin* succeeded to the Government of *Algiers*.

Became tributary to Spain.

Tremendfust.

The *Algerine* Ships ride safest in the Harbour of *Tremendfust*, that being a commodious Haven for them. The Town of that Name was destroy'd by the *Goths*, and the greatest part of the Wall of *Algiers*, was built with the Stone which came from the Wall of that Town.

Medua.

As for *Medua*, 'tis inhabited by a People of no learning, who give a very honourable Reception to any learned Man that comes among 'em, and oblige him to decide all their Differences. In that Town, says our Author, I got above 200 Ducats in the space of two Months, and was so charm'd with the pleasantness of the place, that if my Business had not call'd me away, I had continued there all my life time.

Additions to CHAP. IV.

Taken from Marmol.

The Limits of *Tremesen.*

Tremesen the third Kingdom of *Barbary*, is divided into four Provinces, namely, *Tremesen*, *Tenez*, *Algiers*, which is the proper *Mauritania Cæsariana*, and *Bugia*, which some throw in to the Kingdom of *Tunis*.

The nature of the Country.

Most of the Country is dry, barren and Mountainous. The City of *Tremesen* is encompass'd with wide Desarts, only on the North side, or between the Town and the Sea, there are good Fields which are fertile in Corn, Pasture and Fruits. The West of all the four Provinces is crouded with Mountains abounding in Corn and Cattle, and inhabited by a valiant People.

A Character of the Inhabitants.

The Cities of the Kingdom of *Tremesen* are few in number, but well situated; and the Citizens live very honourably, having a great trade with *Guinea*, *Numidia*, and other places. The *Arabians* in the Desarts are very numerous, and care but little for the Kings of *Tremesen*, for they retire at pleasure to the *Numidian* Desarts, where the King cannot pursue 'em: So that they live independantly, and receive a Pension from the King for keeping the Country in peace: and when they have a mind to't, they make an Insurrection, and side with the Party that bids highest. The Inhabitants of the Mountains are Men of Bravery; their Arms, Habit, and way of living, are better than those of *Mauritania Tingitana*; they are more acquainted with Musquets, and less inveterate against the Christians, with whom they have more commerce; neither are they so bigoted and ill natur'd as the Mountaneers of *Morocco*. These Provinces were always plagu'd by the *Arabians* of the Desarts, and the Kings of *Tunis* and *Fez*; but at this Day almost all of 'em are subject to the *Turks*.

The Province of *Tremesen.* *Angad* a Desart.

To begin with the Province of *Tremesen*; Its Western Frontier is a large barren Desart call'd *Angad*, which is 28 Leagues long and 18 broad. This Desart (being the Road from *Tremesen* to *Fez*) is frequented by some vagabond *Arabian* Robbers, and whoever passes that Road, must bribe the Captain of the first Gang he meets with, who will give him a Spear with a small Standard for a Passport. In Summer the King of *Tremesen* hires some of 'em to keep the Road clear; but in Winter they retire with their Flocks to *Numidia*, and go to gather Dates in *Zahara*, upon which the other Inhabitants of the Desarts have an uncontroul'd range, and render the Passage very dangerous.

Zezil.

At one side of this Desart, there's a Town call'd *Zezil*, or *Izli*, which is said to be built by the *Romans*, and which *Ptolomy* places under the Name of *Giva*, in 14 D. 30 Min. Long. and 32 Deg. 30 Min. Lat. *Joseph* the first Prince of the *Benemerini* Line, raz'd and dispeopled it; after which, 'twas repeopled by some *Moravites*, to whom, both the King of *Fez* and the *Arabians* are so kind, as to demand no Contribution; but after all, the Country is so very barren, that they have but a miserable life.

Ned Roma.

Ned Roma, an ancient City in this Province, is said to be the ancient *Salema*, to which *Ptolomy* allots 12 Deg. 10 Min. Long. and 33 Deg. 20 Min. Lat.

One.

One was a Sea-port in this Province, where the *Venetian* Merchants us'd to touch as they went to *Tremesen*; but in the Year 1533, the Emperour *Charles* V. laid it in Ashes for harbouring the *Corsairs* that infested the *Spanish* Coast. It stood in the Neighbourhood of a Mountain that affords good Iron Mines.

Cape *One.*

The Cape of this Mountain, which goes now by the name of Cape *One*, was by *Ptolomy* call'd the *Great Cape*, and plac'd in eleven Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 35 Deg. Lat.

Aresgol.

Aresgol, another Sea-port, was once the Metropolitan of *Tremesen*, being built upon a high Rock, almost surrounded with the Sea. *Ptolomy* calls it *Siga Colonia*, and most Authors agree that this is the ancient *Cirta*, so often mention'd in the *Roman* History. 'Twas first demolish'd by the Schismatick *Calisa* of *Carnan*; after which, the brave *Almansor* rebuilt it as a convenient Post for the passage of his Armies. When the *Almoravides* came to be great both in *Africa* and *Spain*, they laid it in rubbish again; after which the *Almohades* rebuilt it, and at last the *Benemerini's* compleated its Ruin.

Tremesen.

The Ruins of *Algeroste* gave rise to the great City of *Tremesen*, call'd by *Ptolomy Tenrisi*, and by the Natives *Telimicen*; for before the fall of *Aresgol*, 'twas only a sort of a Fortress to oppose the Inhabitants of the Desarts. 'Tis pleasantly situated upon a noble Plain, and its Streets and Houses are very regularly rang'd; for which reason the Kings of *Tremesen* pitch'd upon it for a place of their Residence. The Government of this City is much of a piece with that of *Fez*. The Merchants trade chiefly to *Guinea*, from whence they import *Tibar* Gold, Ambergrice, Musk, Civet, and other Commodities, and commonly get Estates in two or three Voyages. The Trades-men make rich Tapestry, Cassocks, Jackets and Mantles, some of which are so fine, that they do not weigh above ten Ounces; besides the best Harness and Furniture for Horses that *Africa* affords: By this means they earn a very handsome Livelyhood. Their Habit, Diet, Festivals, and other Customs, are the same with those of *Fez*. In former times the Kings of this Country liv'd very magnificently, and were the ancientest and most considerable Princes in all *Africa*. They never expos'd themselves to publick view but on *Fridays*, when they went to the Temples.

The King of *Tremesen* his Revenues.

They never kept a standing Army but in time of War, for their Revenues were so small, that three Years Incomes would not maintain one Year's War. The Customs were the chiefest Article of the Revenue, which they screw'd beyond the Precepts of their Religion; for whereas the first *Califa's* demanded only two ½ *per Cent.* upon all Goods, and ten *per Cent.* if they were Jews or Christians, these Princes pleading Poverty, and the Necessity of maintaining a War with the Christians, laid several Imposts upon the Import and Export of Goods. While the *Venetian Galeasses* us'd to unload at *Oran*, their Revenue amounted to above 600000 Crowns a year, one half of which was imploy'd in paying the Troops, and the other in defraying the Charges of the King's Houshold; and the Surplusage was laid up to supply the occasional Necessities of War. But of late the Revenues is wonderfully encreas'd; for tho' the Customs of *Oran* are sunk, those of *Algiers* have rose so prodigiously, that the Incoms of that Port alone, amount to above a Million of Gold every Year; for all the rich Commodities of *Barbary*, *Numidia*, *Libya* and *Negroland*, are imported thither by land upon Camels; and the Harbour is always crouded with European Vessels brought in by the *Corsairs*.

The Revolutions of *Tremesen.*

The Kings of this Country pay'd Homage to the Emperour *Charles* V. till King *Abdala* being over perswaded by the *Turk* and some *Califa's*, discontinued the Payment of the usual Tribute. After the death of *Abdala*, his youngest Son *Hamet* being declar'd King by the People, the eldest implor'd the Emperour's aid, in restoring him to the Throne of his Ancestors, offering the same Terms of Vassalage as were before. Accordingly the Emperour accomplish'd his Restoration; but the Inhabitants of the City were so disoblig'd by the Ravages of the *Spaniards*, that they took occasion to shut the Gates upon him, after he had march'd out to meet his younger Brother, who approach'd at the Head of an Army: Thereupon *Hamet* was again declar'd King, who refus'd to pay tribute to the Emperour. But in the Year 1546, the *Turks* of *Algiers* having taken possession of *Tremesen*, the King was forc'd to ask Succours of the Emperour, which he obtain'd after giving up his two Daughters as Hostages for the Performance of the Condition. The *Spanish* Succours having dislodg'd the *Turks*, *Muley Hamet* return'd to his Throne, and enjoy'd it peaceably. After his Death *Muley Hascen* his Brother, was set upon the Throne by the Assistance of *Salharraes*, Governour of *Algiers*, who had stipulated, that all the Forts in the Country should be put into his Hands. But in four Years time the Insolence of the *Turks* mov'd *Muley Hascen* to beg the Emperour to dislodge 'em; upon which, the *Turks* perceiving his Design, rais'd the *Arabians*, and the Inhabitants against him, and expell'd him the Kingdom. Since that time the *Turks* have continued Masters of this Country.

Tremesen subject to the *Turks.*

To

To return to the Cities and Towns in the Province of *Tremesen*. Here we meet with *Hilbet*, call'd by *Ptolomy Emmeniaria*, and built by the *Romans*.

Tefezara, to which *Ptolomy* gives the Name of *Eſtazila*.

Beni-Araz, which is the ſame with *Ptolomy's Villebourgh*.

Tezela, known formerly by the Name of *Ariana*.

Agobel, which is *Ptolomy's Victoria*.

Miſtagan, an ancient Sea-port Town, ſtanding upon the ſide of a Hill, which Count *d' Alcandete*, the *Spaniſh* General attack'd thrice, as being the Key of the Country, and in the laſt Attack loſt his life; and *Arzel* alias *Arcenaria Colonia*, built by the *Romans*. *Miſtagan.*

Oran, one of the ancienteſt and richeſt Cities in all *Mauritania Cæſariana*, ſtands upon the Shore. 'Twas call'd by the *Africans Guaharan*, and by the *Romans Unica Colonia*, lying in 12 Deg. 30 Min. Long and 34 Deg. Lat. Since the *Spaniards* took it, they always repuls'd the *Turks*, who attack'd it ſeveral times, and have made it a very uſeful Frontier. *Oran.*

The ſecond Province of the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*, is that of *Tenez*. Its Limits are the Province of *Temeſen* on the Weſt, that of *Algiers* on the Eaſt, *Mount Atlas* on the South, and the Mediterranean Sea on the North. The whole Country is well ſtock'd with Corn and Cattle. The Province of Tenez.

The Capital City bears the Name of the Province, and ſtands upon the ſide of a Mountain, at the diſtance of half a League from the Sea, being half way between *Oran* and *Algiers*. The Inhabitants are a ruſtick groſs ſort of People; however they ſupply *Algiers* and other places with Corn, Barley, Wax, Honey, &c. When *Mahumet Benizeyen*, King of *Tremeſen*, his eldeſt Son ſucceeded to the Crown, and the two younger Brethren rebelling againſt him, the youngeſt poſſeſs'd himſelf of this City, and aſſum'd the Title of King of *Tenez*: But his Succeſſour was outed by *Barbaroſſa*, and the *Turks* are ſtill Maſters of it; for 'tis one of the Dependencies of *Algiers*, and enlarges its Revenue conſiderably. The City of Tenez. King of Tenez.

Breſcar, another City in this Province, call'd by *Ptolomy Campi Germani*, was founded by the *Romans*. The Inhabitants of this place maintain'd their Liberty above 100 Years, in oppoſition to the Lords of *Tenez*, till *Barbaroſſa* ſubdued 'em, ſince which time they have been ſubject to the *Turks*. The adjacent Country is well ſtock'd with Cattle, Corn, Barley and Lintſeed, and produces the beſt Figs in *Africa*. *Breſcar.*

The remaining Cities in this Province, are *Sargel*, or *Ptolomy's Camichi*, the Revenue of which riſes for the moſt part from their Silk Worms, and which is famous for the having *Barbaroſſa's* Fleet burnt in their Harbour by the *Spaniards*, in the Reign of *Charles* the Vth. *Sargel.*

Miliana, alias *Magnana*, built by the *Romans*, and enrich'd with numerous Springs, and great plenty of excellent Walnut, Citron and Orange Trees. *Miliana.*

Mezuna, or *Ptolomy's Colonia novi Caſtri*, where ſeveral *Roman* Antiquities and Inſcriptions are to be ſeen, and which was reduc'd from a rich to a very low Condition, by the Schiſmatick *Califa* of *Carouan*. *Mezuna.*

And *Cæſaria*, call'd by the Natives *Tignident*, which was much imbelliſh'd by the *Roman* Emperours, and was once one of the moſt populous Cities in *Africa*, the Track of its Walls being three Leagues in Circumference. While the *Arabs* lorded over *Africa*, *Cæſaria* was much reputed for its riches, and for its Univerſities, which produc'd great Poets and excellent Philoſophers. After that it fell into the Hands of *Idris's* Family, who poſſeſs'd it 150 Years, till the Year 959, in which *Abdala* demoliſh'd its Houſes, Walls and Temples, and cruelly put to death all the Citizens that were of *Idris's* Opinion; ſo that there's nothing of it now ſtanding, but two ancient Temples, one of which has a very high Stone Monument, call'd *Coburumia*, i. e. The Sepulchre of the *Roman*, where 'tis ſaid Count *Inlian's* Daughter was interr'd. From the top of this Monument one may deſcry a Ship 20 Leagues off. In the Year 1555 *Salharraes* attempted to pull it down, hoping to find ſome Treaſure in it, but when they lifted up the Stones, there came a ſort of black poiſonous Waſps from under 'em, which caus'd immediate death wherever they ſting'd, and upon that *Barbaroſſa* drop'd his Deſign. *Cæſaria.*

The third Province of this Kingdom, is that of *Algiers*, bounded by *Tenez* on the Weſt, *Bugia* on the Eaſt, the great *Atlas* on the South, and the Mediterranean Sea on the North: This Country abounds with Corn and Cattle. The Valleys are inhabited by puiſſant and rich *Arabians*, and the Mountains by warlike *Berebers* and *Azuagues*, who have ſeveral Firelocks and a great many Horſe among 'em. There are but few Cities in this Province that we can give any account of; for the ancient Cities were demoliſh'd in their Wars with the *Arabians*, and with ſome private Princes; and tho' the Ruins of 'em are ſtill viſible in ſome Places, yet we are at a loſs to know ſo much as their Name. The Province of Algiers.

The Metropolitan is *Algiers*, which, as ſome ſay, the *Romans* chriſten'd *Julia Cæſaria*, for the honour of *Julius Cæſar*. This was a famous City in all times; the *Romans* imbelliſh'd it mightily, and the *Turks* have ſince enrich'd it with the Spoil of Chriſtendom. *Paul Diacre* affirms, that in the time of the *Vandals*, 'twas demoliſh'd by a Tyrant, and ſoon after rebuilt: It ſtands upon the ſide of a very high Mountain. Its Walls, which are of Stone, and ſurrounded with a very deep Ditch and Bulworks, riſe gradually along the ſide of the Hill, and run to a point upon the South end, where an old Caſtle ſtands that is deſcry'd at Sea at a great diſtance. Paſſing this Caſtle you ſtill aſcend about one fourth of a League, till you come at a Fort with four Baſtions, built by the *Turks*, where they have always a Governour and 300 Men. The Houſes of this City begin at the Sea ſide, and riſe by degrees upon the aſcent of the Mountain, which makes a noble ſhew; for one does not intercept the view of the other. They are very well built, and the Streets are very regular. Upon the Land ſide the City is ſurrounded with rugged Rocks, the South ſide of which gives a noble Proſpect of wide fertile Plains. Juſt by the Harbour there was a ſmall Iſland, upon which *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, built a Fort call'd *Pegnon*; but to render the Harbour ſafer and larger, *Salharraes* has ſince join'd that Iſle to the Continent by a Peer, built of the Stones of ſome ancient Buildings brought from *Metafus*. At preſent *Algiers* is the richeſt City in all *Africa*, and improves every Day upon the wreck of the *Spaniſh* naval Forces, and the Spoil of Chriſtendom; for the very Cuſtoms of its Port amount to an immenſe Sum, more than all the Revenues of the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*. The City of Algiers.

There are ſeveral Mountains in this Province, inhabited by a warlike People, who being rich in Corn, Cattle and Horſes, own no Soveraign, and pay tribute to none.

Among theſe Mountains, which are all deriv'd from the *Great Atlas*, that call'd *Cuco* alias *Eguiliandalus*, is the moſt celebrated. 'Tis only acceſſable by one Paſs, which may be defended with Stones againſt a whole Army. It has a ſtrong wall'd Town about it, that gives name to the whole Mountain; and ſeveral other Villages inhabited by ſeveral Clans, which are only ſo many Branches of one Line, and have each of 'em their reſpective Heads. One of theſe leading Men being deſcended of a good Family, and allied to that Governour of *Algiers* that *Barbaroſſa* kill'd, proclaim'd himſelf King of *Cuco*, and wag'd perpetual War with the *Turks*, till *Barbaroſſa* married one of his Daughters. After that he made Peace with the *Turks*, and became very powerful; for he maintains 500 Firelocks, and 1500 Horſe, beſides a great many Foot-Souldiers, arm'd after the faſhion of the Country. The Inhabitants of this Mountain have a particular averſion to the *Jews*. It affords good Salt-Petre Mines, from which the Natives make Powder, being ſupply'd with Brimſtone from *Europe*. They have likewiſe good Iron Mines, and make Swords, Spears, &c. only they have no Steel, no more than the reſt of *Barbary*. Several Monkeys frequent the Woody parts of the Mountain. The Mountain and Town of Cuco. A King of Cuco.

Bugia, is (according to ſome) the fourth Province of the Kingdom of *Tremeſen*; for the Deſcription of which, we refer the Reader to the Additions to the enſuing Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Containing John Leo's *Description of the Kingdoms of* Bugia *and* Tunis.

The Revolutions of *Bugia*.

IN ancient times *Bugia* was under the Government of the King of *Tunis*, who at his death, left *Bugia* to one Son, *Tunis* to another, and *Biledulgerid* to a third. *Habdulhaziz* (so the Son that inherited *Bugia* was call'd) reign'd for many Years in *Bugia*, till *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* dispossess'd him.

The City of *Bugia*.

The ancient City of *Bugia* was built by the *Romans* (as some think) upon the side of a high Mountain near the Mediterranean Sea, and surrounded with high majestick Walls. If it were all inhabited, it might contain 24000 Families, whereas the part that is now inhabited has not above 8000. The Houses, Temples and Colleges have a stately aspect, and the Town maintains a great many Professours of Law, and of natural Philosophy. They have a large fair Market-place, and Monasteries, Inns and Hospitals, built after their fashion. The Streets are all upon the ascent and descent; and at the uppermost part of the Town there stands a strong Castle, well wall'd, with such curious carving upon the Paister and Timber work, as is said to have cost more than the Wall it self. The rich Citizens us'd to fit out Galleys that infested the *Spanish* Coast, which provok'd the King of *Spain* to send *Pedro de Navarra* with a Fleet of 14 sail against them. Upon his arrival, the People, together with their King, being dissolv'd in luxury, and unacquainted with War, deserted the City, and left all its Riches and Plenty for an easy Booty to the *Spanish* Admiral.

Taken by the *Spaniards*.

Gegel.

The Town of *Gegel* stands upon an impregnable Mountain, by which means the Inhabitants always avoided the paying of Tribute to the Kings of *Buga* and *Tunis*; but at length they surrender'd themselves to *Barbaressa*, who demanded no other Duty of 'em, than the Tenths of their Corn and some particular Fruits.

Nicæus.

Nicæus, another Town in this Country, is inhabited by a rich generous People, that go very neat in their Cloaths. They have a magnificent Temple, a publick Hospital for the Entertainment of Strangers, and a College, the Students of which have their Diet and Apparel *gratis*. Their Women are black hair'd, and have delicate smooth white Skins, by vertue of their frequent use of Baths. Their Houses, which are but one-story high, are very neat, and have each of 'em a Garden water'd with pleasant Fountains, and adorn'd with Damask-Roses, Myrtles, Camomil, and other Herbs and Flowers, besides shady Arbours.

Constantina.

The City of *Constantina* stands upon the South side of a very high Mountain, and is surrounded with steep Rocks, under which runs the River *Sufegmare*, that serves for a Town Ditch. The strength, height, antiquity and beauty of the Walls, is sufficient proof that the *Romans* were the Founders of the City. It contains above 8000 Families, and has large stately Gates; but 'tis only accessable by two narrow Passages, one on the East and another on the West side. It has a great Temple, two Colleges, and three or four Monasteries that are built very sumptuously. The Inhabitants are a frank sort of Men; they assign a separate place for every Trade, and have among 'em a Company of Merchants, some of whom sell Cloth and Wool, others send Oil and Silk to *Numidia*, and others truck Linen-Cloth and other Goods for Slaves and Dates; for this last Commodity is cheaper here than in any other part of *Barbary*. The Kings of *Tunis* commonly confers the Government of *Constantina* upon his eldest Son.

Triumphal Arches taken for Castles of Devils.

About a Mile and a half off the City, there's a Triumphal Arch, of the same form with those at *Rome*, which the vulgar People take for a Castle where Devils had their residence, till the *Mahometans* came and expell'd 'em.

Snails taken for Devils.

There's likewise a hot Bath among the Rocks, in the Neighbourhood of the City, which is full of Snails (*Marmol* calls 'em Tortoises) and these Snails the credulous Women take for Devils, imputing all Diseases whatsoever to their influence; and pretend to avert their malign Influence, by killing a white Hen, and carrying it on a Platter with the Feathers on to the Bath, where they leave it: But some that are sharp set will watch till the Women are gone, and rob the pretended Devils of their Hen.

Another remarkable thing is a Fountain of cold Water, a pretty way out of the Town to the Eastward, with a Marble Monument just by it, that has such Hieroglyphical Emblems upon it, as are to be seen at *Rome*. This the Mob takes to have been a Grammar School transform'd into Marble, upon the account of the Vices and Lewdness both of the Masters and Boys. From the City to the River they descend by Stairs hewn out of the Rock; and just by the River there's a little House cut out of the Rock so artfully, that the Roof, Walls and Pillars are all one continued Substance; and here the Women of *Constantina* wash their Linen.

After *Constantina* we come to *Bona*, alias *Hippo*, where St. *Augustine* was Bishop: 'Twas subdued by the *Goths* and afterwards laid in Ashes by *Hutmen*, the third Patriarch after *Mahomet*. *Hippo*.

Beld-Elhuneb.

After many Years, the Ruins of this City furnish'd Stones for the building of a new Town, about two Miles off, call'd *Beld-Elhuneb*, i. e. *The City of Jujubes*, for that Fruit is very plentiful thereabouts, and the Inhabitants dig it in the Sun and keep it till Winter. It contains almost 300 Families, but all the Buildings are very pitiful excepting one Temple which stands next the Sea. The Inhabitants are Merchants and Tradesmen, and have a weekly Market every *Friday* without the Walls, which is well frequented. Here is a great deal of Linen-Cloth wove, most of which is carry'd to *Numidia*. There's a place in the Sea not far from this Town, that affords great quantities of Coral, which the *Genoueſe* procur'd liberty to fish for from the King of *Tunis*, upon the Consideration that this People knew not how to fish for it; but they would never suffer the *Genoueſe* to build a Castle near the place to defend 'em from the Pyrates, which the King had allow'd 'em to do; for it seems the *Genoueſe* did once before master the Town by such a Stratagem as that.

Tedessa.

The next Town is *Tedessa*, the Buildings of which are very sorry, tho' it has the best high Wall I ever saw, the Stones of it being much like those upon the *Coloſſa* at *Rome*. A great River runs thro' part of the City; and there are Marble Pillars in divers places, with Inscriptions in Latin Letters, besides other square Pillars of Marble that are cover'd with Roofs: The adjacent Plains are dry, but very fertile in Corn. There's a Hill near the Town, which is full of great Caves: and these the common People take for the ancient Habitations of the Giants: But 'tis certain the *Romans* made these Caves by taking the Stones of the City Walls out of the Rock. Walnut-trees grow as thick as a Wood within five Miles of the place. The Inhabitants are an unhuman, covetous, brutish Gaug; for which reason *Eldabag* an elegant *Arabick* Poet, falls very foul upon 'em with Satyrical Invectives. They ever rebell'd against the King of *Tunis*, and kill'd all the Governours he sent 'em. For which Reason, the present King, upon his Journey to *Numidia*, sent Ambassadours to see how they stood affected with him; and they instead of saying, *God save the King*, answer'd, *God save our City Walls*. This provok'd the King so far, that he sack'd the City, put several of the Inhabitants to death, and made such havock, that it has remain'd desolate ever since.

Urbs full of *Roman* Antiquities.

The Town of *Urbs* in this Province, is likewise full of *Romen* Antiquities, i. e. Images of Marble, and Inscriptions in Latin Characters. Tho' it had excellent Walls, and was a place where the *Romans* lodg'd most of their *African* Treasure, yet the *Goths* assisted by the *Mores* took it, and laid it waste. 'Tis now inhabited again, but deserves rather the Name of a Village than a Town.

The City of *Carthage*.

Here we meet with the famous and ancient City of *Carthage*, built, according to some, by the People that came out of *Syria*, according to others, by a Queen, or, as some will have, by a Colony that came from *Barca*. The principal *Romans* and *Goths*, together with the Inhabi-

Inhabitants of *Tripoly* and *Capes*, retir'd to *Carthage*, when the *Mahometans* master'd these two places; and after many Skirmishes it was taken. After that it continued desolate, till one *Elmahdi* a *Mahometan* Patriarch brought in a new Colony, which did not take up the 20th part of that vast City. The Ruines of its Walls are still to be seen, as well as a Conduit that conveys Water to the City from a Mountain 30 Miles off. The Gardens on the West and South part of the City are numerous, and clad with all sorts of Fruit, which is vented at *Tunis*. The adjacent Plains are very fertile, but not large; for the North side is hem'd in with a Mountain, the Sea, and the Gulph of *Venice*; the Plains of *Benfart* give bounds to the East and South sides. At present (i. e. *A. D.* 1526) this City is mighty low, containing about 500 sorry Houses, and not above 25 Shops. The miserable Inhabitants, who are oppress'd with severe Taxes, are great Pretenders to Religion, and withal unsufferably proud, most of 'em being either Gardeners or Husband-men.

The City of *Tunis*.

The decay of *Carthage* occasion'd the rise of *Tunis*, in Latin *Tunetum*, which was built by the *Africans* upon a Lake, at the Distance of 12 Miles from the Mediterranean: In ancient times 'twas call'd *Tarsis*, after the name of a City in *Asia*.

In Revolut. 1070.

Soon after the *Carthaginians* had remov'd to *Tunis*, upon the Aprehension of an Invasion from *Europe*, they were over-perswaded by *Hucba Utmen*, the fourth *Mahometan* Patriarch, to submit to the Prince of *Cairon*. After a great many Years it submitted to *Abdul-Mumen* King of *Morocco*, and continued peaceably under the Government of the Kings of *Morocco*, till the death of King *Joseph*, the Son of *Mahumet Ennasir*, who was defeated by the King of *Spain*. At that time 'twas besieg'd and half destroy'd by the *Arabians*; upon which Occasion the King of *Morocco* sent one *Habduluahidi*, a brave General, born at *Seville* in *Spain*, who reliev'd 'em, and receiv'd their yearly Tribute. His Son *Abu Zaccheria*, an eloquent wise Man, succeeded him, and built a Castle upon a high Ground, in the West part of the City, which he adorn'd with fair Buildings and a beautiful Temple. This Prince left great Riches to his Son *Abu*, who insolently refus'd to be tributary to the Kings of *Morocco*, because he saw 'em decaying, there being at that time mutual Dissensions between the Kingdoms of *Morocco*, *Fez*, and *Tremesen*; nay, he march'd to *Tremesen* and demanded Tribute of the Inhabitants, and upon the earnest Sollicitation and large Presents of the Kings of *Morocco*, enter'd into a league with him.

The King of *Tunis* saluted King of *Africa*.

Upon that he return'd to *Tunis* in great triumph, and was salured King of all *Africa*, there being no *African* Prince equal to him at that time: And ever since, *Tunis* has throve so well, that 'tis now accounted the richest Town in all *Africa*. The Son and Successour of this King, added lofty Buildings to the Suburbs, and built two Streets, one without the *Suvacca* Gate, containing 300 Families, and another without the *Bedel manera* Gate, in which the Christians of the King's Guard have their abode, and which contain'd above 1000 Families. Without the Gate call'd *Bebel bahar*, which lies next the Sea, there's a third Street, where the *Genoese*, *Venetians*, and all other Christian Merchants resort.

The number and Customs of the Citizens.

The number of the Inhabitants of this populous City amounts to 10000 Families (*Marmol* makes 'em 20000) each Trade having a peculiar place allotted to it, but few of 'em are rich. Here the Linen Weavers are very numerous, and their Linen is much valued all over *Africa*. The Women have a strange way of Spinning, for they let down their Spindle at a Window, or thro' a hole in the Floor of an upper-Room, and the weight of the Spindle makes the Thread very clean and even. The Merchants, Priests, and Doctors, are decently cloath'd with Turbants upon their Heads, cover'd with Linen Cloth, but the Courtiers and Souldiers have no Linen upon their Turbants. All sorts of Grain are very scarce in this place, because the Incursions of the *Arabians* scare the Inhabitants from tilling the adjacent Grounds, and they are supply'd with Corn from *Urbs*, *Beggia*, and *Bona*. They sow a small quantity of Barley and Corn on some few Fields in the Suburbs that are wall'd round; but the Ground is so dry, that they are forc'd to raise Water out of Pits, with a Wheel turn'd round by a Mule or a Camel, and disperse it over the surface of the Ground by Troughs and other Conveyances. They bake excellent Bread in Mortars, leaving the Bran and the Flower together. All the Water in the City is rain Water; in the Suburbs indeed there's a Fountain of salt Water, which is sold up and down the City, and reckon'd wholsomer and fitter to be drank than rain Water; and some other Wells of good fresh Water, which are reserv'd only for the use of the King and his Courtiers.

Buildings.

Here's a stately Temple richly endow'd, besides several other Temples that have smaller Revenues, and Colleges and Monasteries maintain'd at the publick Charge. One of these Monasteries was built and provided with large Revenues by the King of *Tunis*, for the Benefit of a holy Society, call'd *Sidi-el Dalri*, who go up and down the Streets bareheaded and barefoored, carrying Stones about with 'em. Their Houses are well painted and carv'd, and built of excellent Stone; but Wood to carve upon being very scarce, most of their Painting is done upon Plaister, and their Chamber Floors are pav'd with a shining sort of Stone. They are but one story high, and have all of 'em two Gates, one leading to the Street, and the other to the Office Houses, with a large Court between, where the Merchants receive their Friends and talk of Business. Their Women have a decent Habit, and when they go abroad, are veil'd or mask'd, having their Fore-heads cover'd with a Linen Cloth, which is join'd to another that they call *Setfari*. They wrap so much Linen about their Heads, that they seem like Giants Heads. Whatever they have or can earn, they bestow it upon Perfumes and such other Vanities: Some of 'em are forc'd by poverty to turn Whores. The Inhabitants of this place make frequent use of a compounded Confection, call'd *Lhasis*, an Ounce of which is a great incentive to Venery, and sets 'em a laughing and dallying as if they were half drunk.

The King of *Tunis* Court.

Before we dismiss this Subject, 'twill be proper to take some notice of the Court of *Tunis*. As soon as the King dies, his Son or next Heir succeeds to the Crown, and all the Noble-men, Priests, Doctors, and Judges, take an Oath of Allegiance to him. Then the chief Officer of the Court, who goes by the Title of *The Munaside*, i. e. *The Vice-roy*, gives to the new King, an Account of all that he did in his Predecessour's Reign; upon which the King orders him to bestow Offices upon the Noble-men, according to their respective Dignity. Another principal Officer is the *Mesuare* or General, who at his own pleasure, raises, pays, and heads the Army. The next is the *Castellan* or Governeur of the Castle, who guards the King's Person, and inflicts Punishment on the Prisoners in the Castle, as if he were King himself. The fourth Officer is the Governour of the City, who administers Justice, and punishes Criminals. The fifth is the *Secretary*, who writes and gives Answers in the King's Name, and has the Privilege to open all Letters, excepting such as are sent to the *Castellan*, or to the Governour of the City. The sixth is the *Chief Chamberlain*, who provides Furniture for the Palace, gives Orders to all the Houshold, calls the Counsellours by a Messenger, and has access to the King when he pleases. The seventh is *The High Treasurer*, who receives the Revenues of the Crown, and with the King's Consent, pays 'em in to the *Munaside*. The present King has many Devices to screw Money out of his Subjects: He lives sometimes in his Palace, and sometimes in Gardens among his Concubines, Musicians, Stage-Players, &c. but the Musicians are always brought into his presence hood-wink'd like a Hawk.

El-Mahdia.

Passing *Tunis*, we arrive at *El-Mahdia*, a Town upon the Mediterranean, founded in our time by *Mahdi*, the first Patriarch of *Cairaon*, with a noble Harbour, and fortified with strong Walls, Towers, and Gates. This *Mahdi*, pretending to be descended of *Mahumet*, ingratiated himself so much with the People of this Country, that by their assistance he was made Prince of *Cairaon*, after which, perceiving that some were uneasy under his tyranny, and ready to conspire against him, he built this Town for a safe Refuge in case of necessity. Accordingly, when *Beiezid*, a *Mahometan* Prelate appear'd before *Cairaon*, he fled to this new Town, where he made a brave defence, and kill'd *Beiezid*.

Cairaon.

Now *Cairaon* alias *Caroen*, is a great City, standing upon a sandy Plain that bears neither Trees nor Corn, at the distance of 36 Miles from the Mediterranean, and 100 from *Tunis*. 'Twas built by *Hucba*, General of the Army that *Hutman*, the third *Mahometan* Prelate, sent out of *Arabia Deserta*; and was design'd for a place of safety where the *Arabians* might lodge their spoil. That General surrounded it with a very strong Wall, and adorn'd it with a sumptuous Temple, the Pillars of which are very stately. He govern'd *Cairaon*, till *Qualid* the *Celifa*, who then reign'd at *Damasco*, sent *Muse* in his place. *Muse*, after many successful Adventures against the *Africans*, and against the *Goths* in *Spain*, who was turn'd out upon the death of that *Califa*, and one *Jezul* succeeded him; after whom, his Son, Brother, and Nephews succeeding in order, govern'd *Cairaon*, till the Family of

Qualid

Qualid were deveſted of the *Califa* Dignity, at which time the *Mahometan Califa's* remov'd from *Damaſco* to *Bagadet*. In that Juncture, one *Elagleb* was appointed Governour of *Cairaon*, and his Poſterity enjoy'd that Government for 170 Years. In *Elagleb's* time *Cairaon* became ſo populous, that a Town call'd *Recheda* was built juſt by it, in which he and the Court reſided.

Sicily conquer'd by the Governour of *Cairaon*.

The ſame Prince added the Iſland of *Sicily* to the Dominions of *Cairaon*; ſo that in his time 'twas a redoubled City. This City was once very famous for the ſtudy of the *Mahometan* Law, and produced the greateſt Lawyers in *Africa*; but at laſt 'twas deſtroy'd, and tho' 'tis now rebuilt, yet 'tis far ſhort of its former ſplendour; for its only Inhabitants are Leather-Dreſſers, who ſend Leather to the *Numidian* Cities, and truck it for *European* Cloth.

Elhamma. A Hot River. The Lake of Lepers.

Another remarkable place in this Country is *Elhamma*, thro' which there runs a River of hot Water, that makes a Lake not far from the Town call'd the *Lake of Leapers*, from its ſovereign vertue in curing all ſorts of Leproſies. This Water has a ſulphureous taſte, and does not at all quench thirſt; however the Inhabitants uſe it for drink, having ſet it a cooling almoſt a whole day. The ſource of this River lies a Mile and a half to the South of the Town.

The Iſle of *Gerbi*.

Here we muſt take notice of the Iſland of *Gerbi*, which is a plain ſandy Ground, about 18 Miles in compaſs, lying near the *African* Continent, and producing great plenty of Dates, Vines, Olives, and other Fruit.

Old Tripolis.

We proceed in order to *Old Tripolis*, which was built by the *Romans*, and afterwards taken by the *Goths*. At laſt the *Mahometans* took it after a Siege of ſix Months, and the Citizens were either kill'd or carry'd Priſoners to *Egypt* and *Arabia*.

New Tripolis.

Old Tripolis being thus deſtroy'd another City of that name, was built upon a ſandy Plain, that bears great plenty of Dates, and ſurrounded with a Wall. In this new City the Houſes exceed thoſe of *Tunis*, and a peculiar place is aſſign'd to each Trade. Here Corn is extream dear, by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the adjacent Fields; and they have no other Water than rain Water. They have ſeveral ſtately Temples and Colleges; and an Hoſpital for the entertainment of Strangers as well as their own Poor. Their Fare is only Dumplings made of Barley Meal; for he's a rich Man there that can command a buſhel or two of Corn. The Citizens are moſt of 'em Merchants; for its nearneſs to *Numidia*, *Tunis*, *Sicily* and *Malta*, renders it a convenient place for trade: It has likewiſe a great many Weavers.

This City has always been ſubject to the King of *Tunis*; but at the ſame time that the King of *Fez* forc'd the City of *Conſtantina* to open their Gates to him, and carry'd the King of *Tunis* Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Ceuta*, the *Genoueſe* ſack'd *Tripolis*, and cary'd off the Inhabitants in captivity. Upon this the King of *Fez* gave the *Genoueſe* 50000 Ducats for the Town; but after they had ſurrender'd the Town to the King, they found moſt of their Ducats to be Counterfeit. After that *Abuſelim* King of *Fez* reſtor'd the King of *Tunis* to his Throne, and his Poſterity enjoy'd it, till King *Abubar* was kill'd in the Caſtle of *Tripoli* by his own Nephew, who afterwards uſurp'd the Government, till he was kill'd in a Battle with *Habdul Mumen*, who thereupon became Lord of *Tripolis*. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Zacharias*, who within a few Months dy'd of the Plague; and after him came his Couſin *Mucamen*, whom the Citizens expell'd upon the account of his tyranny, and prefer'd to the Throne a Citizen. This Citizen govern'd for a time with a great deal of diſcretion and modeſty, but at laſt prov'd a Tyrant, and was murther'd by his own Relations.

Then the Citizens forc'd the Government upon a certain Noble-man that had retir'd from the World and liv'd like a Hermit, and his Poſterity continued in it, till *Pedro de Navarra* the *Spaniſh* General, took the City, and ſent the Governour and his Son-in-law Priſoner to *Meſſina*. After ſome years impriſonment, the Emperour *Charles* V. reſtor'd the Government to his former liberty: But ſince that the Chriſtians have deſtroy'd the Town.

Additions to CHAP. V.

Taken from Marmol.

The Kingdom of *Bugia*.

Bugia, the moſt Eaſtern Province of *Mauritania Cæſariana*, is bounded by *Algiers* on the Weſt, the Province of *Africa* on the Eaſt, the Mediterranean Sea on the North, and *Numidia* on the South. *Ptolomy* and ſeveral other noted Authors, make it a Province of *Tremeſen*; and others again, upon the conſideration that the King of *Tunis* gave the Crown of *Bugia* to his Son, look upon it as an Appendage of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. The bulk of the Country is mountainous, and moſt of the Inhabitants taking the Advantage of their ſteep and almoſt inacceſſible Seats, maintain an independant liberty. They are not only ſtout, and Affecters of Magnificence and Honour, but likewiſe rich in Cattle, and have a great many Firelocks and Horſemen among 'em. The Valleys are poſſeſs'd by the *Arabians*, who ſtraggle up and down with their Tents, and have many Fire-arms.

The City of *Bugia*.

Bugia, the Metropolitan of the Kingdom, contain'd in the time of its ſplendour, above 20000 Families. 'Twas firſt deſtroy'd by *Caim* the Schiſmatick *Califa*; after which 'twas repeopled, but could never arrive at its primitive ſplendour. However the Citizens liv'd in peace and eaſe while *Abdulazis* (the King of *Tunis's* Son) was their Sovereign, till they provok'd the King of *Spain* to take poſſeſſion of the City. The *Spaniards* continued Maſters of it for 35 Years; but *A. D.* 1555, *Salharraes* Governour of *Algiers*, took it by capitulation, for which the *Spaniſh* Governour was beheaded when he return'd to *Spain*. Since that time the *Turks* have ſtill kept a Governour and a good Gariſon in the place.

Nazava's River.

On the Eaſt ſide of *Bugia* a ſmall River enters the Sea, call'd by *Ptolomy Nazawa*, and by *Pliny Navar*. This River paſſes between the Mountains of *Cuco* and *Abez*, and upon the melting of Snow, ſwells prodigiouſly. 'Tis well ſtock'd with Fiſh, but the People have ſuch plenty of Fiſh upon the Sea-ſide, that they do not mind theſe. While *Bugia* was in the *Spaniſh* Hands, no Veſſel could enter the River, by reaſon of a Bank of Sand in its Mouth: But the very ſame Year that *Salharraes* took the Town, it rain'd ſo violently, that the Waters ſweep'd off the Bank, ſo that large Veſſels may now ſail up the River, and be ſhelter'd from all Winds excepting the North Wind.

Necaus.

Necaus, another City in this Province, ſo well ſituated and adorn'd with Gardens, Fountains, and all ſorts of Fruit-Trees and Flowers, that 'twould be one of the pleaſanteſt Cities in all *Barbary*, if the tyrannizing *Turks* did not oppreſs it in an outragious manner. *Ptolomy* plac'd it under the name of *Vaga*, in 18 Deg. Long. and 31 Deg. 40 Min. Lat.

Mount *La-Abes*.

Among the Mountains of this Kingdom that call'd *La-Abes* is moſt noted, which derives its name from the plenty of Ruſhes that grow upon it. In the Year 1550, this Mountain was commanded by one *Abdelaſis* alias *La-Abes*, who was one of the braveſt Warriours in all *Africa*. There being an everlaſting hatred between the Inhabitants of Mount *Cuco* and thoſe of *Lactbes*, *Abdelaſis* join'd with the *Turks* at the time that *Cuco* declar'd againſt 'em; and his Aſſiſtance prov'd of great Importance to them. At laſt the *Turks* being inform'd by *La-Abes* his Vaſſals, that he mean'd to revolt and make an Inſurrection, deſign'd to empriſon him; but he ſeeing thro' the Deſign, made his eſcape upon a very ſwift Horſe. After that he made head againſt the *Turks*, and fortified the Avenues of his Mountain, and after ſeveral ſucceſsful Engagements, was at laſt kill'd in battle, by the united Forces of the *Turks* and the King of *Cuco*. Such was the end of that brave *African*, who always wore two Coats of Mail one above another, with a Spear, a Buckler, and a Cutelax. He was ſucceeded by his Brother *Mocoran*, who at this day puts his Neighbours the *Arabians* under contribution in ſpite of the

Turks

Turks and the King of *Cuco*, with whom he wages perpetual War.

The Kingdom of Tunis.

The fourth and most eastern Kingdom of *Barbary*, is that of *Tunis*. If you exclude *Bugia*, its Limits are *Mauritania Cæsariana*, the Province of *Bugia*, and the River *Amsaga* on the West, *Egypt* on the East, the Mediterranean on the North, and Mount *Atlas* on the South. 'Tis divided into four Provinces, namely, *Constantina*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli* of *Barbary*, and *Zeb*, which includes part of the ancient *Numidia*. The greatest part of the Country, is only a wide extended Plain, upon which several powerful Societies of *Arabians* and *Africans* follow a vicious life. The Kings and Lords of the above-mention'd Provinces, have always endeavour'd to keep up an Alliance with these Strowlers, and have enough to do to satisfie 'em, by giving them part of their Revenue. To take a view of the Provinces in order.

The Province of Constantina.

If we set out from the West, the first Province of the four is *Constantina*, called by *Ptolomy New Numidia*, and bounded by *Bugia* on the West, *Africa*, properly so called, on the East, the Mediterranean Sea and the Gulf of *Numidia* on the North, and Mount *Atlas* on the South.

The remarkable Cities in this Province are these following.

Col, an ancient City built by the *Romans*, called by *Ptolomy Colossus*, and inhabited by a courteous civil People, who trade with the *Europeans* in Wax, Leather, and other Commodities.

Estora, or *Ptolomy's Rusicada*, the Port of *Constantina* standing upon the Gulph of *Numidia*.

Sucaycada, built by the *Romans* upon a high Mountain, between which and *Constantina* there's a Causey twelve Leagues long, pav'd with black Stones.

New Bona, or *Bedel el Agneb*, where *Charles* V. kept a Garison, and which is now subject to the *Turks*.

Bisert or *Beusert*, called by *Ptolomy Utica*, standing upon a Lake or Bay, and inhabited by Fisher-men, who are very poor, but at the same time stubborn, proud and rebellious, which has frequently occasion'd their ruin. When *Barbarossa* took *Tunis*, they revolted from their King, and receiv'd a *Turkish* Garison; upon which the Emperour *Charles* V. being sollicitated by their King, besieg'd 'em both by Sea and Land, and punish'd 'em severely for their Rebellion. *Muley Hascen* said of them, that neither Love nor Fear could influence them to be faithful.

Tedessa, an inland Town, goes beyond all the Towns of *Barbary* in good Walls, plenty of Walnuts, and excellent Fountains, and is valuable for nothing else.

The City of Constantina.

The chief City of this Province is *Constantina*, which revolted frequently from their Governours, appointed by the King of *Tunis*, and in the Year 1568, resented the Insolence of the *Turks*, by cutting the *Turkish* Governour and Garison in pieces. After that, the Governour of *Algiers* took it by storm, and oppressed them more than ever.

The Mountain of Constantina.

The Mountains of this Province are inhabited by a brave warlike People, that have always maintained their liberty, but are never without Wars among themselves, occasioned by a Custom allowed of by their Religion, of unmarrying Women in one Mountain, and marrying them again in another. They are able to bring 40000 brave Fellows into the Field, and if they were unanimous, might conquer a great part of *Africa*.

The Province of Tunis.

The Province of *Tunis*, or *Africa*, properly so called, is bounded by *Constantina* on the West, *Tripoli* on the East, Mount *Atlas* on the South, and the Mediterranean Sea on the North. This is a large Province, and contained several Towns and Villages, most of which were destroyed by the *Arabians* when they invaded *Africa*.

Near to a Port called *Porto Farina*, where the Emperour *Charles* V. his Army landed when he attacked *Tunis*, we perceive the Ruins of an ancient City, which some take to have been *Utica*, so famous for the death of *Cato*.

Carthage.

Upon the same Coast are the Ruines of *Carthage*, which stood upon a Plain, but included within its Bounds a Mountain, where the chief Fortress stood, and where there is now a Tower, called by the Christians *The Rock of Mastinaca*, and by the *Africans Almenare*. The *Greek* and *Latin* Authors give such jarring Accounts of the time and manner of its Foundation, that it can scarce be determined. It was destroyed by *Scipio Africanus*, and afterwards by *Genserick* King of the *Vandals*. In the process of time the Successours of *Mahomet* razed it again, after which, it was repeopled in some measure by a *Mahometan* Patriarch, and at last totally ruined by the *Arabians*, in their Wars with the Kings of *Tunis*: So that now there remains nothing of that ancient and glorious City, but a pitiful Village called *Marsa*, which one of the Kings of *Tunis* has lately adorned with a stately Temple and a College, there being in the Neighbourhood of it a Palace and Gardens, where the Kings of *Tunis* divert themselves in Summer.

The City of Tunis.

The great and ancient City of *Tunis*, the Metropolitan of the Kingdom, was built by the *Arabians* that first invaded *Africa*, under the conduct of *Melec Ifriqui*. The Inhabitants are very civil and tractable, but few of them are rich. They feed commonly upon Barley Meal kneeded and boiled with Water and Salt, and afterwards soaked in Oil or Butter. About this City there are great Nurseries of Olive, Citron, and Orange Trees. The Kings of *Tunis* had a very splendid Court, and many Officers of the Houshold: Within the Palace they were served by Women and Eunuchs. Their Life-Guard consisted of 1500 Horse, and 100 Firelocks, most of them *Musi-Arabians* or Renegadoes, whom they trusted and encouraged very much. They were likewise by 150 old Gentlemen, experienc'd both in Civil and Military Affairs, of whom the King took advice in Matters of Importance, and who served in the Army in the quality of *Mashals de Camp*. Their way of eating, giving Audience, and other Customs, are the same with those of the Court of *Fez*. But the splendour and grandeur of this Court was extinguish'd by *Barba ossa*, when he took possession of *Tunis*; for after that, when *Muley Hascen*, by the assistance of the Emperour *Charles* V. recover'd his Throne, he was scarce able to satisfie the *Arabians*; and now that the *Turks* are again possess'd of *Tunis*, his Son *Hamida* is forc'd to retire to the Fort, upon the Neck of the Lake call'd *Golette*, and solicit *Philip* II. to restore him to his Throne. The Lake upon which *Tunis* stands, receives the Sea by a narrow Neck, that a Galley cannot pass with her Oars spread. Upon the mouth of this Channel, there was a square Tower or Custom-house, which *Barbaressa* fortified when the Emperour *Charles* V. appeared before *Tunis*: But the City it self is expos'd on several quarters, especially to the West, and its chief strength consists in the number of the Inhabitants. The Lake is three Leagues long, and two Leagues broad, and is full of Banks of Sand.

Susa.

Susa, another Sea Town in this Province, stands upon a rising Ground, and is cover'd by a strong Castle upon the Land-side. Some say 'twas founded by the *Romans*, and was formerly a very populous and noted place, known by the name of *Sagul*, to which *Ptolomy* allots 36 Deg. Long. and 32 Deg. 20 Min Lat. 'Twas the residence of *Occuba* the *Mahometan* General; and his Palace, with several other noble Edifices, and a magnificent Temple, are still standing. When *Barbaressa* took *Tunis*, it submitted to the *Turks*, and afterwards refus'd to obey *Muley Hascen*, when *Barbaressa* was dislodg'd. Upon this the Emperour *Charles* V. sent out a Fleet that besieg'd and took *Susa*, and reduc'd it to the King's obedience. Soon after, the light unsteaddy Inhabitants revolted, and being once more reduc'd, revolted a second time, till the arrival of the *Spanish* Fleet upon that Coast, upon which they expell'd the *Turks*, tho' they afterwards receiv'd them again, and are now subject to them.

Monester.

Coasting along from *Susa* to the East, we fell in upon *Monester*, an ancient City, built by the *Romans*, upon a pleasant spot of Ground, and defended by noble high Walls. Its frequent Revolts from the Kings of *Tunis*, occasion'd its being sack'd by the *Spaniards*; and the repeated Depredations of the *Mores*, *Turks*, and *Christians*, have reduc'd it to a poor condition. At present 'tis subject to the *Turks*, as well as the other places upon that Coast.

Mahedia.

The great and famous City of *Africa* stands upon the same Coast, at the distance of eight Leagues from *Monester*. 'Twas fortified by the Chilmatick Calif of *Carouan*, who christen'd it *Mehedia*, and is the same with the *Adrumetum* of the *Romans*. It stands upon a point of Land that shoots out into the Sea, and joins the Continent by a small Neck, which is but 350 Paces over, and has a Castle upon it, with six Towers; the Walls of this City are 40 Foot thick. While the *Romans* possess'd it, 'twas a place of great splendour; after which, the Successours of *Mahomet* raz'd it to the Ground, and rebuilt it, and adorned it with the above-mentioned Fortifications. Upon the Declension of the Calif's of *Carouan*, the *Sicilian* Pyrates took possession of it, and christened it *Africa*. Then the Christians were Masters of it, till it was conquered by a *Morocco* King, of the *Almohada* Line: After which, it was subject to the King of *Tunis*, but frequently

quently revolted, and had actually shaken off the Yoak when *Dragut* the famous Admiral of the Pyrates surprized it, and was received as their Prince. Upon this, the Emperour *Charles* V. finding that the Pyrates were much encouraged by having *Mehedia* for a place of shelter, ordered his Generals to besiege it; accordingly they took it, and laid both the Town and its strong Fortifications in Ashes.

Carouan. The last City we shall take notice of in this Province, is *Carouan*, call'd in *Arabick Cayraven*, which is not only the finest City in all *Africa*, but the first that the *Mahometans* built in it, for which reason the Kings of *Tunis* are inter'd there in the Great Temple. When *Barbarossa* took *Tunis*, this City being miserably oppress'd by the King of *Tunis*, receiv'd a *Turkish* Garison; and when *Barbarossa* was worsted, chose the chief *Alfaqui* of the Great Temple to be their King. This new King contracted an Alliance with the King of *Tunis*, and assisted the Emperour's Forces in taking *Mehedia*, and refus'd to assist *Dragut*. In resentment of this Affront, *Dragut* with some of the *Alfaqui's* and Citizens, conspir'd together, and having kill'd the King, brought the City into subjection to the *Turks*, whom it now obeys.

The Province of Tripoli. *Tripoli*, the third Province of this Kingdom, is bounded by *Tunis* on the West, the Mediterranean on the North, the Province of *Ceyret* on the East, and *Numidia* on the South. Most of this Province is nothing but sandy Deserts, tho' indeed it has some Mountains inhabited by *Berebers*: The whole is now subject to the *Turks*. To give some Account of the most remarkable Towns.

Capez. *Capez*, the first City that the *Romans* built in *Africa*, stands upon a Gulph of the Mediterranean Sea, near the Mouth of a River of hot Water, which *Ptolomy* settles in 38 Deg. 40 Min. Long. and 32 Deg. 45 Min. Lat. 'Twas ruin'd, first by the Successours of *Mahomet*, and afterwards by the Califa of *Carouan*, and since that, 'twas still kept under, by the Excursions of the *Arabs*. At present 'tis inhabited by a few Fisher-men and Day-labourers.

Tripoli. *Tripoli*, alias *Trebeliz*, or *Turabilis*, the Metropolitan of this Province, was built, as some say, by the *Romans*, or, as others will have it, by the *Phœnicians*, in memory of a Town in *Syria* of the same Name. The *Arabians* raz'd it after a Siege of some Months; and a great many Years after, the *Africans* built *New Tripoli*, which is said to stand more to the South than the old: for it is alledged, that the Sea being higher than the Land, has encroached upon all the Coast of *Tunis*, and overflowed large Tracts of Ground that were formerly cover'd Houses, and a fertile Product. Upon the same Plea it is affirm'd, that tho' the Country round *Tripoli* is now so barren and sandy, that it produces nothing but Dates, yet in former times, the Banks of Sand to the South, were fertile Plains. After *Charles* V. had taken *Tripoli*, he gave it to the Knights of *Malta*, who were then dispossess'd of *Rhodes*: and in a few Years the *Turks* took it from them, and are still Masters of it. While this City was in its splendour, it was reckoned equal to *Tunis* in riches. *Ptolomy* places it under the Name of *Great Leptis*, in 41 Deg. 25 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 40 Min. Lat.

Tachore. About four Leagues to the East from *Tripoli*, there's a large Plain call'd *Tachore*, which is repleniss'd with several Villages and Fruit-trees. When the Christians mastered *Tripoli*, the Citizens fled to this Plain, and one *Morategà* a *Turk*, declared himself King of it. At present it is one of the Dependancies of the Government of *Tripoli*.

Mecellat. Another Province annexed to *Tripoli*, is *Mecellat*, called by the Ancients *Great Syrtis*, and by the *Arabians* *Ceyret el quivir*. Add to that *Mesrate*, called by the Ancients *Cyrenaica*, or *Pentapolis*, which runs along the Coast of the Mediterranean.

Isle of Querquenes. Before we take leave of this Province, we must take notice of the Islands of *Querquenes* and *Gelves*. The former is a dry Soil, and the Current about it is so strong that a Galley with Oars can scarce put in into the Shoar. Count *Pedro de Navarre* the *Spanish* General, put in here after a violent Storm, and having order'd a Detachment of Men to go ashoar and clean some Wells, in order to draw Water out of 'em, one of the Men being beat by the Colonel who commanded the Party, made his escape in the night-time, and while the rest were asleep, brought down the *Mores* upon 'em, who cut in pieces the whole party, consisting of 450 choice Men.

Isle of Gelves. As for the Islands of *Gelves*, it was called by the Ancients *Meniffa*, from a Town upon it of the same name, and *Ptolomy* places it under the name of *Lotofagina*, in 39 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 20 Min. Lat. The Successors of *Mahomet* ruined this Island, at the same time that they destroyed *Tripoli* and *Capez*, which belonged to the *Romans*; and the Walls and Ruins of the two Cities (viz. *Guerra* and *Meniffa*) besides several Forts built by the *Romans*, are still to be seen upon it. Since that time it was repeopled, and some Hamlets or Villages were built upon it; and in the Year 1284, *Roger de Lorie*, the King of *Arragon*'s Admiral conquered it, and his Posterity, assisted by the Kings of *Naples* and *Sicily*, continued Masters of it for several Years, tho' not without frequent Molestations from the Natives, and from the Kings of *Tunis*. In process of time, it became tributary to the Kings of *Sicily*; but the *Mores* assisted by the *Genoeese* and *Neapolitans*, took off that Yoak, and soon after became tributary to the King of *Arragon*: At last they revolted from the King of *Arragon*, and when the *Spaniards* took the City of *Africa*, *Dragut* the famous *Turkish* Pyrate retired to the Island, which is still subject to the *Turks*.

As for the *Zeb*, the fourth Province of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, which lies to the South of *Tunis*, and shoots into *Numidia*, we shall take occasion to speak of it under the head of *Numidia*; for tho' the greatest part of it is subject to the Kings of *Tunis*, yet 'tis not properly any part of *Barbary*.

CHAP. VI.

Containing John Leo's *Description of* Numidia *and* Libya.

The Towns of Numidia. Tesset. IN describing the Cities and Towns of *Numidia*, I shall begin with *Tesset*, an ancient Town not far from the *Libyan* Deserts, containing 400 Families; it is surrounded with Brick Walls and sandy Plains. Some few Fields just by the Town bear some Dates, Millet-seed, and Barley, which the wretched Inhabitants use for Food. They pay a heavy Tribute to the *Arabians* in the adjacent Deserts, and trade with *Negroland* and *Guzula*, in so much that they are seldom at home. Their Men are Blacks, and void of all learning; indeed their Women, who are somewhat whiter, take care to teach their Children the first Rudiments of Knowledge, but before they can attain to any Perfection, they are put out to work: Some of the Women spin and card Wool, and the rest live idly: The richest Men in the Country have but very few Cattle. All over *Numidia*, they plough the Ground with a Horse and a Camel.

Guaden. The next Town is *Guaden*, inhabited by a wretched barbarous People, who are black, and live in such enmity with their Neighbours, that they cannot go abroad with safety. They eat no Flesh but Ostriches, and a certain wild Beast call'd *Elaimth*, which they take by hunting; for they keep their Goats for the benefit of the Milk: The Ground produces nothing but Dates.

The Province of Dara. In this Country we meet with the Province of *Dara*, which is very narrow, extending it self from Mount *Atlas* almost 250 Miles Southward. The Inhabitants dwell upon the River *Dara*, which in Summer is so low, that one may pass over it on foot, but sometimes overfloweth like a Sea. If this Inundation happens in the beginning of *April*, it is a certain forerunner of great plenty, if otherwise, a great scarcity of Corn ensues. The Villages, Hamlets, and Castles upon the Bank of this River, are surrounded with Brick Walls; and all their Planks and Joyces are made of nothing else than the spungy flexible Wood

Wood of Date Trees. The Fields on either side of the River, for the space of 5 or 6 Miles, produce great plenty of Dates, some of which are worth a Ducat *per* Bushel, and others with which they feed their Horses and Camels, are scarce worth a quarter so much. 'Tis observable of Date-Trees, that some of them are Male and some Female; That the Male bear only Flowers, and the Female Fruit; and that the Date Trees prove stark naught unless the Boughs and Flowers of the Male be join'd to the Female. The Inhabitants of *Dara* eat no Bread but upon Festival Days, and feed only upon Barley and such other course Meat, particularly the unpalatable Flesh of Camels and Goats, and that of Ostriches, which tasts not unlike our Cocks, only it is tougher and ranker. The Castles of this Province are inhabited by Gold-smiths and other Trades-men.

Beni-Sabih. The principal Town called *Beni-Sabih*, and inhabited by a brave generous sort of People, is divided into two parts, which are headed by their respective Governours, and oftentimes quarrel with one another, especially when they moisten their Arable Grounds, by reason of the scarcity of Water. When they happen to fall out, they have the neighbouring *Arabians* to assist them, allowing them half a Ducat a Man *per* Day. In time of peace, they apply themselves to the use of Guns and other Weapons, and indeed they are very expert Gunners. If a Merchant come among them, they'll entertain them for a whole Year, without asking any thing, only if he makes them a Present, they'll not refuse it. Indico grows very plentifully in this Province, which is an Herb like wild Woad, that they exchange with the Merchants of *Fez* and *Tremesen* for other Goods. Most of their Corn is imported from *Fez* and other Countries. They have a few Goats and Horses, and feed the former with the Powder of Date-Stones, which fattens them, and increases their Milk. Their Horses are fed with Dates, and a sort of Herb, called by the Neapolitans *Farfa*. Their Women are fair, fat, and easily courted, and keep several Negro Slaves.

Province of Segelmesse. We come next to the Territory of *Segelmesse*, extending it self almost 20 Miles from North to South, along the River of *Ziz*, and containing, besides Villages and Hamlets, about 350 Castles, one of which, call'd *Tenegent*, contains above 1000 Families, most of them Trades-men; another call'd *Tebuhasen*, is the most populous place in all the Country, and much frequented by Merchants; and the third call'd *Mamun*, is resorted to by several Merchants, both *Jews* and *Mores*. These three Castles have three several Governours, who maintain a mutual enmity, calling some lewd *Arabians* to their assistance, and frequently destroy one anothers Water-Channels which water their Fields, and fell down their Date Trees. They coin both Silver and Gold Money; their Silver Coin weighing four Grains apiece, bears the Proportion of eighty to one of their Gold. The *Jews* and *Arabians* in this Country are burdened with heavy Taxes. Some of their principal Men are exceeding rich, and trade very much to *Negroland*, where they exchange the Commodities of *Barbary* for Gold and Slaves. Their chief Food is Dates, excepting some places where Corn grows. All this Country is over-run with Scorpions, but there are no Flies in it. In Summer it is exceeding hot, at which times their Rivers are so dried up, that they're forc'd to use salt Water drawn out of Pits.

After the Destruction of *Segelmesse*, they surrounded the whole Territory with a Wall that was 80 Miles in compass, to prevent the Incursions of Horse-men. While they were united among themselves, they retain'd their liberty, but upon their spliting into Factions, their Wall was demolish'd, and each Party calling in the *Arabians* to their assistance, became subject to them by degrees.

The Town of Segelmesse. As for the Towns of *Segelmesse*, it is said that *Alexander* the Great, built it for the relief of his sick and wounded Souldiers, but I cannot find that ever he came into this Country. It stood upon a Plain near the River *Ziz*, and was surrounded with stately high Walls. It had good Buildings, magnificent Temples and Colleges, and a great many Conduits for the River Water, which was raised by Wheels. The Air of this place is very moist in Winter, but otherwise it is temperate and wholsome enough. It was subject to the Family of *Zenteta*, till King *Joseph* of the Family of *Lantuna* dispossess'd them. About 25 Miles from *Segelmesse*, upon the Road to *Dara*, there stands a sorry Castle, built and guarded by the *Arabians*, who exact one fourth part of a Ducat for every Camel's Load, from all the Merchants that pass that way.

The Castles of Fighting. At the distance of 150 Miles from *Segelmesse*, are three Castles of *Fighting*, standing upon a Desart that abounds wonderfully with Dates. The Women of this place weave a kind of Cloth in form of a Carpet, which is so fine that a Man would take it for Silk, and this they sell at an excessive rate at *Fez* and *Tremesen*. As for the Men, who are very ingenious, part of them trade to *Negroland*, and the rest study at *Fez* till they attain the Degree of a Doctor, upon which they return to *Numidia*, where they are made either Priests or Senators, and prove most of them Men of great Wealth and Reputation.

Province of Tegorarin. The *Numidian* Desart contains likewise the great and large Country of *Tegorarin*, in which there are 50 Castles, and above 100 Villages, and great plenty of Dates: The Inhabitants are rich, and trade to *Negroland*: Their Fields are very fit for Corn, but at the same time they are very much parcht, insomuch, that scarce any Cattle can live upon them. A few Goats indeed are kept there for the benefit of their Milk; but there is no Flesh in the Country, excepting that of Camels, which the *Arabians* import, and which the Inhabitants eat, after it is mingled with salt Tallow imported from *Fez* and *Tremesen*. They allow Strangers Houses to dwell in, requiring no other Rent but their Dung, which being voided within doors, is kept very carefully, as well as that of their Camels, &c. for the benefit of their Ground.

Techort. About 300 Miles from *Tegorarin*, we fall in upon the ancient Town of *Techort*, built by the *Numidians* upon a Hill, by the Foot of which runs a River with a Draw-Bridge over it. 'Tis defended by a Rock on one side, and a Stone Wall on the other. All the Buildings, excepting a magnificent Temple, are of Brick dried in the Sun. The Inhabitants, amounting in number to 2500 Families, are most of them either Gentlemen or Trades-men. Having great plenty of Dates, they exchange them for Corn imported from *Constantina*. They entertain all Strangers *gratis*, and are very liberal in their Gifts to them; nay, they have such respect for them, that they'll rather marry their Daughters to them than their fellow Citizens, allowing some portion of Land by way of Dowry. *Hubdulla* their present Prince, is a brave, generous and courteous Man.

Pescara. *Pescara* (another Town in the *Numidian* Desart) is remarkable for the abundance of Scorpions, which occasion present death wherever they sting, and upon that account the Inhabitants live out of town in the Country all Summer. The Kings of *Tunis* were Soveraigns of this place, till the death of *Hutmen*; upon which it fell into the hands of a *Mahometan* Priest.

Densen. *Densen* is likewise remarkable for some Monuments of Antiquity, not unlike Sepulchres, in which pieces of Silver Money are found.

Capsa. The last place I shall take notice of is *Capsa*, an ancient Town built by the *Romans*, and headed by a peculiar Governour, till the Califa *Hutmen* sacked it and demolish'd its Walls: But the Castle remains still, and is a place of great strength, for its Walls are 25 Cubits high, and five Cubits thick, and are built of fine Stone, such as is in *Vespasian*'s Amphitheatre at *Rome*. At this day the Town, which is very populous, has nothing in it but sorry Houses, excepting the Temple and a few other Buildings. The Inhabitants are a barbarous unhospitable Crew, and upon that score, despis'd by all the other *Africans*. They are not only oppress'd by the daily Exactions of the King of *Tunis*, but continually subject to Fevers, occasion'd by their unhealthy Air: They wear Shooes made of Bucks Leather. The Streets are pav'd with black Stones like those of *Naples* and *Florence*; and in the middle of the Town, there are several large and square deep Fountains, the Water of which is so hot, that it is not fit to be drunk till it has stood two or three hours to cool. The adjacent Fields abound with Citrons, and the best Dates and Olives in the whole Province.

Libya. Having thus dispatch'd *Numidia* we proceed to *Libya*. *Zanhaga.* The most westward of its Desarts is that of *Zanhaga*, extending in length, from the Ocean to the Salt-pits of *Tegaza*, and in breadth, from *Sus* to *Negroland*. 'Tis so dry and barren, that in 100 Miles, you will scarce find a drop of Water, and what you have is salt, and drawn out of Wells.

Agadez. Not far from a Town call'd *Agadez*, there is great store of Manna, which the Inhabitants gather in small Vessels; the mingle it with Water, esteeming that a noble Liquor and put it into their Portage, in which case its refrigerating Vertue is such, that it prevents the Diseases which the unhealthy corrupt Air would otherwise occasion.

Tegaza. In the Region of *Tegaza*, there is a great deal of Salt, whiter than Marble, which is dig'd by Strangers out of Pits, and sold to Merchants, who carry it upon Camels to *Tombuto*, where Salt is very scarce. These Miners or

Diggers live in little Huts plac'd at the Mouth of the Pits, and are oftentimes ſtarv'd if the Merchants happen to come too late with their Victuals, for they work at the diſtance of 20 Days Journey from any inhabited place. Sometimes the South East Wind blinds them, ſo that they are in great danger of their Lives.

Berdoa. In the heart of the *Libyan* Deſart, we meet with a Region call'd *Berdoa*, containing three Caſtles and five or ſix Villages, abounding with excellent Dates. Theſe three Caſtles were diſcover'd thus. A Caravan of Merchants having loſt their way, were conducted by a blind Man, who knew the ſeveral Countries by the ſmell of the Sand, and when he came within forty Miles of this Region, predicted by the ſmell, that they were not far from an inhabited place. Accordingly within three Days, they fell in with the three Caſtles, and forcing open their Gates, got a ſufficient quantity of Water to relieve their Neceſſity; for the Inhabitants were ſo aſtoniſh'd at the ſight of them, that they ſhut their Gates and refus'd them Water.

The moſt eaſterly part of the *Libyan* Deſart, is that call'd *Lenata*, extending from *Angela* to the *Nile*. *Lenata.*

Another Region of this Deſart, is *Alguechet*, lying at the diſtance of 120 Miles from *Egypt*, and inhabited by barbarous but very rich Blacks, for they dwell in the way between *Egypt* and *Gaoga*. They have three Caſtles and many Villages, abounding with Dates. Tho' they are tributary to the neighbouring *Arabians*, yet they have a Governour of their own. *Alguechet.*

Between *Numidia* and *Libya*, there's a Region call'd *Num*, which borders upon the Ocean, and is inhabited by a beggerly People, in many Villages and Hamlets. It produces only an unſavoury ſort of Dates, for it bears neither Corn nor Barley. *Num.*

Additions to CHAP. VI.

Collected from Marmol.

A Character of the Inhabitants of *Numidia.*

THE Inhabitants of *Getulia* or *Numidia*, were call'd by the *Greeks Phœnicians*, and afterwards *Nomades*, among whom thoſe whole live on the weſtern ſide are moſt conſiderable; but there are ſeveral other Nations of *Berebers* and *Arabians* among them. Their riches conſiſt in Dates and Cattle, for they have very little Corn, the Defect of which is ſupply'd by their Dates, for they are the beſt in *Africa*, eſpecially upon the Eaſt Quarter. Perhaps *Homer* pointed to theſe Dates, when he ſpoke of a Tree in this Country call'd *Lotos*, the Fruit of which is no ſooner taſted, than it makes People forget their Country, and unwilling to return, like *Ulyſſes*'s Companions. The *Arabians* of *Numidia* frequent the Deſart of *Zahara*, and oftentimes make Incurſions into *Barbary*, for they live chiefly by robbery, and for that Reaſon the Kings of *Morocco*, *Fez*, *Tremeſen*, and *Tunis*, keep ſtrong Garriſons upon the Frontiers of that Deſart.

Upper Sus. The Weſtern part of *Numidia*, extending from Cape *Aguer* to Cape *Nun*, is call'd *Upper Sus*. This Country is inhabited by *Berebers*, divided into Tribes, who lodge themſelves in Forts and places of ſtrength, being a warlike People, and breed great numbers of Horſe and Cattle. It affords plenty of Corn and Barley, and in ſome places Citrons, Oranges, and other Fruits.

Teſſet. The ancient *Africans* built a ſmall Town call'd *Teſſet*, upon the Weſt of *Zahara*, in which the *Xeriff* that now reigns, maintains a Garriſon to defend the poor Inhabitants from the Incurſions of the *Arabians* in thoſe Deſarts, to whom they paid Tribute and Homage in former times.

Ufaran. To the North of *Zahara* they built four wall'd Towns, at the diſtance of a League one from another, upon a ſmall River, that never runs but in Winter. Theſe Towns are call'd *Ufaran*, and are not only in ſome meaſure civiliz'd by trading with the Chriſtians, but likewiſe inhabited by ſeveral Trades-men, who make excellent Copper and Latin Veſſels; for the fineſt ſort of Latin, that they call *Crim*, is made from ſome Copper Mines, in a Mountain of the *Great Atlas*, upon the South ſide of this place; and the preſent *Xeriff* has a Caſtle here, the Governour of which receives that Metal, and gives it out to the Work-men.

Aca. Upon the Frontier of the *Senegues*, there are three ſtrong Towns call'd *Aca*, and inhabited by the *Hibeles*, or a Race of *Arabians* that arriv'd in *Africa* in the Reign of *Cavin* the *Califa* of *Carouan*. This quarter, which was formerly rich, was diſpeopled by Civil Wars, till a *Morabite* appeas'd their Heats, after which, he and his Poſterity govern'd it under the Sovereignty of the *Xeriffs*.

Dara. *Dara*, a noted Province of *Numidia*, was formerly overaw'd by the *Arabians* of *Ulcd Celim*, a rich and puiſſant People, that ſpend the Winter in the Deſarts, and ſtraggle up and down *Numidia* in the Spring; but at preſent 'tis ſecur'd from their Incurſions, by a Gariſon which the *Xeriff* keeps in *Beni-Sabih*.

Segelmeſſe. The Province of *Segelmeſſe*, which is above 40 Leagues long, is inhabited by *Berebers*, whoſe Eyes are always inflam'd in Summer, by reaſon of the extream heat. The Town of *Segelmeſſe* ſeems to have been built by a *Roman* Captain that conquer'd all *Numidia*, as far as *Meſſa*, and for that reaſon 'twas chriſtened *Sigillum Meſſa*, i. e. *The Seal of his Conqueſt*.

Upon a Sandy Plain in *Numidia*, we fall in with a wall'd City, call'd *Tafilet*, inhabited by a rich genteel ſort of People, who make the fineſt Leather or Buff Targuets, as well as Silk-Stuffs, and fine Tapeſtry; and trade with the *European* and *Barbary* Merchants, in Indigo and Goats Leather. All the Dates imported to *Spain*, come from this place, for the *Xeriff* does not allow their being exported from any other quarter. *Tafilet.*

Tegorarin. The Province of *Tegorarin* was formerly inhabited by rich Jewiſh Merchants, whom the Natives maſſacred, *A. D.* 1492. When I was in *Africa* (ſays our Author) this Province was govern'd by its peculiar Governours, who were perpetually jarring with one another; for the *Xeriff* who had maſter'd the whole Country from *Nun* upon the Ocean to *Tegorarin*, had not then poſſeſs'd himſelf of it.

Tedsert. *Techort*, was ſubject firſt to the Kings of *Morocco*, after that to the Kings of *Tremeſen*, then to thoſe of *Tunis*; at laſt it had a Prince of its own, namely, *Abdala*, whoſe Revenue came to 200000 Ducats a year; for this Town receives Contribution from all the Villages and Caſtles round it, to the extent of 30 or 40 Leagues. This Prince was taken off by an Inſurrection of ſome *Turks* whom he had taken into his Service; upon which they were ſubject to the *Turks*, till the *Xeriff Mahamet* reduc'd 'em to his former obedience.

Querquelen, a very ancient *Numidian* City, was firſt imbelliſhed and enriched by the firſt King of the *Lamtunda's*, who ſet out from thence in purſuit of the Conqueſt of *Barbary* and *Spain*. The Inhabitants of this place are a very civil People, and acquainted with commerce; for the Commodities of *Barbary* are here exchang'd for thoſe imported from *Negroland*. Moſt of 'em are Blacks, not that the Climate occaſions it, but that they lye with *Negroe* Slaves, who bear black Children. *Querquelen.*

This City, and the Country between it and the Deſart of *Libya*, was the Kingdom of that *Juba*, who ſided with *Pompey* in oppoſition to *Cæſar*, and laid violent hands on himſelf, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Conquerour. *Juba's* Kingdom.

Zama. The City of *Zama*, in which that Prince lodg'd his Treaſure when he accompanied *Pompey* to the Field, is now call'd *Biſcara* or *Peſcera*, and pays Homage to the *Turks*. *Biſcara.*

Biledulgerid properly ſo call'd. And the Tract of ground, extending from *Biſcara* to the Iſle of *Gebes*, is the *Biledulgerid* properly ſo call'd, from which all *Numidia* derives its preſent Name, and which is a hot dry Country, affording a vaſt product of Dates, but no Corn.

The moſt remarkable City in *Biledulgerid*, is *Caſſa*, an ancient City built by the *Romans*, who defended it againſt the *Arabians*, till the arrival of *Occuba*, who ſtorm'd it and demoliſh'd its Walls.

The

The Province of Zeb.

The Province of *Zeb*, which we mention'd under the head of *Tunis*, as being a Dependancy of that Kingdom, is a part of the Desart of *Numidia*. 'Tis bounded by the Desart of *Mazila* on the West, the Mountains of *Bugia* on the North, the Province of *Biledulgerid* on the East, and the Desart between *Techort* and *Querquelen* on the South.

Mesab.

The Capital City was call'd *Mesab*, and ow'd both its Foundation and its Destruction to the *Arabian* Schismaticks. The Country is cover'd with burning Sands, and infested with Scorpions and other Serpents, the bites of which are mortal. *Biscara*, which we mentioned but now, is one of the Cities of this Province.

The Kingdom of Libya Interior, or Zahara.

We come now to the third part of *Africa*, call'd *Libya Interior*, and by the *Africans Zahara*, which is a sandy Desart, producing neither Trees nor Fruit, and inhabited in some places by a few miserable Savages, who feed upon Manna and Grashoppers dry'd in the Sun. These Grashoppers are so numerous, that they darken the Skie like a Cloud, and leave neither Corn nor Verdure behind 'em; and when they mean to fly away, they lay their Eggs in the Ground, that give rise to others without Wings, which were worse than the former, for they gnaw the Barks of Trees, and occasion a Famine wherever they resort. They come from *Arabia*, from whence they pass, first to *Egypt*, after that, they cross the Desarts of *Libya*, and invade *Numidia* and *Barbary*, and sometimes *Spain*: But after all, *Libya* is not barren all over, it has some places and Lakes, upon which the *Haleches* or *Abyssins* dwell. The rest of the Country is frequented by *Arabians*, who christen the several places they visit, according to the nature of the Soil. They give the Name of *Sebel* to a Sandy Ground that bears no Verdure, and *Azgar* to that which affords Bushes or Greens, and *Zahara* to the great stony Sands. The most populous part of the Country, is that towards the *Niger*, by reason of their Commerce with the Negroes, especially those of *Tombuto*. In former times the Inhabitants of *Libya* were call'd *Sabatheens* from *Zabatha* the Son of *Chus*, and Grand-child of *Noah*, and the ancientest of them are those call'd by *Strabo*, *Abaches*, and by the Natives *Habaches* or *Habeches*; however they are a lazy brutish People. The Country is dry and parch'd, affording neither Rivers nor Fountains, nor indeed any Water, excepting that of some few Lakes and salt Wells, which are so scarce, that the Merchants who travel from *Numidia* to *Negroland*, have Camels along with them that carry nothing but Water; and oftentimes when they come to these Wells, they are cover'd and fill'd with Sand, upon which they are forc'd to kill their Camels, and drink the Water that's found within 'em; for a Camel drinks as much at a time as serves him for 12 or 15 Days. To prevent the filling of the Water-pits, the Merchants us'd to line them on the inside with Camel Bones, and cover the Mouths with Camel Hides; and they have such expert Guides, as can find out the Pits, tho' cover'd with great heaps of Sand; for sometimes the East Wind blowing in the Summer, raises such a Deluge of Sand, as drowns not only the Wells, but the Men and the Camels, to the height of a Pike. If it rains in this Country from the middle of *August* till *February*, the Grass grows plentifully upon the sides of the Lakes, and the Merchants have not only the Advantage of meeting frequently with Water, but likewise with Milk and Butter at easy rates; but if it be a dry Season, both the Merchants and the Inhabitants suffer very much; for the Drought is always accompany'd with great Winds that toss up Mountains of Sand.

Senega.

The People of *Libya* are divided into five Tribes or Societies, the first of which (setting out from the West quarter) is that call'd *Senega*, an ancient and puissant People, who have reign'd in *Ethiopia*, and of whom some of the present *Negroland* Kings are descended. These are black, and scorch'd by the Sun which passes thro' their *Zenith* when 'tis in the Tropick of Cancer; and feed for the most part upon Milk and wild Goats. The Country which they inhabit, lies upon a level, and affords neither House, Mountain, Wood, nor River, by which Travellers should take their Marks; so that they are oblig'd to follow the Conduct of the Winds, Stars, and Fowls, especially Ravens and Vultures, which resort to inhabited places for the sake of Carion.

Cape Bojador.

Upon the Coast of this Country there's a Cape call'd *Bojador*, where the *Portuguese* stop'd for a long time, when they pursued the Discovery of this Coast; for at the head of the Cape they met with an Ebb-Tide, that carry'd them six Leagues back, and the Water cast up by the Banks of Sand, made a noise like that of a boyling Pot. At that time our Navigatours were but Coasters, and durst not keep so wide of the Cape as to avoid the Tyde; for which reason, when they meet with an inaccessible Coast, they cry'd out, that the Sea was navigable farther; and the doughty Pretenders to the Knowledge of Nature, alledg'd forsooth, that these scorch'd Seas were not so deep as the frozen or cold ones, upon the Plea, that the Sun exhal'd the sweet Water arising from the Centre of the Earth, and that the salt Water came from the North. This put a stop to all further Discoveries, till *John Gonsal* and *Tristan Vas*, two *Portuguese*, were driven by a Storm upon the Island of *Porto Santto*; after which *Giles Tagnes* boldly doubled the Cape, which *Ptolomy* calls *Ganarien*, and which he christen'd *Bojador*, with reference to the Lands shooting back above 40 Leagues more to the North, than the Coast it leaves behind it. The Discovery of this Cape was in those days reckon'd a mighty business.

At the distance of 54 Leagues beyond the Cape, the Sea shoots up a great way into the Land, and is call'd the *River of Gold*, because the *Portuguese* got some Tiber of Gold in this place, by way of ransome for some *Moors* they had taken Prisoners, and this was the first Gold they had met with in that part of the World. *The River of Gold.*

Beyond that is the *White Cape*, which was discover'd *A. D.* 1441, being a point of Sand that appears white at a distance. From this place the Coast begins to take another Course, and makes a Gulf to which the Current tends. *White Cape.*

At the distance of 12 Leagues from the Cape, we meet with the Isles of *Arguin*, so call'd from a Fort that the King of *Portugal* built upon one of them. *Isles of Arguin.*

Passing farther we meet with the Mouth of the *Niger*, in 15 Deg. Lat. discover'd by the *Portuguese A. D.* 1445. This is a Branch of that River that separates the Whites from the Blacks, and the Desarts of *Libya* from those of *Benbays* and *Chelofes*. 'Tis call'd *Senega* at its Mouth, deriving its Name from a Lord among the Natives, with whom the *Portuguese* had their first Traffick; but within the Country it has several Names given it by the several Inhabitants upon its Banks, particularly *Senedec*, *Dengnech*, *Maye*, *Colle*, *Yee*, which last it retains to its very Source. *Ptolomy* takes the rise of this River from the Lake *Quelonides*, and that of *Nuba*; and, which is very strange, notwithstanding that it runs so far, it has not so large a Current of Water, as another Branch call'd *Gambor*, which runs by the way of *Cantor*, and has several Islands repleniss'd with Animals and Reptiles, but is not navigable all over, especially in one place about 150 Leagues from its Mouth, where there is so great a Water-fall, that one may pass underneath without being wet. The *Senega* Water is white, but at a place call'd *Bufitembo* (i. e. White and Red) it is joyn'd by a River call *Lahamar*, the Water of which is red: And the Negroes alledge, that these two Waters are of such contrary qualities, that they prove Emetick when they're mix'd, tho' separately they have no such effect. *Senega River.*

Another *Libyan* Territory is that call'd *Tegaza*, in which there's a salt Quarry among Mountainous Rocks; and perhaps 'tis one of these Mountains that *Herodotus* points to when he speaks of a Mountain between the *African Thebes* and *Hercules*'s Pillars. *Tegaza.*

Iguidi is another, where *Cato* winter'd after his long Journey. *Iguidi.*

Angela is the only *Libyan* Territory that still retains its ancient Name, being plac'd by *Ptolomy* in 52 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 28 Deg. Lat. It extends it self like a slip to the Mediterranean, over against the *Syrtes*, and 'twas there that *Cato* pass'd with his Troops in quest of *Juba* after *Pompey*'s death. *Herodotus* places his second salt Pits in this Territory. It abounds with Palm Trees, and is mightily incommoded with Serpents, which some of the Natives can kill with their Spittle. *Angela.*

Upon the Frontier of this Region, facing towards *Egypt* and the Sea, we meet with the Province of *Cyrene* or *Pentapolis*, all the Cities of which are now destroy'd, excepting *Ptolemais*. *Pentapolis.*

Cyrene, which gives name to the whole Province, was built by the *Greeks* under the conduct of *Arcesilus* the Son of King *Batus*, who by the Assistance of the *Egyptians*, subdued the *Carthaginians* that mean'd to expel him, and enlarg'd his Empire. This Province is now frequented by a puissant stock of *Arabians*, who make above 30000 Horse and an infinite number of Foot, and destroy'd all the Cities and Villages. *Cyrene* was the first City that *Cato* took by storm after the death of *Pompey*, but he did no injury to the place. The whole Province is now call'd *Libya Cyrenaica*, but in ancient times it went by the name of *Futhæa*, from *Futh* the Son of *Cham*, from whom the Eastern *Libyans* derive their Original. *Cyrene.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Containing a Description of Negroland : *From* John Leo.

The first discovery of *Negroland*.

MOST of *Negroland* lay undiscover'd, till the 380th Year of the *Hegeira*, at which time a certain *Mahometan* made the Discovery. At that time 'twas inhabited by a numerous, barbarous, and brutish People, who were equally ignorant of Government and Husbandry, whose only Employment was to keep Cattle, whose Garments and Beds were the Skins of Beasts, and who observ'd no Restraint upon promiscuous Embraces: The Negroes keep at home and wage War with no other Nation. Some worship the Sun, others the Fire, and some (particularly the Inhabitants of *Ganga*) approach nearer to the Christian Faith. The first who brought 'em under subjection, was, *Joseph* King of *Morocco*; after whom, they became subject to the five *Libyan* Tribes, and learn'd of them the *Mahometan* Law, and several Handicraft Trades, as well as the *Barbarian* Language, from the *Barbary* Merchants that traded thither. But the present King of *Tombuto*, being a *Negroe* by birth, slew the *Libyan* King, usurp'd the Kingdom, and by a 15 years War, conquer'd large Dominions; after which, he concluded a League with his Neighbours, and exhausted his Treasure by a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. *Negroland* lies between two Deserts, one towards *Numidia*, and another extending it self southward to the Ocean, which is inhabited (says our Author) by an infinity of Nations unknow to us. Our Knowledge of this Country extends only to 15 Kingdoms, which are these following.

Their Government.

Gualata a Kingdom.

Gualata contains only three great Villages, with some Granges and Date Fields. It lies 300 Miles South from *Nun*, 500 North from *Tombuto*, and 200 from the Ocean. 'Twas once the Residence of the *Libyan* Governours, and at that time frequented by the *Barbary* Merchants, who in the Reign of Prince *Heli*, remov'd to *Tombuto* and *Gago*, and upon that *Gualata* was reduc'd to extream misery. At present it has a Prince of its own, who is tributary to the King of *Tombuto*. The Inhabitants are black, and very friendly to Strangers: They speak a Language call'd *Sungai*, and cover their Heads, so that the Face in both Sexes is almost hidden: They have no Form of a Common-wealth, but lead a very miserable life. Flesh is very scarce among them, but they have plenty of Millet, and a sort of round white Pulse, the like of which I never saw in *Europe*.

Maiz.

Ghinea.

To the North of *Gualata*, lies the Kingdom of *Gheneoa*, alias *Genni*, or *Ghinea*, extending from the Mouth of the *Niger*, 250 Miles along it. It abounds with Barley, Rice, Cattle, Fish, and Cotton, which last Commodity they exchange for *European* Cloth, Armour, &c. Their Coin is mostly of Gold, without any Inscription; in the way of retail they use Iron Pieces, weighing, some a Pound, some half a Pound, and some a quarter. This Country produces no Fruit; for what Dates they have, is imported from *Gualata* or *Numida*. Here is neither Town nor Castle, but only a large Village, where the Prince and principal Men reside, their Houses being built of Chalk, and cover'd in the Roofs with Straw. The Inhabitants are clad in black or blew Cotton, with which they likewise cover their Heads; but white Cotton is the Garb of the Priests and Doctors of the Law. In *July*, *August* and *September*, the over-flowing *Nile* surrounds it as an Island; and during that Season, the *Tombuto* Merchants import their Goods in Carous made of one Plank, which they row all day, and at night make fast to the Shoar, lodging themselves upon land.

Melli a Kingdom. *Melli* a Village.

To the Northward of *Guinea* lies the Region of *Melli*, which runs almost 300 Miles along a River that falls into the *Niger*. It takes its name from *Melli*, a large Village, containing above 6000 Families. The Country abounds with Corn, Flesh, and Cotton, and is well repleniish'd with Trades-men and Merchants, who are rich and well stock'd with Commodities: The King entertains all Strangers very honourably. There are a great many Temples in the Country, as well as Priests, and Professours, who read their Lectures in the Temples, there being no Colleges in the Country. In fine, this People go beyond all the other *Negroes* in Sense, Civility, and Industry; and embrac'd *Mahomet*'s Law, while they were subject to the Uncle of *Joseph* King of *Morocco*, whose Posterity continued in that Soveraignty, till *Izchia* put 'em under a severe tribute.

Tombuto is another Kingdom in this Country, so call'd from *Tombuto*, a Town, founded (as they say) by King *Mense Suleiman*, in the 620 Year of the *Hegeira*, at the distance of 12 Miles from one of the Branches of the *Niger*. At present this Town has no Houses, but only Cottages built of Chalk, and thatch'd. Indeed it has a stately Temple built of Stone and Lime, and a Princely Palace, built by an excellent Work-man of *Granada*. 'Tis well stock'd with Merchants and Trades-men, especially Weavers of Linen and Woolen Cloth, and even the *European* Cloth is imported hither by the *Barbary* Merchants. All the Women of this Country, excepting the Maid-Servants, cover their Faces, and sell all sorts of Victuals. The Merchants are so rich, that the present King married both his Daughters to two of them. When the *Niger* overflows, they convey the Water of it by Conduits into the Town; however they have great plenty of fresh Water Wells. They have great plenty of Corn, Cattle, Milk and Butter, but very little Salt, that being imported by land carriage from *Tegaza*, which is 500 Miles off, insomuch that a Camel's Load will cost 80 Ducats. The rich King of *Tombuto* has a splendid Court, and a great many Plates and Scepters of Gold, some of which weigh 1300 Pound. When he goes abroad or to the Field, he rides upon a Camel led by one of his Noble-men, and all his Souldiers are on Horse-back. Whoever is admitted to an Audience of the King, must fall down at his Feet, and throw Earth about his Head and Shoulders. His ordinary Guard is 3000 Horse-men, and a great many Foot, that shoot poyson'd Arrows. He not only banishes all *Jews* from his City, but confiscates the Goods of the Merchants that deal with them. He gives large Allowances to Judges, Priests, Doctors and other learned Men; and the dearest Commodity in the City is Manuscripts brought from *Barbary*. His Coin is of Gold without any Inscription, six pieces and ½ weighing an Ounce; but in petty Bargains they use Shells imported from *Persia*, 400 of which are worth a Ducat. The Citizens are a jolly genteel sort of People; they keep a great many Slaves of both Sexes, and spend a great part of the Night in singing and dancing up and down the Streets. The City is much expos'd to fire, for in five Hours time I have seen above half of it laid in ashes: It has no Gardens nor Orchards round it.

Tombuto.

About 12 Miles from *Tombuto*, we fall in upon *Cabra*, a large unwall'd Town, standing upon the *Niger*, where the Merchants imbark for *Guinia* and *Melli*. The Inhabitants and Buildings of this place are not inferiour to those of *Tombuto*. They are govern'd by a Judge or Vice-roy, appointed by the King of *Tombuto*. The ordinary Food, both in this place and *Tombuto*, is a nauseous mixture of Flesh, Fish, Milk and Butter, which gives rise to many Diseases, and so lessens the number of the People.

Cabra a Village.

About 400 Miles to the South of *Tombuto*, stands a large unwall'd Town call'd *Gago*, from which the Kingdom of *Gago* takes its Name. All the Houses in this place, excepting the King's Palace, are very mean, but their Merchants are very rich, for they have a great Market for *Barbary* and *European* Cloth. Here Corn and Flesh, Melons, Citrons, and Rice, are very plentiful; but Wine, Trees, and Fruit, are scarce: They have excellent Springs of sweet Water. On the Market-Days they have a place appointed for the sale of Slaves, where a Child or one of 15 Years of age will go for six Ducats. The King has a Guard both of Horse and Foot, and entertains a great many Concubines and Wives in a private Palace, which are kept by Eunuchs. He decides all their Controversies in Person; but at the same time has about him Treasurers, Secretaries, Auditors, and other Officers. All sorts of Commodities are imported thither in great quantities, and fetch great prices; an *European* Horse bought for ten Ducats, will rise to 40 or 50 in this place; the coarsest *European* Cloth will fetch four Ducats an Ell; and the *Venice* or

Kingdom of *Gago*. *Gago*.

Turkey

Turkey Scarlet Cloth is worth 30 Ducats. Swords, Spurs, Bridles and Spears, are likewise very dear: but above all, Salt is much the dearest. Besides this Town *Gagoa* contains nothing but Villages and Hamlets, inhabited by Husbandmen and Shepherds, who in Winter cover their Bodies with the Skins of Beasts, and their Feet with Shoes of Camels Leather; but in Summer are all over naked, excepting their Privities. They are kept miserable by heavy Taxes, and are unacquainted with Learning or Civility.

Guler. The Kingdom of *Guler* lies almost 300 Miles to the East of *Gago*; 'tis surrounded with high Mountains, and inhabited by Shepherds. Here is great store of Cattle, only they are smaller than in other places. Upon the Inundation of the *Niger*, the whole Country is under Water, and at that time the Inhabitants sow their Seed in the Water. The chief place of this Kingdom, is a great Village, containing almost 6000 Families, and frequented by all sorts of Merchants, where a certain King kept his Court, who in my time was slain by *Izchia* King of *Tombuto*.

The Kingdom of *Agadez*. The Kingdom of *Agadez* is inhabited by Shepherds, who dwell in Huts made of Boughs, and carry 'em upon Oxen from place to place. Whoever pleases the Inhabitants of the Desart best, is sure to be King of this Country.

The Kingdom of *Cano*. About 500 Miles to the East of the *Niger*, we come up with the large Kingdom of *Cano*, inhabited for the most part by Herds-men. It abounds with Corn, Rice, and Cotton, with Desarts and wild woody Mountains, well stor'd with Springs of Water, and with Citrons and Lemons, which taste much like those we account the best. In the heart of the Kingdom there stands a Town of the same name, inhabited by rich Merchants and a civiliz'd People, the Houses of which are for the most part built of Chalk. In ancient times their King was a Puissant Prince, but now he pays a third part of his yearly Revenue to the King of *Tombuto*.

The Kingdom of *Casena*. The next Kingdom is *Casena*, lying to the East of *Cano*, which is a mountainous and barren Country, yielding nothing but Barley and Millet Seed. The Inhabitants of this Kingdom are very black, having large Noses and blabber Lips. They are oppress'd with famine, and dwell in very sorry Cottages, and have not above 300 Families in any one Village. Formerly they had a King of their own, whom *Izchia* King of *Tombuto* slew, and upon that they became tributary to him.

The Kingdom of *Zegzeg*. The Kingdom of *Zegzeg* lies at the distance of 150 Miles from *Casena*; its South East part borders upon *Cano*. Tho' its Plains are intolerably hot, yet its Mountains are extream cold, insomuch, that in Winter, the Inhabitants (who are a rich trading People) are forc'd to keep great fires under their Bedsteads when they go to sleep. Their Fields being well water'd, are very fertile. They have been subject to the King of *Tombuto* ever since he kill'd their own King.

The Kingdom of *Zanfara*. The East part of *Zegzeg* is join'd by the Kingdom of *Zanfara*, which abounds with Rice, Millet and Cotton; and is inhabited by a tall sort of People, who are extream black, broad fac'd, and very barbarous. Their King was likewise kill'd by *Izchia*, to whom they are now tributary.

The remaining Kingdoms in the Land of *Negroes*, are *Guangara*, *Berno*, *Gaoga*, and *Nubia*, of which in order.

The Kingdom of *Guangara*. *Guangara* joins the S. E. part of *Zanfara*: Being infested by *Izchia* on the West, and the King of *Berno* on the East, it has now lost all its Trade with foreign Nations. However there lies to the South of it, a Country that affords great store of Gold, from whence the *Guangara* Merchants bring large Burdens upon the Slaves backs, the Ways being unpassable by Camels. These Slaves usually travel ten or twelve Miles a day, and carry a prodigious weight, not only of Merchandise, but of Provisions for the Merchants and the Souldiers that guard them.

The Kingdom of *Berno*. The large Province of *Berno*, extends East from *Guangara* 500 Miles, at the distance of 150 Miles from the source of the *Niger*, and joins the Desart of *Set* on the South, and that towards *Barca* on the North. The Inhabitants of this Country have Garments and Beds of Skins in Winter, but in Summer they only cover their Privities with a piece of Leather. They are not distinguish'd from one another by Proper Names, but by Nick Names taken from their Stature, Fatness, or some other Quality; for they have no profession of Religion: their Wives and Children are common, and in a word, the whole Scene of their Lives is brutish. They are govern'd by a puissant Prince, who is lineally descended from the *Libyan* People, call'd *Bardoa*, and is prodigious rich; for all the Vessels at his Table, his Spurs, his Bridles, and the Collars of his Dogs, are all of pure Gold. He wages perpetual War with a certain People that live beyond the Desart of *Sen*, who in former times invaded his Kingdom, and wasted a great part of it; but soon after the King made his Reprisals, by purchasing great numbers of Horses from the *Barbary* Merchants, at the rate of fifteen and sometimes twenty Slaves in exchange for one Horse; for then he invaded the Enemies Country, and brought off Captives enough to pay for his Horses.

The Kingdom of *Gaoga*. The Kingdom of *Gaoga* has for its Limits, *Berno* on the West, *Nubia* on the East, *Egypt* on the North, and a Desart extending to the *Nile* on the South. The Inhabitants, especially the Mountaineers, cover nothing but their Privities, and are a very inhuman barbarous Crew. Their Houses being made of Boughs and Rafters, are much expos'd to fire. They have great store of Cattle, and attend them very carefully. The Prince of this Country pays a great deal of Respect to all learned Men, especially those descended from *Mahomet*. While I was at this Court (says our Author) a Noble-man of *Damiatia* presented him with a fine Horse, a *Turkish* Sword, a Royal Robe, and several other things, that cost about 150 Ducats at *Cairo*; upon which, the King return'd him a Compliment of five Slaves, five Camels, 500 Ducats, and 100 very large Elephants Teeth.

The Kingdom of *Nubia*. The Limits of *Nubia*, are *Gaoga* on the West, the *Nile* on the East, the Desart of *Goran* on the South, and *Egypt* on the North. The *Nile* is not navigable between this Kingdom and *Egypt*, for in some places a Man may wade over it on foot.

The principal Town in this Country is *Dangala*, which contains 10000 Families, and affords plenty of Civet and Saunders. The whole Country abounds with Ivory, being well stock'd with Elephants, as well as with Corn and with Sugar, which the Inhabitants know not how to use. It produces a sort of strong Poyson, a Grain of which divided among ten Persons, will kill them all in ½ of an Hour. An Ounce of this Poyson is sold to foreign Merchants for 100 Ducats; but whosoever sells it without the King's Knowledge, is immediately put to death, and the Buyer pays not only as much to the King as to the Seller, but likewise is oblig'd upon an Oath not to use it in the Kingdom of *Nubia*. The Inhabitants are call'd *Bugiba*, and are a base miserable People, living only upon Milk and the Flesh of Camels, and of such Beasts as are taken in the Desarts.

In former times they had a rich Town, with a convenient Haven upon the *Red Sea*, call'd *Zibid*, just opposite to the Harbour of *Zidem*, which is 40 Miles distant from *Mecca*. But about 100 Years ago the *Soldan* destroy'd it, upon the account of stopping some Goods that should have been carried to *Mecca*.

Addi-

Additions to Chap. VII.

Containing Marmol's *Account of* Lower Æthiopia *or* Negroland.

Æthiopia divided.

Æthiopia surpasses all the other parts of *Africa*, not only in the extent of Provinces and multitude of Inhabitants, but likewise in the diversity of Animals and plenty of Gold. The ancient Geographers represent monstrous Men as the Inhabitants of this Country; but their Representation is fabulous, unless they mean'd to point to the monstrous Barbarity of their Humour. The *Hebrews* call it *Cus*, and the Ancients divided it into the *Lower* and *Upper Æthiopia*. 'Twas call'd *Æthiopia* rather from the black colour of its Inhabitants, than from *Ethiope Vulcan*'s Daughter, as the Poets alledge. In *Lower Æthiopia* or the Country of *Negroes* (which *Ptolomy* comprehends in *Libya Interior*) the *African* Geographers take notice only of *Quequin* and *Carnim*, from whence 'tis probable they had no perfect Knowledge of the rest of the Country. All the Provinces adjoining to *Zahara* are at this day *Mahometans*, for in the Year 980, during the reign of the *Almoravides*, several *Mahometan* Doctors planted their Religion among them. The richest and most civiliz'd People among 'em, are those call'd by the *Arabians Genesvo*, who live along the *Niger*, and so have the Benefit of conversing with Foreigners that come thither to trade. Those who live along the Coast, are likewise in some measure civiliz'd, since the *Portuguese* have dealt with them, as well as the Inhabitants of *Manicongo*, who have embrac'd the Christian Religion. But the Inland Provinces (many of which are unknown to us) are inhabited by a parcel of Brutes in a human Shape. These multiply so prodigeously, that their Off-spring would in time cover the whole Face of the Earth, were it not for a Wind that visits them once in 60 Years, and sweeps off whole Shoals of them in Beds of Sand. These *Negroes* are perpetually at war one with another, and whatever Prisoners they take, whether Men, Women or Children, they sell them all to the *Africans*, *Arabians*, and *Portuguese* that trade to that Coast, receiving in exchange, Horses, Cloth, Linen, Oil, Wine, and other *European* Commodities.

The Nature of the Soil.

As for the Country it self, 'tis hot and in some measure moist, by reason of the neighbourhood of the *Niger*, and several other, which make large Lakes when they overflow. Along the *Niger* and towards the Frontiers of *Zahara*, there's neither Hill nor Mountain, but great Lakes surrounded with Woods, where Elephants and other wild Beasts resort in great numbers, and excellent Pasture along the Lake and River sides. In these places the *Negroes* sow a great deal of Millet, tho' indeed their chief Food is the Root call'd *Gname*. The Country produces no Fruit, such as *Barbary* affords, tho' it has some very tall Trees, that bear a Fruit like Chesnuts. Corn and Barley will not grow here, for besides that the Soil is too hot, it never receives any Rain but in three Months of the Year, viz. *July*, *August* and *September*: But it produces plenty of Pease as big as large Filbeards and party colour'd, Beans of an extraordinary large size, and of a shining red colour, Chiches, Cucumbers, Gourds, Citrons and Pot Herbs. They sow their Seed in *July*, and have their Harvest in *September*, for at that time the Water overflows and decreases again. When they go about their Husbandry, four or five of them get together, and with a Spade or Shovel, raise up the Ground very superficially, this done, they throw in the Seed. They have no Vines, but they make a sort of Wine of a Liquor call'd *Migol*, that distils from certain Date-trees, and resembles your pale red Wine. Each Tree being wounded in three or four places with an Ax, will yield three or four quarts in the space of 24 Hours. When this Liquor is first drawn, 'tis very sweet, but after three or four Days, its Sweetness abates, and it becomes more palatable, but if it stand longer, 'twill turn soure like Vinegar. 'Tis an agreeable Liquor enough, and if it be not diluted with Water, will fuddle one.

As for the Kingdoms of *Negroland*, that lie along the *Niger*, or between the Ocean and *Egypt*, viz. *Gualata*, *Guinee*, *Melli*, *Tombuto*, *Gago*, *Guber*, *Agades*, *Cano*, *Cassena*, *Zegzeg*, *Zanfara*, *Gangara*, *Borno*, *Ganga*, and *Nubia*; These, I say, are sufficiently accounted for in *John Leo*'s Description; so that it remains only to give some account of that part of *Lower Æthiopia*, that lies upon the Western Ocean, and the Discovery of that Coast made by the *Portuguese*, which the Reader may expect under a separate Head.

Chap. VIII.

Containing John Leo's *Description of* Egypt.

The Limits of Egypt.

Egypt is a noble and famous Province, bounded on the West by the Desarts of *Barca*, *Numidia*, and *Libya*, on the East by the Desarts that lie between it and the *Red Sea*, on the North by the *Mediterranean Sea*, and on the South by the River *Nile* and the Territory of the *Bugiha's*, being very narrow in breadth, but 450 Miles long. Its narrowness is occasion'd by the *Nile* its Division into several Streams and Channels, for the Intervals between the Banks of the *Nile* and the foregoing Limits, are very narrow. 'Tis a plain fertile Province, adorn'd with pleasant Greens and Meadows, and abounding in Geese and other Fowls. The usual Food in that Country is new salt Cheese, and soure Milk which does not go down well with Strangers, tho' 'tis much valued by the Natives. The Country People are of a brown swarthy Colour, but the Citizens are white. Their Garments are long with strait Sleeves and Wastes; their Turbants (call'd by the *Italians Dulipans*) are round and high: The common People wear Garments of party colour'd Cotton in Summer, but in Winter they use a certain Garment lin'd with Cotton, which they call *Chebre*: As for the Merchants and chief Citizens they wear *European* Cloth. In general, all the Inhabitants are of an honest, chearful and liberal Disposition.

The whole Province is divided in three parts, namely, *Erriff*, extending from *Cairo* to *Rosetto*, *Sahid* (i. e. the *Terra Firma*) extending from *Cairo* to the Land of the *Bugiha's*, and *Maremma* or *Beehria*, lying upon that Branch of the *Nile* that washes *Damiata* and *Tenesse*. *Sahid* goes beyond the other two in plenty of Corn, Cattle, Flax and Fowl; but its Inhabitants having no Conversation with Strangers, unless it be a few *Ethiopians*, are much less civiliz'd than those of the other Provinces adjacent to the Sea, which are frequented by the Merchants of *Europe*, *Berbary*, and *Assyria*. *Maremma* abounds with Cotton and Sugar.

The Original of the Egyptians.

Egypt is call'd by the *Hebrews Mesraim*, from *Mesraim*, the Grandson of *Cham* the Son of *Noah*, of whom the Inhabitants pretend to be descended, by the *Arabians Mesre*, and by the Natives *Chibith*, upon the Plea that *Chibith* was the first Man that built Houses and establish'd a Form

Form of Government in it. Most of the true *Egyptians* are now gone, for since they embrac'd the *Mahometan* Religion, they have blended themselves with the *Arabians* and *Moors*. The Kingdom was first govern'd by Kings of the *Egyptian* Race, who bore the Title of *Pharaoh*, and after some time *Ptolomy*, and seem to have been great Princes. After that, 'twas subdu'd by the *Romans*, and under their Government embrac'd Christianity. Upon the division of the Empire, it came into the Hands of the Emperours of *Constantinople*, and was afterwards wrested from them by the *Mahometans*, in the time of the *Califa Homar* II. who allowed the People a Liberty of Conscience, and demanded nothing from them but tribute. Before the Conquest of *Egypt* by the *Romans*, the Nobility dwelt in the Cities of *Sahid*, after which, they remov'd to the *Maritime* Province of *Erriff*, and dwelt in *Alexandria*, *Rosetto*, and other Cities that still retain the *Latin* Names: But when the *Mahometans* got the Ascendant, they retir'd to the Inland Province to avoid the Descent of the Christians.

The Climate is hot and unhealthy: It rains there but very seldom, and when it does it occasions dangerous Rheums, Fevers, and a swelling of the Privy Members, imputed by Physicians to the frequent eating of Salt Cheese and Beef. The Plague is sometimes very rife, especially at *Cairo*, where it sometimes sweeps off 12000 Souls a day. And as for the *French Pox*, no Country under Heaven is more molested with it. In Summer the heat of the Sun is so unsufferable, that no Man could live there, if they did not build high Towers opposite to their Houses, which being open at top and bottom, draw down a Wind that refreshes and cools the Air. They reap their Corn in *April* and thrash it immediately.

About the middle of *June*, the *Nile* commences its Inundation, which increases 40 Days and decreases as many, and during that space, the Towns of *Egypt* are only accessible in Boats and Barges, and the Stream or Channel of the River is then navigable by large Vessels, containg 6 or 7000 Bushels of Corn, besides some hundreds of Cattle; but at the same time these Vessels must only go along with the Stream, for that they cannot sail against it.

The Cities of Egypt.

As for the Cities and Towns of *Egypt*, I shall only describe such as stand upon the principal Channel of the *Nile*, for the other part of *Egypt* (says our Author) are not included in *Africa*.

Egypt.

Besiri, an ancient City, built by the *Egyptians* upon the Mediterranean Sea, had once strong Walls and stately Buildings, but upon the taking of *Alexandria* by the Christians, 'twas abdicated by the Inhabitants. It has a great many Date-trees about it, but at present there's no body to take care of them.

Alexandria.

Alexandria, founded by *Alexander the Great*, upon a Promontory that stretches into the Mediterranean, was in former times, a large, strong and beautiful City, but after it became subject to the *Mahometans*, it lay in a manner desolate, till a crafty *Mahometan* Patriarch made the vulgar People believe, that by a Prophecy of *Mahomet*, ample Indulgences were granted to such as would inhabit or promote the Interest of that City; for upon that, strangers crouded into it from all Corners, and adorn'd it with Houses, Colleges, and Monasteries for the Relief of Pilgrims. The City has four Gates, one of which facing the Mediterranean, is always beset with Searchers and Custom-house Officers, who exact a Duty, not only upon Goods, but upon all sorts of Money, and search Strangers to their very Shirts. It has two Havens, one call'd *Marsa el Bargi* (i. e. *The Port of Castle*) upon the Key of which there stands an impregnable Castle, and in which the *European* Ships ride; and another call'd *Marsa Essal Sela*, i. e. *The Port of the Chain*, where the *Barbary* Ships take shelter. A *Mahometan* pays $\frac{1}{40}$, and a *Jew* $\frac{1}{10}$ of all Goods imported or exported, excepting such as are carried over land to *Cairo*, which pay nothing at all. At present the only inhabited part of the City, is that next the Haven, and that which faces *Cairo*; for 'twas laid desolate by the King of *Cyprus*, who was master of the Town for some time, till the *Soldan* dislodg'd him; after which it rose by degrees to its present state. In this City we meet with several Earthen Vessels of great antiquity, upon a high Mount form'd like the *Testaccio* at *Rome*, upon the top of this Mount, there stands a Turret, where an Officer watches in order to give notice to the Custom-house of the arrival of Ships, and has a certain Allowance for his Intelligence; but if any arrives and escapes his view, he pays double to the Exchequer for his Negligence. Without the City there's a large Sluice, which lets in the Water of the *Nile* upon its Inundation, and conveys it to large Vaults or Cisterns, of which each House in the City has one under it; and oftentimes the Corruption of the Water in these Cisterns occasion many Diseases in the Summer. In the Neighbourhood of this Sluice, there are some small Gardens, but the Fruit they produce is a great Instrument of Sickness; and indeed the Ground upon which *Alexandria* stands being very sandy, is equally unqualified for Gardens, Vines, or Corn; for the City is supply'd with Corn from places 40 Miles distant. Six Miles West from *Alexandria*, we meet with a very tall and thick Pillar, call'd by the *Arabians Hemaduſſaoar*, i. e. *The Pillar of Trees*, and standing upon a point of Land that shoots out beyond the Haven. Among some ruinous Monuments within the City, there stands a little House with a Sepulcher, which is much rever'd, and frequently visited by *Mahometan* Pilgrims, upon the plea, that according to the *Alcoran*, it contains the Body of *Alexander the Great*, the High Prophet and King (as they term it). Part of this City is inhabited by several Christian Merchants and Mechanicks, who have a Church of their own, that was once honour'd with the Body of St. *Mark*, till the *Venetians* spirited it away to *Venice*. These Christians are call'd *Jacobites*, and pay tribute to the Governour of *Cairo*.

Rosetto (the next City in order) stands upon the East Bank of the *Nile*, not far from its Mouth. 'Twas built by a Slave of one of the *Mahometan* Patriarchs that govern'd *Egypt*, and is famous for its excellent Baths and Springs whether hot or cold.

Rosetto alias *Rosid.*

Thebes has stately Houses, but not above 300 Families of Inhabitants, most of whom are Husbandmen, so that in the day time there's nothing to be seen in the Streets but handsom Women. 'Tis well stock'd with Corn, Rice, Sugar, Grapes, Figs, Peaches, and a delicious sort of Fruit, call'd *Muse*. In the Out-parts of this place we meet with many ancient Monuments, bearing *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Egyptian* Inscriptions, and an infinity of ruinous places, not to mention its Stone Walls of a great depth, from whence we conclude that in former times 'twas a very large City.

Thebes.

At the distance of 40 Miles from *Rosetto*, we fall in with *Fuoa*, in the Neighbourhood of which, there's a Plain well stock'd with Sugar Canes, but their Product is not true Sugar, but a sort of Honey like Soap, which is us'd all *Egypt* over. In this place the Women have such liberty, that they may range abroad all day, provided they return at Night.

Fuoa.

Over against *Fuoa*, the *Nile* makes an Island call'd the *Golden Island*, which produces all sorts of fruitful Trees, except Olives.

The most noted place for Sugar is *Derette*, the Inhabitants of which are very rich, for they pay 200 *Saraffi's* or pieces of Gold *per* Day, to the Men they imploy in boyling and preparing the Sugar, and 100000 *Saraffi's* a year to the *Soldan*, for the Liberty of refining it. The City is adorn'd with a very pretty Temple, and a great House like a Castle, where they boil and refine their Sugar.

Derette.

The famous City of *Cairo*.

We come next to the City of *Cairo*, which is reputed to be one of the greatest and most famous Cities in the Universe. The Word *Cairo* is a Corruption of the *Arabick El Chahira*, i. e. *A Commanding Mistress*. The City was built in ancient times by *Gehoar Chetib*, a *Dalmatian* Slave, who likewise built the famous Temple call'd *Gemi-Hashare*. At present (*A. D.* 1526) it contains only 8000 Families, of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, that sell and import Goods from all places. It stands upon a beautiful Plain, in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Meccatum*, at the distance of two Miles from the *Nile*. 'Tis surrounded with stately Walls, and fortify'd with Iron Gates. The principal Street is adorn'd with magnificent Palaces and Colleges, pleasant Baths, and sumptuous Temples, particularly the Temple of *Gimith Elbechim*, the third Schismatick *Califa* of *Cairo*. The next Street, call'd *Beinel Casrain*, is fill'd with Cooks, Victuallers, who sell delicate Waters made of all sorts of Fruits in fine Vessels made of Glass and Tin, Confectioners, Fruiterers, and others who sell Eggs, Cheese and Pancakes, fry'd in Oil. The next Street is allotted to the chief Mechanicks, beyond which stands a College built by *Ghauri* the *Soldan*, that was kill'd in a Battle with *Selim* the great *Turk*. Not far from the College are the Shops for the finest Linen Cloth, particularly that call'd *Mosel*, i. e. of *Ninou*, which is exceeding broad and fine, and of which the Noblemens Shirts are made, as well as the Scarfs they wear upon their Dulipans. Next are the Mercers, who sell the richest *Italian* Stuffs; then the Woolen-drapers, who sell *European* Cloth. Upon the Way that leads to the Gate *Zuaila*, which fronts the *Nile*, there's a famous Exchange

Gemi-Hashare i. e. *The Glorious Temple.*

three Story high, call'd *Canon Halidi*, in which the *Persian* Merchants reside, and vent Spices, precious Stones, and such other costly Wares. After that, you come to a Street, where the Perfumers sell vast quantities of Civet, Musk, Amber, &c. and the Stationers sell delicate smooth Paper. The next Street is inhabited by Gold-smiths, most of whom are *Jews*, and very rich; but passing that you come to the Upholsterers and Brokers, who sell things of great value (not Coats or Cloaks, but rich Furniture for Houses, &c.) at second hand: I saw (says our Author) a rich Pavillion bought out of one of the Shops, the very Pearls of which were sold for 10000 *Saraffi's*. Among the other remarkable things of this City, we must not forget the stately Hospital built by *Pipers* the *Soldan*, where all sick Persons are entertain'd, and provided with Physicians and all other Necessaries. The Revenues of this Hospital amount to 200000 *Saraffi's* a year, and the Hospital is Heir to all the Sick that die in it.

The Suburbs of Cairo. *Bed Znaila.*

This City has very considerable Suburbs; one of 'em call'd *Bed Znaila*, commencing from the *Zucila* Gate, contains 12000 Families, and many of its Inhabitants kept Shops in the City as well as there. 'Tis adorn'd with a stately College, which is so strong, that the Members of it have oftentimes rebell'd, and pretended to hold out against the City and the *Soldin*'s Castle, which is but half a Bow shot off. This Castle standing upon the side of Mount *Muchatcim*, is surrounded with lofty impregnable Walls, and contains such Palaces as are fine beyond expression: They are pav'd with excellent Marble, their Roofs are guilded and curiously painted, their Windows are adorn'd with divers colours, and their Gates are neatly carv'd, and beautified with Gold and Azure. Some of these Palaces are are set a-part for the *Soldan* and his Family, and others for his Wife's Family, and for his Concubines, Eunuchs, and Guards. But at present they lie in Ruines, being destroy'd by *Selem* the *Great Turk*.

Gemeh Tailon.

Another Suburb call *Gemeh Tailon*, was built before the Foundation of *Cairo*, by one *Taylon* a very wise Man, subject to the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, and Governour of *Egypt*, who leaving the old City, adorn'd this Quarter with an incomparable Palace and a magnificent Temple. A great many Merchants and Tradesmen, especially the *Barbary Mores*, dwell here.

Bed Elloch.

The next part of the Suburbs is *Bed Elloch*, which lies at the distance of a Mile from the Walls of *Cairo*, and contains almost 3000 Families, and is adorn'd with a great Palace and a stately College. When the *Mahometan* Sermons and Worship are over, the common People of *Cairo*, with the Whores and Bauds, resort to this place, as well as the Stage-Players, and those who teach Camels, Asses, and Dogs to dance.

Dancing Asses.

The dancing of Asses is diverting enough; for after he has frisk'd and caper'd about, his Master tells him, that the *Soldan* meaning to build a great Palace, intends to imploy all the Asses in carying Mortar, Stones, and other Materials; upon which the Ass falls down with his Heels upward, cloting his Eyes, and making his Belly to swell as if he were dead: This done, the Master begs some assistance of the Company to make up the Loss of his dead Ass; and having spung'd as much as he can get, gives 'em to know, that truly his Ass is not dead, but only being sensible of his Master's necessity, play'd that trick to procure some Provender. Then he commands the Ass to rise, who still lies in the same posture, notwithstanding all the Blows he can give him; till at last he proclaims, that by vertue of an Edict from the *Soldan*, all the handsome Ladies were bound to ride out as next day upon the comeliest Asses they could find, in order to see a triumphal Show, and to entertain their Asses with Oats and *Nile* Water; for the Words are no sooner pronounc'd, than the Ass starts up and prances and leaps for Joy: But immediately the Master gives out, that his Ass was pitch'd upon by the Warden of their Street to carry his deform'd and ugly Wife; upon which, the Ass lowers his Ears and limps with one of his Legs as if he were lame. Then the Master alledging that his Ass has a kindness for handsome Women, commands him to singse out the prettiest Lady in the Company, and accordingly he makes his choise, by going round and touching one of the handsomest with his Head, upon which, the Company divert themselves by laughing and pointing to the Asses Sweet-heart.

Another sort of Juglers that frequent this place, are those who carry Birds about in Cages, which after the receiving of a Fee, bring out a Scrowl in their Beaks, determining the good or ill Fortune of the Person that addresses 'em; and even I (says our Author) having ill Fortune predicted to me by these Diviners, found it to be in effect worse than their Prediction. The same place is resorted to by Fencing-Masters and Ballad-singers. To return to the Appendages of *Cairo*.

Bulach.

At the distance of two Miles from the City Walls, upon the Bank of the *Nile*, stands *Bulach*, containing 4000 Families, many of whom trade in Oil, Corn, and Sugar, and adorn'd with stately Temples, Palaces, and Colleges.

The Port of Cairo.

Its best Houses are rang'd along the River side, where they have a noble prospect of Barks, perhaps 1000 in the Autumn, this being the Port for *Cairo*, and the residence of the Custom-House Officers, for the Goods imported from *Alexandria* and *Damiata*, tho' indeed the Custom of these Goods is but little, in regard that they have paid already upon their first unloading, whereas the Commodities imported from the inland parts are taxed to the full.

Caruſa.

About two Miles from the City Walls, just by Mount *Mucatim*, stands *Caruſa*, which once contain'd 2000 Families, tho' at present most of it is laid waste, and is noted for magnificent Tombs, adorn'd with lofty Arches, which the Citizens of *Cairo* adore as the Monuments of Saints, and visit every *Friday*, bestowing liberal Alms, and covering the Pavements with rich Carpets.

Miſrulletich.

In this Catalogue, we may list the ancient unwall'd City of *Misrulletich*, built upon the side of the *Nile* by *Hamre*, General to *Homare*, the second *Mahometan* Patriarch, being the first that the *Mahometans* built in *Egypt*. It contains 5000 Families, and is adorn'd with the bulky and lofty Temple of *Hamare*, besides several stately Palaces and Noblemens Houses. In this place there is a Custom-house for all Goods imported from *Sachid*. 'Tis famous for the Sepulchre of *Neſiſſa*, a *Mahometan* Saint, descended of *Heli Mahomet*'s first Cousin. This Saint seeing her Family depriv'd of the *Mahometan* Patriarchship, left *Cufu* a City of *Arabia Fœlix*, and came to live here, where the People canoniz'd her for a Saint, out of regard, partly to the innocence of her life, and partly to her relation to *Mahomet*; and when the Schismatick Patriarchs of her Family master'd *Egypt*, they built her a noble Tomb or Shrine, adorn'd with Silver Lamps and many other costly Ornaments. All the *Mahometans* in this Country pay their yearly Oblations to the Shrine, and no Stranger comes to *Cairo* without adoring and presenting it with an Offering. These Oblations amounting to 100000 *Saraffi's* a year, are given, partly for the relief of *Mahomet's* poor Relations, and partly for the maintenance of the Priests attending the Shrine, who delude the People with counterfeit Miracles, in order to screw up their generosity. When *Selim* master'd *Cairo*, he took out of this Sepulcher 100000 *Saraffi's* in ready Money, besides the Silver Lamps, Chains, Carpets, &c. Not far from this place are the magnificent Tombs of the *Soldans*, the Arches of which are very lofty, and from which, one of the late *Soldans* has made a Walk inclos'd by two high Walls leading to the City Gate, with Turrets of a great heighth at the ends of the Walls, calculated for directing the Merchants that come from the Port of Mount *Sinai*. At the distance of a Mile and a half from these Tombs, we come to a Garden in a place call'd *Amalthria*, which is surrounded with a strong Wall, and which no Man is allow'd to enter without a particular Licence from the Governour, because the only Balm Tree in the World grows in it, in the midst of a large Fountain, having a short Trunk, and Leaves like Vine-Leaves, only they are not so long. 'Tis said, that if the Water of this Fountain should happen to be diminish'd, the Tree would decay and wither.

The Ile of Miaſure.

Over against the old City, the *Nile* makes an Island in the midst of it, call'd *Michias*, i. e. *The Isle of Measure*, in which the ancient *Egyptians* found an Invention to foresee the plenty or scarcity of the insuing Year, from the inundation of the *Nile*. This Island is well inhabited, containing 500 Families; The point or end of it is beautify'd with a stately Palace and a pretty Temple. Upon the other side there stands a lone House, with a square Cistern 18 Cubits deep, into which the *Nile* Water is convey'd by a Sluice under ground, and there being a Pillar in the middle of it which is divided by Marks into as many Cubits as the Cistern has in depth, some Officers appointed by the Senate, attend there when the *Nile* begins to overflow, in order to observe how much it rises every day, the Measure of the Increase being published in the Streets by Boys with yellow Scarfs upon their Heads, who receive daily Rewards from all sorts of Persons while that Service lasts. Now 'tis observ'd, that if the Water rises to the 15th Cubit of the Pillar, a plentiful Year insues, if it stops between the 12th and

15th

Chickens strangely hatch'd.

15th we may expect but a sorry crop, if it stops between the 14th and 12th, Corn will be sold for ten Ducats a Bushel, but if it rises to the 18 Cubit, the overbearing moisture will occasion a great scarcity, and if the 18th be surmounted, *Egypt* is threatned with an universal deluge; so that during the Inundation, the People are imploy'd in praying and giving of Alms, and the Boys directed by the Officers to proclaim the daily increase, still charge the People to fear God. Forasmuch as the *Nile* increases forty Days and decreases as many, when the 80th Day passes, the price of Victuals and Corn is regulated by the Clerk of the Market according to the foregoing Signs, but while the Inundation lasts, every one may sell Corn at what rate he pleases, for which reason 'tis very dear in that Season. After the adjusting of the Market Rates, a great Solemnity is celebrated over all *Cairo*, with Torches and a thundering noise of Trumpets and Drums. Each Family feasts upon Confections and Dainties in a Barge of their own, set out with rich Carpets and Coverings. At the same time the *Soldan* attended by his Courtiers, repairs to the great Conduit or Sluice, and breaking down the Walls with an Ax, gives entrance to the Water of the *Nile*, which runs so impetuously thro' that and all the other Sluices, that *Cairo* looks like another *Venice*, and then one may row in a Boat all over *Egypt*. This Solemnity of feasting in Barges continues for seven Days and seven Nights, during which space, the Tradesmen, pursuant to a Custom of the *Egyptians*, spend in Perfumes, Flambeau's, Confections, Musick, &c. all that they sav'd the preceding Year.

The Customs and Humours of the Citizens of *Cairo*.

The Citizens of *Cairo* are a jolly chearful People, but apt to promise more than they can perform. Tho' Merchandise and Mechanical Arts flourish among 'em, yet they never travel. All liberal Arts and Sciences they neglect in a manner, excepting the Law, the Students of which fill all their Colleges, but few of 'em attain to any perfection in that way. The Citizens wear in Winter Cloth Garments lin'd with Cotton, and in Summer fine Shirts, with Garments of Linen curiously wrought with Silk or of Camblet over 'em; upon their Heads they have great Turbants cover'd with *Indian* Cloth. The Women adorn their Fore-head and Neck with Pearl Frontlets and Chains, and their Heads with a rich small Bonnet, about a span high. Their Gowns are made of Woolen Cloath with strait Sleeves, and curiously embroyder'd with Needle Word, and over them they cast Vails of the finest Cloth of *India*. Their Heads and Faces are cover'd with a kind of black Scarf, thro' which they see others, themselves being unseen: Upon their Feet they wear fine Shoes and Slippers, somewhat after the *Turkish* fashion. These Women are so ambitious and haughty, that they disdain to Spin or dress Meat, which obliges their Husbands to buy their Victuals ready dress't at a Cook's Shop, for very few dress Meat in their own Houses, unless it be such as have a great Family. The Wives are allow'd the Liberty of going abroad in their fine Apparel and rich Perfumes, and gossiping where they please. They ride for the most part upon Asses, which are broken to such a pace, that they'll go easier than a pack'd Horse, and adorn'd with rich Furniture, being led by a Boy and several Footmen running by 'em. In this City, as well as in divers others, a great many Hagglers sell all sorts of Victuals up and down, and some sell Water, carrying it about in Leathern Bags upon Camels Backs, for the City lies two Miles off the *Nile*; but the Water that is to be drunk, is sold for a Farthing a Draught, out of handsome Vessels, that have a Brass Cock upon 'em, and drunk in a cup of Myrrh or Chrystal.

Chickens strangely hatch'd.

Others sell Chickens and other Fowls by Measure, which they hatch after a strange manner; for they put the Eggs into Ovens moderately hot, which in the space of seven days turn them into Chickens. The measure by which they sell them is bottomless, so that when 'tis full, they lift it up over the Basket of the Buyer, into which the Chickens fall. The Cook-shops are open very late, but the other Tradesmen shut up shop before ten a Clock, and then walk abroad to divert themselves. Their common Discourse is very rank, being tainted with Smut and Ribaldry. Oftentimes the Women complaining before of their Husbands incapacity to satisfie their Passion, obtain a Divorce pursuant to *Mahomet*'s Law. If any of the Artisans invents a new and ingenious piece of work, he is carried in triumph from Shop to Shop, and receives some Money at every place, being clad with Cloth of Gold, and attended by Musicians. I saw one (says our Author) that was thus honour'd for the making of a Chain that would bind a Flea.

Among the several religious Sects in this City, there is one of the *Mores* call'd *Chenesia*, which lives upon Horse-flesh, and for whose use the Butchers buy up all the founder'd lame Horses they can hear of. This Sect prevails very much among the *Turks*, the *Mamelukes*, and the People of *Asia*, however the *Turks* do not inure themselves to the eating of Horse-Flesh, tho' they lie under no prohibition to the contrary. In *Egypt* and the City of *Cairo*, four several Sects are tolerated, which differ from one another both in Canon and Civil Laws, tho' all of them are Retainers to *Mahomet*: For there were four Men in the World, that by vertue of their great learning and subtlety, pretended to make particular Inferences from *Mahomet*'s general Precepts, and wresting them to their own respective Sense of things, gave rise to four *Mahometan* Sects.

The religious Sects.

The Jews of *Cairo*.

As for the Government of *Cairo*; It has four chief Judges who decide Causes of importance, and four Inferiour Judges in each Street, who take cognisance of petty Quarrels. From the four principal Judges there lies an Appeal to the Governour of the Sect *Essefichia*; who is the nighest Judge of all; for every Sect has a subordinate Judge of its own, who inflict severe Punishments upon all that transgress the Rules and Canons of their Religion: But at the same time the four Sects are very charitable and respectful to one another; and to speak the Truth of the Matter, tho' they differ very much in their Liturgy and other Respects, yet they all agree in following the Canons of *Mascari*, the principal Doctor of the *Mahometans*, which are receiv'd over all *Africa* and most part of *Asia*, excepting the Dominions of the *Sophi* of *Persia*, and for that same very Reason the other *Mahometans* account him an Heretick.

Punishments of Criminals.

As for the Punishments inflicted in this City on Malefactors, Thieves are hang'd, Murderers are cut in two thro' the middle, and the upper part of the Body is thrown into a Fire of unslak'd Lime, where it remains alive for a quarter of an Hour, speaking and giving Answers to the By-standers; Rebels or seditious Persons are flea'd alive, in which case the Criminal continues a long while in unexpressible Torment, for he does not die till the Executioner touches the Navel with his Knife, and that he dare not do till the Magistrate standing by gives him orders: After the fleaing of the Criminal, his Skin is stuff'd with Bran till it resembles the Shape of a Man, and carried upon Camels Backs thro' every Street, and there the Crime is publish'd. As for Persons imprison'd for Debt, and uncapable to pay it, the Governour of the Prison pays their Creditours, and sends them bound in Chains and accompanied with Keepers to beg from door to door, the Alms redounding to him, and they being allowed a very sorry maintenance.

I shall conclude with one remarkable Custom in this City, namely, that of some ancient Women, who cry up and down the Streets in an unintelligible manner, and are imploy'd to circumcise Women according to *Mahomet*'s Law; but that Ceremony is only observ'd in *Egypt* and *Syria*.

The Dignity of the *Soldan*.

Before we take leave of this Subject, 'twill be proper to take notice of the Dignity and Power of the *Soldan*, which indeed was very great, tho' in the Year 1517, 'twas utterly sunk by *Selim* the *Great Turk*. The Dignity of *Soldan* was wont to be bestow'd upon one of the noblest *Mamalukes* ever after the fall of the Family of *Saladin*, whose name was so terrible to the Christians. These *Mamalukes* were originally Christian Children stole out of *Circassia* by the *Tartars*, and sold at *Caffa*, a Town in *Taurica Chersonesus*, where they were brought by some *Cairo* Merchants, and afterwards sold to *Saladin* the *Soldan*. The *Soldan* obliging these Slaves to abjure their Baptism, caus'd them to be instructed in the *Arabick* and *Turkish* Language, and train'd up in Military Discipline; and being thus qualified for Posts of Honour, they at last arriv'd at the Dignity of a *Soldan*. This *Saladin*, originally an Asiatick Prince, was call'd in, together with his Father, by the City of *Cairo* to protect them against the last King of *Jerusalem*, who threatned 'em with Destruction; and having dislodg'd the Christians of *Jerusalem* and all *Syria*, made away with the Schismatick *Califa* of *Cairo*, whose Predecessours had continued Lords of that City for 230 Years running, and reduc'd the City to the obedience of the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, who was its true and lawful Governour. The Schismatical *Califa's* being thus suppress'd, *Saladin* quarrell'd soon after with the *Califa* of *Bagdet*, and made himself Soveraign of *Cairo*; and in regard that a great part of his Forces was cut off by War and Pestilence, apply'd himself to the buying of *Circassian* Slaves from the King of *Armenia*. These Slaves having abjur'd Christianity, and being taught the *Turkish* Language, which was *Saladin's* Mo-

ther Tongue, increas'd so much both in Valour and Number, that they became expert Generals, and upon the decay of the *Saladin* Family, chose *Piperis* one of their own Number, to be their Soveraign *Soldan*. This Custom was afterwards observ'd so religiously, that neither the *Soldan*'s own Son nor any other *Mamaluk* could attain to that Dignity, unless he had first been a Christian, and abjur'd his Faith, and learn'd to speak perfectly the *Circassian* and *Turkish* Languages.

Under the *Soldan* there were ten great Officers: The next to him was the *Eddaguadare* or Vice-roy, who nominated and turn'd out Magistrates or Officers. The third was the *Amir Cabir* or General, who levy'd Armies, and appointed Garrisons for the Castles and Cities, and was empower'd to lay Money out of the *Soldan*'s Treasure as he saw occasion. The fourth was the *Nai Bessa*, or Lieutenant of *Syria*, who pay'd the *Soldan* some thousands of *Saraffi*'s a Year. The fifth was the *Ostadar* or Steward of the Houshold, who provided Victuals and other Necessaries for the *Soldan* and his whole Family. The sixth was the *Amiri Achor*, or Master of the Horse and Camels. The seventh Office was that of several *Mamaluk* Colonels, who conducted his Forces against the Enemy. The eighth was that of some Centurions over the *Mamalukes*, who always attend the *Soldan* when he rode abroad or exercis'd his Arms. The ninth Officer was the Treasurer; The tenth the *Admir Silch*, or the *Soldan*'s Armour Keeper. The eleventh the *Testecana*, or Master of the Wardrope, who distributed Robes of Gold, Velvet, Silk, &c. according to the *Soldan*'s appointment, for the *Soldan* always gave Cloaths to those whom he prefer'd to any Dignity.

The City of *Chanca.* So much for the famous City of *Cairo*. Upon the Road from *Cairo* to Mount *Sinai*, we come up with *Chanca*, a City standing upon the entry of a Desart, about six Miles from *Cairo*, and adorn'd with stately Houses, Temples and Colleges. All the Fields between *Cairo* and *Chanca* produce great plenty of Dates, but between *Chanca* and Mount *Sinai*, which extends to 140 Miles, there is no place inhabited. Two great Roads, one leading to *Syria* and the other to *Arabia*, pass thro' this City. It has no Water but what remains in some Channels after the Inundation of the *Nile*, and when these Receivers or Chanels are broke down, the Water runs out into the Plains, and there makes a great many small Lakes, from whence 'tis convey'd back by certain Sluices, into the Cisterns of the City.

Munia. The City of *Munia*, built by the *Mahometans*, stands upon the same side of the *Nile*, at the distance of 180 Miles from *Cairo*. It abounds with Dates and all sorts of Fruit, and the Inhabitants enrich themselves by trading to *Gaoga* in *Negroland*. 'Tis adorn'd with fine Temples and other Buildings, and shews to this Day divers Ruins of the ancient *Egyptian* Buildings.

Manf-Loth. *Manf-Loth*, another *Egyptian* Town, there are some very large and high Pillars and Porches, bearing *Egyptian* Inscriptions. Near the *Nile* we see the Ruins of a stately Building, which seems to have been a Temple in times past, where some Silver, Gold and Lead Medals are sometimes found, bearing Hieroglyphick Notes on one side, and ancient Kings on the reverse. The adjacent Fields are fertile, but the heat of the Sun is very scorching, and the Country is much infested with Crocodiles, which perhaps was the occasion that prompted the *Romans* to abandon that place.

Azioth. *Azioth*, founded by the *Egyptians* upon the *Nile* side, 250 Miles from *Cairo*, is very remarkable for the huge Bulk and variety of old Buildings and Epitaphs engraved in *Egyptian* Letters. At present most of it lies desolate, tho' 'tis still inhabited by Noblemen and wealthy Citizens, and contains almost 100 Families of Christians, besides a Monastery without the City, where 100 Monks reside, that eat neither Fish nor Flesh, but only Herbs, Bread and Olives, and some liquorish Morsels made up without Fat. This Monastery is very rich, and entertains all Strangers for three Days, being provided for that end with great store of Pigeons, Chickens, and the like.

The ancientest City in all *Egypt*, is *Ichmin*, built by *Ichmin*, the Son of *Misraim* the Son of *Chus*, upon the Asiatick Bank of the *Nile*, at the distance of 300 Miles East from *Cairo*, and raz'd to the very Foundation by the *Mahometans*, when they first began to usurp the Government of *Egypt*, for they transported the Pillars and best Stones to the other side of the *Nile*, where they built *Mursita*. *Ichmin* the ancientest City in *Egypt*. *Mursita.*

Georgia, a famous Christian Monastery, so call'd from St. *George*, stood at the distance of six Miles from *Mursia*. 'Twas inhabited by above 200 Monks, who enjoying large Territories and Revenues, were very kind to Strangers, and sent the Surplusage to the Patriarch of *Cairo*, to be distributed by him among the poor Christians: But about 100 Years ago, all the Monks died of the Plague; upon which, the Prince of *Mursia* surrounded the Monastery with a Wall, and being charm'd by its pleasant Gardens, situated amidst beautiful Hills, went and liv'd in it himself. At last, upon the Sollicitation of the Patriarchs of the Jacobites, the *Soldan* caus'd another to be built in its room, for the maintenance of thirty Monks. *Georgia* a Monastery.

Chian, a little City built by the *Mahometans* near the *Nile*, is now inhabited only by the Christians call'd Jacobites, who imploy themselves in Husbandry, or in bringing up Chickens, Geese, and Doves. *Chian.*

Barbanda, founded by the *Egyptians* upon the *Nile*, was laid waste by the *Romans*, and most of its Ruins were carried to *Asua* alias *Siene*, where we find divers huge Structures and Sepulchres with *Egyptian* and *Latin* Epitaphs. Several pieces of Gold and Silver Medals, and Fragments of Emeralds are found in the Ruins of *Barbanda*. *Barbanda.* *Asua.*

Over against *Barbanda*, stands the ancient City of *Cane*, built by the *Egyptians*, surrounded with Brick Walls, and inhabited by Husbandmen, by which means it abounds with Corn, and furnishes *Medina* and *Mecca* with that Commodity. The Goods sent from *Cairo* to *Mecca*, are brought against the Stream to *Cane*, from whence they are carried by Land over the Wilderness to *Chosir*, a Port upon the *Red Sea*, which is at least 120 Miles off. *Cane.*

The last City I shall mention, is the great and populous City of *Assuan*, built by the *Egyptians* upon the *Nile*, about 80 Miles East from *Asna*. It stands upon a fertile Country, and its nearness to *Nubia* gives the Citizens the opportunity of a great trade. It joins likewise to the Frontiers of *Æthiopia*, and is not far from the Desart that lies upon the Road to *Suachen*, a Port upon the *Red Sea*. The Citizens being extreamly scorch'd with the Summer Sun, are of a swarthy brown colour, and mingled with the People of *Nubia* and *Æthiopia*. The City shews many Buildings of the ancient *Egyptians*, and very high Towers, which the Natives call *Barba*. Beyond this City, the *Nile* dispersing it self into very small Lakes, becomes innavigable; and there we meet with neither City nor Habitation of any account, excepting a few Villages of Blacks, whose Speech is a Medley of the *Arabian*, *Egyptian*, *Ethiopian* Languages, and who live in the Field after the *Arabian* way, being subject to the People call'd *Bugiha* (alias *Troglodytæ*) for *Assuan* is the utmost Limit of the *Soldan*'s Jurisdiction. *Assuan.*

Addi-

Additions to CHAP. VIII.

Collected from Marmol.

The Original of the Soil of Egypt.

SOme Authors, and particularly *Herodotus*, who gives a large Account of the Customs, Buildings, and Ceremonies of *Egypt*, have been of opinion, that the whole Country was once cover'd with the Sea, which retreated by degrees, and in the mean time the overflowing of the *Nile* continued so long, and brought down from *Ethiopia* so much Earth and Mud, as form'd the pleasant and fertile Fields that *Egypt* now boasts of. This seems to be a reasonable Conjecture; for the Soil of *Egypt* differs very much from that of its Neighbouring Provinces, as being black, fat and heavy, whereas that of the other parts of *Africa* is red and light, that of *Arabia* stony and white, and that of *Syria* friable and dusty. Besides, *Herodotus* acquaints us, that the Priests of *Vulcan* gave him to know, that in the Reign of *Meris*, the *Nile* rising eight Cubits higher, laid the whole Country under water, whereas at present it must encrease 18 before it can overflow the Country, which is an Evidence, that the Mud remaining after the Inundation of the *Nile*, has by degrees rais'd the whole Country. *Ptolomy*, (whom we here follow in throwing all *Egypt* into *Africa*) divides *Egypt* into two parts, namely, the Upper and the Lower; the Lower is call'd by the *Latines Oden*, and by the *Greeks Delta*, from its triangular Figure resembling that Letter; some rank it among the Islands, for in effect 'tis one. Upper *Egypt* is call'd *Thebais* from the City of *Thebes*, so much celebrated by *Homer*, (Iliad. 9.) which boasted of 100 Gates, and 20000 Horse besides Infantry. The Kings of *Egypt* kept their Court there, which they afterwards remov'd to *Memphis*, and at last to *Alexandria*.

The Division of Egypt.

In a word, the whole Country of *Egypt* (as we here take it) extends on the East to the Frontiers of *Gasa* and *Syria*, on the West to the Desarts of *Barca*, *Mamarica*, and *Libya Interior*, on the North to the Mediterranean Sea, and on the South to *Nubia* and *Æthiopia* above *Egypt*. This Country is but very narrow; its broadest part lies towards the Mediteranean, where the Branches of the *Nile* make a *Delta*; for higher up 'tis much narrower, being bounded by the Mountains of *Arabia*, out of which the Stones of the *Egyptian* Pyramids were digg'd, and 'tis upon the *Arabian* side of *Egypt* that the Trees grow which bear Incense. On the West 'tis limited by a Ridge of Mountains, call'd by the Ancients the *Punick* or *African* Mountains. Now all the Country that lies between these two Mountains is *Egypt*, and seems to have been formerly cover'd with the Sea, the Country below *Memphis* being overflown by the Mediterranean, and that near the *Arabian* Gulph by the *Red Sea*; so that at that time, the distance between these two Seas was not great. Upon the top of some of the highest Mountains that lie opposite to *Cairo*, one may descry Oyster-shells and Sand among the Rocks, which confirms that the Sea reach'd so far once. At present instead of the salt Water, that of the *Nile* overflows every year, between the two Ridges of the Mountains as far as 20 Leagues (more or less, according as the Inundation is) on either side.

Egypt cover'd with the Sea.

The Original of the Egyptians.

The ancient *Egyptians* took themselves to be the first of human race; but in the Reign of *Psammeticus*, they discover'd that the *Phrygians* were ancienter than they; for according to *Herodotus*, that Prince, after several Enquiries into their Antiquity, order'd two new-born Infants to be bred up in a Desart among the Cattle, without allowing 'em any commerce with Men, and charg'd the Shepherd to observe narrowly the first Word that they pronounced. In process of time, the two Children taking the Shepherd by the Hand, cry'd *Betcho*, which is the Phrygian Word for Bread, and upon that, the *Egyptians* yielded the Plea of Antiquity to the *Phrygians*. Others say, that Prince put the two Children into a close Tower and cut out the Nurse's Tongue, and the first Word they spoke was *Betcho*. The *Egyptians* were the first that divided the Year into twelve Months, pursuant to the Course of the Stars, and by that Computation out-did the *Greeks*, who made an Intercalation of a Month every three Years.

The Ingenuity and Superstition of the ancient Egyptians.

They were a very ingenious People, but superstitious to an excessive degree, and great Idolaters. 'Tis to them that the *Greeks* owe the name of the twelve Gods. They invented Idols, Altars, and the other Appendages of Divine Worship, and preserv'd the memory of things by carving Animals upon Stones. They were very fond of Ceremonies and vain Pomp, and celebrated the Festivals of their Gods in several places. The Temple of *Diana* stood in *Bubaste*, that of *Isis* or *Ceres* in *Busiris*, that of *Minerva* in *Samos*, that of the *Sun* in *Heliopolis*, that of *Latona* in *Buto*, that of *Vulcan* in *Memphis*, and that of *Mars* elsewhere. They were so superstitious as to revere the Fowls and Quadrupeds as sacred Beings, and erect Sepulchres for 'em in places appropriated to each Species. At present there are none of the ancient *Egyptian* Race left, unless it be some Christians who conceal their Extraction, and follow the ancient Superstition and Ceremonies. The Country is now in the Hands of the *Grand Seignior*, who dispossess'd the *Mahometan Soldans*.

Alexandria.

To take a short view of the most noted Cities in *Egypt*. *Alexandria* was contriv'd by *Democritus* the Mathematician, by the Order of *Alexandria* the *Great*, and built by *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus* Governour of *Egypt*. *Alexandria* order'd three *Alexandria's* to be built, one upon the *Tanais*, another in *India*, and this in *Egypt*, which was much more noted than any of the other two. In the time of the *Ptolomy's*, 'twas the Seat of the Kings of *Egypt*. It had two Harbours with a Causey or Peer running out between 'em, upon which *Cæsar* had a sharp Engagement, with the Inhabitants, and finding himself overpower'd leap'd into a Boat, and when he found that a sinking into the Sea, where he swam 200 Paces, holding up his writing Tables with one Hand, to prevent their being wet. Upon the point of this Peer *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* erected a Light-house to direct Ships in the night time, for the Mouth of the Harbour is very difficult.

A great Pillar.

The great Pillar that stands about six Miles to the West of the City, casts a shadow of 47 Paces at Noon, and resembles St. *Peter's* Steeple at *Rome*. It has a round Ball at the top, which seems to have been the Sepulchre of some *Roman*. The *Arabians* say 'twas built by the *Ptolomy's* for the Security of the City, and to magnifie their Conquest, fabulously alledging, that it had an enchanted Steel Glass upon it, the Vertue of which was such, that when it was laid open it burnt all the Ships that pass'd, and that they broke this Glass when they became Masters of the place, and remov'd the Pillar.

St. *Mark* beheaded in *Alexandria*.

In one of the Streets within the City there's a large round Stone, of four Spans diameter, painted like Jasper, with a hole in the middle, like a Mill-Stone; and 'tis said by the Inhabitants, that St. *Mark* was beheaded in this place, for he liv'd and preach'd at *Alexandria*, which occasion'd the erecting of a Patriarchship in that City, and such Confluences of Confessors, Martyrs and Hermites, as outnumber'd the rest of the Inhabitants.

'Twas in this place that the Patriarch *Jacob* gave birth to the Heresie of the *Jacobites*, who circumcis'd themselves. An *Egyptian* Priest (says our Author) shew'd me a place in this City, where Philosophy and Astrology were taught by the greatest Masters in the time of *Alexandria* the *Great*; for these Sciences had flourish'd among them a long while, when the *Greek* Letters were introduc'd into *Egypt*. To prevent the exposing of Sciences to every one's view, they taught by way of Characters and *Hieroglyphicks*, which they learn'd from the *Ethiopians* that reign'd in *Egypt*. This Method of teaching by Figures was likewise observ'd by the Cabbalists, the *Magi* in *Persia*, the *Chaldeans* in *Assyria*, the *Brachmins* in *India*, the *Gymnosophists* in *Ethiopia*, the first *Philosophers* in *Greece*, and the *Druides* in *Gaul*. *Homer*, *Orpheus*, *Henopides*, *Pythegorus*, *Democritus* and *Plato* studied here, and transported their Philosophy to *Greece*. In fine, *Alexandria*, lies at the distance of four days Journey from *Cairo*, and in former times supply'd *Europe* with Spices, and the other rich Commodities of *India* and *Arabia Felix*; for they were first unloaded at *Aydeb* upon the *Red Sea*, and convey'd upon Camels to *Cairo*, from whence they were brought by the *Nile* to *Alexandria*; but since the *Portugueses* have discover'd the Navigation to *India*, the Commerce of this City is mightily impair'd.

impair'd. The City lies, according to *Ptolomy*, in 63 Deg. 30 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 8 Min. Lat. At present the *Grand Seignior* keeps a *Turkish* Garrison in it, and some Galleys in the Harbour for the security of the Coast.

Bequir. *Bequir*, a Sea Town, lying three Leagues East of *Alexandria*, seems to be *Ptolomy's Canopus*, which he states in 60 Deg. 55 Min. Long. and 31 Deg. 6 Min. Lat. 'tis now in ruins. The Coast upon which it stood is very dangerous, for several Ships coming from the Coast of *Syria* are cast away upon it in the night time.

Antinis. The *Romans* built a Town call'd *Antinis*, formerly *Antæon*, upon the Eastern Bank of the *Nile*, where great Alabaster Tables with Latin Inscriptions are still to be seen.

Thebes. The ancient City of *Thebes*, mention'd by *Homer* in his Iliads, stood upon the western Bank of the *Nile*, and was once the place of Residence for the Kings of *Egypt*. Some say the *Greeks* built it, others stand up for the *Romans*, but 'tis most probable that the *Egyptians* were the true Founders. This place stands in one of the two *Thebeis's* mention'd by *Ptolomy*, who gives the Capital City the name of *Lycopoli*, in 6. Deg. 46 Min. Long. and 28 Degrees Lat. (in this Province stood *Thebes*) and that of the other *Diospolis* or *Jupiter's* City, situate in 62 Deg. Long. and 25 Deg. Lat. This last I take to be the same with *Syenne*.

Sienna.

Meanellat Cays Upon the West Bank of the *Nile* the Successours of *Mahomet* built a City call'd *Mequellat Cays*, which stands so high, that the *Nile* does not overflow the adjacent Grounds, and for that reason they are all planted with Vines, which supply *Cairo* with Grapes one part of the Year.

Memphis. The ancient *Memphis* where the *Pharaoh's* kept their Court in *Moses's* time, is now destroy'd. It stood 17 Leagues South of *Cairo*, and some Pyramids are still to be seen near the place where it stood. The two Branches of the *Nile* rejoin in the Nighbourhood of this place, and upon their Confluence there stands an old Building, which is said to be *Joseph's* Tomb; and the *Grecians* assure us, that *Memphis* was built in the time of *Joseph*. As for *Pompey's* Tomb, it stood six Leagues to the West of *Alexandria*, where the high Steeple is, and 'tis said, the Emperour *Adrian* imbellish'd it.

Elium. Others say *Joseph's* Sepulchre was at *Elium*, an ancient City, built by the *Pharaoh's* upon a small Branch of the *Nile*, in the building of which, 'tis said, the Children of *Israel* were imploy'd.

Menfaith. Near *Menfaith* there stood a Temple, of which an *Arabian* Historian says, that in the time of the *Califa's* of *Babylon*, in digging up its Foundation, they found a Crocodile of Lead with *Egyptian* Letters upon it, importing, that this Statue was made under certain Constellations, to prevent the Crocodile's devouring of Men; he adds further, that now the Statue is broken, the Crocodiles are pernicious to Mankind.

Suaquin. Among the Cities of *Egypt* that are situate upon the *Red Sea*, we meet with *Suaquin*, a Frontier upon the *Æthiopian* side, which has the best Harbour in the *Red Sea*, for its Mouth is very narrow, and afterwards opens into a great Lake which has a small Island upon it. This place was formerly govern'd by a King of its own, but at present 'tis subject to the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, under the *Turk*.

Cossir. *Cossir*, a small Town upon the same Coast, inhabited by poor miserable *Arabians*, is the Port from whence the *Egyptian* Corn is transported to *Arabia*, and where most of the *Moorish* Pilgrims imbarque for *Mecca* or *Medina*.

Sues. At the furthermost Point of the *Red Sea*, we meet with *Sues*, standing upon a sandy Ground, that affords neither Spring nor Fountain, insomuch that the Inhabitants have no Water but what is brought upon Camels from some sal Wells two Leagues off. Formerly they had a Canal that convey'd the *Nile* Water into their Cisterns, but the *Arabians* have fill'd it up with Earth. It shews the Reliques of ancient Walls and an old Castle, and the Natives say 'twas once a great City, and was ruin'd by the Successors of *Mahomet*. At present no body lives in it, but some Work-men that are imploy'd in building the *Grand Seignior's* Ships, the Wood and other Materials being brought from *Turky*. This Port lies at the distance of 22 Leagues East from *Cairo*.

Passing a League further we come to *Pharaoh's Point*, and seven Leagues beyond that to the *Wells of Moses*, which they say he digg'd upon his passing the *Red Sea*, and for which the *Arabs* have a great Veneration; and 20 Leagues yet farther to *Corondolo*, where 'tis said the *Cr. Isr.* Children of *Israel* pass'd.

Tor. The utmost Limit of *Egypt* upon the *Arabian* side is *Tor*, a small Town, that goes beyond all the rest upon this Coast in Commerce, Buildings, and Politeness. 'Tis inhabited by *Jacobites*, and maintains some Priests in a Monastery of St. *Catherine*, in order to keep up a Correspondence with that of *Sinay*, where that Saint was inter'd. The People of that Country say, *Moses* cross'd over at this place when he fled before *Pharaoh*. Some are of the opinion that *Tor* is the ancient *Elam*, that all the Geographers mention, upon the Plea, that the Gulf before it bears the name of *Elamitick*.

CHAP. IX.

Containing John Leo's *Account of the remarkable Animals, Minerals, and Plants in* Africa.

The Elephant THE Forrest of *Negroland* nourish great numbers of Elephants, which keep together in Companies, and either shun or give the way to a Man when they meet him by chance, but if they mean him harm, they knock him down with their Trunk, and trample upon him till he's dead. The *Ethiopian* Hunters catch 'em after this manner: They make a strong Enclosure with Stakes and great Boughs in that part of the Woods which they frequent, leaving an open Entry, with a Door lying flat upon the Ground, which may be pulled up with Ropes so as to stop the Passage. When the Elephant comes to rest under the shady Boughs of the Enclosure, the Hunters skulking upon the Trees, draw up the Door, and having thus emprison'd him, kill him with their Arrows, in order to get his Teeth. In *Upper Æthiopia* and *India*, they decoy them by a tame Female to an Enclosure, or set a tame Male to fight with a wild one in the Wood, which gives them an opportunity of cramping his hinder Legs with Ropes.

The Giraffa. The *Giraffa*, a Beast headed like a Camel and ear'd like an Ox, frequents the Desarts and Woods where no other Beasts resort, and always flies from Men, so that the Hunters seldom catch 'em, and indeed 'tis a rarity to see 'em.

Camels are very numerous in *Africa*, especially in the Desarts of *Libya*, *Numidia* and *Barbary*; and 'tis by *The Camels.* the number of them that the *Arabians* measure their Riches and Strength; for he who possesses many Camels, can reside in barren Desarts, where no other Prince can reach him. The *African* Camels are very gentle and tame, and will travel much longer without Corn or Barley than those of *Asia*, who always carry their own Provender along with them. I have seen (says our Author) an *African* Camel travel 50 Days without any Grain, only at Night 'twas turn'd loose to feed upon Grass, Brambles, and the Boughs of Trees, which an Asiatick Camel could never have born. I have seen them travel in this condition till they've wasted, first the Flesh of their Bunches, then their Bellies, and at last their Hips, insomuch that they have scarce been able to carry 100 pound weight. Now there are three kinds of Camels; the first call'd *Hugiun*, are thick and tall, and the fittest for carrying Burthens, but for four Years they are useless, after which, the least of 'em will carry 1000 pound of *Italian* weight. When they mean to load any of these Camels, they give him a switch upon the Neck and Knees, upon which he kneels down, and when he finds himself sufficiently loaded, rises up again. The

African

Africans use to geld most of them, and leave only one he Camel for ten Females. The second kind call'd *Becheti*, have a double Bunch, which renders 'em fit both for carriage and for riding, but these are only bred in *Asia*. The third call'd *Ragnahill*, being of a slender low stature, are unqualified for carriage, but go beyond the other two in swiftness, for they'll travel 100 Miles a day for ten days together with little or no Provender. These the *Numidian Arabs* and the *Libyan Mores* commonly ride upon. Oftentimes the King of *Tombuto* sends Expresses upon one of these Camels from his Seat to *Segelmes*, which is 900 Miles off; and commonly they perform the Journey in eight Days at most, only he that rides it must be well acquainted with the Desarts, and his Reward is never less than 500 Ducats. About the beginning of the Spring these Camels fall a rutting, and not only hurt one another, but attack all Persons that have done them the least injury, while the Venereal Passion continues, *i. e.* for 40 days. When they assault a Man, they lay hold on him with their Teeth, and after tossing him up, throw him down again and trample him under foot. They cannot endure Hunger so well as Thirst, for they can abstain from drinking for 15 Days without any inconvenience, nay, if they are water'd oftner than once in six or nine Days, it does them a great deal of injury. When their Masters ride 'em beyond their wonted rate, they turn testy and disobey the Whip, till their Masters sing them certain Songs, with which they are so pleas'd, that they perform their Journey with unwonted celerity. This (says our Author) is an Argument that this Creature is possess'd of a kind of human Reason. At *Cairo* they are taught to dance, by accustoming a young Camel to tread upon a red hot Floor, while a Drum beats by him, for the heat makes him lift up his Legs alternately; and afterwards when he hears a Drum beat, he calls to mind the hot Floor that annoy'd him under the noise of the Drum, and so lifts his Feet as if he were actually upon it.

Camels very swift, alias Dromedaries

The Horses of *Barbary* are the same in every Respect with other Horses, only they are incredibly swift; in *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Asia* and *Arabia*, they are call'd *Arabian* Horses; for 'tis said, that the *Arabian* Desarts being frequented by wild Horses, the *Arabs* broke and manag'd them ever since the time of *Ismael*, and these have multiply'd so prodigiously, that most of *Africa* is stock'd with them: And indeed 'tis certain, that both the *African* and *Arabian* Desarts are to this day stock'd with great numbers of wild Horses. However, few of these Horses are bred in *Barbary*; but the *Arabians* that range in the Desarts, and the *Libyans* breed great numbers of them, not for travel or warfare, but for hunting; and to render 'em clean and cliver, feed them only with Camels Milk twice a day, allowing them Pasture in the Grass Season, during which time they do not ride them. They are incredibly nimble, and if they can outrun a Dant or an Ostich, are reckon'd to be worth 1000 Ducats or 100 Camels. As for the wild Horses, they are seldom seen, and can hardly be catch'd, either by Horses or Dogs. The *Arabians* of the Desarts eat their Flesh, reckoning the youngest the sweetest. They catch them by laying a Gin cover'd with Sand in the Waters where they use to drink, for the Horse's Foot is apt to be entangled in the Snare.

Barbary or Arabian Horses.

Wild Horses.

The *Lant* or *Dant* resembles an Ox, only his Legs are smaller, and his Horns prettier. His Hair is white, and his Hoofs as black as jet. He outruns all Beasts except the *Barbary* Horses, and is catch'd more easily in Summer than in Winter, for then his Swiftness is abated by the scorching heat of the Sand, which hurts and cracks his Hoofs. Shields and Targets are made of his Hide, which are Proofs against any thing but a Bullet-shot, and are extream dear.

The Lant.

The wild Ox is less in Stature than a tame one, being of an Ash colour and extream swift. It haunts the Desarts or their Borders, and its Flesh is very savoury. The tame Oxen upon the Mountains of *Africa*, are no bigger than a Hiefer in other places, but they are strong and hardy, and innur'd to the Plow.

The Wild Ox.

Highland Oxen.

The wild Ass is of an Ash colour, and frequents the Desarts. When it sees a Man at a distance, it brays, kicks and winces till he comes up, and then scowrs away, being swifter than any other Beast excepting a *Berbary* Horse. They feed in Troops, and the *Arabians* catch 'em by Snares. Their Flesh has a rank unsavoury taste, but becomes pleasanter by standing two days after 'tis boyl'd.

The Wild Ass.

The *Adimmane* is a tame Creature with long dangle Ears; 'tis shap'd like a Ram and as big as an Ass. The *Libyans* use 'em instead of Cows, and make a great deal of Butter and Cheese of their Milk; for they are very numerous in *Libya*, and scarce to be seen elsewhere; they have some Wool upon them, but 'tis very short. For a Frolick (says our Author) I once rode a quarter of a Mile upon the Back of one of them.

The Adimmane.

The *African* Rams differ from the other only in their Tails, which are very large, especially if the Rams are fat; some of them weigh ten Pounds, even when they feed upon the Mountains; but in *Egypt* they are fed with Bran and Barley till their Tails are so overgrown, that they cannot stir without little Carts under their Tails to bear them up. I saw one (says our Author) that weigh'd 80 Pound, and heard of some that weigh'd 150 Pound. In fine, all the fat of this Creature lies in its Tail, and they are only to be found in *Tunis* and *Egypt*.

The African Rams has a huge Tail.

The *African* Lions exceed all other Beasts in strength and cruelty, and spares neither Man nor Beast. In some places one Lion will encounter 200 Horsemen. They are fiercest in hot places, such as the Frontiers of *Temesne* and *Fez*, the Desart of *Angad*, &c. for those which frequent cold Mountains are not so cruel. In the Spring, when the Lionesses are hot, they have bloody Conflicts one with another, eight or ten Lions courting the same Mistress. I know not what Truth is in the common Report, that if a Woman shews a Lion her Privities, he will cry and roar and run away; but this I am sure of, that whatever a Lion gets in his Paw, if it were a Camel, he will carry it off.

The Lion.

The Leopard does not disturb the tame Cattle, and offers no Injury to Men, unless he be provok'd or meets a Man in a narrow Passage so that he cannot avoid him, in which case he flies at his Face, with his Paws, and sometimes crushes his Skull in pieces. He spares no Dogs, but devours them wherever he can come at them. In the Region of *Constantina* the Mountaineers hunt the Leopard upon Horseback, and plant Horsemen at all the Avenues to hinder him to get out, upon which he winds and turns within the Circle, till the Horsemen shoot him with their Arrows: and if he happens to make his escape, the Man that lets him pass is oblig'd by custom to treat all the Company.

The Leopard.

The *Dabuh*, call'd by the *Africans* *Zeseb*, resembles a Wolf in bulk and shape, only his Legs and Feet are like a Man's. It injures no other Beast, being an abject silly creature; but 'twill rake the Corps of Men out of their Graves and devour them. The Huntsmen acquainted with his Den, beat Drums and sing before it, by which means he is so transported that he lies still, and in the mean time they entangle his Legs, and so he is drawn out and kill'd.

The Dabuh.

The Civet Cats frequent the Woods of *Æthiopia*, being naturally wild: but the Merchants take their young Kitles and put them into Grates or Cages, where they feed them upon Milk, Bran and Flesh, and twice or thrice a day make them run up and down the Cages till they sweat, upon which they gather the odoriferous Sweat from their Groins, Shoulders, Necks and Tails, and reserve it under the name of Civet.

Civet Cats.

The Apes are found in the Woods of *Mauritania*, and upon the Mountains of *Bugia* and *Constantina*. Those which have Tails are call'd the by *Africans* *Monne*, and those without Tails *Baluini*. They feed upon Grass and Corn in great Companies, leaving one to stand Centinal to give the Alarm when the Husbandman comes, and when that happens he cries out, upon which, the whole Flock flies to the next Woods, and gets upon the Trees, the She-Apes taking their Whelps upon their Shoulders, and so leaping from one Tree to another.

Apes Monkeys Baboons

The Sea-horse is altogether destitute of Hair, resembling a Horse in shape and an Ass in Stature: He is found in the Rivers of *Niger* and *Nilus*, where he lives all day, tho' he swims to the Shoar at night: He frequently sinks Boats upon the *Niger*.

The Sea-Horse.

The Sea-Ox has a very hard Hide, and is not bigger than a Calf of six Months old: He is shap'd like a Land-Ox, and is found in the *Nile* and the *Niger*; but when the Fishermen take him he will live a great while upon Land.

The Sea-Ox.

A great many Tortoises as big as so many Tuns are found in the *Libyan* Desarts: They lie still all day, and creep up and down in the Night time in quest of Food, but so slowly, that their Pace can hardly be perceiv'd. *Briti* in his Account of *Africa*, tells us of a Traveller that slept all Night upon a Tortoise, taking it to be a Stone, and next Morning found himself three Miles off the place where he lay down.

Tortoises.

The *Niger* and the *Nile* are famous for Crocodiles, some of which are above 12 Cubits long, the Tail being equal in length to the Body. They go upon four Legs like a Lizard, and are not above a Cubit and a half high:

Crocodiles.

Their

Their Tail is full of Knots, and their Skin ſo hard, that no Croſs-bow will pierce it. Some prey only upon Fiſh, others upon Men and Beaſts, by wrapping their Tails round them as they paſs by the River ſide, or as they ſtand carelesly in a Boat, and ſo pulling them into the Water where they devour them. In eating they move only the upper Jaw, the nether Jaw being fix'd to the Breaſt Bone. Upon the Banks of the Iſland they bask themſelves in the Sun with their Jaws wide open, and I ſaw (ſays our Author) little Birds about the bigneſs of a Thruſh fly into their Mouths and come preſently out again. Now to ſolve this 'tis alledg'd, that the Crocodiles feeding continually upon Beaſts and Fiſhes, are troubled with pieces of Fleſh ſticking between their Teeth, which turn to Worms, and theſe Worms the Birds pick out for their own Food, the Crocodile being ſcar'd from ſhutting his Jaws upon 'em by a prick upon the Bird's Head. The ſhe Crocodile lays her Eggs upon the Shore, and covers them with Sand; and as ſoon as the young Crocodiles are hatch'd, they crawl into the River. Thoſe which continue in the *Nile* are not venomous, but thoſe which ſhift their Reſidence from the River to the Deſarts, aſſume a poiſonous nature. I ſaw (ſays our Author) above 300 Crocodiles Heads plac'd upon the Walls of *Cana*, with their Jaws wide open, that they might have ſwallow'd a Cow at once, and ſet round with huge ſharp Teeth.

Dragons. In the Caverns of *Atlas* there are many monſtrous Dragons, which are thick about the middle, but have ſlender Necks and Tails, ſo that their Motion is but ſlow. They are ſo venomous, that whatever they bite or touch, certain death inſues.

Hydra's. In the *Libyan* Deſarts we find the *Hydra*, which has a ſlender Tail and Neck, and a ſhort Body. If a Man is bit by this Creature, he cannot eſcape death otherwiſe, than by cutting off the wounded part, before the mortal Poyſon infects the whole.

The Dub. In theſe Deſarts we meet with another Creature call'd *Dub*, which is ſhap'd like a Lizard but is ſomewhat bigger, being a Cubit long and four Fingers broad. It drinks none, for Water pour'd down its Throat kills it immediately. It lays its Eggs as a Tortoiſe does, and is not at all venomous. It equals a Lizard in ſwiftneſs, and when 'tis hunted, if it thruſts its Head into a hole, no force whatſoever can pull it out without enlarging the hole. The *Arabians* take many of them in the Deſarts, and when their Throat is cut they bleed but very little. After they are three days dead, if you put them to the fire, they'll ſtir as if life were not quite gone. When they are flea'd and roaſted they taſte ſomewhat like a Frog.

The Guarel. The *Guarel* is bigger than a *Dub*, tho' it reſembles it in ſhape, and has Poyſon in its Head and Tail; but when theſe are cut off, the *Arabians* eat it notwithſtanding its ugly ſhape and colour.

The Camelion. The *Camelion* has the ſhape and bulk of a Lizard, being an ugly, crooked, meager Creature, with a long ſmall Tail like a Mouſe: 'Tis ſlow pac'd, and feeds upon Air and the Sun Beams, for at the riſing of the Sun it gapes and turns it ſelf up and down. Its colour is ſometimes black and ſometimes green, for it has no Hair, but only ſpots which undergo an alteration, according to the place where 'tis. When it ſpies a venomous Serpent ſleeping under a Tree, it climbs up the Tree, and ſqueezes out of its Mouth a long thread of Spittle, with a round drop like a Pearl hanging at the end, conducting it ſo that it falls exactly upon the Serpents Head and kills him immediately.

The Oſtrich. The *Oſtrich* is ſhap'd like a Gooſe, only its Neck and Legs are longer, for ſome of 'em are not above two Cubits long. It has a large Body, with Wings full of black and white Feathers, which are not calculated for flying, but contribute with the Motion of her Train, to accelerate her Pace together. 'Tis a ſilly deaf Creature, and feeds upon whatever it finds, tho' it be as hard as Iron. It lives in dry Deſarts, and lays ten or twelve Eggs in the Sand, which are not bigger than a great Bullet, and yet weighs 15 pound a piece; however 'tis ſuch a heedleſs forgetful thing, that it quickly forgets where it laid its Eggs, and if another Oſtrich finds them, ſhe faſtens them as her own. The Chickens prowle up and down the Deſarts for their Food as ſoon as they creep out of the Shell; and before their Feathers are grown they are ſo ſwift pac'd, that a Man can ſcarce overtake 'em. The *Numidians* take up the young Oſtriches and fatten them for food, tho' their Fleſh, eſpecially that of their Legs, has a ſlimy rank taſte. The Oſtriches wander up and down the Deſarts in regular Troops, and appear at a diſtance like ſo many Horſemen, which has oftentimes alarm'd whole Caravans.

We come now to give ſome account of the moſt remarkable Fowls in *Africa*. The *Africans* teach their Eagles to attack Foxes and Wolves, which they do, by fixing their Bills upon their Heads, and their Talons on their Backs to avoid the danger of biting; and if the Fox or Wolf thus attack'd turns their Belly upwards, the Eagle will not quit 'em till it has peck'd out their Eyes or kill'd 'em. Many *African* Writers affirm, that an Eagle ingendring with a She-Wolf, begets a Dragon, which has the Beak and Wings of a Bird, the Feet of a Wolf, a Serpent's Tail, and a Skin ſpeckled and parti-colour'd like a Serpent's, and lives in Caves, for that it cannot open its Eye-lids. *Eagles.*

The *Neſir* is the largeſt Fowl in all *Africa*, and exceeds a Crane in bigneſs, tho' its Bill, Neck and Legs are ſomewhat ſhorter. In flying up it mounts out of ſight, but deſcends with a jirk when it ſpies a dead Careaſe. It lives very long; nay, many of this kind live till Age bereaves them of all their Feathers, upon which, they return to their Neſt and are nouriſh'd by the younger Fowls. They neſtle upon high Rocks, and the top of unfrequented Mountains, eſpecially upon Mount *Atlas*, where thoſe who are acquainted with ſuch places come and take 'em. The *Italians* take it for a Vulture, but I am of another mind. *The Neſir.*

Upon certain Mountains of the *Numidian* Deſart, the *Africans* take excellent white Hawks, with which they purſue the Crane. Some of theſe Hawks flie at Partridges and Quails, and others at Hares, according to the diverſity of their kind. *Hawks.*

They have likewiſe Parrots as big as Doves, ſome red, ſome black, ſome Aſh colour'd, which have ſweet ſhrill Voices, tho' indeed they cannot imitate Man's Speech ſo naturally. *Parrots.*

Sometimes they have ſuch ſwarms of Locuſts as obſcure the Sun, which devour Leaves, Fruits, and all ſorts of Greens. At their departure they leave Eggs behind 'em, out of which young Locuſts ſpring, that conſume all things, and even the very Barks of Trees, and occaſion a great ſcarcity of Corn, eſpecially in *Mauritania*; but the Inhabitants of *Libya* and *Arabia Deſerta* welcome the Locuſts when they come, for they dry them in the Sun, and pulveriſe them for Food. *Locuſts.*

As for the Minerals of *Africa*. All their Salt is digg'd out of Quarries and Mines, like Stone; 'tis either red, white or Grey. *Barbary* has great plenty of Salt, and *Numidia* does not want; but in *Negroland* and the inner part of *Ethiopia*, 'tis ſo ſcarce, that a Pound is worth half a Ducat. The *Africans* do not ſet Salt upon the Table, but hold it in their Hands and lick of it at every morſel. There are ſome Lakes in the Neighbourhood of *Fez*, where good white Salt congeals in the Summer time. *Mines. Salt.*

They find *Antimony* in their Lead-Mines, and purify it with Brimſtone, of which they have great quantities. That part of the *Atlas* that makes the Frontiers of *Numidia* and *Fez*, affords a large Product of this Mineral. *Antimony. Brimſtone.*

Among their Vegetables, the moſt noted is *Euphorbium*, which is the Juice or Gum of an Herb, full of ſharp Prickles, that grows like the Head of a wild Thiſtle, and ſhews between its Branches, a Fruit as big as a Cucumber, and an Ell long or more. This Fruit does not ſpring out of the Branches of the Herb, but from the firm Ground, and ſometimes one Stalk bears 20 or 30 of 'em. When the Fruit is ripe, the Inhabitants prick it with their Knives, upon which a white Juice iſſues forth, that congeals by degrees, and then they put it into Bladders and dry it. *Euphorbium.*

Their Pitch is either natural or artificial. The former is taken out of certain Stones in Fountains, that retain its taſte and ſmell; the latter iſſues out of the Juniper or Pine Trees in Mount *Atlas* in this manner. They cut the Boughs of the Tree into ſmall pieces, and put them into a Furnace cover'd above, which has a fire underneath, and a hole at the bottom, thro' which the Pitch diſtills into a hollow place made to receive it, and then they take it out and put it in Bladders. *Pitch.*

Among their Fruits *Muſa* deſerves our notice; 'Tis a delicious Fruit, as big as a ſmall Cucumber, and grows upon a ſmall Tree that has large broad Leaves of a Cubits length. The *Mahometan* Doctors affirm, that this was the Forbidden Fruit, and that our firſt Parents cover'd their Nakedneſs with theſe Leaves, as being the fitteſt for that Purpoſe. It grows plentifully at *Sela* in *Fez*, but yet more in *Damiata* in *Egypt*. *Muſa or Mans Fruit.*

The *Caſſia* Tree grows only in *Egypt*, being a very big Tree, with Leaves reſembling thoſe of a Mulberry Tree. It has a broad white Bloſſom, and is ſo overcharg'd with Fruit. *Caſſia.*

Fruit, that they are forc'd to pull 'em off before they are ripe, lest their weight should break the Tree.

Tauzarghente a Root. The Western part of [illegible], bordering upon the Ocean, bears a fragrant odoriferous Root, call'd *Tauzarghente*: It gives an excellent perfume without fire or burning. The Merchants of *Mauritania* buy it at home for half a Ducat the Bunch, and sell it in *Negroland* for 80 or 100 Ducats.

Addad *Addad*, the Root of a bitter Herb that's very common in *Africa*, is so venomous, that one drop of the Water distill'd from it, will kill a Man in an hour's time: This the very Women know.

Another Root call'd *Surnag*, which grows in the West Parts of Mount *Atlas*, is said to be a great Incentive to Venery, and preservative of the Instruments of Generation. The Inhabitants of those Mountains have a common Saying, that most of their Girls lose their Maidenheads by pissing upon this Root, and sometimes are so infected by it, that it swells their Body. The Root call'd *Surnag*.

Additions to CHAP. IX.

Collected from Marmol.

Camels. *Camels* are call'd by the *Arabians Gimel*, i. e. *The Riches of Heaven*. They are us'd for Carriage both in *Europe*, *Turky*, and *Asia*, as well as in *Africa*. The *Africa* Camels that travel without Oats or Grain, should be very fat before they begin a Journey; for they melt away upon a long Journey, since they only chew their Cud all day upon the Greens that they ate over night: 'Tis true, the Caravans that go to *Æthiopia*, commonly choose meagre Cammels, because they bring no heavy Commodity back with them; but the *Asiatick* Camels that carry their Provender along with them, will go and return loaded without losing their Fat. The best Camels for carrying are the gelded ones. When the Stallions rage with Lust, they call to mind the least Injury received before, and resent it, and sometimes encounter Lions. The *Arabians* feed, for the greatest part of the Year, upon Camels Milk and Dates. As for their Flesh 'tis lank and insipid, especially that of the Bunch, which tastes like a fat Cow's Udder, and both the *Africans* and *Arabians* fry it with fat, and so keep it in Tubs and Pots all the Year for their ordinary Victuals. In fine, of all Creatures, a Camel gives least trouble to its Master, and brings him most Profit. They thrive mightily in hot Countries, but die in cold Countries when it snows, or when they are constrain'd to winter there. Several Camels have been sent to *Spain* by the Governours of the Frontiers, but the cold Climate quickly kills them. For this Reason they are always kept in the hot Plains and sandy Places, unless it be when they come loaded from *Numidia* to *Barbary*, in which Journey they spend two or three days in crossing the Mountains of the *Great Atlas*.

Barbary-horses. The *Barbary*-Horses bred in *Barbary*, are not so good Coursers as those brought up by the *Arabians* in the Desarts, but they are handsomer, by reason that they are better treated with Oats. The Princes of *Barbary* have always a Breed of 'em, to make their escape upon 'em in case of necessity. When the *Xeriff Mahamet* was King of *Morocco*, he had one, that by his surpassing swiftness, rescu'd him from great dangers, when his own Brother rebell'd against him. He was a bay-brown, till Age made him perfectly white; and that Prince said he would erect a Tomb for him, as *Alexander the Great* had done for his Horse.

Wild-horses. The Wild-horses are less than other Horses, and for the most part of an Ash-colour, tho' some of 'em are white. Their Manes and Tails are very short, and stand up like Bristles.

Sea horses. The Sea-horses are of the same Colour with a Panther: They have some short Hair upon the Mane and Tail, tho' not upon the rest of their Body. They are large Animals, and have very large Teeth, which the *Portugueze* buy of the *Negroes*, and import to *Portugal*, in order to make Rings of 'em, which are said to be good against the Piles. Upon the Land they run like the Wind. Some of the Negroes catch the young ones and tame 'em; but they dare not let 'em come near any deep Water, for they presently jump in. They catch 'em by making large and deep Ditches upon the sides of the Corn-Fields or Meads where they come out to feed, and cover 'em with green Turf and Boughs, upon which, the Horses running that way, are stop'd, and the Men have an opportunity to shoot 'em. The Females and Colts indeed they take alive. Their Flesh eats well, and their Hides are very serviceable, being as thick and hard as a Buffle's.

Dantes. The *Dantes*, call'd by the *Africans Lampt*, has shorter Legs and a longer Neck than an Ox: His Ears are like a Goat's, and he has a black Horn in the middle of his Head, which turns round like a Ring. The Flesh of it eats like Beef, only 'tis sweeter; and the *Moors* fill their Poudering Tubs with it. The Desarts of *Numidia* and *Libya* are the Places which this Creature frequents.

Guahex. The *Guahex*, call'd by the *African Christians* a Wild-Cow, is of a Chesnut Colour, having black and very sharp Horns: 'Tis somewhat less than a small Ox. In *Barbary* you may see 100 or 200 of 'em together, running up and down like Harts. Their Flesh eats very well, and their Hide when curry'd, makes good Shoes.

Gazelles. A *Gazelle* has the size and colour of a fallow Deer, with black Horns, turn'd like a Goat's, excepting that they are round and very sharp. They frequent the same places with wild Cows, and have white Bellies; and never lie down but where the Ground is very clean. They are very swift, and cautious of coming near a Man; for they betake themselves to flight as soon as they spy him: However, the *Arabians* make a shift to kill a great many of 'em.

Sea-Ox. The Sea-Ox, call'd by the *Arabians Taurbahavi*, is much valued, because its Flesh tastes very well.

Sea-Asses. The Sea-Asses are very common in *Numidia*, *Libya*, and the Neighbouring Countries.

Lions. The Lions, call'd by the *Arabians Aced*, are sometimes hunted by the *Arabians*, and the Grandees of Countries, mounted upon Horse-back, with Drums and Trumpets. When the *Arabians* hear of a furious Lion in the Country, they march out in this manner to his Den, for he never comes abroad in the Day-time, the Night being the Season in which he forrages for Prey. Having surrounded his Den, they shoot their Darts and Arrows upon him at a distance; and when he finds himself wounded, he comes out roaring, and falls upon the Men and Horses. Upon that they make a noise with their Instruments to fright him, and if it were not for the danger they encounter, have the best hunting in the World. However, he always kills a great many Horses, if not Men. In *Fez* the Kings divert themselves with Lion-baiting, as the *Spaniards* do with Bull-baiting, as I intimated in the Description of that Country. This fierce Animal steals in among Flocks of Sheep, and carries off what he pleases, sometimes to the Mountains, and sometimes to the Caverns, where his little ones are lodg'd. Oftentimes he enters the Shepherds Huts, and if he finds any one asleep, he gives him the same usage; but if they make head against him, he scours off. The Captives that make their escape out of *Barbary*, and flie across the Mountains to the Coast where Christians reside, affirm, that if one meets a Lion in the Night-time, and continues his pace without altering his countenance, the Lion will not attack him, but on the contrary looks down when he meets him; but if he shews the least sign of fear, the Lion presently flies at him, and pulls him in pieces. Oftentimes he follows the Captives that he finds thus undaunted, expecting to surprize 'em asleep. 'Tis very hazardous for a Man to meet a Lion in Winter, when their Lust is aloft; for then they are always ten or twelve in a Company. But after all, the Lion, as bold as he is, is afraid of Fire; and for that reason, when the *Arabians* pass the Night in any open place, they kindle a great fire to hinder his approach; and if they perceive one drawing near, stop him by throwing hot Fire-brands in his way. He seldom approaches without being perceiv'd, because he is follow'd by certain Animals little bigger than Foxes, and of the same colour, which eat up his Orts, and howl like Dogs, and so give the

alarm. The Lion hates these Creatures mortally, and tears 'em in pieces when he meets 'em; but they are so cunning as to keep out of his way, and never come near him till he has fill'd his Paunch, and left his Prey.

The Dabah. The *Dabah* has an easy Opportunity of turning up the Corps of dead Men, because the *Moors* bury all in the Fields: Besides, that its Flesh is good for nothing, the *Moors* abhor it.

Civet-Cats. The Civet-Cats are of a greyish white colour, interlac'd with black Stripes like the *Roman* Cats; but they are larger and stronger.

Apes. Apes have the Feet, Hands and Face (so to speak) of a Man. They are full of active Vigour and Malice. They are very pernicious to all sorts of Fruit, for they pull and throw down much more than they eat or carry off. The wild ones will bite, but they are easily tam'd.

Elephants. The Elephants, call'd by the *Africans Elfil*, is a wild Animal, of an over-grown size. He is ten Foot high, and has no Neck (properly speaking) for his Head, which is very big, is fastened to his Shoulders: His Ears are like two Targets; his Mouth is plac'd in his Throat, and cover'd with a Trunk, with which he feeds himself, and lifts whatever he takes up. Sometimes when he goes into the Water, he'll suck up 150 Pints of Water in his Trunk, and spout it above a Pike's length high into the Air. He goes very swift, and if he be put to it, will go six days Journey in one. In *India* and *Upper Æthiopia*, they are taken up when they're young, and bred up tame, and are so wise as to understand every thing that's said to 'em. Some of the smaller sort have been brought into *Europe*; but there are others so large, that they cannot be embark'd. When the *Ethiopians* are at War, they set ten or twelve Men on the Back of an Elephant, where they shoot Arrows and Darts, and sling Stones. The Ivory made of its Teeth and Tusks, is the chief Commodity that the *Portugueze* deal in with the Negroes.

Tortoises. As for *Tortoises*, the *Africans* say their Flesh is of soveraign use against a Leprosy, if it be eaten seven Days together, and if the Tortoise be not above seven Years old. The *Barbary* Merchants trade much in their Shells, which are as big as a Target, and so strong, that the Shot of a Cross-bow cannot pierce 'em.

Addimain. Of the *Addimain*, 'tis observable, that the Males have no Horns, but the Females have. 'Tis a Rarity, and expos'd for a Shew in *Numidia* and *Barbary*.

Rams. The *African* Rams have five or six Horns, some bending upwards and some downwards.

Crocodiles. The Crocodile moves only the upper Jaw, which is so provided by nature, because its Feet being very short, the motion of the under Jaw wou'd incommode it. It has very sharp Teeth, and a Throat so wide, as to receive a whole Cow. Several of the *Egyptians* eat the Flesh of a Crocodile, and find it very good; and its Fat is sold at a great rate, upon the account of its being a soveraign Remedy for Ulcers and Cancers. The Fishermen take the Crocodiles by this Stratagem: They fasten a big Rope about 25 or 30 Fathom long, to a large Tree, or to some Pillars set up on purpose on the River side; on the other end of the Rope they fasten a great Hook as big as one's Finger, and a Foot and a half long, with a Ram or a Goat sticking upon it: When the Goat or Ram bleats and makes a noise, the Crocodile comes out of the River, and swallows it, and so is hook'd; upon that he leaps and works till he falls down as 't were dead thro' fatigue and torment; and then the Fisher-men come up, and wound him in the Throat and Belly, and between the Legs, where the Skin is tender; for upon the Back 'tis almost proof against a Musket shot. The Head of the Crocodile thus kill'd, is put up upon the Walls of the Town, as a Trophy. 'Tis remarkable, that the Crocodiles between *Cairo* and the Sea hurt no body; whereas those above the City devour every thing they can come at. I found, that those which are nearest the Sea, meet with a sufficient quantity of Fish to satisfy 'em; whereas those which lie upon the Country get but few.

The Ostrich. When the *Ostrich* runs, it whips and spurs its self on with its large Feathers. The *Arabians* sell these Feathers to the *European* Merchants, who dye 'em into all sorts of colours, and then sell 'em to the Beaux, as Ornaments for their Heads.

The Unicorn. The Unicorn is found in the Mountains of *High Ethiopia*: 'Tis of an Ash colour, and resembles a Colt of two Years old, excepting that it has the Beard of a Goat, and in the middle of its Forehead a Horn three Foot long, which is smooth and white like Ivory, and has yellow streaks running along from top to bottom. This Horn is an Antidote against Poyson; and 'tis reported, that other Animals delay drinking till it has soak'd its Horn in the Water to purify it. This Animal is so nimble, that it can neither be kill'd nor taken; but it casts its Horn like a Stag, and the Hunters find it in the Deserts. But the Truth of this is call'd in question by some Authors.

Wild Goats. In the Country of the *Abyssines* there are great numbers of Wild-goats, among which, the He-goats are as big as a large Calf, and their Hair is so long, that it trails upon the Ground, being as thick and gross as Horse-hair. The valuable Leather call'd *Charequiez*, is made of its Skin, curried with the Root of *Alhegna*, which grows plentifully in that Country. *Abengezar* says, six Men may be plac'd in the Branches of that Tree, so that they cannot touch one another with their Hands. *Abengezar.*

Strange Cows. In the same Country we meet with large Cows, which have no Hair, but have a long Tail trailing upon the Ground, and a parti-colour'd Neck. The *Egyptians* give 'em the Title of *Demnier*, i. e. *Fertile*.

Colophonia. That Country affords likewise a Drug of great Medicinal Vertues, which resembles the *Grecian* Pitch.

Pitch turn'd to Balm. There is a part of *Geneova* call'd *Limes*, which turns Pitch or *Bitumen* into Balm in a few days time after 'tis brought thither. In the same Country there are several Lottery Stones resembling the Members of a Man, some his Feet, some his Arm, some his Head, &c. which Men carry about with 'em as Instruments of good fortune. And 'tis said, that whoever lights upon an entire Stone that resembles the full proportion of a Man, may by vertue of that, secure the Favour of Kings or Princes, or any Person he converses with. Such are the Fables that Authors hand down to Posterity, together with a great many more of the same nature, which we choose to pass over in silence.

The Root Surnag. In the West part of Mount *Atlas*, we find a Root call'd *Surnag*, which proves an Incentive to Venery; not only when 'tis ate, but when one makes water over it.

The Fruit Cambe. In *Numidia* a certain Fruit, or rather a Root is found among the Sands, which the Physicians call *Cambe*, and entitle to a cooling Vertue. It has a white Rind, but no Stalk; and some of the sort are as big as Oranges. The *Arabians* roast 'em upon the Gridiron, or boil 'em in Water or Milk, and find 'em a very delicious Food.

Ebalca. In *Numidia*, *Libya*, and part of *Negroland*, there are large thorny Trees, which have Leaves resembling those of the Juniper-tree, and from which a Gum issues, that has the same colour and smell with Mastick, and is oftentimes made use of to adulterate it. The Trees of this kind that grow in *Numidia*, have white streaks like Olive-trees; whereas those of *Libya* have streaks of an Azure colour, and those of *Negroland* perfectly black. Those of *Negroland* are call'd *Sangu*; and the Wood is made use of in the making of Instruments, or any polish'd work. The Wood of the *Libyan* sort is transported all over *Africa* for the cure of the Pox, and is call'd by the Natives *Ebalca*.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Rise and Progress of the Xeriffian *Family in* Barbary; *with some Remarks upon the Policy and Trade of that Kingdom: Collected from the Writings of* Ro. C.

The Original of the Xeriffian Family and the fall of the Marines.

THE Family of the *Mareines* possess'd the Kingdom of *Barbary* for a long time, till *Muley Hamet Xariff* came out of the Country of *Dara*, and with his Mountaineers subdued the Countries of *Sus*, *Morocco*, and *Fez*, spreading his Conquest from the Mountains of *Atlas* to the Streights of *Gibraltar*. Having made such Advances, his next Ambition was to prove himself a *Xariff*, *i. e.* one of *Mahomet*'s Family. But after all, he injoy'd not his new Acquisitions long; for soon after *Sus* rebell'd: and while the *Xariff*, at the Head of some *Turkish* Troops, attempted to reduce the Rebels, these Auxiliaries mutined, and after beheading him, pillag'd *Taradant*, and ravag'd the whole Country. Having spent two Months in laying the Country desolate, they begun their March back to *Tremesne*, and indeavouring to take the shortest cut over the Mountains, were attack'd by the Inhabitants, whom, either Revenge, or a Prospect of Spoil, had animated to that degree, that few or none of the *Turks* escap'd.

The Conduct of Muley Abdela and his Sons. The eldest Son kills ten of his Brethren.

This *Hamet Xariff* was succeeded, after a Reign of eight Years, by his Brother *Muley Abdela*, who wag'd war with the *Mareines* all his life time. He reign'd fifteen Years, and left behind him thirteen Sons. *Muley Abdela* the eldest, succeeded his Father, and immediately order'd ten of his Brethren to be put to death in one day at *Taradant* in *Suz*. The second Brother *Abdel Melech*, escap'd into *Turky*. The third, namely, *Muley Hamet Xariff*, was spar'd, as being not fear'd; for he was fonder of Books than of Arms. *Abdela* reign'd forty Years, and left three Sons, namely, *Muley Mehamet*, *Muley Sheck*, and *Muley Nassar*. The two last fled into *Spain*, where the eldest of the two turn'd Christian. The youngest return'd to *Barbary* in the 14th Year of *Muley Mehamet*'s Reign, and at his landing 2000 of the King's Souldiers revolted to him: But their *Lent* approaching, and the Souldiers being resolv'd to keep their *Easter* at home, *Nassar* mistrusting their return, was constrain'd to give battel to the King's Army, in which he lost his life.

Abdelmelech dethrones his Nephew.

Abdelmelech, second Brother to *Abdela*, obtain'd of the *Turk* 2000 Souldiers, by whose help he dethron'd his Nephew *Mehamet*, *Abdela*'s eldest Son, and wore the Crown of *Barbary* two Years. *Muley Mehamet*, thus dispossess'd of his Kingdom, fled to *Portugal*, and made his Address to *Sebastian* King of that Country, who went to *Barbary* in Person with 30000 Men, and gave battel to *Abdelmelech*. In the beginning of the Fight the *Moors* fled, and the *Christians* to draw 'em into a Snare, retir'd too: upon which the *Moors* advanc'd a second time, and the Van of their Horse was put into disorder; but the Rear of their Horse being so numerous, that the advanc'd Troops had not Field-room to fly, they were forc'd to fight it out, and thereupon a bloody Battel ensued, in which the three Kings, *Muley Mehamet*, *Abdelmelech*, and *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* were all kill'd.

Three Kings slain in one Battel.

Muley Hamet his wise Regulations.

After the death of *Mehamet* and *Abdelmelech*, *Muley Hamet Xariff*, third Brother to *Abdela*, reign'd in great peace 27 Years. Having secur'd the Quiet of the Kingdom by several advantagious Regulations, his next Care was to provide himself with able Counsellors and experienc'd Souldiers. His Subjects being divided into two Classes, namely, the *Larbies* and the *Brebers*: The first minding only Tillage and Agriculture, were of a peaceable Disposition, and over them he set Officers to administer Justice, and determine Controversies of Civil Rights; and at the same time posted Guards to secure 'em from the Robberies of the Mountaineers. This Rank of People (I mean the *Larbies*) pay'd to the Crown the fifth Penny yearly. The *Brebers* or *Mountaineers*, being of a fiercer and more undaunted temper, he divided 'em into Cantons or Districts, placing o're each Canton an Officer, with Souldiers, to suppress any sudden Tumult; and, for a Pledge to their Loyalty, he took care to have the chief Men's Sons at his Court, under pretence of Education: From this Rank he drew but a small Revenue. He always kept peace with *Christendom*, and particularly with *Spain* his powerful Neighbour: But still he had the greatest regard for *England*, as appears from the many Letters he wrote to Queen *Elizabeth*, the Incouragement he gave to *English* Merchants, and the splendid Embassy he sent to that Queen *An. Cr.* 1601. This Prince was also a great Favourer of Mathematicians.

His respect to the Queen and Kingdom of England.

His vertuous and manly Qualities.

Towards his Subjects his Carriage could not be call'd tyrannical: The absolute Power he had over them, he sweeten'd with an obliging Clemency. He was careful to fill his Treasury, and for that end he always had his Duties exactly paid him by the *Larbies*. He trafficked much with the *Negroes*, buying Salt at *Tegazze*, and selling it at *Gago*, whence his Profits were return'd him in Gold. His *Maserawes* or *Ingenews* where his Sugar-Canes grew, were husbanded with great Industry; so that such of them as lay about *Moruecos*, *Taradant*, and *Magador*, were computed to yield him yearly 600000 Ounces. He admir'd any thing that was magnificent, as appear'd by his buying the richest *Italian* Marbles, and hiring *Italian* Workmen at excessive Rates, to rebuild his House at *Moruecos*, and by the numerous train of Women he kept, not for Lust but State, according to the fashion of the Country. The Pleasures which suited best with his own temper, were the Menage of Horses, Hawking, and such like manly Exercises.

His Sons.

He had five Sons, namely, *Muley Mehamet*, commonly called *Muley Sheck*, the Title always given to the King's eldest Son: The second *Muley Boferes*: these two he had by one Woman, a Negro Concubine. The third *Muley Sidan*, by a lawful Wife; the fourth *Muley Nassar*; the fifth *Muley Abdela*: these two by a Concubine, the first being nineteen and the last fourteen Years of Age, at the time of their Father's death. The eldest of these five he made Governour of *Fez*, the second of *Sus*, and the third of the Province of *Tedula*. *Muley Sheck* govern'd with great applause by virtue of the Advice and Counsel of *Basha Mustapha*, a *Spanish Renegado*, who grew so much in favour with him, that the whole Government was intrusted in his Hands. The Officers of the Country, who were native *Moors*, being disobliged by the distinguishing Respect shewn to this Favourite, made their Application to the old King, representing that this *Renegado* debauch'd *Muley Sheck*, teaching him to drink Wine, contrary to the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, and that he intended upon the first opportunity to seize the Treasure of their Country, and fly with it to some part of *Christendom*: At last they prevail'd with him to send to his Son for the Head of that *Basha*, who after some Delays, was constrain'd to obey his Orders, tho' with great Reluctance.

Muley Sheck Governour of Fez.

He is forced to behead a great Favourite.

While this *Spaniard* liv'd, none of the King's Sons govern'd so much to their Father's satisfaction as *Muley Sheck*; so that the old King pleased with his Behaviour, made all the *Alkeids* or Officers in the Kingdom, to take an Oath of Allegiance to his Son commencing after his death. About that time the Plague raging at *Sus*, oblig'd *Muley Boferes* to return home to his Father. *Muley Sidan* govern'd his Province in great peace, even in the time of the greatest Troubles in his Brother *Sheck*'s Kingdom, of which hereafter. He was severe upon all Offenders, especially Thieves, without distinction of Persons. His Temper was ambitious, and being the eldest Son by a lawful Wife, he never could be brought to respect either of his Brethren, looking upon the Right of the Crown after his Father to belong to him, contrary to the Law of the *Moors*, which prefers the eldest Son, whether by Wife or Concubine, to the Succession.

Mahomet's Law as to Succession.

To return to *Muley Sheck*. After the death of his Favourite, he abandoned himself to Drunkenness, and other Vices, neglected his Government, and suffered his Souldiers and other Followers to plunder his honest Subjects. By this carelesness the Country became so infested by Robbers, that there was no safe travelling but in Companies of three or four hundred at a time. The *Larbies*

Muley Sheck proves at last a careless Governour.

not being able to bring home the Corn and Fruits of the Ground, refused to pay the King's Taxes, and not finding any other way to subsist, practis'd in the Plains what the others did in the Towns; in fine, they robb'd all that came near them. Besides, he grew so prodigal of his Treasure, that to give you one Instance, a *Jewish* Musician that pleas'd him in his drunken Fits, got under him 400000 Ducats, which is about 40000 Pounds Sterling.

Muly Sheck depos'd.

This Alteration was no small trouble to the King his Father, so that finding Advice by Letters and all other fair means to be uncapable to reclaim him, he took the Field with 5000 Foot and 5000 Horse, leaving his second Son to govern in his absence, and made such long Marches, that he was within a Day's Journey of *Fez* before his Son receiv'd Advice of his March. *Muley Sheck* being unprovided, would thereupon have fled to *Tafilet*, but was pursued so close, that he was forced to take sanctuary with 500 Men. This done, his Father required him to come forth, and submit to his mercy; but he refusing, the place was taken by force, and *Sheck* made Prisoner, and carried to *Mickanez*, a strong Town, where he remain'd till his Father's death.

The King his Father dies.

In his way to *Fez*, the old Man had taken with him his third Son, intending he should succeed *Muley Sheck*; but this was prevented by the Father's death; for pitching his Tent without the Gates of *Fez*, with a Design to return home, he was taken ill on *Thursday* the 11th day of *August*, and died on *Sunday* the 14th following, *Anno* 1603.

The Confusion of the four Brethren after the Father's death.

Muley Sidan's Mother govern'd the King's Family, by which means her Son had immediate notice of his death, and removing all the Jewels and Treasure in his Father's Tents, he was proclaim'd King in *Fez*. *Muley Boferes* had likewise speedy Advice sent to him, who immediately seized what Treasure was in his Father's House at *Morocco*: As soon as he had done that, he proclaim'd himself there, and by his order the same was done at *Taradant* in *Sus*.

Nesser the fourth, Son of the deceas'd King, fled into the Mountains to his Mother's Relations, and raising 500 or 1000 Men, march'd into the Plains of *Sus*, and order'd himself to be proclaim'd in *Taradant*: but his Order being disobey'd, and he wanting Money to pay his Men, he was forsaken by all, and died of the Plague, or, as some say, was poisoned. *Muley Abdela*, eldest Son to *Muley Sheck*, chose rather to depend upon his Uncle *Muley Sidan*, than to add to the Disturbances of his Country.

The Father's Army joins Muley Boferes.

The Army that was left at *Fez*, began to mutiny both for Arrears of Pay, and for want of returning to *Morocco* to their Families. Thereupon *Muley Sidan* sent them large Promises by the General that commanded them in the King his Father's time; but this General instead of pacifying them, advis'd them to strike up their Tents, and march home: Accordingly they march'd, and by the way were join'd by the *Bassa*, who had the custody of *Muley Sheck*: This *Bassa* deliver'd up the Prisoner, and the united Forces join'd *Muley Boferes* in *Morocco*. *Muley Sidan* thus disappointed, sent a strong Force to the Province of *Tedula*, to raise the Arrears of Taxes owing from the *Larbies* to the late King, and to stop the Communication between *Fez* and *Morocco*, and made all Preparations to take the Field.

Boferes oppose Sidan.

On the other Hand *Muley Boferes* lost no time, but dispatch'd a *Bassa* to provide all necessary Provisions among the *Larbies*, and afterwards sent 5000 choice Men with four Pieces of Artillery to *Tedula*; upon whose approach *Muley Sidan's* Forces retir'd, leaving the Country expos'd to the Enemy, who plundered and pillag'd all such as would not own *Boferes* for King: Upon this *Muley Siden* took the Field with 9000 Foot and 12000 Horse, and 22 Pieces of Artillery. He committed the Charge of his Artillery to two *English* Gunners; but the Rains were so great, that the Artillery came not up till 'twas too late.

Sheck at the Head of the Boferes his Army joins Sidan.

Boferes to cover his Preparations amused *Muley Sidan* with a Treaty of Peace; but those Offers being refused, to please such of his Souldiers as were Natives of *Fez*, and to give the greater Life to his whole Army, he made a seeming Agreement with his Brother *Sheck*, to whom he committed the Command, but with such a Limitation and Dependance upon another Commander in the Army, as to keep himself safe. *Muley Sheck* had Directions, if victorious, to proclaim *Boferes* in *Fez*; and *Boferes* promised *Sheck* the Vice-royalty of that Kingdom. *Muley Sidan* to prevent the ill Effects of this piece of Policy, got together in haste 2000 Mules and Horses, and mounted two Souldiers with their Accoutrements upon each Mule and Horse. The 4000 Men thus mounted, leaving their Artillery and Baggage behind them, joined the rest of his Army which lay encamped, over against the Enemy, with a River only between them. *Sidan* followed in Person with 7 or 8000 Men, designing to give Battel to the Forces of *Boferes* before *Sheck's* arrival; but the other was too nimble for them, so that fearing *Sheck's* Presence on the opposite side might shock the Loyalty of his own Men, most of whom had formerly served *Sheck*, he resolved upon an Engagement before his Souldiers could know of his Arrival. The Fight happen'd on the 6th of *January*, 1604, and upon the Discharging of three or four Pieces of Artillery three or four times, most of *Muley Sidan's* Men left the Field, except those commanded by the *Muley* in Person; but his Canopy being shot down, himself and all his Followers fled. On *Sheck's* side, few or none were slain, and *Sidan* lost but 600 Men. *Sidan* was censured for an Over-sight in having surprized the Enemy with his sudden coming, and giving them two Hours afterwards to put themselves in array, whereas he should have attack'd them immediately.

Great Disorders in the Country.

The Effect of this Contention was, that Robberies increas'd, insomuch that after the Battle, all Trade was interrupted, and old Quarrels between Families came to be decided by the Sword. Besides, *Muley Boferes* was not so fit for Action as he that lost the day, which the Kindred or Chan, called *Weled Enzid*, taking advantage of, robb'd as far as the very Gates of *Morocco*, stop'd all Travellers, and made Prize of Merchants Goods; whereas the Exemplary Punishment for such Offences in *Muley Sidan's* time, kept them in aw. *Muley Sidan* now sends to treat for Peace, and in the mean time was indeavouring to make Head against the Pursuers, when the unwelcome news was brought him that his Brother *Sheck* was at hand with the Light Horse, and the whole Army not far behind: Now there was no consulting of any thing but Flight; but having put 900000 Ducats in *Allarocha*, he thought it the best way to take that with him: However, they pursued him so close, that he was forced to fly directly to *Tremesine*, and so that Treasure fell into the Hands of *Muley Sheck*.

In these his frowning Misfortunes, all the Men of note left him, but two, who had served him in his Father's time, and now stuck close by him. His Bravery was so great, that tho' he had but 20 Horse with him, he turn'd and skirmish'd very often with the Pursuers. *Alkeid Umbilic*, a Commander of *Boferez's* Forces, admiring his Resolution, requested him to keep on his way, with assurance that he would pursue him no further; so he continued his Journey to *Tremesine*, and the *Alkeid* return'd to *Fez*.

Sheck proclaim'd King in Fez.

Muley Sidan thus expell'd, *Sheck* proclaim'd himself King in *Fez*, not Vice-roy to his Brother. It being *Lent* time, the chief Officers of *Morocco* went home, from whence they were afterwards sent against the *Larbies*, who in this confusion, refused to pay to any of the three contending Princes, and were split into intestine Divisions among themselves. The Souldiers that went to suppress these Disorders, suffered exceedingly by the Plague then raging at *Sus*; so that they were obliged to return home. In the beginning of *June* News coming that *Muley Sidan* was return'd from *Tremasine* to *Tafilet*, all the Commanders who were disper'd about the Country, were summoned a second time to join against him. *Sidan* had lived a few Months near *Tremasine*, with about fifty Horse, and advancing to *Tafilet*, was join'd by 1200 more. In this place he got a perfect Account of the State of the Country, by which he perceiv'd there were great Discontents in several Parts against the present Government, and that many wish'd his Return. *Muley Boferez*, to stop his Progress, sent four thousand Foot and some Horse to prevent his marching to *Sus*; but *Sidan* having Intelligence of it, hastened his Journey, and passing by *Alcatouf*, the Horse on each side skirmish'd, but no Man of note fell, one *Alkeid* excepted. *Sidan's* Forces being too few to encounter the Enemies in a pitch'd Battel, he was oblig'd to enter *Sus* by the way of *Sahara*. In the Sands of this Country his Troops endured much misery. At *Aca* he met with *Sidie Abdela Imbark*, the great *Foker*, whose Friendship he courted; for these Church Men have such an Influence over the People, that they will obey none but by their direction; so that he knew all his Brother's Forces could not beat him out of *Sus*, if this Priest were hearty in his Cause.

Sidan returns.

He gains friendship of the great Foker,

The *Foker* was so far prevailed with, that he sent to *Boferes* to desire that a Treaty might be commenc'd between the Brethren; which succeeded so well, that a Peace was concluded, by which *Sidan* was to enjoy the Kingdom of *Sus*, and *Boferes* the Residue of the Empire. By *Sidan's* prudent Government, *Sus*, which till then was

which procures a Peace between the two Brethren.

the

the most unsettled place in *Barbary*, was formed into the most orderly quiet Country of the Empire. He was blamed for imposing heavy Taxes, a fault which the *Foker*, by whose means he obtained the Kingdom, charged him with. The Mountaineers refused to pay them, and their Habitations being strong by nature, and the Men accustomed to fighting, they slighted him and his Power: Besides, they were under-hand encouraged by *Boferes*. The *Larbies* had not this advantage, and so knowing their Throats lay at his mercy, they paid quietly.

Boferes was now busy in contriving to get *Muley Sheck* into his power again, who was arming himself with his Friends to fix him in his Government, resolving rather than fail, to call in the *Christians* to his assistance, at least by these means he thought to secure a Retreat in case of a Disaster. To keep *Muley Sheck* the more in aw, *Boferes* took care to have *Sheck*'s eldest Son, *Abdela*, very carefully watch'd: but the Plague raging in *Morocco*, the King order'd his Son *Abdelmelech* to pitch his Tents at the distance of five Miles from the City, and to take *Abdela* with him, who took an opportunity one Night, to make his escape out of the Camp, and fly to his Father.

This oblig'd *Boferes* to court the Friendship of *Sidan*, and intreat him to bring his Forces to *Morocco*, to join with his against the Father and Son: *Sidan* came within half a Day's Journey of the place, but was loth to hazard his Person in the Hands of his Brother till the following Stratagem was tried. He counterfeited a Lie from a principal Person in the Country, offering *Boferes* to send him his Brother's Head, who received the Message very joyfully, with Promises of great Reward upon the Execution of the Design. Upon this *Sidan* struck up his Tents, and march'd back to the Country of *Dara*. *Boferes* then committed the whole Command of his Army to *Abdelmelech* his Son: but here Fate frown'd upon him too; for when the Army came within a Day's Journey of *Fez*, which is twenty Day's journey off *Morocco*, three thousand of the Souldiers revolted to *Sheck*, and the rest were so disaffected to *Boferes*, that *Abdelmelech* returned home without attempting any thing.

Encouraged by this Addition to his Forces, the King of *Fez* laid siege to *Sally*, a Sea-port in *Morocco*. The Town he won, but the Castle still held out; and the *Alkeid* or Governour sent to his Master, to assure him that he could maintain the place, if he had sufficient store of Corn. Sir *Anthony Sherly*, an *English-man*, Ambassador at that time from the Emperour of *Germany* to *Morocco*, a Person of great worth, and wonderfully beloved by the Merchants of all Nations trading to these Countries, took care to send to *Sally* in an *English* Bottom, some Corn himself had bought up at *Saplus*, another Port in this Country; but before they arrived the Castle surrendred. Great Matters were expected from this great Man, towards a Reconciliation of the Differences in *Barbary*, by reason of the vast Credit he had with all the foreign Merchants in the Country, and the respect *Boferes* had for him, but I don't find it came to any thing.

Sheck had got such a Surfeit of Confinement in his late Troubles, that he car'd not much for hazarding his Person again: With that view he sent his Son *Abdela* with the Army towards *Morocco*, to try the fate of a decisive Battel: He provided him with 27 Pieces of Ordnance, to make up which number, he disarm'd all the Ships in *Allarache*, *Sally*, or *Larache*; and oblig'd all the Mariners, as well Officers as common Sea-men, to go into the Army, which together made 10000 Men. In the mean time *Sheck* provided himself with three *Italian* Ships, to convey him to *Florence* if his Son lost the Battel. The Fight happened six Miles South-east of *Morocco* on the eighth of *December* 1606, and the *Christian* Mariners being better acquainted with the use of Fire-arms than the *Moors*, and furnished with a Train of Artillery, so unusual in that part of the World, won the day. *Boferes* lost 600 Men in the Fight, and fled to *Morocco* to secure his Treasure and his Women; but for fear of a Surprise, left the Management of both to his *Alkeids*, and went post himself to the Mountains. However the Treasure fell into the Hands of the *Larbies*, who to the number of 500, set upon the Guard, pillaged the Carriages, and dishonour'd the Women, not sparing the King's own Daughter. Upon this the *Alkeids* return'd to *Morocco*, and took Sanctuary, and *Abdela* pardoned them upon their submission; but after they came out, he put 'em all to death, and that so secretly, that sending their Heads in a Sack as a Present to his Father in *Morocco*, none knew they were dead, till the News came that their Heads were upon *Fez* Gates.

The *Italian* Ships that *Sheck* had hir'd in case of necessity, finding themselves neglected upon this Success, sail'd home, and secur'd for their Pay what Treasure had been already ship'd.

The Slaughter of the *Alkeids* by *Abdela*, and the horrid Outrages committed by his Souldiers, gave great Discontents; so that many fled to *Muley Sidan* who had staid till now at *Dara*, half way to *Fez*.

He at the first news of these Disorders, march'd directly to *Morocco*, designing to give present Battel. The first Night of his Arrival, there was a great uproar in the City, in which Confusion some of *Sidan*'s Souldiers got into the Town, and surprized the Artillery: but the *Christians* fought so stoutly to regain it, that they beat 'em out of the Town. Next day was a general Fight; *Sidan*'s Horse began with a very gallant Onset, but the Canon oblig'd them to retire in disorder, which *Abdela*'s Men observing, gallop'd too rashly before their own Ordnance; but *Sidan* taking the Advantage of their forwardness, drove them upon their Guns. The *Christians* would have fired upon their own Men to prevent the Disorders going further; but this being denied, *Sidan*'s Men pursued in good order, surpriz'd the Artillery, and slew those who opposed them. The Slaughter was both great and cruel, no less than seven or eight thousand being slain in the Field, and the scatter'd Remains mostly massacred by the Citizens in revenge of their past Disorders. What was left of the poor Christians afterwards, had their Throats cut, a just Punishment; for most of them had lived upon Piracy, Rapine and Plunder.

Muley Sidan being thus Master of the whole Field, *Abdela* fled to *Fez*, there being not 100 Men left alive of his whole Army to accompany him. The Castle of *Morocco* was garrison'd by *Abdela* before the Fight, and refus'd to submit to the Conquerour: but *Sidan*'s Men, having got upon the top of the Wall, by some Houses that join'd to it, the Garrison took sanctuary; After that, upon promise of their Lives, they laid down their Arms and came forth; but were all immediately butcher'd by *Sidan*'s command, to the number of 3000.

Sidan sent an Army to reduce *Fez*, but the Souldiers finding neither their King, nor any of the Blood Royal with them, when *Abdela* approach'd, they submitted upon condition of Pardon, which was granted; but distrusting the Performance, they all drew away afterwards, except three thousand, who were butcher'd in revenge of *Sidan*'s cruelty to the Garrison of the Castle of *Morocco*.

Sidan had in pay six hundred *Shraccis*, Subjects to the King of *Congo*, and excellent Souldiers; these with some others he sent to retrieve his late Losses, by raising a fresh Supply of Men and Money from the *Larbies*; but they in their way mutined, and cut off their Commander's Head, thinking it a welcome Present to *Abdela*. Upon this *Sidan* issued Orders, that any *Shracci* whatever that should be found in his Dominions, should be put to death.

The *Shraccis* irritated by this inequal Method of Punishing, prevail'd with *Abdela* once more to try a Battle with *Sidan*, who was join'd by 200 *English*, with sixty Field Pieces, and some good *English* Commanders. Before *Sidan* took the Field, the Fortune-tellers told him he should loose the Fight, which possess'd him with such fear, tho' he was so strong, and had no reason to doubt Success, that he did not exert his usual courage. His Canoniers also discharg'd before *Abdela*'s Men were in reach, and the Enemy were up with them before they could charge again. The *Shraccis* never discharged a Piece till they came close up, and then fell on so fiercely, that they disordered the *Moors*, and the King thereupon fled, sending advice to the *English* to save themselves, and a good Horse to Captain *Giffard* their Commander. The *English* returned answer, that they came not thither to run, and accordingly they stood very firm, not above 30 being left alive.

Abdela continued not long Master of *Morocco*; for being in want of every thing, he had much ado to keep his Army together, and most of the *Shracies* went home.

To the surprize of the three Rival Princes, a Cousin of theirs, *Muley Hamet Bosonne*, who had been all this time hoarding up of Treasure, having watched his opportunity, went to his Mother's Kindred in the Mountains, where he mustered up 20000 able Men. His Pay was good, and all being in readiness, he began his March from the *Tessevon* Mountains to *Morocco*. This was bad News to *Abdela*: His *Shracies* were then gone home, and the *Mourecans* deserted in great numbers to *Hamet Bosonne*, so that he resolved to take the usual Course to *Fez*, which he did in haste, believing his Cousin to be much nearer than he really was. *Muley Sidan*'s Mother hoping this new Stir was in favour

favour of her Son's Title, sent *Bosonne* a considerable assistance: but upon his arrival at *Morocco*, he proclaim'd himself King, and dismist all the Favourers of *Sidan*. His Treasury he dispers'd largely among his Followers; he compell'd no Man into his Service; nay, some Christians who desir'd leave to be gone, he sent home at his own charge. *Bosonne*'s Mother hearing of this Success, brought him some more Forces, and in her way besieg'd the place where *Boferes* was; but he made a shift to escape to *Sally*, and when she miss'd him in the Morning, she cut off the Governour's Head out of revenge.

His Success.

His Mother's Zeal and Activity.

The Mother of *Muley Sidan* was no less zealous for the resettling her Son in the Throne: to furnish him with the necessary Charges of an Army, she sold all her Plate and Jewels. *Hamet Bosonne* march'd against him; both Armies met near *Morocco*, and a principal Person in *Suz* at the Head of his whole Family, consisting of five hundred Men, charged *Bosonne* alone with great valour; to prevent their being master'd with numbers, *Sidan* sent five hundred more to his assistance, and with this thousand he chased *Bosonne* out of the Field. *Sidan* entred *Morocco*, and continued there in peace three Months, till *Bosonne* saw fit to tempt his Fortune once more by presenting himself before the City; but upon the failure of the expected help from the Town's-men, who he thought loved him, he was routed a second time, and fled into the Mountains, and in four days after was poisoned by the procurement of *Alkeid Azus*, a Man that had been of great note in the Reign of *Muley Hamet Xariff*, but in the present Distractions of the Kingdom, was retir'd to a Castle of his own in the Mountains.

Bosonne shamefully beaten.

Bosonne poisoned.

Proposals to the *Spaniards*.

By this time *Muley Sheck* grew apprehensive of *Sidan*, and therefore dispatch'd an *Italian* Merchant, one *John Elina*, to the King of *Spain*, offering him the Ports of *Allaroche*, *Sally*, *Alcasar*, and other Places, if he would assist him to recover his Right. This Proposal succeeded: but when the Galeons and Gallies of *Naples*, being in all 100 Sail, came to take Possession of *Allaroche*, with Pioneers, and all things necessary for raising Forts, 30000 Larbies came down and opposed their landing, which Disappointment obliged the *Spaniards* to return home.

The Gallies return home.

The Degrees of Men in this Country.

The Degrees of Men in this Kingdom are *Muleys*, *i. e.* the Kings Sons or Blood Royal: *Bassha's* or Captain Generals over Armies: *Alkeids*, or Governours, as well of Garrisons as of Provinces: *Ferres*, Gentlemen retaining to the Sword, but of less Command than the *Alkeid*: *Bahaia*, the *Alkeid*'s Lieutenant: *Brakbashi*, a Sergeant: *Debushi*, a Captain over thirty: *Remie*, the common Souldier. In the time of *Hamet Xariff*, there were fifty thousand Horse kept in pay, some of which served with the Lance, others with the Spear, called *Spahaias*; some, particularly those of *Fez*, on Horseback, with the Cross-bow; and sixteen thousand Foot. The *Larbies* are the best Horse, and the *Brebies* fittest for Foot.

Besides these, there is the name *Sheck*, signifying the prime and best Blood of the Kindred: this is commonly given to the Eldest Son of a Family, or Clan, and they are so powerful, that some of them are able to bring 10000 Horse of their own *Clan* into the Field; the Humour of these People inclining to a profound Veneration for the Head of their Family. The King's eldest Son does not disclaim to make use of this Title.

Execution of Justice.

Once a Month on *Fridays* after Prayers, the King hears Appeals from inferiour Judges, and a Stranger has easier Access to plead his Cause, when the King sits, than a natural born Subject. The inferiour Judges are all Church-men, and such as are the strictest Livers, and least inclinable to Avarice, or other Sins which byass Judges are the first preferred. Next the King is the *Mufti*, to whom Appeals ly from the lower Courts. There are three *Mufti's*, one in *Morocco*, another in *Fez*, and a third at *Taradant* in *Sus*. He at *Morocco* sits with the King, and every *Friday* in the Afternoon by himself. Tho' this be an eminent place, yet he is but poor in respect of what he might be if he strain'd Justice.

The ordinary Judge.

The common Judge sits every day two hours before Noon and two after: Every large Town has a Judge, who determines the Causes of the Town and adjacent Country. Every Man pleads for himself, and when both Parties have done, the Judge proceeds to sentence; so that a Cause may be ended in a Day. If either Party desires to call Witnesses, three Days are allow'd him to do it, and the opposite Party has the same time to disprove what they depose: But if a Witness be infamous in his Morals, or given to Drunkenness, Adultery or the like, or if it can be proved that the Evidence does not say his Prayers six times in 24 Hours, he is not capable of being a legal Witness. Thus seven Days put a Conclusion to the most tedious Law-Suite. If an Obligation be brought into Court, he that is bound, must either pay the Debt, go to Prison, or give a Pawn to the value of the Debt or more, and nine Days are allowed for the redeeming of his Pawn; but if 'tis not redeemed in that time, the thing pawned is sold.

The *Scrivano's* are assistant to these Judges, and generally succeed them. Their Business is to draw Writings, which are plain, and so short, that if you bargain for 10000 Pounds, your Contract shall be comprised in ten Lines; and this Price is so low, that for drawing an Obligation, they have but two Pence *English*.

The *Scrivano's*.

Next are the *Steryes* (like our Sheriff's Officers) who execute the Sentence of the Judge, and call upon People to answer the Writs against them, and always attend in the House of the Judge to be ready upon occasion.

The *Steryes*.

The *Muffteeb*'s Office is to examine Weights and Measures: If they catch any faulty, all the Wares in the Shop are given to the Poor, the Party proclaim'd an unjust Man, and severely whip't.

The *Muffteeb*.

The *Hackam* is Judge of Life and Death: The manner of Execution, is by cutting the Throat of the Offender, which is done immediately after Sentence. Murder, Theft, and Adultery are Death, and by Proclamation the King can make what he pleases Capital, which the *Hackam* must see executed on pain of loosing his Head.

The *Hackam*.

The *Muckadens* are the *Hackams* Deputies, and in his Absence are invested with his Authority.

Muckadens.

The *Fokers* or Saints live in the best places of the Country, and observe great hospitality towards Strangers. These Men do much good by their Example, their Liberality to the Poor, their Readiness to compose Differences, and their good Offices in quieting Disorders: By this they gain such Love and Respect, that their Houses are reputed Sanctuaries; nay, the King himself will not violate them but upon great necessity.

Fokers.

The Force of this Kingdom is chiefly Horse; for in all their Armies you shall have three Horse-men to one Foot. Their Armour is a Buff Jerkin for the better sort, and tann'd Leather for the rest: some have Coats of Mail. Their Weapons are a Horse-men's Staff, Target, and Sword, or a Horse-man's Piece and Sword. The Success of a Battel depends generally on the Advantage of the first Onset, for they seldom hold it long. The *Larbies* will stand more firmly in a Fight occasioned by some Fewd between their Families, than in the Service of their King; for upon such an Account sometimes 10000 Men have fallen at a time. Their way is, when the Affront is given, to mount the faireſt Virgin they have on Horse-back, with a Flag in her Hand to sollicite her Kindred to revenge. She goes foremost to the Fight, which emboldens her Party; for if the Enemy wins her, 'tis counted a Disgrace to the Aggressors to the seventh Generation.

The Force of this Kingdom.

If one of a Tribe is kill'd, the first Man of the Tribe that slew him, they set upon, and that satisfies the Loss.

The *Brebers* maintain these Quarrels too: when they go to fight, their Women keep close behind, with a staining colour in their Hands call'd *Hanna*, with which they daub any of their Men that they observe to give ground; and this Policy makes 'em fight to the last.

When the old King (*Muley Hamet*) was quitly fixed on the Throne, he warr'd against the *Negroes*, designing when he had conquer'd 'em, to establish a Trade between that Country and his own, in sending Salt and other land Commodities for their Gold, which he rather choosed to import than to dig the Mines in his own Kingdom; taking care at the same time to cut the Throats of the Discoverers, left the Secret spreading, should tempt his Enemies to an Invasion.

Their Trade.

His Souldiers took *Gago* from the *Negroes*, a considerable Town, situate on the River *Synega*, 300 Leagues up the Continent, and built there a Place for *Barbarian* Merchants, and a Custom-house for the King. The Merchants to that Country make it six Months Journey from *Morocco*, two of which they travel thro' uninhabited sandy Deserts. Their Guides steer their Course by the Sun, Moon, and Stars. If they miss their way, they seldom get thro' alive, in which case their Carcasses consume not, but turn into *Mummi*, in all respects as physical as that which comes from *Alexandria*. They go in Companies of two or three hundred at a time: their Water is carried upon Camels both for themselves and Beasts; and if it fails, they kill their Beasts and drink their Blood rather than perish. If the Wind blows at North-east, they cannot unlade their Camels, left the Sands should cover them. The Commodities they carry are great quantities of Cloth, Amber-beads and Coral; but the chief Commodity is Salt, which is bought at *Tegazza* and other places, for four Shillings a Camel's Load,

The much difficulty in their Journey to *Gago*.

Load, *i. e.* 600 weight, and pays to the Custom-house at *Gago* five Pounds; then they sell it far up in the Country to a deform'd sort of *Negroes*, who never suffer themselves to be seen in Negotiating Commerce with a Stranger; so they take this Course; they leave their Salt in the Field, after they are gone, comes the *Negroe*, and against each Parcel lays as much Gold as he thinks 'tis worth, and leaves the Gold with the Salt. The *Moor* at his return, if he likes the Price, takes away the Gold, if not, he takes away as much from his Heap as hee'l sell for the Gold. When the *Negroe* sees it, he either adds more Gold, or takes away his own Gold, and there's an end of the Bargain. But they seldom disagree; for in most Bargains the *Moors* makes a rich Return, and the King a full Treasure. The Gold these *Negroes* have, is not coined: but resembles small Gravel or Sand after a Glut of Rain, on the dry Banks of Mountains and Rivers.

The Negroes way of Trade

CHAP. XI.

An Account of the Places in Africa, *possess'd by the King of* Spain *and the* Great Turk.

THE King of *Spain* is Master of *Oran*, *Mersalquibri*, *Mililla*, and *Pennon*, within the Streights; *Ceuta*, *Tanger*, and *Arzil*, near the Streights Mouth; these last he claims by the Title of *Portugal*, as also *Mazagan* 20 Miles South of *Arzil*, without the Streights. The Islands of *Madera*, *Puerto Santo*, the *Canaries*, the Isles of *Arguin*, *Cabo Verde*, the Isle *del Principe*, and St. *Thomas*, from *Cape de Guerre* to *Guardafu*, along the Coast of *Africk*: These with some small Isles adjoining belong to *Spain*. They are maintain'd chiefly with their own Provisions. Sugar, Fruits, and Wine, the *Madera's* abound with: There are good store of Sugars likewise in St. *Thomas*'s Isle.

These Isles receive no disturbance but from the *English* and *French*: In the Isles of *Arguin* and St. *George de la Mine*, the *Portugueſe* Factories are built like Fortresses, and from thence they trade with *Guiny* and *Libya*, and carry from thence the Gold of *Mandinga*, and the Neighbouring places. The richest Prince hereabouts is the King of *Congo*, the most flourishing Country in *Ethiopia*. The *Portugueſe* have two Colonies there, one in the City of S. *Salvador*, the other in the Island *Loanda*. They receive great Profit from these places, particularly 5000 Slaves, which they transport from thence every Year, and sell them at good advantage in the *West-Indies*, the Crown of *Portugal* receiving a certain Tax for every Slave so transported.

From this Country 'twould be no difficult matter to go to *Prester John*'s Dominions, which are thought not to be far off, and abound with Elephants, and all Necessaries for Travellers. *Angola* borders upon *Congo*; and not long since *Paulo Dios*, a *Portugueze* Captain, maintain'd a War with the Prince of *Angola*. The Occasion of it was, to gain some Silver Mines in the Mountains of *Cehambe*, which are said to afford better Silver than those of *Potosi*, and as large a quantity. If the *Portugueſe* had followed this Design, they might have found more Riches probably than in their more distant and chargeable Conquest of *India*, *Malacca*, and the *Maluccoes*. No Countries in the World abound more in Gold and Silver, than *Mandinga*, *Ethiopia*, *Congo*, *Angola*, *Butua*, *Toroa*, *Maticuo*, *Boro*, *Quiticui*, *Monomotapa*, *Cafati*, and *Bobenemugi*.

An Error of the *Portugueſe*.

Between the Capes of *Good Hope* and *Guardafu*, the *Portugueſe* have the Fortresses of *Sena*, *Cephala*, and *Mozambique*; by these they maintain their Trade with those rich Countries, and there their Ships may put in and refit. The King of *Melinde* is their great Friend, and *Quiloa* and the adjoining Isles pay tribute to them. The *Portugueſe* want nothing but Men to cultivate these Islands. They used formerly to fear no Sea Force but the *Turks*, for whom they were hard enough: But since the *English* and *Dutch* begun to trade this way, their Interest is much decayed in these parts.

The *Portugueſe* poſſeſſion along the Coast.

The *Turks* are possess'd of all the Coast from *Velez de Gumera* to the *Red Sea*, except *Oran*, *Mersalquibir*, *Mililla* and *Pennon*, before-mention'd. Upon this Coast belonging to the *Turks*, are situated *Tremasine*, *Algier*, *Tenez*, *Bugia*, *Constantina*, *Tunis*, *Tripolis*, and all *Egypt*, from *Alexandria* to the City of *Asna*, with part of *Arabia Troglditica*, from *Suez* to *Suachen*. At *Algier*, *Tunis* and *Tripolis*, the *Grand Seignior* has Governours call'd *Beglerbeys* or *Bassa's*. He has also one at *Missir* for *Egypt*, and another at *Suachen* for the Country adjoining. At *Suez* is his chief Arsenal for building or refitting his Galleys, where 25 of 'em may lie cover'd.

The *Turks* Possessions in this part of the World.

CHAP. XII.

The Description of Algier, *with the History of its falling into the Hands of* Barbarossa; *and a short Account of* Malta *and* Tripoli: *Taken from* Nicolas Nicolay.

Situation.

ALgier is an ancient City, situate upon the Mediterranean, on the Brow of a Hill, encompass'd with strong Walls, Ramparts, and Ditches; its Form almost triangular: 'Tis broad towards the Sea, and extends it self up the Mountain to a very narrow Point: At the top of the Hill stands a Fort to command the Town and the Entry into the Haven. The Buildings (which exceed the Palace Royal) are handsome enough. Here are a great many Baths and Cook's Shops. The Streets are so contriv'd, that every Occupation has its particular place assign'd for it. At the Foot of the City, which is towards the North, joining to the Walls, which are wash'd by the Sea, is their principal *Mosque*, a piece of good Architecture. A little below that stands the *Arsenal*, into which they haul up the Galleys and other Vessels to refit. This place is wonderfully peopled, considering the bigness of it; 'tis inhabited by *Turks*, *Moors*, and *Jews* in great number, who merchandise very cunningly, and lend Money at Usury. They have two Market-Days in a Week, to which all the Country People flock from the Mountains, Plains, and Valleys. Every thing is cheap here: I have seen a Partridge sold for a *Judit*, which is worth about four pence farthing. They have Hot-houses, where Eggs are hatch'd without the help of the Hen, and this makes Fowl very plentiful. They shoe their Camels and Oxen, and ride about the Streets on them, as upon 'em, calling aloud to every one to have a care, because of the Crowd of People. Some *Moors* get on Horse-back without Bridle or Saddle, only a String in the Horse's Mouth to guide them.

Number of Inhabitants.

Market

The

Habit of the People. The *Moors* are generally naked, except about their Privities, and a Linnen Cloth rolled about their Heads, and ty'd under the Chin.

Weapons. Their Weapons are three Darts, which they throw with great skill; to their Left-hand is fastened a crooked sort of Dagger, which they use in a close Engagement. Most of the *Turks* of *Algier* are *Renegado Christians*, given to all beastly Vices, as Sodomy and the like: They get most by pirating. They sell their *Christian* Captives to the *Moors* for Slaves, who either sell them again, or imploy them in their own work, and give 'em very hard usage.

Gardens. Without the City on the West, are pleasant Gardens, the Ground hereabouts being very fruitful. On the East runs the River *Save*, which drives some Mills, and is fit to drink. The *Mooriſh* Women, Maids, and Slaves, wash their Linnen in the Sea, being quite naked, except a small matter to cover the Privities, which you may view for a Trifle if you be dispos'd. Their Ornaments about the Neck and Arms, are great Bracelets of Latten set with false Stones. But the *Turks* or *Moors* Wives are covered from Head to Foot with a large black, white, or violet coloured *Barnuche*, which is made of a Blanket.

The second Day after I got to *Algier*, I hired a *Renegado Spaniard* to shew me the Town: He carried me to an high Mountain a Mile distant from the Town, to view the Situation of a strong Tower built upon another Mountain near it. Upon enquiry, he told me the Ditches about that Tower were two Spear's length deep, and seventeen Fathom broad, except towards the North, where 'twas only seven Fathoms. He said there were in that Tower nine great cast Pieces, and eighteen others. In the middle of the Tower is a Well of good Water; near that stands a Wind-mill, besides another without the Gates. The usual Garrison is 30 Souldiers. This Tower defends the Heads of the Fountains that supply the Town with Water, the City being supplied from this place.

The Tower near the City.

The Revolutions in this Government. *Algier* was a long time subject to the King of *Telensin*, till the Men of *Bugie* elected a new King, to whom this place submitted, as being nearer at Hand to protect them than *Telensin*. At last finding themselves undisturb'd and free, they fitted out Ships and turn'd Pyrates. *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, to curb the growing Mischief, besieged them with a great Army, and built a Fort in a little Island that lies against the Town, which obliged them to sue for a Truce of ten Years, they being oblig'd to pay *Ferdinand* a certain yearly Tribute, which was perform'd during his Life. Afterwards taking their Opportunity, they broke the Truce, chosing *Cairadin Barbaroſſa* their Captain, who after the Siege of *Bone*, retir'd to the Castle of *Gegill*, situate on the Coast of the Mediterranean, on the top of an high Rock, at the distance of 70 Miles from *Bugie*. He drove the *Spaniards* out of the Fort, and demolish'd it, and puffed up with his Success, treacherously slew *Selim*, a Prince of *Arabia*, in a Bath, because he had declar'd himself Lord of the City. After this, he assum'd the Title of King, coined Money, and managed so well, that most of his Nighbours became tributary to him; and this was the beginning of the great Power of *Barbaroſſa*. To him succeeded his Brother *Haviadine*, who left it to his Son *Caſſam*, that reign'd when we were there.

Barbaroſſa chosen Captain.

To pursue our Voyage, when we left Cape *Matefuz*, we were oblig'd by contrary Winds to cast Anchor at Cape *Teddel*, at which place we saw a deep Inlet by a great Rock, the Bottom of which is wash'd by the Sea: We entered with our Skiff half way, but were forced to return, by reason of multitudes of strange Mice, whose Piss is venomous; so we were glad to return safe, covering our selves in our Cloaks, for fear of any hurt of that kind. This part of the Sea is full of Rocks and Mountains.

A venomous sort of Mice.

Tedeel is a City containing 2000 Houses; it lies on the same Coast at the bottom of a Mountain and a great Rock. On the Mountain is built a Castle, which has a Wall stretching to the Town-Wall, to secure a Communication with the Town. The *Africans* first built it: The Inhabitants live chiefly by Filhing, and dying Wool and Cloth. These People are very musical, most of them delighting in the Harp and Lute. Their Government is the same as that of *Algier*. We had a quick Passage from hence to *Gigeri*: Near that place we met with a *Boraſque* or *Flaa*, which had drown'd us all, if the Sailors had not bestir'd themselves nimbly to take in the Sails. Our Frigat was lost by it, but most of the Men sav'd. These Whirl-winds are very frequent and dangerous along the Coast of *Barbary*, but they are soon over.

Tedeel.

The 25th in the Evening, we arrived at Port *Bone*, and a Compliment was sent to the *Caddy* or Governour of the place for the King of *Algier*. He was a *Renegado Christian*, but behaved himself very courteously to us, and sent us very handsome Refreshments. *Bone*.

This Place was founded by the *Romans*, and called then *Hippon*; St. *Auſtin* was Bishop of it formerly. It stands upon high and ragged Rocks. It has a very sumptuous *Moſque*, to which the House of the *Caddy* joins. The South part of the Town is situate much lower, and well accommodated with Wells and Fountains. This place has been twice pillaged by the *Spaniards*, so that its Buildings are mean, and it contains not above 300 Hearths. *Charles* V. when he had taken the Town, built a Castle upon an Eminence on the West side, which commanded all round, and provided it well with Water, which is scarce here upon such high Grounds: but the *Turks* and *Moors* chas'd and dispossess'd the *Spaniards* shortly after, and rased the Works. To the East of the Town you have a fine Champion Country, abounding in Corn Fields and Pastures, which feed such numbers of Cattle, that not only *Bone*, but *Tunis* and the Isle of *Gerves*, is furnish'd with Butter and Milk from hence. There are very pleasant Gardens hereabouts. A little from this Town is a Church between two Rocks, said to have been the Church of St. *Auſtin*. The Country hereabout is pestered with thieves, called *Alerbes*: I saw from a Hill a little Troop of them stark naked, mounted on Horse-back with their Darts in their Hands. Great quantities of good Coral are found in the Road before the Fortress. St. *Auſtin*'s Bishoprick. The Castle. The Spaniards and Turks.

The 26th we left *Bone*, and having pass'd the Cape of *Roſe*, we came in sight of the Isles *De la Galite*, and *Des Symboles*, where a Fish flew into our Galley of the Length, Colour, and Bigness of a great *Sardin*; it had two Wings before and two behind: this Fish the *Moors* call *Indole*. The 28th we arrived at *Pantalarea*. A flying Fish.

This Island is hilly and full of Rocks: It produces Cotton, Capers, Figs, Melons, and Raisins, and is well stor'd with Cisternes. Here are several Houses built under Ground, like Caves, which was done by the *Moors* when they possess'd it. Along the Shoar there are black Stones, glittering like fine Jet. They have no Horses, but Oxen enough. They fetch their Corn from *Sicily*, to which they are subject. Here grows a Tree like *Nerte*, which produces a Fruit that's red at first, and turns black when it is ripe. The Inhabitants make Oil of it, which they use both for Victuals, and for their Lamps, and the Women anoint their Hair with it to make it long and fair. Both the Men and Women are dexterous Swimmers. I have known a Woman swim aboard our Gally with a Basket of Fruit to sell. This Island is 30 Miles long, and about ten broad: the People that live in it are very poor. Pantalarea, Isl.

We went from hence with a fair Wind to *Malta*, where we met with the melancholly Stories of what the *Turks* had done there, in ravishing the Women, plundering, burning, and destroying all they met with. Thus had they served *Auguſta* a Town in *Sicily*, *Michetto* in *Malta*, and destroy'd the Suburbs of St. *Paul*, the City being too hard for them. They took also the Castle in the Isle of *Goze*, carrying from that place, of Men, Women, and Children 6300 Slaves. The Barbarity of the Turks.

The sixth of *Auguſt*, we came to *Tripoli*, a City which *Charles* V. gave to the Knights of *Malta*. I saw the Market where the poor Captives of *Sicily*, *Malta*, and *Goze*, were afterwards sold to the highest Bidders. The last Bidder having leave to strip them quite naked to see if they have any Infirmity, upon which Occasion they inspect their Mouth, and look at their Eyes as if they were Horses. The next day the *Turks* (who had sate down before this place after their late Ravages) began to fire upon the Castle with great fury. The Besieged made Offers to capitulate, but the *Turks* having inveigled the Governour of that Place into their Hands, by a seeming Consent to most of the Articles demanded, and assuring the Governour of Safety, only desiring to discourse with him upon some Particulars of the Treaty between them; tho' I say they had first broke their Faith with him, the credulous Defenders were notwithstanding deluded into a Capitulation; but the Town was no sooner deliver'd than the Agreement was violated, all the Knights and others being made Slaves, and 200 *Moors*, who served them, cut in pieces. The Siege of Tripoli.

Tho' the Buildings, within this Town are mostly ruined, it has still very fair and strong Walls, with many Turrets, double Ditches, and false Breaches, environed on three parts with the Sea: Within the Walls are plenty of Wells and Fountains. In the middle of the Town is

is a Triumphal Arch of white Marble, with four Faces upon four Pillars, of the *Corinthian* Order. In the Front on the East, is a Chariot drawn by two great Griffins, and within it Victory with two Wings. On the West another Chariot, with *Pallas* sitting in it, and a *Roman* Inscription round it, but now not legible; only thus much may be learnt, that it was made in the time of *Lentulus*. The Inside of the Arch was full of Ornaments, and above, it had the form of a square Turret. The two other Faces looking North and South, were cut in the Form of the upper part of the Body down to the Waste, without Heads: The rest was adorned with Trophy Work. Not far from hence is a square place surrounded with Pillars in two Rows like a Porch, and near it are the Ruins of an high Tower, which is said to have been the great Mosque of the City: There are many other ruinous Antiquities.

The *Turks* repair'd the Castle, and stored it with all sorts of Ammunition and Ordnance. There were, of Knights and Souldiers, 600 in the Castle when it was taken; a great shame to surrender so tamely, without any apparent reason of War for it. The *Turkish* General deliver'd at last 200 of his Prisoners, and 20 more in exchange for 30 *Turks* taken at *Malta*. The *Turks* made monstrous Rejoicings for their Conquest; and to crown the Triumph, they put to death, in a barbarous manner, a Gunner of the Castle, because he happened, during the Siege, to shoot off the Hand of the Clerk-General of the Army. They cut off his Hands and Nose, and set him alive in the Ground up to the Waste; and after they had tormented him with shooting Arrows at him, they put an end to his wretched Life by cutting his Throat.

The Cruelty of the *Turks*.

CHAP. XIII.

An Account of the most remarkable Occurrences in the Voyage of the English *Fleet, sent against the* Algerines *and Others, under the Command of Sir* Robert Mansel, *Knight.*

THE Force and Burthen of the Ships was as follows.

The Admiral's Ship, the *Lyon*, 600 Tuns, 250 Men, 40 Guns.

Sir *Thomas Button*, Rear-admiral, his Ship the *Rainbow*, 660 Tuns, 250 Men, 40 Guns.

Sir *Richard Hawkins*, Vice-Admiral in the *Vanguard*, 660 Tuns, 250 Men, 40 Guns.

In the *Constant Reformation*, *Manwaring* Capt. 660 Tuns, 250 Men, 40 Guns.

In the *Antilope*, Sir *Henry Palmer* Capt. 400 Tuns, 160 Men, 34 Guns.

In the *Convertine*, *Love* Capt. 500 Tuns, 220 Men, 36 Guns.

All these Ordnance were Brass: Besides the King's Ships, there were ten Merchant-Ships, whose Force was as follows.

The *Golden Phenix* 300 Tuns, 120 Men, 24 Guns.
The *Samuel* 300 Tuns, 120 Men, 22 Guns.
The *Marygold* 260 Tuns, 100 Men, 21 Guns.
The *Touch Phenix* 280 Tuns, 120 Men, 26 Guns.
The *Barbary* 200 Tuns, 80 Men, 18 Guns.
The *Centurion* 200 Tuns, 100 Men, 22 Guns.
The *Primrose* 180 Tuns, 80 Men, 18 Guns.
The *Hercules* 300 Tuns, 120 Men, 24 Guns.
The *Neptune* 280 Tuns, 120 Men, 21 Guns.
The *Merchant Bonaventure* 260 Tuns, 110 Men, 23 Guns.
The *Restore* 130 Tuns, 50 Men, 12 Guns.
The *Marmaduke* 100 Tuns, 50 Men, 12 Guns.

The Ordnance of the Merchant-Ships were all Iron: The Fleet thus equip'd, set sail from *Plymouth* the 12th of *October*, 1620. The 31st in the Morning, we entred the Streights of *Gibraltar*, where two of the King of *Spain*'s Ships of War lay at anchor. When they saw us, they weighed Anchor, steer'd to the Leeward of the Admiral, struck their Flag, and saluted us with their Guns, which Ceremony was returned by all our Fleet in good order. Next we saluted the Town, which returned it to us. The *Spanish* Captain came on board us, and told us there were a great many Pirates abroad; that two of them had fought seven *Spanish* Galleys, and kill'd them 400 Men: that they had been at a Town call'd *Steria*, with 30 Ships and ten Galleys, had took it, and carried off many Prisoners, and that they threatned *Gibraltar*. The second, the Wind at North-east, we weighed Anchor, and kept our Course North-east and by East, and the third we came into the Road of *Malaga*. The sixth we weighed anchor again, the Wind at North-west. Before we sail'd, the Fleet divided into three Squadrons; the Admiral kept six Leagues from the Shoar, the Vice-admiral three Leagues without him, and the Rear-admiral three Leagues within him.

The Civility of the *Spaniards* to our Fleet.

The 27th we cast Anchor in *Algier*-road, at 27 Fathom Water, out of the reach of the Guns of the Town or Castle. We saluted them with our Ordnance, but they return'd us not one shot. Next Day the Admiral sent a Gentleman ashoar with a white Flag, to let the Vice-roy know the Cause of our coming, who returned us answer, by four Men with a white Flag, that he had Orders from the *Grand Signior* to use us with all respect; that our Men might have the free liberty of the Shoar, to buy what Provisions they wanted; Promising withal, that if the Admiral would send any Gentleman of Quality ashoar with the King's Letters, that upon the discharging of a Piece of Ordnance, he should have sufficient Hostages sent aboard them. This Night the Pirates brought in three Prizes, one *Fleming*, and two *English*.

Our Arrival at *Algier*.

The 6th of *December*, after many Debates, they sent us 40 Captives, pretending they had no more in the Town. The next day the Admiral sent a Letter to the *Bashaw* to complain of this treacherous management. The eighth we set sail, and the 14th we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Alicotha*, on the North side of the Island: Here we provided our selves with Wood, Water and Ballast. The People were very civil, bringing us all manner of Provisions at easy Rates. The 24th we sail'd: the 29th we put into *Majorca* to take in fresh Water.

The Admiral displeas'd with the management of the *Algerines*.

The Town of *Majorca* is large, and well fortified, and the People are industrious, both Men, Women, and Children, being given to Labour. They are extreamly civil to Strangers, and have all manner of Victuals in plenty, and at easy Rates. Their Commodities are Oil, Wood, and Cheese, of which they have great plenty.

Majorca.

The 21st of *May*, we came to an Anchor in *Algier*, and soon after the Admiral order'd six of the Merchant Ships to ply to and again to the Westward near the Shoar, to prevent any Pirates from getting in; and Preparations were made for executing a Design of firing the Ships in the Mould. Two Ships we had taken from the *Turks*, were to go on this Enterprise. They were fill'd with all combustible matter, and provided with Chains and Grapling-Irons, and Boats to bring them off; next them three *Brigandines* followed, with Fire-balls, Buckets of Wild-fire, and Fire-pikes to fasten their Fire-works to the Enemies Ships. They had also a *Gunlod* fitted up with Fire-works, Chains and Grapling-Irons: The *Gunlod* was to be fired in the midst of the Ships in the Mould. There was also seven Boats, mann'd with arm'd Men, to rescue the Boats of the Fire-ships if pursued: They had some Fire-works too, to fire the Ships without the Mould. The Wind not offering, the Attempt was put off till the 24th, the Wind being then at S. S. W. the Ships advanc'd to the Mould, but when they were within a Musket-shot of it, the Weather grew so calm, they could not enter: However the Boats and Brigandines went on, as being inform'd by a Christian Slave, who swam aboard of them, that the *Turks* not expecting such an Attempt, had left no guard in any of their Ships, except one or two; but wanting Wind to nourish and

Return to *Algiers*.

Preparations to fire the Ships in the Mould.

diſperſe the Fire, the Fire-works took no effect. The Attempt was made under the Walls of the Town, from whence they fired furiouſly upon our Men, both with great and ſmall Guns. All the damage we ſuſtain'd was in coming off; for our Men were got into the Mould before the Town was alarm'd; and when there, they kept the Enemies Ships between them and the Town. In this Adventure we loſt only ſix Men, beſides four or five dangerouſly wounded, who died ſhortly after, and 13 ſlightly hurt.

The 25th, four Sail of Pyrates got into *Algier*, notwithſtanding the Merchant-Ships that cruiz'd near the Shoar to prevent them; for the Wind being Weſtward, and a ſtrong Current to the Eaſt, drove our Ships ſo far to the Leeward, that they could not cut them off from the Port; tho' one of our Ships came ſo near as to exchange ſome Shot, but without doing any damage: That ſame Night we weigh'd Anchor, and ſtood off to Sea.

A Pirate aſhoar. The 28th, the *Bonadventure* run a Pirate aſhoar, who had 130 *Turks* aboard, and 12 *Chriſtian* Captives: They were all drown'd but 12 *Turks*, who ſav'd themſelves by ſwimming. The 31ſt our Boats took up two *Genoueſe* Slaves, who had the Courage to ſwim from the Town to our Ships. They told us, that the Night we weighed Anchor, ſeven of the beſt Ships belonging to *Algier*, came in, and if we had ſtaid, it had been impoſſible for them to eſcape: That the *Turks* had boom'd up the Mould; that all the Ships were full of armed Men, and three Gallies and fifteen Boats lay continually before the Boom for a Guard.

CHAP. XIV.

A Relation of the Taking and Recovering the Jacob *of* Briſtow, *and ſome other* Adventurers *of* Engliſh *Ships.*

The Ship taken by the Pyrates.

NEar the latter end of *October*, 1621, the *Jacob* of *Briſtow*, Burthen 120 Tuns, was, after a ſharp Fight, over-power'd and taken, by a *Corſair* of *Algier*. The *Turks* took all the Men out of the Ship but four, and ſent thirteen of their own aboard, to bring the Priſe to *Algier*, appointing one of the Number Captain over the reſt.

The wretched Captives that were left aboard the *Engliſh* Ship, were under diſmal Apprehenſions of what they muſt ſuffer in caſe they were carried to *Algier*. This put their Invention upon the ſtretch how to free themſelves from ſo terrible a Slavery: And Providence favoured them with an Opportunity in the following manner. The fifth Night after their being taken, they had a great Storm; the Captain in the Diſtreſs lending his Hand to ſtrike the Sails, two of the *Engliſh* gave him a toſs overboard: He had almoſt got in again, by the help of a Rope he catch'd hold of, but was knock'd down again with the Handle of the Pump. In the confuſion of the Storm the reſt of the *Turks* did not mind it. This done, one of them ſtep'd to the Maſter's Cabin, paſſing by ſix or ſeven *Turks*, and fetch'd two Curtlaxes, with which ſurprizing the Pirates, they drove them from one part of the Ship to another, kill'd two, and made a third leap over-board, the other nine they drove betwixt Decks. All the Miſchief the *Turks* did them, was the unſhipping the Whipſtaff, which they got again, and putting the *Turks* (many of which were wounded) under Hatches, making uſe of them by twos and threes at a time, as they had occaſion, they brought the Ship into St. *Lucas* in *Spain*, where they ſold the *Turks* for Slaves.

They redeem themſelves in a Storm.

John Fox's eſcape. One *John Fox* was alſo ſtrangely delivered after a Captivity of eighteen Years: for taking his Opportunity, he ſlew his Keeper, and fled to the Sea-ſide, where he found a Galley with 150 Chriſtian Slaves, and all being of one mind, they weigh'd Anchor, and arriv'd ſafe in *Spain*. He afterwards came to *England*, and Queen *Elizabeth* to reward ſo daring an Action, allowed him a Penſion.

Capt. *Nichols* Valour. Capt. *Nichols*, with the *Dolphin* of *London*, fought ſeveral *Turkiſh* Men of War at once: He ſunk ſome of them, and kill'd a great many Men; and tho' his Ship was much ſhatter'd, he made a ſhift to get off.

Malam's Adventure. *William Malam* of *Rotherhith*, maintain'd a ſmart Fight with theſe Rovers; the Night putting an end to it, the Commadore of the *Turks* paſs'd his word, and bound it with an Oath, that if *Malam* would come and ſtay aboard his Ship all Night, he ſhould go and come freely next Morning. *Malam* went accordingly, firſt ordering his Mate to make all the Sail he could to get out of the reach of the *Turks*; which when the *Turks* perceiv'd next Morning, they would have put *Malam* to death; but he urging their ſolemn Promiſe and Oath, and a *Scotch* Ship appearing in ſight, after they had took that, they put *Malam* and a Merchant that was with him, aboard of her to ſink or ſwim, having pillag'd the Ship of Cables, Sails, Anchors, and all things neceſſary; but it pleaſed God to bring them ſafe to the Weſt of *England*. The Ship under his Mate's Command, came likewiſe ſafe into the *Thames*.

CHAP. XV.

The Particulars of the Recovery of the Exchange *of* Briſtow: *Publiſhed by* John Rawlins.

ON the firſt of *November*, 1621, the *Nicholas* of *Plymouth*, Burthen 40 Tuns, *John Rawlins* Maſter, ſet ſail from that place for the *Straits*, in company with the *Bonaventure*, of the ſame Port, burthen 70 Tuns.

The 18th of the ſame Month we came in ſight of *Gibraltar*, where the Watch diſcover'd five Ships making all the Sail they could towards us, for which reaſon we endeavour'd to keep off from them: At laſt our Suſpicion increaſing, we made the beſt of our way for *Tirriff* or *Gibraltar*, but to no purpoſe, for ere half the day was ſpent, the Admiral of the Pirates came up with the *Bonaventure* and took her, and the Vice-admiral a little after oblig'd *Rawlins* to ſtrike. The ſame day the Admiral put aſhoar twelve of the *Bonaventure's* Crew, with ſome other *Engliſh* Captives taken before. The Vice-admiral knew better how to diſpoſe of his Priſoners, ſo he order'd *Rawlins* and five more to be brought aboard him, leaving three Men and a Boy, with thirteen *Turks* aboard the Prize. The Night after we had a Storm, in which we loſt ſight of the *Engliſh* Prize the *Nicholas*. On the 22d we arrived at *Algier*, but heard no news of the Bark. Here we learn'd the moſt dreadful Sufferings which we were to paſs thro'; how many Chriſtians had been forced to turn *Turks*, and others to proſtitute their Bodies to the moſt beaſtly Pollutions.

Two Ships taken by Pirates.

The

The Barbarity of the *Turks*.

The *Baſhaw* had the firſt view of the Priſoners, and choſe every eighth Man for himſelf; the reſt were ſent to Market, and if any ſeem'd backward, the Officers either beat them, or a prick'd them with Gords. To force them to turn *Turk*, or ſubmit to their Filthineſs, they diſplay'd their Cruelty after this manner: They laid them upon their Backs and Bellies, and beat them in that poſture till they bled at Noſe and Mouth; and if they ſtill prov'd conſtant, they beat out their Teeth, prick'd 'em by the Tongue, and try'd many other Tortures. Sometimes they laid them at full length in the Ground, as in a Grave, threatning to ſtarve them if they did not turn.

The 26th, *Rawlins*'s Bark came into the Mould, and the Priſoners were carried all together before the *Baſhaw*, except one Man and the Cabin-boy, who were perſwaded to turn. The *Baſhaw* choſe one of 'em for himſelf, and went to Market, where after a great deal of barrering, we were all ſold.

John Rawlins and his Carpenter were bought by the Captain that took him; *Rawlins*, by reaſon of his lame Hand, came very cheap, *viz.* 150 Doublets, that is, about ſeven Pounds ten Shillings; but perceiving that *Rawlins* could not work well, they told him that if he could not procure 15 Pounds of the *Engliſh* there for his Ranſome, he muſt be ſold high up into the Country, beyond all poſſibility of ever ſeeing *Chriſtendome* again. When theſe diſmal Tidings were brought to him, this happy Accident wrought his Eſcape: One *John Goodal* an *Engliſh Turk*, with his Partners, had bought the *Exchange* of *Briſtow*, a Ship formerly taken by the Pirates, which at this time lay unrigg'd in the Mould, and for which, they wanted ſome ſkilful Sailers; ſo underſtanding *Rawlings* was to be ſold, they ſought for him, and purchaſed him with two of his Men.

Rawlins circumvented.

Is ſold again to an Engliſh Renegado.

The ſeventh of *January* the Ship was fitted up, and the ſame day haled out of the Mould; they had 12 caſt Guns, 63 *Moors* or *Turks*, nine *Engliſh* Slaves, one *French-man*, and four *Hollanders*, that were free Men; for their Gunners they had two of our Souldiers, one an *Engliſh*, and the other a *Dutch Renegado*. *John Rawlins* brook'd his working under Hatches, and other Symptoms of Slavery, ſo ill, that he ſpoke ſo publickly of attempting his Liberty, as put him and the whole Company of his fellow Slaves in danger; however no great notice was taken of it at firſt.

They put to Sea.

The 15th of *January* we came up with a *Pollack*, which run her ſelf aſhoar to avoid us; upon that we ſent out our Boats, which lightning the Ship by throwing overboard her Ordnance, got her off. A *Turkiſh* Man of War had bore us company moſt of the time we were out; but our Men and they quarrell'd ſo about the dividing the Spoil of this Ship, that the Man of War returned to *Algier*, and we went out of the Strait's Mouth. We put nine *Turks*, and one *Engliſh* Slave out of our Ship aboard the Prize; and here the *Turks* mutined, as unwilling to go into the *Mar Granada*, as they call the Ocean; but in the concluſion they referr'd it to their *Hoſhea*, or *Prophet*, a ſort of Men much eſteem'd among them; for no large Veſſel goes to Sea without one; and when they are in the Ocean, he Divines every ſecond or third Night; the Ceremony he uſed when I ſaw him at his Conjuration was thus. Upon the ſight of two great Ships, fear'd to be two *Spaniſh* Men of War, a deep ſilence is commanded in the Ship, after that, all the Company gives a great Shrick; ſometimes the Sails are all taken in, and perhaps preſently after hoiſed out again, as the Conjurer preſages: There are alſo a Curlas and two Arrows laid on a Cuſhion, one for the *Turks*, and the other for the Chriſtians, and a Curtlaxe: then this wiſe Man reads, and ſome one or other takes the two Arrows in his Hand by their Heads; if the Arrow for the *Chriſtians* comes over the Head of the Arrow for the *Turks*, it foretels they'll be taken; if the Arrow for the *Turks* comes over the Head of the Arrow for the *Chriſtian*, then they think themſelves ſure of ſucceſs. The Curtlaxe is taken up by a Child or ſome Perſon that is a Stranger to the matter, and 'tis much minded if it lie upon the ſame ſide or no. They obſerve Lunaticks too; for the Conjurer writes down their Sayings in a Book, groveling upon the Ground as if he whiſper'd to the Devil.

They take a Chriſtian.

The Turkiſh Prophecying.

He had ſcarce done when we diſcover'd a Sail, which prov'd to be a *Turkiſh* Man of War: Our Commander made his Complaint to the Captain, of the Backwardneſs of the *Turks* to proceed in the Voyage; and he perſwaded them 'twas for their Honour rather to do it, than go home; ſo they were all well ſatisfied.

John Rawlins in the mean time was providing himſelf with Ropes with broad Specks of Iron, and Iron Grows, to tie faſt the Scuttels, Gratings and Cabins, and even to ſhut up the Captain himſelf, and all his Company, and ſo to manage the matter, that upon the Watch-word given, the *Engliſh* being Maſters of the Gun-room, Ordnance, and Powder, they might either blow them up, or kill them as they came out of their Cabbins. He diſcover'd this Plot by degrees to the four *Hollanders*, who offered to join with him; the *Hollanders* brought over the *Dutch Renegadoes*, and the *Engliſh Renegado* came in ſoon after. All this time *Rawlins* perſwaded the Captain ſtill to bear Northward, aſſuring him he could not miſs Prize, which happened accordingly; for on the ſixth of *February* we took a Bark of *Torbay*, that came from *Averre*, laden with Salt: We took out all their Men, the Mate, and two more, and put ten *Turks*, and the two *Dutch Renegadoes*, and the *Engliſh Renegado*, who were in the Confederacy, aboard the Prize; but before they went aboard, *Rawlins* aſſur'd them, that he would attempt it that very Night or the next, and they ſhould ſee a light on a certain part of the Ship if it went forward, and adviſ'd them to acquaint the *Engliſh* in the Bark with the Deſign, and to ſteer towards the *Engliſh* Coaſt; for the *Turks* being Souldiers, and unacquainted with Sea Affairs, 'twas no hard matter to put that Trick upon them. The Maſter of the Bark, and the reſt of the new made Slaves, were ſoon made acquainted with the Deſign, and reſolv'd to aſſiſt in it.

John Rawlins gives over many of the Crew to reſume themſelves.

Next Morning the Prize was out of ſight, which made the Captain ſtorm and ſwear; ſo *Rawlins* being afraid he might return in that humour to *Algier*, went down into the Hold, and brought the Captain word that there was a great deal of Water below, and that it did not come to the Pump, becauſe the Ship was too far after the Head; ſo Orders were given for quitting the Cables, and bringing four Guns aſtern: Accordingly we brought two of them, with their Mouths right before the Bitticle, and 'twas concluded, that we that did belong to the Gun-room, ſhould be all there, and break up the lower Deck; the *Engliſh* Slaves in the middle Deck ſhould do the ſame, and watch the Scuttels. *Rawlins* got as much Powder of the Gunner as would prime the Pieces; and pretended to the Captain, that to put the Ship in order, all Hands muſt work at the Pump; while this was doing, two Matches were brought, one between two Spoons, the other in a Can, for Secrecy, and immediately one of the Guns was diſcharg'd, which broke in pieces the Bitticle; this noiſe gathered all our Men together, who clear'd the Hold of what *Moors* and *Turks* had been left below: The *Turks* at the Poop were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at it, and endeavour'd what they could to break in upon us; but we having ſeiz'd the Powder, ſlew many of them thro' little ſcout-holes with their own Muſkets; ſo that at laſt they cried for mercy, and were order'd to come down one by one; but the Rage of our Men was ſo great, they kill'd ſome of them after they came down, which made a great many others leap into the Sea; ſo that of 45, we brought but the Captain and five more into *England*: Our Company conſiſted of 24 and a Boy. The Captain and moſt of the *Renegadoes* were afterwards reconcil'd to the Chriſtian Faith. As ſoon as all was over, *John Rawlins* got all his Men together, and gave praiſe to God for their wonderful Deliverance: the thirteenth of *February* we got ſafe to *Plymouth*.

The Succeſs of their Deſign.

The Bark of *Torbay* (above-mentioned) arrived at *Penſance* in *Cornwall*: They had all along perſwaded the *Turks* that they were going to *Algier*, till they came in ſight of *England*, which one of the *Turks* ſaid, he was ſure was not *Cabe S. Vincent*; but they bid him go down and trim the Salt to Windward, and they ſhould know more to Morrow, and as ſoon as he and his Companions were gone down, they nailed down the Hatches. The *Turks* that were thus made Priſoners in the Bark, were brought to *Exeter*.

Another Engliſh Ship eſcapes by his Advice.

CHAP. XVI.

A Collection of what relates to Africa, *in Mr.* George Sandys *his History of the present State of the* Turkish *Empire.*

Rhodes. RHodes is now inhabited by *Turks*, or *Jews*, only; the few *Christians* that remain, who are *Greeks*, not being permitted to stay in the City after Sun-set: The Suburbs are utterly raz'd. I've heard that the Monuments, Statues, and Inscriptions formerly belonging to the Knights of the Order, are all preserv'd entire by the *Turks*, those excepted which the War destroy'd: The *Grand Signior* maintains five Gallies here.

We saw no Land till the third Night after we left *Rhodes*, when we discover'd the Coast of *Egypt*, but durst not come nigh the Shoar that Night; next day we entred the Haven of *Alexandria*, where we saw a fatal Instance of the Unsafeness of the Harbour; for not two Nights before the North Winds beating full upon the Mouth of the Port, drove the foremost Ships from their Anchors, which dashing against the rest, sunk all for company, being 22 in number.

Alexandria.

The Commodities of *Egypt.* The Soil of *Egypt* is incredibly fruitful, being formerly reputed the Granary of the World; nay, 'tis said, that the *Roman* Empire could not have subsisted, if not assisted by the Plenty of *Egypt*. The chief Commodities of the Country are Sugar, Flax, Rice, and all sorts of Grain, Linnen-cloath, Hides, Salt, Buttargo, and Cassia.

The Course of the *Nile.* All the Riches of this plentiful Country are owing to the *Nile*: Four Miles below *Cairen* that River divides into two Navigable Branches; the East Branch runs into the *Mediterranean* by *Damiata*; the other called *Canopus*, falls into the same Sea a little below *Rosetta*, making of the best part of the Land a triangular Island, call'd from its shape *Delta*: The fresh Water keeping together, and changing the colour of the Salt for a greater distance from the Shoar than can be discerned. Two other Branches, which are very shallow, run between these, besides several Canals cut artificially, which are no small advantage to the Country. Of the seven Branches mentioned by *Herodotus*, and nine by *Ptolemy*, these are all I could hear of. Nor is it a thing strange, that the Channel of a River should be choak'd up by great quantities of Gravel or the like. The most unaccountable thing is the swelling of this River, considering that Rain never falleth here but in Winter, and even then but seldom. The over-

The swelling of the *Nile.* flowing of this Stream and Waters, inriches the Ground, so that they do not find the want of Rain; and it constantly observes the same Season, beginning to rise on the seventeenth of *June* every Year, and mounting by degrees sometimes 24 Cubits, which is the very highest: It swell'd this Year at *Cairo* 23.

About two Miles above the City, at the end of *Old Cairo*, in the beginning of *August*, they cut the Banks to let it out. The *Bassaw* is always present at this Ceremony, and gives the first stroke, accompanied with great numbers of People in Galleys and Barges, rejoicing and feasting for several days. At their return they are met by the People out of the City, who strew their Heads with Flowers, as the welcome Fore-runners of what they

What good it does the Country. have long wish'd. The Plenty or Scarcity of every thing bears proportion to the greater or lesser swelling of the River; for the Country is sandy, and of it self not fit to produce any thing; and 'tis by this Inundation that it is manured as well as watered, the Water leaving a great deal of Slime and other Stuff behind it, which fattens the Ground. 'Tis remarkable too, that if the Plague rage in *Cairo*, it ceases the first day of the Flood, even tho' 500 died of it but the day before. 'Tis no wonder then, that an ignorant superstitious People formerly ador'd this River under the name of *Osiris*, since they received so many Benefits from it. Its a pretty sight when the Water's up, to see the Towns look like so many Islands, and Boats passing and repassing between them.

Their way of Sowing. When the River is retir'd within its bounds, their Sowing follows, which is done without Tilling, only throwing the Grain on the Mud, and Rice on the Water. This Experiment has been tried there; take some of the Earth near the River, and it will neither increase nor lessen in weight till the 17th of *June*, when it grows heavier as the River swells, and lighter again when it decreases: By this they have an infallible knowledge of the State of the Deluge, proceeding no doubt from the moistness of the Air, which increases every thing as it increases in humidity.

The fall of the Year. In the 10th and 11th Years of *Cleopatra*, the Historians of those times say the *Nile* swell'd not, which Deficiency for two Years together, is said to have presaged the fall of two great Potentates, *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*. It also produces abundance of Fish, of a different shape and quality from ours, which are neither so savoury nor wholsome.

There is no Wine in this Country, nor do the Inhabitants desire any. Trees are very rare too, unless it be in Orchards, and abating for the Palm-trees which grow in Deserts, and which are very serviceable to them. Of

Palm-trees. these there are Male and Female, the Female inclining her top to the Male, and mixing his Seeds with hers, both being contain'd in little Cods. The *Egyptians* are very careful to sow these Seeds in the Spring. The Female only is fruitful, and not so unless it grows by a Male. Their Dates are not ripe till about the end of *December*. They open the tops of such as are barren, and take from thence the white Pith, which they sell, and it

What they make of them. resembles in taste, but far exceeds an Artichoke. Of the Branches they make Bedsteads, Lattices; and of the Web of the Leaves, Mats, Fans, Baskets, &c. of the outward Husk of the Cod, good Cordage; of the inner, Brushes, &c. all which they take off yearly, without damage to the Tree. By this Tree they always represented a Man; for that it fructifies by Coition, has a Brain like Pith in the upper part, Strings like Hairs on the top, Branches extended like Hands, and Dates like Fingers. They have no great quantity of Wood, but yet enough for their use, for they eat little Flesh. Fresh Cheese, soure Milk made solid, Roots, Fruits, and

The Diet of the Egyptians. Herbs, especially *Colocasia*, formerly called the *Egyptian Bean*, being their chief sustenance. They bake their Bread on the Hearth, mixing *Coriander* Seeds with it. Gold they're Strangers to, the Refuse of Palm-trees, Sugar-Canes, and the like, furnishing sufficient Fuel for their Occasions. Foreigners that have more use for Fewel, buy Wood by weight, as it is brought hither by Sea, and the Galeons of *Constantinople* go to the black Sea for Timber before they begin their Voyage to *Cairo*. I must not pass by the *Sedgy* Reeds, which grow in the Marshes of *Egypt*, which they made Paper of; these were

Paper. call'd *Papyrus*, whence the Word Paper took its rise. They divide it into Flakes, into which it naturally parts, then laying them on a Table, moisten them with the Glutinous Water of the River, so press them together, and dry them in the Sun.

The Government of *Egypt.* *Egypt* is now govern'd by a *Bassaw*, who has his Residence at *Cairo*; under him are 16 *Sanziacks*, and 100000 *Spahees*. The Revenue of this Country amounting to

The Revenues. 3000000 of *Shariffes*, the *Grand Signior* has out of that 1000000; 400000 of which is laid out in Sugar and Rice, and sent to *Constantinople*, the rest being sent over Land with a Guard of 600 Souldiers: The second Million is spent in paying of Officers Civil and Military, and the like, as also in fitting out the yearly Caravan to *Mecca*: The third Million is for the Support of himself and his Attendants: But this is short of what it was in the Reign of *Auletes*, who 'tis said raised seven Millions and a half of Crowns; and the Provident *Romans* perhaps made yet more of it.

The *Bassa's* rigorous Justice. The present *Bassa* is call'd *Mahomet*; he is a pretty Man, well stricken in Years, and of a stiff inexorable temper. At his first coming, he cut off the Heads of 4000 *Spahees*, for having committed great Outrages; such as bore too much sway, he sent to *Constantinople*; and such as would not go, he strangled, making use of the *Arabians* (who justly hated the others) in all his Executions. If a Thief escapes, they that were appointed to guard that quarter when the Crime was committed, suffer for him; for this Reason they often seize the Innocent to deliver themselves. Their Punishment is thus: They stretch

stretch out the condemn'd Criminal's Arms upon Staves, and bore Holes in their Arms, in which Candles are put, that burn down to the Flesh, and in this manner are they led thro' the City to the place of Execution. Others are flea'd alive, and continue living for some time, unless the Executioner takes off the Skin of the Navel. Drunkenness is death, and all other Disorders are so narrowly looked into, that I think I never saw so few in such a multitude of People. His Severity has got him such ill-will, that for a Year before we came to *Cairo*, he had shut himself up in the Castle: However, the *Grand Signior* likes his Conduct so well, that to do him the more Honour, he gave him his Daughter (a Child of about four Years of age) in marriage, which was perform'd with a great deal of Ceremony. Another thing to be commended, is, he will scarce suffer a *Christian* to turn *Mahometan*, which proceeds either out of dislike to his own Religion, or suspicion that such Converts generally change out of a sinister worldly Design, rather than any real Conviction.

The *Moors* make up the greatest part of the Inhabitants of *Egypt*: The *Turks* and *Jews* live only in Cities. Here are *Arabians* enough, and not a few *Negroes*: Of *Christians* the Native *Coptites* are the most; there are also some *Greeks*, and a few *Armenians*.

The *Egyptian Moors* are descended of the *Arabians*, and speak the same Language: They are Men of a mean stature, and tawny Complexion, very lean, shrill tongued, swift footed, and very industrious: tho' they are not riotous, they are none of the best Husbands of their Mony. As for their Religion, they are more devout *Mahometans* than the *Turks* themselves: Learning they have none. They have no such thing as Nobility, few of them being admitted either to the Magistracy, or so much as to be Souldiers, or even to wear a Weapon in a Town. Their Merchants were rich formerly, when the *Indian* Wares pass'd thro' this Country. Their Habit is much the same with the *Turks*, some few excepted, who retain the old Garb, *viz.* a side Coat of Linnen girt to their Wastes, and a Towel of the same Cloth thrown over their Necks: Some of the *Negroes* wear Vests like Surplices: the poorest of them wear Garments of Hair streak'd black and white, and in the Winter side-Coats of Cotton. The Beggars do by singing and drumming, both get Charity, and make themselves merry.

Great numbers of them are afflicted with sore Eyes, occasioned either by the Reflection of the Heat, the salt dust of the Soil, or excess of Venery. The Pox is a common Distemper among them. The Women when they go abroad, are wrapt from Head to Foot in Linnen, spreading their Arms underneath to seem the more bulky; and most of them are pretty fat, which they seek to promote by frequenting the *Bagnios*, and using a particular Diet for that purpose: They cover their Faces with black Cypress, with red Spots: their under Garments are of lighter Stuff than those of the *Turks*, but of the same fashion. The better sort wear Hoops of Gold and Silver about their Arms and Ancles; the others have Copper Hoops, with pieces of Coin covering half their Foreheads, and Plates about their Necks, *&c.* They colour themselves, pricking the Skin, and rubbing it with Ink, and the Juice of an Herb which never wears out, and such like Spots. They have quick and easy Labour, and formerly us'd to have two or three at a birth; their Children live, tho' born in the eighth Month. They have a Plant near *Macario*, which if put in Water in a Corner of the Room, they fancy procures easy Deliveries. The Country People follow Husbandry; their Dress is only a Russet Mantle: the Women have little more, and hide their Faces with nasty Clouts, with Peep-holes for the Eyes, which is a little too much to be seen unless they were cleanlier: the Men have some what upon their Heads to defend their Brains from the Heat. This People is certainly matchless for Nastiness, as being crusted with dirt, and stinking with smoak; for their Houses generally have no Chimneys.

The *Coptites* are the true *Egyptians*, so call'd from *Coptus*, an ancient City a little below, on that side of the River where *Thebes* stood against the Island *Tentyrites*. These are *Christians*, tho' Circumcis'd, which they are now asham'd of, pretending for their excuse, that the *Moors* force them to it in the Country; and indeed in Towns 'tis not used by them. Tho' in several things they are Heretical, yet they own the Divinity of our Saviour, notwithstanding their odd Tenets about his having but one Nature, *&c.* Their Children are not baptized till they are forty days old. After Mid-night on *Saturdays*, they go to Church, and stay there till *Sunday* at Noon, supporting themselves all the time with Crutches. The Priest is veil'd in Linnen, and has two or three Boys separated from the rest of the People, in the same habit. They sing most of the Psalms of *David* at every Meeting, with several Portions of the Old and New Testament, the latter as written by *Nicomedes*, part in the *Coptick* Language, which few of them understand, but most of it in the *Morisco*. The Priest and People often join in a strange Savage noise, which to me seem'd not to be Articulate; and now and then the Priest lifts up a red Cloth, under which I suppose was the Sacrament, which they administer in both kinds, and give it to Infants as soon as they are baptiz'd. They have our Saviour and the blessed Virgin pictur'd in their Churches, but not over their Altars, nor could I perceive that they worshipped him in the least.

They preserve in Chests, the Ashes of such as have turn'd *Mahometans*, and for recanting again, have suffer'd Martyrdome; at their Entrance they kiss their Hands, and lay 'em over one another: The Women sit in grated Galleries, distinct from the Men: Extream Unction, Prayers for the Dead, and Purgatory, they disallow, and hold the *Roman* Church to be Heretical; they reject all general Councils since that at *Ephesus*. Yet the Industry of the Friars has seduc'd many of them to Popery, having their Service and Bible sent them in the *Arabick* Tongue. Their Patriarch, tho' call'd the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, resides in *Cairo*. Six days journey up the River above *Cairo*, they have a great City call'd *Saies*, where *Christ* and his Mother are said to have staid till the death of *Herod*. When they grow old, they generally have a Fancy to go there to lay their Bones. There's a handsome Church there, built by *Helen*, the Mother of *Constantine*. In *Lent* they never eat by day, except *Saturdays* and *Sundays*. They wear round Caps, Towels about their Necks and Gowns with wide Sleeves of Cloath, and lighter Stuffs. They live in more subjection than the *Moors*, and pay yearly a certain tribute by way of Poll, to the *Bassa*: They retain the Vices of their Ancestors, tho' unacquainted with their Excellencies: those that profess Magick now are but Juglers to them of old.

The place where our Saviour fled from *Herod*.

The Lake *Marcotis*, made formerly another Haven to *Alexandria*, by which the *Indian* Commodities, and those of *Arabia*, and the up-land Parts of *Egypt*, were brought down by the help of Channels, now quite ruined: It was join'd also by a narrow Cut to another lesser Lake nearer the Sea, which at this time affords plenty of Salt-petre. Between the lesser Lake and the City, is a Channel, from whence during the Deluge of the *Nile*, Water is convey'd by Conduits into large Cisterns, and preserv'd till the next Deluge: this is an occasion of much Sickness in Summer-time. This City is all built upon Vaults, supported with carved Pillars, lined with Stone: But at present 'tis very ruinous, only the Walls are still standing, which 'tis said *Ptolemy* founded, and adorn'd with 68 Turrets, which are rather stately than strong, if compar'd with the modern Fortifications. After this Town was destroyed by the *Saracens*, it lay waste a long time, till a *Mahometan* Priest, prophecying great advantages to such as should rebuild and inhabit it, People flock'd to it. It was afterwards destroyed by the *Cyprians*, *French*, and *Venetians*, who about the time that *Lewis* the fourth was enlarged by the *Sultan*, surpriz'd and made a great slaughter in it; but hearing of the *Sultan*'s Approach to relieve it, they burnt and left it. The *Sultan* repair'd the Walls, and built the Castle that stands on the *Pharus* to defend the Haven, and brought it to the condition it is now in. Several high Hills are made of the Ruins, but no *Christian* is suffer'd to mount them, lest they should take an exact Survey of the Town; in these places, especially after a Shower of Rain, are frequently found rich Stones and Medals, engraven with the Figure of their Gods and Men, cut with such art, that what is now done of that kind, looks like bungling Counterfeits to them. On the top of one of them, stands a Watch-tower, where there is a constant Sentry to give notice of Ships when they appear in sight. Here are not many Antiquities left, only a Hieroglyphical Obelisk of *Theban* Marble, almost as hard as *Porphyr*, but of a deeper red, and speckled alike: they call it *Pharo*'s Needle, and it stands where the Palace of *Alexandria* once stood: There is another hard by it, and like it, half buried in Rubbish. Without the Walls on the South west side of the City stands a Column of the same Marble, all of one Stone, 86 Palms high, and 36 round, a Palm being nine Inches and a half, according to the *Genoese* Measure: I mention that Measure, because the Dimensions were taken by one of that Country for *Zigal Bassa*. It is placed upon a square Cube, and which is very odd, not half so large as the Foot of the Pillar, call'd by the *Arabians Hemadesseor*, that

Alexandria.

Pharo's Needle.

that is, *The Column of the Arabians.* They tell you this Fable of it; that one of the *Ptolemies* erected this Pillar at the moſt extream Point of the Haven, to defend this City from being inſulted by Sea, having put a Magical Glaſs of Steel at the top, which if uncover'd, would fire any Ship that paſs'd by it; but being thrown down by them, it loſt its Power, and thereupon they erected the Column in this place. Among the Weſtern *Chriſtians*, it bears the Name of the Pillar of *Pompey*, ſaid to be ſet up here by *Cæſar* in memory of his Succeſs againſt *Pompey*. The Patriarch of *Alexandria* has a Houſe here, joining to a Church, where they ſay St. *Mark* their firſt Biſhop and Martyr was buried, who in the days of *Trajan*, was dragg'd along with a Rope about his Neck, to the place call'd *Angeles*, and there burned. His Bones were afterwards removed to *Venice*, he being the Saint and Patron of that City. There are now two Patriarchs, one of the *Greeks*, the other of the *Circumciſed*, who is the univerſal Patriarch of the *Coptites* and *Abaſſines*. The Name of the preſent Patriarch of the *Greeks*, is *Cyril*, a Man of approved Virtue and Learning, and a Friend to the reformed Religion: He uſed to ſay that the Differences between us and the *Greeks* are but Shells, but thoſe are Kernels betwixt them and the Papiſts. The Buildings now ſtanding are but mean and few, erected on the Ruins of the former; that part of the City which is upon the Shoar, is inhabited; the reſt is deſolate: the Walls are almoſt quadrangular. They have four Gates, one of which leads to the *Nile*, another to *Mareotis*, the third to the Deſarts of *Bacchus*, and the fourth opens to the Haven.

The Pillar of *Pompey.*

The Patriarche.

The Inhabitants.

This Port is inhabited by *Moors*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Coptites*, and *Grecians*, more for Merchandize (for 'tis a free Port for Friend and Enemy) than for the Conveniency of the place: 'tis ſeated on a Deſart, where you have neither Tillage nor Paſturage, except what borders on the Lake, and that's but little, and not well Huſbanded; yet they have good ſtore of Goats, which feed among the Ruins, and have Ears hanging down to the Ground.

Iſle of *Pharus.*

On the Iſle of *Pharus*, which is now become firm Land, ſtands the Caſtle before-mentioned, for the defence of the Haven. They have no Water in it, but what is brought upon Camel's Backs out of the City: All Ships ſalute this Tower with their Guns. As many of us as came aſhoar, were brought to the Cuſtom-houſe, to have our ſelves and our Portmanteau's ſearched: ten *per Cent.* is paid for all Commodities, and that in kind, not Money: what Money you bring, pays only one and a half *per Cent.* They take an exact account of it, that they may thereby gueſs at the Value of the Commodities returned for them: then you pay eleven *per Cent.* more for ſuch Goods, as are not ſo much as alter'd in property: At ſo dear a rate is this free Trade purchaſed: the *Mahometan* pays as much here as the *Chriſtian*: The *Jews* farm the Cuſtoms, paying to the *Baſſa* twenty thouſand *Madeins* a day, thirty *Madeins* making a Rial of Eight. We lodg'd in the *French* Conſul's Houſe, who undertakes the Protection of all Strangers. The Cane is lock'd up at Noons and Nights, leſt the *Franks* ſhould attempt any diſturbance. The Vice-Conſul keeps a Table for Merchants, and tho' he expects great Reſpect to be paid to him, and is very ſhy in granting his Company, yet he has the good-will of moſt. He provided us with a Janizary to guard us to *Cairo*, whoſe Hire was five Pieces of Gold, beſides his Diet, and his Mens, and a Proviſion of Powder. Aſſes in this Country are not inferiour to Horſes for travelling: We paid half a *Shariff* a piece for them, and a whole one for our Camels. At the Gate they took a *Madein* a Head for our ſelves and Aſſes, thro' which we could not paſs without a *Geſcaria* from the *Cadee*, the chief Officer of the City.

The excellive Cuſtoms paid here.

The Jews farm them.

'Twas on the ſecond of *February* that we began our Journey, paſſing thro' a Deſart which produces here and there a few uncultivated Palms, Capers, and a Weed call'd *Kali* by the *Arabians*: they uſe it for Fewel, and ſell the Aſhes to the *Venetians*, who make their Chryſtal Glaſſes of theſe Aſhes mix'd with the Stones they fetch from *Pavia*. On the Left we ſaw many ruinous Buildings, one of which is ſaid to be the Royal Manſion of *Cleopatra*. Beyond theſe is *Bucharis*, once a little City, but now only the Foundation left: Many Palms grow hereabouts, which ſubſiſt the wretched Inhabitants of the beggarly Villages. A Tower is built here upon a Rock to give Light to the Sailers, by reaſon of the danger of the Coaſt. Soon after we paſs'd by a Guard of Souldiers, plac'd here for the Security of the Paſſage, who made us pay a *Madein* a Head. Seven or eight Miles beyond, we ferried over a Creek of the Sea. On the other ſide ſtands a handſome Cave, built not long ago by a *Moor* of *Cairo*, for the Relief of Travellers, containing a quadrangle within, and arch'd underneath. Under one of theſe we reſted, making our Fardels ſerve for Bolſters, the Stones being our Beds. In ſuch places as theſe 'tis uſual to unload the Camels, and to refreſh both Men and Beaſts, as being there ſecur'd from Thieves and Violence. Giving a Trifle for Oil, we ſet forward again about Midnight, having met here with a great deal of Company, who were bold and reſolute, travelling with their Matches lighted, in a poſture to receive any Onſet. The *Moors* to keep themſelves awake, would tell you a Story a hundred times over. By the way again, we ſhould have paid the *Caphar*, but the darkneſs of the Night excus'd us.

Keeping along the Shoar, and turning a little to the Right-hand, before day we entred *Roſetta*, repairing to a Cave belonging to the *Franks*, where the beſt Entertainment we could get, was a muſty and dark Ground-Room, and the unwholſome Floor to ly upon.

Roſetta

This City ſtands upon the principal Branch of the *Nile*, formerly call'd *Canophus*; it diſcharges it ſelf into the Sea about three Miles lower. The Entrance is croſs'd with a Bar of Sand, which ſhifts according to the Winds, and beating of the Surges; for which reaſon the *Ferbies* that paſs over, are made without Keels, being round and flat bottom'd. A Pilot of the Town continues ſounding there all day, by whoſe Directions they enter, and that ſo near him, that one leaps out of the Pilot's Boat into the other, to receive Pilotage, and ſwims back again. The *Ferbies* that can paſs over this Bar, might, if well directed, go up as far as *Cairo*. *Roſetta* was built by the Slave of an *Egyptian Caliph*. The *Egyptians* call it *Raſid*, derived perhaps from *Roas*, which ſignifies Rice in the *Turkiſh* Language; for this Country abounds in Rice, and affords no leſs than 300 Quarters every Year. The Houſes are all of Board, not old, tho' they ſeem ſo, but flat Roof'd, as all are in thoſe hot Countries: for the *Moors* ly often on the tops of their Houſes: they jet over like the Poop of a Ship, to ſhadow the Street from the Reflection of the Sun. *Roſetta* has no manner of Fortification about it; 'tis no very little Town, and I believe the beſt furniſh'd of any place in the World, with Grain, Fleſh, Fiſh, Sugar, Roots, Fruits, &c. they vend a great many of raw Hides to *Italy*.

Its ſituation.

Next day but one we embark'd in a *Ferby* for *Cairo*, having hired our *Ferby*, with ſeven Water-men, for twelve Dollars. This Arm of the *Nile* is as broad as the *Thames* at *Tilbury-Fort*, growing narrower by degrees, and in many places ſo ſhallow, that we were often in danger of ſticking faſt on the Flats: the Water is as thick as if it had been lately diſturb'd, and glides along with a huſh, ſlow Current. Ten Miles above *Roſetta* is that Cut of the River which runs to *Alexandria*. In our way we bought oftentimes as much Fiſh for Six Pence, as would ſerve twenty reaſonable Men. On each ſide of the River, there are ſeveral Towns generally oppoſite to each other; built of part Brick, part Mud. Many of the meaner Houſes appear like Bee-hives, caſt up to preſerve the Inhabitant and his Cattle, during the Deluge of the *Nile*. All along the Banks are infinite numbers of deep and ſpacious Vaults, into which they let the River, drawing the Water up into large Ciſterns, with Wheels ſet round with Pitchers, and turn'd about by *Buffaloes*, from whence it runs along little Trenches made on the Ridge of the Banks, and ſo is conveyed into each Man's Ground, the Country lying all on a level. We had the Winds favourable ſo ſeldom, that the poor *Moors* were forc'd, moſt part of the way, to hale along the Boat, ſometimes wading up to their middle, to ſet it over the Shallows, and crying at every tug *Elough*, as much as to ſay *In God's Name*: this Exclamation in their Opinion, leſſens all Difficulties, procures God's Aſſiſtance, and conjures the Devil away. The Labour of theſe People is ſo hard, and their Food ſo mean and heartleſs, that they abound with decrepit Perſons. The Shoar furniſh'd us with pleaſant Walks, which made our Paſſage ſeem leſs tedious. The wonderful fruitfulneſs of the Soil ſurpriz'd us, as did the early maturity of things, Matters being as forward with them at that time, as with us in *June*: their Reaping begins at the end of *March*.

They ſet forward in a Cara.

Their way of watering their Ground.

The Sugar-canes afforded us both Walking-ſtaves, and a very refreſhing Liquor. We met in our way ſeveral Troops of Horſe, appointed to ſecure the Roads from Thieves, who are very numerous hereabouts: they rob ſometimes upon the Water too in little Frigates: this made our Janizaries very vigilant, they being aſſiſted by two others to whom we gave their Paſſage to keep watch every Night by turns, diſcharging their Harquebuſſes in the Evening, and hanging out kindled Marches to terrify the

the Rogues. These Janizaries are generally very careful of the Charge they undertake. Five days after our first imbarking a little before Sun-set, we sail'd by the Southern Angle of the Isle of *Delta*, where the River divides into another Branch, not much inferiour to this, which enters the Sea, as has been said before, at *Damiata*. Geographers are not agreed among themselves whether this Island belongs to *Asia* or *Africa*.

Bolac. About twilight we arrived at *Bolac*, the Port Town to *Cairo*, and not two Miles distant from it: Every *Frank* at his landing here, pays a Dollar.

They arrive at Cairo. Leaving our Carriages in the Boat, we hired six Asses with their Drivers for Six Pence, to conduct us to *Cairo*, where an *English* Merchant entertain'd us *gratis* in his House very kindly.

Cairo described. This City is seated on the East side of the River, at the Foot of the Rocky Mountain *Muctac*: It winds along with the Hill in the shape of a Half-Moon, stretching from North to South, the Suburbs being reckoned five *Italian* Miles in length, and where broadest, not above a Mile and a half. The Walls, if there be any, look as tho' they belong'd to private Houses, rather than otherwise: Yet the City is very strong, as appears by the three Days Fight continued within it by *Selymus*, and maintain'd by the poor Remainder of the *Mamalucks*; for the Streets are narrow, and the Houses high built: At the End of almost all of them is a Gate, which being shut every Night (as they are) makes each Street as strong almost as a Castle. The Houses are more beautiful on the out-side, than convenient within, the Entrance to them being generally troublesome; yet the Roofs are high: the uppermost is a little open to let in the Air; they're flat, and plaister'd above. The Walls mounted higher than the Roof, and being at top often but single Brick, they're a little ruinous at the upper part: this makes the Prospect a little confus'd: I think it's best compar'd to a Grove of flourishing Trees, with perish'd Crowns. Their Locks and Keys are of Wood, even to Doors that are plated with Iron. But the private Buildings are not to be compair'd with the publick ones, of which the Mosques are the most remarkable for Magnificence; the Stones of many of them are very curiously carved on the out-side, supported with Marble Pillars adorn'd with what Art can contrive, or their Religion tolerate. They differ in form from those at *Constantinople*; some being square, with open Roofs in the middle, of a huge bulk, the cover'd Circle tarrast above; others stretching out in length, and many of them are suited to the place where they're built. The greatest was built by *Gebor*, and called *Gemish Hasshaw*, the *Calipb* having given him the name of *Hasshare*, as much as to say *Noble*. Of these in this City, 'tis said there is such a number as is incredible. so I shall not mention it.

The private Buildings.

The Mosques.

The Lodgings of the Saints. Joining to them are Lodgings for the *Santons*, that is, Fools and Madmen; when one of them dies, they carry about his Body in procession, with great rejoicing; for they suppose his Soul to be without doubt gone to Paradise. Here are several very good Hospitals, both for Building, Revenue, and for Attendance.

Seraglio's. Next to these for beauty, are the *Seraglio's* of the great Men: If a Christian ride by one of them, they'll pull him from his Ass with great contempt; you must know they prohibit us Horses, as unworthy to ride them. The Streets are unpav'd, and exceeding dirty after a Shower; for it rains here sometimes in Winter, and then 'tis most liable to the Plague. Cross the Streets upon the tops of the Houses, are laid Beams covered with Mats, to shelter them from the Sun. There is the same Covering between two high Mosques in the chief Street of the City; when the *Basshaw* or others of Quality passes under it; they shoot up Arrows, most of which will stick above: the Occasion of that Custom I cannot tell.

Little Byram. While we were here, the Feast of the little *Byram* was solemnized; at this time they kill great numbers of Sheep in their Houses, which cut in pieces, are distributed among their Slaves and poorer sort of People. They daub their Doors with the Blood, perhaps in imitation of the Passover.

The *Nile*, which is a Mile off, during the Overflow, comes into the City by several Channels: When the Conduit is empty, or the Water corrupted, they have it brought on Camels from the River. They have many Wells, but the Water is good for nothing but to cool the Streets or wash the Houses.

In the middle of the Town stands a large Cave, which they call *Besestan*, in which, as in those at *Constantinople*, are sold all your finer sorts of Wares; they sell 'em by the Cry of *Who gives more*, like the *Venetians*.

The Gates. This City has three chief Gates: *Bebe Nanfre*, or the Gate of *Victory*, opening towards the *Red Sea*: *Bab Zueila*, leading to the *Nile* and the old Town; between these two lies the chief Street of the City: the third is *Bebel Futuli*, or the *Port of Triumph*, on the North of the City towards the Lake *Esbykie*. Three sides of the Lake are inclosed with handsome Buildings and Galleries for Pleasure, supported by Pillars, and jetting over On the other side, now nought but Ruins, stood the stately Palace of *Dulcibe*, Wife to the *Sultan Caitbeus*, in which were Doors and Jaums of Ivory, the Walls and Pavements chequer'd with discolour'd Marble, Columns of Porphyr, Alabaster, and Serpentine; the Cielings flourish'd with Gold and Azure, and inlay'd with *Indian* Ebony, a Tree which when cut, equals a Stone almost in hardness: In a Word, it was as magnificent as a Woman's Curiosity could desire, or the Purse of a Monarch afford; 'twas levelled with the Ground by *Selymus*, the Stones and other Ornaments being remov'd to *Constantinople*.

The Lake. The Lake is square, and pretty large, but has no Water in it, except when the River swells; 'tis joined to the River by a Channel, in which the *Moors* are rowed to and again in the Evening in Barges for Pleasure; at such times they shade themselves with Damasks, and *Indian* Stuffs. When the Water's gone, the place changes, but does not lose its Pleasure nor Company; 'tis frequented then very much in the cool of the Day, and for Profit, it yields five Harvests every Year. We were abused here by a Beggarly *Moor* (the others are generally pretty civil) we had no remedy but to address our selves to another, who seem'd to make a Figure, and by kissing his Garment, we insinuated into his Favour, so that he reproved the unmannerly *Moor* for his Rudeness; but we were not gone far till he became much more Affrontive than before, making us the Jest of all the Company, who account of Christians no better than Dogs, and interpos'd between us and the other to prevent a second Complaint; at last we got to him that had befriended us, who in a great passion sent his Slaves after him that had affronted us, and they beat him in a most merciless manner all along the Level, the Master of them calling upon us to see the Justice done us; afterwards they carried him to the place of Correction, where I suppose he might receive a hundred good Stripes on the Soles of his Feet for his Frolicks. Beyond this are a great many straggling Houses, reaching almost as far as *Bolac*, which is the Key to *Cairo*, a large Town, stretching along the River; in some part the Buildings are not inferiour to those of *Cairo*.

Five Harvests in a Year.

Severity upon a Moor for abusing us.

Excellent Orchards. Within and without this City are great numbers of delicate Orchards, abounding with all variety of Fruits, as Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Apples of Paradise, Sicamore-Figs, and others; the Barks of these they bore full of holes, the Trees being as large as the greatest Oaks: the Fruit grows not out of the Leaves, but out of the Bole and Branches: they have also Dates, Almonds, *Cassia fistula*, leafed like an Ash; the Fruit hangs down like Sausages; Locusts flat, in the shape of a Cycle; Galls growing upon Tamerix; Apples no bigger than Berries; Plantanes there have a broad flaggy Leaf, growing in clusters, and shaped like Cucumbers, the Rind like a Pescod, solid within, having no Stones or Kernels, of a most delicious taste: this the *Mahometans* say was the Forbidden-Fruit, and that after the Fall, our first Parents made their Aprons of the Leaves of it. There are many other sorts, which I never saw elsewhere, nor knew their Names; some of these Trees bear Fruit all the Year, and most of them keep their Leaves.

Cameleons. There are abundance of Cameleons in these Orchards, but not easily found, because they generally seat themselves upon somewhat of their Colour: They're about the bigness of an ordinary Lizard: the Head unproportionably big, great Eyes, his Neck is inflexible, he cannot turn without moving his whole Body; his Back is crooked, his Skin spotted with little Tumors, not so observable upon the Belly as elsewhere; his Tail is slender and long; on each Foot he has five Fingers, three on the outside and two on the inside; his pace is slow, but he's very nimble with his Tongue, which is of a wonderful length, considering the proportion of his Body; with this he catches Flies, the End of his Tongue being hollowed by nature for that purpose; so that 'tis a Mistake that they feed only upon Air; yet it is observed, that when they suck in the Air, their Bellies will swell with it, which seems as tho' it were part of their Food, and some that have kept them for a Year together, could not perceive that they had any thing but Air to subsist upon. They're of a green and dusky yellow colour, brighter and whiter

whiter towards the Belly, yet ſpotted with blew, white, and red: they change not into all Colours, as is reported; laid upon Green, the Green is moſt bright; if upon yellow, the yellow appears moſt lively; laid upon red blew, &c. the Green retains its colour, but the ſpots of the ſame dy, with what it is laid upon will receive ſomething of a brighter colour: they are not colour'd alike in all places. They are ſaid to have ſo great an Enmity to the Serpent, that when they ſpy one baſking in the Sun, they'll from the Branches that hang over him, let fall a Thread like a Spinſters, having at the End a little round drop, which ſhines like Quickſilver: this drop falling upon the Head of the Serpent, kills him; and if the Bough hangs ſo that this Thread cannot fall perpendicular on the Serpent's Head, they'll direct it ſo with their Forefeet that it ſhall not miſs.

Their Enmity to Serpents

On the top of the Hill againſt the South ſide of the City, ſtands the Caſtle, once the ſtately Manſion of the *Mamaluck Sultan's*, deſtroy'd by *Selymus*, acceſſible only one way, and that hewn out of the Rocks; but the Aſcent is ſo eaſy, that a Man may ride up. From the top the City yields a moſt beautiful Proſpect, by reaſon of the Palms here and there in it: the Caſtle is ſo large, it ſeems a City it ſelf; the Walls are very high; 'tis divided into ſeveral parts; the Gates are of Iron; the Courts ſpacious, formerly places of Exerciſe: the ancient Buildings only ſhow that they have been ſtately; there are ſome Pillars of Marble ſtill ſtanding, of ſo monſtrous a ſize, that 'tis to be wondred how they got them hither. Here the *Baſſa* keeps his Reſidence; the Divan is kept here on *Sundays*, *Mundays*, and *Tueſdays*; the *Cadeaſſe* as Advocates on thoſe Days, preferring the Suits of their Clients: He has forty Janizaries for a Guard, in the ſame Habit as they at *Conſtantinople*: the other Janizaries are imploy'd about the Country, and few of them are the Sons of *Chriſtians*: they are very faithful to their Charge; if they ſhould happen to trip, they'd not only looſe their Lives, but all the pay due to their Poſterity.

The Caſtle

The Inhabitants of Cairo

This is one of the faireſt Cities in *Turky*; 'tis now inhabited by *Moors*, *Turks*, *Negroes*, *Jews*, *Coptites*, *Greeks*, and *Armenians*, who are here the Pooreſt, and every where the Honeſteſt; they labour hard, and live ſparingly; they are not ſubject to the *Turk*, and if taken in War, are freed from Slavery; they live freely, and pay no Tribute of Children, as other *Chriſtians* are compell'd to do; they are allowed this Priviledge, becauſe an *Armenian* foretold the Greatneſs of *Mahomet*; they were once under the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, but about the Hereſy of *Eutyches*, fell from his Government, and now abhor the *Grecians* above all others, rebaptizing ſuch of them as turn to their Sect; they believe but one Nature in *Chriſt*, that it is not mingled with the Divine Nature, according to *Eutyches*, but join'd to it as the Soul is to the Body; they deny the real Preſence in the Sacrament, and adminiſter it as the *Copties* do, with whom alſo they agree as to Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead; but they hold with the *Greeks* that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds only from the Father, and that the Dead ſhall neither feel Joy nor Torment till the Day of Judgment.

The Armenians

Their Opinion in Religion.

Their Patriarch reſides at *Tybers* in *Perſia*, in which Country they are rich, and live in good eſteem: there are 300 Biſhops of that Nation: The Prieſts are not allowed to marry twice; and eat Fleſh but five times a Year, and then they only eat to prevent the People's miſtaking the eating of Fleſh to be a Sin, the true dieting upon it ſo ſeldom being for Temperance ſake; 'tis an Error that they abſtain from all Meats prohibited by the Moſaical Law; for they ſcruple not to feed upon Hog's Fleſh, where it is to be had, without offending the *Mahometans*. They keep *Lent* very ſtrictly; but between *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, they allow Fleſh upon *Fridays*: Images they do not worſhip. Their Meetings are in obſcure Chambers; when we went in on *Sunday* at Forenoon, there was one reading the Bible in the *Chaldean* Tongue; he differ'd not in Habit from the reſt: A little after the Biſhop came in, with a Hood and Veſt of black, and a Staff in his Hand, to which they aſcrib'd much Holineſs. Firſt, he pray'd; then aſſiſted by two or three, ſung ſome Pſalms; then the whole Aſſembly ſung together, at times praying to themſelves; the Poſture of their Bodies, and frequent proſtrating themſelves in, they reſemble the *Turks*, the Biſhop excepted, who all the while ſtood with his Hands lifted up, and his Face towards the Altar. When Service was over, they all one after another, kiſs'd his Hand, and beſtow'd Alms, he laying t'other Hand upon their Heads, and bleſſing them; then he appoints the ſucceeding Feaſts and Faſts; and 'tis to be obſerved, that upon the Day of our Saviour's Nativity they faſt.

Here is alſo a Monaſtery of *Greek* Coloyers belonging to the Capital Monaſtry of Mount St. *Katherine of Sienа*, eight Days Journey from *Cairo*, over the Deſarts; ſhe is reported to have been the Daughter of *Coſta*, King of *Cyprus*, and to have converted many to the Chriſtian Religion in the time of *Maxentius*: She was put upon the Wheel, and at laſt beheaded at *Alexandria*. Two handſome Pillars of *Theban* Marble, now almoſt ſwallowed in the Ruins, preſerve the Memory of the Place: they tell you an Angel convey'd her to Mount *Sina*. It has three very high Tops; that on the Weſt ſide called in old times Mount *Horeb*, where God appear'd to *Moſes* in a Buſh: this affords good Paſturage: That where the Law was given to *Moſes*, is much lower, and ſhadowed when the Sun riſes by the middlemoſt of the three. The Monaſtery ſtands at the Foot of the Mountain; it looks like a Caſtle, with Iron Gates, where they ſhow the Tomb of the Saint, which is much viſited by Pilgrims: From thiſs you mount to the top by fourteen thouſand Steps of Stone, where ſtands a ruin'd Chappel. A plentiful Spring falls from the top of this Hill, and after it has watered the Valley, is drank up by the Sand. This ſtrong Monaſtery is deſigned for the entertainment of Pilgrims, there being no other near it: It has a yearly Revenue of 60000 Dollars from Chriſtian Princes; 26 more depend on this Foundation, diſpers'd in other Countries: They give Alms every Day to the *Arabs*, to ſecure themſelves from violence: they let it down to them from the Battlements, not daring to admit them within the Gate. Their Orchard is full of excellent Fruits; one Rarity is Apples, which are ſcarce in theſe Countries: they fetch the Trees from *Damaſco*, and are ſubject neither to the Pope nor Patriarch, but have a Superintendant of their own now in *Cairo*. They made us a Collation of Wine, and I could not but obſerve their glutting down of Wine with greedineſs: It is imported from *Candy*.

A Monaſtery.

Mount Sina.

A ſtrong Situation.

The love of Wine.

While we were here a Caravan went out with great ſolemnity, to meet and relieve the great Caravan now coming from *Mecca*, which conſiſts of many thouſands of Pilgrims, which travel there every Year for Devotion and Merchandize: every one with his Band roll in his Hand, and their Camels nicely trim'd: the Alcoran is carried upon one in a precious caſe, covered with Needle-work, and laid on a rich Pillow, ſurrounded with a parcel of chanting Prieſts. The Caravan is guarded by ſeveral Companies of Souldiers, and ſome Field-pieces. *Mecca* is forty eaſy days Journey from this place; part of the way lies thro' a ſandy Deſart, which lies in driffs, and ſometimes the Wind moves it very dangerouſly; in many parts of it they have no Guide but the Stars, like Sailers at Sea.

The Caravan.

No City can be more populous than *Caire*, nor better ſerved with all ſorts of Proviſion. They hatch Eggs by artificial heat here in great numbers; ſometimes no leſs than ſix thouſand in an Oven made for that purpoſe. About eight Days after they're put in, (during which time they are very careful to turn them often) they diſtinguiſh between the good and the bad, the bad generally makes two parts in three; but this is a Demonſtration that the Imitation of Nature never equals the Original; for the Chickens are moſtly defective in ſome part, or monſtrous.

Moſt of the People of *Cairo* are Merchants or Artificers, but the Merchants frequent no foreign Marts. All of a Trade keep their Shops in one place, which they ſhut up about five in the Evening, and enjoy themſelves afterwards, Cooks excepted, who keep theirs open till pretty late; for few but ſuch as have great Families, dreſs their Meat in their Houſes. The Men buy the Meat; the Women are too proud and nice to meddle with Houſwifry; they ride abroad a pleaſuring upon eaſy-going Aſſes, yet ſee fit to exact the full Meaſure of Family-Duty from their Huſbands; if they neglect it, they're not aſham'd to complain to the Magiſtracy in hopes of procuring a Divorce. There are many Practiſers of Phyſick here, occaſioned by the great variety of Simples growing in the Neighbourhood, and brought hither, the *Egyptians* all along excelled in the Art of Simpling.

The Trade of their Women.

A ſort of Rue is much eſteemed here: they perfume themſelves with it in a Morning, as a Preſervative againſt Infection, and think it chaſes away evil Spirits too; ſo the *Barbarians* uſed to do with the Root of wild *Galingal*.

Rue

Some Men in this City get their Living by ſhowing tricks with Birds and Beaſts, exceeding any thing I ever ſaw elſe-where. I have heard a Raven ſpeak ſo perfectly, that it has amazed me; they uſe both Throats and Tongues in ſpeaking, which other Birds do not, and conſequently more fit for the Buſineſs. *Scaliger* the Elder

Tricks with Birds.

Elder ſays, he knew one kept in a Monaſtery, which would, when hungry, call ſo plainly upon *Comrade* the *Cook*, that it has been often miſtook for a Man. I have ſeen them make both Dogs and Goats ſet their four Feet upon a little turn'd Pillar of Wood, about a Foot high, and no broader at the end than the Palm of your Hand, and climb from one to two, plac'd one upon t'other, and ſo to the third or fourth; and there turn about as often as their Maſters bid them. They teach Camels to dance by putting them when they're young, on a hot Hearth, and playing on a Fiddle or other Inſtrument at the ſame time: the pain makes the poor Creature lift his Feet one after another: this is practis'd for ſome Months, and at any time after, upon the ſtriking up of the Inſtruments, he falls a dancing. Likewiſe they make Aſſes do ſuch odd tricks; you'd fancy them endued with reaſon.

Matrea. We put off our departure ſome time longer, and went to *Matarea*, five Miles North-eaſt of the City: As we paſs'd along, we ſaw Sand caſt upon the Earth to moderate its fruitfulneſs. Here they ſay our Saviour and the Bleſſed Virgin, with *Joſeph*, reſted themſelves in their Flight from *Herod*, and being afflicted with thirſt, a Fountain burſt out at their Feet, very ſeaſonably to relieve them. We ſaw a Well ſurrounded with a pitiful Mud-wall; the Water is drawn up by *Buffolo's* into a little Ciſtern; from whence it ran into a Laver of Marble, within a ſmall Chappel, by the *Moors*, in contempt of *Chriſtians*, ſpitefully defiled. In the Wall there is a Concave lined with Sweet-wood, pieces of which are carried away by ſuch as are fond of Relicks; 'tis ſmoaked with Incenſe; at the bottom is a Stone of *Porphyry*, on which they tell you ſhe ſet our Saviour. Of ſo many thouſand Wells as this Country affords, 'tis very ſtrange that this only is fit for drinking; and 'tis ſo excellent, that the *Baſſa* will not taſte any other: when they forbear drawing much of it for ſome time, it ſends forth a Stream plentiful enough to drive a Mill; after it has paſt the Chappel, it waters an Orchard, where is a large Fig-tree, which, as the Report goes, opened to receive our Saviour and his Mother, when in danger of being taken by the Purſuers, cloſing upon them till their Enemies were paſt, and then dividing again to let them out, and ſo remaining. There's a large Hole in the leaning part of it, which no Baſtard, if you'l believe them, can tread, but ſhall ſtick faſt by the middle. The Tree is all to be cut for the Wood, which is ſuppoſed to be of ſoveraign vertue.

A Tree opens to receive our Saviour flying from Herod.

Balm. In an Incloſure adjoining, they ſhow a Plant of Balm, the whole Remainder of the Store this Orchard produc'd: It was deſtroy'd by the *Turks*, or, as they to excuſe themſelves ſay, by the *Jews* out of Envy: 'twas tranſported from *Jewry* in the time of *Herod the Great*, by *Antonius*'s Command, at *Cleopatra*'s deſire. Others ſay 'twas brought hither out of *Arabia Felix*, at the coſt of a *Saracen Sultan*.

A Wonder upon Good Friday. Within a day or two after we paſs'd the *Nile*, we left three Miles to the Left-hand, the place where upon *Good Friday*, the Arms and Legs of a great many People appear ſtrech'd forth, to the wonder of the People that flock hither to ſee them. I have heard this confirm'd by *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Mahometans*, as having ſeen it themſelves: but 'tis not impoſſible that it may be a Contrivance of the Watermen to get Money by ferrying over Paſſengers, of which, thouſands come to ſee this ſuppoſed Miracle; for there are an infinite number of *Mummies* Limbs, of which they may fetch and ſtick over Night in the Sand. Three or four Miles farther, on the Right-hand croſs the Plain, ſtands a Cauſey ſupported with Arches, five Furlongs Long, ten Paces high, and five in breadth, of ſmooth and figured Stone, built by the ſame Perſon that erected the Pyramids, for a Paſſage with heavy Carriages over the ſoft and ſinking Grounds; and now having rode thro' a pleaſant Plain about twelve Miles over, we came to the Foot of the *Libyan* Deſarts.

The Pyramids. Directly Weſt of the City, hard by theſe Deſarts, on a high rocky Ground, ſtands the three Pyramids, the Monuments of Prodigality and Vanity, ſo univerally famed. Their Name is taken from the Shape, intimating a Flame of Fire, broad at the bottom, and drawing to a Point at top. This Figure was much uſed by the Ancients, for by this they thought the Divinity well repreſented; for as a Pyramid from a narrow Point ſpreads it ſelf in a great Extent downwards, ſo the Divine Nature, being of it ſelf an undivided Subſtance, communicates Being to ſeveral multitudes of Beings and Forms; all which deſcend from the original ſingle Fountain of Life.

'Tis plain, that theſe, as well as the other Pyramids, were the Royal Sepulchres of the Kings of *Egypt*; the greateſt of the three, and chief of what we generally call the Seven Wonders of the World, is ſquare at the bottom, and ſuppoſed to take up eight Acres of Ground, every ſide of the Square being 300 ſingle Paces in length: the Square at the top conſiſts but of three Stones, but large enough for three ſcore Men to ſtand upon. You aſcend it by 255 Steps, each Step three Foot high, and proportionable breadth: No Stone of the whole Fabrick is little enough to be drawn by one of our Carriages; yet theſe were hewn out of the *Trojan* Mountain, a great way off in *Arabia*; which Name was given them upon account of the *Trojans* brought by *Menelaus* into *Egypt*, and there planted. 'Tis wonderful how they could bring them ſo far, and more ſtrange how they could erect them. Twenty Years was ſpent in the Building, all which time 366000 Men were continually employed about it, who in Radiſhes, Garlick, and Onions, are reported to have conſumed 1800 Talents. In ſuch like Fancies they waſted their Treaſure, and employed the People, leſt too great ſtore of Money might corrupt their Succeſſors, and an unreſtrain'd Idleneſs make the Subjects wanton and mutinous.

Time, which devours the proudeſt Structures, has not humbled this lofty Edifice, tho' 'tis conjectur'd very probably to have ſtood there 3200 Years, and now it is rather old than ruinous; the North ſide is moſt worn, becauſe of the moiſtneſs of the Northern Winds. With much difficulty we made a ſhift to reach the top, where we had the pleaſant Proſpect of this moſt excellent Country, and the noble Stream to which it owes its Riches. Southward, and near the *Mummies*, we could ſee other large Pyramids, which any where elſe might paſs for Wonders. This Pyramid caſts no ſhadow for a great part of the Day, but is at once illuminated on all ſides. On the Eaſt ſide, deſcending again, we came near the Entrance, which ſeems to have been formerly clos'd up: Into this our Janizaries diſcharg'd their Pieces, leſt any ſhould have ſculkt there to do us a miſchief, and guarded the Mouth while we entred, for fear of the wild *Arabs*. To have the better footing, we put off our Shoes and moſt of our Cloaths, becauſe of the heat within, which we were told was not much ſhort of a Stove. Our Guide, a *Moor*, led the way; every one of us with Lights in our Hands: 'tis a dreadful Paſſage, and very troubleſome, not above a Yard broad, and four Feet high, each Stone containing that meaſure; ſo that we were forc'd to ſtoop always, and ſometimes to creep, becauſe of the Rubbage, our Deſcent being not by Stairs, but as down the brow of a Hill, for an hundred Feet, where the ugly Deſcent continues, but the way is a little larger: they ſay none durſt ever attempt any further; but that a *Baſſa* of *Cairo* to ſatisfy his Curioſity, made ſeveral condemn'd Perſons undertake it, and ſtock'd them well with Lights and Proviſions; and that ſome of them came up again near thirty Miles off in the Deſarts: this I take to be a meer Fable. Others tell you, that at the bottom there is a large Pit, eighty ſix Cubits deep, fill'd at the time of the *Nile*'s Overflowing by ſeveral Conduits: In the middle of it is a little Iſland, and on that the Tomb of *Cheops* King of *Egypt*, and Founder of this Pyramid, which is the likelier Story of the two; for I have been told ſince by one that ſaid he ſaw it, that at the bottom of all there is a large ſquare place (tho' without Water) into which he was led by an Entry opening to the South, known to few, being ſhut up ſince by ſome order. A Turning on the Right-hand carries you to a little Room, which we would not go into there was ſuch a noiſome ſmell in it. Climbing over the above-mentioned Dungeon, we mounted about 120 Feet, as tho' upon the bow of an Arch, the Way no larger than the former: Here we paſs'd thro' a long Entry, which led directly forwards, much lower than the others; this brought us to a little Room, with a compact Roof, more long than broad, of poliſh'd Marble; but its Grave-like ſmell obliged us to return quickly. We went over this Entrance about 120 Feet higher. This laſt was exceeding high, yet ſo narrow, a Man might fathom it, bench'd on both ſides, and clos'd at top with admirable Architecture: the Marble is ſo great, and ſo artfully join'd, it looks as tho' it were hewn out of the Rock. At the top we entred a large Room, twenty Foot wide, and 40 in length; the Roof is of a wonderful height, and the Stones are ſo large, that eight ſerves for the Floor, eight for the Roof, eight Flags the Ends, and ſixteen the ſides; all of well wrought *Theban* Marble. Croſs the Room at the upper end, ſtands a Tomb, uncover'd and empty, all made of one Stone; 'tis Breaſt high, ſeven Foot long, and not four broad, and ſounds like a Bell: In this, no doubt, lay the Body of the Builder. Vain

glory was not the sole end of such lasting Monuments; but their opinion was, that after 36000 Years, the Soul would be rejoin'd to the same Body, which would be restored to its former condition: this they collected from their Astronomy; so they would preserve the Body altogether, to receive the Soul at its return. Against one End of the Tomb, close to the Wall, opens a Pit, with a long and narrow Mouth, which leads into an Under-Chamber. In the Walls on each side of the Upper-Room, are two holes opposite to each other, their Ends not discernable, nor are they large enough to creep into, sooty within, and they say were made by a Flame of Fire which darted thro' them. This is the Substance of what we could discover within this dark Fabrick.

The Effects of this piece of Vanity.

Herodotus says, that King *Cheops* became so poor by the Building of this, that necessity oblig'd him to prostitute his Daughter, with a Charge to refuse nothing she could get; she being somewhat of her Father's humour, demanded Stones of every one of her Customers, with which she built the other Pyramid, much less than the former; 'tis smooth without, but has no Entrance. The third, which stands on the highest Ground, is the least; but *Herodotus* and *Strabo* say, not inferiour in beauty nor cost, being all built of Touch-stone, hard to be wrought upon, and brought from the farthest *Ethiopian* Mountains; but that I cannot believe: they design'd to have cover'd it with *Theban* Marble; there's a great quantity lies by it. This was made by *Mycerinus*, the Son of *Cheops*: Some say by a Curtezan of *Naucratis*, call'd *Dorica* by *Sapho* the Poetress, much loved by her Brother *Caraxus*, who used to sail hither with Wine from *Lesbos*. Others say 'twas done by *Rhodope*, another of that chast Calling, who was at first, fellow Slave with *Æsop*, the Author of the Fables, and lived here after she obtain'd her liberty; but if she got such a Treasure by whoring, the Trade was then more profitable than ever it was since.

Another Story goes, that when she was washing her self, an Eagle snatch'd away her Shoe, and bearing it to *Memphis*, let it drop into the King's Lap, who surpriz'd with the Accident, and the beautiful Shape of the Foot, order'd search to be made thro' all his Territories for the Owner, and having found her in *Naucratis*, he made her his Queen, and after her death, interr'd her here. She lived in the time of *Amasis*.

A more exact Description of the Pyramids in *Egypt*, taken from the Learned Mr. *Greaves*.

This learned Man tells us in his Preface, that he went twice from *Alexandria* to *Grand Cairo*, and from thence into the Desarts, to view these Pyramids, *viz.* in 1638 and 1639, and carried with him several Instruments for the more exact discovery of the Truth.

1 The situation of the three great Pyramids now extant.

The three great Pyramids which are now extant, are seated on *Africa* side, upon a rocky and barren Hill, between the City *Memphis* and that place which is call'd *Delta*, from the *Nile* less than four Miles, from *Memphis* six, near to *Busiris*, a Village from which they use to ascend up to them. *Plin.* L. 36. C. 12.

2 The Authors and Founders of them.

These three Pyramids were not erected by the *Israelites*, under the Tyranny of the *Pharaoh's*, as *Josephus* and some modern Writers affirm; for the Scripture says expresly, that the Slavery of the *Jews* consisted in makeing and burning of Brick, whereas all these Pyramids consist of Stone. The first and greatest of these Pyramids was built, says *Herodotus*, by *Cheops* (stil'd by *Diodorus Siculus Chemmis*) who succeeded *Rhampsinitus* in the Kingdom of *Egypt*. He adds, that the Stones were dug out of the Quarries of an *Arabian* Mountain, and from thence carried to the *Nile*: That there were employ'd in the Work ten Myriads of Men, every three Months a Myriad: That the whole Pyramid was finish'd in 20 Years, whereof ten were spent in conveying the Stones to the place of Building. *Herodot.* L. 2.

The second Pyramid like to the first in respect of the Workmanship, but far inferiour in respect of Magnitude, was built by the Successor to *Cheops*, who was *Cephren* his Brother, as *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* agree.

The third Pyramid, less than either of the former two, was built by *Mycerinus*, the Son of *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*, says *Herod.* Other Writers give different Names to the Founders of these Pyramids; but this is what is most probable among their various Opinions, according to Mr. *Greaves*.

Besides these three which are now extant, *Herodotus* mentions a fourth built of Brick by *Asychis*, who succeeded *Mycerinus*, and another in which *Imarides* was buried, at the end of the Labyrinth built by the twelve Kings of *Egypt*. And long before any of these, *Meris* in his admirable Lake, erected two Pyramids, one for himself, and another for his Wife; all which are long since ruined by time: But there are many now standing in the *Lybian* Desart, whose Founders none of the ancient Writers have nam'd.

1 Of the time in which the Pyramids were built.

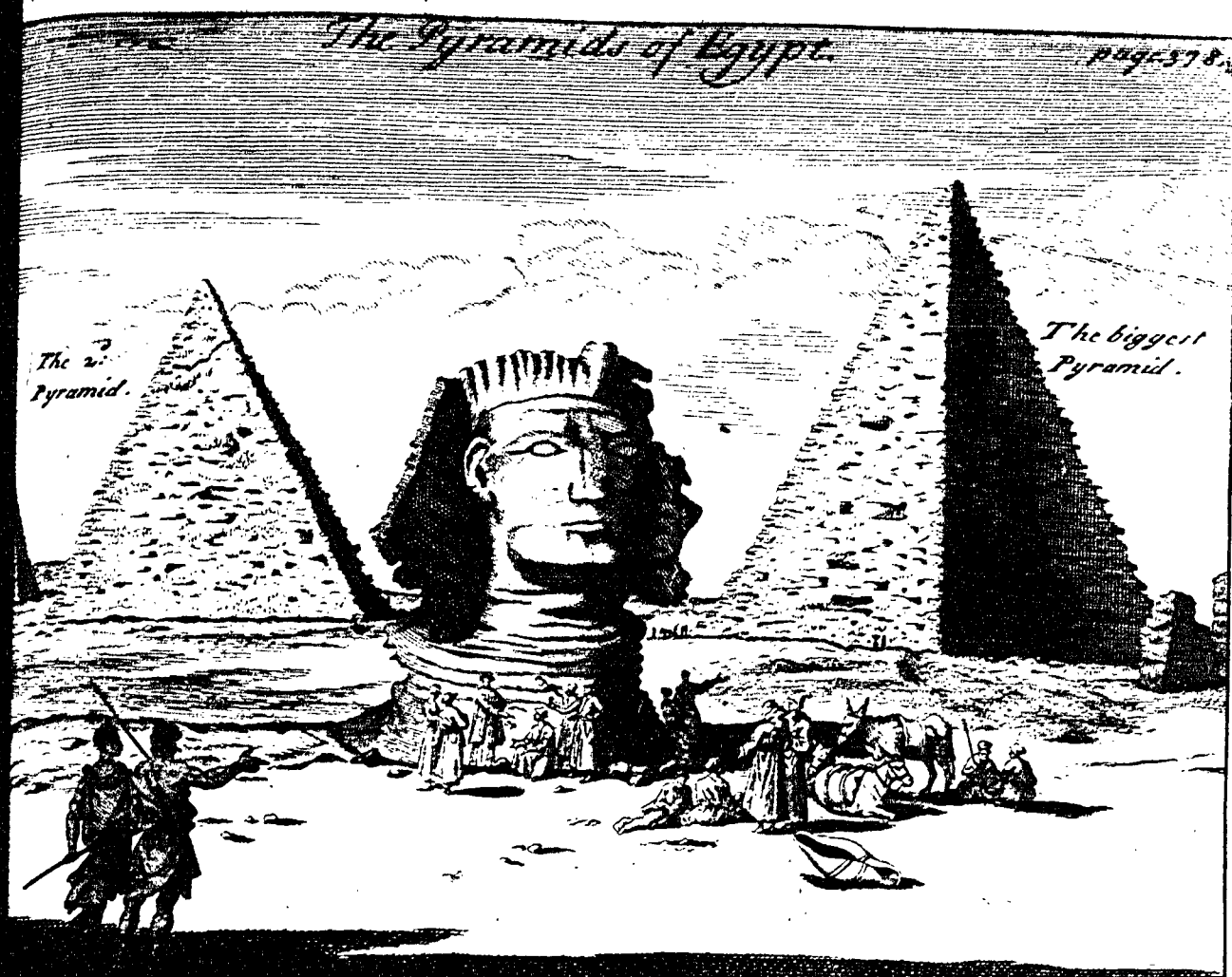
As to the time when the Pyramids were erected, Mr. *Greaves* finds it o'respread with *Egyptian* darkness, because he cannot find in any ancient Authors when the aforesaid Founders liv'd, and therefore he endeavours to fix the Epocha of the Migration of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, which he thinks happen'd in the Reign of *Amenophis*, coetaneous with *Moses*, being the last King of the 18th *Dynasty*, and the Epocha of the Destruction of the 1st Temple, in the time of *Hezekiah*, which he thinks happen'd in the Reign of *Apries*, being the eighth King of the 26 *Dynasty* (as *Eusebius* out of *Manethos* reckons these Kings). And between these two Epocha's, amounting to the space of 904 Years, he fixes the time when the aforesaid Founders liv'd, by having recourse to those Dynasties of *Manethos*, as they are preserv'd by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*; where finding that all the intermediate *Dynasties* have their peculiar Kings, except the 20th, he places them in that vacant space of 178 Years, which that *Dynasty* contain'd according to *Eusebius*: and so *Cheops* the Founder of the first Pyramid, began his Reign in the Year 3447. of the *Julian* Period. and 1266, before the Birth of *Christ*; he reign'd 50 Years, says *Herodotus*. After him succeeded *Cephren*, the Builder of the second, who reign'd 56 Years; and then *Mycerinus* the Erector of the third, who reign'd seven Years, making in all 113; and the Remainder of the *Dynasty* may be divided among the three next Kings, who were *Asychis*, *Anysis*, and *Sabachus*, who reign'd 50 Years says *Herodotus*. This is the best Account of the time Mr. *Greaves* could discover, which the Curious may read at large in his own Book about the Pyramids.

3 For what end or intention the Pyramids were erected.

That these Monuments were intended for Sepulchres, and Monuments of the Dead, is the constant opinion of most Authors, and is plainly prov'd from the Tomb that is found in the Pyramid of *Cheops* to this day, and from the Testimony of an *Arabian* Writer, who relates, that this Pyramid being opened about 850 Years ago, there was found in it a hollow Stone, in which there was a Statue like a Man, and within it a Man, having a Breast-Plate of Gold set with Jewels, and upon it a Sword of a very great Price, and at his Head a Carbuncle of the bigness of an Egg, shining like the Light of the Day. *Almac. Hist. Arab. ex edit. Erp.* But the true reason why they built such stately Monuments, was not meerly Ostentation, or State-Policy, but the Religious Belief of the *Egyptians*, that as long as the Body endur'd, so long the Soul continued with it, as an Attendant, without going into any other Body, as otherwise it would; upon which account they did not only salt and embalm their Dead after the manner describ'd by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Lib.* 1. to preserve them from putrefaction, and make them durable as Brass, but also entomb them in stately Monuments. Such were at first their Mercurial Sepulchres, made of hard Marble of a Spherical Figure. Such were the Dormitories cut out in the *Lybian* Desarts by the *Egyptians* of lower quality, which are now call'd the *Mummies*: And of the same nature are the stately Pyramids built by their Kings, all which are design'd to secure their dead Bodies after they are embalm'd, from the Injuries of Men, or the Weather, that so the Soul may be still oblig'd to attend them. But besides this general Reason why these Reconditories were built, which was to preserve their Bodies dead from all external Violence, there were two special Reasons why they were made in a Pyramidal Form. First, because this Figure appears to be most permanent and durable, as being neither so liable to be overpress'd with its own weight at top, nor to be undermin'd by the sinking in of Rain at bottom, as other Buildings are. Secondly, Because these Structures were intended to represent some of the Gods of the *Egyptians*; for in the most ancient times, Pyramidal Columns or Obelisks, were worshipp'd as Images of the Gods, before the exact Art of making Statues was found out; and so as *Isis Cornigera* represented the Horns of the Moon, so these Pyramids might represent the Rays of the Sun, which they worshipp'd under the name of *Osiris*. Other Nations were wont to erect Pillars over their Dead; but we find no such stately Pyramids out of *Egypt*, unless it be the Sepulchre of *Porsenna*, King of *Etruria*, which yet was far inferiour to them in magnitude, tho' it was admirable for the number and contrivance of the Pyramids, as it is describ'd by *Plin. l.* 36. *c.* 13.

4 A Description of the first and third Pyramid.

The first of the three great Pyramids is situated on the top of a rocky Hill in the sandy Desart of *Libya*, about one fourth of a Mile from the Plains of *Egypt*, the height of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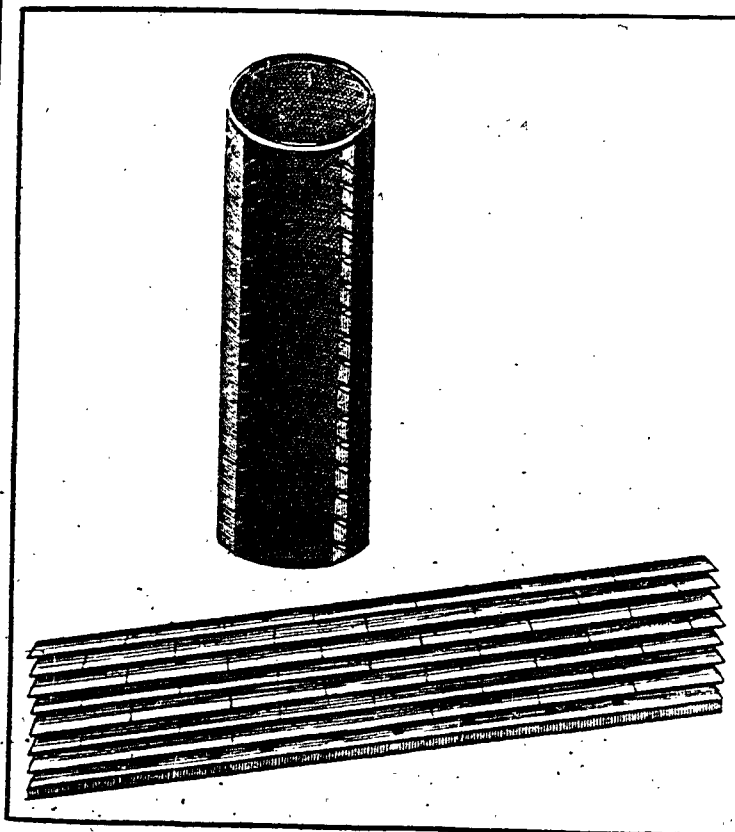
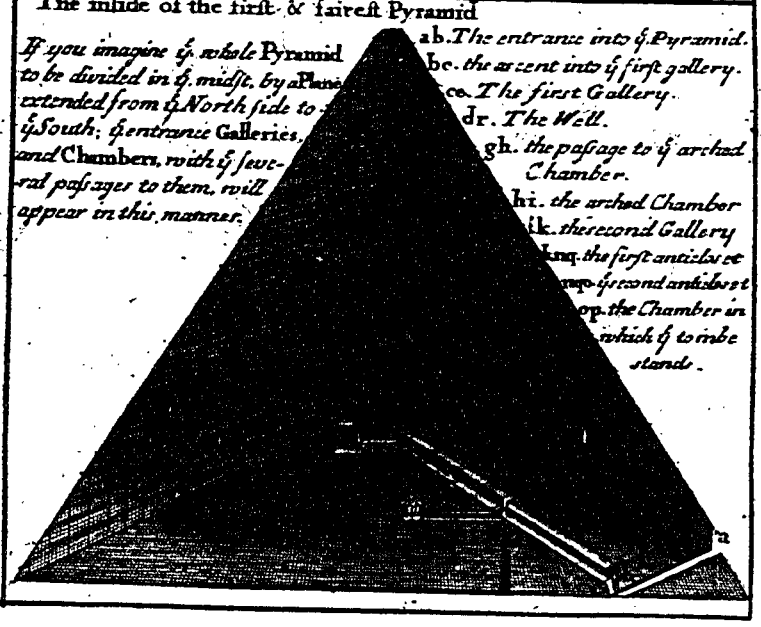
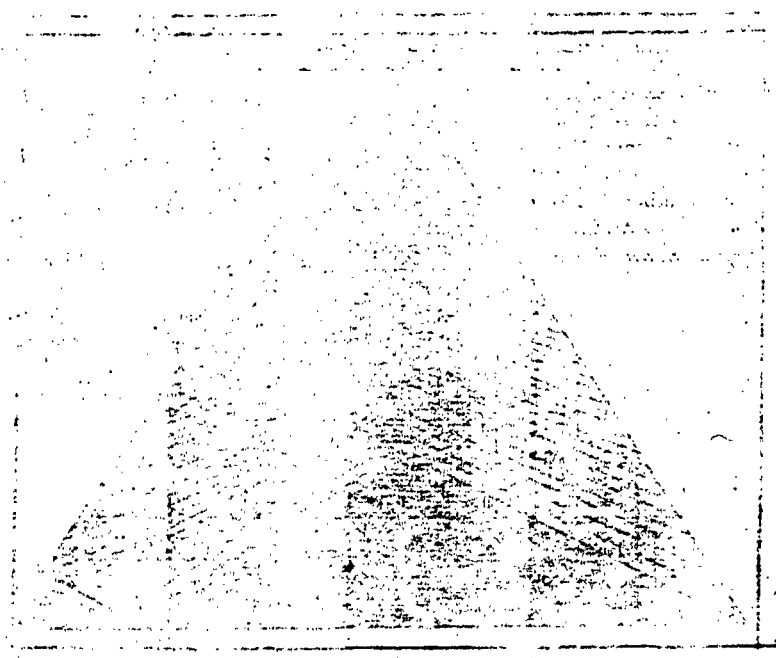



The inside of the first & fairest Pyramid
If you imagine ye whole Pyramid to be divided in ye midst, by a Plane extended from ye North side to ye South; ye entrance Galleries, and Chambers, with ye several passages to them, will appear in this manner.



of the ſituation giving beauty, as the Solidity of the Rock does firmneſs to the Superſtructure. The Baſis is exactly four-ſquar'd, and the North ſide of it being meaſur'd by Mr. *Greaves* with a *Radius* of 10 Feet, was found to be 693 *Engliſh* Feet, and the Altitude being meaſur'd by its Perpendicular, was found to be 481 Feet; but if it be taken as it aſcends inclining, then it is equal to the Latitude of the Baſis, which is 693 Feet. To give a true notion of the juſt Dimenſions of this Pyramid, we muſt imagine upon the ſides of the Baſis, which is perfectly ſquare, four equilateral triangles mutually propending, till they all met at the top, as it were in a Point; for ſo the Perimeter of each Triangle comprehending 2079 Feet, and the Perimeter of the Baſis 2772 Feet, the whole Area of the Baſis will contain 480249 ſquare Feet, or about eleven *Engliſh* Acres of Ground, which is a Proportion ſo monſtrous, that it might ſeem incredible, but that it is atteſted by the Ancients to be as much, and by ſome of them to be more. The aſcent to the top of the Pyramid from all the ſides without, is by degrees or Steps; the lowermoſt Degree is near four Foot in height, and 3 in breadth, which goes about the Pyramid in a level: the ſecond Degree is like the firſt, only it retires inward from the firſt near three Feet: after the ſame manner is the third row, and ſo the reſt, riſing like ſo many Stairs one above another to the top, which ends not in a Point, but in a little Flat, which is about 13 Feet broad, being cover'd with nine Stones, beſides two which are wanting at the Angles. The Degrees by which we aſcend, are not of an equal depth; for ſome are near four Feet, others want of three, and the higher we aſcend, the depth grows the leſs; and ſo in proportion does the breadth alſo decreaſe. Theſe Rows of Stones are much impair'd by the Weather; yet every Step, which is but one ſingle Stone, is at leaſt 30 cubical Feet. The number of Degrees from the bottom to the top, is 207 or 208. Some of the Ancients have reported, that this Pyramid caſts no ſhadow, which muſt be meant in the Summer-time, and at mid-day; for in the Winter Mr. *Greaves* ſaw it caſt a ſhadow at Noon.

After Mr. *Greaves* has taken a view of the Out-ſide of this Pyramid with its Figure and Dimenſions, he gives a particular Account of what he found within it, of which the Ancients were ſilent, out of a ſuperſtitious regard to the Sacredneſs of the Place, and the *Arabians* have given us romantick Deſcriptions. And firſt, He tells us how he aſcended on the North ſide 38 Feet, and there he and his Company enter'd into it with Tapers in their Hands, thro' a ſquare narrow Paſſage, three Feet broad and 92 long, the Declivity of which was gradually ſo ſtraitned, that they were forc'd, at the further end of it, to creep upon their Bellies. After this, having paſs'd thro' a place in which they found ugly large Bats above a Foot long, they entred thro' intricate Windings into many ſpacious Galleries, built with poliſh'd Marble, white ſpeckled. At the end of one they found the Well mention'd by *Pliny*, which is circular, being three Foot broad, and at that time 20 deep; the ſides of it are lin'd with white Marble, and the Deſcent into it is by faſtening the Hands and Feet in little open Spaces, cut in the ſides within. After we had paſs'd, ſays he, thro' ſeveral Galleries, which lie in the ſame continu'd Line, and lead to the middle of the Pyramid, we obſerved the ſtrange Echo mentioned by *Plutarch*, by diſcharging a Gun; for the Sound being carried in thoſe ſmooth Paſſages, and finding no vent outwards, reflects upon it ſelf, and cauſes a confus'd noiſe, which by degrees vaniſhes. But that which is moſt admirable, is the rich and ſpacious Chamber, which lies about the Center of the Pyramid, in which Art may ſeem to have contended with Nature, the curious Work being not inferiour to the rich Materials; for the Floor, the Roof, and the Sides of it, are all made of vaſt Tables of *Thebaick* Marble, very gracefully ſiz'd and plac'd. The nine Stones which cover the Roof, are of a prodigious length, like ſo many huge Beams traverſing the Room, and ſupporting the infinite Maſs of the Pyramid above. The length of it is about 34 *Engliſh* Feet, the breadth about 17, and the heighth 19 and a half. Within this glorious Room ſtands the Monument of *Cheops* or *Chemmis*, of one piece of Marble, hollow within, uncover'd at the top, and ſounding like a Bell, without any Sculpture or Emboſſment. But it is the common opinion, after *Diodorus*, that neither *Chemmis* nor his Succeſſor *Cephren* were buried in their Pyramids, becauſe, ſays he, the People being overpreſs'd by them with hard labour, threaten'd to tear their dead Bodies in pieces, and throw them out of theſe Sepulchres. *Diod. l.* 1. This Monument is of the ſame *Thebaick* Marble with the whole Room, being ſpeckled with black, white, and red Spots, and reſembles two Cubes finely ſet together, and hollow'd within. It is ſeven Feet three Inches and a half long, in breadth and depth three Feet three Inches and three quarters on the out-ſide, but within it is ſomething leſs, which ſhows that the Men of this Age are of the ſame Stature with thoſe that liv'd near 3000 Years ago, tho' ſome famous Men have thought the contrary. If any aſk how this Monument could be convey'd into this Chamber, ſince it is impoſſible for it to enter by thoſe narrow Paſſages in the Pyramid which lead to it? I anſwer, that it muſt have been rais'd and convey'd without up by ſome Engine, before the Chamber was finiſh'd and the Roof cloſ'd.

5 The ſecond Pyramid deſcribed.

The ſecond Pyramid is ſcarce diſtant the flight of an Arrow from the firſt, and is all built of Stones of a white colour, nothing ſo great as thoſe of the firſt; the ſides riſe not with Degrees or Steps like that, but are ſmooth and equal, and the whole Fabrick ſeems to be very entire, except on the South ſide. Tho' it is generally thought to be inferiour to the firſt in magnitude, yet by Mr. *Greaves*'s Obſervation, the Heighth and the Sides of the Baſis in both are equal. There is no Entrance into it, and therefore none can tell what Chambers are within. It is bounded on the North and Weſt ſides with two very ſtately and elaborate Structures, being 30 Foot deep, and more than 1400 long, cut out of the hard Rock, and ſquar'd by a Chizzel, which are ſuppos'd to be the Lodgings of the Prieſts.

6 The third Pyramid deſcribed.

The third Pyramid is diſtant from the ſecond about a Furlong, and tho' it appears at a diſtance to be of an equal height with the two former, becauſe of the advantage of its Situation upon a higher Riſe of the Hill, yet it is really much lower, each ſide of the Baſis being only 300 Feet long, which wants near 400 Feet of the two former. All the Ancient and Modern Writers generally agree that it was made of black *Ethiopic* Marble, whereas Mr. *Greaves* aſſures us upon his own Inſpection, that the whole Pyramid ſeems to be of a clear and white Stone, ſomewhat choicer and brighter than that in either of the other two Pyramids: but what the Stone within may be, no body can tell, ſince there is no Entrance into it.

Among the reſt of the Pyramids in the *Libyan* Deſart, which be about 18, there is one no leſs worthy of memory than any of the three former, which ſtands about 20 Miles diſtant from them, more within the Sandy Deſart, which appears to have the ſame Dimenſions, the ſame Steps without as the firſt: It appears alſo to be of the ſame colour, and to have an Entrance like that on the North ſide, which is barr'd up within; and ſo whatever is ſaid of the firſt in reſpect of the Out-ſide, is applicable to this.

As to the manner of erecting theſe ſtupendious Structures, Mr. *Greaves* diſliking what is ſaid about it by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Pliny*, is of opinion, That the Builders firſt made a large and ſpacious Tower in the midſt, reaching to the top, and that to the Sides of this Tower the reſt of the Building was applied, piece after piece, like ſo many Buttreſſes and Supporters, ſtill leſſening in heighth till they came to the lowermoſt Degree, which is a difficult Work, but very laſting.

The Coloſſus.

Not far from theſe ſtands the *Coloſſus*; up to the Mouth is all natural Rock, as if nature had form'd it ſo on purpoſe; the reſt is compos'd of huge flat Stones laid upon it, and wrought to repreſent an *Ethiopian* Woman, adored formerly by the Country People: Under this they ſay lies the Body of *Amaſis*. The ſize is not ſo monſtrous as reported by *Pliny*, who makes the Head 102 Feet in compaſs, whereas the whole is but 60 Feet high: the Face is ſomewhat diſfigur'd by time, or the ſpite of the *Moors*, who abominate Images. *Pliny* and others call it *Sphinx*. The upper part of the *Sphinx* reſembled a Maiden, the lower a Lion: by this Figure the ——— *Egyptians* meant the Increaſe of their River, and conſequently of ——— their Riches, which happens when the Sun is in the Signs of *Leo* and *Virgo* ———. This is but from the Shoulders upward, tho' *Pliny* gives it a Belly, which could never be, unleſs the Belly be now covered with the Sand. By a *Sphinx* in their *Hieroglyphicks*, they repreſented an Harlot alſo, having an amiable, and an alluring Face, but withal the Tyranny and Danger of a Lion, which ſhe makes uſe of over the willingly ſeduced Cully. Such ſort of Figures they erected alſo before their Temples, thinking that the Myſteries of Religion and Philoſophy ought to be contained in Ænigmatical Expreſſions, that they might be kept from the Knowledge of the giddy Multitude.

Memphis. Five Miles South-eaſt of theſe, and two Weſt of the River, towards which the Brow of the Mountain leans a little, ſtood the Royal City of *Memphis*, the Strength and Glory of old *Egypt*, built by *Ogdoo*, and call'd ſo after his Daughter, whom they fable *Nilus* lay with in the ſhape of a Bull. In this was the Temple of *Apis*, the ſame with *Oſiris*; and *Nilus*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, &c. are all the ſame. There is ſcarce enough of Ruins left to teſtify that *Memphis*, once ſo famous, ſtood here; yet ſome few Remains are to be ſeen ſtill, and ſome Statues of monſtrous Reſemblances, which ly in a ruinous condition.

This has made ſome miſtake old *Memphis* for the preſent *Cairo*: But ſuch as have both ſeen and wrote of the former, ſay it ſtood eight Scenes above the Southern Angle of *Delta*, each Scene containing five Miles, and ſometimes ſeven and a half, according to the differing Cuſtoms; this South Angle of *Delta* is four Miles diſtant from *Cairo*. Beſides, theſe Pyramids belonging to *Memphis*, ſaid to have ſtood five Miles North-weſt of the City, ſtanding directly Weſt, and full twelve from this. But the moſt convincing Proof is, the *Mummies* lying in a place, where many Generations have had their Burying Places, not far above *Memphis*, on the Skirts of the *Libyan* Deſarts, and ſtreightning of the Mountains almoſt 20 Miles from *Cairo*: ſo that it would be very odd that they ſhould carry their dead ſo far, if they had ſo convenient a place of Interment near the City.

We would gladly have ſeen theſe; but the chargeable Guard, and the fear of the *Arabs*, who were then ſolemnizing their Feaſt there, and the Inconvenience of lying out all Night, made us be ſatisfied with what we had heard, having ſeen before ſeveral of the embalmed Bodies, and ſome broken up to be bought for a Dollor a piece at the City. In that place are ſome pretty large, and many little Pyramids, with Tombs of ſeveral faſhions, ſeveral ruin'd, and as many violated by the *Moors* and *Arabs*, who make Money of the dead Bodies.

Mummies. Here the ancient *Egyptians* were uſed to be interr'd, and were fond to be buried there, as ſuppoſing it to contain the Body of *Oſiris*. Under every one, or whereſoever Stones lie which are not natural to the place, if you remove them, are diſcover'd Deſcents like the narrow Mouths of Wells, having holes in each ſide of the Walls to go down by inſtead of Steps, yet ſo troubleſome, that many refuſe to go down that came there on purpoſe; ſome of them are near ten Fathom deep, leading into long Vaults, belonging, as it ſhould ſeem, to particular Families, hewn out of the Rock, with Pillars for it. Between each Arch the Corps ly rank'd one by another, ſhrowded in folds of Linnen, ſwath'd with Bands of the ſame, the Breaſts of ſeveral being ſtain'd with Hieroglyphical Characters; in their Bellies are painted Papers, and their Gods incloſed in little Medals of Stone or Metal, ſome of the ſhape of Men in Coat Armours, with the Heads of Sheep, Hawks, Dogs, &c. others of Cats, Beetles, Monkeys, and ſuch like: I brought ſeveral of theſe with me: the Linnen pull'd off (which for Colour and Subſtance reſembles the inward Film between the Bark and the Bole, when long dried, and brittle) the Body appears ſolid, uncorrupted, and perfect in all its Dimenſions; whereof the Maſculous Parts are moſt brown, ſome black, hard as Stone-Pitch, and in Phyſick works ſomewhat alike, tho' accounted more ſoveraign. When they prepare theſe to keep them from Putrefaction, they draw out the Brains at the Noſtrils with an Iron Inſtrument, filling the ſame with preſervative Spices; then cutting up the Belly with an *Ethiopian* Stone, and taking out the Bowels, they cleanſe the Inſide with Wine, and ſtuffing the ſame with a Compoſition of Caſſia, Myrrhe, and other Odours, cloſe it again. The ſame the poorer ſort of People did with Bitumen, as the Inſide of their Skulls and Bellies ſtill teſtify, fetcht from the Lake of *Aſphaltites* in *Jewry*: So did they alſo with the Juice of Cedars; which by the extream bitterneſs and drying faculty, not only forthwith removed the Cauſe of interiour Corruption, but to this day, which is about 3000 Years, has preſerved them uncorrupted: So different is the quality of that Tree, procuring Life to the Dead, and being very dangerous to the Living. After this they wrap the Body in a great many Folds of Linnen, beſmear'd with Gum like Sear-cloath. When they had performed their Ceremonies, which were very numerous, they put the Corpſe in a Boat, to be wafted over *Acheruſia*, a Lake on the South of the City, by one certain Perſon only, whom they called *Charon*; this gave *Orpheus* the hint of his Infernal Ferryman. Near this Lake ſtood the ſhady Temple of *Hecate*, with the Ports of *Cocytus* and *Oblivion*, ſeparated by Bars of Braſs, which became the Original of the Fables of that nature. When the dead Body was conveyed to the other ſide, 'twas brought before certain Judges, where if the Deceas'd was convicted of an evil Life, they refuſed it Burial, otherwiſe 'twas interr'd as aforeſaid. Thus did theſe People endeavour to ſecure an uſeleſs miſtaken Eternity to their Names and Bodies.

The manner of preſerving dead Bodies.

Returning the ſame way we came, and having repaſt the *Nile*, we turn'd a little to the right to view the Ruins of the old City, call'd formerly *Babylon*, joining to the South part of *Cairo*. It had its name from ſome *Babylonians*, whom the old *Egyptian* Kings ſuffer'd to live there, who built a Caſtle in the ſame place where this now ſtands, deſcribed before, which was a great while after a Garriſon Town of the three Legions, poſted here to defend this Country in the time of the *Romans*, and anciently gave the name to the City below, formerly call'd *Miſrubbetick* by the *Arabians*, ſaid to have been built by *Omar*, Succeſſor to *Mahomet*; but it muſt be certainly rather re-edified than founded by him, having had in it ſo many Chriſtian Churches, as the Ruins Witneſs. *Babylon.*

We paſs'd by a mighty Ciſtern within a Tower, and ſtanding upon a place where the River comes in, rais'd as is ſaid by the *Jews* to moderate the Anger of the King, whom they provoked to fall out with the innocent Chriſtians, and they by removing a Mountain (which talk the Prince impos'd upon them as a Tryal of their Faith) converted him to their Religion, and turn'd his Diſpleaſure upon their Accuſers. This runs along an Aqueduct, ſupported by 300 Arches, and ſupplies the Caſtle with Water. The Ruins of the City are great, and ſo are the Buildings, among which are many Chriſtian Monaſteries and Temples; the laſt that was left was thrown down by the *Baſſa*, becauſe as it ſhould ſeem it ſpoiled his proſpect; but then I ſhould think he would ſcarce have given the Patriarch leave to rebuild it; the *Moors* abus'd him with their Tongues for it, and threw down what that worthy Man begun. Upon this *Cyril* made a Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, to procure the *Grand Signior's* Order for doing it; when he was upon this Buſineſs, he was, but not thro' his own ſeeking, choſen Patriarch of the *Greeks*, and a little after, by the Briberies of another, being diſplac'd, he return'd to *Cairo*. Here is a little Chappel ſtill ſtanding, dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*, under which is a Grotto, where they ſay ſhe hid her ſelf when *Herod* purſued her. 'Tis much frequented by the Chriſtians, and ſo is the Tomb of *Neſiſſa* in this place by the *Mahometans*. A Ciſtern made by the Jews.

The few Inhabitants that are here are *Greeks* and *Armenians*; we ſaw great *Seraglio's*, very high, and propt up by Buttreſſes: Theſe are reported to be the Granaries of *Joſeph*, where he hoarded Corn in the Year of Plenty to provide againſt want in the approaching Famine: they are ſeven in all, three ſtanding and employed to the ſame uſe, the reſt ruined. From hence up the River is nothing to be ſeen but Ruins for twenty Miles together; and thereabouts we ended our Day's Journey. *Joſeph's* Granaries.

On the fourth of *March* we left *Cairo* in the diſguiſe of Pilgrims, four of us *Engliſh* and three *Italians*, of whom one was a Prieſt, and another a Phyſician: For our ſelves we hired three Camels, and their Keepers two to carry us, the third for our Proviſions: the Price is to be known at *Gaza* upon the dividing the great Profit of the Caravan, anſwerable to the ſucceſs of the Journey. We had alſo a *Coptie* for half a Dollar a Day, to be our Interpreter, and to wait upon us: We ſtock'd our ſelves with Proviſion for ſo long a Voyage, as Biſcuit, Rice, Raiſins, Figs, Dates, Almonds, Olives, Oyl, Sherbet, &c. and bought Pewter, Braſs, and ſuch like Conveniencies, as if we intended to ſet up Houſe-keeping: Our Water we carried in Goat-ſkins. We rode in ſhallow things like Cradles, which we were forced to buy too: We were two on a Camel, which was ſecur'd above, and cover'd with Linnen, a Poſture extreamly uneaſy, but the Inhabitants that are uſed to it, ſit croſs-legg'd naturally. That Night we pitch'd near *Hangia*, 14 Miles from the City: In the Evening the Captain came, a *Turk*, well mounted, and with a good Attendance. Here we ſtaid the next day for the gathering together of the Caravan, paying to the People of the Village four *Madeins* for every Camel, for which they guard us at Night, and make good whatever is ſtolen: they do the ſame in other places. One of them often calling out *Waſhed*, which is anſwered by *Elough*, which together ſignifies *One God*; this Watch-word paſſing round the Caravan, is ſufficient Aſſurance that all's ſafe. Among us were ſeveral *Jewiſh* Women, extreamly old, who undertook the Journey only to die at *Jeruſalem*, carrying with them the Bones of their Parents, Huſbands, Children and other Kindred; the ſame Whim carries them from all other parts, where they

they can conveniently. The Merchants had with them many *Negroes*, a good Commodity: They buy them of their Parents, 30 Miles higher on the West side of the River, who part with them without any concern; for as others look upon their Riches to consist in the Multitude of their Cattle, so these count their Wealth by the number of their Children.

About ten at Night we set out, and arrived the next Morning at *Billbesh*, in the Land of *Goshen*, from thence continuing our Journey, we arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Catara*, where we met with Cotton-trees, and a Tree call'd by the *Arabs*, *Alchan*; the Powder of its dried Leaves, being a Die for a reddish-yellow. With this Die the Women in the *Turkish* Empire colour their Hair and Nails, and sometimes their Hands and Feet, and the other parts of their Body, tempering it with Gum, and laying it on in the Bagnio, that it may penetrate the deeper. Some *Christians* use it as well as *Mahometans*, and indeed the Consumption is so universal throughout the *Turkish* Empire, that the Value of what is used, amounts to 80000 Sultanies.

Makes a great Die among the Turcs.

Next day we came to *Salhia*: A little lower is a Lake call'd anciently *Sirbonis* and now *Bayrena*, which divides *Egypt* from *Syria*. In former times 'twas called *Barathrum*, from its sucking in, and swallowing up whole Armies; for it had then a Passage into the Sea (which is now choaked up) and run out to the length of 200 Furlongs, in a narrow Trough, guarded on each Hand with Hills of Sand; which being driven by the Wind into the Water, so as to thicken it to the seeming consistency of Earth; so that when People came upon it unawares, the first Sand they trode on seem'd firm enough, but after a further Progress the Sand gave way, and sliding still further into the Body of the Lake, made it impossible for the Traveller to retreat. Now 'tis only a little Lake, and grows daily less.

The Lake Sirbonis or Barathrum.

Near this Lake is the Mountain *Cassius*, or a huge Mole of Sand, famous for the Temple of *Jupiter*, and the Tomb of *Pompey*, which was nobly repair'd by the Emperour *Adrian*. The North side of the Lake is border'd by *Idumea* (or *Edom*) so call'd from the *Idumeans*, a People of *Arabia Felix*, who abdicated their own Country, and here incorporated by the *Hebrews*.

Mount Cassius. Pompey's Tomb.

The *Subassee* of *Salhia* invited himself to our Tent, and after feeding upon our Provisions, would have fallen upon our Persons, if we had not been fortified by a Passport from the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, and our Captain's Interest. Here our whole Caravan assembled, consisting of 1000 Horses, Mules and Asses, and 500 Camels, a Camel being a Beast created for, is not only useful but necessary in the *Arabian* Deserts: He'll carry 1000 weight, tho' 600 be the ordinary Load. In loading or unloading he lies on his Belly, and when he is loaded proportionably to his Strength, will (as is said) rise up and refuse to take more. He'll travel for four Days (or fourteen upon a Pinch) without Water: for in his frequent Belchings, he thrusts up a Bladder, which moistens his Throat and Mouth, and commonly upon a Journey he is cram'd with Barly-dough. Some say the Camels are the only Creatures that ingender backwards. Their Pace is slow and unsufferable hard; and upon the least uneven or slippery Ground they are apt to stumble. They are very mild and tractable, abating for the time of their Venery, which lasts 40 days, and which is so furious, that they bite and scratch their Keepers. About their Necks they have certain Charms writ by the *Dervises*, and inclos'd in Leather, to preserve from Mischance and the Poyson of ill Eyes.

A Description of the Arabian Camels.

On the tenth of *March* we entred *Arabia Petræa*, a barren desolate Country, which bears nothing but a few scatter'd Palms, and a little wild Hyssop, with which the Inhabitants feed their Camels, the Milk and Flesh of Camels being their principal Sustenance. The whole Country is a Wilderness of Sand heap'd up in Mountains, according as the Wind blows.

The Particulars of the Author's Journey thro' this Country, the Holy Land, &c. are referr'd to another Province; only 'tis thought not improper to take in here his Observations upon *Malta*.

On the 2d of *June* being *Sunday*, we enter'd the Haven, which lies on the East side of the City of *Valetta* in the Isle of *Malta*, which we saluted with 18 eighteen Guns, but we were not allowed to enter, tho' we had a Patent to shew that we were free from the Plague, nor suffer'd to depart when the Wind served, which was within two days after; for the Gallies were then setting out upon some Enterprize on *Barbary*; for which reason they would not let us go, lest if we were taken, we should make some discovery; nay, they were so cautious, as to hinder any of their own Ships to put out, till sometime after the Gallies were gone, for fear of a Surprizal; but a large *Dutch* Ship putting in to see for Company, and the *English* being already so strong, they were licenced to sail the sixth of *June*, the Masters having the Night before in their Long-boats, waited the Return of the Great Master, from viewing a Fort, which was then building, and welcomed him home with 21 Guns.

Arrival at Malta.

I who never could be reconciled to the Sea, chose rather to stay behind alone, and undergo all possible Difficulties than entertain the Thoughts of so tedious a Voyage; so I was left upon a naked Promontory right against the City, remote from the Concourse of People, and at a loss how to dispose of my self: At last a little Boat made towards me, rowed by an Officer, whose business it is to attend on Strangers that have not *Pratticke* to prevent any Infection by Companies going near them. This Man carried me to the hollow hanging of a Rock, where for that Night I was to take up my Quarters, and the next day he was to carry me to the *Lazaretto*, and there I was to stay 30 or 40 Days before I could be admitted into the City. In this melancholly condition was I, musing on my Hardships, while my Guardian was gone for some Victuals for me; but in the mean time this lucky Accident offer'd, A *Phelucco* came to the place with two old Women in it, who spread a *Turky* Carpet upon the Rock, and upon that a Table-cloath, which they furnished with variety of the choicest Meats: A little after came another *Pheluccco*, which set a Gallant ashoar with his two Mistresses, dress'd like Nymphs, with Lutes in their Hands, full of fondling tricks, scarce giving the Spark leave to eat a bit, but what they put into his Mouth: Sometimes the one would play upon the Lute, whilst 'tother sung, and laid his Head in her Lap, thus aping the Passions of Lovers. The old Hags had no small share in the Comedy, with their ridiculous Moppings. These, as I heard afterwards, were the young Women's Mothers, who had brought them from *Greece*, to trade with the unmarried Knighthood: at last the Gentleman, who was a *French* Captain, invited me to take part with them, which I wanted not to be much intreated to, and he spoke to them to make much of the *Forestier*: but they needed not to be spurr'd; for they grew presently so familiar, as was loathsome to us both: both he and they, in pity of my hard lodging, offered to convey me into the City by Night and bring me back in the Morning; a Crime, which if discovered, is punishable with death: While they were perswading me to it, my Guardian returned, and a *Maltese* with him, whose Father was an *Englishman*: As soon as he understood what they had proposed to me, he dissuaded them; so the Captain having promised me his good Offices, departed. When they were got a pretty way from the Shoar, the Whores stript and leapt into the Sea, where they violated all the Bounds of Modesty. The Captain did not forget his Promise, and having sollicited the *Great Master* on my behalf, as he sate in Council, *Pratticke* was granted me, by the consent of the great Crosses; so I came into the City, and was kindly entertained in the House of the *Maltese* last mentioned, where I staid three Weeks.

The Author stays behind.

Malta lies in the *Libyan* Sea, exactly between *Tripolis* in *Barbary* and the South-east Angle of *Sicily*, an hundred and fourscore Miles distant from the one, and sixty from the other; it contains three score Miles in circuit, and was formerly called *Melita*, upon the account of the plenty of Honey there. The Country is all over Champion, being no other than a Rock covered with Earth, not exceeding two Foot where deepest. There are few Trees here but such as bear Fruit, which they are well provided with of all sorts; Wood for their Fuel they fetch from *Sicily*, except what is used by the meaner sort of People, which is a kind of great Thistle and Cow-dung: but they consume not much, the Climate is so excessive hot; for tho' it is sometimes moderated by the Winds, to which it is exposed from the Sea, 'tis hotter than any place in the same Parallel. Here are no Rivers, but several Fountains. The Soil produces no Grain but Barley; the Bread made of that and Olives is the ordinary Diet of the Villagers, and the Straw sustains their Cattle. They have plenty enough of Cumin-Seed, Annis-Seed, and Honey, which they merchandize with; besides, they have some Cotton-Wool, which exceeds all others. The Inhabitants dy rather of Age than Diseases, and had formerly the name of Fortunate, because of their excelling in Arts and nice Weavings. They were originally a Colony of the *Phænicians*, who trading as far as the main Ocean, settled upon this Island, and by the Conveniency of the Haven, got great Estates; in the midst of it is built the City of *Malta*, now called *Old Malta*, either

Malta described.

giving

giving a name to the whole place, or borrowing one from it.

Their Language.

Their Language differs not much from the *Moresco*, tho' it retains some Print still of the *Punick* Tongue. I cannot decide, whether it came into the Possession of *Spain*, together with the Kingdom of *Sicily*, or the *Spaniards* conquer'd it from the *Moors*, which is likely, both by the Resemblance of Languages, and because 'tis accounted to belong to *Africa*: however that be, *Spain* had it in the time of *Charles* the first, who bestowed it on the Knights of *Rhodes*.

The beginning of the Order.

This Order of Knighthood looks upon St. *John Baptist* as their Patron, but was first instituted by *John* the Charitable Patriarch of *Alexandria*. Their first Seat was the Hospital of St. *John* in *Jerusalem*, which gave them the Name of Knights Hospitallers: That place was built by one *Gerard*, about the time when the successful Expeditions of the Christians against the Holy Land, were so famous: The Renown of those Adventures won many worthy Persons in that Society approved by Pope *Gelasius* the second. By the Allowance of *Honorius* the second, they wore Garments of black, sign'd with a white Cross; *Raymond* first Master of the Order, enlarged their Canons; his Stile was, *The poor Servant of Christ, and Guardian of the Hospital in* Jerusalem. In every Country in *Christendom* they had Hospitals and Revenues assign'd them, with Contributions from Pope *Innocent* the second. Their Vows tied them to entertain all Pilgrims with singular Humility, to guard their Roads from Thieves and Incursions, and valiantly to defend their Lives in defence of that Country. When the Christians were beaten out of *Syria*, the *Greek* Emperour gave them *Rhodes* for their Settlement: Others say *Clement* the fifth did. They conquer'd it from the *Turks*, but as aforesaid, lost it again, and then fix'd in *Malta*. There are here seven *Alberges* or Seminaries; one of *France* in general, one of *Averne*, one of *Provence*, one of *Castile*, one of *Arragon*, one of *Italy*, one of *Germany*, and an eighth there was of *England*, till dissolved by *Henry* the eighth: Yet there is one still that supplies his place, in the Election of the great Master. Of every one of these Countries there is a Grand Prior, who regulates the Affairs of the Order, and lives in great Reputation in his Country.

Seven Seminaries.

St. *Johns* near *Smithfield*, was the Residence of the Grand Prior of *England*; and an *Irish*-man now living in *Naples*, bears the Title, and receives a large Pension from *Spain*. Such as are Candidates for this Dignity, stay here a Year for Probation, and must prove their Gentility for six Descents, which is tried by the Knights of the Country. Women are not incapable of this Honour, as appears by a Statute made in the Master-ship of *Hugo Revius*; perhaps because one *Agnis*, a noble Lady, was Author of the Order, as they affirm; but I could not hear of any now that are Members of it. The Ceremonies used in Knighting are these: First, The Knight carries a Waxen Taper in his Hand, and kneels before the Altar, cloathed in a long loose Garment, and requests the Ordinary to invest him with the Order: then he receives a Sword in the *Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, to defend the Catholick Faith with it, to repel and vanquish the Enemy, to relieve the Oppressed, and, if occasion be, to expose himself to death for the Faith, and all by the Power of the Cross, which is signified by the Cross-hilt of the Sword. Next, They put a Belt about him, and strike him three times on the Shoulder with a Sword, which is to instruct him, that for the Honour of Christ he must chearfully undergo any Hardship: As soon as he has received it, he flourishes it thrice over his Head, as a challenge to the Adversary, and then sheaths it again, wiping the Sword first upon his Arm, as an Emblem of the undefiled Life he intends to lead for the future: Then the Person that performs the Ceremony of giving him the Knight-hood, lays his Hand on his Shoulder, and exhorts him to be vigilant in the Faith, to aspire to Honour by courageous and praise-worthy Actions, &c. When that's done, two Knights put on his Spurs, gilt, to signify that he ought to spurn and contemn Gold like Dirt, and never be corrupted with it: Then he proceeds to Mass with the Taper in his Hand, the Works of Piety, Hospitality, and Redemption of Captives, being commended to him, and the Questions are put to him, If he be married or a Batchelor, if he never vowed to another Order, if he be of any other Profession, if he design to live among them to revenge their Injuries, and quit the Authority of secular Magistracy. His Answers being given, upon receiving the Sacrament, he vows as follows: *I vow to the Almighty God, to the Virgin* Mary *his immaculate Mother, and to St.* John Baptist, *perpetually, by the help of God, to be truly obedient to all my Superiours, appointed by God and this Order, to live without any thing of my own, and withal to live chastly.* Upon this he is made a Partaker of their Privileges and Indulgencies, granted them by the See of *Rome*. Besides other Prayers they are commanded to say 150 *Pater-Nosters* every day, for such as have been slain in their Wars. They wear Ribbands about their Necks, with Branches of the Cross, and black Cloaks, with large white Crosses of fine Linnen, set in the Shoulder of them: In time of War, they wear Crimson Mandilions cross'd the same way, behind and before over their Armour.

Women capable.

The Ceremonies of Institution.

The Vow every Knight makes at his admission.

They come here very young, that they may the sooner get a *Commendam* at home, many of which are of great value, not got by Favour, but by Seigniority: They are obliged to live here five Years (but that need not be all together) and to go on four Expeditions. If one of them be convicted of a Capital Crime, he is first publickly degraded in the Church of St. *John*, where he receiv'd his Knighthood; then strangled, and thrown into the Sea by Night. Every Nation feeds by themselves in their several *Alberges*, and sit at Table like Fryars; but such as upon petition, have leave to eat alone, have 60 Crowns allowed them by the Religion yearly; all of them receive 25 for their Cloaths.

There are 500 residing here, and as many dispers'd throughout Christendom, who repair hither upon any Summons, or the News of an Invasion; where they will, the Religion is the universal Heir, only one fifth part of their Substance, each Knight may dispose of: Sixteen of them are Counsellors of State, and of chief Authority called the *Great Crosses*. These wear Tippets and Coats under their Cloaks signed with them. In the number of these are the Marshal, the Master of the Hospital, the Admiral, the Chancellor, &c. When one dies, another is chosen by the Great Master and his Knights, who give their Votes (if I remember right) by Ballots, as the *Venetians* do: by which means they avoid both Envy and Faction. If the Great Master fall sick, they suffer no Vessel to go out of the Haven, till he is either recovered, or dead, and another chosen in his Room, lest the Pope should intrude into the Election, which they say only belongs to themselves: The Election is performed thus.

The manner of choosing the Great Master.

Every Nation chooses two Knights of their own, two being chosen for the *English* also: these sixteen out of their own number name eight; those eight appoint a Knight, a Priest, and a Fryar Servant, who wears Arms too; and these three choose the Great Master out of the sixteen great Crosses. The present Master is a *Picard* born, about 60 Years old, and has governed eight Years. His Title is, *The Illustrious and most Reverend Prince, my Lord Fryar* Alofius *of* Wignian Court, *Great Master of the Hospital of St.* John's *of* Jerusalem, *Prince of* Malta *and* Goza. For tho' he is no more than a Fryar, as the other Knights are, he is an absolute Soveraign, and has a brave Attendance of gallant young Gentlemen. The Clergy wear the Badge of the Order, and are subject to the same Laws, except in Military Affairs.

There are 60 Villages in this Island, under the Command of ten Captains; and four Cities; *Old Malta*, as was said before, is seated in the Center of the Island upon an Hill; 'tis shaped like a Scutcheon. They do not esteem it to be of great Importance; however there is a Garrison kept in it. They show a Grotto here, in which they say St. *Paul* lay after he was shipwrack'd, reverenced by them with great Devotion. The Refin'd Stone of it they cast into Medals, with the Effigies of St. *Paul* on one side, and a Viper on the other, or an *Agnus Dei*, and the like, which they sell in great numbers to Foreigners. They report, that when 'tis drunk in Wine, it cures the Venome of Serpents; and tho' there are many Serpents in this place, they give it out, that tho' you handle or vex them, they have no Power to hurt you, having lost their Venome ever since the Apostle was here. The other three Cities, if they may be so called, are about eight Miles distant, and not above a Musquet-shot from each other, near the East end; and on the North side of the Island you have the double Haven, divided by a Tongue of Rock, which reaches no farther than the Entrance, whose largeness makes it convenient. The East Haven resembles a Stag's Horn; the first Branch affords an excellent Harbour for the tallest Ships, the Second for Gallies, the rest are shallow. Close to the uppermost top is a Fountain of fresh Water, which plentifully supplies all Vessels. On the tip of the Tongue (as one may call it) stood the strong Castle of St. *Hermes*, the first that the *Turk* besieged, which after many desperate Assaults, and 20000 Cannon-shot spent, the noise of which was heard as far as *Messina*, they took in *June*, 1565, after they

The Castle St. Hermes.

they had loſt ten thouſand Men before it, to the great honour of the Conquer'd to have made ſo ſtout a defence.

On the Point of the Promontory, which lies between thoſe two Branches of the Haven where the Ships and Gallies have their Station, ſtands the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, on a ſteep Rock; this Fortreſs gave a ſufficient Proof of its ſtrength, by obliging the *Turks* to raiſe the Siege, this being the next, after St. *Hermes*, which was attack'd; it retains ſtill the Scars or Marks of the Shot. At the Foot of the Rock ſome Cannon are planted, which command the Entry into the Haven. A *Mahometan*, deſcended, as 'twas thought, of Chriſtian Parents, leap'd into the Sea here, in the height of the Siege, and in ſpite of the great Fire that was made at him, ſwam to the Caſtle, received Baptiſm, and was of no ſmall uſe to the Beſieged, diſcovering moſt of the Deſigns of the *Turks*, and puſht bravely forward in all Actions. The gallant Behaviour of the Knights, and the Report which was ſpread about of a Chriſtian Army coming to their Relief, diſcouraged the *Turks* ſo much, that they ſaw fit to draw off; however, all the Iſland but *Burgo* and St. *Angelo*, being reduced to Aſhes, the Knights conſulted about leaving it, rather than repair the lamentable Ruins to reſiſt againſt an unequal Enemy, eſpecially conſidering the backwardneſs of the Chriſtian Princes to aſſiſt them, the laſt Succours being by the Circumſpect Vice-roy of *Sicily*, unreaſonably delayed: But it lay too convenient for the *Turk* to annoy the Neighbouring States of *Chriſtendom*; for which reaſon the Pope, the *Florentine*, and the reſt of the *Italian* Princes, encouraged them to continue there, ſupplying them with Money and neceſſary Proviſions; but more eſpecially the King of *Spain*, who ſent them 3000 Pioneers from *Naples* and *Sicily*, by whoſe help they repair'd their old Works, and began a new City upon that Tongue of Land, which divides the two Havens: This City is now almoſt finiſhed.

Valet. It bears the Name of *Valetta* in honour of *John de Valetta*, then Great Maſter; 'tis not very large, but handſome, well contriv'd, and the ſtrongeſt of all the Fortreſſes, being ſituated on an high Ground, and not capable of being attack'd from the Land, any where but at the South End: The Walls of the other Parts of the City, join to the Rock as tho' they were of a piece with it, and are waſh'd by the Sea. It is join'd to the Land by a narrow Iſthmus, where the Rock does riſe naturally; the Ditch on the out-ſide is cut exceeding deep and broad; 'tis ſtrongly flank'd and wants nothing that Fortification can give: The only Gate of the City opens this way, and immediately upon your Entrance, you face two great Bulwarks, mounted with Cannon: The two Gates which lead, one to St. *Hermes*, and the other to the Haven, are but little poſterns: At the other end, but without the Wall, ſtands St. *Hermes*, which is now ſtronger than ever. Of that of St. *Angelo*, no *Frenchman* is allow'd to be Governour. Almoſt every where there are Platforms of Guns on the Walls. On the inſide the Walls are not above ſix Foot high, being unfenc'd and ſhelving on the out-ſide: The Buildings all along are at a good diſtance from the Walls, to leave room for the Souldiers, and ſecure them from Battery.

On the Weſt ſide near the South end, is a great Pit hewen into a Rock, without which a Port is cut under the Wall into the Weſt Haven; 'tis not yet finiſh'd, but deſign'd for an Arſenal to receive their Gallies, being a Work of great difficulty: This Harbour is too ſhallow for Ships of Burden. The Market-place is large, and from it the Streets point directly to the Walls. The Buildings are moſtly uniform, of Free-Stone, two Stories high, and flat at the top: The Upper-Rooms generally have Tarraſſes outwards. The Great Maſter's Palace is a noble Structure, adorn'd with a Tower, which over-looks the whole Iſland. The Council-Chamber is curiouſly painted with their Fights by Sea and Land, both abroad, and in defence of their own Territories.

Alberges. The ſeven *Alberges* of the Knights are not contemptible Buildings, and among them the City is quartered. The Churches of St. *Paul* and St. *John* are magnificent Edifices; the one is the Seat of a Biſhop, the other of a Prior.

St. John's Hoſpital. St. *John's* Hoſpital is worthy taking notice of, both for the Building and Attendance: All that fall ſick are admitted to it: the Knights themſelves lodge there when diſtemper'd; for they're provided here with Phyſick for Body and Soul too (ſuch as it is). Attendants they do not want for, being ſerv'd conſtantly by the *Junior* Knights in Silver, and every *Friday* by the Grand Maſter and the great Croſſes; to this the Rules of their Conſtitution oblige them, and hence they derive the Title of Knight-Hoſpitallers: The Beds in this Hoſpital are covered with handſome Carpets: Their Linnen alſo is chang'd once a Fortnight: The Jeſuits have a Colledge now building here: There are three Nunneries to, one for Virgins, one for Penitent Whores, and the other for their Baſtards.

Their Proviſions from whence fetch'd. The Barrenneſs of *Malta* is ſufficiently recompens'd by the Neighbourhood of *Sicily*, from whence their Supplies come: The City is provided always with three Years Stores; and as the Old conſumes, they import more to make good the Deficiency. What their freſh Water-Fountains fall ſhort of, is ſupplied with the Rain-Water preſerv'd in Ciſterns.

The number of Men. The Forces of this Iſland, Knights and their Dependants, Citizens, &c. (which are included in the Muſter) amounts to about 20000 Men. They are almoſt conſtantly tolling the Bell, which is anſwer'd from the next Forts in order. The Religious have five Gallies, to which number ('tis ſaid) they are confin'd, and but one Ship: what there are beſides, belong to private Men. Their Expeditions are generally for Plunder, either to ſurprize ſome Village on the Coaſt of *Africa*, or if they meet a ſmall Ship they rifle it, bring the Men away for Slaves, and ſet the Ship a drift. They make advantage of the Slaves, either by their work, or by admitting them to Ranſome, which brings hither frequently Boats from *Africa*, with Flags of Treaty. While I was there, a Bark was brought in by eight *Engliſh-men*, who had long ſerv'd the *Turks*, but in this laſt Voyage, ſeizing Weapons, they drove the Pirates, who were double their number, into the Stern, where two kept guard upon them, and the others dreſs'd the Sails for *Malta*. The Inquiſition is of little Authority here, not being allowed to come into the City: They reſide at *Burgo*.

Engliſh courage.

The Complexion of the Malteſe. The *Malteſe* are almoſt as tawny as the *Moors*, the Peaſants eſpecially, who go half cloath'd, and are a miſerable People. The City obſerves your *French* Modes, the preſent Grand Maſter and moſt of the Knights being *French-men*. The Women cover their Faces, converſe not with Men, and are as jealouſly guarded as in *Italy*; but thoſe that are afraid to marry, may ſerve their turns without the pain of Jealouſy; for here are Curtiſans in abundance, moſt of them being *Grecians*.

The Patron's Feſtival. Now were the Gallies returned, but the Feſtival of their Patron ſtopt my Voyage, no Boat, while it laſts, being ſuffered to put to Sea. The Night before, the Palace, Temples, Alberges, and other chief Buildings, were illuminated; and next day all the Artillery was diſcharg'd; the Forts hung out their Banners; each Alberge the Enſign of their reſpective Nations, and at Night Bonfires before them; in a word, they made as pompous a Show as they could. The Fires before the Palace, and Habitations of the chief Men, were for greater State ſet fire to by the great Perſons themſelves.

On the 24th of *June* I left *Malta* in a *Phalucco* of *Naples*, a Veſſel about as big as a Wherry, row'd by five Men. They ſet forward generally two Hours before Sun-ſet, and if they diſcover not a ſuſpected Sail, they reach the Coaſt of *Sicily* next Morning.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

An Abstract of Mr. Richard Jobson's *Voyage for the Discovery of* Gambra, *and the Golden Trade of the* Ethiopians.

THE *English-Barbary* Merchants having enquir'd of the *Moors* from whence they had that Gold of which they made their *Chequins*, and being assur'd that there was no Gold to be found in *Morocco* or *Fez*, but that it was brought by the Natives over great Deserts of Sand by Land, concluded from the Information given, that it must come from *Ethiopia*, and therefore resolved to fit out some Ships to seek for this Golden Trade, in some of those Rivers that fall into the Ocean on the South-west side.

To this purpose in *September* 1618, they sent one *George Thomson* in a Ship to enter into the River *Gambra*, and to sail up that River with such Shallops as he had; which he did, and in his absence the Ship was taken by some vagrant *Portuguese*, who were admitted freely to come aboard, and all the *English-men* left in her were kill'd; and *Thomson* himself, having got up the River as far as *Tinda*, and being full of Golden Hopes, was kill'd in a Quarrel by one of his own Company.

Thomson being kill'd in *March*, whereby all his Labour was lost, the Adventurers in *October* next sent out a Ship of 200, and a Pinnace of 50 Tun, with Mr. *Jobson*, who ran in 20 Days from *Dartmouth* to the River *Gambra*, and cast Anchor four Leagues within the Mouth of it, where it spreads it self into so many Rivers, Bays, and Creeks, that for 30 Leagues up to *Tancrowally* it is very intricate, but elsewhere the main Channel is easily discern'd. It flows from the Mouth to *Baraconda*, which is near 200 Leagues in the lowest Season: But this Tide is abated by the Land-Floods, caus'd by the great Rains, which fall with great Winds, Thunder, and Lightning, from the latter end of *May* to the latter end of *August*; after which they have no Rain till *May* comes again.

From *Baraconda* forward we saw no Town nor Plantation, but we found in the River many River-horses, Crocodiles, or Allegators, one of which we found, by the Impression made on the Sand, to be 33 Foot long. The Natives are much afraid of the Crocodiles, which they call *Bumbo's*, and think they have devour'd many of their Friends; yet I never found any of them assault us; but their musky scent spoils both the taste of the Water and the Fish. The River-horse in the Shape of his Body and Head, is exactly like a Horse, but he hath four short Legs, and his Foot is divided into five parts, and sometimes is 20 Inches over; he snorts and neighs in the Water by day, but at Night feeds in the Marshes.

In the River is store of Mallet and other Fish, and one of them like an *English* Breme, being touch'd by a Sailor, he presently lost the use of his Hands and Arms, and another the use of his Legs, but their Sense came to them again; and we were told he benums all the Fish he touches, and then devours them, but being dead, he was very good Meat.

There is store of Fowl, such as Geese, Duck, Mallard, Herns, Curlews, Storks, Plover, &c. which dare not come into the River for fear of the Crocodile, but sit on the Banks of it, and feed on the Marshes. All the Men of a Town go together and fish the Ponds and Lakes, each with a Basket holding the open Mouth downwards; for by going into the Water they stir the Fish, and so catch them in their Baskets.

At the Mouth of this River dwell the *Mandingo's* who brought us *Bonano's*, with Beeves, Goats, Hens, and Grain: They are very civil and kind to the *English*, but hate the *Portuguese* that live among them, for their treachery and cruelty to the *English*, in seizing their Ship and killing the Men, for which they banish'd them.

Besides these fugitive *Portuguese*, there live, among the *Mandingo's*, a sort of People call'd *Fulbies*, who wander up and down, keeping their Herds of Goats and Beeves where there is good Pasture, as they agree with the King, and removing to the Mountains when the Rains fall. They constantly watch their Herds to keep them from straying and the Crocodiles Haunts, and are such Slaves to the *Mandingo's*, who will share with them in their Beef, and their other Commodities, if they know when they are sold: But higher up the River they are Lords of the Country, excluding the Blacks, with whom for the most part they are at war.

The *Mandingo's* lead an idle life, except two Months in the Year, which are Seed-time and Harvest: They know not how to catch Flesh or Fish, and spare their Cocks and Hens to barter with us; and so they commonly feed after day-light upon Rice or some other Grain boil'd: And in those parts 'tis most wholsome to eat early in the Morning and after Sun-set.

They usually drink Water, tho' they have Wine of Trees, and *Dullo* made of Grain like our Ale. Their Houses in meaner Towns are made of Reeds, or of Loome, a reddish hard Earth; but *Cassan* and other Cities are strongly fortified with Turrets and a Ditch, and compass'd about with Posts fastened in the Ground five Foot high. They have strange Ant-hills, some of them 20 Foot high, and will contain 12 Men. Their Arms are a Javelyn, being a Reed of six Foot, with an Iron-Pike, and Bows and Arrows.

I did eat and drink with six of their Kings, who are subject to the Kings of *Cantore*, *Bursale*, or *Woolley*; but these do not appear abroad but in Pomp. When the People come before their King they kneel, and throw dust on their Head two or three times, and then having laid their Hand on the King's Thigh, they retire: And if a *Marybuck* be present, they kneel and he prays for him, to which he often answers, *Amena*, i. e. *Amen*. The King answers the People with nodding, and wears Cloaths of Cotton, whereof they plant great Fields like Rose-bushes. They are for the most part bare headed, except when they are bedeck'd with *Gregories*, which are made of Leather, seeming hollow, with Writings in them, receiv'd from the *Mary-bucks*, which are reputed so holy, that no evil can betide them while they wear them. Both King and People, Men and Women, wear them on their Heads in the form of a Cross, from the Forehead to the Neck, and from Ear to Ear; about their Necks, Shoulders, Arms, and Middles, &c. that each Member may have a Blessing; and if they have any Sickness or Sore, they apply these Gregories, and never use any other Physick that I could perceive. Their Horses are sometimes thus blest, wearing them about their Necks.

The King hath seven Wives allow'd, besides Concubines; but cannot carnally know one of them after Conception, nor after delivery, till the Child is wean'd. None are put to death for any Crimes, but in the Case of Adultery; Men and Women are both sold and transported to the *West-Indies*. Other Men have plurality of Wives, if they agree with the King and the Woman's Friends, and their Money is kept for her to buy a Husband: for as the Maid is bought, the Widow buyeth.

The Women live in great bondage, who dress Meat for their Husbands, but never eat with them: They go bare from their Waste upward, to show their painted Skins.

Their way of Marrying is very comical: The young Man with his Friends comes to the Maid by Moon-light, and carries her away shrieking, being assisted by the young Maids of the place: And when some young Men of the Town endeavour to rescue her, others carry her off with great Shouts to the Bridegroom's House.

The Succession to a Kingdom here, is not to the Son of the deceas'd, but to his Brethren in course, and then to the Son of the eldest, the other Brethren holding some place in the Government, whereof the youngest is call'd *Bo-john*, the second *Ferran*, the third *Ferambra*, and the eldest is *Mansa* or King. Their greatest Riches is the number of their Slaves, and from the King to the Slave they all begg'd of us; but a small matter serv'd them, except of *Aqua Vitæ*, for which they would sell all, and with which their Kings would be drunk: And indeed the Life of a King with them is to eat, drink, sleep, and keep company with his Women.

The

The Mary-bucks or Baſſarens are their Prieſts, ſeparated from others in their Habitations and Courſe of Life. They talk much of *Adam*, *Eve*, *Noah*'s Flood, and other things mention'd in the Old Teſtament. Like the Levitical Tribes, they have their Towns and Lands proper to themſelves, where no ſecular Perſons live but their Slaves, whoſe Iſſue is their Inheritance. They marry in their own Tribe, and breed all their Children to their own Profeſſion; for they have as many Wives as the reſt, according to their degree. By their Habit and Work they are not diſtinguiſh'd from the Vulgar; for they are hir'd to do ſervice, and we agreed with them by the Moon. They worſhip one God, whom they call *Alle*; acknowledge *Mahomet*, are circumcis'd, have no Churches for Worſhip; *Friday* is their Sabbath, on which they follow their Occaſions. They have no Paper, but teach their Children to write on a ſmooth Board, with a Pencil; and their Law is written in a Language different from the Vulgar.

My Mary-buck, *Fodee Cardor*, told me when we came into the Port of *Setico*, that their High-Prieſt, *Fodee Bram*, lay ſick in the Town, whom I viſited, and found him ſitting on his Mat, ſupported by three Wives, to each of which I gave a Pewter-ring, which he took ſo kindly, that he treated me with a Dinner, and preſented me with a Hide and an Elephant's Tooth. After he was dead, he was laid in a Houſe, where a Grave was digg'd for him; and after much crying, the Women running about like mad People, he was laid in the Ground. The Mary-bucks aſſembled near the Grave, where the People ſitting in a Ring, one Mary-buck ſtood in the middle after another, and ſung his Praiſes in Verſe, the People ſhouting and clapping their Hands, made a Preſent to the beſt Poet, who mingling ſome of the Earth dug for his Grave, in a Water-pot ſtanding in the Room, made thereof a Relique-ball: And then his Son was ſolemnly inſtall'd his Succeſſor.

They have great Books, and MSS. wherewith we have ſeen ſome of them laden. The Vulgar are much given to ſtrong Liquors, but theſe drink nothing but Water, and neither they nor their Wives or Children will taſte any hot Liquor or ſweet things, but chuſe rather to die than do it.

They travel with their Families, Books, and Boys, thro' all Countries, however at War with one another: And when they beg of us, a Quire of Paper, is a great Gift to a whole Company, on which they write their Gregories. All the Inhabitants of *Setico* are Mary-bucks, and carry Slaves to the King of *Burſal*, to buy Salt, which is there by the Sea-ſide, like Sea-coal Aſhes, which they uſe but little among themſelves, but carry it far up into the Country, where they barter it for Gold and Cola-nuts: But their Gold is ſaid to be buried with them, or hid in the Ground by themſelves for their uſe in the next World. They buy alſo Blood-ſtones of the *Portugueſe*, which their Women wear about their Middles to prevent Bloody-iſſues.

After we arriv'd from *Baraconde* at *Tinda*, we ſent three *Moors* aſhoar with a Preſent to the King, and to *Buckor Sano*, a famous black Merchant, entreating him to come aboard with Proviſions. In the mean time we kill'd an Antelope, which was bigger than a Stag, and a Fowl call'd Staller, higher than a Man. In a few Days *Buckor Sano* came to us with 40 Men, and he brought us a Beef, and the other People Goats and Corn, Cocks and Hens. After we had treated him, we ſhewed him our Commodities, which he lik'd very well except Iron, which they can have nearer hand: But above all the reſt they valued our Bay-ſalt. After we had refus'd to buy their Women-ſlaves, a Market-houſe being built aſhoar, we barter'd with them Salt for their Elephants Teeth, Cotton, and Negroes Cloaths, which was made the Staple by which to value other things. We ſaid nothing of Gold, but *Buckor Sano* taking notice of our guilt Swords, told us that he could bring us ſuch a quantity of Gold as would buy all our Commodities; and that in a great Town above, diſtant about two Moons travel, the Houſes were cover'd only with Gold. After this, when I took notice of the Blade of his Sword and the Braſs Bracelets upon one of his Wive's Arms, and aſk'd him whence he had them: He told me, That a People call'd *Arabecks*, brought them theſe and ſeveral other Commodities, whom he deſcrib'd as Tawny-Moors, that came in great Companies with Camels: That the next Moon they would come to a Town call'd *Mumbar*, within ſix Days Journey of the place where we were, and bring with them Salt and other things, which they would exchange for nothing but Gold: This People we took to be the *Moors* of *Barbary*.

On the other ſide of the River, upon notice given by one of our Blacks, came 500 Men and Women to trade with us, who had never ſeen white Men before: The Men wore raw Hides, with the Tayls of the Beaſt hanging down behind; but the beſt of the Women wore Ear-rings of Gold, who ask'd for ſeveral Commodities, but the Men chiefly for Salt: Among the reſt came a Mary-buck of Mr. *Thomſon*'s acquaintance, born in *Jay*, where he ſaid there was great ſtore of Gold, which the *Arabecks* came for, about nine days Journey up the River; and that he could carry us thither, and to *Mombar*, whence many People would bring us Gold, if we would leave theſe People, &c. and go higher up the River, and carry up ſtore of Salt with us: But we made haſt to be gone, the Water being ſunk ſix Inches, hoping to return in *May*.

Buckor Sano would needs be ſtyl'd the white Man's *Alcaide*, whereupon I gave him a ſtring of Chryſtal and a double ſtring of Coral, and another gave him a Silver Chain; and ſo he was proclaim'd *Alcaide* with ſhooting off Muſkets, his Fidlers attending with Muſick. This he took for ſo great an Honour, that he went with me to the King, and pray'd him to uſe us kindly, preſenting him with the Coral and Chriſtal; Whereupon the King did not only give us leave to ſhoot any thing by Land, but gave that Land where we were to us for ever; of which we took poſſeſſion according to the Ceremonies us'd in that Country.

When we came to *Butto*, and heard Shouts, Drums, and Country-Muſick, our black Boys told us it was for *cutting of Pricks*, a World of People being gathered together as at an *Engliſh* Fair. Under every great Tree, and beſides the Doors of their Houſes, there were Fires, and in ſome places there was dancing with Muſical Inſtruments, the chief of which are call'd *Ballards*, and contain ſeventeen Keys, like to Virginals; whereupon one plays with two ſticks, which have round Balls of Leather at the end. We ſaw our black Boy circumcis'd, not by a Mary-buck, but an ordinary Fellow, and our Surgeon was not ſuffer'd to heal the Wound.

At ſome diſtance from the place of cutting, we heard a great roaring noiſe, which they ſaid was the Voice of *Hore*, i. e. a Spirit that comes to great Feaſts, for whom they provide ſtore of Rice, Corn, Beef, and other Fleſh ready dreſs'd, which is inſtantly devour'd: And if he be not ſatisfied; he gets into a Boy's Belly for nine days, and then the Boy muſt be redeem'd with a Beef, and continue mute ſo many days after. This is a Trick of the Prieſts, who were hoarſe with roaring at that time, which continued all that Night to fright the People to Circumciſion.

They have three principal Trades, the Smith, which of Iron brought to them, makes their Swords, Darts, and barbed Arrows, and Inſtruments of Husbandry.

The next Trade is the *Separero*, or *Gregory-Maker*, which he makes in all ſhapes: They make alſo Bridles and Saddles very neat, by dreſſing their Deers and Goats Skins.

The third Trade is of thoſe who temper the Earth for the Walls of their Houſes, and Pots to boyl Meat in, uſing for other Services the Gourd: They make alſo Tobacco Pipes, about two Inches long, neatly glaz'd, with which Men and Women continually ſmoak. Mats to eat and ſleep on are their ſtaple Commodity, by which other things are bought and ſold; for they have no Coin, and ſo at Market they ſay *How many Mats ſhall I give you.*

The general Trade of all but the King and great Men is Huſbandry, and not knowing how to ſerve themſelves of Beaſts, they make Furrows with a Stick about a yard long, having a broad Iron at the end like our Paddle Staves, with which Iron ſet in the Ground, one leads the way, cutting the Earth before him, while others follow in the ſame Tract with their ſeveral Irons, ſo as to make a ſufficient Furrow.

They have ſix ſeveral Grains for Food, of which we know none by name but Rice, which they boyl and eat warm; the other are like Seeds, which they boil and roll up in Balls, and eat inſtead of Bread. They plant Tobacco, and whole Fields of Cotton.

Near the River's Mouth they have *Bonano's*, as delicious as any in the *Weſt-Indies*, and likewiſe ſtore of Lemons and Oranges. They have whole Groves of Palmita-Trees, whence they draw a pleaſant and wholſome Wine, by cutting ſloping holes into the Body of the Tree, into which they put a Cane which receives the Sap, and conveys it into Gourds. It taſtes like White-wine when it is firſt drawn, but will not laſt above 24 Hours. Their *Dullo-al* is kept in great Gourds, and

when the King makes a Feast, they never part till they have made an end of it. The Gourds grow like our Pompions, from the bigness of an Egg to that of a Bushel, of which they make several sorts of Vessels to eat, drink, and wash Cloaths in. They have great store of Locust-Trees and Wild-Honey: The Cola is like our bigger sort of Chesnut, flat on both sides, yet without a hard Shell, the taste is very bitter, yet causes that which is taken next after it to taste very sweet; for so I found it made Water taste like White-wine and Sugar: 50 of them will buy a Wife. They have a sensitive Plant, like our great Bramble-Bush, on the River's Bank.

They have many Lions, which are easily known at Night by the Cries of the Jackal, when he hunts for his Prey, and Ounces and Leopards, whose Foot-steps we have seen at the Mouth of their Dens, and Civet-Cats and Porcupines, that hunt their Poultry.

They have Elephants, who shed not their Teeth as Stags their Horns; wild Bulls and Boars, Antelopes and Deer; and also Monkeys and Baboons in great Herds, and some very big.

They have also store of Land Fowl, as the Stalker, who has more Flesh than a Lamb; the Wake, which makes a great noise when he flies; the Guinney-Hens, like our Pheasant for Beauty and Bigness, excellent meat; Partridges, which continue near the Houses for fear of the Monkeys; Quails as big as Wood-cocks; Pigeons, Parrots, and Parakites. One strange Bird there is which hath no Legs, but two Strings by which he hangs with his Head downward, resembling a dead Leaf hanging on the Tree, and is of the same colour.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Account of a Voyage made to Cape Verd *and the Coast of* Guinea, *; by* James Lange: *done from the* Low-Dutch.

THE twelve Years Truce betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *United Provinces* being expired, I, with the rest of the *Dutch*, was obliged to leave *Sevil* in *Spain*, and to return into *Holland*. In the Bay of *Biscey* we met with an *Algerine*, who having taken a *French* Prize, threw all the Sea-men belonging to that Ship over-board, and among the rest a certain young *French-man*, who having certain Jewels to a considerable value, ty'd in a Bag betwixt his Legs, had his Life offered to him by the *Algerines*, after he was thrown into the Sea, provided he would surrender the Jewels; but he chose rather to be drown'd, than to redeem his Life by so considerable a Present.

After I had refresh'd my self for some Months at *Amsterdam*, being curious to take a view of Cape *Verd* and the Coast of *Guinea*, of which I had heard wonders, I agreed with Mr. *Martin Papenbroeck* the elder, to go in the Quality of a *Super Cargo*, first to Cape *Verde*, and so further to *Guinea*. Accordingly, being provided with what was thought necessary for so long a Voyage, I embark'd in the *Texel* aboard the Ship call'd the *Moor*, *Nicholas Hendricks* Master, and in company of another Vessel, commanded by Mr. *Nicholas Ketel*, I set sail the 20th of *November*, 1621. We had not saill'd many Days in the *Spanish* Sea, steering our Course towards the *Canary Islands*, when a violent Tempest did so unmercifully shake our old Vessel, that we expected every moment to be swallow'd up by the Waves, which took away one of our Sailers from the Deck.

Cape *Verd*. At last we came in sight of the *Salt Islands*, and afterwards arrived safely at Cape *Verd*, at 14 Deg. 40 Min. Latitude; which Cape is a neck of Land jutting out from the Continent of *Africk* into the Sea, betwixt the Rivers of *Gumbea* and *Sanaga*. We had no sooner cast anchor in the Road of *Portendaelia*, but several *French* Ships, and among the rest two Privateers, hoisted their Sails, and were pursued by *Nicholas Ketel*, but he could not overtake them.

The Inhabitants. Soon after our arrival we saw many of the *Moors* coming in their *Canoes* or Boats, made of the Trunk of a Tree, hollowed out, upon which they had put two or three Sails, one above the other, aboard our Ship, unto whom we were forced to pay a certain acknowledgment, before they would permit us to come ashoar, and traffick there, which for the most part consists in Hides and Elephants Teeth. We met thereabouts with divers *Portuguese* and *Moors*, whose Ancestors had been banish'd *Spain*, and some *Jews*, who had their own Priests. Their Women, of whom they marry several at a time, go half naked, having only a piece of Stuff hanging down before, from the Waist to the Knees: the Men wear it wrapt round about their Middle; and the Boys and Girls, even to the 15th or 16th year of age, go quite naked. The Ornaments of the Women are certain Chains of Chrystal Beads or Corals, which they wear about the Waste; and their Foreheads are mark'd by several Incisions, as their Arms, Legs, and Bellies are with the Figures of Serpents and such like Creatures: they anoint themselves every Morning as soon as they rise, with grease, to make their Skin shine: The Men wear a piece of red Leather hanging about their Necks, which they call *Phetitie*, and has certain Characters engraven upon it: these they make chiefly use in their Wars, as believing that they contain a secret Virtue of making them invulnerable. As they are often jarring with their Neighbours, so they are very expert in the management of their Arms, which are the Bow and Arrows, and a Lance or half Pike. A Relation of Cape Verd and the Inhabitants.

Their Wives they keep like Slaves, who are forced to do all the druggery both at home and in the Field, the Men being generally intent upon their Arms only, and Hunting.

They have no other Beds than Mats spread upon the Ground. The first thing they do in the Morning is to smoak Tobacco, both Men and Women having constantly two or three Tobacco-Pipes hanging down from about their Necks: Tobacco is their Breakfast, besides which, they eat twice a day, but very moderately; and they are so enured to hardship, that upon a pinch they can live three days without drinking, tho' else the Men are great Drunkards, which is chiefly to be observed at the Funerals of their Friends, when they commonly spend five or six days in drinking and weeping by Intervals.

A Whale kill'd by a Sword-fish.

Their Drink. Their common drink is fair Water, or a kind of Beer made of Millet and Palmerine: This Wine is drawn from the Coco-Trees, in the uppermost Branches of which they hang (an Incision being first made) Mornings and Evenings, certain Pitchers, which being fill'd with Liquor which issues thence, they take down again and sell it, before it turns eager; being otherwise sweet of taste, and of a whitish Colour like Whey. They have a way of adulterating it with fair Water. We were introduced to one of their Princes, bordering upon the Sea-shoar, where they entertain'd us with several Fooleries; but their Wine being very strong, their main aim was to make us drunk, which we avoided as much as possibly we could, being forewarned by the *Portuguese* of the Excesses they commit in their Debaucheries.

Their way of Fishing

Custom. They have a certain superstitious Custom, that if any one, whether Foreigner or Native, it matters not, swears by the King's Head, his Estate is forfeited, and he condemn'd to Banishment; of which they gave us an Instance in a certain *Portuguese*, who had lately been forced to fly the Country upon that account. After the King's Death, none of his Children can inherit the Crown, but his Brother's or Sister's Sons; and his Wives are regarded no more than private Persons in their Widowhood, but their Children are educated in the Royal Palace, and numbred among the *Fidalgo's*, which is the Nobility of the Country.

Religion. Near the Sea-shoar they pay their Devotions to the Trees and Rocks, but I have seen certain Negro's there, who, as they told me, came deeper out of the Country, and used a quite different Language from the rest, who, before they laid themselves asleep, or just before Sun-set, would adore the Sun upon their Knees,

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bending their Faces to the very Ground, and ſtrewing Sand upon their Heads. In their Huts, where they uſed to ſleep, they had made a kind of a Trench about three Foot high, which ſerved inſtead of an Altar, and before which they ſaid their Prayers for half an Hour together upon their Knees, turning their Heads in the Evening towards the Weſt, where the Sun ſets, and in the Morning to the Eaſt, where it riſes. I was very curious to learn from what Country they came; but as the Inhabitants did not in the leaſt underſtand their Language, I could get no certain account of them. I ſaw alſo divers *Jewiſh* Prieſts here, who had married Negro Women: They abſtain from Wine, and Adultery is a capital Crime with them as well as Theft. Moſt of the Negroes near the Sea-ſhoar, they adore the Devil, not but that they are ſenſible there is a God; but ſay they, he being very good, and conſequently not inclined to do harm to Mankind, there is no occaſion to pay him any Devotions; whereas the Devil being naturally inclined to miſchief, muſt be appeaſed by Sacrifices: This is the reaſon they never venture at Sea in their Canoes, unleſs they have firſt ſacrificed to the Devil ſome Branches of Trees, Horns, or Shells painted red, which they lay upon a kind of an Altar, and kneeling before it bare-headed, kill a Fowl, which whilſt it is a bleeding and ſtruggling for life, one of their *Papa's*, or Prieſts, mutters out certain Words till the Fowl be expired, whilſt he that performs the Sacrifice, proſtrating himſelf upon the Ground, beſprinkles the Altar with the Blood, and lays the two Wings upon it. They believe the Immorality of the Soul, and that the dead Bodies ſhall riſe again, but white, like the *Europeans*.

In Products. The *Cape Verde* produces Ambergreaſe, tho' the Country near the River *Senegal* affords it in greater quantity; as alſo Civet Cats. There are here divers ſorts of Birds; thoſe they call *Aphiaprappen*, are very large, of a bright blackiſh Colour, their Heads being adorned with a very fine Tuft, on each ſide of which is a Crimſon colour'd ſpot mix'd with white: they make no noiſe. They have alſo a kind of Bird not unlike the Pellicans, and of ſmall Birds vaſt quantities; eſpecially of Turtles. Proviſions are very cheap here; you may buy a good Sheep for a String of Coral, and an Ox for two quarts of Brandy. Among other Fiſhes which are found in great quantities on this Coaſt, the Sword-fiſh is none of the leaſt: I ſaw once one of them engaged with a Whale in a Moon-light Night, and he purſued ſo cloſely, that at laſt he got under him, and rip'd up his Belly with the Teeth which are on both ſides of the Sword, which iſſues from his Snout, and is moveable on which ſide he pleaſes. The Whale was no ſooner kill'd, but he ſwam upon the Surface of the Water, and the Negroes at laſt catch'd alſo the Sword-fiſh, and preſented me with the Sword, which I brought along with me to *Amſterdam*.

A Whale kill'd by a Sword-fiſh.

Their way of Fiſhing. The Negroes hereabouts are very dextrous at Fiſhing, which is their chief livelyhood: Twenty or thirty *Canoes* go commonly abroad towards the Evening, and having ranged themſelves together in a Line, they ſet fire to ſuch combuſtible matters as they have brought along with them, in the Night time: this done, they hang a thin Cord about their Necks, on which being faſtened many Lines with Hooks, they are ſenſible as ſoon as any Fiſh which are drawn thither by the Fire, do touch the Bait, when they pull them up. There are abundance of *Haqens* (Schars) on this Coaſt, of an exceſſive bigneſs, which prove often miſchievous both to Men and Beaſts, as one of our Ship's Crew found by woful experience, who, whilſt he was a ſwimming, had his Legs bit off by one of them, above the Knee, which coſt him his Life: When they intend to ſnap at any thing, they lay themſelves upon their Backs, becauſe the upper part of their Mouth is longer than the undermoſt. I narrowly eſcaped once my ſelf the ſame danger; for I was no ſooner got into our Boat, but I ſaw one of that kind, call'd the *Kruys haye* (*Croſs Scwar*) paſſing under it: This Fiſh had upon his Snout a kind of a Croſs, above ſeven or eight Foot long, which had an Eye at each of the two Extremities, the Bulk of his Body being proportionable to the bigneſs of the Croſs; we obſerved a ſmall Fiſh to ſwim conſtantly before him as if he had been his Pilot. Theſe Seas produce alſo a certain kind of Fiſh, call'd *Suckers*, with very flat Heads; and *Dorades* not unlike the Dolphins, appearing with various Colours under water, ſuch as yellow, green, blew, and white. They catch them with Hooks, on which they faſten ſome ſmall Shreds of white Linnen, which the *Dorades* miſtaking for the Flying-fiſh, they are catch'd by the Bait.

After I had diſpatch'd my buſineſs at *Sualen* and *Porrendatia*, I embark'd aboard a ſmall Veſſel, *Drunken Claaſie* Maſter, in order to proſecute my Voyage to the Coaſt of *Guinea*. After we had ſailed about 300 Leagues, we loſt our Compaſs by ſtreſs of weather, and being frequently ſurpriz'd by *Travado's*, or Whirl-winds, we were reduced to the greateſt extremity, not knowing what courſe to ſteer: Theſe *Travado's* ariſe from a Cloud, which is diſcovered ſometime before, and breaking out of a ſudden into a moſt furious Tempeſt, with horrible Winds, and Thundring and Lightning, are very dreadful to thoſe that frequent thoſe Seas. We had at laſt the good luck to find an old Compaſs in one of the Corners of the Ship, but it being not a true one, we ſail'd up and down the main Sea, without any ſure Guide, without diſcovering any Land or Sail in three Months time, which according to the true Courſe, we might have ſail'd in three Weeks time. The worſt of all was, that all our Candles and Oil being conſumed, we wanted light in the Night-time; and after we had thus rowled up and down for two Months, all our Water was gone, ſo that for ſeveral Days we were forced to drink the muddy ſettlement of the Caſks, which we ſtrain'd thro' a Linen Cloth, and had ſuch a nauſeous Sent, that we were forced to ſtop our Noſtrils when we drunk it; ſo that ſome of our Crew choſe rather to drink their own Water than this. In this extremity God's Mercy relieved us with an agreeable Rain, which made us ſpread our Sail over the Ship's Deck, and throwing a good piece of Lead in the middle of it, ſet a Tun under it to receive the Water, which ſerved us for ſome time after; and as we were juſt beginning to want again, one of our Ship's Crew cry'd out *Land, Land*, which proved true to our great ſatisfaction; for ſteering our Courſe that way, we found our ſelves near a ſmall Iſle call'd *Criſquen*, which being not above a League in Compaſs, lies at about three Leagues diſtance from the Continent. It is uninhabited, nothing being to be ſeen here but Rocks, Forreſts, wild Beaſts, and Serpents, which made a very doleful noiſe.

The Author expoſed to great danger at Sea.

Comes to the Iſle of Criſquen.

We had no ſooner ſet foot aſhoar, but we made a ſtrict ſearch after freſh Water, among the Rocks, and having found ſome that was very good, we fill'd all our Veſſels, and whilſt they were carrying aſhoar, we ventured ſomething deeper into the Iſle, but could ſee nothing but an old black Hat, and not far from thence ſome Maſts, the Remnants of a Shipwrack'd Veſſel, and the dead Carcaſs of an Elephant, ſtuck in the Mud, who had queſtionleſs periſh'd there, as he was ſwimming from the Continent over to this Iſland. As we were making all the Sail we could towards the Continent, a ſudden Travado overturned our Ship, which ſunk inſtantly before our Eyes, ſo that we had ſcarce time enough to ſave our ſelves in our Boats, wherewith we at laſt reach'd the Shoar, after having been expos'd to the danger of the mercileſs Waves for 24 Hours without eating or drinking, all our Proviſions being loſt in the Ship. We were no ſooner got aſhoar, but one Mr. *Mols*, belonging to our Ship, told us that the Inhabitants were Man-eaters, but as he had traded in thoſe parts, and underſtood ſomething of the Language, he hoped to have ſo much Influence over them as to ſave our Lives, which he did in effect, but could not prevent our being ſtrip'd quite naked. Among the reſt there was one *Nicholas Kan*, who ſeeing one of the *Negroes*, who held him by the Arm, ſharpening his Knife upon a Tree, he pointed to his Throat, intimating thereby, whether he intended to cut his Throat? The *Negroe* apprehending his meaning, reply'd *no no*, and at the ſame time pointing with the Knife towards his Breaſt, *Nicholas Kan* ſtruck the *Negroe* down to the Ground, being reſolved to ſell his Life at the deareſt rate he could: But Mr. *Mols* better underſtanding the *Negroe's* meaning, prevented the danger which was likely to befal us upon this account; for having unbuttoned his Waſcoat, he pull'd it off, which the *Negroes* perceiving, were well ſatisfied, to ſave themſelves the labour of cutting them, which they thought they muſt infallibly have done, as being not apprehenſive of the way of looſing them by the Buttons. Thus they diveſted us of all our Cloaths, leaving us as naked as we were come from our Mother's Womb; and what was the worſt of all, being come aſhoar, near a poor Village call'd *Rio Reeel*, where they had neither Rice nor Millet, we were all in danger of being ſtarved, half our Company being periſh'd for hunger already. The before-mentioned *Nicholas Kan* roaving up and down in ſearch after ſome Victuals, happened to light upon a piece of Carrion, which he brought to us, of which the Maſter of the Ship, who was very hungry, made a good Meal, but ſoon after paid for it with his Life: Being reduced to this extremity, we were preparing for death, when certain *Negroes* having diſcovered at a great diſtance a Veſſel, put us in ſome hopes of relief: You may believe we were all eager to go to the Shoar, where

Is ſhip-wrack'd near the Continent.

Strip'd naked.

Likely to periſh for Hunger.

having deſcry'd the Veſſel at a vaſt diſtance, we were not a little ſurpriz'd at one of the *Negroes*, when he told us that he would make the Veſſel come near the Shoar; ſo, that looking upon him as a mad Man, we retired from the Shoar; but word being brought us within an hour after by the ſame Negroe, that the Ship was advancing towards the Continent, we did run with full ſpeed, and finding his Words true, look'd upon him no otherwiſe than a Sorcerer, till we were convinced of the truth of the matter, by their ſhewing us a great heap of dry Wood, which they had ſet on fire upon one of the Rocks near the Sea-ſide, the Smoak of which is an infallible Signal to Ships that come that way of the willingneſs of the Inhabitants to traffick with them: Nothing could be more joyful to us than to ſee (after the miſery and danger we had undergone for above three Months) the Ship advance with full ſail to the Shoar, which proved one of our own Country Veſſels, belonging to *Amſterdam*, bound to the Coaſt of *Guinea*: we appeared ſtark naked on the Shoar, imploring the aſſiſtance of our Country-men to relieve us in this utmoſt extremity. The Maſter of the Ship having ordered the Ship to caſt Anchor in the Road, went into the Long-boat himſelf, and as he was coming near the Shoar, aſk'd us what Ship we belong'd to, which we having told him, he gave for anſwer, that it was impoſſible for him to take us aboard, he having ſcarce Proviſion enough for his Voyage; but having remonſtrated to him, how unchriſtian-like it would be for him to leave us in this miſery, he was at laſt prevail'd upon to take us aboard, after having pay'd ſome ſmall quantity of Coral, ſome Knives and Braſs Baſins to the Negroes for our Ranſome.

Thus we ſet ſail again, and chooſing the main Sea, I was much ſurpriz'd that we ſhould not diſcover Land in a whole Fortnight, till finding that our Maſter was miſtaken in his Obſervations and Calculations of the Declinations, I corrected his Error, and in four days after diſcovered Land, but inſtead of the *Guinea* Coaſt, found our ſelves near *Angola*, which is 600 Leagues beyond it: Having provided our ſelves with freſh Water, ſome Frait, Oiſters, and other Refreſhments, we ſet ſail again for the *Guinea* Coaſt, taking our Courſe betwixt the Iſle of *Anabon* and *Iſla de Principe*; but by the unskilfulneſs of our Maſter of the Ship, came unexpectedly to the Coaſt of *Quaqua*, not far from *Cape Verd*. We had no ſooner caſt Anchor in the Road, but the Negroes came in great numbers in their Canoes all about our Veſſel, but would not venture aboard, till by the advice of our Maſter, I having taken ſome Sea-water in a Baſin, and let ſome Drops of it fall three times into my Eyes, crying every time *Quaqua*, they freely came aboard us; but ſeeing our Guns ready mounted, and ſome Muſquets at hand, they would enter no further than the ſides of the Ship; where being ſet down, I preſented them with ſome Bread, which they thankfully accepted of. Theſe Negroes had many Inciſions made in their Faces, and thro' their Noſes a large Ivory Ring, which reach'd below the Chin; ſo that whatever they put in their Mouths, went thro' this Ring. Their way of Eating was, to make up the Millet or Rice into a Paſte, which being form'd into ſmall Balls, they throw them at a good diſtance thro' the Ring into the Mouth. Their Hair was of ſuch a length, that it reach'd to the very Ground; for which reaſon they have a way of twiſting it round their Heads, as the *Turks* do their Turbants. They brought us ſome Elephants Teeth to ſell, and a young Wench of about fourteen or fifteen years of Age, but we would not buy the laſt.

They come to *Quaqua*.

The Inhabitants.

We left the Coaſt of *Quaqua* after a ſtay of a few days, to go once more in ſearch of the *Guinea* Coaſt; but either by the neglect or ignorance of our Maſter of the Veſſel, we once more paſs'd by that Coaſt unperceiv'd, and found our ſelves beyond our hopes at *Benin*: There being not one Man in the Ship who did not find himſelf almoſt worn out with theſe needleſs Fatigues, it was reſolved to keep within ſight of the Land all the day time, and to caſt anchor at Night, till we ſhould come to the ſo-much wiſh'd for *Guinea* Coaſt, which being done accordingly, after ſome days ſail, as I was coming one Morning early upon the Deck, I found a Ship not far from ours at Anchor, and ſuſpecting her to be a *Portugueſe*, gave the alarm to the reſt, who began to clear the Deck, and prepare every thing for a Combat: But before we went to work, it was thought fit to aſk one of their Ship's Crew who they were; he anſwer'd, to our no ſmall ſurprize, that the Maſter of the Veſſel's name was *James Ruychaver*, a Native of *Harlem*; ſo that our Martial Preparations were ſoon changed into Demonſtrations of Joy, and it was reſolved, that we ſhould together ſet ſail for *Acara*, another Coaſt of *Guinea*: But his Ship being heavier than ours, we out-ſail'd him, and as we were paſſing along the Coaſt, a Negroe came aboard of us to exchange a Civet-Cat for ſome Coral, which done, he offered me to carry me to *Guinea* in his Boat, which I not thinking fit to accept of, I gave him however a Letter to Mr. *Martin Stuurboat*, the chief Director in thoſe parts, who being rejoiced at our arrival, came aboard our Veſſel as ſoon as we had caſt Anchor in the Road, where he was entertained with what the Ship afforded, and gave us a ſplendid Treat aboard his Veſſel the next day. Some days after I went aſhoar to *Carmentiin*, and thence to *Morce*, where the *Hollanders* have a conſiderable Fort, of which Mr. *Arent Jacobſon* was Governour at that time; who treated us very handſomely at Dinner. Afterwards Mr. *Stuurbout* invited me to his Ship, where he entertained me with more than ordinary Civility for eight days together, at the Expiration of which, he propos'd to me to go along with a Ship which was ready freighted to *Beniin*; which I refuſing to do by reaſon of the unhealthfulneſs of the place, he ſent four young Factors in my ſtead, but no more than one returned of the four, tho' he did not ſtay above ſix Months. They come to the Coaſt.

This Settlement, call'd *Beniin*, lies upon a River, which exonerates it ſelf into the Bay of *Guinea*, where the *Dutch* Factors are obliged to ſtay ſix Months; but few return from thence, by reaſon of the unwholſomneſs of the Air, without which, the place would be pleaſant enough. I was credibly informed by a certain Factor who had reſided there, that the Negroes of the place had aſſur'd him, that, if he would tarry only ſix Weeks longer with them, he would ſee certain Negroes who come out of the Inland Countries, and have no more than one Eye in the Front; which we muſt leave to the credit of thoſe who gave the relation of it. Mr. *Stuurbout* finding me reſolute not to go to *Beniin*, ſent me aboard another Veſſel to *Acara*, where we were forced to ſell our Iron Barrs, which was our chief Cargo, in the Night-time, their King having prohibited the Importation of Iron there. After I had diſpoſed of my loading there, I returned to Mr. *Stuurbout*, who then lay at anchor in the Road of *Morce*, not far from *Maurice's* Fort; but this being a dangerous Station, he went with his Ship, tho' much bigger of the two, before *Carmentiin*, leaving us expos'd to the danger of the *Negroes*, who are very miſchievous here; for ſome of theſe *Negroes* belonging to the Caſtle of *Demina*, having not long ago ſurpriſed one of our Chaloops, delivered up the Men to the *Portugueſes*, who had clapp'd them in Irons, and threatned them every day with death; and, as I was credibly informed, had promiſed a reward of 64 Guilders to any of the Negroes who could bring them my Head. Being forewarned of this danger, I without more adoe followed Mr. *Stuurbout*, and came to an Anchor juſt by him; and being ask'd what made me come there, I anſwer'd, That if that Station was too dangerous for his great Ship, it muſt needs be ſo for mine, unleſs he would provide me more Men, to defend the Ship againſt any ſurprize; which he having done accordingly, I returned to the Shoar of *Morce*, and caſt anchor as near the Shoar as I could; but was adviſed by Mr. *Arent Jacobſon*, the Governour of the Fort, to be conſtantly upon my Guard, eſpecially in the Night-time; and that if neceſſity required, I ſhould give a Signal by the Diſcharge of a Muſquet, when he would be ſure to aſſiſt me with ſome Souldiers from the Fort, which was the reaſon I ſtrictly forbid the diſcharging of any Gun aboard us, for fear of raiſing a falſe alarum. Whilſt we were here at anchor, a *Portugueſe* Bark coming from the Iſle of St. *Omar* bound to the Caſtle of *Mina*, being diſcovered by ſome of our People then at anchor near *Carmentiin*, a ſmall *Dutch* Frigat was ſent in purſuit of her, which was no ſooner come up with the *Portugueſe*, but they cry'd for quarter, tho' they had 14 *Portugueſes* and 150 Negroes aboard her, whereas ours was mann'd with no more than 25 Sea-men in all. This happy Encounter proved very lucky for our Priſoners detained in the Caſtle of *Mina*; for the *Portugueſes* who were in our Hands having ſent the Governour word that they muſt expect the ſame Treatment here, the *Dutch* Priſoners received at *Mina*, he began to be a little cooler, and ſoon after agreed upon an exchange of the Priſoners on both ſides, and as ſoon as our Men were come aboard, we ſent back the *Portugueſes* in an old Chaloop, we preſented them with. Beniin.

Outrages committed by the Dutch.

As I went frequently aſhoar whilſt our Ship lay in the Road of *Morce*, ſo being curious to ſee the King that rules hereabouts, I, Mr. *Ruychaver*, *James Lion*, a Serjeant of the Fort, and his Brother being a Lieutenant, and *James Hawaert*, reſolved to go to *Salve* and *Biomba*, which we did accordingly, taking along with us for our Guide a certain *Negroe*, who had been in the Quality of

n: King of the Country.

a Deputy from that King in the *Hague*; two Carabins for our Defence, and two Bottles of Brandy for a Present to the King. Coming near the Town, or rather Village, which is the King's Residence, we sent our Negroe before, to give notice of our arrival, and to tell the King, that there were several *Europeans* come to see him; and after his return, went to the Court, where finding the King sitting with about twelve of *his Fidalgo's*, or Nobles, we did not pay him the least respect, which he perceiving, arose and ask'd us who was our Captain or Leader, and having been told that it was I, he desired me to sit down, and the rest after me, upon very low Benches. I presented him the two Bottles of Brandy, which he accepted very courteously, and ask'd us what had brought us thither, unto which I having answered him, that we came on purpose to be merry with him, he took one of the Bottles of Brandy and took a good draught, but being told that it would make his Head ake, he set it down aside, and call'd for some of the best Palmerine: whilst we were busie in setting the Cup go round, we saw a Negroe coming with his naked Cymetar in one, and a Man's Head in the other Hand, which he lay'd at my Feet, kneeling, desiring me to stamp with my right Foot three times upon it, and my Comerades were obliged to do the same, which done, the King ordered it to be boil'd. Upon enquiry what could be the meaning of it, we were told, that this was the Head of a Traytor, who having the day before endeavour'd to kill the King as he was a going to do his Needs (which they do behind the House in a Field) had mistaken his Person twice, and kill'd two others with his Dart, in his stead, and being taken in the Fact by one of the King's Guards, who had cut off his Head. Whilst Dinner was getting ready, the King gave us leave to kill as many Deer and Boufflers as we would, but no other Venison; and at our return welcom'd us with a Cup of Wine mix'd with Eggs. By this time the boil'd Negro's Head being brought to the Table, the King urged us to take part of it, but finding us unwilling, he laugh'd, telling us that there was no greater Dainty than ones Enemies Flesh; however, we had several Dishes of Mutton and Venison served up, upon which we did feed with a very good appetite, and drank so plentifully, that the Lieutenant, and his Brother, the Serjeant, with one or two more belonging to the Fort, committed divers Out-rages, for which they pay'd dear in the end. The Lieutenant going cross the Market-place, cut down a certain Tree of above 100 Years standing, dedicated to their idolatrous Worship, being a kind of a *Bombax* Tree, and consequently easie to be cut thro' with a good Cymetar. His Brother the Serjeant coming into a House, and finding the Man and his Wife together in Bed, would needs force him thence in order to take his place; which the other refusing, he run him thro', and the Woman crying out murder, a Neighbour that came to her assistance, underwent the same fate. But not satisfied thus, both he and his Brother coming to the King's Apartment, the first presented his Carabine ready cock'd against the King, which *James Huwaert* perceiving, struck the Carabin with his Hat out of his Hands, which fired just as it was falling upon the Ground, but, as good Fortune would have it, without the least damage, tho' the whole Apartment was fill'd with People. The whole Village being put into an alarum by these Outrages committed against their Idol, and the murder of their Companions, the King thought it best to keep Mr. *Huawart*, Mr. *Ruychaver*, and my self at Court, till the Fury of the Negroes should be asswaged, who followed the others out of the Village, and having wounded the Serjeant with a Dart in the Hip, they follow'd the Tract of the Blood, which led them into an adjacent Wood, where he had hid himself among the Bryars: they cut off his Head without any further Ceremony, and his Comerade a Leg and an Arm. His Brother the Lieutenant being assisted by the Negroe, made shift to get away to the Fort, where he was clap'd in Irons, but the poor Negroe, who had no other share in this Disorder than to have protected and assisted the others in their Flight, was also overtaken and assaulted, and, after having kill'd one with his Carabin, was cut to pieces, which with the rest were brought to the King, who ordered them to be broil'd and eaten. The Negroes being somewhat appeased, the King sent us three under a strong Guard to the Fort.

Not long after, we had the opportunity of seeing the Ceremony of one of their Interments; for a certain Negroe named *John Grootendief*, who was a great Dealer in Gold, came aboard our Vessel, but being broken bellied, was seized with so violent a pain, that not able to endure it longer, he ripp'd up his Belly with a Knife, and dy'd the next day. He was sow'd up in a piece of Stuff, the Head, Arms, and Legs being covered with the same, and adorned with Golden Medals, representing their *Fiesiefes*, or Idols. About a League from the Village, they had dug a Grave, round about which were stuck into the Ground, several Green Branches of Trees: The dead Corps was carried upon the Shoulders of six Men, who run at full speed with it for a little time, and then stopping on a sudden, a Horn was blown, which set the Women and Children that assisted at the Ceremony, a howling and crying, making a doleful noise with the Bells that were fastened to their Feet. Thus after a while, the Bearers began to fetch their long Steps a second time, and were followed by the rest, and so after several Stops, Blowings of the Horn, and Howlings, came at last to the Grave, into which they put the Corps, and the Bearers leaping in after it, took this opportunity to take away the Golden Medals, (of which I was an Eye-Witness, as standing very near it) tho' they made the People believe they were buried with the Corps. In short, after they had laid a quarter of an Hour asleep, at the Head of the deceas'd Person, they laid over the Grave Branches of Trees, which they covered with Earth to a Man's height; upon which they set a large Flaggon full of Palmarine. I saw some of their Tombs made of Earth like this, which exceeded in height their ordinary Houses; and the Relations, especially of the Female Sex, come at certain times every Year there, to bewail the death of their deceas'd Friends.

An Enterment of the Negroes.

The Inhabitants hereabouts are docile enough, but involved in gross Idolatry, worshipping almost every thing they see, even to the Rocks and Whale-bones, and the Trees dedicated to their Idols, are worshipped with a great deal of Ceremony at certain days, and served with Water and Meat by their Priests. But among all their superstitious Worship, nothing is so abominable as the peculiar respect they shew to the Devil; which makes Sorcerers and Sorcery to be in great request among them. Of this I saw an Instance in one *Direk Serpent*, who was a very wealthy Person in those Parts, and having invited me to his House, I found him lying upon a Mat all lame on one side from Head to Foot; after we had taken a Cup two or three of Palm Wine, I ask'd him the occasion of his Illness, of which he gave me the following Account. Having plow'd up a piece of Ground belonging to the *Fiesiefe* or Idol, and sow'd it with Corn, it produced a very good Crop; but Harvest-time approaching, one day a great Fiery Serpent was seen to come about Noon into the Field, which set all the Corn on fire, and thence coming to my House, got upon the top of it, which was covered with Straw (as all Houses are in this Country) and set it on fire also in the sight of several of my Neighbours; and as I was going to save my self, I was struck with a Palsie on one side of my Body, which continues to this day. They had given him the name of *Serpent* from this odd accident, and I found the House to have been but lately built.

Their Religion.

Sorcery.

After a stay of three Years on this Coast, having received orders to return home, we set sail from *Morce*, and steering our Course betwixt the two Islands of *Annabon* and St. *Thomas*, made a little stop at the *Cape de Loop*, to take in some Refreshments: We saw nothing remarkable on this Coast, but that the *Papa* or Priest every day at Mid-night used to go into an adjacent Wood, with a crooked Stick, with a Bell fastened to the end of it, to consult, as he said, the Devil about secret matters, tho' the poor Fool at the same time was ignorant of what pass'd at home; for we used to make his Wife drunk. The River of *Olibatte* produces abundance of Sea-horses, which is an amphibious Creature, with Feet like those of the Swans, being chiefly esteem'd for its two long Teeth, which in beauty exceeds Ivory it self. The Country near the Coast abounds in Camels, Tygers, Lions, Boufflers, Civet-Cats, Monkeys, and Parrots. After a stay of some days here, we pursued our Voyage, and coming under the Equinoctial Line, directed our Course to the *Salt-Islands*, and thence to the *Canary-Isles*, and so making the best of our way, came without any sinister Accident to the Coast of *England*, where, when we thought our selves past all dangers, an unexpected blast of Wind forced our Ship in the Night-time betwixt two Rocks, where we was staved to pieces: However, we had the good fortune to save all our Men, and the next day a Chest full of Gold, valued at 260000 Gilders, and a good quantity of Elephants Teeth. The Freighters of our Vessel being extreamly satisfied with our Industry in having saved so much of her Cargo, invited us up to *London*, where being employed in viewing all what was worth a Traveller's observation in so great a City, I once more narrowly escaped death; for being willing

Returns to Holland.

Cape de Loop.

Outrages committed by the Dutch.

willing to go into the *French* Ambassador's Chappel, where they were then at High Mass, I was kept back by the Guards that were placed there, to my singular good Fortune; for before Mass was ended, a Pillar which sustain'd the Roof of the Chappel, giving way, the whole Structure fell and buried 90 Persons in its Ruins.

From *London* I went to *Gravesend*, where I embark'd aboard a *Dutch* Vessel, which carried me with a prosperous Gale to *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*. Arrives in Zealand.

CHAP. XIX.

An Abstract of the History of Ethiopia, *or the Kingdom of* Abessines: *Written by Mr.* Job Ludolphus, *with what is observable from the Authors of that Country in* Purchas.

IN compesing this History, the Author declares, that he was chiefly assisted by *Gregory* an *Abessin*, who came into *Germany*, and was honourably entertain'd by the Duke of *Saxony*, from whom he did not only receive Information as to the Country, but also the knowledge of the *Ethiopick* Language: That as to Authors, he depended upon the *Ethiopian* History of *Bermudez Tellez*, written in the *Portugal* Language, and collected out of the Acts and Instructions of the Jesuits, to whom he was provincial; with a Commentary of *Emmanuel Almeyda*, written in *Ethiopia*, and a M. S. History of *Alphonsus Mendoza*, the *Latin Ethiopian* Patriarch, attested by *Jerom Lupus*, a sworn Witness; and that he the rather gave credit to these Writers, because he found all things in them to agree with the Relations of *Gregory* the *Abessine*.

The Names of the *Abessines*, and the Original of the Nation.

The People are now generally call'd *Habessines*, or *Abessines*, from the *Arabick Habesh*, which signifies a mixture of People; but the Natives choose rather so call themselves *Ethiopians*, from the *Greeks*, tho' that name was formerly common to all the swarthy People in *Asia*, as well as them. Their special name is the Country of *Agazi*, or Free-men, as the *Germans* of old having past the *Reine*, call'd themselves *Franks*: For that they came at first from *Arabia the Happy*, adjoining to the *Red-Sea*, appears from their Language, which is very near a-kin to the *Arabick*; from their Circumcision and other Customs common to them with the *Arabians*; from the Name of *Abassenes* engraven by *Severus* on his Coyn, among the conquer'd People of *Arabia*.

The Situation & Bounds of *Abessinia*.

In *Africa* beyond *Nubia*, lies *Habassia*, very near between the 18th and 16th Deg. of North Latitude, and is call'd by some *Upper-Ethiopia*: It does not extend to the Equinoctial Line, much less does that Line cross it, as has been generally affirmed by Geographers and Historians. The *Portugueze* reckon this Kingdom where it is broadest, 140 Leagues, i. e. From the *Red-Sea* to the farthest limits of *Dembea*; for after that, the bounds of it from South to West do conically lessen. Towards the North upon the Kingdom of *Fund* or *Fungi*. Towards the East it was formerly bounded by the *Red-Sea*, but now the Port of *Arkiko* and the Isle of *Mazua* are subject to the *Turk*, who is Master of that Sea; toward the South, *Alaba* and *Fendere*, Kingdoms of the *Gentiles*, bound *Abessinia*; and lastly the River *Maleg*, and *Nilus* it self rowling along thro' the several vast Desarts, close up the Western Limits.

The Division of *Abessinia* into Kingdoms and Provinces.

The Kingdoms of *Ethiopia* are variously reckon'd up by *Paulus Jovius*, *Telezius*, and others, by confounding their Præfectures, which are under peculiar Governours with the Kingdoms. *Gregory* the *Abessine* afore-mentioned, reckoned 30 Kingdoms belonging to it by ancient Right, and we may safely reckon 20, including those which the *Gallans* have subdu'd. The names of the Principal are these. *Ambara* is the noblest Kingdom of all *Ethiopia*, upon the account of those inaccessible fortified Rocks, *Gheshen* and *Ambacch*, where formerly the King's Sons being excluded from the Kingdom, were secur'd, and is therefore accounted the Native Country of the present Kings and all the Nobility: It has 36 Provinces belonging to it. *Bagembder* or *Bagamidri*, is a large fertile Kingdom, watered with many Rivers: It is distinguish'd into 13 Territories. *Cambata*, whose Inhabitants are call'd *Hadiens*, is the last Kingdom towards the South, not far from *Enarrea*: The Inhabitants are for the most part *Christians*, but mix'd with *Pagans* and *Mahometans*. *Dembea* is a Kingdom now famous for the Royal Camp continually pitch'd there, and has 14 Prefectures belonging to it. *Enarrea* is inhabited both by *Christians* and *Gentiles*, and was subdued by *Melech Saghed*, who converted the Governour to the Christian Faith. *Gregory* aforesaid very much commended the Inhabitants for their Probity and Integrity, and said it was a fertile Soil, and abounded in Gold. *Gojam* is a Kingdom wonderful for its situation, and famous for the Fountains of *Nile* now discover'd in it; for the River *Nile* almost surrounds it in manner of a Peninsula. *Sewa*, or, as the *Portugueze* call it, *Xoa*, is a very large and rich Kingdom, formerly much frequented by the *Abessine* Kings, and then more famous than *Ambara*. *Tegre* or *Tigra*, is one of the principal Kingdoms, and the first as you enter into *Ethiopia*: the Native Country of the former Kings, who kept their Courts at *Axuma*, from which City all the Natives were call'd by the *Grecians Axumites*. The Prefecturers belonging to it are 27, all which are inhabited by several Nations; but there are not so many Governours as Prefectures, for sometimes two or three of them are under one Governour.

Of the 30 Kingdoms reckoned by Mr. *Gregory*, the present King of the *Abessines* enjoys at present only nine, which are *Ambara*, *Bajemdra*, *Cambata*, *Damota*, *Dembea*, *Enarrea*, *Gojam*, *Samen*, and part of *Sewa*, with other Kingdoms of less note. And of the Provinces he has only five, *Enfras*, *Maraga*, *Tragade*, *Wagara*, *Walkajit*; which Kingdoms and Provinces comprehend the best part indeed, but not the half of the ancient *Abessia*, the rest being by the *Galans* either subdu'd or utterly laid wast.

Of the nature of the Soil, Temper of the Air, Winds and Tempests, &c.

In so many various Regions, the Constitution of the Air is as various; for in low and open places the heat of the Sun is intolerable, as in both the Coasts of the *Red-Sea*, as also in the Isles, especially *Suaquena*; but then the higher you ascend the Mountains of *Ethiopia* from the Coasts of the *Red-Sea*, the more temperate is the Air; Nay, in some Mountainous Countries the cold is more dreaded than the heat, tho' there is very seldom any Snow there, but only a little small Hail; which temper of the Air makes the Country so healthy, that some live to a 100 Years of Age.

However, this variety of Air is the cause of most dreadful Thunder and Lightning, with violent Rains pour'd down like Streams, which make the Torrents swell, and the Rivers overflow; which are encreas'd also by the Earth, which vomits up Water; for there is a Fountain in every Man's House if it stands low: And their Winter-weather, which is very unpleasant, lasts for three Months.

There are but three Seasons of the Year, properly speaking, among the *Abessines*: First, the Spring, which begins on the 25th of *September*: Then the Summer, which may be divided into two parts, the first and best call'd *Tsadai*, which begins the 25th of *December*; and the last and worst call'd *Hagai*, which begins on the 25th of *June*, and ends upon the succeeding Winter, which is the third part of the *Ethiopick* Year.

But tho' the Winds upon the Mountains do frequently render the Air healthful and temperate, yet all are not equally grateful; for there is sometimes a Whirlwind, call'd *Sendo*, i. e. a Smoak so furious, that it throws down all before it, as Houses, &c.

As soon as you have travell'd two days Journey from the *Red-Sea*, you must climb over the high Mountains of *Tigra*; among which, *Lamalmone* is the most lofty, whose Steps are so dangerous, and the Path so narrow, that if company meet, Men and Horses giving way, fall headlong into a bottomless Abyss. And not only this Region,

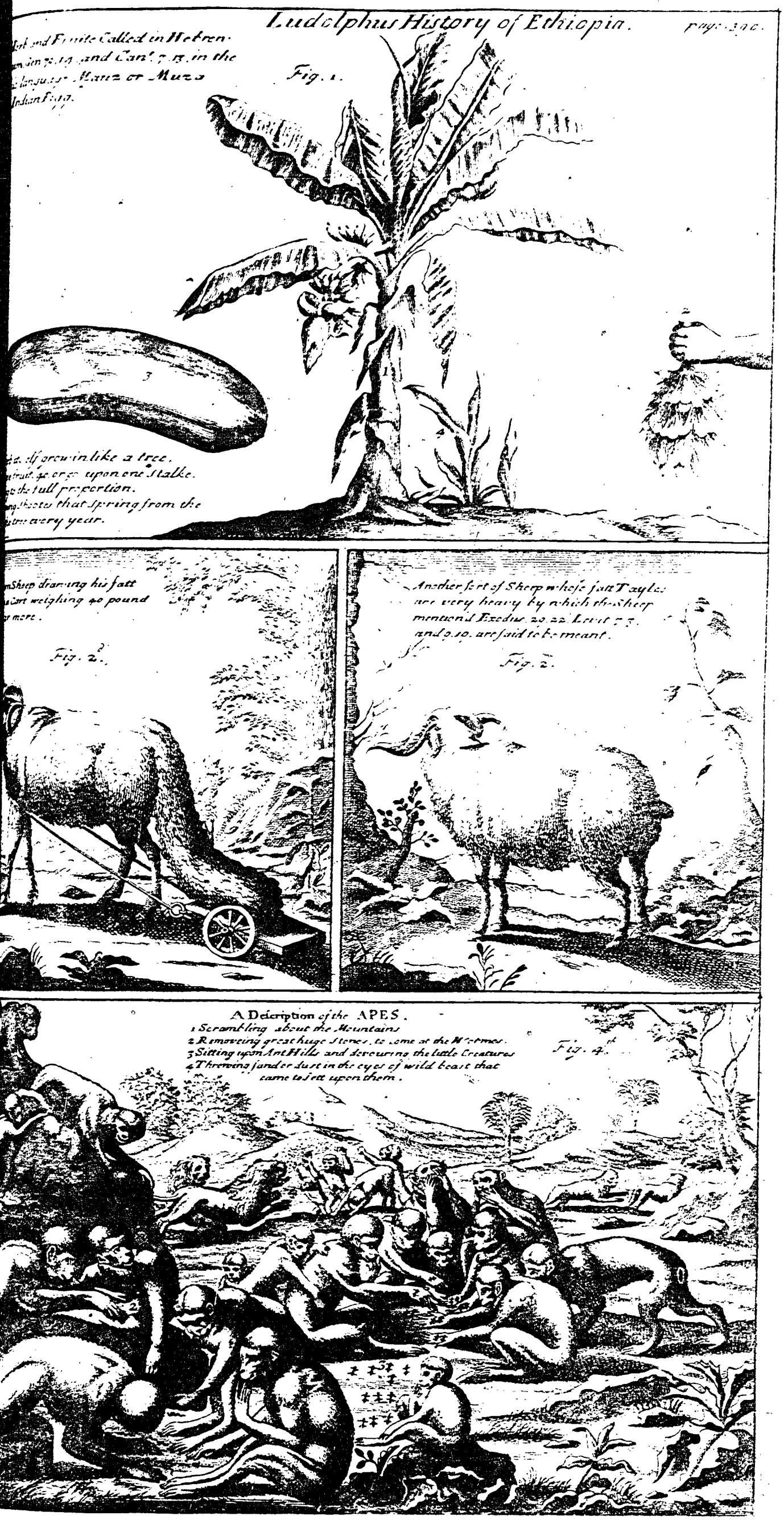
Fig. 1.
Fig. 2.
Fig. 2.
A Description of the APES.
1 Scrambling about the Mountains
2 Removing great huge Stones, to come at the Worms.
3 Sitting upon Ant Hills and devouring the little Creatures
4 Throwing sand or dust in the eyes of wild beast that came to sett upon them.
Fig. 4.

Region, but all the rest except *Dombea*, are but one continued Chain of Mountains. Here are also many Rocks of incredible height, to which the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* are but low Hills; and so steep, that there is no way of getting to the top without the help of Ladders and Ropes, by which they crane up their Cattle and other Necessaries: And yet so spacious at the top, that they contain Woods, Fields, Meadows, Fountains, and even Fish-Ponds, and all other Necessaries for human life, which Rocks are call'd by the Natives, *Amba*, &c. Such is that high and steep Rock in *Amhara*, where the *Ethiopick* Princes were formerly shut up from all things but Air and Earth, in a lofty place of Exile. These high Mountains cool the scorching heat, and are a defence against their Enemies.

Their Metals and Minerals.

They afford also plenty of Metals and Minerals, especially Gold, which is found in the Shallows of Rivers in great quantities, about the bigness of a Tare, which is carry'd down, as is believ'd, from the Mountains with the Sand, by the force of the Stream. *Damota*, and especially *Enarrea*, enjoys this Advantage, it being the chiefest tribute they pay; for they are destitute of Silver, tho' they have Lead, which is said to be the Mother of it. They are ignorant of the ways of searching the Bowels of the Earth for precious Metals, and of refining them; but Iron they find in great plenty on the Surface of the Earth without digging for it.

In a place call'd the *Land of Salt*, on the Confines of *Tigra* and *Angora*, there are natural Mountains of Salt, of a whitish Substance, which being soft, is easily shiver'd off, but in the Air it hardens. From thence it is fetch'd by Merchants, who convey it away in Caravans, call'd *Casila*, and sell it thro' all the Neighbour Nations, and with it, as with ready Coin, they purchase all Necessaries; not Gems or Jewels, which they value not, but such things as conduce to their health, and chiefly Black-lead, call'd *Cobol*, which they use to preserve their sight, and for an Ornament to besmear their Eye-brows, when it is mix'd with Soot moistened.

The Rivers of Abessinia, especially of the Nile, its Fountains and Course.

But Gifts of Nature more precious than Gold, and more profitable to the Natives of the Neighbour-Nations, flow from the Mountains of *Abessinia*, which are its famous Rivers, especially that of *Nile*; for the Rain-water soaking thro' the Pores of the Earth, after it has pass'd thro' many secret Conveyances, at last breaks forth at some hollow place, or being press'd by its own weight, is forc'd to reascend, and seek a Passage at the tops of the Mountains, which is the Reason, that in Countries where there is little or no Rain, there are few or no Fountains; but where there are frequent Rains, the Rivers are large and swelling; the Effect demonstrates the Cause. But *Nilus* for plenty of Water, sweetness, wholsomness, and fertility, excels all other Rivers in the World. In sacred Writ 'tis call'd *Shichor*, and by the *Greeks Niger*, because it runs with a black and muddy Stream; by the Natives *Abawi*, by the *Egyptians* their God.

'Tis a thing so unusual for any other Rivers to overflow in the most sultry Season of the Year, and this Inundation of the *Nile*, which arises from the excessive Rains that fall in *Ethiopia*, when the Sun returns into the Winter-signs, is so profitable to *Egypt*, that the Ancients desired nothing more than to know the Spring-head of that River; for which end some Kings have sent great Armies in quest of satisfaction to their Curiosity; but all their Endeavours were unsuccessful, until it was discover'd by the *Portugueze*, who agree with the following account of Mr. *Gregory*. The Spring-head of *Nile* is in a certain Land call'd *Secat*, upon the top of *Dengla* near *Gojam*. He said it had five Spring-heads, reckoning in the Heads of other Rivers which have no particular Name, and so are taken for the *Nile*. But it passes thro' the Lake *Tzenicum*, preserving the colour of its own Waters, like the *Rhosne* thro' the Lake *Lemane*. Then winding to the South, it washes on the Left-hand the principal Kingdoms of *Habessinia*, and takes along with it the Rivers of those Countries: and on the Right-hand encompassing *Gojam*, and swell'd with the Rivers of that Region, it turns again to the West, and with a prodigious mass of adventitious Rivers, leaving *Abessinia*, on the Right-hand, it rowls to the North thro' several thirsty Nations and sandy Deserts, to make *Egypt* fertile with its Inundations, and there makes its way thro' several Mouths into the Sea. But the River *Nile* does not flow entirely into *Egypt*, but after it has pass'd by *Senaar* in the Country of *Dengula*, before it arrives in *Nubia*, it is parted into two Streams; the left and least whereof is called the River *Niger*, which descends towards the Country of *Elwah*, and so disembogues it self into the Western Ocean: For besides, that *Nilus* is called *Niger* by the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*, the River *Niger* agrees with it in the colour and taste of its Water, produces the same sort of Reed of Paper, and Animals, and encreases and overflows at the same Seasons. Some have thought the Course of the River *Nile* may be diverted another way; but those places where 'twas to be done, are not now subject to *Ethiopia*, and the King has no Inclination to such a Project.

The Soil in *Abessinia* is so fertile by reason of the long Summer, that in the same place you shall find Seed-time and Harvest, which in some places is double, in others threefold. They have not only Wheat, Barley, Millet, and the like, which are known to us, but also another sort, which is call'd *Tef*, of which they make good Bread. They have no Rye, and value not Oats; for Barly and Grass is the general Food of their Horses; which last abounds so much in more temperate places, by reason of the perpetual heat, and the moisture distilling from the Mountains, that they never Mow it, tho' the Locusts in that Country occasion frequent Famines.

The Fertility of the Soil.

They have Herbs of all sorts, and some of admirable vertue. The *Amadmagda* cures broken and disjointed Bones; the Herb *Assizoe* is of that rare vertue against the bitting of Asps, that the most hurtful Serpents touch'd with it, lie for dead, and he that eats the Root of it, may walk in the midst of Adders, and even handle the most venomous Snakes without danger. Their Vine and Grapes are excellent, yet they never make Wine of them, either out of ignorance, or because the excessive heat sowres the Liquor before the Lee is settled.

Their Vegetables and Plants.

The Indian Fig is very plentiful here, and you shall have 50 Figs hanging on one stalk of a delicious odour and taste. They have also Pome-citrons, Apricocks, Peaches, and Pomegranates, which grow to full Perfection. The Enset is a Tree, which being half cut down, renews again by means of many shoots that spring from the Trunk, which being slic'd and boil'd, allays the thirst, and the Leaves being bruis'd and boil'd with Meal, are instead of a Hasty-pudding. There is another Tree mention'd by *Godignus*, very good against Worms in the Belly, to which the *Abessines* are much subject, by reason of their feeding upon raw Flesh.

Indian Fig.

By reason of the plenty of their Grass, and the heat of their Country, their Beasts are of a much larger size than in other Countries, their Bulls are sometimes twice as big, and may be call'd Bull-Elephants, and their Horns are proportionable, being four Foot broad. Their Horses are bold and strong, but are never us'd unless in Battel and for Races; for their Mules serve for burthen, and to travel long Journeys, being sure-footed in their rugged ways. Camels are never us'd but in the plain Countries, where they tread upon the Sand tho' scalding hot, without any harm to their Feet. They have very large Sheep, whose Tails weigh ten or twelve, and sometimes above forty Pound, so that the Owners are forc'd to tye a little Cart behind them, to ease the Creature and preserve the Wool. Fig. 2.

As for wild Beasts, *Abessinia* breeds more and larger than any other Country; such as Elephants, eminent for bulk and docility, which herd together in great numbers, sometimes a hundred in a place. They shake the great Trees till they break their Trunks, or tear them up by the Roots; they eat the Shrubs and Fruit-Trees, but especially certain Trees like our Cherry-trees, full of Pith, like Elder, upon which they banquet. They come neareft to Human Understanding, and observe the Laws of Hospitality; for when a Female is permitted to lodge in a Corn-field with her Cub, they neither destroy the Corn themselves, nor suffer others to do it. The Ivory is made, not of their Teeth, but their Horns, which grow out of their Head and not their Jaws, upon the Brows of the Males only. Here is also a Panther-Camel, as big as an Elephant, but so tall, that a Man can reach only to his Knees. He has a long Head and Neck, and is spotted all over like a Panther.

Of four-footed Beasts, and their several kinds. Fig. 1.

Zecora is the most beautiful thing in the World, of the bigness of a Mule, having Circles about his Body of various colours, some broader, some narrower; one of them was sold for 2000 *Venetian* Pieces, for a Present to the *Mogul*.

The Lion is gentle to a Man, but terrible to all other Creatures, who tremble to see him. Tygers and Panthers never spare Mankind, and by Night make great havock of Cattle. The Hyæna is the most voracious of all Beasts; for by Night and Day they destroy all the Men and Beasts they meet with, and sometimes dig down Houses and Stables to come at them. Of Apes there are infinite flocks, a thousand or more together, who

Fig. 4. who help one another to turn over the Stones for the Worms that lie under, and lick up all the Emmets they can find; and having sent Spies before to see if the Coast be clear, they destroy whole Fields and Gardens: When they cannot escape wild Beasts by flight, they fill their Paws with Dust or Sand, and fling it in the Eyes of their Assailant, and then to their Heels again.

Fig. 5. There is another Beast very harmless, call'd *Fonkes*, in *Latin Cercopitheculus*, which is particolour'd, and is so tender, that it cannot be brought into these parts, unless it be wrap'd very warm. Here is also another Beast call'd *Arivcharn*, with one Horn, fierce and strong, of which Unicorns several have been seen feeding in the Woods.

Of Amphibious Creatures. Of amphibious Creatures here is the *Hippopotamos*, or the River-Horse, which seems to be the same Beast that is describ'd in *Job* by the name of *Behemoth*: There are many of them in the Lake of *Trana*, which destroy the Corn in the Neighbouring Fields, and sometimes overturn small Boats, but are frighted with Fire. The Crocodile his Companion is yet more mischievous,

Fig 6. which seems to be that which *Job* calls the *Leviathan*. Water-Lizards are very frequent, especially one sort call'd *Angueg*, which is shap'd like a Dragon, as big as a Cat, but has a Tail that will cut a Man's Thigh in two. But setting aside these strange Creatures, the Lakes and Rivers abound with Fish, and among the rest is the Torpedo, which being touch'd with the Hand, causes a fearful trembling, and with it the *Abessines* cure *Tertian* and *Quarten* Agues, by tying the Patient to a Table, and applying the Fish to his Joints, which causes a cruel pain over all his Members, after which, the Fit never returns again; and yet if you touch this Fish with a Spear or Wand, the Sinews of it presently grow numb, and its Feet, tho' otherwise a swift Runner, lie as if they were bound.

Of Birds. In this Country are Birds of the largest size, such as the Ostrich and Cassawaw, which never flie, but are very swift in running, being able to out-run a Horse at full speed. The Flesh of the Cassawaw is a good Remedy against the biting of Serpents, which was found out by observing how greedily they devour them without harm. There is a little Bird call'd *Pipi*, which leads the Hunters to the places where the wild Beasts lie hid, never leaving the Note of Pipi, till the Hunters follow and kill the discover'd Prey.

Of Serpents and Insects. The Dragons here are of the largest size, very voracious, but not venomous; in *India* they are said to be so big as to swallow whole Infants, Pigs, or Lambs. Here are also venomous Snakes call'd *Hydri*, which send forth such a poysonous breath or smell, as proves quickly mortal without an Antidote, but is cur'd by drinking Human Excrement in Water, as the Panther is observ'd to do when he eats poyson'd Flesh laid for him by the Hunters. Among other Serpents the Natives walk and kill them with a crooked Stick; sometimes they drive their Cattle into places strew'd with Serpents Eggs, to destroy them with their Hoofs. The Locusts are more pernicious than these, who frequent the best manur'd Places and Orchards in such vast numbers, that like a thick Cloud they obscure the Sun: They spare neither Plants, Shrubs, nor Trees, whose Barks they sometimes eat, so that the Spring cannot repair the Damage; and then a general Mortality ensues, and Regions are laid waste, because the Natives never keep any stores of Provision; yet for some time they support themselves with eating the Locusts, which are a wholsome Diet, on which *John Baptist* fed. The Bees swarm here, and make great quantities of Honey, which they secure under ground, wanting Stings, and such was the Food of *John Baptist*. They have Ants of several sorts, whereof one is call'd *Gunden*, which always march in Military Array, and have others that are their Slaves, and some with Wings.

Of the Nature and Customs of the Inhabitants. The *Abessines* are witty and good-natur'd, not given to quarrels; but if any do arise, having cuff'd a while, they refer the Difference to Arbitrators, to whose Sentence they submit, being naturally Lovers of Justice and Equity, and very desirous of Learning, for which they admire foreign Christians; but their Civil Broils and Wars with the *Gallans* will not allow the Nobility leasure to mind these Studies. As the Natives of *Enarrea* are eminent for Courage and Fidelity, so those of *Tigra* are faithless and inconstant, bloody and vindictive above any other Nation. They are generally black, of well-shap'd Bodies, without blubber Lip and flat Nose, like the rest of the *Africans*, yet some of them are white, whose breath is counted Infectious, and therefore they are avoided by the other *Ethiopians*. Their Bodies are very strong, and they live to a great Age, unless they fall by the Sword or wild Beasts. Their Women are strong and lusty, and commonly bring forth without a Midwife. *Mendez* the *Portugal* Patriarch found in one Province 40000, and in others 100000.

Besides the Natives, here are *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Pagans* mix'd among them. The *Jews* formerly had all *Denbea*, and several other Provinces, till they were driven thence by *Susneus*, but now they are dispers'd, and get their living by Weaving, and working as Carpenters. The *Mahometans* live here intermix'd with *Christians*, and drive the greatest trade with the *Turks* and *Arabians*, and in all Parts of the *Red-Sea*, exchanging *Abessinian* Gold for *Indian* Wares. There are many other barbarous Nations, that wander about in the Sandy Deserts, having no knowledge of God, and living without Government, or any certain Habitation, who devour Dragons, Elephants, and whatever they meet in their way. There are also other *Pagans*, as the *Agawi* and *Gallans* in *Gojam*.

The War of the *Adelans* against the *Abessines*, under *Grainus* in the last Century, so ruin'd their Affairs, that they could never recover their Losses, and gave great advantage to the *Turks* and *Gallans* against them; for the *Turks* having conquer'd *Egypt*, that they might shut up all the Ports of the *Red-Sea*, made themselves Masters of the Iles of *Suaquena*, and *Matzna*, which formerly belong to the *Abessines*; so that now neither Men nor Merchandize can be admitted into the Gulf, unless they beg it of the Basha with rich Presents.

But the *Gallans* are more terrible Enemies, who have subdu'd many Kingdoms and Provinces, and thirst after all the rest. They first broke out in the Kingdom of *Bali*, while the King, sirnamed *David*, was engag'd in War with the *Adelans*; and having subdu'd *Bali*, they over-ran the Neighbouring Kingdoms. They are a fierce and warlike People, ambitious of the Honour that is got by slaying their Enemies, and bringing in their Heads, and divide the plunder equally among them all. They fight with a Resolution either to over-come or die; and have for their Weapons at a distance, Lances and Darts, and Hand to Hand, Clubs and Stakes, and for their Shield the Skins of Oxen. They formerly fought a-foot, but now more frequently on Horse-back, and are commonly too hard for the *Abessines*, tho' they are more numerous and better arm'd. They never mind Agriculture, but only grazing of Cattle, which they drive before them as well in War as Peace, thro' the most fertile Pastures, whose Milk they drink in Wooden Dishes, which is all the Baggage they carry with them, and raw Flesh they eat without Bread. Every eight Years they choose a Leader, call'd *Luve*, whom they obey in time of War; and his first Enterprize is to invade *Abessinia* for Honour and Booty.

They say that Heaven is the God that governs the Earth, and yet they give it no solemn Worship, neither have they any Idols, and but very little Divine Worship. They are a sharp-witted People, and several thousands of them were converted and baptis'd under *Basilides*. This is that formidable Nation which hath ruin'd the Dominion of the *Abessines*, having torn from their King above half these Territories which his Ancestors enjoy'd, and were diverted from making further Conquests by Divisions among themselves. They are now divided into two Nations, whereof that which lies Easterly encircles *Abassia*, and harass it with frequent Incursions. They have also parted *Cambata* and *Enarrea* from the rest of the Body, having subdued the Kingdoms between them, which makes it very difficult for the King to bring home his Tribute from these Kingdoms: Thus the *Abessines* are always in war with these People.

Another Neighbour Kingdom is *Zandero*, which was but lately discovered, whose Natives are but a little more civil than the *Gallans*. Their King being dead, the next a-kin retires into a Wood, and being follow'd by the Nobility, who are guided by a Bird of the Eagle kind to the place where he is, they find him surrounded with a Guard of Lions, Dragons, and Panthers (assembled there by some Incantation) who at first resists the Electors, and wounds those he can, that he may seem to be forc'd to take the Government upon him. They fight one with another, who shall have the Honour of setting the Crown on the King's Head, and sometimes kill one another, thinking to atone the Devil with Human Blood. *Fernandez* having view'd this *Lybian* Soveraign, compares him for Colour and Gesture to a Rampant Monkey, and if their King be wounded, 'tis their Custom to kill him after the manner of Monkeys, who tear a wound till they die.

Flocks of Elephants that lay waste whole Forrests
a. A cornfeild defended by a She Elephant.

Fig. 3d

Fig. 5.

Abissipian Fonkes, in the Amharic
tongue call'd Guereza

A sort of little Animall of the Kind of
those which the Hollanders call Danguinen.
It seems to be the Callithrix or fair-hair
of the Antients:
Wee thought fitt to call it Cerlopithecullus or
Galeopithecullus The marmoset with a tayle or a Capp.

The Behemoth Iob the 40. 10.

Fig. 6.

the Sea Cow.

or the River Horse by the Italians

The Sea Horse putting up his head above the water,
thence call'd the river Horse by the Greeks

Fig. 6th

Abessinia to the East is bounded by the Kingdom of *Alaba*, and to the South by the Kingdom of *Semner* or *Fund*.

Gamez brought to the Succor of the *Abessines* in the *Adelan* War, about 170 *Portugueſe*, who in one Age were able to muſter 1400 fighting Men. After the *Adelan* War they had certain Lands granted them by *Claudius*, which were taken way by *Menas* his Succeſſor: And in this laſt Century they flouriſh'd for ſometime in plenty, but the Fathers looſing their Credit, they were again reduc'd to extream Miſery.

Of their Political Government.

Of the Kings of the *Abeſſines*, their Titles, Names, and Arms.

The King of the *Abeſſines* has been commonly known to the *Europeans* by the name of *Preſbyter John*, which was firſt given him by the *Portugueze* upon the following Occaſion. *Peter* a *Portugal* Prince returning home from *Venice*, brought him a Treatiſe of the *Paulus Venetus* of the Affairs of *India*, wherein many great things were ſaid of *Presbyter John*, which was one great Motive to the *Portugal* Kings, to proſecute the Deſign of the *Indian* Navigation. In purſuance of this Deſign, *John* the ſecond ſent two *Portugueze*, ſkilful in the *Arabic*-Tongue, to try what they could do, and gave them a ſtrict charge to find out *Presbyter-John*, that wealthy Chriſtian Prince, as he was reputed to be, eitheir in *Aſia* or *India*: At length, one of them call'd *Peter*, after a long and vain ſearch, heard of a moſt potent Chriſtian King of the *Abeſſines*, whom he believ'd to be the *Preſter-John* ſo much ſought after, and thereupon gave Intelligence of it to his own King, who quickly ſpread the News over all *Europe*, where it was eaſily believ'd, That the King of *Ethiopia* was the famous *Preſter-John*.

This was the Orignal of that vulgar Error, which has ſo generally prevail'd; but the Truth of the matter is; There was long ago a Chriſtian Prince in the utmoſt parts of *Africa*, who was call'd by the Neighbouring *Perſians* for his eminent Sanctity, *Preſter-Chan*, or Prince of the *Adorites*, i. e. *Chriſtians*, who was driven out of his Kingdom ſome Ages ago by *Cenclu* King of the *Tartars*: But the ignorant Vulgar having learned the Name from the *Italians*, who were then great Traders into the Eaſt, chang'd it into the *Italian* Name *Pretegianni*, which corrupt Name hath ſince prevail'd with all the People of *Europe*. Moſt certain it is, that the Name of the King of the *Abeſſines* is no more in the *Ethiopic* Language than *Negus* King; but his common Title is *Negula Naguſt Zaitzopia*, King of the Kings of *Ethiopia*, to diſtinguiſh him from the Rulers of ſome Provinces, who are honour'd with the Title of *Negus*, upon which account he is call'd by the *Portugueze* Emperour of the *Abeſſines*. Among the ancient *Arabians* the Kings were always called *Nagaſhi*, as the Kings of *Egypt* were call'd *Pharo's*, and the *Roman* Emperours *Cæſars*. But there is a new name commonly given to the Kings of *Ethiopia* at their coming to the Crown, which generally ſignifies Reverence, as *Melech Saghead*, a Venerable Ruler, and ſometimes a *Gem*, as *Wanag Sadhed*, a precious *Gem*; which was the name of King *David*, whence his Embaſſador being ſent into *Portugal*, call'd him Precious *John*, inſtead of *Preter Gianni*. Beſides theſe, he had many other Titles, as the *Pillar of Faith*, the *Virgins Incence*, &c. which variety caus'd great confuſion in their Hiſtory, and therefore they are now quite diſus'd; for the King writing to the Pope, uſes none of theſe lofty Titles, but ſays only, *Let the little Book of the Letter of* Malec Saghed, *King of the Kings of* Ethiopia, *come to the Hands of the Holy* Roman *Patriarch*.

The King's Seal is a Lion holding a Croſs, with this Motto, *The Lion of the Tribe of* Juda *has won*; and they have a Tradition, that their Kings are deſcended from *Solomon*, which ſeems to be uncertain, but they may derive unqueſtionably their Succeſſion from *Azbeha* and *Abreha*, two Brothers, under whom the *Axumites* firſt receiv'd the Chriſtian Religion, which equals them with the moſt ancient Royal Families in *Europe* for Antiquity.

Of the *Solomonian* Family, which I'll to prove is Original from the Son of the Queen of *Sheba*, who came to *Solomon*.

We find in Sacred Writ, That the Queen of *Sheba*, or, as our Saviour tells us, a Queen of the South came from the ends of the Earth to hear the Wiſdom of *Solomon*. The *Ethiopians* aſſert her to be their Queen, call'd *Maqueda*, who went with a great Train of Nobility and Royal Preſents to his Court at *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe learnt from him the true worſhip of God; That after her return, ſhe brought forth her Son call'd *Menilebec*, begot by *Solomon*, and named by him *David*. Some of the Fathers, as *Origen*, *Auſtin*, &c. are of opinion, that ſhe came out of *Ethiopia*; but others, as *Juſtin*, *Cyprian*, &c. think that ſhe came out of *Arabia*, becauſe Spices, Gems, and Gold, which were the Preſents of the Queen of *Sheba*, are the common Products of *Arabia*; which two Opinions are eaſily reconcil'd; if with the ancient Writers we extend the ancient *Ethiopia* into *Arabia*: For they affirm the *Sabeans* and *Homerites* to have been Nations of *Ethiopia*, which without queſtion were formerly ſeated in *Arabia the Happy*: And 'tis certain, that Region which the *Hebrews* call *Cuſh*, is by the 70 Interpreters rendred *Ethiopia*, and yet that Country is a part of *Arabia*, whence the *Arabians* are call'd *Cuſhites*: For the *Ethiopia* of the Ancients was divided into *Aſiatic* and *African*; ſo that the Queen of *Sheba* may be ſaid to come out of *Ethiopia*, tho' the *Sabeans* were a People of the South *Arabia*.

Several things are alledg'd to confirm this Tradition of the *Abeſſines*, that their Kings are deſcended from *Solomon*, as the Conſent of the Nation, the common Title of their Kings, who are call'd *Iſraelitiſh* Kings, the Motto in their Coat of Arms, *The Lion of the Tribe of* Judah *hath overcome*, but chiefly the continuation of their Officers both in Civil and Military in the ſame Family, and the obſervation of other Cuſtoms and Ceremonies us'd in the *Hebrew* Common-wealth: Yet *Ludolphus* doubts of the Truth of this Tradition, becauſe the *Iſraelitiſh* Rites might be introduc'd after *Solomon*'s time upon another account; and the Title of *Iſraelitiſh* Kings does no more prove their deſcent from them, than the Title of King of the *Romans* proves his deſcent from the ancient *Romans*: And no account can be given how the true Worſhip of God could be preſerv'd from *Solomon*'s time among them without the Sacred Volumes, which they have not either in the *Hebrew* Language or their own: why they were not more earneſt to viſit the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and to give aſſiſtance to their Brethren, eſpecially when *Rehoboam* the Brother of *Menelebec*, ſuffer'd that great loſs of the revolt of the ten Tribes, and when he was invaded by *Siſak* King of *Egypt*, whom the Kings of *Ethiopia* could eaſily have diverted; when the *Jews* were ruin'd by the King of *Aſſyria*, and carried away captive into *Babylon*; when they were ſubdu'd by the *Romans*, for then the Paſſages were free through *Arabia*, or *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea* was open: And laſtly, no account can be given why they ſhould not receive from *Solomon* together with their Religion, his Human Learning, ſince Learning and Religion generally go together; but their manner of Writing and Reading differs very much from that of the *Hebrews*, tho' ſome Letters ſeem to be borrowed from the *Samaritans*.

Of *Menilehec* and his poſterity, till their Succeſſion was interrupted.

After *Menelchec* the Son of *Makeda*, the *Ethiopians* had ſeveral Kings, of whom we know nothing certain; but 'tis very probable, that in the 18th Year of *Baſen*'s Reign our Bleſſed Saviour was born: And ſince it was forbidden by the Laws of *Ethiopia*, that a Woman ſhould Reign after *Menilelec*, 'tis moſt probable that *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*, whoſe Eunuch is mention'd Act 8. 27. was Queen of that part of *Ethiopia* which borders upon *Egypt*, and is call'd the Iſle of *Meroe*, becauſe *Pliny* teſtifies in that Iſland reigned one *Candace*, and that ſucceeding Queens aſſum'd that name for many Years. After *Baſen*, for the ſpace of 327 Years, there is no certainty until the times of *Abreha* and *Azbeha*, two Brothers who reign'd; of whom there is mention made in the *Ethiopic* Liturgy, in their Commemoration for the dead, and in the *Ethiopic* Poet, who ſays they taught the Goſpel of Chriſt, and built him Temples. Their next famous King was *Caleb*, who reveng'd the Blood of the Chriſtians ſhed by *Dunawa*, as all Hiſtorians agree. This *Dunawes* was the laſt King of the *Sabeans*, who were afterwards call'd *Hamerites*, who being a *Jew*, perſecuted the Chriſtians moſt cruelly; for he caus'd large Pits to be digg'd, and then commanded the Chriſtians to be burnt therein in heaps: And thus 340 periſh'd together with St. *Areta*, being all entom'd in fire. *Caleb* being advertis'd of this barbarous Cruelty by the Patriarch, went with an Army of 120000 Men, and a Navy of 423 Veſſels, and croſs'd over into *Arabia*; and having vanquiſh'd *Dunawas*, he utterly deſtroy'd the Kingdom of the *Hamrites*, reſtor'd *Nagra* to the Chriſtians, and made St. *Aceta*'s Son Governour of the place. This Victory of *Caleb* and the Martyrs of *Nagra*, are celebrated by the *Ethiopic* Poet, who alſo mentions his Succeſſor *Gebra-Meskel*, or the Servant of the Croſs, to whom ſucceeded *Conſtantine Freſenna*, and *Delnoad*, who reign'd about the Year of *Chriſt* 960: After whoſe death the Scepter was uſurp'd by another race, which was the *Zagean* Family, who enjoy'd it 540 Years. Of this Race was *Newaja Chriſtos*, or the Wealth of *Chriſt*, who is prais'd by the Poet for building the Houſe of God, and empoveriſhing himſelf to adorn it. But the moſt

Of the *Zagean* Line, and the Kings deſcended from that Race.

famous was *Lalibala*, whose future greatness was portended by a swarm of Bees, which lighted on his tender Body while an Infant, without doing him any hurt; and after he came to rule, having sent for Artists out of *Egypt*, he built stately Structures after a wonderful manner; for he did not cement Stones or Bricks together with Lime or Lome, nor join the Roof together with Rafters, but hollowed whole solid Rocks, leaving Pillars where they were requisite for Ornament, the Arches and Walls being all of the same Stone. *Alvarez* attests upon Oath, that he saw ten Temples fram'd after this wonderful manner, by this magnificent King, who reign'd 40 Years. The last of this Race was *Naacueto Laab*, in whom the *Zagean* Family was extinct about the Year 1300.

Of the Solomonean Race restor'd ... Icon Amlac ... his Successors, Claudius, &c. After his death, the Nobility of *Shewa* restor'd *Icon Amlac*, a Prince of the *Solomonean* Race, to the Scepter of his Ancestors, whose Posterity have continued in *Habessinia* to our time. *Tellezius* reckons up 16 Kings to *Zara-Jacob*, an Emperour of great renown, who sent Ambassadors to the Council of *Florence*. *Baeda Marjam* came to the Crown about 1465, and died ten Years after, leaving his Widow *Helena* behind him, who had the chief management of Affairs during the minority of *Etana Dengel*, call'd afterwards by his Inauguration name *David*, he being but eleven Years of age when he was made King. She was a Woman of great Prudence and Courage, and famous among the *Europeans* for her Letters to *Emmanuel* the first, King of *Portugal*. *David* was very prosperous in the beginning of his Reign, but afterwards giving himself up to Luxury, he was forced to fly to the Rock *Damo*, where he died in the 46th year of his age.

His Son *Claudius* came to the Kingdom when it was miserably shatter'd by the *Gallans*; but by the assistance of *John* the second, King of *Portugal*, who sent the valiant *Christopher Gama*, with a small band of 400 Foot, he overthrew vast Armies of the *Barbarians*, and laid the Foundation of regaining the *Abessinian* Empire. He was very learn'd and stout, and gain'd great Advantages against the *Adelans* in his Wars; but at last in 1559, fighting against them, he was kill'd. To him succeeded *Menas* his Brother, who was of a cruel disposition, and deny'd the *Portuguese* that liberty of Religion which *Claudius* had granted, whereupon his Subjects revolted from him, and one *Bahrnagassus* a great Captain, calling in the *Turks* to his assistance, overcome him and slew him in Battle; since which time the *Turks* have been Masters of the Coast of the *Red-Sea*. *Sarza Dengel* his Son succeeded, who was stout of Hand and wise in Counsel: And first he drove the *Turks* out of *Tigra*, and would have driven them also from *Arkiko* and *Matzua*, but that he was recall'd to defend his Dominions from the *Gallans*, who by the Rapines of 25 Years, were now encreas'd from scattering Troops to compleat Armies. He was prosperous in his Wars, and subdu'd *Enarrea*, and caus'd the Prince of it to turn Christian. He was firm to the *Alexandrian* Religion, and granted Liberty to the Jesuits, whose manners he approv'd, and not their Doctrine. He left no Issue Male behind him, but two natural Sons, whereof *Jacob* the youngest and most beloved was but seven Years of age, which occasion'd a bloody Civil War about the Succession, tho' the King to prevent it declar'd in the presence of his Nobility, that he recommended *Za-dengel* his Brother's Son to be his Successor: But the Nobility being ambitious of having the Rule in their own Hands during the Minority of *Jacob*, conspired against *Za-dengel*, and remov'd him from Rock to Rock, lest any of his Subjects should join to assist him, and set the Crown on *Jacob's* Head. But after he came to be 15 Years old, growing impatient of any curb from his Tutors, he assum'd the Rains of Government into his own Hand, and, which his Guardians took so ill, that they chose rather to obey their lawful King, than submit to an illegitimate Infant, contrary to their Constitution: And therefore they recall'd *Za-dengel*, then lurking in the remotest Mountains of the Empire, and saluted him King by the Name of *Asnaff-Sagbed*. Wonderful was his Clemency at his first Accession to the Throne; for neither did he cut off the Nose and Eyes of *Jacob*, as is usually done to Rivals in the Empire; neither did he punish any of his Enemies, as by Law he might have done; but as he was mild and gentle to a fault, so he behav'd himself with undaunted Courage in all sorts of danger; which he shew'd in his first War with the *Gallans*, who understanding the Divisions at Court, broke into *Abessinia* with three Armies, and so overpower'd the King's Forces, that he was advis'd to an early flight: But he disdaining the motion, cry'd out, *Here will I die, you may fly if you please, and so 'scape the fury of the* Gallans, *but never the Infamy of deserting your King*; which words so animated the Souldiers, that they broke in among the *Gallans* like desperate Men, and gain'd such a glorious Victory with such a slaughter of the Enemy, as was never known before. And presently with a swift March, he led his Army over Mountains and Rocks, against another Body of the Enemy, which with the same Success he put to flight. The third Army not daring to stand against the Force of the *Abessines*, fled into their Fastnesses, of whom the *Abessines* drove 400 from their Holds, and slew them every Mother's Son. But at last by the Perswasion of *Peter Pays*, he embrac'd the *Latin* Religion, which he testified in his Letters to the Pope and King of *Spain*, *Philip* the third, and preferring the *Portuguese* before his own Subjects, he so enflam'd the hatred of his own People, that his chief Ministers, and the Nobility of his Kingdom conspired against him: For the Rebels pretended, that the *Portuguese* would establish their Religion by force of Arms, and others take possession of their Kingdom; and the Patriarch to encourage them, by an unheard-of-President, absolved the Rebels from their Oaths, to their lawful Prince. The King was advis'd by *Peter Pays* to protract the War, till the heat of the Rebels fury was cool'd: *For* (says he) *Sedition is like a Torrent which is violent at first, but abates by degrees*: But the King in the heat of his Youth being impatient of delay, join'd Battle with them, in which, though he fought bravely for a long time, yet at last being forsaken by his own Souldiers, he was slain with several Darts thrown at a distance; which was a sad *Memento* to all Kings, how they change their Religion, and thrust themselves rashly into a Battle, especially when there is no certain Successor.

Of the Kings of this Country ... After his Death there was a Contest between *Susneus* the Grand-child of *David*, and *Jacob* aforementioned, about the Right of Succession, which was decided by the Sword; and *Susneus* obtain'd the Victory with the slaughter of many of his Enemies, and particularly of *Jacob*, and *Peter* the Patriarch, who had thundred out an *Anathema* against *Susneus*. The Enemy fled with so great precipitation, tho' *Susneus* did not pursue them, yet many of them ignorant of the Country, threw themselves head-long from a steep Rock in the Night-time: Among the rest, a certain *Portuguese* perceiving his Horse as it were flying in the Air, quitting his Stirrops, left him, and by chance took hold of the Branch of a Tree, where he sate all Night upon a Bough, and when day appear'd, he discover'd at a prodigious distance underneath, a vast heap of Men and Horses, with their Limbs and Members broken all to Flitters.

But *Susneus* to establish himself in his Dominions, courted the Friendship of the *Portuguese*, that he might learn of them the Art of Gunnery and Fire-Arms; and to this end he did not only kindly receive the Jesuits, but set up the *Latin* Religion, and swore obedience to the Pope, which was the occasion of many bloody Wars hereafter describ'd. A Counterfeit *Jacob* started up the next Year after he was made King, who was by the help of two Noblemen, who pretended to be his Friends, apprehended and put to death. A little after this, another Counterfeit came into *France*, in 1631, pretending to be the Son of *Jacob*, and Heir to *Ethiopia*, who call'd himself *Tragax*; and having Certificates from the Monks of *Palestine*, he was there entertain'd as a great Prince, with a large Pension from the King, and having a graceful Presence and magistick aspect, he gain'd great Credit to his Pretensions, and was never detected till he kill'd himself with debauchery.

Susneus was a courteous and warlike Prince, but very unhappy by his continual Wars, and the frequent Rebellions of his Subjects, upon the account of his change of Religion. He died in 1632, leaving several Sons and Daughters behind him.

Basilides succeeded his Father, who banish'd the Jesuits and their Patriarch, and would not allow the *Portuguese* a Priest to say Mass: And we know nothing more of certainty about him; for he refus'd any further Commerce with the *Europeans*, for fear of the Forces he heard were coming from *Rome* and *Portugal*, to revenge the Affronts put upon them: Neither do they know any thing of all the Race of Kings that succeeded him down to this time, since all Commerce between *Europe* and *Ethiopia* was broken off.

Of the Right of Succession, and the Brothers ... Children of the King ... The uncertainty to the Rule of Succession to the Kingdom, is one great cause of the many Rebellions in *Ethiopia*; for tho' they pretend that their Monarchy is hereditary, in which no Woman or Bastard, but only the next a-kin lawful Male-Issue, is to succeed, yet by the Cabals and Interest of the Nobility, and chief Officers of the Army, sometimes the younger Brother is prefer'd ...

preferr'd before the Elder, and sometimes an illegitimate Son before a legitimate Kinsman. And because in this uncertainty the Possessor of the Throne is commonly jealous of his Rival, therefore to secure himself from any Attempts, the Rocks of *Geshem* and *Amhasel* were set apart for a safe Custody to his Brothers, till their turn should come to ascend the Throne. And this Custom continu'd as a Fundamental Law in *Ethiopia*, for the space of 230 Years, until 1590. when King *Naod* was sent for from the Rock to succeed, who was so tenderly affected towards his Son, that he prevail'd with the Nobility to abolish this Custom, not considering that private Affection is to give place to the safety of the Publick: For 'tis certain that those exil'd Princes were kept close Prisoners in these Rocks, and whosoever attempted to get away or was assisting to their Escape, was severely punish'd; by which means the Reigning Prince was secured from Civil Wars.

Of the Power of the King in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs.

The Power of the *Abessinian* Kings is absolute as well in Ecclesiastical as Civil Affairs; which Power they exercis'd, when they put forth Edicts for receiving the *Roman* Religion, and abrogating the *Alexandrian* Ceremonies, and which they asserted against the *Roman* Patriarch *Alphonsus*, when they dispens'd with certain indifferent Ceremonies, and enjoyn'd him to keep to the Rules of the *Metropolitans* of ancient *Ethiopia*. The same Prerogative in Ecclesiastical matters, was exercis'd by making a Decree for abrogating the *Latin* Worship, and restoring that of *Alexandria*. The King also summons Synods of the Clergy, when he thinks necessary, sends for the Metropolitan out of *Egypt*, exercises full Jurisdiction over him, and all the rest of the Clergy, and punishes them according to the nature of their Offences: But in this he differs from our *European* Kings, that he never nominates to Ecclesiastical Benefices; but he admitted the Metropolitan sent from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Patriarch sent from the Pope, tho' he nam'd neither: And indeed in *Ethiopia* where there are no other Ecclesiastical Dignities, the Prerogative of nominating Arch-bishops and Bishops is of little worth.

His Power in secular Affairs is bounded by no positive Laws, but sometimes he dispenses with those that are counted the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: He has the sole disposal of War and Peace, and all the Prerogatives that a King can claim, tho' he makes not use of many of them, being ignorant of them, as of that in reference to Metals, the coining of Money, and the like. One thing is to be admir'd, which is rare even among the *Turks*, that no private Person, whether Peasant or Lord, except some few, can call any thing his own; but all the Lands and Farms of the Country are held by the Subjects at the King's pleasure, and no man takes it amiss that his Lands are taken from him and given to another, tho' he possess them but a short time. This Custom makes them very submissive to their Kings, for they serve him in Peace and War, and bring him Presents according to their Ability, in hopes of obtaining new Farms, or for fear of loosing those they have: Yet there are some ancient illustrious Families, who enjoy not only Lands but Prefectures, by right of Inheritance, as in *Tigra* and *Dembea*, over whom the King claims no other Authority, but to confer the publick Employments yearly upon others, so as they be of the same Family.

Of the Power and Revenue of the Abessine Kings.

The Power of the *Ethiopian* Kings, being so absolute, and vastly great, was formerly terrible to the Neighbour Nations, as appears by their Expeditions into *Arabia*; but after the *Saracens* grew stronger, they relinquish'd *Axuma*, and turn'd their Arms against the Upland Parts of *Africa*, which they subdu'd: And in this Greatness they continued till they were tore in pieces by their Wars with the *Adelans* and *Gallans*: However their Power is still so great, that they might not only conquer these *Barbarians*, but recover their lost Dominions, if they would make use of the Arts and Arms of the *Europeans*, and encourage them by building Towns, and peopling them with Trades-men. If the King would give to his People and Souldiers some Inheritance in the Lands that are won from the Enemy, and settle out of them Dukedoms and Earldoms upon his Nobility. And to this end he should be assisted by the *European* Princes, not only out of Charity, but to lessen the Power of the *Turk*, by wresting the Dominion of the *Red-Sea* out of his Hands, and spoiling the Commerce of *Egypt*, which in the end will be very mischievous to them. 'Tis a great Defect in the *Ethiopians*, that they permit the *Turks* to be Masters of the Ports and Islands in the *Red-Sea*, whereby it is left to their pleasure what Persons and Commodities shall pass in and out, because they do not understand that no Nation can be truly great, without some Sea-Towns.

As for the Revenues of the King, they are not paid in ready Money, but in the natural Products of their Country; for some Provinces afford Gold, which they find in the Sand of Rivers, or at the Roots of Trees, or lying upon the Earth; others have Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Corn and Ox-hides, and some few where the Weavers live, send the King Garments. *Enarrea* pays 1500 Ounces of Gold: *Gojam* pays every year 1100 Ounces, and some Garments to the value of 3000 *German* Dollars, together with 200 Fustion Tapestries: Out of *Tigra* the King receives 25000 Pataches: out of *Dembea* 5000, and so proportionably out of the other Kingdoms. The Tolls are generally granted to the Nobility for their subsistance, except those of the high Mountain *Lamalmon*, over which all the Merchandize must pass from the *Red-Sea* into *Habessinia*, which the King reserves to himself. His Table is serv'd also with Provisions from his own Lands and Farms, besides that *Dembea*, *Gojam*, and *Bagendra* find him Corn and Flesh. But his chief Tribute is from the Graziers, who pay him every 10th Ox or Cow every three Years, *i. e.* a 30th part every Year. Every *Christian* Weaver pays him yearly a Fustion Garment, and every *Mahometan* a Patach, which amounts to 1000 Imperials a Year. The Prices of all things there are very low; for a huge Ox may be bought for half a Dollar: The Soldiers live upon Flesh and Fish, without any Bread; and Servants Wages are paid in necessary Commodities, and not in Money.

Of the royal City of *Axuma*, and the Inauguration of their King.

The Royal City of *Axuma* was of old adorn'd with many beautiful Structures, a fair Palace, and a stately Cathedral, but now there remain only such Ruins as testify it was once a great City. It lies in 14 and ½ North Lat. and is distant from the *Red-Sea* 45 *Portugal* Leagues. Here the ancient Kings of *Ethiopia* were won't to be crown'd, at which time the Army being drawn up, the Foot march first, and then the Horse, and after them the Courtiers in rich Habits, and last of all the Emperour, who alights off his Horse near the Church of *Axuma*, and going forward on the Ground spread with rich Carpets, he is stopp'd by a silken Cord held cross the Street by some Virgins, who ask him thrice who he is; he replies, *I am the King of* Sion, and then drawing forth his Cymitar, cuts the Cord; whereupon the Virgins cry out, *Of a certainty thou art our King of* Sion: And presently the Guns are fired, the Air is fill'd with loud Acclamations, the noise of Drums, Flutes, and Trumpets: Which done, the Metropolitan with all the Ecclesiastical Orders, singing Hymns, conduct the King to the first Porch of the Church, and there set the Crown on his Head, which is nothing but a Hat twice doubled, with an Azure-colour'd Silken broad Brim, trim'd with Gold and Silver Plates, in the likeness of Lillies, with a row of false Stones glittering between every Plate.

Besides *Axuma*, there are no Cities in *Abessinia*, and but few Towns. In *Tigra* there is *Dobarwa*, the Seat of the Vice-roys; and in *Dembea*, *Gubay*, the Residence of the Queen, and a few more not worth the mentioning; for the *Abessines* choose rather to live like Villagers, in places that are fertile and till'd, and pitch their Tents up and down the Country, where they take what they stand in need of, without consideration of the damage or regard to the future. They have neither Castles nor Forts, and the Mountains of *Amhara* are their only Cittadels, where the King's Children were formerly kept. They neither navigate their own Rivers, nor do they know what belongs to Carriage or Stores, living without any care of to-morrow.

Of the King's Court, his Titles and Court Officers.

After the Kings of *Abessinia* left *Axuma*, they liv'd in Tents, till *Peter Pays* built the King a Pallace after the *European* manner, in a pleasant place call'd *Gorgora*, being almost surrounded with the *Tzanic* Lake, where the King was to take up his Winter-quarters; the Natives were amaz'd to see one Story above another, which they call'd House upon House. The King dines alone, and after he rises, the Nobility that are invited take their places, and eat of his Leavings, which is look'd upon as a great Honour; yet the Jesuits were admitted to dine at another Table in the same Room, with *Susneus*. Instead of Table-Cloths or Napkins, they use thin Wafers made of Wheat, or Rice-Paste, which serves them for Bread. They have no Trenchers, Knives, Forks, or Spoons, no Salt-celler, Pepper, or Sugar-box, and so in time of War they are eas'd of so many Kitchin-Utensils as we carry along with us. Their Meat, which is Flesh, and Broth of several sorts boil'd, is serv'd up by Women in broad Earthen Platters, cover'd with Straw neatly woven and painted. As soon as the Dishes are set on the Table, the Hangings are let down, lest any one should see the King eating; for both he and the Nobility are

fed by Children, who take the Meat and put it into their Mouths; and if the Gobbets be too big, they thrust them in, and if any Crumbs fall by, they put them again into their Chops, after they are soak'd in the Broth: But this is common to the Lord and Peasant, that they never drink till they have done eating. Before and after Meals they commonly repeat the Psalter, the only Book they have for daily Prayer: And the whole is read over at great Feasts, in a very short time, being distributed among a great many several Readers.

At the Audience of Embassadors, they formerly us'd a great many tedious Ceremonies, which now being humbled by many Losses, they are laid aside: for now an Embassador is quickly admitted to see and salute the King, if he bring Presents along with him, without which, he may not appear before the Eastern or *African* Kings.

The chief Ministers of State, who manage all Affairs, were formerly two, call'd *Bahtudet*; but these abusing their Power, another was appointed, call'd *Ras*, i. e. a Head, who at first was design'd only for the Command of the Army, but in a little time was advanc'd to the management of all Affairs: Such a one was *Rasathanasius*, who depos'd *Zadenghel* and *Facob*. Next to him there are two Comptrollers, whereof the uppermost is over all Vice-roys and Governours; the other is over the Houshold Servants. Next to him are the Vice-roys, Camp-masters, and Senators, who are call'd the Jesser Judges, and have an equal Jurisdiction as to all Crimes. The Captain of the King's Guard is call'd the Guardian of Fire, the King being to them like Fire, from whom they receive heat and warmth; but they may chance to burn their Fingers.

Of the King's Camp. The first Camp-master goes before to take up a convenient Guard for encamping near some River, where there is store of Wood and Grass; and having set up a Pole with the Royal Banner at the top, the King's Provision is pitch'd in the middle of the Camp, with a large space of Ground about it, for receiving the Horses of the Nobility, and those that bring Provisions. Next to him the Grandees, and the rest the Courtiers pitch their Tents; and after them the common Souldiers, every one in their Order, and at their due distance. When the Crier proclaims the Day of Removal, every one knows how to pack up his Baggage, and in what order to march, and where to pitch his Tent again. These Camps take up a great deal of room, because they contain not only the Souldiers, but their Wives and Children, whose business is to bake their Bread, and make their Hydromel. The Camp-masters carry a great sway in matters of greatest moment, and generally are the first Springs of Faction and Sedition.

Of the Military Affairs of the *Abessines*. There is no making War in *Ethiopia* in the Winter, by reason of the great Falls of Rain, and Inundations of Rivers: But the *Abessines* are a warlike People, ride a Horse well, endure hunger and thirst beyond belief, and serve without pay, being content with Honour, and such Lands as their King is pleas'd to give them. But the Poverty of the Souldiers empoverishes the Countries thro' which they pass; for since they cannot carry Provisions along with them over their rugged Mountains, they take by force what is not freely given them, and so lay waste their own Countries no less than their Enemies: And this hinders them from pursuing the *Gallans*, because they find nothing left behind them but Lands untill'd, and empty Cottages. They have about 1500 Musquets, but not above four Musqueteers, and these but bad Fire-men, and very little Powder.

The biggest Army that the King now brings into the Field, hardly amounts to 40000, among which there are not above four or five thousand Horse, the rest are all Foot. Their Weapons are Swords, and Darts, and Lances, and short Javelins, with which they fight at a distance, and after them Hand to Hand, with their Swords and Bucklers. They ride on Mules and lead their Horses, which they never mount till they are ready to charge the Enemy. They are commonly arm'd with two Spears, whereof they dart one at a distance, and maintain a close Fight with the other. The fury of the first Onset for the most part wins the Field; for they know not how to rally when once they are disorder'd. They hate to avoid a Battle, and tire out an Enemy by delay, which has been the ruin of many of their Kings. The Country is very much infested with Robbers, who shelter themselves in Rocks and Mountains.

Of the Wars in the last Century, occasioned by the first War with the *Adelans*. King *David* in the beginning of his Reign, vanquish'd the *Adelans* in several Battles, but after the *Turks* had conquer'd *Egypt*, and taken some Ports of the *Red-Sea*, the *Adelans* strengthen'd by their assistance, turn'd the Scale, and were always Victors: For King *Adelu* having sent one *Grainus* a *Mahometan* to invade *Habessinia* with an Army, in 1526, he subdued all *Fetagara*: And tho' the War was carry'd on the first two Years with various success, yet for the next twelve to 1640, when King *David* dy'd, the *Abessines* had the worst of it, insomuch that they began to despair of their Country. The chief causes of these Disasters, were first the King's sluggish humour, who was wholly given up to pleasure: Next, the *Turks*, who furnish'd their *Mahumetan* Friend with Fire-Arms, whose Thunder the *Abessines* had never heard before, and was very terrible to them, whose Bullets gave them incurable Wounds: Besides, that the *Mahometans* in *Abessinia* receiv'd favourably those of their own Sect, and many of the *Abessines* themselves join'd with the Victor: So that every thing threatened utter distraction and desolation, until *Christopher Gomez* was sent from *Portugal* with 450 Musqueteers, whose Success had been already mention'd in rescuing *Ethiopia* from the *Adelans*. In the first place he assail'd the Rock *Amba-Senet*, which was thought to be invincible, and forc'd the Enemy to quit it, which mightily encourag'd the *Abessines*; and when he came to a Battle, the *Mahometans* were so terrified with the Field-Pieces and Musquets, that they would not obey the Orders of their Captain; and by an Accident of a Barrel of Powder taking fire, their Horse were first startled and put to flight, and the Foot quickly follow'd, and their Camp was taken and plunder'd. After that he attack'd a steep Rock in *Semen*, garrison'd with 1500 *Adelans*, and being conducted by a *Jew* who had formerly been Governour there, he slew all the *Barbarians*, took 80 Horses, 300 Mules, and other good Plunder. In the mean time *Grainus* sent to the *Bashaws* of *Arabia* for Guns and Fire-arms, one of which supply'd him with 700 Musqueteers and ten Field-Pieces. *Gomez* knowing nothing of this gave the Enemy Battle, but being overpower'd by the *Turks*, he was shot in the Thigh with a Musquet-Bullet, whereupon he fled, accompanied only with 14, who were apprehended, and he being upbraided by *Grainus*, he gave him a stern Answer, who caus'd him to be tormented to death. *Claudius* the King being come into the Army, and hearing that the *Turks* were all return'd home but 200, by the advice of the *Portuguese* fell upon the Enemy, and vanquish'd them, *Grainus* himself being shot to death, whose Head was expos'd to the view of the People, and they recover'd new Vigour and Courage. But the *Adelans* hearing the *Abessines* were secure, broke in and defeated them, and slew *Claudius*.

Of the Princes that are tributary to the King of *Ethiopia*, and the way of making Promotions there. The Kings of *Ethiopia* have several tributary Princes under them, whereof *Gregory* the *Ethiopian* knew but four, *viz.* the Kings of *Semar*, *Damcala*, *Garaga*, and *Enarrea*: All the rest, whether Kings or Governours, are by the King himself appointed to govern *pro tempore* at the King's Pleasure, that by this dependance they may be kept more faithful to him. They are call'd and accounted his Servants, tho' of the highest rank, as his Brothers and his Queen; for the Word in their Language signifies not only Slaves, but Subjects and Domesticks: And indeed they are little better than Slaves, who are bound at all times to serve the King with their Body, and have no property which they can claim; and the Ceremonies by which they testify their Submission to the King, are no less slavish; for the *Bahtuded* his chief Minister stands before the King's Pavilion, naked to his Thighs, with his Head and his Right-hand down to the Ground, crying out thrice *Abeto*, or, *Most merciful Lord, I am the meanest of the Court that saddles your Horses*. Other Suppliants instead of presenting written Petitions, stand in a certain place early in the Morning, crying with a loud Voice, *My King, my Apple of my Eye*; and using different tones, whereby their several Countries are distinguish'd: And as soon as day appears, such and such are commanded to be admitted and heard; or if it be a business of Moment, the King himself gives them audience, and returns him their Answer.

Of the Conversion of the *Abessines*.

Of their Judiciary Proceedings and Punishments. The manner of their Judicial Proceedings is very plain, for all Controversies are determin'd by word of Mouth, without Writing, of which the most part of the Nation is ignorant. The Plaintiff produces his Witnesses, which the Defendant may refuse if he have any reason to suspect them: But since they know not how to examine or sift a Witness, Justice must be but ill administred; and tho' it is lawful to appeal to the King and Court Tribunals, yet few will do it by reason of their Poverty, and the little Hopes they have of redress; besides, that it is counted an Affront to the inferiour Judges, who think themselves accus'd of injustice by these Appeals.

For

For Capital Crimes, they use Beheading, or Hanging, or Stoning the Offenders to death; if the Crime be not capital, they punish with drubbing. The Nobility for any Offence are banish'd to the *Zanic-Lake*, or their high and steep Rocks. Homicides are deliver'd up to the next of kin, to the Party murder'd, who may either pardon them, or sell them to foreign Merchants, or put them to death. If the *Homicide* escapes, the Neighbourhood are obliged to pay a Fine, by which means many Murthers are either prevented or discover'd. The Law of an Eye for an Eye appears to be just, yet because some Men have more use for one Member than another, according to their several Callings, this Law is disus'd in civiliz'd Nations; and it seems unjust to surrender the Offender to the fury of the Offended Party, when they have unbyas's'd Judges to give Sentence without Favour and Affection.

Of the Religion of the Abessines, *and the Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

Of the Religion of the Abessines. Passing by the fabulous Reports of *Matthew* the *Armenian*, the first Embassador to *Portugal*, and *Damianus a Goez*, there are various Opinions about the Original of the Religion of the *Abessines*. They who admit the Tradition of Queen *Maqueda*, think that the *Abessines* had the true knowledge of God ever since the Reign of *Solomon*, and yet that their *Judaic* Rites, such as Circumcision, abstaining from Meats forbidden, observation of the Sabbath, Marriage of the Brother's Wife, &c. had their Original from thence: But these things being commonly practis'd in other Nations, and some of them by the Primitive Christians, it is not certain that they were receiv'd from the *Jews*. As to Circumcision, it was in use among the *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Homerites*, and many other Nations, who only round the Skin with a Knife, whereas the *Jews* slit it with their Nails till the *Præputium* falls down; neither do the *Abessines* perform it with any Ceremony; for it is done privately by any poor Woman, without any Standers-by; and therefore King *Claudius* in his Confession says with St. *Paul*, That Circumcision profiteth nothing, but is us'd like Incisions of the Face, or boaring the Ears, according to the Custom of their Country: And the same Ceremony is used to Females, not only by the *Abessines*, but the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, where the Women count it a Reproach to be call'd Uncircumcis'd. As to Swines Flesh the said *Claudius* tells us, That they do not abstain from it out of regard to the *Mosaic* Law, neither do they abhor him that feeds upon it, upon a religious account, any more than we do the *Tartars* for eating Horse-Flesh, but that they account all kind of Meat clean; only they abstain from Blood and things strangled, by vertue of an Apostolick Decree, which was always in force in the Eastern Church, and for many Ages in the Western. As to the Sabbath, they do not observe it as the *Jews* did, who would neither draw Water, nor kindle Fires, nor dress Meat on that day, but they observe it for pious uses, according to the ancient Constitutions, call'd Apostolick yet; so that they still preserve the Lord's Day, on which our Saviour rose from the dead before it. As to marrying the Brother's Wife, it is not enjoyn'd, but only conniv'd at by the Magistrates, yet so, that their Wives are debarr'd from the Communion. They do indeed abstain from the Sinew mutilated, which they might learn from the *Jews* at home.

Of the Conversion of the Abessines. The Conversion of the *Ethiopians* happened in the time of St. *Athanasius*, under *Constantine* the Great, in the Year of *Christ* 330, and was begun and carry'd on by *Frumentius* and *Edesius*, two Sons of *Meropius* a *Tyrian* Merchant, who died in a Harbour of *Ethiopia*, on the Coast of the *Red-Sea*. These two Brothers being highly favour'd by the King for their Ingenuity and Industry, were by him preferr'd to be Keepers of his Books and Papers; and being very kind to the *Christian* Merchants that traded into those parts, they became so famous for their Piety and Vertue, that the Christian Religion was highly esteem'd by all. Which Foundation being laid, *Frumentius* took a Journey to St. *Athanasius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and was by him for his Parts and Constancy in the Faith, created the first Bishop of *Ethiopia*: Whereupon returning into *Ethiopia*, he initiated the Natives by Baptism, and then ordain'd Presbyters and Deacons, built Churches, and so introduc'd the Christian Religion into *Ethiopia*. Agreeable to this, is the Relation which the *Ethiopians* have in their Book of *Axuma*, and the account given by the *Ethiopic* Liturgy and Poet, that in the time of St. *Athanasius*, in the Reign of *Aizbeha* and *Abreha*, two Brothers, the Gospel was first preach'd by *Abba Salma*, as they call *Frumentius*; which Story being well grounded, and agreed to by the *Abessine*, *Grecian*, and *Latin* Writers, plainly shews, that the conversion of the *Abessines* was neither so early as the Days of the Apostles, as some have thought, nor so late as the days of *Justinian*, as *Cedrenus* and *Nicephorus Callistus* affirm; whose account is also disprov'd by the 36 *Nicene* Canon, which assigns the first Seat of Dignity in the Council to the Prelate of *Ethiopia*.

Of the Conversion of the Abessines, and the Original and Manners of their Monks. The Conversion of *Ethiopia* being thus begun by *Frumentius*, many Monks came from several Parts of the *Roman* Empire, to assist him in propagating the Christian Religion, whereof nine were most famous, who probably came from the neighbouring Parts of *Egypt* (where this austere way of living was first practis'd by St. *Paul*, *Anthony*, and others, that fled thither from the Persecution of the Heathen) and seated themselves in *Tigra*, where they erected them Chappels. One of them call'd *Aragawi*, or *Michael*, is celebrated by the *Ethiopic* Poet for destroying *Arwe*'s Kingdom, which may either signifie the Kingdom of Satan, or a Serpent properly so call'd, which the ancient *Ethiopians* worship'd as the supreme Deity: The Cells of these Monks are to be seen in *Tigra* to this Day, and particularly the Cell and Sepulchre of *Pantaleon*, celebrated by their Poet for restoring their dead to life again. Besides these, there are several great Doctors, Martyrs, and Saints, famous for working Miracles, who mightily promoted the Christian Religion; but none more renowned for Sanctity than *Gabra Menses Kadda*, the Servant of the Holy Ghost, in honour of whom they keep a Holy Day every Month. Next to him is *Tecla Haimanot*, who succeeded *Aragawi*, the first Abbot of Monks in *Ethiopia*, from whom he receiv'd his Monastical Habit, and restor'd that way of living about the Year 600. He is mentioned in the *Ethiopic* Church-Registers, and his Life is extant in *Ethiopia*, stuff'd with several Miracles and Apparitions. He gave new Rules to his Monks, and order'd them to submit to a Governour, who does either visit himself, or sent some others to reform Errors and punish Transgressors. The other Abbot call'd *Eustathius*, is no less famous than he; but he imposed no Governour upon his Followers, and therefore every Abbot is supreme in his own Monastery, who in case of death is chosen by the rest of the Monks. Their Rules are much different from the *Greeks* and *Latins*; for neither do they wear any peculiar Habit except their Crosses which they carry, neither do they live in Monasteries, but in scatter'd Cottages near some Church. They place their Piety chiefly in saying many Prayers, and in repeating the Psalms of *David* with so much hast, that none is able to follow them. Every one manures his own Ground, and lives upon the Product of his Labours; so that they are rather unmarried Husband-men than Monks. They are counted infamous if they marry Wives, nor are their Children capable of being admitted into the Clergy; yet they bear Civil Offices, and are sometimes made Governours of Provinces. Their Villages, which are instead of Monasteries, are very numerous, and dispers'd over all parts of the Kingdom: There are also Nuns in *Ethiopia*, very ignorant and devout.

Of the Books of the Abessines. The *Abessines* together with the Christian Religion, receiv'd the Holy Scripture, which was translated into the *Ethiopic* Idiom of *Tigra* from the *Greek* Version of the 70, according to a Copy us'd in the Church of *Alexandria*. They have the New Testament translated from the *Authentic Greek* Text, which has not yet been brought into *Europe* pure and entire; for the *Roman* Edition is printed from a lame imperfect Copy, for want of the *Ethiopic* Original, as the Compiler *Teffa Tzion* confesses, and begs pardon for it, tho' it is printed in the Polyglot Bible, because no other Copy could be procur'd.

They have the Holy Scripture entire, and reckon as many Books as we do, but divide them after a different manner; for they distinguish the Old Testament, which contains 46 Books, into four Parts, and join with them other Books; besides, that they mix the Apocryphal with the Canonical. The first Tome is call'd *Oreth*, or the Law, and contains in it eight Books, from *Genesis* to *Ruth*: The second is call'd *Nagaste*, or Kings, and contains in it 13 Books, from *Samuel* to the *Psalms*, including the two Books of *Tobia* and *Judith*: The third is call'd *Solomon*, and contains five Books, including the Book of Wisdom and *Sirach*: The fourth Tome is call'd *Nabijat*, or the Prophets, and contains eighteen Books, including *Baruch* and *Sophonia*, of all which there are only a few at *Rome* in MS. and a few only printed: to these they add the two Books of *Maccabees*.

The

The New Testament contains 24 Books, and is also divided into four Parts; whereof the first contains the four Evangelists; the second, the Acts of the Apostles; the third, the four Epistles to St. *Paul*; and the fourth the seven Books of the other Apostles, ending with St. *Jude*'s Epistle, to which they add as a Supplement, the Revelations, call'd the Vision of St. *John*.

To the New Testament they generally annex a Volume, call'd *Synodum*, or the Book of Synods, which contains the Constitutions of the Apostles, as they are call'd, which are very much different from those dispers'd among us: These they divide into eight Parts, and add them to the New Testament, as if they were of the same Authority, and contain'd the Pandects of Christianity. Next to these they reverence the three *Oecumenic* Councils, the *Nicene*, *Constantinopolitan*, and *Ephesine*, with other Provincial Councils receiv'd in the Church, till the Council of *Chalcedon*. But besides the 20 *Nicene* Canons, which were always receiv'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, they admit also of 84 other Canons, which are extent in *Arabick*, and were sent by *Constantine* their Emperour in 440 to *Jerusalem*, and thence brought to *Rome* in 1646. This Book of Synods contains, first the Synod of the Holy Apostles for ordering the Church, which is said to be written by *Clement*, after which follow seven Councils, *viz.* of *Ancyra*, *Cesaria*, *Nice*, *Gangra*, *Antiochia*, *Laodicea*, and *Sardis*. Then follow the Acts of 318 Holy Fathers, a Treatise of the Sabbath, a Declaration of the Doctrine of the Law, and a Decree and Canon of Penance. The Book was written at *Axumia*, with the King's Preface. To this Book is annex'd their general Liturgy for Prayers, and Ministration of the Communion; besides which, they have other Liturgies proper for Holy-Days, *viz.* the Liturgy of our Lord, our Lady, the Apostles, and St. *Mark*, which Liturgies are supposed to be written by some Holy Men, as that of our Lady by *Cyriacus*. They have also a MS. Liturgy, call'd the Thanksgiving of Oblation, which is read at the Sacrament. But their Symbolic Book, which is call'd the Faith of the Fathers, is collected out of the Homilies of St. *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Cyril*, and the four *Gregories*, &c. and is of very great Authority. They have also Books of Martyrs, and Lives of Saints, and Hymns in praise of the Virgin *Mary*, whereof that written lately by *Abba George* is highly esteem'd. They affect uncouth Words in their *Anathema*, after the manner of the *Jews*.

Of the Religion of the *Abessines* at this day.

Since the Symbolical Book afore-mention'd, which contains the genuine Doctrine of the *Ethiopic* Church, is not to be found in *Europe*, and the Confession set forth by King *Claudius*, tends only to clear them from the Charge of *Judaism*, we shall gather from their publick Liturgies, the Writings and Sayings of Persons, the sum of the *Abessinian* Doctrine.

And first, they own the Holy Scripture to be the sole Rule of Faith and Manners, and delight in nothing more than the Repetition of it in their Sermons. They pay a great deference to the three first OEcumenical Councils, and generally make use of the *Nicene* Creed; for neither they nor any of the Eastern Churches, know any thing of that which we commonly call the Apostle's Creed. Whatever therefore the Catholick Church believ'd, before the Council of *Chalcedon*, concerning three distinct Persons in one Essence, the Eternity of the Son of God, the existance of the Holy Ghost, the *Abessines* admit and consent to. Thus they declare in their Liturgy, that these three Persons are one God, whereof none is elder or greater than another, but all the three are equal, having one Glory, one Kingdom, and one Power. But as to the Holy Ghost, they say he proceeded and sprung from the Father, but never add from the Son, as was falsely printed in their Liturgy at *Rome*, tho' they own him to be equally the Spirit of the Father and the Son. They so abhor the Nestorian Heresy, asserting two Persons in Christ, that they will not admit of his two Natures and two Wills, tho' they affirm him to be perfect God and perfect Man without confusion and commixtion of the two Natures. They own the sacred Merits of Christ to be most sufficient and efficacious for the Sins of all Mankind. As to the Sacraments, they make use of Baptism, according to the Institution of Christ, and with the Ceremonies anciently us'd by the Church; and they administer the Communion to all, both Laity and Clergy, as is the Custom in all the Eastern Churches. They have not the Word Sacrament, nor do they use any other besides these two, being utterly ignorant of Confirmation and Extreme Unction. They acknowledge the real Presence, when they pray that the Bread may be made the Body of Christ, and the Cup chang'd into his Blood, and believe that the Bread and Wine is chang'd into the mysterious Representation of Christ's Body and Blood; but deny any such change of the Substance as is multiplied in Transubstantiation, and therefore they do not say at the Consecration, *This is my Body*, which Words only, according to the Papists, can produce that Change; but, *This Bread is my Body*, *This Cup is my Blood*; which Words have in them no such force: Neither do they attribute to the consecrated Elements those divine Honours, which the belief of Transubstantiation requires.

As to the Soul, they believe that it is immortal, and was first inspir'd into Man by God; but they think it absurd, that God should be ty'd to create every day new Souls for adulterous Births. As to the state of the Soul after death, they have several Opinions; but 'tis generally believ'd, that the Souls of pious men shall not enjoy the beatifical Vision before the Resurrection, but remain in some third place, expecting that Resurrection; which seems to be implied in their Prayers for the dead, such as these, *Remember Lord the Souls of thy Servants, and release O Lord our Fathers*, &c. Whence some have infer'd, that they believe a Purgatory, which they do utterly deny, and affirm these Prayers to be only a Commemoration of the happy Estate of the deceas'd, after the Custom of the antient Church, who were wont to read the Names of the Martyrs out of the publick Registers, in honour to their memory: But if they were to pray Men out of the pains of Purgatory, they should rather pray for Men whose Lives were loose and vain; whereas the Persons they commemorate, were most innocent and holy, and died many Ages ago, and it would be a great Injury to their Memory to believe that they had been so long tormented in Purgatory. They deny that they give Divine Honours to the Saints departed; for they call their Holy-days Remembrances and not Solemnities; yet they invoke them, tho' they know not how they can hear them, and also beg their Intercession, especially of the Virgin *Mary*, whom they honour exceedingly, but erect no Statues to her, being contented with her Picture. They invoke also the Angels, because they are said to appear to good Men and Women, and hear their Prayers: Of these they reckon nine Orders, whose Names they take from Holy Scripture.

In their Catechism they first teach their Youth to believe three Persons, equal in all things in one God, which they illustrate by the Sun, which being one in substance, has three distinct things, *viz.* Rotundity, Light, and Heat: Then they instruct them as to the Person of Christ, that he was begotten of his Father without time, and born of the Virgin his Mother in time, that he is both God and Man in one Person, and as to his Baptism, his Fasting, his Passion and death, and the other Articles contain'd in the Apostle's Creed.

Of the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Abessine* Church, and of the *Abessine* Temples.

As the Churches of the Primitive Christians were built after the form of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, having a wide Porch, where the Excoriate Penitents and Novices tarried, and the Body of the Church, in which were the Faithful, and a secret place screen'd with a Curtain, call'd the Sacrificatory (to which the Choir now answers in our Churches) so were the more famous of the *Ethiopic* Churches, built after the same manner: But whereas none but Ecclesiastical Persons were admitted into the Choir, at the entry whereof the Laity receive the Communion, the *Ethiopians*, by creating their Nobility and their Children Deacons and Sub-deacons, admitted them into the Choir, and their King's Children assumed the Dignity of course, carrying a Cross as the Badge of it, even after they come to the Crown, which may be one reason why the King is call'd *Presbyter-John*. They neither sit nor kneel in their Churches, but always stand during Divine Service, but they are allowed to lean their Bodies upon Crutches. They have so great reverence for their Churches, that when they come near one of them, they alight from their Mules, and walk afoot till they are past them; and when they enter, they put off their Shoes at the Door, and never spit upon the Pavement. They admit Pictures into their Churches, but abominate Statues; and it is counted a heinous offence for any one to carry about him a Picture of *Christ* crucified, tho' their Clergy bear Crosses in their Hands, which are reverenc'd by all who meet them with a Kiss; and they often sign themselves, and the things that belong to them, with the Sign of the Cross, as the ancient Christians us'd to do.

As to Baptism, the Priest being to Baptise an adult Person, begins with the 52 Psalm, and then having perfum'd him with Incense, he enquires his Name, and after the recital of certain Prayers, he anoints several parts of his Body with Holy Oil, and lays his Hand upon

upon his Head. Then the Neophites lifting up their Right-hands and looking towards the West, abjure Satan; but turning towards the East, and lifting up their Right-hand, they make a Vow to Christ, and then say over the Creed, and answer the Priest that they do believe it: Which ended, the Party is again anointed, and some pieces of Scripture read out of St. *John*'s Gospel, the Acts, and the Epistles: At length the Oyl is so pour'd into the Water prepar'd for Baptism, as to resemble in falling the Sign of the Cross; and the Priest having descended into a Pool, whether the Persons are conducted by the Deacons, plunges them three times over head and Ears, saying, *I baptise thee In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost*: After which, they are assisted by their Friends in going out of the Pool, who were therefore call'd Susceptores or Upholders by the Ancients. Being thus wash'd, and once more anointed, they are first cloath'd with a white under Garment to signify the Purity of their Mind, and over that with a red Vestment, in token of their Salvation purchas'd by the Blood of Christ; and so introduc'd into the Church, where they partake with other Christians of the Holy Communion: At their departure they are presented with Milk and Honey, and so the Priest laying his Hand upon their Heads, dismisses them with this Benediction, *Son of Baptism go in peace*.

The Ceremonies of Baptizing Infants are much shorter; for they are not plung'd in Water, but only sprinkled and dipp'd, and the Gossips make answer in their behalf: And least Infants should be in a worse condition than those of riper Years, they give them two or three drops out of the Sacred Cup, having crumbled a little piece of the Holy Bread into it before. Many have believ'd that the *Ethiopians* were branded with a Mark after Baptism; but they disown any such Custom, and the burning of the Temple-Veins of Children newly born, to preserve them from Catarrahs, which is used in *Africa*, may be the occasion of the mistake.

As to the Story of their Anniversary Baptism, the truth of the matter is this: Upon the 11th, which is our 6th of *January*, being the midst of their Summer, and the Feast of *Epiphany*, they keep a joyful Festival in commemoration of our Saviour's Baptism: The Clergy begin by break of day with loud Hymns, and before Sun-rise, the King, Nobles, and Vulgar, young and old, with the Metropolitan and his Clergy, throng into Rivers and Ponds, and dive over Head and Ears; and if any meet a Priest, they crave a Blessing of him, to whom he says, *God bless thee*. Hence many have thought that they renew'd their Baptism every Year, whereas the young People by their Sports rather make it a day of follity than a Christian Festival.

They make no question but Sinners are reconcil'd to God after Baptism upon their Repentance and Confession; but they do not commonly confess particular Sins, but only say in general, *We have sinned*; and then the Offender is absolv'd in a few Words with some gentle stripes upon the side with an Olive twig: But when any of them confesses Adultery, Homicide, or Theft, they are severely scourged, unless some of the Lashes be remitted at the Intercession of the Standers-by. One of them being urg'd by the Metropolitan, confessed publickly he had stolen Oxen, and the Owner of them being there present, he was oblig'd to restore them again, and was severely punish'd besides: As soon as they commit any notable Offence, they presently run to their Confessors, and confessing they have sinned, they desire to receive the Communion for the quiet of their Consciences; but this they do not till they are 25 years old, for all the Years before that are reckoned a time of Innocence.

The Divine Service of the *Ethiopians* is compleated by the administration of the Sacrament, after they have read their Liturgies and Homilies of the Fathers, and some parcels of Scripture out of the New Testament; for they neither make use of Sacred Hymns nor Preaching like ours. In the Canon of the *Mess*, all their Ceremonies are to be found, with all their several Prayers, and the manner of sanctifying their Instruments and Vessels. In the Sanctuary stands the Holy Table, covered with a Canopy, sustain'd with four Pillars at each corner; upon which they place first the Tabot or Chest, which is made in the Fashion of a Bier, and therefore seems to be a Custom derived from the ancient Christians; for the three first Ages, who being forc'd to meet in Caves or Church-yards, in the Night-time, did probably carry the Bread, and Wine, and Utensils, to the place of meeting, in Coffins or Chests made like a Bier, under pretence of carrying forth their dead: And when they were met, this Chest serv'd instead of a Table, about which the Communicants sate and receiv'd the Communion; into which, they also put any Bones of the Martyrs that they found. After the time of Persecution, these Chests were brought into Churches, where by degrees they were made like Tables, and at length were quite laid aside in some Churches, where they have only a consecrated Table or Altar; but the *Ethiopians* still retain both, tho' they have alter'd the form of the Chest into a Table. These Chests were at first made of Wood, but afterwards of Stone, of which sort was a Marble Monument dug up in a Church-yard, being like an arched Bier, covered with a Linen Cloth, in which there were the sacred Loaves for the Communion, signed with a Salter-Cross, which the *Ethiopians* use to this day; and of the same form is the Wooden Chest at *Rome*, on which none but the Pope may celebrate. The other Holy Utensils are the Dish, the Cup, and the Spoon, call'd the Spoon of the Cross, because the Handle ends in a Cross, wherewith they distribute the Wine. They have also consecrated Urns and Censers, which they use to perform with Incense, as the ancient Christians were forc'd to do in their Caves. They commonly use leaven'd Bread, mark'd with a Cross, which they bake new every day; but on the 5th Holy-day of the great Week, they use unleaven'd Loaves in memory of Christ, pieces of which the Priest distributes to the Communicants: And instead of Wine they use a Liquor made of the bruised Stones of Raisins steep'd in Water, which the Deacon gives in a Spoon to all, as well Laity as Clergy; after which, the Sub-deacon pours a Spoonful or two of Water into the hollow of the Communicant's Hand, wherewith he first washes his Mouth, and then sups it up. The time of receiving the Sacrament is left to every one's liberty; some receive every Week, some every Month, but all within the Church; for they hold it a great Sin to receive the Holy Mysteries in private Houses, which is not allowed to the King himself. They always receive Fasting, and never spit on that day they have received. When they give the Communion to full Churches, the Priests are assisted by Sub-presbyters and Sub-deacons, in reading the Prayers, and recommending both the living and dead to God, which they call receiving the Diptych; and then some bring Bread, Oil, Tithes, First Fruits, &c. which are given among the Poor. They keep the *Saturday* in commemoration of the Creation, but more solemnly the Lord's Day. They have no Bells of Brass or mix'd Metal, but only hollow Vessels of Iron, Stone, &c. which make a noise. Their Church-Musick both Vocal and Instrumental is very harsh; yet they skip and dance in imitation of *David*, to their Cymbals and Kettle-drums, which they call rejoycing before the Lord. Fasting-Days are very strictly kept, without Meat or Drink, sometimes till the third Evening, and every Week they fast the fourth and sixth Holy-Day, and all the forty Days of *Lent*, except on *Sunday*; but after *Easter* for 50 Days they indulge themselves in Feasting and Mirth. They observe also all the other Festivals of the ancient Church, and particularly the Nativity on the same day with us, which with them is the 28th of *December*. Tho' Polygamy is tolerated by the Magistrate, yet it is not allow'd by the Church; for those that marry to more than one, are debarr'd from the Communion; neither are such married in the Church, but before the Doors of it, or at home; but the Laity are divorc'd from their Wives when they please, which the Clergy cannot be, unless they renounce their Function.

Their dead Bodies being wash'd and fum'd with Incense, are wrap'd up in proper Garments; but if the party deceas'd be of a noble Family, he is laid upon a Bier covered with a Bull's Hide, and then the Clergy carry him to the Grave laden with Crosses, Censers, and Holy Water, into which he is not let down, but thrown, after the reading of a Paragraph out of St. *John*'s Gospel.

Of the Form of Ecclesiastical Government in *Ethiopia*, and of the Privileges of the Clergy.

The supreme Power in all Affairs being vested in the King, all Ecclesiastical Causes, except in very slight matters, are determin'd by the King's Judges; neither can the Clergy or Monks plead any Exemption, but they are punish'd as well as Lay-Persons for their Offences, by the secular Judges. As to what concerns the Diocesan Law, those things are left to the Clergy, whose chief Head is the Metropolitan, surnam'd *Abuna*, i. e. our Father. He by ancient Custom is consecrated at the King's desire, by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and sent out of *Egypt*; tho' now he and his Clergy being Slaves to the *Turks*, are very poor and ignorant, it being sufficient to qualify him for that Office, that he can read *Arabic*: And such are the Patriarchs he sends into *Ethiopia*, who, as they know little, so they do as little, only in a set form of Words they ordain Under-Clerks just as wise as themselves: But in none of their Kingdoms

doms or Provinces have they Bishops or Arch-bishops; so that the whole care of their Church lies upon the *Icegue* or Abbot, and his Monks, without whom, their Church had been long since ruined.

As to their Cathedrals, they have their Over-seers, who are to take care of the secular matters of the Church, and to compose the Differences between the Clergy. They have also Canons, who are particularly employ'd in those Offices which require Hymns. The *Nebrat* seems to be their Dean, under which are the Presbyter and Sub-Presbyter, Deacon and Sub-deacon. All their Clergy marry once, except their Monks, but if they marry twice they are degraded.

Of the Seperation of the *Abessines* from the *Greek* Church in the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The *Alexandrian* Church remain'd in Unity with it self and with the *Greek* Church, till the Council of *Chalcedon*, call'd by us the 4th general Council, wherein the Heresy of *Eutyches* was condemn'd, who asserted there was but one Nature and one Will in *Christ*, whose Followers were therefore call'd *Monothelites*: But the *Abessines* reject this Council, as believing they went about to divide the Substance of *Christ*, and contrary to the Council of *Ephesus*, to make two Persons of one, which they think is the just consequence of asserting two Natures and two Wills in *Christ*; for which reason they extol *Dioscurus*, as a Martyr, who was scourg'd, had his Teeth pull'd out, and was banish'd for standing to this Truth: Yet they condemn *Eutyches*, and applaud *Timotheus*, by whose Doctrine the Followers of *Eutyches* were convicted. They own the Divinity and Humanity to be in *Christ*, and that he is true God and true Man, which is in effect to acknowledge two Natures in him, tho' in Words they deny it: So that the Dispute seems chiefly to be about some equivocal Words, which the *Ethiopians* us'd to express Nature and Persons, and by what name the Divinity and Humanity in *Christ*, which they own, are to be call'd; for Nature with them is commonly applied to created things, and therefore they are afraid to attribute it to God.

Of the Differences which have risen between the *Abessines* and the Church of *Rome*.

In the former Century *Alvarez* a Priest to the *Portugal* Embassadors, sent into *Ethiopia*, brought Letters from King *David* to *Clement* the seventh, which he deliver'd to the Pope in a publick Assembly of Cardinals, *Charles* the fifth being also present, promising obedience to the See of *Rome* in the name of the King of *Ethiopia*, as they understood it, tho' the *Abessines* made another Interpretation of their King's Intention; whereupon *Paul* the third did not only tolerate the *Abessines* at *Rome*, who printed the New Testament with their Liturgies in the *Ethiopic* Language, but assisted them at his own expence. And so great appearance of Friendship there was, that *Julius* the third sent one *Barret* a Jesuit, with the Title of Patriarch, with one *Oviedo* to be his Successor in case he died; who sent Envoys from *India* to *Claudius*, who had now succeeded his Father *David*, to whom the King gave no great Encouragement, fearing, lest the *Portugals* under pretence of Religion, should pour into his Country a great Force of Souldiers, with Fire-arms, and subdue it: However he promis'd, that the Persons from whom they were sent, should have a fitting Reception at *Matzua*, and be conducted from thence to his Court: Whereupon *Oviedo* was dispatch'd with five Associates (leaving *Barret*) who were kindly receiv'd by the King; only he took it ill, that they should talk to him of yielding Obedience to the *Roman* Pontif, which the Bishop not content with the free exercise of his Religion, continuing still to urge the King, permitted frequent Disputes not yet made publick, wherein *Claudius* himself did many times argue against *Oviedo*, as he did also in his Writings against him. At last *Oviedo* impatient of his ill Success, out of indignation left the Court, and publish'd a Writing, wherein he branded the *Abessines* with several Heresies, which gave great offence to *Claudius*, to see his Subjects traduc'd for Hereticks within his own Dominions.

Not long after *Claudius* being slain in Battle, his Brother *Menas* succeeded, who revok'd all the Indulgences granted to the Papists, and published many severe Edicts against them; and having sent for *Oviedo*, he drew his Cymetar in a rage, and had like to have kill'd him, if some of the Nobility had not prevented him: Whereupon the Bishop fled to *Frenjona*, and there taught the *Portuguese* 30 Years, without further trouble, *Menas*'s Successor being more mild to the *Portuguese*. But at length all the Avenues into *Abessinia* being shut up by the *Turk*, and the Fathers that were sent thither being all taken and slain, there was none remain'd alive to officiate to the *Portuguese*.

Of the new Mission and its Success, till the coming of the *Roman* Patriarch.

The Archbishop of *Goa* hearing that the *Portuguese* in *Abessinia* wanted a Priest, about the beginning of the 16th Century, sent to them one *Peter Pays*, a Man of a quick and ready wit, well skill'd in the liberal and mechanick Arts, and famous for his happy way of instructing Children, who being invited by the King *Zadengel*, came to Court in 1604, and was honourably receiv'd. The King having heard some Disputes about Religion, and Mass said after the *Roman* manner, and a Sermon preached, was so taken with them, that he declar'd to some of his Friends, his Resolution to submit to the Pope, and reveal'd it as a Secret to *Peter*; which he quickly made publick by setting forth an Edict, That no Person should any longer observe the Sabbath as a Holy-day; and by writing Letters to *Clement* the eighth, and *Philip* the third, of *Spain*, wherein he offered his Friendship, and desir'd some of the Jesuits to instruct his Subjects; which things being known to some of the Nobility, they conspired against their Prince, and slew him in Battle. *Susneus* who succeeded, receiv'd *Peter* kindly, and finding his own Metropolitans very ignorant and negligent, and the Jesuits very diligent in instructing Youth, eloquent in their Preaching, and holy in their Lives, he wrote to the Pope and King of *Spain*, for the assistance of the *Portuguese*; and having receiv'd an Answer from *Paul* the fifth, in a Letter dated *January* the 23d, he promis'd him obedience as Universal Pastor, and that he would admit a Patriarch from *Rome*: The King's Brother and many of the Colonels and Captains in the Army publickly profess'd the *Roman* Religion; and there were few that oppos'd it except the Monks, who are still baffled in their Disputes. However the King to shew that he had not rashly given way to a new Religion, appointed a publick Disputation about the two Natures in *Christ*, at which the Jesuits obtain'd an easy Victory; whereupon the King published an Edict, requiring all Persons to hold, That there were two Natures in *Christ*, but united in one Divine Person. *Simeon* the Metropolitan having complain'd to the King of these Disputes which were held in his absence, another was appointed, wherein he was baffled; and then the King put forth a more severe Edict, making it death for any one to deny the two Natures in *Christ*; which so incens'd the minds of the People, that *Simeon*, with one of the King's Brothers, some of the Nobility, and all the Clergy and Monks, combin'd together to live and die, for the Defence of their ancient Religion; and *Simeon*, to shew his Zeal for it, fix'd an Excoriation upon the Doors of the great Church, against all that embrac'd the Religion of the *Franks*. The King being highly offended, publish'd an Edict, giving liberty to every Person to embrace the *Romish* Religion; which so little terrified *Simeon*, that he thundred out his Anathema's against all that maintain'd the two Natures in *Christ*.

The King's Mother and several great Persons foreseeing that these things would end in slaughter, together with *Simeon* and many Monks, came and implor'd the King, that he would desist from what he had begun, and not innovate any thing in Religion; which Request they renew'd again after a fruitless Conference for six days; but the King being immoveable, at last the Sword was unsheath'd, and shed much Blood. The chief Conspirators were *Famanaxus*, *Ælius* the King's Son-in-Law, and the Eunuch *Calfo*; and to give the better colour to the Rebellion, *Simeon* once more publickly excoriated all that were of the *Latin* Religion. But the *Jesuits* relying upon the King's favour, translated *Maldonat* and other Commentators into the *Ethiopic* Language, while the *Alexandrians* pursued them with bitter Invectives: At last *Ælius* by an Edict, commands all the *Franks* to depart out of *Tigra*, and having muster'd up his Army, he openly rebels, resolv'd to fight his Father-in-Law, and being drunk with fury, having only a small Troop about him, he leap'd into his Father's Camp, and rode up to his Pavilion, where the Alarum being taken, he was ston'd and stabb'd to death; after which, the Souldiers fled, and *Simeon* being known, was slain; the Eunuch *Calfo* was beheaded, and *Famanaxus* pardon'd. The King embolden'd by this Victory, by an Edict, prohibited the Observation of the Sabbath as Judaical, and commanded the Husbandmen to plough and sow on that day; which occasioned *Fonael* the Vice-roy of *Bagemdra*, to revolt, with all those who were disgusted with the Edict; and then the chiefest of the Court, both Men and Women, besought the King with Tears to take pity upon the poor ignorant People, and not disturb their Minds with unreasonable Changes: To whom the King made answer in a grave Oration, setting forth the Reasons of his past Transactions, and upbraiding them for their Sedition: And after that, a Letter being brought him from *Fonael*, containing haughty Demands, and among the rest, the Expulsion of the Jesuits, he presently commanded the nimblest of his Army

to

to march; whereupon the Rebels fled for shelter to the inaccessible Rocks, whom *Susneus* had block'd up at a distance: So that *Fonael* being weakned by Desertions, was forc'd to flee to the *Gallans*, who kept their Faith to him but a short time; for being under-hand tempted by Rewards from the King, they slew him to whom they had promis'd protection.

Yet this bad success did not terrify the Inhabitants in the South of *Gojam*, who upon the news of profaning the Sabbath, with all their Hermites ran to Arms; tho' *Ras-seelax* their Lord exhorted them to continue their obedience, which they refus'd, unless he would burn the Books translated into *Ethiopic*, and hang up the Fathers; whereupon *Ras-Seelax* resolv'd to fight them, knowing his Souldiers more experienc'd and better arm'd; and indeed the Victory fell to the King's Party, but it cost dear, because about 400 Monks having devoted themselves to die for their Religion, fought most desperately, of whom 180 were slain. And now the King being encourag'd by so many Victories, laid all fear aside, and publickly renounc'd the *Alexandrian* Worship, confessing his Sins after the *Roman* manner to *Peter Pays*, and dismiss'd all his Wives and Concubines, except the first, to which he was lawfully married; and not long after signified his Conversion to the *Roman* Religion, to his whole Empire in a *Manifesto*, declaring, That he now reverenc'd only the *Roman* See, as infallible in Faith and Manners, and exhorted his Subjects to do as he had done: But neither his Example nor Exhortation could prevail upon many; for his Son *Gabriel* began to foment Sedition, but was forc'd to fly to the Rocks, from whence he was allur'd by the fair Promises of a well-brib'd *Gallan*, to a neighbouring Wood, and there slain.

Of the coming of the Roman Patriarch into Abessina, and how he manag'd his Affairs there.

Susneus, in his Letter to the Pope, having made publick Profession of the *Romish* Religion, and requested him to send a Patriarch; *Alphonsus Mendez*, a *Portuguese* Jesuit, being created Patriarch, set sail from *Lisbon* in *May*, 1624, and arriv'd at *Goa*, from whence he went to *Dios*, and being forewarn'd by the King not to come near *Suaqena* or *Matzua*, he made to rights for *Baylaz*, a Port of *Dancala*, where he arriv'd in *April* with four Fathers and three Friars, besides thirteen Servants, who at last with much difficulty, arriv'd upon the Confines of *Tigra*, where they were met by some *Portuguese*, who furnish'd them with Provisions and all things necessary. In *December* they came to *Gorgora*, where, upon a day appointed, the Patriarch entred the Camp, and after Mass said, was conducted to the King's Pavilion, and commanded to sit down by him in a little Chair, where it was agreed, that upon the eleventh of *February* the King should publickly swear obedience to the Pope. On which day the King, with his eldest Son *Basilides*, his Brother, the Vice-roys and Governours of Provinces being met, the Patriarch sitting on the King's Left-hand, made a lofty Penegyrick in praise of the Pope: to whom the great Chamberlain made answer, That it was now the King's Intention to fulfil the Promises of his Ancestors, by yielding obedience to the Pope of *Rome*; whom the King interrupted by saying, This was not the first day of his Intention, for he had long ago promis'd it to the Superiour of the Jesuits. Whereupon the Patriarch opened a Book of the four Evangelists, and the King kneeling upon his Knees, took the Oath of Obedience to the Pope in the usual form. After the King had done, his Son *Basilides*, the King's Brother, all the Viceroys and Peers, and all the Clergy and Monks then present, took the same Oath; to which *Ras-Seelax* added this Clause, That he would be faithful to *Basilides* as long as he protected the *Romish* Faith, otherwise he would be the first of his Enemies; and to shew his Zeal, he drew forth his Cymetar, and said, *Whoever for the future shall not keep his Oath, shall feel the weight of this*: And so the Solemnity concluded with an Anathema upon all those who should break their Oath. Immediately after, several Edicts were publish'd, that none for the future should say Mass, or exercise the Priestly Office, except such as were licens'd by the Patriarch: Thereupon the *Alexandrian* Orders being accounted unlawful, most of their Priests were constrain'd to receive new Ordinations, upon this condition, that they should observe the *Roman* Forms of Worship, and not give any Succour to Rebels. It was further enjoyn'd, That *Lent* and *Easter* should be observ'd according to the Canons of the *Romish* Church; and the Ladies also were requir'd to take the Oath of Supremacy to the Pope. In the next place great care was taken for building a Seat, and settling a Revenue suitable to the Dignity of the Primate: and Residences were built in several Provinces of the Empire, to stock it with Jesuits. In the mean time they were busy in baptizing the Converted, and ordaining Ecclesiastical Persons, many of whom had been already baptis'd and ordain'd: Sermons were also preach'd after the manner of *Europe*, by which means the Jesuits made a great progress; so that the number of Converts to the *Romish* Religion amounted to many thousands. About two Years after, the Patriarch made a Visitation, wherein some were rebaptiz'd, and many confirm'd with the great applause of the King and his Peers, tho' others sought Occasions of Disturbances, and the Country-people still lik'd their old way best. Besides all this, a Seminary was set up for the Education of the *Abessine* as well as *Portuguese* Children; and the young Lads being taught to act a Comedy, wherein the Devils were brought upon the Stage, the ignorant People thinking them real Spirits, run out of the School in a great fright, crying out, *O dear they have brought us Devils*. But the wiser sort were more terrified with the real Tragedies that follow'd; for *Tecla George*, one of the King's Sons-in-Law, conspir'd with two Noble-men, and declar'd for their ancient way of Worship against the *Roman*: And to shew that he was in earnest, he caus'd all the Crucifixes and Rosaries to be publickly burnt, and *Jacob* his Popish Chaplain to be put to death: Whereupon the King sent *Kebax* Viceroy of *Tigra*, with an Army, who defeated the Rebels, and took him and his Sister Prisoners, who were both hang'd on a Tree.

After this, several Accidents concur'd to render the Jesuits odious; for the Patriarch to shew his Authority, thundred out an Anathema against the Captain of the Guards, for taking possession of certain Farms which the Monks laid claim to, and refusing to restore them, who was so frightned with the Curses, that he fell into a Swoon, and lay for dead; but the King by his Mediation quickly obtain'd his Absolution: However, it was taken heinously by the Nobility to see their chief Counsellors so enslav'd to a foreign Priest, for the sake of a Farm, which the King might take from the Monks when he pleas'd. This Flame was fed by more Fuel; for the *Icegue* or Abbot being dead, and buried in a Church consecrated after the *Roman* manner, the Patriarch pronounc'd the Church profan'd by the burial of a Heretick in it, and that Mass could not be said there. The Rector dreading the dismal Thunder-bolt, presently caus'd the Carcase to be dug up, and thrown by; which gave occasion to the *Abessines* to cry out, That the *Franks* were more cruel than their bittercst Enemies, to deprive their dead of decent burial; and that by this the Living might see what they were to expect.

Thus the minds of the People being generally incens'd, the King began to look upon these Acts of the Patriarch as Diminutions of his Prerogative, which made him give ear to his Adversaries, who at first desired only that the ancient Forms might be mended, where it was necessary, without abrogating the whole; for so the People's Minds would be more quiet, who could not distinguish between the old and new form of Worship. This being granted by the Patriarch, the Report was spread about, that the King was return'd to his old Religion; and the Courtiers were daily whispering in his Ears, that he would be in great danger, unless he forsook the *Roman* Religion, which was grown very odious to the People. These Whispers were back'd by an Accident which gave occasion to several Reports; for an Enthusiast came into the Palace one day, and cry'd out, that unless the King forthwith return'd to the ancient Religion, he should within a Fort-night be severely punish'd: And tho' the Fellow was laugh'd at and drubb'd, yet the Vulgar reported, that an Angel was sent from Heaven to the King, to admonish him to turn to the ancient Faith: In the mean time the hatred against the Jesuits was encreas'd by the Envy of the Courtiers, who incens'd the King against *Ras-Seelax*, the chief Friend of the *Portuguese*, upon a Jealousy lest he should invade the Royal Dignity, which was encreas'd by his putting *Lecanax* to death for his Slanders against himself, which they said was done to remove him out of the way, because he was privy to his Conspiracies: Whereupon the King depriv'd him of a great part of his Lands, and his Military Commands. But tho' *Tecla George* had suffer'd, yet the Rebellion still continued; for the *Agawi* had not yet laid down their Arms, but chose one *Melcax*, a Youth of the Royal Blood, to whom all that were disaffected to the King, and hated the *Roman* Religion, resorted, who were call'd *Lasteneers*, from *Lasta*, an invincible Rock, the chief Seat of the Rebellion. Against these the King march'd in Person with an Army of 27000 Men, but with ill success at first; for the Country-People being in a secure place, rowl'd down whole Quarries of heavy Stones upon the Heads of the Royalists, which put them into such disorder, that the King's left Wing being surrounded

by the Rebels, had like to have been cut to pieces, if *Kebax* with 300 Men had not come in to their Relief. The King leaving part of his Army, went home and recall'd *Seelax*, who drove the *Lastaneers* back into their former holes, after they had ravag'd the Country, and quell'd another Rebellion in *Bagemdra*, by destroying *Luca-Marjam* that headed it. But the same good fortune did not attend *Kebax*, who finding the Avenues slightly guarded, thought he had a fair opportunity, and march'd in, but was presently beset before and behind by his Enemies, who after a great slaughter of his Men, at last slew himself.

This bad success furnish'd matter for new Arguments, to press the King to forsake the Jesuits, and so puffed up *Meleax*, that he assum'd to himself the Titles and Prerogatives of a King, being daily encreas'd with numbers, and encouraged by the Nobility of *Tigra*, to whom he sent a Vice-roy, with a select Band of Souldiers for a Convoy, who being surpriz'd in their Jollity, left 4000 of their party slain upon the spot; whose death the *Lastaneers* reveng'd by killing an equal number of the Royalists; for which slaughter *Ras-Seelax* was accus'd of negligence, in not sending timely Succors, and condemn'd; and his Lands and Offices were granted to *Basilides*. This gave a new opportunity for complaint against the Jesuits, that as they had subjected the Empire in Ecclesiastical Matters to the Pope, so they intended to bring it under the Dominion of the King of *Portugal* in Seculars; and to this end, they built instead of Temples and Residences, Castles and Forts, from which they could not be driven by Spears and Arrows; to which Complaints, the King growing jealous, begun more easily to listen: Yet still he carried it fair to the Jesuits, and receiv'd kindly a Bishop sent from *Rome*. But when he granted Indulgences for the Jubilee in 1625, some said, *Who can forgive Sins but God only?* To whom the King answer'd, *That the use of the Keys given to* Peter, *belong'd to the Pope.*

However, the Success of the *Lastaneers* encourag'd the Vice-roy of *Gojam* to revolt, but being taken, he was drubb'd to death, and many of his Complices were executed, which made the *Lastaneers* despair of Pardon, and more resolute in their Rebellion: Whereupon the King march'd against them with all his Forces, but could not subdue them, because they fled to the Holes in the Rocks, where they lurk'd, till they fell upon a select Party of the King's Forces, and destroy'd them. After which, the King fearing to be clos'd up, retired in haste to *Dembea*.

And now the *Jesuits* Enemies redoubled their Complaints, That there would never be peace in *Ethiopia*, so long as the *Romish* Religion bore sway; and that it would be more expedient to retain the ancient Ceremonies which were not contrary to Faith: By which, and such-like Suggestions, the King was at last prevail'd upon to press *Mendez*, to remit as far as he could; which to save all, he consented to, but upon condition, that nothing should be remitted by publick Acts, but by tacit Connivance. But when the King put forth an Edict granting the use of all ancient Ceremonies not repugnant to Faith, he was sharply reprov'd by *Mendez* for meddling with Spiritual Affairs: At last it was agreed by some of the Fathers, That the ancient Liturgy, but corrected, should be read in the Mass, that their Festivals should be kept at the usual time, except *Easter*, and those that depend upon it: That any one instead of the Sabbath, might fast on the fourth Holy-day: And the King answer'd *Mendez*, that his Religion was not introduc'd by preaching and Miracles, but by his own Edicts, and therefore he had no reason to complain of his Edict. But these Concessions did not pacify the *Lastaneers*, nor any other of the discontented Parties.

Of the decrease of the *Roman* Religion, and Restoration of the *Alexandrian*.

We have seen the great Progress of the *Roman* Religion in *Ethiopia*, the Authority of the Patriarch advanc'd to the highest pitch, the Jesuits favour'd by the King, his Brother, and many of the Nobility, exercising their Worship in several Provinces, building many Churches and Chappels, encreasing their number to 21 Companions, and converting many thousands of the People: But while they were thinking of abrogating all the ancient Rites, behold a sudden change ensued, upon which they were banish'd, and their Religion subverted: For the King, tho' otherwise most addicted to them, yet being weary with the Complaints of his People, and the Importunities of his Friends, troubled with a Jealousy of his Brother, the Contumacy of the *Lastaneers*, the Diminution of his Prerogative, and the dread of losing his Kingdoms, at length began to think of abrogating the *Roman* and restoring the *Alexandrian* Worship: And which was to be admir'd, a prosperous Fight against the *Lastaneers*, was that which settled his wavering thoughts; for having given them a total rout by killing 8000 upon the place, he was carried by some of the Favourers of the old Religion, to see the multitude of the slain, who thus bespake him.

'These Sir are neither *Heathens* nor *Mahometans*, 'whom you see here slain, but *Christians*, once your Sub'jects and our dear Country-men, and with the same 'Sword that slays them, you stab your own Bowels, for 'they bear no hatred to you, but only are averse to that 'Worship to which you would compel them: Therefore 'forbear we beseech you, to constrain them to Novelties 'for which we are call'd Apostates.

To these Importunities the Queen join'd her powerful Charms, conjuring him by the common Pledges of their Love, not to ruin his Kingdom, himself, and his Family, with whom his eldest Son *Basilides*, and his Brother *Jamanax*, join'd by their earnest Prayers. At length the King's Mind being mollified, *Basilides* summon'd a Meeting of the Nobility and chief Councellors, wherein it was concluded, that there was no other Remedy for the present Disorders of the Kingdom, but by restoring the *Alexandrian* Religion; and the better to perswade those of the contrary Opinion, they gave it out, that the *Romans* and *Alexandrians* agreed in points of Faith: That both affirm'd Christ was true God and true Man, and the Difference about one or two Natures, was only a Question about words, and not worth the ruin of a mighty Empire; whereupon the King gave liberty to every one that pleas'd, to return to the *Alexandrian* Worship. The Patriarch with the chief of the Fathers hearing of these things, came and desired Audience of the King, which being granted, he rebuk'd him for abusing the Victories he had gain'd by the *Portuguese* to the prejudice of the *Romish* Religion; for granting Toleration to the *Alexandrian* Worship; for Apostacy from that Religion which he had freely embrac'd, and threatned him with the Indignation of God, the Pope, and the King of *Portugal*. To all which the King said, That he had done what he could, but never intended a total Alteration of Religion, but only a Concession of some Ceremonies.

On the 24th of *June*, the Favourers of the old Religion address themselves to the Emperour, and beseech him, That by a publick Edict, he would give his Subjects leave to return to the Religion of their Ancestors; the King assented, and ordered certain Commissioners to signify his pleasure to the Patriarch; who return'd answer, That a Difference should be put between those who had not embrac'd the *Romish* Religion, who might be connived at, and those who had embrac'd it, to whom the liberty of returning to the old form of Worship could not be granted without Sin. By which means *Mendez* thought to put a Bar upon the King and all the Court who had profess'd the *Romish* Religion. But the King made no other answer than this, *How can this be done, I am now no more Lord of my Kingdom*: and presently the Drums beat, Trumpets sounded, and Proclamation was made by the Crier. We first propounded to you the *Roman* Religion, esteeming it the best: but an innumerable multitude have perish'd thro' dislike of it; and therefore we grant you the free exercise of the Religion of your Ancestors. This Edict was receiv'd with an universal joy among all sorts of People, and henceforth the old Ceremonies were made use of in the Communion, and Grape-stone Liquor instead of Wine. A few days after a general Circumcision was appointed, and the ancient manner of washing upon the Feast of *Epiphany* was us'd by some to cleanse them from *Romish* Superstition.

Of the Expulsion of the Patriarch, and Banishment of the Jesuits.

After the King's Edict was publish'd, the Jesuits Churches were taken from them, and they were forc'd to leave their stately Cathedral at *Gorgora*, from which they carried all their sacred Furniture, having spoil'd their Sculpture and Pictures. *Susneus* dying in *December*, 1652, *Ras-Seelax*, the chief Favourer of the *Romish* Religion, in which he continued firm, was banish'd, and his Goods sequestred, and all that favoured the Jesuits were either sent into exile or put to death. But still the *Lastaneers* would not be quiet until the Fathers were all turn'd out of *Ethiopia*; and therefore they were first sent to *Fremona*, where their Goods and Arms, especially their Fire-arms, were taken from them; and after that, being commanded by the King to remove from *Fremona*, they lurk'd for a while in a private House, till they were pull'd out thence by the Ears and deliver'd to the *Turks* in *May*, 1634: For the *Abessines* had heard, that they had sent for a Military Power from *India* to settle

settle their Religion, which some of them had imprudently threatned, and therefore their Removal was hasten'd.

Of what happened after the departure of the Patriarch and Jesuits out of Ethiopia.

Tho' the King's Command to depart was general, yet *Mendez* left behind him several Jesuits, who lurk'd for some time, but at last were taken, and most of them hang'd. *Mendez* spent a whole Year among the barbarous *Turks* at *Suaquena*, in great anguish of mind, which was encreas'd by seeing the new Metropolitan pass by, who had in his Train one *Peter Heyling*, a *Lutheran*, of great Learning and Probity: When he met *Mendez* at *Suaquena*, he oppos'd several Opinions of the *Romish* Church, and expounded in *Arabic* to the Standers-by, what was said on both sides; and being come to *Abessinia*, he was very acceptable to the King, who gave him a Tent and all things necessary. The Patriarch, after a long Captivity, redeem'd himself and his Companions with 4000 *German* Dollars, and at last got safe to *Goa*; from whence he sent one *Lobo* into *Portugal*, to give an account of the sad estate of *Ethiopia*, and desired a Military Aid to restore him to his lost See. But all his Negotiations prov'd ineffectual, because there was no considerable Party in the Kingdom to assist any Forces that should be sent; for the King put all to death that favour'd the *Roman* Fathers; which occasioned the ruin of many of the Nobility, and several Priests; and fearing lest the *Portuguese* should invade his Dominions, he brib'd the Basha's of *Suaquena* and *Matzua*, to deny entrance to any of the *Franks*. The Congregation for propagating the Faith, hearing that the *Portuguese* were generally odious, sent six *Capuchin* Friars, all *French-men*, with Letters of safe conduct from the Emperour of the *Turks*, whereof four being kill'd in their Journey to *Abessinia*, the other two that stay'd as *Matzua*, chose rather to return home than suffer Martyrdom to no purpose. Yet three other *Capuchines* ventured to go to *Suaquena*, whence they sent a Letter to the *Abessine* King, to congratulate him, and he in requital wrote to the Basha to send him their Heads, whose Skins being flea'd off, he sent, that by their colour he might know them to be *Franks*, and by their shaving to be Priests. *Mendez* died in *India* in 1656, since whose death we have no certain Relations out of *Abessinia*: But the Report of *Tellez* that their King had embrac'd *Turcism*, appears to be a Fiction, since his Letters of the last date to *Batavia* begin with a Christian Preface, after this Report was rais'd.

Of the private Affairs of the Abessinians.

Of their Books and Learning.

Besides sacred Books, they have but very few others, one of which is call'd the *Glory of Kings*, which seems to be that which is highly esteem'd as a second Gospel, and is preserv'd in the Palace of *Axuma*, wherein is recorded the History of the Queen of *Sheba*. They have also a Chronicle cited by *Claudius* in his Confession of Faith; a Book of Philosophy, which is much esteem'd; and a Vocabulary, wherein the difficult Words are expounded in the *Amharic*, or *Arabic* Tongue. They meddle with no Studies, but those of their own learned Language and sacred Matters. Most of them think it enough if they can read or write, which Children learn either from their Parents, or the Monks, for a small Stipend. Their manner of administring Physick is very ridiculous: They cure the Yellow-Jaundies by applying a red hot Iron to the upper-end of the Arm. In most Distempers every one uses such Herbs as he has learn'd from his Parents to be useful. If the King be sick, they ask him what he ails, and if any one has been sick of the same Disease, he tells him what did him good; for they value not Physicians and Apothecaries. If a Plague breaks out, they fly from the Contagion with their Herds into the Mountains. *Tertian-Agues* they cure by applying the Cramp-Fish, which is an unspeakable torture to the Patient. Wounds they cure by Myrrhe, which is very plentiful. They have little skill in Logick and Natural Philosophy, as appears by their *Organum*; but they believe the Soul immortal, because it proceeds out of the Mouth of God, who breath'd it into the Face of *Adam*. They deny *Antipodes*, fancying that such People would drop into Heaven; and when the Sun rises and sets, they think that he goes and comes thro' a certain kind of Window; but how it gets under the Earth they are not sollicitous. As to the liberal Arts, they love Poesy above the rest, but only that which is Divine; for all prophane Verses they hate, which treat of Heathen Fables, as being the Foot-steps of Idolatry. They covet Learning, and were earnest with the Jesuits to teach their Children the *Latin* Tongue; but they generally learn Languages by Converse, especially the *Arabic*, in which Language the King writes his Letters to foreign Princes. Private Persons seldom write Letters; but if they have a mind to write, they go to the Scribe of the Province, who writes an Epistle for a small matter.

Of their Habit, Diet and Families.

The *Abessines* marry every one of their Wives after the Christian manner, neither is Polygamy prohibited by the Civil, but the Ecclesiastical Law, which does not admit those who have more Wives to the Communion; and the same liberty they take to put away their Wives as to marry them. They have no nuptial Ceremonies worth the mentioning, only the Sacerdotal Benediction is necessary to every Wedding. Their Diet is very different from ours, for they feed either upon raw Flesh, or that which is half boil'd. Instead of Sauce they use Gall, which pleases them better than Honey. They cover, as a Dainty, the Grass and Green Herbs which they find in the Maws of the Beasts they kill. Their Bread they bake upon Embers, made in the fashion of thin Pancakes. Many of them live only upon Grazing; their Flocks and Herds are their only Riches; they eat their Flesh and drink their Milk. When they retire to the Rocks they carry with them three or four Goats, on whose Milk they subsist. Their Women grind their Corn with a Wooden Pettle, and make Bread of the Flower; and where the Air is temperate they have good Butter and Cheese. After Dinner they fall to drinking, and never give over till the Drink be all out. They make excellent Hydromel, by reason of their plenty of Honey, and for their Families they mix Water with it. They have another sort of Liquor, made of their Fruits, which is like Ale, being white and sweet.

Their Apparel is very mean and poor; their Princes only wear Silk, the Clergy and richer sort only make use of Cotton, the poorer sort cover themselves with Skins, which hardly hide their Privities, which is common also among some of their Nobility and Priests, who think it no scandal to appear in Church or Chancel without Breeches. The Boys and Girls go stark naked, till riper Years calls upon them to hide their Shame. They are very curious in dressing their Hair, for they not only curl it, but anoint it with Butter, and lest it should be rumpled in the Night, they rest their Heads on a forked stick, preferring their Pride before Pain. Nor does their Poverty appear less in their Houses; for they that follow the Camp, live either in Tents or Huts made of Reeds and Rubbish, daub'd over with Clay or Lome, and covered with Straw or Sedge, which they leave behind them, when they remove their Camp, and their Villages are built after the same manner.

They make a doleful Lamentation for the dead; for when they hear of the Death of any great Person or dear Friend, they prostrate themselves on the Ground, and knock their Heads against it. Their King and great Men are buried with much pomp, and every one uses all means to excite Tears, and the Relations are clad in ratter'd Habits instead of Mourning. They use no peculiar Service before the Body is laid in the Grave, only some Monks standing before the Church-door, read a few of *David*'s Psalms.

Of their Mechanick Arts and Trades.

They want very much Handycraft-Trades, whereby they are destitute of many Conveniences of human Life, which we enjoy. The *Jews* are almost the only Weavers of Cotton, and the best Smiths among them, who make the Heads of Spears and several other things, of Iron. As for other things, every one takes care to supply his own Wants, either by his own, or the Pains of his Servants, which is easily done where they use so little. They have no Guilds of Tradesmen among them, but whatever any one professes, that he teaches his Children, and so the Trumpeters and Horn-winders are all of the same Family, and live apart by themselves. They were formerly skill'd in Architecture, as appears by their magnificent Temples, and the King's Palace at *Axuma*; but since they were engag'd in Wars, this way of building is quite disus'd. But the Jesuits, having brought Architects with them from *India*, built many Churches and Chappels of Stone and Morrar, to the great dread of the *Abessines*, who look'd upon them as so many Forts and Castles, and *Peter Pays* built an admirable Palace for the King.

Of their journeys and Travelling.

The *Abessines* care not to stir out of their own Country, being ignorant of foreign Languages, and the ways of Exchange and keeping Correspondence. Formerly they us'd holy Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, and so back again to *Rome*, when the *Mamalukes* were Lords of *Egypt*; but since the *Turks* were possess'd of it, they so oppress'd Travellers with their Exactions, that the *Abessines* very rarely visit *Jerusalem*. In their travelling they only make use of Mules, for no other Creature can climb over the craggy Rocks and Mountains; but their Horses

they preserve for War and Racing. The Great and and Rich carry all their Houshold Stuff along with them, and when Night overtakes them, they pitch their Tents and kindle Fires about them to feare the wild Beasts. The poorer sort when they travel, beg upon the Road, for there is neither Inn nor Cook's Shop to be found, which gave occasion to a pleasant Passage at *Rome*. When the *Abessines* newly arriv'd from the East, they were invited by a Cook into his Shop; who believing all Invitation to be made *Gratis*, went into the Shop, and cheerfully accepted what was set before them; but at length, when they were going away, they consulted how to return thanks to so kind an Host for his noble Treat, which one of them did with a very good grace in a set Speech: To which the Cook listned a while, but hearing nothing of Money, without any respect to their smooth Language and graceful Delivery, *Gentlemen*, said he, *who pays?* the *Abessines* like Men astonish'd made answer, *That they came not into his Shop of their own accord, but by his Invitation, and that when he set his Wine and Meat before them, he never bargain'd for any Money, for that was the very thing they wanted.* But all this would not satisfy the Cook, who forc'd them to leave their Cloaks in pawn, which were afterwards redeem'd at the Pope's Charity. The *Abessines* themselves are very hospitable; for in their Villages they appoint the chiefest of the Inhabitants for relief of the Poor; which Custom was anciently us'd in several Christian Countries.

The way from *Egypt* to *Abessinia* is troublesome to Travellers, and subject to many Dangers by the Extortions of the *Turks*, and the Robberies of several vagabond Nations thro' which they must pass: Yet there are several Troops of Merchants, who setting out from *Grand Cairo*, are carried up the *Nile* against the Stream as far as *Monfallot*, and thence travelling in Caravans, first come to *Sijut*, and so in order to the following Towns, *Wach*, *Meks*, *Scheb*, *Sellim*, *Moschn*, *Dungala*, which last is accounted the Metropolis of *Nubia*: Then they come into the Kingdom of *Sennar*, under a *Mahometan* Prince. From *Dungala* therefore they travel to *Kshabi*, *Korti*, *Trere*, *Gerri*, *Helfage*, *Arbarg*, *Sennar*. In travelling from *Wacha* to *Sennar*, the Merchants staying in many places about the Affairs of their Traffick, commonly spend three whole Months, tho' it might be done in a far shorter time. From *Sennar* in 14 days they arrive at the Confines of *Abessinia*, into which they enter by *Tshelga*: But the safest and shortest Cut is thro' the *Red-Sea*, if you can agree with the *Turks*; which Passage is two-fold; for either the Merchants set out from *Cairo* to *Suesso*, a Port upon the *Red-Sea*, from whence they sail to *Gidda*, another Port, and thence they sail again for *Suaquena* and *Matzua*; or if they cannot endure the Sea so long, they sail against the Stream from *Cairo* to *Ginea*; then by Land they travel to *Gidda* in two Days, and thence to *Alcesir* in four days, where they take Shipping for *Gidda*, and so to *Suaquena*. This is the way the Metropolitans take, with whom is the safest travelling, if any *Europeans* desire to visit *Abassia*. A Man may reach from *Guendra* to *Suaquena* in a Fort-night, and from thence in 40 or 50 Days to *Grand Cairo* by Land; so that to travel from the Royal Camp to *Cairo* will take up three Months.

The *Arabians* who inhabit the Ports of the *Red-Sea*, especially the *Mahometans*, are the chief Merchants in *Abessinia*; for being of the same Religion, they have the free liberty of all the Ports of the *Red-Sea*: Next to them the *Armenians*, who do not much differ from the *Abessines* in their Worship, have the greatest Trade, as being the great Dealers in all parts of the World. They import sundry sorts of Commodities, but carry out all the Gold: And because there is no Money coin'd in *Ethiopia*, the silly ignorant sort of People, finding their Gold among the Sand, or at the Roots of Trees, let it go again at low rates; for if the Merchants deny it to be good, they exchange it for as much as they can get, without questioning the Merchants Exception. But the Nobility and richer sort carry a Touch-Stone always about them, with which they try their Gold, weigh it out, and pay it by the Ounce; which in *Ethiopia* amounts to the value of a *Spanish Pattacoon*, or an Imperial Dollar. The Exchange in *Abessinia* is made with Iron sometimes, but chiefly for Salt hewn out of the Mountains, with which you may purchase all things; and in the remote parts you may buy a good Mule for two or three Bricks of Salt.

The Commodities imported are *Babylonian* Garments of all sorts, Velvet, Silken, but chiefly Woollen and Fustian, which the great Men wear instead of Purple, having now lost the skill of dying it. Spices, and especially Pepper, they covet to season their insipid Diet. Wares for Exportation they have few besides Gold, Skins, Hides, Wax, Honey, and Ivory; many more they might have if their Kings did encourage Traffick and Merchandizing; for which end they should learn the *Latin* Tongue, with the Addition of our Arts and Handicraft Trades, which would advance the Affairs of these poor Christians to a more flourishing state, and weaken the strength of the *Barbarians*.

Sir *Thomas Herbert* Baronet, his Travels, begun in 1626, into divers parts of *Africa* and *Asia Major*, in which the two famous Monarchies of the *Mogul* and *Persian* are principally describ'd, with what is remarkable in those places from other Authors in *Purchass*, &c.

CHAP. XX.

Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels from* England *to* Goa *in the* East-Indies.

His setting out.

SIR *Thō: Herbert*, Bar. with five Ships besides his own, embarked at *Deal* near *Dover* on *Lady-day* (famous that Year for being the Feast as well of the Son as Mother) in the Year 1626. In a few Hours coasting the Isle of *Wight* (in *British*, *Gwidth*, i. e. cut off or seen at a distance, and by *Pliny Vectis*, as it is by *Eutropius* call'd *Vecta*) they came to the *Lizard's Point*, which is the utmost Promontory of *Cornwall*, from whence to the Cape of *Good Hope*, they compute their Longitude, and not from the *Azores*, which is the first Meridian.

On *April* the third, they got sight of *Porto Santo*, or the *Holy Port* (call'd *Cerne* by *Ptolomy*) commanded by the *Spaniards*, and lying in 33 Deg. as also of the *Madera's* (i. e. *Isles of Wood*) twelve Leagues S. W. from *Porto Santo*, and 70 from the *Canaries*. *Porto Santo* was

was discover'd by *Perestrallus*, *Anno* 1419, and given him to people; but he found it difficult to build there, because the Coneys had so caved the Ground. It is 25 Miles in compass, and fruitful in Wheat, Rye, Rice, Oxen, Sheep, Boars, Coneys, Sanguis Draconum, Fruits, Flowers, and Grapes.

The Canaries described. The *Canaries*, so call'd from the Multitude, *Magnorum Canorum*, saith *Pliny*, *L. 6. C. 32.* were first discovered by one *Machan*, an *English-man*, by whose Directions it was conquered two Years after by *Lewis de Cordezo*, in 1330, sent thither by the Commission of *Pedro*, King of *Arragon*; but *John* II. King of *Castile*, soon wrested them from him, and lost them a little after to the *French*, from whom *Don Henrico*, *Infant* of *Spain*, took them, and united them to the *Spanish* Monarchy, in whose subjection they still remain. These Islands (call'd by *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Plutarch*, *Atlantiades*, and by *Pliny*, *Hesperidæ*) are from the *Morocco*, or *Libyan* Continent 20 Leagues, and from *Spain* 200. They are commonly numbred seven, and were anciently called *Canaria*, *Capraria*, *Nivaria*, *Jumoma*, *Ombria* or *Pluvialia*, *Aposita*, or *Fracta Lancea*, and *Casperia*, or *Fortunata*; but now they are denominated, *Canaria*, *La Palma*, *Teneriffa*, *Lancerota*; *Hierro*, *La Gomera*, and *Forteventura*. In ancient times the People knew no God but Nature, were ignorant of the use of Fire, shaved with Flint-stones, gave their Children to be nursed by Goats, tilled the Earth with Ox's Horns, hated the slaughter of Beasts, used Women in common, had no property of Goods, lived in Woods, eat nothing but Herbs; yet some had glimmerings of the Immortality of the Soul, for they washed their Dead, and put them in a Cave, with a Staff in one Hand, and a Pail of Milk and Wine set by them to comfort and support them in their Journey to Paradise. They are now civilized, and profess Popery, and the Inquisition keeps all Protestants from them.

The Popish Inquisition, Grand Canaria described. The Grand Inquisitors Residence is at *Grand Canary*, whether all the other Isles usually repair for Justice. This Isle abounds with Goats, Beefs, Asses, Hogs, Barly, Rye, Rice, variety of Flowers, Grapes, and other excellent Fruit, as also Ingenio's, or Sugar-houses, where they grind their Canes, and make Sugar. It is about 50 Miles Diameter, and has at the South end a large Bay called *Maspalomba*, which yields fresh Water. It is 13 Leagues from *S. Crux* in *Teneriffa*, 20 from *Forteventura*, and 18 from *Lancerota*.

Teneriffa. *Teneriffa* is 50 *English* Miles in length, and equals the *Grand Canary* for Inhabitants. Its chief Towns are *S. Crux* and *Linagona* or *Laguna*, which stands at the bottom of the Hill called *Garachica*. This Town exceeds all the rest in all the Isles for abundance of excellent Grapes, yielding yearly, as some say, 28000 Buts of Sack. The Mountain is said to be 15 Miles high by most, but by *Scaliger* 60, and by one *Nichols* an *English-man*, who lived there some time, 47, but they must mean by the oblique Ascent; for *Varennius* says, 'tis but four Miles 15 Furlongs perpendicular. Nevertheless it lifts up its lofty top, *Teyda*, so high, that it is seen in clear weather 120 Miles. At the bottom of it is plenty of Wood, in the middle Snow, and on the top Flames, the Veins of Brimstone burning, which the People call the *Devil's Cauldron*. It is about thirteen Leagues from *Grand Canary*, and 20 from *La Palma*, five from *Gomera*, 75 from *Africk*, and 70 from *Madera*. In old times they used to embalm their dead, and lay them in deep Caves, some standing, others lying, and in such like different Postures. Their Dormitories were reputed very venerable, and rarely seen but by permission.

The Pike of Teneriffa described, see Fig. 1.

Hierro. *Hierro* or *Ferrain* bears S. S. W. from *Grand Canaria*, and appears very high to the Ships that pass by. It is ten Leagues from *La Palma*, and not above six Leagues in compass. It is famous for one Tree, call'd by the Natives *Garro*, and by the *Spaniards Santo*, which affords fresh Water to all the Inhabitants: It is darkened with a cloudy mist some part of the day, which casts such a plentiful Dew upon the Leaves, as distils in Streams of clear sweet drops into large stone Cisterns, capacious enough to furnish not only the People, but all the Cattle in the Island with water; so that they never drink of Rivers or Ponds. This seems miraculous, but in *S. Thomas*'s Island, which lies under the Line, most of the Trees have the same property.

The miraculous Tree.

La Palma. *La-Palma* is very high and woody.

Forteventura. Teneriffa. *Forteventura* is 15 Leagues long and 8 broad, and near *Lancerota*, which is less than *Teneriffa*. These two Islands were taken by the *English* in 1596, and the other by the *Dutch* after, which has occasion'd them both to be better fortified.

Gomera. *Gomera* is six Leagues from *Teneriffa*, and eight long. Twixt *Lancerota* and *Forteventura*, is another little Isle called *Lobos*, and by *Lancerota*, two other small Isles called *Gratiosa* and *Alagrama*.

Isles of Lobos, Gratiosa, and Alagrama.

On the East of these Isles ly *Fezz* and *Morocco*, which are part of *Mauritania Tingitana*, so call'd from *Tangier*, a considerable Town upon the *African* Coast, opposite to *Gibraltar* in *Spain*, which resemble *Dover* and *Callis*, and have a like influence upon that narrow Streight.

The ninth of *April* they cross'd the Tropick of Cancer, which is of like distance from the Æquator, as the utmost Limits of the Temperate Zone from the Pole. It is so called from the Sun's returning from that sign in *June* like a Crab, which goes backward.

The Tropick of Cancer.

On the 14th they came under the Sun, being in 14 Degrees North, and on the 18th were in sight of Cape *Verd*, called by *Pliny*, *Hesperion Cornu*, or *Hesperi Keras*, and by the *Ethiopians*, *Biseear* and *Mandangar*.

Cape Verd.

On the 21st, he came so far in the Torrid Zone, that the Sun darting out its fiery Beams, the Air seemed to be inflamed, the Sea warm, and Ships sulphureous, so that they all sweat and broiled, and were unable to sleep, rest, eat, or drink, which continued seven days, and then an abortive Cloud sent down a stinking Rain, not in moderate Drops, but so impetuously, as would sink a Ship, if it came under the Dint of it; and immediately as soon as it came into the Sea, a Whirlwind arose, which much endanger'd their Ships, but a prosperous gale soon posted them out of harm's way, and carried them beyond the Equinoctial: under the Line the heat is not so unsufferable, as in many places more remote, because here are constant Breezes toward Sun-set, and the Nights being equal to the Days, are ordinarily very dewy, which much abates the heat of the day; besides, they have two Winters, and in their hottest Weather they fail not of other Breezes at nine in the Morning, and four in the Afternoon, and rain at Noon.

May the 6th, they came to *Santo Croix*, where they enter into the *Manzoon*, or Anniversary Wind, which blows for six Months together constantly from one Point, beginning exactly from the Sun's entrance into a sign of the *Zodiack*, and so continuing, till it enters into the contrary Degree, when it begins to blow the contrary way, and holds as long.

Santo Croix.

May the 8th, they came into eight Deg. Antarctick Latitude, having the *Monomotapan* Coast on the one side, and the *Brasilian* on the other: The *Africk* Shoar runs on in divers Names, as *Congo* in six Deg. *Angola* in nine; *Manicongo*, *Loanga*, *Monomotapa*, *Benomotapa*, and *Caffana*, full of black Wretches, without Law and Religion, but rich in Earth, abounding with the best Minerals and Elephants, living upon Rapine and Villany, and worshipping Mokisses, Fetesiors, and deformed Idols of Devils, in shapes of Dragons, Goats, Owls, Bats, Snakes, Dogs, Cats, and whatever their Witches urge them to, in the most infernal postures, gaping, hooping, groveling, soiling and discolouring their Carkasses with Juice of Herbs, Rice, Roots, and Fruit. The Women defie the New-Moon every Month, by shewing their naked Bums to her, and the Men complying with them, shoot their Arrows against it. A Dog was of that value once with them, that 20 Negroes were exchanged for one: but now they make a better Market of them, to send their Slaves to the *Charibee* Islands, and other parts of *America*; a Trade by which 'tis to be feared Christians will make but little gain, since they have no care of converting their Souls, such Merchandize being a great Sin among Christians, tho' practis'd by *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Their Coin is a sort of *Wampom*, or Shells, Glass, Beads, Stones, and such like trash. They marry not, and bury thus: They wash, paint, and apparel the Dead, and lay them in a spacious Dormitory, with their Armolets and Bracelets. They circle the Grave with mimick Gestures and Ejaculations, concluding with the Sacrifice of a lusty Goat.

The Africans Coasts, and People on them. See Fig. 2.

The trade of selling Slaves.

In *Loanga* and *Anzigui*, which lie under the Æquator, the People are, as in Colour, so in Condition little other than Devils incarnate; for not satisfied with the Food Nature has provided for them, they devour Man's Flesh with a Vultur's Appetite, killing their Neighbouring Nations; and if they fail of them, slaughtering their Friends, who sometimes to ease themselves of Troubles or Diseases, will offer themselves to the Knife; and as they delight in it themselves, so they offer it to their Gods. Nothing is so commendable in them as their Archery, in which they excel; for they'll shoot up a dozen Arrows before the first falls to the Ground. Their other Arms are Clubs and Darts, long and small, barbed with Iron, very sharp and bright, and sometimes poisoned with the Sap or Juice of the *Quacumbarez*-Tree, which is like Milk, but very venomous.

The Man-Eaters.

Their Archery and other Arms.

The

The Miconda-Tree.

The Miconda-Tree is high and thick, twelve Fathoms about, yet so porous as to be of no use for building. The only Ornaments they have is to slash and pink their Faces and Skins. The Sun and Moon are reputed Man and Wife, and the Stars their Children, in their Religion; the Devil is their Oracle. They have store of Gold, but use Shells for Coin, which they call *Simbo*. They are found near the Island of *Loanda*, in eight Deg. South, and tho' they are of small value elsewhere, yet here they are of great price.

The Tropick of Capricorn.

May ult. They croſt the Tropick of Capricorn, in 24 Degrees of South Latitude, and were driven upon the Coast of *Brasil*.

Booby's. *Vide Fig.* 3.

In a serene Air, a Bird called a Booby, pearched upon the Yard-arm of the Ship, and suffered the Men to take them, which makes their simplicity a Proverb; but they soon came under a Storm, in which the Lightning hung about the Yards and tackling of the Ship. Of old, the *Greeks* called such Fires *Castor* and *Pollux*, and believ'd, that one or three of them betokened Storms and Shipwrack, but two foretel Halcyon Weather, and safety; but little can be gathered from such Exhalations, which are natural.

Castor and Pollux.

June 24, they raised the Pole Antartick 36 Deg. at which time their Longitude from the *Lizard* was 25 Deg. within three Min. In *England* it was then Mid-summer, but there Mid-winter, being near the *Antipodes*.

July 7: Betimes in the Morning they discovered by the *Sargasso*, or Sea-Weeds they saw afloat, they were near the Cape, which they discried next Morning, tho' 60 Miles distant, being an high Land: but the Wind not favouring them, they could not reach it, but cast their Anchor 14 Leagues short of *Soldania*-Bay, before a small Isle call'd *Coney*-Isle, so called from the abundance of those Creatures found there, and that larger than Cats, but strong Meat. Here are also found about this Island an abundance of Pengwins, or white Birds from their Colour. These Birds of all other go the most exact in their motion, their Wings or Fins hanging down like Sleeves, covered with down instead of Feathers, their Legs being of more use to them than their Wings; they feed on Fish at Sea and Grass on Shoar, and have Holes in the Earth to live in like Coneys. They are a degenerate Duck, using both Sea and Land, the one to breed in and the other to feed in. They are very oily and fat, and some adventure to eat them, but not wisely.

Coney-Isle.

Pengwins for their form. *Vide Fig.* 4.

Seals, or Sea-Calves.

On these Coasts are also great numbers of Seals or Sea-Calves, called *Pisces Marini*, as big as the greatest sort of Mastives, and something like them in visage, but their barking is like the bellowing of Bulls. They also are amphibious Animals, and equally use the Land and Water; and tho' they are easily kill'd if one interpose between them and the Sea, yet being past one, they have such an Art of casting back Stones upon their Pursuers, that they endanger them. They are too oily to be good Food, but their Skins being tanned, are very useful.

Whales.

Leaving this Isle, they came to another called *Pengwin*-Isle, from the multitude of those Birds. In their way they saw many Whales sporting in the Ocean, and in wantonness fuzzing up the Water thro' their Pipes and Vents, which nature has placed on their Shoulders: Some they guessed to be 60 Foot long from head to tail, their Heads being well neigh a fourth, their Mouths being little less than ten Foot wide, and their Tongue proportionable; but their Eyes no bigger than an Apple: their Body is thick and round, and the Savages eat them, but Merchants covet them for profit, one usually affording twelve Tun of Oyl. They engender by applying Belly to Belly, and bring forth but one at a Birth, like Elephants.

Soldania Bay described.

July the first, they came to an Anchor in *Soldania-Bay*, so call'd from *Antonio Soldania*, a *Portugueze*: It is 12 Leagues short of the Cape of *Good Hope*, of a semicircular form, both large and safe, and affords good Anchorage: The Land near the Shoar is low and fruitful, but five Miles from the Cape it is mountainous and barren, and from the Hills 'tis easy to see to the end of the Cape, as also the Capes *False* and *D' Aguilles*, which are separated from each other by large Bays, but inconvenient to anchor in. From these Mountains descends a small but pleasant Stream of sweet Water into the Bay of *Soldania*, which is very refreshing to the Bowels of the Sea-men in these hot Countries.

Africa described.

The whole Country of *Africk* is a Peninsula, join'd to the Continent by an Isthmus of Land of 20 Leagues, which divides the *Red-Sea* from the Mediterranean. The Equinoctial-Line divides it into two parts, the inward and outward, as *Homer* calls them, but as others, the greater and lesser, which are either of them near as big as *Europe*. In length it runs from North to South, from *Tangier* (called anciently *Julia Traducta*, and *Tingis Cæsaria*, from whence that part of *Mauritania* is called *Tingitana*) to the Cape *de Bona Speranze*, from the 35 Deg. 50 Min. Northern Latitude, to the 34 Deg. Southern, 4200 Miles; and in breath, from Cape *Verd* in the Atlantick Ocean, to Cape *Guardefu* in *Ethiopia* near the *Red-Sea*, 2000. The name *Africa* is taken either from *Apher*, one of the posterity of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*, or from ἀ. & φρικὴ, cold, because it feels no Winter, as other Countries do. The *Hebrews* call it *Cham* and *Chus*. *Leo* divides it into four parts; *Barbary*, *Numidia*, *Libya*, and *Nigritarum terra*: To which we must add *Ethiopia*, which contains the biggest half of *Africa*, as well as *Asia*; for it comprehended the three *Arabia's* and *India*. That in *Africk* is divided into the Superior, which stretcheth from the Æquator to *Egypt* on the North, the *Red-Sea* on the East, and *Libya* on the West; and the Inferior, which extends it self from the Æquinoctial Southerly to the Cape of *Good Hope*, being on the East and West circumscribed by the Ocean. This famous Cape elevates the Antarctick Pole 34 Deg. and 3 Min. Latitude, 28 Longitude, from the Meridian of the Lizzard, and 48 from the Azores. From the Land's-end of *Cornwall* 'tis 6600 *English* Miles, from the greater *Java* 5550, from *Surat* 5400, and from St. *Helena*, which is S. E. from it, 1800. This Cape was first discovered by *Vasco de Gama* or *Bartholomeos de Dyas*, an eminent *Portugueze*, in 1497, several Years before *Columbus's* Expedition.

The Cape of Good Hope.

The Soil about it is exceeding good, being covered at all times with Grass, and diapered with Flowers and Herbs, as Agrimony, Betony, Mint, Calamint, Sorrel, Scabious, Spinage, Thyme, Cardus Benedictus, Coloquintida, and many others.

The Herbs.

The Rivers yield variety of Fish, as Trouts, Pyke, Pickerel, Tench, and Eels; Shelfish, as Crabs, Lobsters, Rock-fish, Craw-fish, Cockles, Muscles, Lympit, and Tortoises, which are small, but curiously coloured, very good Oysters, Thorn-backs, Gudgeons, and other Sea-fish, which are taken at the Flood in the fresh Water.

Fish.

The Mountains are not without Marchasits and Minerals, but they are to be gained only by close search.

Mines.

The Country affords also plenty of Beasts of divers sorts, as Buffalo's, large Cows with bunched Backs, Sheep with long Ears like Hounds, red Dear, Antelopes as large as Stags, Apes and Baboons of extraordinary sizes and colours, Lions, Panthers, Pards, Jackalls, Wolves, Dogs, Cats, Hares, Zebræ or Pide-Horses, Elephants, Camels, Unicorns.

Beasts.

Great store of Birds, as Hens, Geese, Turkeys, Pengwins, Crows, Gulls, Thrushes, Phesants, Pelicans, Storks, Ostriches, Pintado's, Altatraces, Vultures, Eagles, Cranes, Cormorants, or Sea-Crows, which have so quick a smell, that after Battles they will scent the Carkasses many Miles. Here are also store of those beautiful Birds call'd *Pasche-Flemingo's*, but by the *Arabians Rachamia*, whose Feathers are crimson and white, as pure as can be imagined.

Birds.

Pasche-Flemingo's. *Vide* Fig. 5.

The Natives are propogated from *Cham*, and inherit his Curse; their Stature is mean, their Colour blackish, their Faces very thin, but well proportionate in their Limbs, which they pink and cut in several shapes, as their Fancies lead them for Ornament; their Heads are commonly long, their Hair wooly and crisp. Some shave all their Heads, others half, and others leave only a Tuft on the Crown for ornament, but most adorn their Heads instead of shaving, with Spur-rowels, Brass Buttons, pieces of Pewter, Beads of several sorts, which they get of the Saylers for Mutton, Beef, Herbs, Ostriches Eggs, and Tortoise-shells. About their Arms and Legs they wear Chains of Copper, Brass, and Iron, with pieces of Ivory, and about their Necks they wear the raw Guts of Beasts, which they also eat; the rest of their Body is naked, save that about their Waste they have a Thong of Leather, which like the back of a Glove, serves to cover their *Pudenda*. The better sort wear Lions and Panthers Skins, as also Leopards, Baboons, Calf or Sheep Skins, with their Hair turned inward: Upon their Feet they wear a Sole, or piece of Leather tied with a little strap, which they hold in their Hands while they sit, that they may steal with their Feet, which they will do very dextrously, while they look you in the Face, and think it no Crime. Some of them are Semi-Eunuchs, and some Women use Excision.

The People. *Vide* Fig. 6.

Their Ornaments.

Their Complexion.

Their Cloathing.

They live in Caves, eat Locusts with Salt, and will rifle the Graves to feed on the dead Bodies: They neither roast

Their Habitation and Diet.

roast nor boil any thing, but devour every thing raw, as dead Whales, Seals, Pengwins, Geese, and raw Puddings, which they eat for great Dainties. Such as thro' old age or sickness, are not able to provide for themselves, they leave them upon the Mountains destitute of help, where if Famine and Cold do not destroy them, the wild Beasts do. Their Women are delivered without any trouble or pain, and they give their Children suck over their Shoulders.

The origin of the name.

Their Language is rather apishly than articulately sounded, and 'tis thought they have unnatural Copulation with those Beasts, with whom and *Baboons* their Women familiarly converse.

They have no knowledge of God, nor any spark of Devotion, no symptome of Heaven or Hell, no place set apart for worship, nor any Sabbath for rest.

They have little Art in War; their Weapon is commonly an Azaguay or Javelin, headed with Iron, directed by Feathers, which they can take on and off at pleasure. They have no Letters, Faith, or Law, living like wild Beasts for Ignorance, like Devils for Mischief, and like Dogs for Poverty.

The Devil's Bird.

July the 19th, they weighed Anchor, bending their Course to *Madagascar*; but in doubling the Cape they met with a storm, (foretold by the flight of a small long-winged black Bird (unjustly by Sea-men called the Devil's Bird) which being a kind of natural Astrologer, seldom appears, but against stormy Weather, of which it has so quick a sense, that it foretels the least alteration of the Air) that they could not arrive at it till the 28th day.

Madagascar described.

Madagascar, which by the *Arabians* is called *Sazandib*; by *Ptolemy*, *Menuthyas*; by *Mercator*, *Do Cerne*; and *Insula Santi Georgii*, is questionless the greatest Island in the World, being in length, from Cape *Roma*, in the S. S. W. to St. *Sebastian* in the N. N. E. no less than 1000 Miles, and in breadth, in the narrowest place, 100.

The Soil.

The Air is temperate, save when the Sun is in or near the *Zenith*. The Soil is in most places luxuriant, because they have Rain every Week, and Winds continually, either from the Mountains in the Morning, or Ocean in the Afternoon, by which means the Ground is fitted for Seed and Fruit.

Wood.

It produces much Wood, and particularly Ebony, and 'tis thought that there is Gold in the Inland parts of it.

Fish.

The Rivers abound with Fish, and it wants not reasonable good Roads and Harbours for Ships to ride in; pity it is that so noble and populous a place should be still uncivil, and corrupted with Heathenism and Mahometanism.

The Towns known.

The maritime Towns are only known to us, as *Roma*, *Augustine*, *Antabasta*, *S. Jacobo*, *Matatana*, *Angoda*, *Ferendo*, *Formosa*, *Antongil*, and *Fangomar*; but *Augustine* Bay under the Tropick, and *Antongil* on the East side, afford the best Anchorage. It was lately governed by four Kings, who were very jealous of each other's greatness. The maritime Towns profess the *Mahometan* Religion, and the mid-land Heathenism.

Their Punishments.

They punish Murder with death, Adultery with publick shame, and Theft with banishment. Those that live by the Sea love fishing more than Tillage. The People are generally strong, active, and couragious, and the Men delight much in warlike Actions, using Targets to defend their naked Bodies, and for offensive Weapons, a long *Azaguay* or Launce, barbed with Iron, kept bright, and poisoned, which they know how to throw as well as any People in the Universe.

Their Complexion.

They are black, never shading their Bodies from the parching Sun, only anointing them with Grease and Tallow to keep them from cracking; proud to see their Flesh shine, and never being offended at the stink: Their Hair is black, long, and curled, the length is an ornament: They have only a few Leaves plated together about their Waste, otherwise they go naked. Their Ears are bored, and wide enough; they pink and cut their Flesh; the Men seek Prey abroad, while the Women sit at home and spin.

Bigamy.

Bigamy is allowed, and they marry very early; the Youth at twelve, and the Maids at ten Years old. They are delighted with Sports and Novelties, Hunting, Hawking, Fishing and Dancing, in which the Men use divers windings and turnings, beating and clapping their Breasts and Hands, while the Women with savage harmony, play with their Hands and Eyes, and observe a measure.

Their Learning.

Till of late they knew not Letters, but now necessity has taught them a little Arithmetick. Their Language ever since they have embrac'd the *Mahometan* Religion, is mix'd with *Arabick*, but most on the Sea-Coast. This Isle is rich in Minerals and Marchasites, Gold, Silver, Iron, and Copper, Agates, Heliotropes, and Jaspers, are good Commodities in this Isle, but that which is more valuable with them, than the Diamonds and Pearls are in *India*, are long, red, Cornelian Beads, *Hanangua* they call them: they hang them in their Hair, and as Chains about their Necks, being then so brave in their own Opinion, that all other Ornaments seem needless to them. They have also a great esteem for Bracelets, Copper, Chains, Bells, Babyes, and Triangular Glasses for which they'll give you in exchange Big tail'd Sheep, Buffalo's, big-boned, fat, and Camel back'd Antilopes, red Deer, Leopards, Pards, Goats Milk, Hens Eggs, Wheat, Barley, Rice, and Cuscas, with what Fruit ou like, as Oranges, Limons, Lymes, Pome-citrons, Plantanes, Sugar-Canes, Ginger, Toddy, Coco's, &c.

Cornelian Beads.

Their Beasts.

Here are also Lizzards and Cameleons, which is a lean deformed Beast. It is an old opinion, that it feeds upon the Air, but it is an errour, for they lick up Flies, Beetles, and the like, very dextrously.

Cameleons.

Salamanders also are found in this Isle; they are a sort of Lizard, extream cold by Nature, and will like Ice endure the Fire for some time, yet put it out if it be little, but a great fire will burn them, as we know by experience: they lie in moist and shady places, and seldom appear but before a Storm; their Teeth and Tongues are venomous, but their Flesh may be eaten without danger.

Salamanders.

Departing from *Madagascar*, they steered N. E. E. with a design to reach *Mobelia*, and nine Leagues from it, one of their Men took a Shark nine Foot and half long. This ravenous Man-eating Fish (which is also called the *Hayn* or *Tuscion*) is armed with a double row of venomous Teeth, directed by a little Rhomb-us or Musculus, variously streaked and painted with blew and white, that sends to and fro to bring the Shark intelligence of a Prey, for which service the Shark will suffer him to suck when he pleaseth. These Fish are very noxious to Sea-men, who in calms love to sport and refresh themselves in the Sea with swimming, and are sometimes devoured by this greedy Monster, and sometimes suffer the loss of a Member. This Fish has a peculiar Nature: 'tis reported of it that it doth not spawn like other Fishes, but whelps like Bitches, and their Off-spring is very numerous; for in this they found when it was opened, 55 young ones, every Fish a foot long, and in Storms and dark Nights they will receive their young ones into their Bellies to secure them.

The Shark, his nature described.

In their way they passed by a Charibdis; in 21 Deg. variation 13, and 17 Min. called *Mascarena*, and were cast upon the Shoals of *Mozambique*. Experience teacheth us, that from the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Current sets strong Westward; and that from the Cape *Corientes* to the Equinoctial Line, the *African* Shoar is for the most part called *Melinde*. Upon the Coast are store of Fruits, Corn, Minerals, Flowers, Plants, Herbs, and Cattle of all sorts, and in plenty.

A Caribdis.

Among the rest are store of wild Hogs, which the Natives, if not *Mahometans*, hunt and eat, for their Flesh is exceeding dainty, and in their Maw they often find a Stone, which is in great request, because it is a very soveraign Medicine against poyson, and many other Maladies; this Virtue (as is supposed) proceeding from their feeding on the Herbs and Drugs, which the Earth brings forth there in great plenty and variety.

Wild Hogs.

As they passed along, they met with several dangerous Isles, as *John de Novo*, *Primero*, and others. Under the 17 Deg. 17 Min. Latitude, and 20 Deg. 20 Min. Longitude, the Current sets South-west, and they came to the Peninsula of *Mozambique*, which is a Port of the great Kingdom of *Zanquebar*, and not far from the Cape or Promontory, call'd by *Ptolomy Prasum*, between which and the Cape *Raptum*, the People in his time were Man-eaters, as the Negroes are at this day. This Country affords the best of Merchandises, as Gold, Silver, Elephants-Teeth, and Ambergreale: The *Portugueses*, who have conquer'd all these Coasts as far as the *East-Indies*, have a Fort of good strength here, as they have many Towns and fortified places all along those Coasts, where they have several Colonies. In these Seas are great numbers of Dolphins, which is a Fish incredibly swift, and quick-sighted, but no bigger than a Salmon. It glitters in the Ocean with variety of beautiful Colours, has few scales. It much affects the Company of Men, and are always constant to their Mates. They generate by Sperm, and are nourished like Men; embrace, join, and go with young ten Months; so tenderly affected to their Parents, that when they are 300 years old, they feed and defend them against hungry Fishes, and

Mozambique.

Dolphins.

and when dead, to avoid the Shark and other voracious Fish, carry them athoar and bury them: they were glad of the company of these Ships, and pursued them many hundred Miles.

The Isles of Comoro.

Six Leagues from this Land, N. E. is one of the Isles of *Chamro*, called *Moyotte*, seated North of *Madagascar*, and by it are four more, which bear the same name, but are call'd particularly *Mcotta*, *Joanna*, *Mohelia*, and *Gazidia*. Each of them is very serviceable for refreshing Sea-men, in that they abound with delicate Fruits and Cattle, which they sell at easie rates. None of them are above an hundred Miles in compass.

Chamro.

Chamro is the highest and best Land, and is full of Palmeto-Trees; but the People are perfidious; for some *English-men* being invited a-shoar by them out of the Ship *Penelope*, for Water and other Refreshments, were treacherously slain by the Inhabitants.

Joanna.

Joanna is inhabited by a better People, that may be trusted, and governed by a King, tho' something tyrannical. About this Isle are Sea-Tortoises, which differ not much from the Land, but their Shells are something flatter: By overturning them they are easily taken, but their Flesh is waterish, and causes Fluxes. They have neither Tongue, nor Teeth, superabound in Eggs, some of them having near 2000, pale and round, and not easily made hard by much boiling. They cover their Eggs by the Sand, and the Sun hatcheth them; such as have strong Appetites will eat them, but there can be no prevailing motive to it but famine or novelty.

Sea-Tortoises.

The *Mannatee*, or Cow-Fish, is also found in these Seas: It is good Meat, because using the Shoar it hath a flesh taste, resembling Veal, which also it shews like; the Face is like a shrivelled Buffalo or Cow, the Eyes are small and round, and has hard Gums instead of Teeth; the Intrals also are like a Cow's: there is a Stone generated in the Head, which is very valuable, being a soveraign remedy (as some report) against Cholick, Stone-Cholick, and Dysentery, being beat small, infused in Wine, and drunk fasting: the Body of this Fish is three Yards long and one broad, thick-skinned, and without Scales, narrow towards the Tail, which is very nervous, slow in swimming, because it wants Fins, in liew of which it has two Paps, which it can use either to suckle its young withal, or creep ashoar, where it grazes, and where it delights to lie and sleep; for it can't keep half an Hour under Water. It is very teachable and apt to be made tame, being famed like the Lizzard for their love to Man, whose Face they delight to look upon, and in weakness have refreshed them.

The *Mannatee*, or Cow-fish.

A Physical Stone.

The Carvel or Sea-Spider.

The Carvell, or Sea-Spider floats upon the Surface of the Ocean like a Foam, is of a globous form, throw abroad her strings like so many Lines, which she can spread at pleasure, and angle with them for small Fish, which by them she catches; when she finds her Web too weak, she blows an infectious breath, and seems armed with such a Sting, as if she had borrowed it of the Scorpion.

Mahelia describ'd.

September the 11th, they came to an Anchor on the West side of *Mahelia*, a Bow-shot from a small Village of Straw, called *Meriangny*, governed by a *Sha-Bander*, named *Alicusary*, a black big-boned Man, and a *Mahometan* by profession, sly and crafty in bartering Victuals and Fruits for Commodities. *Mohelia* lies in 12 Deg. 15 Min. Southern Latitude, and 24 Deg. Longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of *Good Hope*: It is about 60 Miles in compass: the Coasts rise gently, but the Inlands are mountainous and woody. The Villages lie dispersed up and down the Country, but the Houses are thatched with Reeds and Straw, fitted to the Torrid Zone. The Inhabitants are a mixture of *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, who worship the Sun chiefly. The *Portugueze* have lately preached Christianity here, but have but few Proselytes: they call their King *Sultan*: their Language is a mixture of *Arabick* and *Portugueze*: the People are perfectly black as a Raven, which proceeds, as some think, from the heat of the Sun, drawing the Blood to the outward parts; others from the Soil, and others from the Seed, which they say, is black; but whether from any of these or no, is uncertain. The *Mohelians* have big Lips, flat Noses, sharp Chins, and large Limbs.

The Houses and Inhabitants.

Their Cloathing.

They content themselves with *Adam*'s Guarb, a few Leaves to cover their shame, but cut and pink the Skins of their Face, Arms, and Thighs for ornament, striving to exceed each other in variety. Our Habit and white Complexion is as strange to them, as their blackness and nakedness is to us.

The *Meccan Zealots* have here a few poor Moskes, made of Straw and Bambo's without, but matted neatly within, and none may enter them with their Shoes on.

Moskes.

They deal some of them at least in Magick, as we had a proof in one, who in a storm of Thunder and Rain, stood trembling, and now and then lifting up his Hands and Eyes, muttered certain words, then leaping up in a kind of rapture, unsheathed a long Knife, and having brandished it about his Head seven or eight times, and muttering some words every time, put it up again, then kissed the Earth three times, and then he arose, and on a sudden the Sky cleared, and there was no more Rain.

Magick.

Two Kings command this Isle, called *Phancomal* and *Synal-bey*, the one a Native, the other an *Arabian*, both made great by their Wives, the Daughters of *Sultan Sheriph Booboocharee* and *Nannagalla*, who with their Husbands, live in continual defiance of one another. The People are long-liv'd, the Fruits are excellent, and the Air tolerable.

The Kings.

Tobacco grows here plentifully, and is of good account, tho' weak and leafy, they take it in long Pipes of Canes: As the *Irish* and *Spaniards* use sneezing Powder, so do these Savages *Aroua*, which resembles the Nutmeg, and being rowled up in Leaves of Betel, which are like our Ivy, and mixed with a chalky substance, made of burnt Oyster-shells, they chew it almost continually, and find it very good in the operation; for it discolours their white Teeth to a pure crimson, perfumes the Breath, kills Worms, intoxicates the Brain, dries Rheums, helps Nature, and begets an Apperite.

Tobacco.

This Isle produceth many useful things, as Buffalo's, Goats, Turtles, Hens, huge Bats, Cameleons, Rice, Pease, Cuscas, Honey, and the Sea Breams, Cavallo's, Oysters, Mother of Pearl, and good Pearl, Toddy, Coco's, Plantain, Oranges, Limons, Lymes, Pome-Citrons, Anana's, Cucumbers, Sugar-Canes, Tamarinds, and red *Indian* Dates. In fine, 'tis always verdant, the daily Rains and Breezes cooling their Heats, and making a perpetual Summer.

Three sorts of Fruit are very remarkable in this Isle: First, The Plantain is a Fruit in taste and odour second to none, and covered with a broad Leaf. It hangs in clusters like Beans upon a Branch or Stalk; the shape is long and round, much like a Sausage. If you peel off the Rind, the Fruit appears of a Gold yellow, and is relished like a *Windsor* Pear, so delicious, that it melts in ones Mouth, leaving a delightful gust. 'Tis good for Urine, but bad for Fluxes, if it meets with crude Stomachs; and if liberally eaten, despose to Dysenteries. Secondly, The Coco, another excellent Fruit, is covered with a thick Rind, and is equal in bigness to a Cabbage: the Shell resembles a dead Man's skull, a mark of Eyes, Nose, and Mouth being easily discerned on it: It yields a quart of Liquor, coloured like new White-wine, but of a far more aromatick taste: the Meat or kernel, like other Nuts, cleaves to the Shell, and is not easily parted; the Pith or Meat is above an Inch thick, and better relished than our Philberts; and one of them affords enough to fill the Bellies of two reasonable Men. The Tree, which is streight and lofty, having no Branches, but a Plume at top, beautified with these large Nuts, is good timber, and of it they make Canoes, Masts and Anchors. The Rind is dressed like Flax, and serves for Sails, Mats, Cables, and Linen; the Shell for Furniture, as Dishes and Vessels, the Leaves for covering of Tents and tiling Houses. Thirdly, The Toddy-tree is like the Date or Palm; the Wine called Toddy is got by wounding and piercing the Tree, and putting a Jar or Pitcher under it, so as the Liquor may drop into it. At the top it has a Pulp, which being boiled, eats like a Cauly Flower, but being cropped, the Tree dies, because the Life of the Tree seems to consist in it. These Trees (like Dates) thrive not, except at some certain time the flowering Male and Female be united, or grow near to each other. Toddy for colour resembles Whey, but tastes like Rhenish; at the first drinking 'tis unpleasant, but seems to taste better and better every draught: A little makes Men merry, and much inebriates: In the Morning it is found laxative, in the Evening costive, and at Mid-night dangerous. These Fruits and all other things are easily purchased; they'l give 30 Oranges or Limons for a Sheet of Paper, ten Coco-nuts for two Sheets, an Ox for a Piece of Eight, and a Goat for six pence.

The Plantain-tree.

The Coco-Tree.

The Toddy-Tree.

Ships and Boats they have none, but Cano's, hewed out of one Tree, yet capable to hold three Men; if they sink, they help themselves by swimming.

The Figure of the Cano's, Fig. 7.

September

September the 15th, they took their leave of *Mobelia* with a fair Gale, and in four days came within four Deg. of the Æquinoctial.

On *September* the 19th, at Night the Sea about them seemed as white as Snow, contrary to the usual colour, which is azure or blew, but from what cause our Author could not guess. The next day they had the Sun on their *Zenith*, and coasted along the rich and famous part of South *Africa*, called *Soffala*, part of *Ægysimba*, where the *Portugueze* have a considerable Fort and Castle to awe the *Negro's*: this Country has store of Gold.

Upon these Coasts lie the Isles of *Mombassa*, *Megadoxo*, *Zanzibar*, *Pata*, and *Brava*, places very hot sometimes, because the Equinoctial cuts them. The Shoar from them tends to *Barnegasso*, a Port, once under the great *Neguz*, who till of late, held all that tract of Land from Cape *Guardefue* to *Suachem* in the *Red-Sea*. This Prince, who is called by the Christians generally *Presbyter-John*, by the *Moors Asici Abessi*, and by his own People *Aceque* or *Neguz*, is supposed in power not to be inferiour to the greatest Prince of the World. He is said to be able to raise 100000 Men for War, and to be of such Wealth, that he offered the *Portugueze* a Million of Gold to aid him against his Adversaries. His Dominion extends as far as *Nubia* and the Confines of *Egypt* Northward; to the *Red-Sea* and *Barlarick* Gulph, as far as *Ajaman* and *Dangali* Eastward; Kingdoms of *Æthiopia Exterior*, to the *Montes Lunæ*, Southward; and as far as *Nilus*, *Niger*, and *Manicongo*, the two greatest Rivers of *Africa*, Westward: So that this Empire consists of 70 tributary and subordinate Kingdoms, and reaches from one Tropick to the other. He is said to be descended of *Maqueda*, the Queen of *Sheba*, which gave *Solomon* so kind a visit, and brought home to her Subjects the *Jewish* Religion, in which they continued, till Queen *Candaces* Eunuch, brought them home the Christian, in which they were farther instructed and confirmed (as is said) by *Thomas* the Apostle, and continue in that Profession to this day. His Country is in the most unpleasant and scorching part of *Afrike*, of which the greatest part is rowling Sands, which permit no Foundations of Towns or long Stations, and therefore he and his People lead a vagrant course of Life, and dwell in Tents after the old *Numidian* manner, which makes some question his Power or Courage, that he will be penn'd up in so bad a Country, and not by his Arms make way for a better Habitation for Himself and Subjects, or at least preserve his Ports for Traffick and Correspondence with other Christian Princes, which he has not of late done; for the Savages have taken from him all his Ports, and command upon the *Ægisymbar* Coasts in *Ethiopia Interior*, from the Kingdom of *Adell* to Cape *Guardefue*; and *Sultan Solyman* has expelled him from *Ercoco* and *Suachem*, his only Ports upon the *Red-Sea*.

Coming under the 8 Deg. the *Manzoon* became adverse to them, and their Ships cut their way slowly, tho' securely, thro' the Waves, till at length passing by the Cape of *Babelmandel*, they came to the Isle of *Socotora*, in the Mouth of the *Red-Sea*, where they waited for a favourable Gale.

Socotora is an Isle well known to former Ages, to some by the Names of *Diesionda* and *Succaba*, but *Pliny* calls it *Topazo* from the great plenty of Topaze found there. It lies in 13 Deg. Northern Latitude, and is about 15 Leagues long and ten broad: It lies nearest *Afrike*, but belongs to *Arabia Felix*. It affords plenty of all things for the sustenance of the Inhabitants, as Corn, Fruit, and Cattle, as also Olives, Coco's, Dates, Pistacho's, Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Pomecitrons, Melons, Sugar-Canes, and the like Fruits. It produces also the best Aloes, called by the *Spaniards Semper vivum*, and *Sanguis Draconum*, or Dragon's Blood, which is a Gum produced by a small Tree, at certain Scissures made in it for that end. Civet-Cats are also bred here, and tho' they sell the Civet cheap, yet the plenty of it enriches the Owners. The Inhabitants are a mixture of Christians and *Mahometans*, their Complexions black, the Sun twice every Year darting his Rays perpendicularly upon them, and then no place in the World is hotter. They are reasonably civil by Nature, and are said to be a Colony planted there by *Alexander* the Great, by the advice of *Aristotle* his Master, who met him there, when he was returning from *Judea* to *Babylon*.

That they were early converted to Christianity, tho' by whom is not known, is certain by Ecclesiastical History, but they were infected with the Errors of the Nestorians and Jacobites, which last use both Circumcision and Baptism. Their Churches express no less, being built in the form of a Cross. They had a Patriarch resident among them till of late, and now they have other Clergy, whom they reverence, and chearfully pay their Tyths to them, by whom they are instructed in the worship of God, and how to observe both Fasts and Festivals: they highly reverence their Elders: Humility is both commended and commanded. Second Marriage (except where there is no issue) are disallowed. In Baptism they use the sign of the Cross, and partake of both Elements the in Sacrament. They wash their Dead, and being wound up in clean Linnen, bury them, with their Heads towards *Jerusalem*, but shew little signs of Mourning. *John de Castro* for many Days found it high water here at the Moon's rising, and as the Moon ascended, the Tides decreased; so as it was low water when the Moon was highest, contrary to the Effects of it observed in other places.

Aden, a Town upon the *Arabian* Continent, lying in 12 Deg. 35 Min. Northern Latitude, may be seen from this Isle: 'Tis likely to be the place called *Eden* in *Ezekiel*, c. 27. 23. This, tho' it be a much frequented Road, is none of the best; for at the Change it flows not above eight Foot water, tho' a S. E. or N. W. Moon makes a full Sea. The Town is low in its situation, and sulphuriously shaded by the high and barren Mountain of *Cobolarte*, whose brazen Front miserably scorches the Country. The Sea so compasses it, as to make a Chersonese. The Circuit of the Town is large enough, but built thinly; and the Inhabitants shew a discontent at their *Turkish* slavery. *Osorius* and *Munster* describe it as a place of great Commerce and Magnificence, but now no signs of either are to be seen. The Castle is the most noted Building in it: It is built near the Sea to command the Road, and the situation of it is strong, which is also much augmented by those many Pieces of Cannon which are planted on the Bulwarks, having withal a large Graft and Counterscarp, only to be entred by a very narrow Path; so that one would think it prepared to secure all the Treasure of *Asia*, whereas within are nothing but Souldiers and Ammunition to secure the *Turkish* Government, and extort Contributions from all those South Parts of *Ajaman*.

Being now in the *Red-Sea*, our Author gives us this account of it, and says, That tho' 'tis probable that it might take its name either from the Country of *Edom*, on which it borders, for *Edom* signifies Red; or from an ancient King named *Erythreus*, who reign'd and had a long Residence hereabouts, tho' his Tomb is erected near *Ormu*, in the Isle *Tinria*, at the other end of *Arabia Felix*; yet that Derivation which some give it from the red Sand, or Sea-weed, called *Sargasse*, floating there, is not without some colour or shew of reason; for the Sand, especially when the Sun visits the Antipodes, gives a ruddy Reflection; and it is observed, that from *Suachem* (a noted Town on the *Ethiopic* side) to *Alcozar*, which is an hundred Leagues, the Water is shoal, and by reason of the plenty of red Coral found there, seems to have a reddish tincture. It is accounted 1000 *English* Miles from Cape *Guardefu* to *Suez* in length: but 'tis narrow; for at *Guardefue* 'tis but 80 Miles broad; and at the Streight between *Aden* and *Zeila*, the breadth is but 18 Miles, where 'tis said the *Ægyptian* Monarchy of o'd hung a Chain a-cross to stop the Passage into the Gulph, as *Strabo* relates: but the *Red-Sea* in its largest use, extends to the *Indian* Shore. 'Tis a shoal and dangerous, except in the middle of the Channel, where the greatest Vessels in fair weather may sail boldly.

Formerly there were upon the Shore of it, sundry famous Ports and Harbours, *Zyhe*, *Sabar*, *Alcozar*, *Suachem*, *Masua*, *Daliaqua*, *Old Philoteras*, *Theram*, and *Zeyla*, on the *Æthiopick* Shore; and *Toro*, *Elana*, or *Eloth*, *Petra*, *Eziongebar* on the *Arabian*; yet now *Mecha* is most traded to.

At *Pihahiroth*, which is between *Toro* and *Suez*, is yet shewn the places where *Moses* first entred into the *Red-Sea* and *Petra*, which the *Hebrews* call *Jachshut*, now *Arach* is the place where *Ruth* was born, and is branded for base ingratitude to their Princess *Cleopatra*, because the People set on fire those Ships, which she had with great pains haled to *Suez* from the *Nile*, in order to make her escape with M. *Anthony* by the *Red-Sea* into the *East-Indies*, after the Victory of *Naupactum* or *Actium*. From *Suez* to the *Nile* is not above 15 Leagues; from *Grand Cairo* to *Toro* five days easy travel. The Isthmus between the Mediterranean and *Red-Sea* is not above 80 Miles; and tho' several Kings of *Egypt*, as *Sesostris* I. then *Darius*, and after some of the *Ptolemyes* made several Attempts to cut a free Passage for Ships thro' it, and shorten the Voyage to the *Indies*, yet they could not effect it, tho' the Country is low and very fit for it; but God, who has set the Ocean its bounds, would not suffer Man to enlarge its Limits.

Æthiopia Interior described.

The warm part of *Æthiopia Interior* being the neareſt of the *Troglodites* Country, by moſt called *Æthiopia ſub Ægypto*, and lying on the Weſt-ſide of the Red-Sea, was (as ſome ſay) firſt planted by *Chus* the Son of *Cham*, after his departure out of *Arabia*, but (as others hold) by *Sheba* the Son of *Rhegma*; the air is extremely hot while the Sun is vertical, which inſtructs the Inhabitants to ſeek that ſhade, and take up their Habitations under ground, for their Country extends 20 deg. on each ſide the Line. From the Red-Sea towards the Weſt, for above 600 Miles, 'tis full of Hills, and towards the Eaſt barren, the Midland being covered with a looſe Sand, which makes it unpaſſable.

The Ports.

Upon the Banks of the Red-Sea, on this ſide theſe Towns, have formerly been Ports, *viz. Zoyley, Suachen, Maſua, Toeran*, and ſome others, and were much frequented by the *Ægyptian* Merchants, and others; but ſince the principal Marts have been tranſlated to *Goa* and *Ormus*, *Mertin* and *Aden*, on the oppoſite Coaſt, are moſt frequented.

Never ſubdued.

This Country, whether through its poverty, or Natural ſtrength, was never ſubdued either by the *Ægyptian* Kings their Neighbours, or any of the four great Monarchies; *Cambyſſes* indeed, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, ſent them Earth and Water by their Embaſſadors, as Symbo's of their Subjection to them, but they returned them with ſcorn, as knowing that thoſe Monarchs cou'd not enter their Countries with any advantage to themſelves.

The Trade to *Ophir* for Gold.

The firſt Commerce that we find upon the Red-Sea was began by *Solmon*, who traded from *Ezion-gaber* to *Ophir* for Gold, but the King of *Edom* revolting from *Reboboam* this Trade was diſcontinued, till *Jehoſhaphat* ſubdued it again; and then he built a Navy to renew that Traffick, but it was ſhipwrack'd in the Haven, becauſe he took *Ahaziah* King of *Iſrael* for his Partner, and *Amaziah* loſing *Edom* again, this trade for Gold was laid aſide for above 300 Years, till *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, about 270 Years before Chriſt, revived this *Ophirian* Trade, which continued under his Succeſſors to their great advantage, for the *Ægyptian* Fleet was uſually 120 Veſſels great and ſmall, and tho' it was a two Years Voyage, yet the return was ſutable, for the Fleet brought in ſeven Millions of Gold, and the gain to the Exchequer was *communibus annis* 1200000 Crowns.

When *Julius Cæſar*, and after him *Auguſtus*, had reduc'd *Ægypt* to a Province, 'tis probable the Golden Trade was ſtill continued: but when the *Arabians* and *Goths*, from adverſe Quarters, like Inundations overflowed moſt part of the Univerſe, and eclipſed even the *Roman* Greatneſs, the *Indian* Trade ceaſed, and was little uſed by the *Conſtantinopolitan* Emperors; being wreſted from them by *Omar* the firſt Caliph of *Babylon*, it was removed from place to place, till being brought to *Damaſcus* and *Aleppo*, the *Venetians* Monopoliz'd it for ſome time, to the great enriching of their Seigniory. But *Vaſco de Gama*, in 1497. having diſcover'd a paſſage into the *Indies*, by compaſſing *Africk*, the *Venetians* were forced to leave it to the *Portugueſe*, *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, who now enjoy it.

The hotteſt Countries in the World.

October 18. the Wind being fair, they found themſelves by Obſervation in 17 deg. Northern Latitude, and 19 Longitude, from *Mobelia*. The Weather here is extremely hot, ſo that it puts Men into Calentures; for in the Summer Solſtice, the places about the Red-Sea and *Perſian* Gulph are the hotteſt in the World, for the Earth equally inflames as the Air.

Flying Fiſhes, *vide* their form, Fig. 8.

October 26. being in 20 deg. Longitude, the Calm Weather increaſing the heat, they diverted themſelves in viewing large ſhoals of flying Fiſhes, which by their multitude riſing together out of the Sea, darkened the Body of the Sun. 'Tis a Fiſh beautiful to the Eye, but the Body is no larger than that of a ſmall Herring, but having large Fins, it makes uſe of them as Wings to avoid the purſuit of Sharks, Dolphins, Boneto's, Albicores, and other ravenous Fiſhes. They can fly no longer than their Fins are wet, but in that time will mount up 40 foot high, and fly 200 paces. But while they eſcape their Water-enemies, they often fall into the mouths of others, which they meet with in the Air, for uſually Oſprays, Sea-Vultures, and other Birds of prey, purſue, and ſometimes take them. True Emblems of Miſery, who no ſooner eſcape one danger, but they fall into another.

A Rainbow in the Night.

Here they ſaw a perfect Rainbow in the Night, which tho' not ſo common as Solar by Day, yet *Ariſtotle* mentions two that he himſelf ſaw; and *Vicomercatus*, in his Comment on him, tells us the like happened in *Germany*. Howbeit, the Colours of the Lunar are not ſo freſh as thoſe in a Solar Rainbow.

Goa in the *East-Indies* deſcribed.

November 17. they came in ſight of the *Indian* Coaſt, and ſaw Land in 15 deg of Latitude, and 32 of Longitude, the very place where *Goa* of Old *Barigaza*) is ſeated. It is the braveſt and beſt defended City in the Eaſt, the Magazine, Refuge, and Seat of Juſtice of the Victorious *Portugueſe*. The City is not viſible at Sea, being three hours Journey within Land. Of Old it was the Seat of the *Canarins*, and ſtands in an Iſle called *Tiſcar*, 30 Miles in compaſs, a ſweet place ſurrounded by a freſh River, which fall from the mighty Mountain *Bellagueſe*, encompaſſed with a ſtrong and beautiful Wall, beautified with Turrets, and armed with many ſorts of roaring Cannon. Her ſtrength and beauty was began by the *Decan* Kings *Zabaym* and *Idalcan*, from whom *Albuquerque*, the Victorious *Portugueſe*, took it in 1509. and after defended it againſt 70000 Foot, and 3500 Horſe, which *Idal-cann* brought againſt it to reduce. It was much enlarged and beautified by the *Portugueſe*.

The Bazar.

The great Bazar, or Market-place, which is in the heart of the Town, is gallantly and regularly built; many of the Streets, which are built after the *Indian* Mode, are narrow, and ſufficiently naſty, but the Buildings are generally ſpacious, and not uncomely, thick and dark within, and terraſſed above, ſutable to ſo hot a Climate. It is Watered with a delicious Stream, which refreſhes the Fields, and cloaths the Earth with Flowers. The Gardens are filled with variety of delicious Fruits, and the whole Iſle abounds with Graſs, Groves and Corn, Cattle, Fruits, and all delights which Man can reaſonably require. Above 20 little Towns, all planted by the *Portugueſe*, are ſeen within 30 Miles compaſs, as alſo the Ruins of 200 Idol-Temples, which the Vice-Roy *Antonio Norogna* utterly demoliſhed, that no Memory might remain, or Monuments continue of ſuch groſs Idolatry.

Idolatry deſtroyed.

At *Salſette* alſo were two Temples of Prophane Worſhip, one of them (by incredible toil cut out of an hard Rock) was divided into three Iſles or Galleries, in which ſtood many deformed Figures of their Pagods, which would have affrighted an *European* Spectator: Nevertheleſs this was a Celebrated place, and ſo abundantly frequented by Idolaters, as induced the *Portugueſe*, out of a meer Zeal, with a conſiderable Force, to Maſter the Town, that they might demoliſh the Temples, and break in pieces their monſtrous Deities.

In *Goa*, the moſt obſervable now are the Fortifications, the Viceroy's and Archbiſhop's Palaces, and the Churches. The Palaces are very ſtrong built of good Stone, furniſhed and adorned within with rich Arras and Paintings; the Churches are large and neat, and of them, the beſt and fineſt are thoſe dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, (in which 'tis ſaid that the Bones and Skull of St. *Thomas* the Apoſtle, brought from *Meliapore*, are kept) St. *Paul*, St. *Dominick*, St. *Katharine*, and St. *Saviour*, in which the Great *Albuquerque* lies, who died at *Goa* 1516. as do alſo the Bodies of *D'Acugna*, Don *Franciſco*, and the *China* Saint *Francis Xavier* the Jeſuit, who died *December* 4. 1552. aged 55 Years, and Canonized by Pope *Gregory* XV. *March* 12. 1622. The City is compaſſed with a thick Stone Wall, flanked and moated about, having withal a Counterſcarp, and 300 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, ſo mounted upon the Bulwarks and Ravelins, as renders the place Impregnable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Sir Tho. Herbert's *Travels in* India, *containing a Deſcription of the People, Cities, Government and Product of it; with an Account of the Great* Moguls, *their Kings, and ſeveral Changes in the Succeſſion to the Crown.*

Swalley-Road. DEparting thence they haſted towards *Swalley-Road*, keeping the *Indian*-ſhore in view all along, and were overtaken by a furious Wind called in the *Acts* Euroclydon, a kind of Hurrican or vaſt Tumour in the Air, which cauſes ſo terrible a Tempeſt, that Houſes and Trees are but like Duſt before it, and Ships by its violence are blown aſhore and broken. Once in 9 Years it uſeth to Thunder thus here, and it is preſaged 3 or 4 Days before by the Birds and Beaſts, who with ſtrange noiſes run about and hide themſelves, as if the World were to be overturned: but Providence favoured them with an eſcape, only the Storm drove them out of their way ſo, as they were a little puzzled to find it, till obſerving many Snakes ſwimming about their Ships, they found they were near the ſhore, and ſoon after they deſcried Land in 19 deg. 35 min. Latitude, and 29 Longitude, which they found to be *Dabul*, or *Dunga*, by the high Land, and then they came in ſight of St. *John de Vacas*, a Town likewiſe ſubject to the *Portugueſe*, at the South-end of which is St. *Valentine*'s Peak, from whence the Land continues high to *Gundavir*, an Hill 6 Leagues ſhort of *Swalley-Road*.

Euroclydon.

Snakes in the Sea.

Dabul, or Dunga.

St John de Vacas.

November 27. after long toil, they came to *Chaul*, and from thence to *Daman*, a lovely Town inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, and famous for being the utmoſt extent of the *Macedonian* Conqueſts. At the North-end of *Daman* is a large and ſtrong Caſtle, built of a white Chalky Stone, flank'd with Ordnance, mounted to play at advantage; and at the South-end is a fair Church, with white Battlements of the ſame Stone, as are alſo ſome of the Houſes, but others are of unburnt Brick; and alſo three other Temples, affording pleaſure both to the Eye and Heart.

Chaul.

Daman.

November 29. they came to an Anchor near the Bar at *Swalley-Road*, which is from the Æquator 20 deg. 56 min. North, and is in the 28 deg. Longitude from *Mohelia*.

December 1. with ſome Pe-unes, or Olive-colour'd *Indian* Foot-boys, (who can prattle *Engliſh* very prettily) they rode to *Surat* in a Chariot drawn by two Buffaloes, who by Cuſtom are made managable and nimble in their trot, paſſing through *Swalley*, *Batty* (a place famous for good Toddy) and *Dankes* in the way thither.

Surat deſcribed.

Surat, called by *Ptolemy Muziris*, is a City at this day no leſs great and rich than populous and famous: It is the chief Factory of the *Eaſt-India* Merchants, whoſe Preſident has his Reſidence there. The Air and Soil are troubleſome to ſtrangers, the one being inflamed with the torridneſs of the Zone, and the other being Sandy and Sulphureous. The Artick-Pole is here elevated 21 deg. 3 min. and in *September* the Clouds ſhower down continually an unwholſome dew, and that in ſuch plenty as cauſes great Floods, and turns Summer into Winter. It is accounted the third beſt Town in *Guzurat* Kingdom, *Amadabad* and *Cambaya* having the precedence. The whole Province is ſubject to the *Mogul*, and is ſo profitable to him, that the Annual Tribute of it amounts (as Merchants ſay) to an 150 Tun of Gold. 'Tis of late become a Town of the greateſt Note and Trade in *India*; tho' 'tis ſcarce 100 Years ſince *Antonio Sylvecrio*, a *Portugueſe*, with 200 Men entred into it and burnt it; but 'tis now much increaſed in Buildings and Inhabitants.

Unwholſome Showers.

Mogul's Tribute.

In 1566, and of the Hegyra 946. by the Valour of *Kan Azem* it was made ſubject to *Ecbar* the *Great Mogul*. Now it is under a quiet Government, water'd with a ſweet River called *Tappee*, or *Tindy*, (as broad as the *Thames* at *Windſor*) which riſing in the Mountains of *Decan*, runs through *Brampore* in a Courſe of 220 Miles, and waſhing the Walls of *Surat*, glides through the Country for 22 Miles in divers Windings, and at length falls into the Sea a League from *Swalley-Road*. 'Tis encompaſſed with a Mud-Wall, and hath a large Caſtle of Stone built on the S. W. ſide, planted with Ordnance, and ſtrengthned by a Garriſon, who will hardly admit any ſtrangers to ſee their Fortifications. The Weſt opens on to the *Bazar* through a fair Stone Gate, where the Toll-gatherers are daily buſie to gather the *Mogul*'s Tribute. The *Meidan* is of no great beauty, nor do the Shops make any great ſhow, the *Banians* chuſing rather to be thought Poor than be accounted Rich. The Houſes are indifferent beautiful, ſome of Carved Wood, others of Brick dried in the Sun. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Houſes exceed all other in largeneſs and furniture. The Suburbs have three Poſterns leading three ſeveral ways; one to *Variaw* and *Cambaya*, the ſecond to *Brampore*, and the third to *Nanſary*. The Town affords no Monuments nor Moſques of note. The *Engliſh* have a Garden with pleaſant Walks, and great variety of Flowers, but is inferiour to another there for proſpect. By the *Nanſary* Gate is a Frank or Magazine of Water, an admirable Work: It is of Free-ſtone, has above 100 Angles and Sides, which are 28 Ells long between every Angle; ſo that it is near a thouſand ordinary Paces in compaſs. It is leſſen'd to the bottom by 16 Steps, and receives a great quantity of Rain-water, which the *Indians* prefer much before their River, which they chiefly uſe to waſh themſelves in while they adore the Sun in its riſing, a form of Worſhip much uſed in the Eaſtern Parts of the World, and it ſeems to have crept in among the *Jews* by the reproof which is given to ſuch Idolaters by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, c. 8. v. 16.

Bazar.

Meidan.

A Magazine of Water.

Worſhip of the Sun.

The River Tindy.

The Walls and Caſtle.

Indoſtan, as it is a fruitful Soil, ſo it abounds with People, and that of divers Nations and Languages, who differ much one from another in Habit, Manners and Religion: For beſides the Natives of the Country, there are *Jews*, *Turks*, *Arabians*, *Armenians*, Chriſtians of St. *Thomas*, *Tartars*, and others, of which the *Banians* are the greateſt for number, but the *Moors* command.

Indoſtan deſcribed. Its Inhabitants.

They have a peculiar Language of their own, but the *Perſian* Tongue is underſtood by thoſe of the beſt rank, and is looked upon as moſt Courtly.

The Indian *Mahometans* are People not leſs Crafty than Valiant; the Soldiers by Profeſſion are either *Raſhboots* or *Perſians*, and delight to go armed with Sword, Buckler, Bow, Arrows, and Dagger. Their Habit is a Quilted Callico Coat, tied under the Left Arm, a ſmall Saſh upon their Heads, and large Stockins; but ſome wear Sandals. The other ſort of People are Merchants, *Brachmins*, *Gentiles* and *Perſees*; which laſt are the Original Inhabitants. When any Ships ride at *Swalley*, which is commonly from *September* to *March*, the *Banians* pitch their Booths all along the ſhore like a Fair, to ſell Callicoes, *China*-Sattin, Porcellan, Scrutores, Cabinets of Mother of Pearl, Ebony, Ivory, Agates, Turquoiſes, Hiliotropes and Cornelians; as alſo Rice, Sugar, Plantains, Aroca, &c.

The Language. Soldiers. The Inhabitants.

There are alſo many little Boys or Pe-unes, who for two pence a day are ready to ſerve you, either to Interpret, run, go of Errands, or the like. Theſe will not eat nor drink with a Chriſtian, nor out of the ſame Leaf they drink their Toddy.

Boys.

The *Banian* and *Indian* Women, according to the Eaſtern Cuſtom, are ſeldom ſeen abroad, being mewed up by their Jealous Husbands.

Women.

Here are Elephants and Horſes, but Oxen do the moſt Labour, for from Town to Town they ride in Chariots drawn by Oxen, but in the Towns upon Pälankins, with Sambrero's *de Sol* over them.

Beaſts.

The Current Money here is *Pice*, which is an heavy round piece of Braſs, 30 of which make our Shilling. The Mamoudy, which is of good Silver, round and thick, ſtamped after the manner of the *Saracens* (who allow no Images) with *Arabick* Letters, only importing the King and *Mahomet*, is in value one Shilling of our Coin; and the Roupee, which is made alſo of like pure Silver; is 2 *s.* and 3 *d.* and a Pardow 4 *s.* The Dina is a piece of Gold worth 30 *s.* and *Spaniſh* Rials and Piſtolets, and *Perſian* Larees, Abyſſees, and *Engliſh* Gold, are

Money.

here Current at 26 *s.* apiece, tho' in *Persia* they will go but at 20 *s.* An hundred thousand Roupees make a Lecke, an hundred Leckes make a Crou, ten Crou's (or Carron) one Areb. Again, in Silver 14 Roupees make a Mass, 1150 Masses make an hundred Tolls, ten Tolls of Silver make one in Gold. In Brass, 30 Taukes, or Pieces, make a Roupee in Weight; the Batman is 82 *l. English*, but only 55 of their Pounds, and the Maund as much.

The *Banians* Art and Habit. *Vid.* Fig 9.

The *Banians* (as Crafty as the Devil, according to their Proverb) by their moderate outside, excess of Superstition, smooth Dealing, or rather Hypocrisy, and Moral Temperance, put great Cheats upon the unwary and credulous Trader; they are of a tawny Complexion, and for the most part spare of Body. They let their Hair grow long, and yet, according to their Country Mode, wreath a small white Sash about their Heads: their Habit is a long Coat of white Quilted Callico, of the *Dalmatick* sort; their Shoes of several colours and fashions according to every Man's fancy, without Latchers, sharp and turning at the Toe, thin Soaled, high Heel'd, surrounded with Steel, fast and durable.

The Women.

The Women are of a whiter colour than the Men, because they are kept more from the Sun, but wanting a mixture of Blood, supply it with a Vermilion Dye. They likewise wear their Hair long, and covering it with a thin transparent Lawn make it shew lovely. Their Noses, Ears, Arms and Legs, they load with Manillio's, or Rings of Brass, Gold and Ivory. Their Behaviour is silently modest, but Speech lascivious.

Marriage.

Marriage is in so great Honour, that they most times Contract at seven Years old, and are Parents at ten; and they will not let any die unmarried, tho' they hire a Wife only for a Night.

Polygamy odious.

Polygamy is so odious to them, that they vilify the *Mahometans*, as People of impure Souls, for having many Wives. They burn their Dead to ashes in an holy Fire, compounded of all sorts of costly Wood and sweet Spices; the Wife also (in expectation to enjoy her Husband amongst incomparable pleasures in another World) throws her self into the Mercileſs flames, for which affection she obtains a living Memory.

The *Brahmins* and their Tenets.

Their Priests are called *Brahmins*, or *Bracbmini*, the same with the ancient *Gymnosophi*. Their Tenets in Religion are, 'That the whole Frame, or Body of the 'World, had a beginning, being created by a God of 'Immense Power, Eternal and Provident. After he had

The first Man.

'made Man, he created Woman to associate with him, 'and sympathize with him both in Body and Disposition. These he named *Pourous* and *Parcaity*, a Couple 'so innocent, that they reputed it a Crime to cut any 'thing that had a Sensitive life, feeding only upon Herbs 'and Fruits, and the like Vegetables, agreeing with 'those who believe that *Adam* had no liberty to kill any 'Creature, but lived upon the Herbs and Fruits only of 'the Earth, which all Mankind followed, till God enlarged his Grant to *Noah* of all Creatures for Food,

His Children.

'excepting the Blood. This abstemious Couple had four 'Children; *Brammon*, whose Constitution being melancholy, he became a Priest. *Cuttery*, who being Cholorick, was a Soldier. *Shuddery*, who being flegmatick, loved Merchandize; And *Wise*, being Sanguine, betook himself to Husbandry. And from these proceeded the four chief Vocations of Men: but because such an holy Generation should not descend from Incest, therefore (their Shaster, or Book of Law) says,

Their Wives and Posterity.

'That God revealed to them, that he had formed four 'Women for them, on whom to propagate, and order'd '*Brammon* to travel to the East, *Cuttery* to the West, '*Shuddery* to the North, and *Wise* to the South, to find 'the Wives destined for them; which being done, they 'propagated Mankind, and filled the World with Men 'and Arts at once. When these four had spent some 'time in those contrary Quarters of the World, where 'fate directed them, they all became equally mindful 'of returning home, desirous to visit their Parents, and 'people their Native Soil; and accordingly, with large 'Troops of their Children, returned home, and were 'received with great joy. Some Ages they lived with

Their Sin.

'their Parents, but in process of time began to lose their 'Virgin purity, Discord, Pride and Rapine, mingling 'amongst them; so as Brotherly-love being laid aside, 'there was no appearance but of Violence and Voluptuousness, for *Brahman* grew careless of Devotion, '*Cuttery* Insolent and Aspiring, *Shuddery* Dishonest and

The Flood.

'Unjust, and *Wise* Unthrifty and Riotous, at which 'God being provoked, lets forth the Sea upon all Mankind, to purge away the nasty smell of their Pollution, 'and resolves to fill the Earth with a more perfect and 'pure Generation. To this end, God descends upon 'the high Mountain *Meroparbatee*, and commands *Bremaw* to rise up out of the Earth, which was accordingly done, and he immediately worshipped him: He had power given him to create other Creatures. Then God called up *Vistnee* and *Ruddery*, and to the former he gave a power to preserve, and to the latter a power to destroy his Creatures by Death, Plague, Famine, Diseases, War, and the like Mischiefs, appointing them a certain time to live upon the Earth. From *Bremaw*, who falling into a deep sleep or trance, his Body swelled, and became full of anguish, he brought forth two Twins of each Sex, who by Miracle immediately grew up to the perfect stature of Man, and were miraculously furnished with Language and Education. *Bre-* Sin of Man. *maw* named them *Manaw* and *Ceteroupa*, whom after he had blessed, he sent East to the great Mountain *Mondepurvool*, where straightway *Ceteroupa* brought forth three more Sons, and as many Daughters, who going to several Quarters, soon Peopled the Earth; but multitude produced ill actions, and Mankind fell into all sorts of Sin, which God observing, left Heaven for a while to give them directions how to live virtuously, and avoid temptations; and calling *Bremaw* to the top of the Mountain *Meropurbatee*, spake to him many things out of a dusky dark Cloud, now and then flashing glympse of his Majesty, and delivered to him the Book of his Laws called Shaster; which was divided into three Tracts dedicated to three great Casts. 1. Containing Moral Precepts. 2. Containing Ceremonies of Worship. And 3. Containing peculiar Instructions to the three Casts.

The World restored. The Law of God.

The Moral Law of the Indians.

The Moral Law has eight Commandments, agreeing for the most part with those seven which *R. Solomon* says that *Noah* taught the World in his time, *viz.* '1. Thou 'shalt not destroy any living Creature, for thou and it 'are both my Creatures. 2. Thou shalt not sin in any 'of thy five Senses, in thy Eyes by beholding Vanity, 'thy Ears by hearing Evil, in thy Tongue by uttering 'any Filthiness, in thy Palate by drinking Wine, eating 'Flesh of living Creatures, in thy Hands by handling 'any filthy things. 3. Thou shalt daily perform set-times of Devotion, as Praying, Washing, Elevating, 'Prostrating, *&c.* 4. Thou shalt not Lye, nor Dissemble. 5. Thou shalt not be hard-hearted, but helpful 'unto others. 6. Thou shalt not Oppress or Tyrannize. '7. Thou shalt observe Festivals and Fasting-days. '8. Thou shalt not Steal.

These 8 Precepts (as we may plainly see they are derived from the Bible, the Names and Story being only a little corrupted in delivering them, so they) are subdivided into four Parts according to their several Casts. The *Brahmins* and *Banians* are tied to a more strict observance of them than the Soldiers and Mechanicks. The *Brahmins* are of 82 Casts or Tribes; the *Vertaes* are of an higher degree, but fewer in number, their Habit is a Girdle of *Antelope*'s Skin about their middle, a Thong of the same Hide reaching from the Neck to the Left Arm, being elsewhere naked. Some of them wear a threefold thread, reaching from the Right Shoulder to the Left Arm, others three small strings of Silk upon their Flesh, as low as their Waste, which serve as a Badge of their Profession. Upon their Heads they wreath some fine white Callico, in which their Hair is neatly plaited; in their Ears they wear Gold Rings, sometimes set with precious Stones. They Marry but once, Fast strictly, and Drink moderately; Wash very often, and are much reverenced by the other Sects. The *Shudderies*, or *Ba-* The *Banians*. *nians*, are Merchants, and contrary to their Name, which signifies harmless, are the most crafty People throughout all *India*, full of flegmatick fear and superstition. They wash often, as they are commanded, and as is observed in all the Pagan Religions of those hot Countries, first dawbing their Bodies with dirt, as an Emblem of Sin, and then diving three times in the Water to wash it off, their faces being turned to the East, and adoring the Sun, and shaking a few grains of Rice into the Water, as an Eucharistical Offering to the Element for purging them.

The *Brahmins*. Their Habit. Their Marriages. Their Washings.

They are indeed Merciful, grieving to see other People so hard-hearted as to feed upon Fish, Flesh, Radishes, Onions, Garlick, and such things, as either have Life, or a resemblance of Blood. They, for their parts, will not kill so much as a Louse, Flea, Kakaroch, or the like, but on the contrary, buy their liberty of such Sailors and others as of necessity must crush them; yea, they have Hospitals for old, sick, lame, or starved Creatures, Birds, Beasts, Cats, Rats, or the like, and have no worse Men to oversee them than the *Pushelans*, the best respected sort of *Brahmins*. They hold *Pythagoras's* Doctrine, believing the *Metempsycosis*, or Transanimation,

Their Mercy to Beasts.

Transmigration of Souls.

tion,

tion, or Passage of Souls into Beasts, *viz.* The Souls of Drunkards, or Epicures, into Swine; the Lustful and Incestuous into Goats and Dogs; the Dissemblers into Apes, Crocodiles and Foxes; the Lazy into Bears, the Passionate and Cruel into Tygers, the Proud into Lions, the Blood-thirsty into Wolves, Ounces, Snakes; the Perjur'd into Toads, and the like; but the Souls of good Men, abstemious, pitiful and courteous, into Kine, Buffaloes, Sheep, Storks, Doves and Turtles. *Pythagoras* invented this Fiction, only to perswade Men that the Soul was Immortal, and to shew that there was a Punishment and Reward for Men after this Life.

Who inventor of by Pythagoras.

Their Idolatry and Pagods.

Their Idolatry to Pagods (or Images of deformed Dæmons) is very observable: They place them in Chappels commonly built under the Bannian Trees (which the *Portugueze* call *Arbor de Rays*, or the Tree of Roots; Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *Ficus Indicus*; *Cardan*, *Ciba*; and the *Spaniards*, *Gorda*, in the *West-Indies*) a Tree of such repute among them, that they count it impious to abuse it, either in breaking a Branch, or otherwise defacing it, and adorn it with Streamers of Silk and Ribband of divers colours. Their Pagods are of divers shapes, such as Satan appears to them in, ugly faced, with long black Hair, goggle Eyes, wide-mouthed, forked Beards, every ways as horrible as the obscene forms of *Priapus*. To these Idols under these Trees, they pay their Devotion, Tyths, and Offerings, receive Unction and Sprinklings of divers coloured Powders, perform Ceremonies, notice being given them by a little Bell, repeat their Prayers, make Processions, sing and perform many Misteries; and so numerous were their Idol-Temples grown before the *Turks* came among them, that almost every Village had a different Pagod, and many of them are standing to this day. Two of the chief in *India* were at *Varicuo* near *Surat*, and at *Negricot*, where they are sealed and paved with Gold, and yearly visited by many thousands of *Banyans*, who by way of Devotion, have used to cut out part of their Tongues for a Sacrifice, and thereby to speak the *Sibboleth* the better ever after. In *Jagannot*, a Town in *Bengal*, is another of their Idolatrous Temples, where for seven days together, a Festival is yearly observed, when the Pagod is by the *Toguers* expos'd to publick view, and in triumph carried thro' the Streets in a Chariot with eight Wheels, drawn by above an hundred *Indians*, who flock thither in great multitudes for Devotion, and some of them out of zeal, cast themselves in the way, and are crushed to death, as a voluntary sacrifice to the Devil.

Their Worship.

The chief Idol-Temples.

Their Washing in Ganges.

At *Tanassa* sometimes an hundred thousand *Indians* go naked into *Ganges*, and bowing their Bodies, they throw the Water up with their Hands, as an Offering to the Sun, whom they worship. Other places of note are at *Bannaras* upon *Ganges*, *Eibarpore*, *Fallanexa*, *Elabas*, *Sibah*, and other places. Part of their Religion consists in invocating Holy Men famed for their Virtue. Howbeit, the Cow is of most esteem with them. They have the *Cyrenian* or *Ægyptian* Goddess for an Example, the Image of a Cow, which signified the Tillage, that preserved them, by the Prudence of *Serapis*, i. e. *Joseph*, from the memorable Famine mentioned in *Genesis*. In Wars the *Cutteries* or *Radieas*, only call upon *Bramohem*, the Rich upon *Mycassar*, the Poor upon *Syer*, the Labourers upon *Gunner*, and the Married upon *Hurmount*, &c.

A Cow worshipped.

Pilgrimages to Rivers.

Moreover they effect Pilgrimages to Rivers, especially *Ganges*, because they say *Bremaw* frequented it, and it has an Head in form of a Cow, which they worship for her fruitfulness, and in imitation of the *Ægyptian Apis*. They wash often, and thereby suppose themselves purified from all Sin. When they are sick, they desire their Mouths should be washed with the Water of *Ganges*, which they value as much as if it flowed out of Paradice.

Baptism.

In Baptism the Priests or *Bramins* anoint their own Children, and the *Banians* or Merchants with Oil, and cleanse them with Water; but to those of the prophaner sort, as Men of War, and Mechanicks, they apply Water only with the Point of a Pensil to their Forehead, wishing that God would write good things there, to which the Company say *Amen*.

Their Marriages and Ceremonies used at them.

Their Marriages are at seven Years, but cohabit not till ten. If any die unmarried, they conclude him unhappy; so that oftentimes they marry them when dead, before they are buried; an Opinion probably borrowed from the *Hebrews*, who hold from *Gen.* 1. 28. *That the Unmarried have no Portion in the World to come.* The Marriage Ceremonies are not many nor frivolous: The Boy rides about the Town one day, and the Bride the next, attended with trains of Children of the same Age and Sex, with Kettle-Drums, Trumpets, and Pageants, being distinguished from others by Coronets. The Bride has no Money-Portion, because they hold it contemptible, only some Jewels and Dina's of Gold in her Attire.

The Wedding how celebrated.

The Wedding is thus celebrated: A Fire is put between them to shew the Purity and Heat of their Affections; a Silken String circles both their Bodies, as the Hieroglyphick of Wedlock; then a Linnen Cloath is put between them, in token, that till then they were unknown to one another in nakedness; this done, the *Brahmin* blesseth them, and prays that she may prove as gentle and fruitful as a Cow; the Cloath is pulled away, and the String untied, and they are one anothers for ever. They never marry out of their own Casts; for *Brahmins* marry the Daughters of *Brahmins*, *Cutteryes* the Daughters of *Cutteryes*, *Shudderyes* the Daughters of *Shudderyes*, and *Wyses* the Daughters of *Wyses*, and these in their several Trades, Taylers with Taylers, *&c.* and, contrary to the Customs of the *Mahometans*, their Wives live not under much subjection.

Their sickness and death.

In sickness they call upon *Marrawn*, the God of Mercy, and when they perceive a Man a dying, they open his Hand, and moisten it with the Water of *Ganges*, which they count holy; and when he is dead, they wash his Carkass, and carry it to the Water-side silently, and having uttered two or three Words to the Element, burn the Body with Sweet-wood and Spices, and having thrown the Ashes into the River, think they have done their duty to the Dead, and depart well satisfied.

Mourning.

When this Ceremony is finished, the Priest presents the Son of the Deceased with a Roll of his dead Fore-Fathers, and bids him fulfil the Ceremonial Law of deploring ten days, in which time he is neither to use his Wife, laugh, eat Opium, or Betel, put on any clean Cloaths, or anoint his Head with Oyl, but that day-month yearly ever after, make a Feast, and pay a complemental Visit to that River which drank his Father's Ashes. Oftentimes the Wife to express her love to her dead Husband, burns her self with his Body. They affect no second Marriages, the *Rajea's* and *Wyses* excepted.

Burning their Dead, and the Reasons of it.

Now the reason why they burn their Dead, is either from an ancient Custom recorded in Scripture, *Amos* 6. 10. or because if the Body were buried, it would breed Worms, which (for ought they know) may starve when the Body is consumed, and that they look upon as an inexpiable Sin.

The *Cutteryes*

The *Cutteryes* assume a greater Liberty, for being Men of War, they scruple not to shed Blood, eat Flesh, appear lewd; They are for the most part called *Raja's*, or great Men, and have 36 Casts, of which all of them are descended. They have of a long time been Owners of *Indostan*, but of late *Aladin*, a Potent King of *Delly*, wrested *Guzarat* from them, and most of the rest hath been taken from them by the Posterity of *Tamerlain*.

Rasspoots.

At this day they call themselves *Rasspoots* (or Sons of Kings) and live lawless to the *Moors*; and the chief of them at this day are *Rana Radgee Mardout*, *Radga Surmul Gee*, *Raja Berumsha*, *Mahobet Chan*, *Rudia Barmulgee*, *Radgea Ramnegur*, *Radgia Jooh'*, *Jessingh*, *Tzeteersing*, and *Mansigh*, &c. All these being for the most part Mountaineers, are rude, and of a more warlike disposition than those civiliz'd *Indians*, who dwell in Cities, and inhabit the plain Countries, and value not the *Potans* or *Bullockes*, who are the most warlike of the *Mahometans*.

The *Wyses*.

The last Sect or Cast of the Gentiles, are the *Wises* or Labourers: They are of two; first, the *Wises*, properly so called; secondly, the *Kolees*: The first agree with the *Bannians* in Abstinence, the other of late eat any Creature that is fit for Food: The purer sort of these is divided into 36 Casts. All these four Casts in time grew so impious, that God required *Ruddery* to send a blast of Wind to sweep away that Generation, which he accordingly did, and all perished save a very few honest Men and Women: This was the second confusion.

Ducerat and *Ram*.

Soon after God gave them a King propagated from the Seed of the *Brahmins*, called *Ducerat*. He begat *Ram*, a Man so famous for Piety and high Attempts, that to this day his Name is honoured, insomuch, that when they say *Ram*, *Ram*, they wish all good to you. In process of time the World again grew abominable, and then *Ruddery* commands the Earth to open and swallow up the ungodly; a few only excepted to people the Earth. Then *Vistney*, the Mediator of Mercy, ascended into Heaven, and left *Ruddery* to over-rule the Iron Age, at the end of which he also shall be wrapt up into Paradise.

Vistney the Mediator of Mercy.

These four Ages they call *Curtain*, *Duauper*, *Tettayoo*, and *Coolee*. Touching the last Judgment, they hold it shall be more dreadful than the other, the Sun shall shed his Light, and the Moon look red as Blood, and the four Elements

Elements shall maintain a dreadful fight, till all things fall into confusion.

The Souls of good Men *Ruddery* shall transport into Heaven, but the Wicked shall perish; but the Bodies of either shall never rise again, for they believe not a Resurrection. The *Bramins* honour Angels, keep a *Monday*-Sabbath, love Chastity; or if they marry, seldom repeat it. Forbear Swearing and Blasphemy, shun Pleasures, drink Water, offer Money in all Sacrifices, drink not in a Pot, but pour into their Mouths at a distance, touch no Unclean; which Rites show, that tho' they pretend that their *Shaster* or Book of their Law came from God, yet it is patched up from Tradition, the Holy Scripture, *Jewish* and *Gentile* Histories.

No Resurrection.

About *Surat* and *Guzurat*, there are another sort of *Gentiles*, whose Religion and Life is different from the former, called *Persees*, who are a People descended of the *Persians*, and upon the Death of Valiant *Jezdgird* the *Persian* King, who died *Anno* 635. fled into *India* to avoid *Mahometanism* and *Circumcision*, to which they feared that they should be forced to submit by the *Turks*, who then under *Omar*, second Caliph after *Mahomet*, subdued *Persia*. They came into *India* in five Junks from *Jasquez*, and arriving at *Surat*, upon a Treaty with the *Rajas* and *Banians*, obtained Leave to settle themselves, and living peaceably, to exercise their Religion; which they had derived from one *Gustasp*, who lived 500 Years before our Saviour. [The Account of it our Author takes not only from his own Observation, but * from the Account of Mr. *Lord*, a Minister, who resided many Years in the Factory of *Surat*, and carefully selected their Opinions, as they are written in their *Zundavastaw*, or Law-Book to this purpose.]

The *Persees* described.

* Printed 1630.

Such time as *Gustasp* (who was the fourteenth King of *Persia* from *Kuyomarraz*, who is by some thought to be *Noah*) reigned in *Persia*, *Espintaman* and *Dodoo*, two poor People of *China*, with their Son *Zertoost*, whom the King of *China* thought to destroy, because he feared some great alterations in his Kingdom from him, whose Birth had been attended with so many rare and fearful Dreams, fled into *Persia*, and there *Zertoost* giving himself up to Meditations, an Angel appeared unto him, and asked him what he would have? He replied, The presence of God, that he might receive from him his Will and Directions how to Instruct his Nation in them. His Desire was easily granted, and his Body being purged, and his Eyes sealed and wrapt up, he was taken up into the Heavens, and presented before the Supreme, who was arrayed with such refulgent Glory, that he could not behold his Majesty, till he had Angels Eyes put into his Head. There he received his Laws, written in a Book called *Zundavastaw*, uttered by the Almighty; such Laws and Secrets, as are some of them not to be promulgated, and having Worshipped, he took the *Zundavastaw* in his Left Hand, and some Cælestial Fire in his Right, and was again set down upon the Earth by his good Angel *Bahaman Umshauspan*. *Zertoost* being again returned to the Earth, armed himself against all temptations, and travels to publish his Laws. Satan seeing this, with envy laboured to seduce him, telling him, That the other Angel had deluded him: That God was in no wise pleased with his design: That his Travels to reclaim the World would be in vain, and his Book was stuffed with Lyes; but if *Zertoost* wou'd depend upon him, he would furnish him with all Delights and Honours, give him a power to work Miracles, so that he should be worshipped as God. *Zertoost* perceiving this Tempter to be *Lucifer* bad him avoid, and told him, That as by his Impiety he had himself lost Heaven, so through Malice he was desirous to draw others into the like Damnation, and that his Book should condemn him; whereupon the Fiend vanished. *Zertoost* then coming to his Parents, and declaring what had befaln him, *Dodoo* his Mother published her Dreams and Visions about his Conception, and *Zertoost* preached his Law, which the People admiring, *Gastasp* the *Persian* King heard of them, and desired to see the Man, and after some Discourse with him embraces his Doctrines; and tho' the Arch-flamen opposed them, yet he confirming them with Miracles, the King resolved to adhere to his Religion, and his *Zundavastaw*, or Law, was opened and accepted.

Zertoost their Lawgiver, his Birth and Life.

His Law and Cælestial Fire.

Zertoost tempted.

The Contents of the *Zundavastaw*.

The *Zundavastaw* is divided into three Parts: The first treats of Judicial Astrology, called *Astoedeger*, and is committed to the care of those they call *Jesopps*, *i.e.* Sages. The second contains Natural Philosophy, and is studied by the *Hackeams* or Physicians; and the last is compounded of Religion, named from the Author of it. The *Zertoost* is kept by the *Daroo's* or *Prædicants*, and consists of Precepts for the Archbishop, Clergy and Laymen.

The Precepts for the Laity.

The Precepts given to the *Behedins*, or Laymen, are five: 1. To cherish Shamefacedness as a Vertue, that keeps Men from all sorts of ugly Vices, as Pride, Revenge, Theft, Adultery, Drunkenness, and Perfidiousness. 2. To cherish fear. 3. To premeditate what they have to do, that they may reject the bad, and observe the good. 4. That the first thing they do every day, be to remember God's love, and thereby quicken their gratitude. 5. To pray daily to the Sun, and nightly to the Moon, as the two great Lamps and Witnesses, which be most opposite to the Devil, who delights in darkness.

The Laws enjoyn'd the *Herboords* or Clergy are eleven, (nor is the practise of them to excuse them from those of the Laity) 1. To be constant to that form of Worship prescribed in their *Zundavastaw*. 2. Not to covet what belongs to another. 3. To abhor Lyes. 4. Not to be Worldly minded. 5. To learn the *Zundavastaw* by heart. 6. To keep themselves free from Pollution. 7. To forgive Injuries. 8. To teach the Laity how to behave themselves in all Religious Worship. 9. To license Matrimony. 10. To be frequent at Church. 11. Upon pain of eternal Fire to believe in no other Law than their own, which they are neither to add unto nor diminish.

The Laws for the Clergy.

The Rules given the *Distoore*, or Pope, (for they have never more than one) are thirteen more than the rest, because as he precedes the rest in Dignity, so is his Life to be most strict, for he is obliged to observe not only his own, but also the Precepts of the two former degrees. 1. He must not touch any profane thing, no not the Laymen, or *Daroos* of his own belief, without washing, or purifying after. 2. He must do every thing that has relation to himself with his own hands, as planting, sowing, cooking, &c. 3. He is duly and truly to receive the Tenth of all the Laity possess. 4. He is to avoid all Vain-glory, and with his great Income to exercise Acts of Charity. 5. His House is to joyn to the Church, so as that he may be often there, and go and come without being taken notice of. 6. His washings are to be more frequent than others, his food purer; and he is to refrain his Wives company during her pollution. 7. He is not only to be perfect in the *Zertoost*, but of the greatest knowledge in Judicial and Natural Philosophy. 8. That his Diet be moderate. 9. That he fear none but God. 10. That he tell every Man his faults. 11. That in Visions he distinguish between false and true, and give a right Judgment about them. 12. That whensoever God manifests himself to him by night Visions, he should admire his Goodness, and keep them secret. 13. That he always keep the Fire which *Zertoost* brought from Heaven alive, that it never go out, till Fire destroy all the World.

The Rules for their Pope.

They have certain Rites and Ceremonies also by which they are differenced from other sorts, particularly about their Meats, Fasts, Idolatrous Worship of Fire, Baptism, Marriages and Burials. They are allowed to eat any sort of Meat almost; nevertheless, that they may not displease the *Banians* and *Moors*, among whom they live, they abstain from eating Beef and Hogs-flesh, but the *Rashcoots* eat the last. They seldom feed together, lest they should participate in one anothers impurity, but every one has his own Cup; and if any one of his own Cast chance to use it, he washes it three times, and forbears to use it a while after.

The Rites and Ceremonies about Meats.

They observe six solemn Festivals yearly, in memory of the several parts of the Creation, *viz.* *Meduserum* on *Fere*, or *Feb.* 15. 2. *Petusahan*, *Apr.* 26. 3. *Tatrum*, on *May* 26. 4. *Medearum*, *Aug.* 16. 5. *Homespetamadum*, *Oct.* 30. And 6. *Medusan*, *Dec.* 11. The second is kept in memory that God made Hell, to be a place for the Devil and his Angels, to put Men in mind of avoiding that evil that will bring them thither.

Festivals.

After every one of these Feasts, they observe a five days Abstinence, eating but only one sparing Meal every day; and whensoever they eat any Fowl or Flesh, they carry some part of it to the *Eggaree*, or Temple, as an Offering to appease God, because for the Sustenance of their Lives they are forced to take away the Lives of those his Creatures.

Fasts.

As to their Worship of Fire, 'tis in memory of that Fire which they Fable that *Zertoost* brought down from Heaven, in which they imitate the Vestals, or rather the Jews, who were commanded, *Lev.* 6. 13. to preserve continually the Fire that came down from Heaven upon the Altar, and never let it go out. This sort of Worship was very anciently used in *Persia*, and 'tis probable both the *Romans* and *Greeks* had their Vestal fire from them. In *Persia* there are still many *Pyree*, tho' *Heraclius* the Emperor destroyed many of them in his Wars with *Corroes*, in which Army *Mahomet* served; and they say, several of them have not been extinct for a thousand Years.

Fire-worship.

In

What Fire they Worship.

In *India* the *Perſees* have an *Eggaree*, or Temple at *Nancery*, whoſe Fire has continued this 200 Years. This their God-fire is not compoſed of common Combuſtibles, as Wood, Straw, Coals, or the like, nor blown by any Bellows, or breath of Man, but compounded of ſparks flying from an hot burning temper'd Steel, and kindled by a Burning-Glaſs, or Lightning from Heaven. If the Fire have need of cheriſhing, the *Diſtore*, or in his abſence the *Heerbood*, at 10 or 12 foot diſtance, with an Aſſembly of Laymen, ſurround it, and the Prieſt having added ſome ſort of fuel, returns to the People, who fall to their Worſhip, beſeeching them to give due reverence to it, as a part of God, who is of the ſame Subſtance, and love all things that reſemble it, as the Sun, Moon and Stars, yea, and common fire, which they have ſo Divine an eſtimate of, that they hold it an impious thing to ſpit upon it, throw water into it, or put it to any vile uſe, and reverence Wood, and all ſuch things as give it life; and if by chance they caſt any filthy thing into it, they pray to God that he would forgive them.

Baptiſm.

Their Baptiſm, or naming their Children, is thus performed: So ſoon as a Child is born, they ſend for the *Daroo*, or Churchman, who being informed preciſely of the hour of the Childs birth, caſts the Nativity, and with the conſent of the Parents names the Child, and then haſtning to the *Eggaree*, or Temple, the Prieſt having put ſome Water into the Bark of a Tree, called *Holm*, (which they ſay *Zertooſt* bleſſed for that end) pours ſome Water on the Child, and prays, that by it it may be cleanſed from all impurity.

Confirmation.

At ſeven Years old the Child is Confirmed by the *Daroo*, and taught to ſay his Prayers over the fire, yet with a Cloth over his Mouth, that his breath may not defile that holy Element. Then the *Daroo* gives him Water to drink, a Pomegranate-Pill to chew, waſhes him in a Tanke, cloaths his Body with a fine Shuddero, or Caſſock, and ties a Girdle of Camels-hair, called Cuſhee, woven by the Prieſt's own hands, like Inkle, upon his Loins, (which he is ever to wear about him) and then utters this Prayer: 'That God make him a true *Perſee* 'all the days of his life, of which theſe Garments are 'the Signs. That he may believe no Laws but *Zertooſt*'s. 'That he may continue a Fire-worſhipper. That he 'may eat of no Man's Meat, nor drink of any Man's 'Cup, but in all things obſerve the Cuſtoms and Rites 'of the *Perſees*; and ſo he is ever after reputed a true Believer.

Their Marriages of five ſorts.

Their Marriages are diſtinguiſhed into five ſorts, 1. *Shaulan*, when two young Children are married by their Parents without their own knowledge. This they attribute much to and hold, That if either of them die in this eſtate, they go to Heaven. 2. *Chockerſon*, which is the Marriage of a Widow. 3. *Codeſhcharaſan*, which is, when the Woman chuſeth her Husband. 4. *Eckſan*, when a dead Body is married to a Perſon alive. 5. *Coterſon*, when a Father adopts his Daughter's Son, that he may marry him, as his own; for they account that Man unhappy, who has not a Son to marry.

The Rite of Marrying

The Rite or Ceremony is thus performed: The Parties agreed being met in a Houſe, (for they marry not in their Churches) are placed upon a Bed together, and over-againſt them two Churchmen, with each Rice in their hands, who put their finger firſt on the Bride's, and then on the Bridegroom's Forehead, and ask them, Whether they will have one another for Husband and Wife? To which, when they have anſwered *Yea*, the Man promiſes to enfeoff her in a certain number of *Dina's*, (which are each of 30 *s.* value) and the Bride replies, That ſhe and all hers is his; and then the Prieſts ſcatter the Rice on their Heads, praying, 'That they may be as fruitful 'as Rice, live in Unity of Mind for many Years in 'Wedlock. Then the Woman's Parents pay her Dowry, and the Marriage-Feaſt is celebrated for eight days with jovial Merriment.

Burials, 1. The Place, 2. the form of it, Fig. 10.

In their Burials two things are obſervable, 1. The Place where they bury their Dead. They have two Tombs built of a round form, a pretty height from the ground, and ſufficiently capacious and large; within they are paved with Stone ſhelving, and in the middle is an hollow Pit, to receive the Bones conſumed and waſted. About by the Walls are laid the Carkaſſes both of Men and Women naked, expoſed to the Air and Sun, and left to be torn and mangled by ravenous Birds in an ugly manner (for they neither burn nor bury their Dead.) The two Tombs are at ſome diſtance one from another, and the one of them is for ſuch as have led a commendable Life, but the other is for ſuch as are notorious for ſome Vice, or infamous Action.

2. Ceremonies uſed in burying their Dead.

2. The Ceremonies uſed in their Burials: When any one is ſick unto Death, the *Herboord* or Churchman is ſent for, who prayeth with the ſick Man in this manner; 'O Lord, thou haſt commanded that we ſhould not offend, but this Man hath offended; and that we ſhould do good, but this Man hath done evil; and that we ſhould worſhip thee, but this Man hath neglected it; 'Lord forgive him all his Offences, Evils and Neglects. When any Perſon is dead, they firſt put his Body into a Winding-ſheet, and the *Herboord* or Churchman appoints his Naceſſelars or Bearers, who are to carry his Body upon an Iron Bier to the Burying-place. All the way that the Corps is carried, the Kindred, who attend it, beat upon their Breaſts, but with little noiſes, till they come within 50 or an 100 paces of it, where the *Herboord* meets them, who is uſually attired with a yellow Scarf, and wears a thin Turbant on his Head. The Naceſſelars, or Bearers, bring it to a little Shed; and then the Churchman ſtanding at a diſtance from it, utters the words of Burial in this manner: 'This our Brother, 'while he lived, conſiſted of the four Elements, and 'now he is dead, let each take his own, Earth to Earth, 'Air to Air, Water to Water, and Fire to Fire, and then 'pray to *Sartan* and *Aſud*, who have command (as they 'believe) over *Lucifer*, and all the evil Spirits, that they 'would keep the Devils from their deceaſed Brother, 'when he ſhall repair to their holy Fire to purge himſelf, as alſo that God would pardon his Sins, *&c.* And theſe Prayers they continue for three days, Morning, Noon and Night, becauſe they believe that the Soul wandreth upon the Earth thoſe days, and in them is determined to Reward or Puniſhment. When theſe days are expired, they make a Feaſt, and ſo conclude their Mourning.

The form of Burial.

Indoſtan deſcribed, 2. In its Cities and Regions.

The Country of *India*, which is ſo called from the River *Indus*, that bounds it on the Weſt, is one of the mightieſt Empires of the World, being the greater part at leaſt of *Aſia*, if not, as ſome ſay, a third part. *Strabo* ſays, *Lib.* 55. that it had 50000 conſiderable Towns. *Ganges* divides it into two parts, which are therefore called *Intra* and *Extra*, within and without *Ganges*. The Soil is for the moſt part very good, except where the Sun exhales its vertue, and that laſts but three Months; for the reſt of the Year, by reaſon of the long Nights, frequent ſhowers and breezes, the Trees, eſpecially in the Southern parts, are ever green, and hung with Fruit, which ripen twice a Year; and for Minerals of the beſt ſort, Gems of richeſt luſtre, Silk and Spices of greateſt uſe and value, no Country in the World yields ſo great plenty. It abounds with Cattle of moſt kinds; Arts are in perfection, as they are in *China*. It has excellent Horſes and Elephants, larger and more docible than thoſe in *Africk*. Innumerable Iſlands ſurround it. It has an abundance of fair Towns, which furniſh the World with all ſorts of Merchandize almoſt. Its Mines and Treaſure is infinite. It is a vaſt, but well-compacted Monarchy, extending from 20 to 43 deg. of Northern Latitude. It is 2600 Miles ſome ways in Diameter, and above 5000 Miles in Compaſs. It has 38 large Provinces, which were Kingdoms of Old, and of which the moſt conſiderable are *Guzerat*, *Pengab*, *Malva*, *Bengal* and *Decan*, which together comprehend 30 large Cities, and 3000 Walled Towns and Caſtles for natural Defence, which ſeem impregnable. *Noah*, 'tis thought firſt inhabited this Country, being near the Mountains of *Ararat*, tho' his Name is changed into *Bacchus*, or *Boacchus*. It was ſo well inhabited in *Alexander's* days, that when that Conqueror overthrew *Porus*, and entred his Country, he ſaid, He found greater Cities, and more ſumptuous Buildings there, than he had met withal in any part of the World beſide.

Its Extent.

Noah dwelt in it.

The Emperor's Revenue.

The Emperor's Revenue is counted 50 Crow of Roupies, every Crow containing a Leek, which is an hundred thouſand Roupies, value 2 *s.* 3 *d.* and ſometimes 2 *s.* 6 *d.* of which *Cambaia*, in which is *Surat*, is ſaid to pay 200000 *l.* Sterling; but his Charge is ſutable to his Income, maintaining 300000 Horſe, and 2000 Elephants, beſides the Sums he pays to his Lieutenants of Provinces, and Governours of Towns and Forts.

His Power and Strength.

The Power of it appears by the Army which *Badur*, King of *Cambaia*, carried to aſſiſt the King of *Mandao* againſt the Tartar *Mamud*, being no leſs than 130000 Horſe, 400000 Foot, 200 Elephants and 500 Wagons, which carried as many Cheſts full of Treaſure to pay his Forces. He is in continual Wars with his Neighbours.

The Pedigree of the Mogul from *Cinguechan*.

The Deſcent or Pedigree of the Moguls, or *Magors*, ſo called either from the *Megli*, or the *Brachmans* Country, called *Gens Magorum*, is reckoned from *Cingis-Chan*, or *Cam*, a Prince of *Tartary*. He was (as *Haithon*, and other his Contemporaries ſay) by Profeſſion a Blackſmith,

but

but being chosen General of some of the chief of the *Hoords*, he with a Troop of *Mogli*, one of them, marched South, and subdued the Countries as far as the Mount *Belgian*, part of *Imaus*, and so became King of South-East *Tartary*, and signalized himself by many Victories against the *Russians*, and other *Tartars*.

He died at *Keton-Kotan*, *A. D.* 1228. and of their Hegira 608. and divided his Conquests between his four Sons, *viz.* *Tusha-chan*, to whom he gave *D'hast*, *Capecha*, *Rhoz*, and *Abugharr*. *Chagatay-cawn*, who had *Mairrenabar*, *Aygor*, and *Chorazan*. These two died without Issue, and their Seigniories descended to the third Brother, *Ogg* or *Ogtaw-chawn*, who had before from his Father part of *Bactria*, and Mount *Caucasus*. He gained part of the *Persian* Monarchy, as far as *Babylon*, but dying in 1552. his Son *Gayne-chan*, an Infant under the Tuition of *Minihonna* his Wife, succeeded him, but he living not above three Years, the Sovereignty fell to the younger Brother *Tuli-chawn*'s Son, called *Manchu-chawn*, whose Father was Heir only to *Cingis-chan*'s Jewels and Treasures. This Prince perceiving divers Conspiracies against him, tho' armed with Integrity and a Just Title, he contracts an Alliance for Defence with his neighbouring Princes, to whom he entrusted the Command of several Provinces of his Empire, on condition, That they should hold of him in chief, and be at all times ready to assist him; but not living to try their Fidelity, he named *Ulakuchawn*, one of them, for his Successor. He delighted in Arms, and having quieted all Domestick Broils, he conquered *Babylon*, a great part of *Arabia*, and *Aleppo* and *Damascus* in *Syria*, which he ruled with great Prudence to the Year 1270; when finding Death approaching, he called his three Sons, and having exhorted them to Unity, divided his Lands among them, *viz.* To his Eldest Son *Habkay-cawn* he gave the Provinces of *Hierac*, *Mozendram* and *Korazan*, which comprehend the ancient *Media*, *Parthia*, *Hyrcania*, *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*: His second Son *Hya-shawmet*, had *Aro* and *Adarbayon*, part of *Armenia* and *Iberia*, which has *Salmas*, *Coy*, *Nazivan*, *Marava* and *Merent*, Cities of Note in it. To *Tawdon-Kawn*, were bequeathed the Seigniories of *Diarbecke* and *Rabaion*, or *Mesopotamia*; and that part of *Syria* which lies on the Banks of *Euphrates*. To his two Sons by a second Venter, *Nicador-Oglan*, and *Targahe-cawn*, he gave Money-Portions. *Habkay-cawn* died the same Year at *Hamadan* in *Persia*, and left his young Son *Argon-cawn* to the care of his Brother *Nicador-Oglan*, who seeking the Life of his Pupil, obliged him to save himself by flight. *Nicador* establishes himself in his Nephews Right by the Name of *Hameth-cawn*, but Divine Vengeance pursued him so fast, that he died Mad in 1275. and was buried at *Cashan*, and *Argon-cawn* returning from Banishment recovered his Right; and being joyfully accepted by the People, was crowned by the Name of *Tangadar-habkay Zedda*, *i. e.* Son to *Habkay-cawn*. This Man ruled five Years tyrannically, not only Massacring *Nicador*'s Sons and Relations, but many other innocent Persons; for which he became odious to all his People, who stirred up the *Parthian* against him, by whom being overcome in a Set-Battle, he was upbraided with his Cruelty, greatly tormented, and his Belly being ript open, his Guts were given to the Dogs. To him succeeded his Brother *Giviator-chan*, who in the fourth Year of his Reign was slain by *Belduc-chan* his Uncle, who after five Years Reign died without Issue.

His Sons.

Manchu-cawn.

Ulakuc-cawn.

His Sons and Successors.

Habkay-cawn.

Argon-cawn.

Badu.

Badu the Son of *Targahe*, youngest Son of *Ulakuchan*, came to the Throne with the Assent of the whole Nation, and so well answered their Affections, that he was beloved, and honoured above all that were ever before him, but declaring himself a Christian his Peoples love abated, and many Treasons were hatched against him through Satan's malice; so that he was slain at last (or rather Martyred) by *Gazur-chan*, Cousin to *Tangadar*, whose treachery God permitted speedily to be revenged, for when he least suspected Treason, he was wounded to Death in *Carbin* by his own Houshold Servants, and no cause is assigned in History for their so doing, but it says his Body lay for a long time unburied. This happen'd *A. D.* 1305. Heg. 685.

Gazan-chan.

Aliaptu-Abusaid.

His Brother *Aliaptu Abusaid* (or *Mahomet Ben-Argon*) obtained the Throne by his Valour, and to him succeeded *Hobaro-Mirza*, or *Abusaid Bahador-chan*, who spending his time in Lewdness, and dying without Issue, his Kingdom became a Theatre of War, no less than 30 Persons contending for the Sovereignty at once.

Tamerlane.

Things being in this Confusion, the People were forced to look out for help, and invited *Tamerlane*, Lord of *Samarchand*, a Prince famous for Justice and Success, against the *Samiatique Tartar*, *Persopolite* and *Chinese*, with Gifts and Remonstrances of their misery. The *Scythick* Prince promises them speedy Aid, and accordingly with 50000 Horse enters *Persia*, and having conquer'd the Tyrants, settled them in Peace within three Months. The People, thankful for this Deliverance, urged *Tamerlane* to accept the Crown, which he did, and managed it honourably 27 Years, in which time he subdued all *Asia*, took *Bajazet* the *Turk*, whom he put in an Iron Cage, and conquered more Kingdoms and Provinces in eight Years, than the *Romans* did in eight hundred, *viz.* From *Samarchand* to *Thrace*, which was the extent of the *Macedonian* Conquest.

This great Monarch of the *Asiatick* World was yet forced to submit to Death, and was buried *Anno* 1405. at *Anzar* in *Cathayo*, leaving his Sons and Grandchildren to Inherit, *viz.* *Jean Gwyr*, *Hamath-Cheque*, *Myram-Sha*, and *Myrza-Sharocke*, by some called *Soutochio*, and *Letrochio*. *Jean Gwyr* died much about the same time with his Father in *Palestine*, leaving two Sons, *Mamet* Sultan, and *Pyr-Mahomet*, who was made Governour of *Gaznehen* and *Indestan* by his Grandfather, and ruled over them, till he was perfidiously slain by *Pir-Ally*. *Hametcheque* was slain in *Laurestan*, in his Fathers last Battle with *Bajazet*. *Myram-sha* was slain in fight, *An.* 1480. by *Chara-Issust* the *Turk*, in *Aderbayon*, but left Issue Sultan *Mahumed*, Father of Sultan *Abusaid*, from whom the present Great *Mogul* is lineally descended.

His Successors.

Myrza-sharoc, the youngest of *Tamerlane*'s Sons, survived the rest, and held most parts of the Empire till his Death, which happened *An.* 1447. when he left *Aderbayon*, or part of *Media*, to *Myrza Joon-she*, Son of *Chara-Issust* the *Turk*, who was now entred *Persia*. *Myramsha*'s Issue to this day enjoys the *Tartarian* Empire, and tho' it has been disturbed much by the Invasions of the *Persian*, and Broils among themselves, yet flourishing under the Reign of *Babur*, it made some attempts upon the Conquest of *India*, and tho' that Prince could not compleatly subdue it, yet his Son *Hamayon*, by the help of *Tamas* the *Persian* King, made himself a perfect Master of it, *A. D.* 1550. Heg. 960. He died not long after by a fall down Stairs; and was buried at *Delly*.

Myrza-sharoc.

Babur.

Humayon.

His eldest Son *Abdul-Fetta-Geladin-Mahomet*, called *Ecbar*, who had been educated under the care of *Byrcano-chawn*, a Person of great Parts and generous Endowments, succeeded him by the help of his Tutor, and his Son *Chawn-channa*, and was crowned with all due Ceremony at *Delly*. From his very entrance on his Throne, he bent all his Endeavours to enlarge his Territories, and thereby proved himself to be the great Grandson of the Victorious *Tamerlane*. He revenged himself in the first place of *Hemow*, a turbulent Prince, and gained his Province, and then by *Ally Collichan* subdued *Doab*, or *Sanbal*, a Province surrounded by *Jeminy* and *Ganges*, the noblest Rivers in *India*. At that time *Bysangano-cawn*, the King's Tutor, being tired with the troubles of the World, and Old Age, begged Leave of his Prince to spend the rest of his time at *Mahomets* Sepulchre in Contemplation, but in his Way he was slain by an obscure Slave, whose Father he had before put to Death, and by his Son *Abdal Radgee*, and the rest of the afflicted Company, brought back to *Agra* to be buried. *Ecbar* laments his Death, at least seemingly, (for by some he is said to have been an Actor in it) and to divert his grief, he pulls down the Castle of *Agra*, which was then built of Mud, and rebuilt it of durable Stone well polished, and much larger, being made so fine and strong, that it admits scarce of any comparison in *Asia*, and is so spacious, that it takes up three Miles almost in Circuit, being built upon the Banks of *Jeminy*, compassed with a Stone Wall, Moated, and so to be entred by many Draw-bridges, having four strong Gates, and some Bulwarks and Counterscarps to make it Defensive.

Ecbar, King of Indian, his Reign.

His Conquest.

He built the Castle of *Agra*.

Agra lies East of *Surat* 755 Miles, in the Navel of *Indostan*, and is the Empress of all the Cities in the *Mogul*'s Territories. It is situate in 28 Deg. 38 Min. North Latitude, and is Watered by the *Jeminy*, which runs from *Dely* hither, and mixing with the *Ganges*, flows into the Gulph of *Bengal*. It is in form of an Half-Moon like *London*, the Streets are many, long and narrow, but very nasty. It is 7 Miles about, part Walled, and the rest fenced with a Ditch. *Radgee-Rana*, a noble and potent Prince of *India*, descended of King *Porous*, lost his strong Castle of *Clytor* to him upon this Occasion. *Zemet Padshaw*, one of *Ecbar*'s Captains, fled to *Radgee* upon a discontent, and was entrusted by him with an Important Garrison, from whence he made many Inroads into *Gazurat* to vex and provoke *Ecbar*. This was a fair Occasion for *Ecbar* to secure himself, and invade *Radgee*'s Dominions, and thereupon marches against *Zemet* with 50000 Horse; some Months he attacked the Fort by force in vain, which obliged him to undermine it,

Agra described.

The Castle of *Clytor* taken by *Ecbar*.

it, and blow up the Walls, which he did so effectually as to make a breach, at which he himself, and 20000 Men, immediately entred, driving *Zemet* into so much despair, that he gather'd his Family to him into one place, and burnt himself with them, but took the Fort which *Aladin* had endeavoured 12 Years in vain; a Victory so great, that *Ecbar* caused it to be Engraven at *Agra*, which is still to be seen in remembrance of it.

Ecbar suppresses a Rebellion raised by his Brother, and enlarges his Dominions.

Ecbar had no time to rejoyce at this Victory, tho' so signal, because immediately upon it he received Letters from *Raja Bagwander*, Viceroy of *Lahor*, that *Mirza*, *Mamet Hegee* his Brother, with 30 thousand Horse of *Kabil*, had seized his Country. *Ecbar* delays no time, but so suddenly offers himself to the Enemy to give him Battle, that *Mahomet* was surprized, and leaving his Camp, it became a prey to *Ecbar*'s Army. This Occasion drew the King's thoughts to attempt the Conquest of other places, and going himself to *Pang-Ob*, he sent *Badur-kawn*, *Allekooli-cawn*, and *Zemaen*, against the *Patanians*, whom they vanquished at *Doab*, *Samb l*, *Lachmown* and *Jompore*, and got all the Provinces to the *Mogul*, between *Ganges* and *Teatsa*; but being puffed up with these Conquests, they resolved to set up from themsel.es, and subdue all *India* for themselves. *Ecbar* was acquainted with this design by his Mothers Letters from *Agra*, and with speedy Marches so surprized them, that they fled at his approach; but being taken, *Allekooli-cawn* was trampled to Death by Horses, and *Badur-cawn* Strangled at *Ecbar*'s Command.

Mandee a Prophet.

Things being thus a little settled, *Ecbar* fancies that a Pilgrimage to *Asmeer*, to Invocate *Mandee*, a Reverent Scholar of *Mahomet*'s, might procure him Male-Issue, and accordingly performed it, altho' 200 *English* Miles, and there barefoot entreats *Mandee* for Children. This Prophet is of great Fame in those Parts, and through the Liberality of some devoted Princes, lies there Entombed in a stately Monument, graced with three fair Courts; each of which is paved with Stone, and the outside, after the *Persian* Mode, is plaistred and polished in *Mosaick* Order.

Asmeer.

Asmeer lies in 25 Deg. 15 Min. Northern Latitude, the Castle is seated upon an high Hill, and City lies below it; the Houses are well built, and the Walls are of solid Stone, but not of great strength.

Godah

Not far from it is *Godah*, once the Seat of the Valiant *Rashboot* Princes. The Country is large and fruitful, and affords the Ruins of many ancient Magnificent Buildings, which Time has buried in Dust. These *Ecbar* had added to his Empire; and now having ended his Oblations, he visited an holy *Derine* in his return, named *Siet Selym*, a Man in great Repute among the People,

Sie-Selim's Prophesy.

who took it for so great a favour, that he foretold that the *Mogul* should have three Male Children in a short time, as it came to pass. Upon this account he named his first-born *Selym*, (who was afterward *Mogul*, and called himself *Shaw-Selym*, and to whom Sir *Tho. Roe* was sent Embassador) the other two were named *Chan-Morad*, or *Amurath* and *D'haensha*, or *Daniel*. The Prophesy was so grateful to *Ecbar*, that in gratitude he erected a very magnificent Mosque in the Town he lived, then called *Tzicherin*, or *Sycary*, and having Walled it in, and enlarged it, he built himself a Palace in it, and a Bazar for Trade, as noble a one as any in the East, and intending to make it the Seat of the Empire, he called it *Fettipore*, *i. e.* a place of Pleasure; but after finding the Water unwholsome, he forsook it, and from that time it fell to decay, and now lies in Ruins. It is 18 Miles distant from *Agra*.

He builds the first his Castle of Agra.

Fettipore.

While *Ecbar* was thus busied at *Fettipore*, News was brought him that another Rebellion was began in *Guzurat* by *Ebrahim Hossen*, *Mirza Cawn*, *Mahomet Hossen*, and *Joon Cawn*, who had Forraged as far as *Baroch*, and were marching to *Amadabad* to make a prey of that Wealthy City. *Amadabad* seems to be the *Amacastis* of *Ptolemy*, and *Amadavistis* of *Arrian*: It takes its Name from *Hamet* the King, who in the Year of *Mahomet* 275, enlarged and beautified it. It lies in 23 Deg. 18 Min. Northern Latitude, and is at present the Metropolis of *Cambaia* or *Guzurat*. It is watered by a sweet River, and circled by a strong Wall, well and orderly built, with pretty Towers, and twelve Posterns, which none are allowed to go through without a Pass. The Streets are many, pretty large and comely, and their Shops are well stored with Aromatick Gums, Perfumes and Spices, Silks, Cottons, Callicoes, and choice of *Indian* and *China* Rarities, which are sold here by the *Banians*, who are the most numerous Inhabitants. The Bazar is of most Note, being rich and uniform, and the Castle is strong, large, and moated, being the Habitation of the *Cambaian* Governour. The Houses are generally of Sun-burnt Bricks, low, but large and terrassed. Near it is the *Mausoleum* of a certain School-Master, whom King *Sha-Reer* loved so dearly, that he sought to render him Immortal by this stately Monument. The Building is arched, and the Pavement is of well polished Marble. It hath three Courts, and in one of them are 400 *Porphyrian* Pillars formed in the *Corinthian* way, joining to it is a Tanke of Water, compassed with Cloysters, adorned with spacious Windows, which afford a delicate prospect.

Bysen's Rebellion.

Amadabad.

Castle, House, a stately Mausoleum.

At *Sesques*, or *Sarkeffe*, an hours Riding from this City, are the Sepulchres of many *Cambaian* Kings, and *Rashboots*, the Nobility of the Country, in a stately Temple, much resorted to by the *Bannians*, who descended from them; and two Miles nearer the City, are the Gardens and Palace of *Chawn-Channa*, who was the Son of *Byranchan* the *Persian*, which *Ecbar* built, and gave him in memory of the Victory his Father gained over the last of the *Cambaian* Kings, and added his Kingdom to *Ecbar*. The Intelligence of *Hossen*'s Rebellion no sooner came to *Ecbar*'s Ears, but he, with incredible haste, marches to give him Battle, and having in four days passed 300 Miles, falls upon him, and his Complices, early in the Morning, and after a small resistance routs them. Many were slain in the pursuit, and among them *Ebrahim Hossen* and *Mirza Chawn*; *Mahomet Hossen* was taken Prisoner, and forthwith Beheaded.

The Sepulchres of the *Cambaian* Princes.

This Victory not only recovered *Amadabat*, and caused it to be better fortify'd, but made *Surat*, and most part of *Guzurat*, subject to *Ecbar*. As a Monument of this Victory, *Ecbar*, upon his return, began the famous Castle of *Agra*, which now deserves the Title of the Princess of *Asia*. It is built of large and good Stone, and cost twelve Years to finish, tho' 1200 Labourers were commonly employ'd about it. It is said to have cost 2500000 Roupees, tho' at the same time he spent 1500000 Roupees about the Walls and Palace at *Fettipore*.

Surat and *Guzurat* conquered by *Ecbar*.

At *Tzekander*, or *Secandra*, five Miles from *Agra*, is the *Mausoleum*, or Burial-place, of the Great *Moguls*, which *Ecbar* began, and his Son *Jangheer* continued, but is yet scarce finished, tho' there has been expended on it 14 Millions of Roupees. The place where it stands is called *Scander*, *i. e. Alexander*, because 'tis said that that *Macedonian* King ended his Conquests there. It has four large Squares, each side being 300 paces long. The Walls are Free-Stone, and at each corner is a Tower of Chequered Marble. Ten foot higher is another Tower, beautified on every side with three others, which resemble the famous *Septizonium* of the Emperor *Severus*, or the famous Tower of *Babylon*, built by *Semiramis*, and dedicated to the Memory of *Jupiter Belus* her Husband's great Ancestor; at the top of it is the Mummy of *Ecbar*, who is there laid in a Coffin of Gold. This Structure is built in a spacious Garden, surrounded with a Wall of red coloured Stone, and much ennobles those Parts, as well as keeps the Founder in Memory. While these vast Buildings were erecting, an opportunity was given to *Ecbar* of adding *Bengal* to his Empire, by the Succession of *Sha-Dower*, a *Pathan* Prince, both Effeminate himself, and hated by the People; whereupon he sends an Army of 50 thousand Horse, 200 thousand Foot, and 600 Elephants, against him. *Sha-Dower* had no notice of the march of this Army, till it had passed over the *Ganges*, but being assured of it, he dispatched *Radgee B'han* with 20000 Horse to encounter them. He met them between *Zietsa* and *Moheb-Alli-por*, where he maintain'd a Skirmish with them for 3 hours, but *Ecbar* over-powering him with Numbers got the Mastery, and forced them to retreat into *Pathan*, which *Dower* had fortified. *Ecbar* pursues them, and laying Siege to the Town, neither provoked them to Battle, nor attacked the Town for three months, but in the fourth violently assaults and enters it, takes the King buried in Drink, and beheaded him.

The Sepulchres of the *Moguls*.

Ecbar's Tomb.

Ecbar conquers *Bengal*.

Ecbar, after this good fortune, returned to *Fettipore* himself to Oversee his Buildings, but employing his Captains and Army to enlarge his Empire, who by their Valour and Vigilancy made considerable Additions to it; for *Rastan-cawn*, and *Zadoc-cawn*, took the Castle of *Rhantipore* in *Malva* from the *Rhadgees*, who had held it 400 Years. *Mohebally-cawn*, a Wise and Daring Captain, gained the Castle of *Rota*, or *Roughtaz*, called of old *Orcophanta*, by this Stratagem: He pretended to be on a Journey to *Bengal* with his Seraglio of Women, and being in haste, shews a Raja his Concubines, who were in 200 Doola's or Cajua's, and Bribes him to procure leave of the Lord of the Castle, that he might leave his Concubines in the Castle till his return. The *Radgee*, who kept the Castle, loved Women, and readily entertained the motion, but *Ally-cawn* caused the Women to

Several other Conquests made by his Captains.

change their Garments, and as many young Men to put them on, who being managed by a prudent Eunuch, seized the Castle, beheaded the *Radgee* himself, and so became Masters of that Fortress, which was so strong, that all the force of *India* could not have taken it. *Ecbar* was much delighted with the pleasant management of the Matter; and so much the more, because of the great Mass of Money taken in it.

Gidney-cawn also, an Apostate *Mahometan*, betrayed the Invincible Castle of *Jeloor* to him, tho' to his own Brother's confusion. The fame of these Successes afflicted many of the Neighbouring Raja's, most of them seeking to defend themselves against this Invading *Tartar*; but some were so bold as to attack his Greatness, and endeavour to suppress him by force, among whom was *Roop Mathij*, a Lady both Fair and Valiant. She, tho' of Beauty enough to conquer *Ecbar* sooner than by Arms, confided rather to the latter, and fell vigorously into his Dominions, but was opposed in the midst of her career by *Adam-cawn*, an expert Soldier, with a Body of Horse, who slew most of her *Pattans* in the fight, and took her; but she, rather than endure the shame of Imprisonment, the assaults of her Chastity, and the scoffs of a Victorious Enemy, poysoned her self.

Roop-Mathij opposes his Success, but is conquer'd.

Mesoffer-cawn's Rebellion suppressed.

Mesoffer-cawn, in the mean time, *Anno* 1588. Heg. 968. being in *Guzurat*, raises a Rebellion against *Ecbar*, and having strangled *Gotobdas*, *Mamet-cawn* the King's Vice-Roy in *Amadabat*, and some *Omra's*, seizes upon all the Important places in the Province, but being opposed by *Abdal-Radgee*, (*Byrangano-cawns* Son) he was vanquished, and despairing of pardon he killed himself, as the late named *Amazen* did.

Ecbar obtains *Cabul*.

Soon after this, *Mirza-Mahomet-Hackim*, *Ecbar*'s Brother, died; by which means he secured to himself *Cabul*, which was impossible for him to do while *Hackim* was alive, for using his Wives and Children with all due respect, and conferring on *Chaber-cawn Hamet-beg*, and *Mamet-Maxuen-cawn*, Stipends and Commands in *Mesulipatan*, *Orixa*, and other places, suitable to their Merit, he made *Zibber-cawn* Vice-Roy of that Province, and so made it subject to him.

This growing Greatness of *Ecbar*'s raised so much terror in the Minds of the little *Gentile* Kings, that bordered on his Conquests, *viz.* *Rādzia Thormiel*, *Radgee Ramgiend* Lord of *Bando*, and *Radgee Bhyrmiel*, with several others, that they presented themselves to *Ecbar* at *Fettipore*, and Enrolled their Countries, as Members, or Appendixes of the *Mogul*'s Empire, obliging themselves Yearly (as a Symbol of their Subjection) not only to present him with Earth and Water, but their Daughters to be his Concubines; which was so grateful a Tribute to the *Mogul*, that he built a Triumphant Palace to Court them in at *Paise*, upon a Promontory, where the *Jemmy* empties it self into *Ganges*, of hard Stone, very artificially polished, and called it *Elabasse*. And that it might be more venerable and famous, he reposited in a dark Cave some deformed Images (as Sacred Relicks) of *Babba Adam*, *Mamma Evah*, *Seth*, *Enos*, and *Methuselah*, (whom they affirm to have lived thereabouts) to which innumerable *Banians* from most Parts of *India* resort Yearly for a Benediction, having first purified themselves in *Ganges*, and shaved off their hair, as an unclean Excrement, supposing that they merited thereby. *Ecbar* spent a Myriad, and 200 thousand Roupees, on this Building. Near it is the stately Tomb which *Jangheer* erected for his first Wife *Raja Menisengh*'s Sister, who poysoned her self as soon as she heard of her Son Sultan *Gusbro*'s Rebellion.

Elabasse built.

Ecbar proffers new Conquests.

Ecbar's Affairs going on thus prosperously, he harbours new Projects of conquering *Purop*, *Patan*, *Cormandel*, and all *Bengal* to the South, and so stretch his Empire as far as *Tartary*. This design was soon put in execution, by the News he heard that *Mirza Sharophin Badaxan* had been injured by the *Usbeg-Tartars*, whom he resolved to Revenge; but first, as more considerable, he bends his march towards *Orixa*, that he might at once command entirely over *Ganges*. At *Attirk* he Musters his Army, and gives the Van to *Raja Bymiel*, and takes the other himself, and *Jehan-cawn*. *Byrmiel* outstripping the rest of the Army, falls furiously upon the *Patanicay*, who being led by *Zell-Ally*, their Valiant General, received them with such Bravery, and fought them with such Success, that *Byrmiel* was forced to retreat with loss; but *Ecbar* having quick notice of it by such as fled, rallies his Men again, and with some fresh Supplies renews the Fight. *Zell-Ally*, and his Victorious Party, received him with a sharp Charge, and maintained the fight for some hours closely, but being over-powered with Numbers lost the Day. *Zell-Ally*, and *Turcoft* his Lieutenant, were slain, and 15000 of his Army left dead upon the place. *Ecbar*, by this Victory, made all *Bengal* subject to him, which to this day remains a Member of the *Mogul*'s Empire; but *Abas* the *Persian* not liking his Enlargement that way, wrested it from him within a little while after, tho' he held it not long.

His Army routed.

Ecbar conquers *Zell-Ally*.

Ecbar's Ambition stopp'd not here, but carries him on still to Conquer, tho' he cares not how, nor where, for hearing of the old King of *Maurenabar*'s Death, he desires to be his Successor; and to that end, to discover his Son's strength, he sends his Embassadors *Tzedder-cawn*, and *Hackeem-cawn*, under a pretence of Friendship, to condole and comfort him for his Father's Death, and they returned at the Years end well Instructed.

Ecbar proceeds in his design, and because *Cassimir*, which lay between, was not in his power, he sends *Ally Mirza* in an Embassy to *Justoff-cawn*, a fearful King, with this Message, 'That if he would do him Homage, 'he should have his Kingdom established to him, and 'himself his Friend to defend him; but if he obliged 'him to wage War against him, he must expect perpe-'tual Slavery. *Justoff-cawn* being of a timerous Spirit submits, but *Jacob-cawn* his Son, disdaining the Vassalage of his Family, shook off the Yoke for a little time, till *Ecbar*, by his stronger Forces, having subdued and taken him, obliged him to accept a severe Bondage.

King of *Cassimir* submits to him.

Cassimir is part of the Ancient *Sogdiana*, which was a part of *Scythia intra Imaum*. It lies in 41 Deg. 9 Min. Northern Latitude. The Province is generally Mountainous, Barren, Cold and Windy. The Metropolis of it is *Shyrenakar*, watered by the River *Behat*, or *Phat*, which arising in the Mountains of *Caucasus*, empties it self into *Indus*. In this Province is a Lake 15 Miles in compass, which has an Isle in the middle of it, where is a Palace seated most deliciously for variety of Sports, in Fishing, Hawking, Rowing, *&c.*

Cassimir described.

Ecbar having done this, he aims at *Tutta*, and the Countries lying on the East-side of *Indus*; (deferring the Conquest of *Baltria* for a time) *Mirza-Jehan*, King of *Tutta*, was grown odious to his Subjects by reason of his Tyranny, which he knew would make his Attempt to conquer it more easie, whereupon he sends *Ganganna*, his Favourite, with 12 thousand Men in Boats to surprize it. Nevertheless, the King of *Tutta* having Intelligence of it, maintained his City six Months against them, but in the seventh was forced to Surrender upon Conditions, which tho' favourable, yet *Ecbar* got all *Syndee* into his power.

King of *Tutta* conquered by *Ecbar*.

Tutta is one of the most celebrated Marts of *India*, so encompassed with the River *Indus*, that it makes a Peninsula. *Loor Bander* is the Port to it, but the Ships that lie there are subject to the Worm, as at *Swalley*, *Dabul*, *Goa*, &c.

Tutta described.

About the same time died *Nezamshaw*, the Old King of *Decan*, and *Melec Amber* his Son succeeded him: *Ecbar*, whose Ambition catched at all Opportunities of enlarging his Dominions, resolves upon a War with the New King before he was settled, and to that end sends *Ganganna*, a Chosen General, with 30 thousand Horse for *Labor*, and Orders *Radgee Ally-chan* to meet him with five thousand more at *Brampore*; where having made all necessary Provisions for his Expedition they march to *Decan*.

Ecbar's design on *Decan*.

This Kingdom is large, and has many Cities of Note in it, as *Decan* the Metropolis, which is distant about ten Miles from the Diamond-Mine, *Onor*, *Batticala*, *Mangelir*, &c.

Decan described.

Tziard Bieby, Daughter to the last King, hearing of the *Mogul*'s approach, first fortifies *Amdanagar*, a Frontier Town, and having gotten some Auxiliary Forces of forty thousand Horse, from the Kings of *Visapa* and *Golconda*, which she gave to be commanded by *Godgee Shubel*, a faithful Eunuch, meets the Enemy upon the Confines. After some Skirmishes a furious Battle begun, and continued with doubtful Success 18 hours, till *Ganganna* coming in with a fresh Reserve, forced the *Decans*, after three hours fight more, to give back, their General *Godgee* being left slain on the spot. The *Moguls* pursue the *Decans* 15 Miles, but the Princess *Bieby* opposing them with some fresh Horse, they were obliged to retire out of *Decan*.

Ganganna invades *Decan*.

Ecbar having notice of what passed, Orders his Son *Sha-Morad* to reinforce his Army with a new Levy of fifteen thousand Horse, and make a new Invasion into those Southern Provinces from *Brampore*. The Youth merrily undertakes the Charge, but indulging himself in Venery and Drink too much, while he lay there, died, and *Abdul Fazel* is put into his place. He in a small time subdues the Provinces of *Sanda*, *Berar*, and many other Wealthy Places, giving the King hopes by Letter of conquering *Decan*, *Viscapore*, *Golcunda*, and other Parts of *India*,

Ecbar endeavours to reduce him by Letters.

Decan taken.

Brampore described.

India, in a small time. *Ecbar* in the mean time Orders his Son *Sha-Selim* (afterwards called *Jangheer*) with fifteen thousand Horse, to fall upon *Rajn Rena Mardout*, the only Successor of *Porus*, and the most potent of the *Radgees*, several *Omra's* and *Mancebdars* attending him with what Forces they could gather, and for quicker Intelligence, *Ecbar* himself removes his Residence from *Agra* to *Lahor*, where he was received with all demonstrations of Joy, as if he came to settle among them, and enrich the Town.

Sha-Selim sent against *Rajn Rena Mardout.*

Lahor described.

Lahor is a great and famous City, vying with *Agra* for the Honour of the Metropolis of *Moguliſtan*. It is situate in 32 Deg. 15 Min. Northern Latitude. The Air for 8 Months is very pure and restorative, the Streets are graceful and well paved, most of them being cleansed, and served by the River *Ravee*, a branch of the *Indus*. The Castles, Palaces, Mosques, Hummums, Tanks, Gardens, *&c.* are very observable: The Castle is large, uniform, and nobly seated; 'tis built of white polished Stone, and is entred by twelve Gates. Within is a Palace with two Courts. On the Walls are pictur'd sundry Stories and Pastimes about the *Moguls*, and their Atchievements; and upon some of the Doors is a Crucifix, and the Image of the Blessed Virgin. It was a famous City in *Porus's* Time. The Province about it, which is called *Pengab*, is watered with five Rivers, which makes it as fruitful as any part of *India*. From hence to *Agra* is a continued Walk, shadowed with Elm, Ash and Mulberry-trees, and at every eight Miles end an Inn for Strangers to repose in *gratis*, tho' these Cities are 300 Miles distance. *Asafœtida* abounds here.

King of *Cassmir* submits to him.

A Crucifix and Images of our Lord.

Cassmir described.

Ecbar being returned to *Agra*, resolves to prosecute the War in *Decan* in Person, and having made suitable Preparations for it, *A.* 1597. Heg. 977. sets out towards it from *Brampore*, but, contrary to his expectation, as soon as he had passed the River *Nerebede*, he had News that *Badurshan*, a couragious *Radgee*, had fortified the strong Castle of *Hasser* against him. The *Mogul* not thinking it safe to leave so considerable an Enemy behind him, sits down before it, resolving to take it by force or famine; and to that end blocked it up close. The *Radgee* not knowing any, that either would, or could either raise the Siege, or supply him with Provisions, thought it his best way to treat betimes, and beating a Parley accordingly, came to a Treaty with *Ecbar*, who granted him his Life and Goods upon Articles, and upon the surrender of the Castle made them good to him. The *Radgee* accepted a Command in *Ecbar's* Army, who himself marched more cheerfully at the thoughts of this Success, till such time as News was brought him, that *Sha-Selim* having poysoned *Tzebber-cawn*, and seized his Treasure, with which he made the Soldiers firm to him, was marching to *Agra*, intending to Depose him. *Ecbar* was so amazed at this unexpected Rebellion, that what with fear of his Son's popularity, and what with grief to leave *Decan* unconquered, he fell into a deep Melancholy, till *Abdul Fazel* reviving him with seasonable Encouragements, he left his Son *Sha-Dhaen*, with *Abdul Fazel*, and other *Omra's*, to prosecute the Wars in *Decan*, and returned to *Agra*. *Sha-Selim* was got thither before him, with hopes of seizing his Father's Treasury, but missing his aim, he marched to *Elabasse*, by *Reben* and *Annewars*, many Towns and Provinces submitting to him in the way.

Badurshas Rebels.

Sha Selims Rebels.

Ecbar endeavours to reduce him by Letters.

The King being returned to *Agra*, where he was made more certain of his Son's Conspiracy, first attacks him with kind Letters, telling him the shame and danger he was in, and that the Curse of *Mahomet*, as well as deprivation of his Birthright, would fall on him, unless he desisted, promising him Pardon if he would submit and come in. *Sha-Selim* was deaf to such perswasions, and first derides the Messenger, and then over-runs the Empire as far as *Bengal*, hoping that *Radgee Mansingh* would side with him, tho' in vain.

Dhaen taken.

In the mean time *Dhaen*, or *Daniel*, refreshed him with the good News of his Success in *Decan*, for he having entred the Country, besieged *Gandetzin*, a considerable Castle, into which *Bieby* and her Nobles had shut themselves, with two Years Provision, and all sorts of Warlike Instruments, resolving to hold out the Siege to the last; but the fortunate Conqueror took it by Storm in the seventh Month. Most of the Defendants lost their lives, *Bieby* poysoned her self, and the rest fell into the Enemies hands, with all the Treasure.

The Kings of *Golcenda* and *Vissapor*, fearing to oppose a Victorious Army, made some Acknowledgments to him, and so he returned to *Brampore* loaden with Triumph and Treasure.

Brampore described.

Brampore is a Seminary of *Bramins*, *Jogues*, *Culans*, or *Gymnosophists*. It lies in 28 Deg. 3 Min. Northern Latitude, in the Province of *Chandys* or *Sandec*, which is fruitful where it is watered by the River *Tappee*, but elsewhere is barren and sandy. The City stands upon low ground, and so is unhealthy, being Inhabited most by *Bannians*. The Streets are many, but narrow, and the Houses high, but not beautiful. At the North-East side stands the Castle by the River's side, which is large; and in the River is an Artificial Elephant, admired by Strangers, but reverenced by the *Bannians*. It was anciently the Seat of the *Decan* Kings, but now the most memorable things are *Chan-channa's* House and Gardens, adorned with all sorts of Trees, and Flowers, with Water-Works, which may afford Pleasure and Delight.

Ecbar no sooner understood how fortunately *Daniel* had proceeded Southward, but *Godjee Jehan* presents him with a Penitential Letter from *Sha-Selim* (who doubtless was frighted into this Submission by his Brother's Success.) *Ecbar* in a little time sends *Jehan* back with Promises of Pardon, provided he would dismiss his Army, and make a speedy Submission. His ungracious Son holding fast his former Impiety, and being at the head of an Army of seventy thousand Men, upon whom he had conferred many Commands, refused to do it, unless he would give a General Amnesty to all the Conspirators, whose Lives and Well-beings were as dear to him as his own. This Answer incensed his Father to a Denial, whereupon he dislodges his Army, and marched to *Elabass*, where he commanded all sorts of Coin of Gold, Silver and Brass, to be stamped with his own Name and Motto; which, to vex his Father, he sent to him, and besides, Courted his Father's Wife *Anarkala*.

Sha-Selim submits, but Engages in Revolts.

Ecbar enraged at it.

Ecbar, enraged at these things, Curses him, and then acquaints *Abdel Fazel*, his Chancellor, with it. He laboured all he could to moderate his Master's passion, and with 3000 Horse hastes to do his Master some Service. *Sha-Selim* having Intelligence of all that passed, writes to *Radgee Bertsingh*, (Lord of *Seer*) through whose Country he was to pass, promising him a Gratuity, and a Command of 5000 Horse, if he would send him his Head. The *Radgee* promises his best, and with 1000 Horse, and 3000 Foot, lays an Ambush for him near *Gwaler*. *Abdul Fazel* not suspecting any thing marches securely: The *Radgee* falls upon him, and having the advantage both of Men and Surprize, slew most of his Men, and taking him Beheaded him, and carries his Head to *Selim*, who received the Present joyfully. *Ecbar*, who loved *Abdul* dearly, fell into such a passion at the News of his Death, that he withdrew three days from all Company, and refused to be comforted.

Abdul Fazel slain.

This affliction was soon followed by another, *viz.* the Death of his Son *Sha-Daniel*, who killed himself by Intemperance, so that he was at his Wits end. But necessity obliging him to put a stop to his Son's Rebellion, he marches against him with thirty thousand Horse; but before he would bring things to extremity, he resolves to try once more what perswasions would do, and to that end sends a pathetick Letter to him by *Myrad-Zedda* the Princes Tutor, who so wrought with him, that he brought him to *Agra* to *Ecbar*, who received him with fury, and Thunder-struck him with a Storm of words, strikes him with his Fist upon the Mouth, calls him Fool and Ass, that commanding seventy thousand Men, would forsake them to trust the Sugar'd promises of any Man, and then sends him to Prison, with all the *Omra's* that attended him, except *Radgee Batso*, who made his escape. In this Imprisonment, *Sha-Selim*, contrary to his Custom, abstains 24 hours from Opium; but *Ecbar*, fearing he would thus make away himself, went the next day in Person to perswade him to take it. The third day, by the Intercession of his Ladies and Concubines, *Selim* was freed, and sent to his own House, where he behaved himself very dutifully, visiting his Father every day, till *Ecbar*, upon some new Jealousies, restrained him again, but this Rancour had little effect, for the King taking a distaste against *Mirsha-Gashaw*, his Favourite, for speaking a word which he ill Interpreted, resolves to have his Life for it, and to that end ordered his Physician to make two Pills of like shape, but contrary Operation, which *Gashaw* bringing to *Ecbar*, he takes one himself, and orders *Gashaw* to take the other. *Ecbar*, by mistake, takes the poyson'd one, and tho' he used all endeavours to prevent the effects, it proved in vain; so that after 14 days torment he died, in the 73d Year of his Age, and 52 of his Reign. He was buried with all imaginable Solemnity at *Tzekander*, in a Monument he had prepared for himself, and *Sha-Selim* (not without some opposition from *Radgee Mansingh* and *Chan Asem*, who endeavoured to raise his Son *Cushroe* to the Throne, because they pretended *Ecbar* had nominated him his Successor) was with due Ceremony crowned at *Agra*, by the Name of *Jangheer*, in the Year 1604, Heg. 984.

Sha-Daniel's Death.

Sha-Selim submits, and is Imprison'd.

Ecbar poysoned, died, and *Sha-Selim* succeeds.

Jangheer's Reign.

Jangheer being settled on the Throne, began his Reign with Acts of Grace, and by the Mediation of *Morteza Chan*, *Cooly Mametzhan*, and others of his Council, receives his Son Sultan *Cushroe*, and his Associates *Radgee Mensingh*, and *Chan Asem*, into favour; but *Cushroe*, suspecting his Pardon to be Counterfeit, fled to *Hassenbeg*, Vice-Roy of *Cabul*, his Old Friend, being certain, that if he stayed long at Court, he should be put to Death. *Jangheer* had immediate notice of his Son's flight, and fearing the danger of it, first Orders *Godgee Melec Allebeg*, Captain of his Guard, with his Forces, to pursue him, and then followed himself with 50 Elephants, and 8000 Men.

Cushroe's Rebels and is routed.

The poor Prince being thus pursued, was afraid he should be made a Prisoner again; but such was the haste of *Hassenbeg*, that they could not overtake him by fifteen Courses, and on the 9th he got to *Labor*, intending to enter the Castle, but *Ebrahim-chan*, the Governour, kept him out. The Prince, having twenty thousand Men with him, laboured to take it by force, and spent three Weeks about it, but all in vain; whereupon he leaves *Labor*, and resolves to meet his Father, and give him Battle nearer home. In his march, he pitched one night where *Mortosa-chawn* lay in Ambush with 600 Horse, who fell upon him, but by the care of *Hassan* he was routed, and had not *Godgee Melec*, with the King's Standard, come into his Aid, proclaiming that the King was at hand, the King's Army had been quite ruined; but the King's approach begat such terrour, that *Abdul Raja*, who bore the Prince's Colours, cowardly threw them away, and fled, whose Example the rest of the Army following, the Prince was left defenceless, and his Baggage seized by the Country People.

Fettipore built as a Monument of the Victory.

Jangheer was so sensible of this good hap, that in memory of this Deliverance he built at *Tzickerry* a Castle, and names it *Fettipore*, adding, after a fair Bazar, a stately Mosque and Palace, and railing it in; so that had the Water been good, it had by this time triumphed over all the Cities of *India*.

The miserable Prince, after this defeat, being accompanied with *Hassenbeg*, *Abdul Radgee*, and *Chan Badersha*, fly to *Labor*, where *Radgee* staid, but the Sultan, with *Badersha*, crossing the River, labour to arrive with safety at *Rantas*, a Castle reputed Impregnable; but as they passed the River *Tzenob*, the treacherous Watermen kept them between Decks, and brought them into the Power of *Cassem-chawn's* Sons, who, without delay, conveyed them to *Jangheer*. The King, over-joyed with this good fortune, returns to *Labor*, where he first put to Death many *Omra's*, the Prince's Followers, Imprisoned *Hassenbeg*, *Bedasha*, and *Abdul Radgee*, after he had publickly Disgraced them, and committed his Son to the Custody of *Zemanacbeg*, called after *Mahobet-chan*, *i. e.* The Beloved Lord.

Another Rebellion of his Lords discovered.

But his Tyranny would not suffer him to live long without Enemies, for some of his Nobles of the highest Rank, *viz.* *Mirza Cheriefe*, (Brother to *Assaph-chan*) *Mirza Nouradin* his Cousin, *Mirza Fetulla*, *Mirza Shaffenbeg*, *Lollabeg* and *Murdoph-chan*, conspired to murder him as he passed over the Mountains to *Cabul*; but the King, tho' suspecting no such design, was so well guarded, that they durst not attempt their Villanous purpose. Yet were they discovered to *Jangheer*, by *Godgee Vehes*, and *Ethaman Doulet*, the King's Treasurer, was accused of assisting them with Money out of the King's Treasury. The King was struck with fear at the News of it, but throwing it off by *Mirza Ombrave's* Advice, he apprehended the Conspirators, and without delay commands them to be Executed. *Ethaman Doulet* was spared upon the payment of 200000 Roupees to the King for his Life, but discharged of his Place, and confined to *Dianet-chan's* House.

Sultan Cushroe's Eyes put out.

Jangheer remembring his danger in going to *Cabul*, which he believed to proceed from his Son *Cushroe*, commands his Son's Eyes to be put out with Juice of *Aeck*; but one Eye, through the favour of the Poyson, retain'd a little sight. He also ordered *Chan-Asem*, *Cushroe's* Father-in-Law, to be clad in loathsome Rags, and being brought into the *Guzel-chan*, that all the *Omra's* should spit on his Beard, to be manacled and cast into Prison, where he remained two Years close Prisoner, till by the importunities of his Wives he was released.

Curroon's designs to obtain the Crown.

In the Year 1609, *Currown*, another of *Jangheer's* Sons, with his Friends, to secure his way to the Crown, prevailed with his Father that his Brother's Sons might be Christned; which was accordingly done by the Jesuits at *Agra*. Soon after, *Mirza Ombrave* being Apoplectick left his Office, and *Tzalamchan* was made Vice-Roy of *Bengal*, in the room of *Catopdy*, with an Order to send up *Assen-chan's* Family Prisoners to him, which he accordingly did. In the Way, the young Widow *Mehermetzia*, *Ethaman Doulet's* Daughter, and Sister to *Assaph-chan*, was met by a Wizard, who told her many Stories of her ensuing greatness, which soon after came to pass; for being arrived at *Agra*, they were welcomed by *Rockia Sultanna* the Mother Queen, and she being one day in the *Mahal* with her little Girl, *Jangheer* in merriment lifted up her Veil, and became on a sudden so ravished with her Beauty, that he sought all means to ingratiate himself in her Affections. He advances *Ethaman Doulet*, her dejected Father, and asks his good-will for her; gave Honour, Wealth and Command, to her Brother *Asseph-chan*, and her other Kindred, and married her with all Solemnity, changing her Name into *Noushe-Begem* or *Normahal*, *i. e.* The Light or Glory of the Court. In his Amours with this lovely Princess, he spent some Years without regarding any Publick business.

Jangheer is in Love.

Radgee Rana Rebels.

In 1610, Heg. 990. and 6th Year of *Jangheer's* Reign, Sultan *Sherryar* the Prince was sent Vice-Roy of *Guzurat*, under the Tuition of *Mortesa-chan*, and *Chaw-Jehan* to *Brampore*, and *Mahobet-chan* with an Army against *Radgee Rana*, or *Rabanna* of *Mandon*, who at that time was broke out into Rebellion against him. *Mahobet-chan* went on Victoriously, and forced many strong Holds and Castles from those untameable *Indians*, but through the envy of some at Court he was recalled, and *Abdul-chan* made General in his Place, who prosecuted the War with the like Success, for he beat *Rana* in a pitched Battle at *Siss-meer*, and took *Syavend*, his strongest Castle, from him, wherein he found store of Provision, and many Pagods, which had stood there, and been Superstitiously adored for above a thousand Years. These he caused to be burnt, and reared in their place a Stupendious Mosque for the *Mahometan* Devotion.

Jangheer destroys the Robbers of Guzurat.

Jangheer hearing of this News, sent *Abdul-chan* particular thanks, ordering him to stay a while in *Guzurat*, to extirpate the Rascally Race of *Cooly's* and *Bielsgrates*, who robbed the *Castila's*, and lived upon the Spoil of Passengers. *Abdul* diligently obeys his Master's Orders, ferrets them out of their Holes, slew their Captain *Eder*, after several Skirmishes, and happily finding them assembled one time, falls upon them, and slew half their Rabble, with *Lael-Cooly* their Ring-leader, whose Head he sent to *Amadabat*, where, as a terror to such Rebels, it was set on a Pinacle. But *Chan-Jehan* in *Decan*, tho' he waited all opportunities of Conquest, was disappointed through the Discord and Envy of some *Omra's* in his Army, and therefore acquaints the *Mogul* with it, desiring him to send one of his Sons down to him, that the Army might be awed by his Presence.

Sultan Perwees sent into Decan.

Jangheer, after consideration, sends his Son Sultan *Perwees*, but after observing the Prudence of *Melec-Amber* and his Power, he speeds *Chan-Asem* after him, with 4000 Men more, to reinforce his Army. *Chan-Asem* was no sooner come to *Brampore*, but he intreats *Gangana*, Lieutenant of *Khoor*, to joyn with him; and so with an Army of 600000 Men, and 600 Elephants, penetrates into the heart of *Decan*, burning and plundering as they list without resistance. The *Decan* King, astonished at these Numbers, and unable to resist, flies to and fro, and having had some small Skirmishes in vain, as his Ambushes also proved, he fled to the Castle of *Daltabat*, contriving to rid his Kingdom of them by Stratagem, which he thus managed: He writes some Counterfeit Letters from the *Radgees* about *Jangheer's* Court, containing a private Advertisement of the *Mogul's* Death, and *Curroon's* Advancement to the Throne. These he gave to a Crafty *Bannian*, who travelling as if he came from *Agra*, was taken as a Spy. His Letters being read, so astonished the General, that he immediately divides the Army without any Consultation, quits such places as had Garrisons put in them, and with confused haste marcheth back into their own Country, Sultan *Perwees* to *Brampore*, *Abdul-chan* to *Surat*, and *Asem-chan* towards *Agra*, giving *Amber* an easie re-admittance into his Towns and Castles, which otherwise he could never have recovered.

King of Decan's Stratagem.

Mahobet-chan invades Decan.

As soon as *Jangheer* heard of the Trick, he was angry with them for their Credulity, and sends *Mahobet-chan* Governour to *Brampore*, where being received joyfully, he employed his Forces in subduing *Berar*, and then Invades *Decan* as far as *Kerchy*, where *Abdul-chan* had been with his Army the Year before, returning loaden with Spoils and Victory to *Brampore*. This Success made amends with *Jangheer* for last Year's failings. About the same time *Rana Radjea*, tired with many Battles and pursuits, presents himself, Son, and many Gifts, unto him; among which was an Elephant valued at a hundred thousand Roupees, submitting all he had to his Disposal. The King, by *Curroon's* Mediation, accepts him,

him, and heartily forgives him, embraces him, offers his Daughter in Marriage to his Son, and returns him the Government of *Pormandel*, (*Porus*'s Country) *Oodepore*, and other places, but he soon after died, and was buried in the Sepulchres of his Progenitors at *Chytor* with much Ceremony.

Abdul-chan made Governour of Calpi and Kboor.

Jangheer having spent 18 Months in Pleasure at *Mandu*, departs to *Amadabat*, where he remov'd *Abdul-chan* from that Government, and sent him Vice-Roy of *Calpi* and *Kboor*. He also displaced *Chabeey* Governour of *Candabar*, and made *Badar-chan* Commander there. *Tzediat-chan* was also sent to succeed *Tzalam-cawn* in *Bengal*, at what time *Ozman-chan*, a *Puttanian*, with a numerous Army, besieged *Daecke*, the Metropolis of it. He and *Ethaman-cawn*, with 15000 Men, gave *Ozman* Battle, but by reason of a Mad Elephant on which *Ozman* rode, *Tzediat-cawn* was dismounted and maimed, and the *Mogul*'s Forces discomfited; but by a strange chance, a wounded Man thrusting *Ozman* through with his Lance, as he passed by, the *Puttans* being disheartned fled, and the *Moguls* not only recovered *Daeck*, but invade *Ozman*'s Country, and taking his Wife and Children Captives return to *Agra*, loaden with his Wealth. *Abdul-cawn* being arrived in 7 Weeks in his Government of *Kboor* and *Calpi*, first quieted and destroyed those swarms of Rebellious *Rasbboots*, which till that time had infested those Parts, selling so many of them as paid the Charges of the War, and levelling the most defensible Places to the ground.

Chan-Asem sent Embassador into Persia.

Chan-Asem at the same time went Embassador to *Abbas*, the Emperor of *Persia*, bravely attended, and dispatch'd with Gifts of great value, *viz.* 12 Chests of choice Linen, 2 of rich Sashes, and Daggers with Hafts of precious Stones. *Abbas* entertain'd him nobly, with Feasting and Sports, and dismiss'd him with Honour, presenting the *Mogul* with 500 Horses, 20 Mules, 500 Asses, 150 Dromedaries, 18 Chests of choice Carpets and Bezars, 20 Camels load of *Schyras* Wine, and 8 of Conserved Dates, Pistacho's, *&c.* which were acceptable to *Jangheer*, who that Year took a progress for his Pleasure to *Cassimire*, having first removed *Mahobet-chan* from *Brampore*, to the Command of *Cabul* and *Banges*.

Cabul described.

Cabul, called by *Ptolemy Chaburа*, is bounded on the North by *Caucasus*, on the South with *Multan*, on the East with *Cassimire* and *Kakar*, and on the West with the River *Indus*. It is a cold, windy and barren Country, except where the River *Nylob* (called by *Ptolemy Coa*, and by others *Cophis*) waters the ground. The City *Cabul* is Inhabited by *Banians*. The Houses are low, and there are no Buildings remarkable in it, but some Inns and two Castles; in one of which King *Babur*, the Great Grandfather of *Jangheer*, was born. Sultan *Cusbroe*, at his Father's departure, was taken from the Custody of *Assaph-cawn*, and trusted to *Cawn-Jehan*, but soon after, by the perswasion of the Queen and *Assaph-cawn*, he was put into the keeping of *Curroon*, his Emulous Brother, to whom he gave also the Command of 40000 Horse, and being attended with many *Omra's*, hastens him to the Conquest of *Decan*, with Orders also to harrass the Kingdoms of *Golconda* and *Visapore*, for neglecting to pay their Yearly Tribute of 3 pound weight of Diamonds.

Curroon sent to conquer Decan.

About the same time *Jangheer* made *Cheq' Cassem* Lieutenant of *Bengal*, and soon after *Ebrahim-cawn*, Queen *Normall*'s Cousin, was raised to the same Post.

In 1619, Heg. 1029. *Abdul-Azies-cawn* succeeded *Badar-cawn* in the Command of *Candahor*; *Cawn-Jehan* was constituted Lieutenant of *Multan*, Sultan *Parwees* of *Pathan*, and *Radgee Bertsingh Bondela*, and *Abdul-cawn*, Governors of *Calpi*. These Governors assist *Curroon* in his Expedition into *Decan*, which they managed with such Care and Success, that they soon reduced *Berar* and *Ebandyes*, burning and spoiling all the Country as far as *Kerki*, where stood the King of *Decan*'s best Palace, which they demolished, and enriching themselves with Spoil and Treasure. *Curroon*, exalted with this good fortune, commands his Army to call him *Sha-Jehan*, *i. e.* King of Hearts; and being Emperor in his own Opinion, casts his Eyes upon his Father's Diadem. His Imprisoned Brother became a grief to him, and he feigns Sickness and Melancholy, that he might stir up some to inquire into the Cause, and forward the Cure: *Ganganna* was forwardest in this piece of Flattery, and by acquainting the *Mancebdars* with the Disease, easily put *Rajca Bardor*, a notorious Villain, upon the Undertaking. This Ruffin, at Midnight, goes to *Gusbroe*'s Chamber, and pretending a Message from his Father for his Deliverance demands admittance, but the Prince suspecting the Treason refuses, but he broke in, and after much struggling Strangles him. *Cusbroe*'s Wife, *Cawn-Asem*'s Daughter, coming to visit him in the Morning, finds him dead, and by his bruised face knew he had been Murdered; at which she filled not only her House, but the City with sorrow, for this horrible Treason. *Curroon* was suspected, but being removed out of the City for his health, and returning at the News of *Cusbroe*'s Death, shewed so much grief, that many were induced to believe him Innocent. *Jangheer*, who still retain'd some Fatherly Affection, entertain'd the News of *Cusbroe*'s Death with much anxiety, and wrote a Letter to *Curroon* and his *Omra's*, that he would make a strict inquiry into the cause of it, and if any Treason were found, would revenge it on them, when he least suspected it. He withal commands the Body to be dug up again, and be brought to *Elabasse*, to be Interred in his Mother's Monument. He also sent for *Chan-Asem*, and his afflicted Daughter, and takes them for his constant Companions; of whom having learned how *Curroon* was accessary to *Cusbroe*'s Death, he forthwith entails the Imperial Crown upon Sultan *Bullochy*, or *B'lochy*, *Cusbroe*'s Son, gives him the Command of ten thousand Horse, and commits him to the Tuition of *Chan-Asem* his Grandfather. *Curroon* perceiving the Murder discovered, and himself disregarded, burst out into open Rebellion. *Abdul-cawn* seeing his design, leaves the Army, and flies to his Government at *Calpi*, but the *Mogul* was angry with him, and made him to return; yet within a little time he was recalled, and sent to the Relief of *Candahor*, which was besieged by *Abbas* King of *Persia*, who pretended it was a Member of his Empire, but tho' *Azief-cawn*, the Governour, defended it bravely, the *Persians* were so brisk and resolute, that they took it before he could get thither, and so he returned to *Lahor* to *Jangheer*, who received him kindly notwithstanding the loss.

Jangheer entails the Crown on Bullochy Cusbroe's Son.

Curroon calls himself Sha-Jehan.

Cusbroe is Strangled.

Candahor lies in 34 Deg. of Northern Latitude, and 98 of Longitude. It hath *Aria* on the West, *Arachossa* on the South, *Segathai*, of Old called *Bactria*, on the North. The Country towards the South is reasonably Fruitful, and abounds with most things necessary; but by reason of the many Caravans that travel backwards and forwards from *Lahor* to *Persia*, all sorts of Provision is dear, and the passage, by reason of the thievish *Puttans* and *Arabs*, both chargeable and dangerous. The City is not large but strong, partly by Walls on the South and East, and partly by the Hills on the North and West. The Suburbs are large, and add beauty to the City, and nothing is wanting but good Water; for that there, and all the way to *Spahawn*, or *Ispahan*, is brackish.

Candahor described.

Jangheer, infatuated by the Crafty perswasion of *Assaph-cawn*, sends him with a peremptory Command to the Treasurer of *Agra*, to remove his Treasure to *Lahor*, where he then resided, and intended to continue for a time. *Ethabar-chan*, the Treasurer, considering the length and danger of the Way, would at first hardly Credit his Master's Letter, but at length being satisfied of the truth of that, fell to dissuade *Assaph-cawn* from urging it, but in vain, the Order must be Obeyed, and so the Treasurer submits. While things were preparing, *Assaph-cawn* Posts away a swift Messenger to his Son-in-Law *Curroon*, advising him to lay an Ambush between *Agra* and *Deli* to intercept it. The Prince joyfully received the News, and sending for all his Officers thro' his Government, with their Forces, which made an Army of seventy thousand Horse, marches towards *Mando*.

Assaph-cawn's Treachery to betray Jangheer's Treasure to Curroon.

Mando described.

This City is seated on the side of an Hill, on which stands a very strong Castle, which is as well the Ornament as Defence of it. The Wall that encompasses it is near five Miles in Circuit, and the Palaces, Fortresses and Temples, are fresh and beautiful. In one of the Temples four Kings lie Entombed, of whom *Chan-Jehan* was the Founder. It has a Tower, which is elevated 170 Steps, supported with Massy Pillars, and adorned with Gates and Windows very observable. *Curroon* having stayed two days at *Taxapore*, marches with great haste to *Fettipore*, and that before *Ethabar-chan* knew he was in the Country; but now drawing nearer him, the watchful Treasurer soon had notice of his approach, and easily suspecting the danger, unloads his Camels of their precious Burdens, conveys it into the Castle, and having fortify'd it, sends *Jangheer* word of his Son's Traiterous intention.

Curroon assaults Agra.

The King was astonished at the News, and presently sends every way for Assistance, while *Curroon*, with his whole Army, presents himself before *Agra*, making such a Bravo, as if it were easie to conquer it, setting *Radgee Bickermanse* to assault the Castle; but *Ethabar-chan*, desirous to Sacrifice his best Endeavours to express his Loyalty to the King, afforded him such an Entertainment, that after three hours dispute, he was forced to retreat with the loss of 500 Men. But to revenge himself upon the Place for this Disgrace, he plundered the Houses of such

such *Omra's* as had any Booty in them, and took above 60 Leek of Roupees from *Assaph-chan*, *Laschar-chan*, and *Nouradin Cooly*.

Curroon resolves to fight his Father.

Curroon being disappointed of his Father's Treasure, was not yet without hopes of getting his Kingdom, and hearing of his Father's march towards him, with an Army from *Assaph-cawn*, resolves to give him Battle, and to encourage his Soldiers, doubles their Pay, with protestations of extraordinary Reward if they continued faithful to him. Within five days they came near each other, between *Pherrybaud* and *Dely*, and *Curroon* seeing it now no time to dally, commands *Radgee Bickermanse*, with 8000 Horse, to engage his Father early the next Morning. *Jangheer* having, by *Mahobet-chan*'s Advice, divided his Army into three Brigades, commanding one part himself, with *Radgee Bertsingh*, and giving a second part to Sultan *Sheryer* his younger Son, with *Mahobet-chan* his Lieutenant-General, and the third to *Abdul-chan* and *Zardoc-cawn*, Persons of undoubted Loyalty, sent to each Commander some token of his Respect to wear that day for their better Encouragement.

Bickermanse attacks *Jangheer*.

Bickermanse, pursuant to *Curroon*'s Orders, with a smart Body of Horse, charges *Bertsingh* and the *Mogul*'s Wing furiously, as did also *Ganganna* and *Curroon Mahobet-chan*'s part, and *Rustan-cawn*, with *Tsessaly*, *Abdul-cawn*'s. For three hours the Battel was continued with equal hopes and resolution, till the Victory at last inclined to *Curroon*, for *Rajea Bickermanse* having made a terrible Slaughter of the *Mogul*'s Party, and entring *Jangheer*'s Royal Seat, arrested him as his Prisoner; but a *Mancebdar* being then in presence with his Battel-Ax, gave the *Radgee* such a blow, that he fell down breathing out his Soul with a Curse. His Death struck his Followers with so much terror, that not considering the Advantage they had they fled, and gave the *Mogul* opportunity of rallying his scatter'd Men, and after a short Dispute to regain the Victory. *Curroon*, in this unexpected change, did all he could by promises and threats to keep his Men together, crying aloud, That tho' *Bickermanse* was dead, he was alive, and many as good Officers as he, but all his endeavours were in vain; they were seized with such a pannick fear, as it was impossible to revoke them.

Jangheer overcomes.

Curroon flies.

Curroon, in this distress, not knowing whether he had better put an end to his Misfortunes, by slaying himself, or fly, at last accepts *Ganganna*'s advice to retreat; and so leaving his Baggage and Treasure to the Enemies, he, with some few Friends, flies into the desolate Mountains of *Mewat*. The old *Mogul* being so Victorious goes to *Batzal*, where Sultan *Perwees*, with a glad heart, meets him, to congratulate his Success, which so cheered his Spirits, that he became fearless, freed his Seraglio's, open'd the Castle-gates, and begins to Solace himself with *Normal*, the Light of his Eyes, if not the Object of his Devotion.

Curroon is reconciled to his Father.

This Voluptuous humour of the *Mogul*, gave a fair opportunity to *Assaph-cawn* to mediate a Reconciliation for *Curroon*, and so prevailed with the *Mogul*, desirous of Ease, that Letters of Love and Forgiveness were dispatched from *Asmeer* to the Prince, who, reading them with joy, went with *Ganganna*, *Abdul-cawn*, *Darab-cawn*, *Beyram-beg*, and others, to *Asmeer*, and throwing himself down at his Father's feet, upon his Repentance and Vows never more to fly out, is pardoned; but his Submission proved counterfeit, for *Curroon* having constituted *Abdul-cawn* Governour of *Guzurat*, *Armadavad*, *Soret* and *Cambaia*, who delaying to repair thither, that he might free *Curroon* out of trouble, sent *Baffadar* his Deputy. This Man growing Insolent in his Command, quarrelled with *Nadel-Saffin-chan*, an eminent Officer of the *Mogul*'s, *viz.* the Chancellor of those Parts, and was Imprisoned by him, with his Associates *Mirza-Madary*, *Motzeb-cawn*, and *Mamet Hassen*. *Curroon* having had quick notice of this passage, first vents his passion in great Anger, and then breaks out into fresh Rebellion, tho' *Abdul-cawn* made but sport of it, as not worthy of *Curroon*'s passion; nevertheless, knowing that he could not obtain Satisfaction without blows, he calls together his *Omra's*, and relating to them the Prince's dishonour, and his own vexation, draws together an Army of 7000 Horse, and 10000 Infantry, to chastize *Seffi-chan* and his Associates, who were nothing troubled at it, but throwing off all fear Forraged the Towns, and Plundered Sultan *Curroon*'s Exchequer and Throne, newly set up at *Amadabat*, and with the Money he raises an Army of 20000 Horse, 500 Musqueteers, and 30 Elephants for War; and having by Proclamation satisfied the Country of the Reason of his making such preparations, *viz.* to defend the King's Right against Rebels, by which means above 20 *Omra's* of Quality came to his assistance, he encamped at *Boubantalow*, 6 Courses from *Amadabat*, and Courageously attended the coming of the Enemies.

Curroon rebels again.

Abdul-cawn received Intelligence of their Encamping at *Anamogery*, and in scornful manner acquaints them of his coming; but after hearing how strong the Enemy was, endeavoured to attack them in the Rear, but in vain, for they discovered him. Next day he resolved to fight, and accordingly having divided his Army into three Parts, one to *Amet-cawn* and *Tzaliberg*, another to *Tzardi-cawn*, *Maxatbeg* and *Mamet-Cooly*, and the third to himself, he marches to *Zietelpore* and *Phettibeg*, where *Nahar-cawn*, his five Sons, two Sons-in-Law, with 3000 Horse begun the fight, and charged *Abdul-cawn* so hotly, that they forced him to retire, put their Cavalry into disorder, and wounded his best Elephant, which in his rage turned upon his own side. *Tzaziberg*, in the mean time, was unhorsed and slain, and *Amet-cawn* taken Prisoner and Beheaded; all which things struck such terror into *Abdul*'s Army, that each Man fled whither his fancy led him, and *Abdul-cawn* himself was forced to fly to *Baroch*.

Abdul-cawn vanquished.

This Town lies in 21 Deg. 55 Min. Northern Latitude, in the Province of *Guzurat*, and is a place of Note. It is seated in a fruitful Soil, watered by the River *Nerva*. It stands upon an high ground, which makes it not only visible at a distance, but gives such an advantage to its Works of Art, that it is almost Impregnable. It is well Peopled, hath a good Trade both by Land and Sea, but the Buildings are low. The *Mogul* hath from this Province yearly a Tribute of one Million, two hundred and sixty thousand Mamoudyes (or Shillings.)

Baroch. It is tributal.

'Twixt *Baroch* and *Amadabat*, lies Entombed *Polly-Medina*, a *Mahometan* Saint, highly reputed by the People, who make their Pilgrimages thither loaden with Chains and Stones to obtain Children, Health, Wealth, and whatever they desire. *Jangheer*, during the former Broils raised by *Curroon* and *Abdul-cawn*, lay at *Fettipore*, and being much displeased at them, called Sultan *Purwees* his Son, and Orders him to levy new Forces, to prosecute his Brother *Curroon*, and the *Omra's* his Accomplices. *Purwees* having prevailed with *Mahobet-chan* to joyn with him, moves against *Curroon* with fifty thousand Horse, by the way Imprisoned *Mirza-chan*, *Abdul-chan's* Son. *Curroon* had early notice of these endeavours to reduce him, and leaving *Asmeer*, flies to *Mando* to recruit his Forces, resolving to bid him Battle.

Poly-Medina's Tomb.

Sultan *Purwees* pursues *Curroon*.

Purwees pursues him with the same design, and having, after a long march, overtaken him, assaults him, and after a short dispute vanquishes them, *Curroon* flying to *Brampore* his old Receptacle, and from thence into *Decan* to *Melec-Amber*, who gladly welcomed him, and seated him in *Nassier-Torom*, his Elephants and Men being sent to *Daleabat* to be Quartered there till he had further use of them.

The *Usbeck* Tartars spoil *Cabul*.

Sultan *Purwees*, and *Mahobet-chan*, after this Rout, give *Jangheer* notice of their good Success, which was entertained by him with no less joy, than if he had triumphed over the most dangerous Enemy; but this pleasure proved but short, the News being brought him that *Iben Thouz*, an *Usbeck* Tartar, was entred the *Mogul*'s Territories with thirty thousand Horse, and was plundering the Country of *Cabul*. *Jangheer* was driven into a great passion by the account, but soon recollecting himself, sends Post to *Zaed-cawn*, (*Mahobet-cawn*'s Son) at that time Vice-Roy of *Bange*, to oppose the Tartar with what force he could get together. This young Gallant having raised twenty thousand Horse, haftens to find the Enemy without delay, and coming upon the Tartar's Camp before he was aware, gave him such a furious Charge, that after a short Engagement he fled, and being loaden with prey, which they were loth to part with, gave the *Indians* an opportunity to overtake them, by which means they lost not only their rich Spoils, and other Baggage, but were above half of them slain. *Zaed-cawn* prosecuted his Victory so far, as to pursue the Tartar into his own Country, burning and spoiling all before him as far as *Gassany*, and returning back with great Wealth, and many Elephants, to *Cabul*, he rewarded his Soldiers well to encourage them, and was received with wonderful Acclamations of Joy at *Cabul*. *Jangheer* was so well pleased with this Action, that he sends *Zaed-cawn* thanks, and enlarged his Command with 5000 Horse. And being in Peace again, he bethinks himself of Solacing his Mind with Sports, and his beloved *Normal*, and to that end makes his Progress into *Cassimire*, a Country, tho' remote from his business, yet most suitable for that end.

Mahobet-chan forces *Curroon* to a flight.

Zaed-cawn routs the Tartars.

Curroon observing this Advantage, with speed forsakes *Decan*, and passing through *Golconda* and *Orixa*, advances

Curroon forsakes *Decan*.

with

with 4000 Horse, and 300 Elephants, into *Bengal*, where presenting his Forces suddenly before *Dehaka*, *Abraham-cawn*, the Governour of the Province, fled to *Mesulipatan*. *Curroon* laughs at his fear, and seizes his Treasure; with which, and fair words, he drew most of the *Omra's* of the Country to serve him, with unexpected Recruits of Horse and Arms. Over-joyed with this good hap he breaks into *Purop*, whose Governour also, *Makolidischan*, wanting Courage to oppose him, fled to *Elabasse*, and so gave him a free passage over the *Ganges*, to accomplish his design of conquering *Kerry*, which he did not doubt of. But in the way, at *Radgee Mahal*, he was assaulted so furiously by *Abraham-chan*, from an Ambush, that had not *Abdul-chan* interposed he had been routed, and by him, after a long fight, was delivered, with the loss of 3000 of his Men; but *Abraham-cawn*, out of an eager desire to recover his Honour, lost his Life.

Curroon's cruelty.

Curroon, tho' sensible of his Deliverance, was not less forward or cruel in acting Hostilities, spoiling and robbing that Wealthy Province; and passing *Guenga*, he forced all the Towns upon the *Ganges*, and in *Oryxa* and *Bengal*, to become his Subjects, requiring Oaths and Hostages from them, ravishing their Women, and taking away their Gold and Jewels. Then he marched to *Patan*, where *Radgee Tesiam*, with 5000 Horse, and 20000 Foot, came to his Assistance.

Purwees pursues Curroon.

Purwees hearing of his Brother's extravagancies, commits *Brampore* to the Care of *Rustan-chan*, and *Laskercawn*, and with fifty thousand Horse resolves to find him out. In the way *Lala Barsingh* meets him, as he passed his Territories, and joyns him with 7000 Horse, offering him a Present of 3 Leeks of Roupees.

Jangheer also being alarmed with his Son's Rebellion, awakens from his Pleasure, and after Advice with his Council, commands *Chan-Jehan* to raise a considerable Force out of *Multan*, *Buckar* and *Guzurat*, with the Tribute of those Provinces, and hasten to joyn with *Purwees*, that he might be the better able to Encounter the Rebels. *Chan-Jehan*, forgetful of his Master's Commands, loyters at *Fettipore* and *Agra*, while *Curroon* takes *Rantas*, *Tzimur Bonarce*, and other Towns, and draws an abundance of Treasure out of them; and hearing of his Brother's approach, obliged *Abdul-chan*, *Radgee Rhyhem*, and *Byram-chan*, to assault *Elabasse*, which *Rustanchan* had well fortify'd, and as violently defended. Sultan *Purwees*, and *Mahobet-chan*, hastened all they could to relieve it, but *Rustan* had acted his Part so well, that they were forced to retreat with loss, and fly to *Curroon's* Army at *Bonarce*, or *Banaras*.

Sultan Purwees pursues Curroon.

Ganganna gives Purwees.

Ganganna in this time had joyned himself to *Purwees* Army, but found no kind welcome, being Imprisoned for his Treachery; and tho' *M'hia Fehiem*, his Servant, endeavour'd his Release, yet being discovered, his Case became worse, for he was more strictly guarded, his Estate confiscated, and his Wife, Son and Family, sent Slaves to *Agra*. *Purwees*, *Mahobet*, and their Army, after long marches, arrive at *Elabasse*, and were welcomed by *Rustan-chan* according to their Dignity, but not finding the Enemy, *Mahobet*, eager of a Battel, could not be enticed to stay, but passing the *Ganges*, faces *Curroon's* Army, which obliged that Prince to prepare for a fight.

Tartars spoil Cabul.

Mahobet-chan forces Curroon to fight.

Radgee Rhiem, with his Elephants, was ordered to Charge *Mahobet*, and being a brave Soldier, did it with such Courage, that had *Abdul-chan* or *Dene-chan*, seconded him as they were appointed, *Curroon* had gained the Victory; but *Abdul* hated *Rhiem*, and so neglecting his Duty, *Mahobet* recovers his loss, wounds and enrages *Radgees* Elephants, which thereupon turn upon their own Party, and disorders *Radgee's* whole Body, himself being slain. Upon this, *Purwees*, with the *Radgees Zisimg*, *Ziand*, and *Bertzing*, and the whole Army, enter; *Curroon* falls on, and does what was in the power of Man, and *Abdul-chan* found it not safe to look on. The Battel endured five hours, with a great deal of Bravery shewn on both sides. *Curroon* was hurt in the Arm, *Purwees*, tho' upon his Elephant, was wounded in the Side by *Derra-chan*, and had perished but for the strength of his Mail.

Zaad-cawn routs the Tartars.

Curroon vanquished flies.

In the end the King's Army vanquishes, the Rebels fly, and *Curroon*, unable to prevent his Destiny, flies to the inexpugnable Castle of *Rantas* with 4000 Horse, leaving the rest to the Mercy of the Enemy, the Honour of the Field to his Brother, and the Spoil of his Camp to *Radgee Bertsingh*, who found plenty of Gold, Silver, Jewels, Elephants, Horses, *&c.* The Sultan *Curroon*, now in his strong Castle, ruminates in Misery and Discontent, and hearing of *Mahobet-chan's* approach towards him, dismisses his Seraglio, and flies to *Potan* with *Assaph-chawn's* lovely Daughter only in his Company, ordering *Darab-chan*, by Letter, to levy more Forces in *Bengal*, and meet him at *Radgee-Mahal*. *Mahobet-chan*, Purwees and Prince *Purwees*, keep on their pursuit of him; but Curroon hearing that he was fled to *Radgee-Mahal*, and that *Darab-chan* was levying Forces for his Assistance, they perswade *Ganganna*, whom they kept under a Guard, to dissuade his Son *Darab* to desist from his Enterprize, and promise him the King's thanks if he would joyn with them; but *Darab*, incensed at the ill usage of his Father, and supposing his Letters counterfeit, continued his Levies to support the Rebellion. Prince *Purwees* hereupon proclaims him a Traytor, and promises a Reward of 4000 Roupees to any that should bring him to his Camp alive or dead. The Multitude knowing that *Curroon* was fled, grew eager of the gain, and seizing *Darab-chan* and his Children, strike off their Heads, and send them to *Purwees*, who having by *Mahobet-chan's* perswasion presented them to the miserable *Ganganna*, dispatched them to *Agra* to be set on Poles.

Curroon flies to Onjea in Bengal.

Curroon, at the News of this accident, left *Radgee-Mahal*, and fled to *Oudee*, or *Onjea*, in *Bengal*, and so escaped *Mahobet-chan's* hands, who pursued him as far as *Meden-pore*. During these Intestine Broils, *Melec Amber*, King of *Decan*, thinking it a fit opportunity to recover what he had lost, Levies an Army of fifty thousand Men, and so unexpectedly fell upon *Laskar-chan*, *Mirza Mametsheir*, and *Ebrahim Hossen*, the *Mogul's* Governours in his Forts, that they surrendred the Forts, and were taken Prisoners, with the loss of 15000 Men; and so *Melec* recovered all his Forts and Garrisons. *Curroon*, in the mean time, being pursued by *Bacher-chan* to *Onjea*, tho' he had an Army of 5000 Horse, and 300 Elephants, durst not give him Battel, tho' not much superiour to him in Numbers, but fly for fear to the King of *Golconda*, where he had but a cold reception, because he knew he came with a design to inspect the Intrinsick value of his Diamond-Mine; and therefore he doubled his Guards in *Cunda-ver* and *Canda-poly*, two Castles where he commonly put his Diamonds, with much other Treasure.

The Diamond Mine at Golconda described.

This famous Diamond-Mine is distant from *Mesulipatan* about 90 *English* Miles. The nearest Town is *Morcanda*. It is a large Rock under part of that Mountain, which extends towards *Belleguate*. The Soil for many Miles round is Barren and Sandy, but near the Mine 'tis of a reddish colour, and the Vein it self is of a pale Yellow. No part of the World affords greater plenty of Diamonds, or of a better Water, than this Mine doth, those of *Socodania* in *Borneo* not excepted, altho' many be yellow. The Quarry has also many other transparent Stones of value, as Topazes, Amithysts, Spinels, Heliotropes, Agates, Garnats, Chrystals, and the like. The digging in it is a kind of Lottery, the Adventurers finding Stones sometimes to their advantage, but other times to their loss. In digging, if a Diamond exceed 20 Carats, (*i. e.* 80 Grains) it is by Law reserved for the King; the rest are for the Adventurers, who both in digging and travelling back, are forced to maintain sufficient Guards to defend them from the Mountaineers, who will rob the Caravans.

Melec Amber unites Curroon to him.

While *Curroon* remained with the King of *Golconda*, *Melec-Amber* sends an Embassador, with affectionate Letters, and a large Sum of Money, with other Necessaries, to invite him into *Decan*, where he assured him all things should be at his Command. *Curroon* perceiving himself no welcome Guest at *Golconda*, and finding his Design upon the Diamond-Mines frustrate, accepts the Invitation, and departs with him to *Decan*, where he staid three Months; and then projecting the recovering his old Eparchy of *Brampore*, presents himself with an Army of 10000 Men before it. *Radgee Rustan*, who was made Governour of it by Sultan *Purwees*, refused to give him entrance, at which *Curroon* was so enraged, that he assaulted the Walls with violence, but *Rustan* as churlishly answered him; so that after several attempts, all in vain, hearing of Sultan *Purwees* march to relieve it, he was obliged to retreat again to his Old Friend *Melec Amber*, then in *Kerki* in *Decan*.

Hasser described.

In his way he attempted *Hesser*, a strong, and one of the best defended Castles in *Chandis*, because it is built on the top of a steep Mountain, is well Walled by Nature, hath Springs of wholsome Water within, and the Soil is so fruitful, that it will feed as well as lodge 40000 Men, and were not to be taken, were it not that such Worms breed in the Thighs and Legs of such as drink the Water as often prove Mortal; by which means alone *Ecbar* took it.

Jangheer prefers Mahobet-chan's Son.

Jangheer being pleased with the Victories of *Purwees* and *Mahobet-chan*, to shew his kind resentments of them, takes

takes notice of the Valour and Loyalty of *Gama-zied-cawn*, *Mahobet*'s Son, late made Vice-Roy of *Cabul*, calls him to Court, and adds 5000 Horse to his Command; makes him Governour of *Bengal*, the richest Province of *India*. *Normal* and *Assaph-cawn* cast a Squint-eye upon this new Favourite; and in the first place, to affront *Mahobet*, they prevail with the *Mogul* to command him forthwith to send Imprisoned *Ganganna* to him to *Agra*.

Mahobet's Loyalty, and Ganganna's Malice against him.

Mahobet, tho' he saw the Plot to work his Ruin, yet would not shew any inclination to Disobedience, and so sends him. *Ganganna* was no sooner arrived at Court, but he spits his Malice against *Mahobet*, accusing him of putting his Son and Kindred to Death, after they had left *Curroon* to serve the King; with many other grievous Complaints. These Accusations something moved the Credulous *Mogul*; and being further heightned with *Purwees* Character of *Mahobet*, by Letter, That he was an Ambitious Man, and sought to Eclipse his Honour with the Army, so incensed him, that forgetting his good Services, he condemns him unheard, and gives his Command to *Cawa-Jehan*, and calls him Home.

Mahobet admires at this Change, but resolving to clear his Innocency by a Dutiful Behaviour, goes to take his Leave of *Purwees*, but finds him Coy and Stately, which struck him with amazement; so that he left the Camp with a sad Heart, tho' with the love of all the rest of the Army. From *Brampore* he goes to Court, but being Advised by his Friends not to venture thither, where he must expect to be treated as a Traytor, he secured himself in his Castle of *Rantampore*, resolving there either to reconcile himself to *Jangheer* by Letter, or secure himself from the Spite of his Enemies.

Mahobet goes to Court.

Curroon reconciled to his Father.

This Discord between *Purwees*, *Mahobet* and *Normal*, was grateful to *Curroon*, who hoped to advance his Ambition by their Divisions, and to that end sends *Godgee-Jehan*, his Son's Tutor, with a Present of rare Coins, a hundred choice Elephants, and some fine Pictures bought of the *Portugueze*. The Old King, as an Indulgent Father, accepts his Present, invites him home, and assures him of Pardon; of which he Ordered *Assaph-cawn* to give him notice, who also advised him to come to Court, while his Father was in this good humour. In the mean time *Mahobet-chan*, at his Castle of *Rantampore*, receives a peremptory Command from *Jangheer* to deliver up his Castle to the Queen, who had given the Command of it to *Bachor-cawn*, no Friend of *Mahobet*'s, and should forthwith go to *Orixa* to his Son, who was the King's Lieutenant there. *Mahobet*, careful to preserve himself, but yet loth to offend his Master, sends him back this Answer, 'That he was ready to manifest himself a Dutiful Subject, and serve him with his Life and Goods, 'but would not expose himself to the Malice of his Enemies, of which he was ready to give him the Reasons 'in Person, provided he might repair to Court, and return to *Rantampore* again safely. *Jangheer* received this Answer, and wonders at *Mahobet*'s Presumption; but *Mahobet*, as much admiring at his Mis-apprehension of his words, resolves with 5000 Voluntary *Rashboots* to go to *Labor*, and make his Defence in Person. The Queen and *Assaph-cawn* having notice of his Design, and fearing his Force, as well as his Reconciliation, perswade the *Mogul* to admit *Mahobet*, with a few of his Confidents only, to make his Defence. But *Mahobet*, sensible of *Normal*'s Deceits, would not adventure his Person, but sent his Excuse by his Son-in-Law, who gladly undertook the Office; but as soon as he came to Court, and was alighted from his Elephant, was stript of his Bravery, and being Cloathed in Rags, chabrect upon the Soles of his Feet with Rattans, and set bareheaded upon a Jade backward; was led through the Army with Kettle-Drums, and made a Scoff to the Multitude by *Normal*'s Order. *Mahobet* had quick Intelligence of this uncomely Entertainment, and bore it the more patiently, because he believed it proceeded not from his Master, yet saw the hatred of his Enemies, and what he must have suffered, if he had trusted himself to them; whereupon he resolves to bid *Normal* Defiance, and having withal due Zeal to his Master, declared in a short Manifesto *Normal*'s and *Ganganna*'s Abuses to the Crown, and the Indignity offer'd his Son by them. He acquaints his Friends and Fellow-Soldiers with his Design, who promised to live and die with him; and so with 20000 Valiant *Rashboots* he advances to find out *Normal*'s Army, and the *Lascar*, which then consisted of fifty thousand Men. By accident, when he approached them, her Army was parted, the better half being passed over the River *Phat*, and the rest marching after; of which *Mahobet* being advertised by his Scouts, and knowing the Advantage, falls upon the part on this side the River, Commanded by *Eradet-cawn*, which in two hours they utterly Discomfited, slaying above 6000, and putting the rest to flight, who many of them perished in the River. The other part of *Normal*'s Army stood still, and could hardly be perswaded to oppose the Victorious Rebels; but being cheared up by *Assaph-cawn*, *Abdul-Hassen*, and other *Omra's*, they prepared for an Encounter, *Mahobet* being come in view. The Battel was very fierce for five hours, each side striving for Victory, but at length *Normal*'s Army gave back, and were soundly beaten. *Assaph-cawn* the General was taken, and shackled in Silver Fetters, twelve thousand Men were slain, and the Old *Mogul*, Queen *Normal*, and many *Omra's* of Note, made Prisoners, and carried to *Kabul*. *Mahobet* thus seated in the Triumphal Chariot of Fortune, resolves to detract as little as possible from his Master, and only to clear his own Reputation, and vindicate the Disgraces and Wrongs done to his Friends for his sake, *Normal* was condemned to lose her Head by the Advice of his Council, which she patiently submitted to because unavoidable, only desiring to take her farewel of her Lord. *Jangheer* seeing her sorrow melts into compassion, and desires her freedom; and *Mahobet*, not willing to discontent his Master, grants it. And *Normal*, contrary to the Advise of his Confederates, is spared; not to thank the Merciful Conqueror, but revenge her self, as she soon did. The other Prisoners were treated honourably, and *Mahobet* holds for a small time the Sway of *Indostan*.

The Mogul and Normal taken Prisoners.

Mahobet retolution to clear himself.

Mahobet declares the Queen Normal.

Conquers her Army.

Curroon was all this time in *Decan*, watching an Advantage to recover his lost Credit, and hearing of the incredible change of Things in the Empire, *viz.* That his Father and Father-in-Law, Brother Sultan *Bulloch*, Brother's Sons, and his own Children, were Prisoners to *Mahobet*, he gives *Melec Amber* a thousand thanks, and with *Radgee Rhiem*'s Son, and twelve thousand Horse, passes with leave through *Rana*'s Territories to *Asmeer*, intending to surprize *Agra*, and proclaim himself King: But the *Radgee*'s Death, which drew away half his Forces, caused him to alter his Resolutions, and so with the rest he hastned to *Tatta*, hoping by the Conquest of that City to command all *Indus* and *Cambaia*. *Curroon* being set down before *Tatta*, sends the Captain of it, *Xeriff Melec*, a Summons to deliver it; but he told him, That he had a particular Order to defend it against them, and if he attacked it, he should find the Entertainment of an Enemy. *Curroon*, enraged by this Answer, Storms it in several places, but was so warmly received by *Melec*, that he was forced to draw off with loss; and the Besieged, by a Sally, falling upon his Camp, killed *Dorra-chan*, with 300 of his Men, and forced *Curroon* himself to fly to *Dely*.

Curroon's Designs to make himself King.

This City, which gives Name to the Circumjacent Province, belonged of late to the *Potan* Kings, who were the Original Inhabitants, but now is subject to the Crown of *Indostan*. It is an ancient, large, and pretty beautiful City, having the ancient Monuments of above 20 Kings, and other Persons, who lie Entombed in it; which draw Travellers to use it, and the *Banians* to adore them. About three Miles from it is a famous Pyramid, the Tomb of King *Hamayon*, who was Grandfather to *Jangheer*, supposed to be built by *Alexander* by the Frame and Inscription. It is Walled about, Watered by the *Semini*, over which lies a Bridge of twelve Arches, which you must pass over into the City. This River rises in the Mountains of *Senba*, and having passed *Agra*, after a great increase of her Channel at *Prage*, flows into *Ganges*, and with it falls into the Gulph of *Bengal*, at two huge wide Mouths, near 100 Miles asunder, in about 22 Deg. Northern Latitude.

Delightful City.

Semini a River.

Ganges, by Cosmographers, is reputed one of the Noblest Rivers in the World, running about 1000 Miles in length, and has many Rivers that flow into it, falling into the Gulph of *Bengal*. The *Banians* count it Sacred, and because they have a great reverence for a Cow, they say the Rock, from whence it flows, resembles a Cows head. *Curroon* found no welcome at *Dely*, and so hastes away with his chased Troops to *Bakar*, a Fort betwixt *Labor* and the Sea, that he might breathe there a while. *Melec Amber*, as soon as *Curroon* was marched out of his Country, to procure favour from *Purwees*, gave Liberty, without Treaty or Ransom, to *Lasker-Cawn*, *Ebrahim-Hassem*, and *Mirza-Manoutshir*, and with a safe Convoy sends them to *Brampore*.

Ganges described.

Jangheer removing his Court from *Cabul* to *Labor*, by *Normal*'s perswasion condescends to the Slaughter of such *Rashboots* as *Mahobet* had mixed with his Guards, and after declared, That she could not be satisfied without the destruction of *Mahobet*, and that before he received any Supplies from his Kinsmen *Chan-Alem*, and *Radgee Rustang*, who were advancing towards him; and to that end, emptied

Normal's Persuasion to destroy Mahobet.

emptied all her Husband's Coffers, to hire Men from all places to serve her. *Mahobet-chan* had notice of the Queen's projects, and new preparations, but not being at all disheartned at them, draws up his Forces into a Body to meet her, who was at the same time hastning towards him. *Ganganna* was made General of *Normal*'s Forces, and *Mahobet-chan* was not troubled at it.

Purwees Death.

While these things were doing, *Purwees*, who had contracted an intimate Friendship with *Mahobet-chan*, dies, and his Death was so afflicting to him, as well as to his Father *Jangheer*, that he bid the World adieu, and contracting himself to privacy turned Anchorite. *Normal* supposing even his Ease to be in contempt of her, was unsatisfied so long as *Mahobet*, whom she had devoted to ruin, was alive, and therefore projects several ways for his Destruction; and tho' the Indignity lately done his Son, by taking his Government from him, something pleased her, yet 'twould not satisfy, but calling *Amir-chan*, *Nouradin-Cooly*, and *Hemyrbeg*, her Minions, sends them with 15000 Horse to fight with him.

Assaph-cawn leaves *Mahobet.*

Assaph-cawn, who had so generously been dismissed by *Mahobet*, was sorry for his Sister's Lunacy, and since he could not effect his Reconciliation, (as he often laboured) he was loth so Brave a Man should perish through the Malice of a Woman, and so sends him a Letter, discovering his Sister's Resolution, and solicits young *Rana Radgee* to preserve him. *Mahobet* having received *Assaph-cawn*'s Letter, was much troubled, and leaving his Cell in *Zirmol*, flies to *Gessineer*, and so to *Radgee Rana*, who loved him well; but being pursued with Letters full of threats, as well as intreaties, from *Normal*, the *Radgee* thought it not prudent to retain him, or protect him, and so advised him to fly to *Curroon*, who would, without all doubt, entertain him gladly.

Mahobet-chan flies to *Curroon.*

Mahobet-chan having received a Packet from the *Radgee Rana* to *Curroon*, speeds to *Decan* with 500 *Rashboots*, and 1000 other Men, led by *Wazir-chan*, with him, and finds *Curroon* at *Guyneer*, in *Nisamsha*'s Kingdom, who was amazed at his coming, till having read the *Radgee*'s Packet, he embraced him with unspeakable Joy, and entred into a firm Friendship with him. *India* admires at this Agreement, *Normal* too late repents her Folly, and

Jangheer's Death.

Jangheer grows so afflicted at their Conjunction, that he falls into a deep Melancholy, and soon after a fatal Sickness, of which in three days he died, in the 23d Year of his Reign, in the Year 1627. Heg. 1007. having named on his Death-bed his Grandson *Bullochy*, Son of Sultan *Guskroo*, his Successor, and sworn his principal *Omra's* to see him crowned, and shew *Curroon* no favour, till he had submitted to *Bullochy*.

Bullochy crowned.

The dead Body of the *Mogul* was Entombed at *Tzecander* in *Ecbar*'s Monument, and Sultan *Bullochy* being 13 Years of Age, was crowned at *Dely* with all Royal Joy.

Normal's Attempt to raise the Son.

Normal being of an active Spirit, and having all *Jangheer*'s Treasure in her hands, arms her self with Confidence, and a pretended Title, resolving to set her Son *Sheryer* on the Throne: To that end she hires 15000 Horse, and sends to her Son to levy as many more at *Jengapore*, intending to Strangle *Assaph-cawn*, and King *Bullochy*, who were advancing towards her. The young King understanding this, turns away to *Labor* to meet *Sheryer*, who had lately been baffled by *Godgee-Abdul-Hussan*, and was encamped only with 4000 Horse. Here they assail him in extreme rage, (tho' by the expence of 90 thousand Leek of Roupees he had trebled his Army at their arrival) and in two hours, by the treachery of *Amir-chan*, and *Sheir-Godge*, get the Victory, and force him into the Castle, which in three days they took, with much Treasure, and *Sheryer* himself, whose Eyes *Bullochy* ordered to be put out, but spared his Life.

Normal's Submission.

Normal, at the News of these Misfortunes, lets fall her Spirit, complains of her Brother's perfidiousness, and her own folly, in prosecuting *Mahobet* with so much rage, and submits to *Bullochy*'s Mercy, who, like a Noble Prince, forgave and comforted her, promising her safety by Oath; and accordingly, during his Reign, he gave her such respect and freedom as became her Character. But not pleasing the People as he ought, by shewing himself often in the *Durbar* and *Jarneo*, he enjoyed his Sovereignty but a little while, for *Assaph-chan* giving *Curroon* Intelligence by Letters of his Father's Death, *Curroon* immediately sets out from *Decan* with *Mahobet-chan*, *Zulpeckar-chan*, and 7000 *Rashboots* and *Mancebdars*, and passing through *Guzurat*, after three Weeks march he came to *Agra*, where he claims the Imperial Dignity, and by the *Kutwall*, and his Favourites, was proclaimed King by the Name of *Pot-sha-Jehan*.

Curroon made King by the Name of *Pot-sha-Jehan.*

Curroon being thus settled on the Throne, Orders the *Gazal-chan* to give notice of it to *Assaph-chan*, who forthwith Posts to *Labor*, and making *Radgee Bandor* of his Council, sends him into the Hummums, where he Strangled *Bullochy*, with Sultan *Sheryer*, *Sha-Ethimore*, and *Sha-Hassen*, the two Sons of Sultan *Purwees*, and the two Sons of Sultan *Morod*, not suspecting any danger, and sent their Heads to *Curroon*.

Curroon crowned.

These Murders astonished the Empire, but *Curroon* soon quieted it by his Incantations, and then Orders his Coronation at *Agra*; which was accordingly performed, in a General Assembly of *Omra's*. Then he turned to the Affairs of the Empire, placing and displacing at his pleasure. He shut up his Father's Seraglio, confined Queen *Normal* and her three Daughters. *Assaph-chan* was made second in the Empire, and *Mahobet-chan* next him; and *Channa-Zied-chan* was re-established'd Vice-Roy of *Bengal*. Ambassadors from *Persia*, *Arabia*, *Tartary* and *Decan*, bring him Presents, and Congratulate his access to the Crown. Divers *Radgees*, and all the principal *Omra's*, resort to him, who affectionately received them, pardoning all Offences committed during his Rebellion.

Curroon's unhappy Reign.

After which he proclaims a Jubilee, which was Celebrated with all manner of Sports and Pleasures imaginable; but *Curroon*, tho' in the highest Dignity, can't be happy, Divine Vengeance pursuing him for his Sins by taking away his Wife, and sending the Arrows of Plague and Famine into his Kingdom. The Sword threatens on all sides, the *Persians* having taken *Kermaen* and *Candabar*. The *Tartar Cabul*, *Sheuph Almuch*, endangers *Tutta*; and *Leur Bander*, and *Radgee Joogh*, troubles *Brampore*; and two Counterfeit *Bullochyes* stir up Rebellion in the Bowels of his Kingdom. He himself lives in the highest Incest, having married his own Daughter, and 'tis to be feared God's Hand will give a fearful Event to these things, as a just punishment of his former and present Sins, as they deserve. This is what he gathered and observed while he lay at *Surat*.

CHAP. XXII.

Sir Tho. Herbert's *Travels into* Persia, *in which he gives an Account of the People, Cities, Towns, and Products of it.*

LEaving the *Mogul*'s Country, Sir *Tho. Herbert* and his Company came to *Diu*, or *Dewa* Town, seated on the *Cambayan* Gulph, and so incompassed with a branch of the *Indus*, that it is made a kind of Peninsula. The Haven is as good for Anchorage as *Swalley*, or any of the Havens thereabouts. *Alexander* returning from the Conquest of *Porus*, built a City on the Banks of the River *Hydaspes*, one of the branches of *Indus*, called *Bucephala*, in memory of his Horse killed in that great Battel; and coming to this place, commanded *Nearchus* his Admiral to repair his Fleet, and sail to *Ormus*. This City is large, but the Christians are not so well loved here as in many other places, because of the morose humours of the *Portugueze*. 'Twas a Town of good Trade, when it afforded Opium, Assafœtida, which were brought thither from *Labor*; Puchio, Cotton, Indico, Mirabolans, Sugar, Arack, Agats, Cornelians, Diaspries, Calcedons, Amathysts, Pearl and Elephant's Teeth, but since the *Dutch* and *English* have traded at *Surat* and *Cambaya*, her Traffick is inconsiderable. It has no Buildings remarkable but the Castle, built there by *Albuquerque*, the famous *Portugueze*

The River *Indus* described. Captain, in 1515. The River *Indus*, called by *Pliny Sanus*, and *Arrian Sinthus*, is now called *Sinde*. After a Course of 3000 Miles from the *Caspirrian* Mountains, part of *Caucasus*, it empties it self into the Ocean at two great Ostiums. It is accounted by ancient Geographers one of the most famous Rivers of the World, and gives Name to one of the most noble Parts of the Universe. The Rivers *Bohat*, *Ravore*, *Damiadee*, *Obchan*, *Woily*, or *Hydaspes*, *Acesines*, *Cophis*, *Adris*, &c. all flow into it. Here it is worth Observation, that at the Mouth of *Indus* 'tis full Sea at the New Moon, but at *Calecut* at the Full Moon, and at *Scotora* at the First and Last Quarters.

Muscat described. On the other side of the Gulph in *Arabia Felix* is *Muscat*, not far from Cape *Raz al gate*, anciently called *Corodamum*: It is the best Town, Port and Haven, which the *Portugueze* have in these Parts, being conquer'd by them when they took *Ormus* in 1507. from *Zerfadin* an Infant King of it. The Town is seated in a Plain between two rising Mountains, a Ditch and Parapet drawn from one Hill to the other, so environing it, that to some it seems inaccessible. The Castle is large, well Manned, and stored with great Ordnance.

Gambroon. *Dec.* 17. they sailed for *Gambroon* in *Persia*, coasting on *Arabia*, where those sweet Spices and Gums do grow, whose Flowers so perfume the Air, that it smells sweet at Sea, when no Land can be discerned.

Arabia described. *Arabia*, denominated from *Arabus* the Son of *Apollo* and *Babylonia*, was anciently a Seminary of very famous Men, Physicians, Mathematicians and Philosophers, as *Galen*, *Hypocrates*, *Avicen*, *Albumazar*, &c. but now is obscure and barbarous. It was of Old famous for the delivery of the Holy Decalogue, but now 'tis as Infamous for the Alcoran. It is divided into three Parts, 1. *Deserta*, or *Aspera & humilis*. 2. *Petræa*, or *Petrosa*, from *Petra* the Metropolis of it, built by *Patrasim* the fifth Son of *Mizraim*, *Gen.* 9. 14. It is also called *Inferiour*, and *Nabithæa*, by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*. 3. *Felix*, called *Sabæa*. All these Parts were first called *Æthiopia Asiatica*, to distinguish it from that in *Africk*. *Herodotus* distinguish these *Æthiopians* by their Hair, for the *Asiaticks* may be combed, the *African* not. In the Desart *Arabia* is *Kedar*, in *Petræa*, *Horeb*, *Sinai*, *Jathrip* and *Mecca*, places of Account among the *Saracens*; and in the *Happy Arabia*, now called *Mamotta*, *Medina*, *Saba*, and many other Towns of Note. All this Country was Peopled at the Division of Tongues, by *Seba*, *Raamah*, *Sabbata* and *Sabbathæa*; and 'tis observable at this day, that whereas the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, are no where spoken purely, the *Arabick* is spoken in three parts of the World. Leaving *Arabia* they crossed the *Persian* Gulph, and passed near Cape *Gwader*, and in sight of Cape *Goadel*, an Infamous Port, inhabited by a People who make a prey of strangers. On the *Carmenian* Coast stands *Jasques*, in 28 Deg. 58 Min. Northern Latitude, distant about 40 Leagues from *Ormus*; *Albuquerque* subjected it to the Crown of *Portugal*, built a large Castle in it, and furnished it with 17 Brass Cannon, but the *English* took it from them in 1623. because they killed Captain *Shillings* in it, but put it into the hand of the *Persian*.

Æthiopia in *Asia*.

Jasques described.

Carmania described. *Carmania* is twofold, the Greater and the Desart: The Desart extends from this Town to *Arbi*, and the Greater is confined by *Gedrosia* to the N. W. Near this is a small Isle called *Aphrodosia*, from a Shrine standing in it Dedicated to *Venus*; 'twas famous in *Alexander's* time for Sword-Blades, accounted better than those of *Damascus*, and for the *Orgies* he celebrated here. Then passing the Streights of *Ormus*, in view of *Rishmy*, where the *Portugueze* have another Fort, they came to Anchor at *Gambroon*, the best Port the *Persian* has.

Ormus described. *Ormus* is a Kingdom in *Carmania Major*, and an Isle about one League from the Continent, and fifteen Miles in Circuit, lying in the 27 Deg. of Northern Latitude. The Soil is barren, but the chief City is so elegant for Buildings, so populous for Inhabitants, and singular for Trade, that it allures Merchants and Travellers to it from all Parts of the World, and by its Marine Power derived from *Goa*, gives Laws to all its neighbouring Potentates. The City is not large, but compact, and the Streets narrow to avoid the heat of the Sun, which otherwise, through the Sandiness of the Soil, would be intolerable there. The Isle hath two Havens in it, one in the East, and the other in the West parts of it. In the middle of it is an Hill, which gives a delightful prospect on the top, and affords Sulphur on the one side, and Salt on the other, in great store. The City is well built, and the Houses within exceedingly well furnished with gilded Leather, and *India* and *China* Rarities: The Bazar is rich and beautiful, the Churches splendid within, and the Castles so regularly built both within and without, and so well fortified with deep Trenches, a Counterscarp and great Ordnance, commanding both the City and Haven, that none exceeds it in all the East. The Kings of this Island were,

Kings of *Ormus*. 1. *Mir Bahedin Ayaz*, or *Ben-Seifin Ben-Cabadin*, who being a Servant to *Seidfadin Nocerat*, an Infant *Arabian* King, slain by his Brother *Morad*, or *Masud*, opposed *Morad* in his ambitious Designs, and kept him from the Throne, forcing him to fly to *Kermacen*, where *Morad* obtaining Assistance of the *Turks*, brought so great an Army against him, that he was forced, with many of his Friends, who hated the Tyrant, to remove to *Rishmy*; but not well liking that place, he departed, and settled upon the Isle *Gerun*, which he fortify'd and named *Ormus*, in 1312. Heg. 692. To him succeeded,

2. *Emir-Azadin-Gourdan-shaw*, a Person of a Noble Extraction, whose Son,

3. *Maberazadin-babron-sha*, a Brave Prince, inherited the Throne, but was treacherously slain by,

4. *Mirsha-Bedin-Issuff*, who enjoyed his wicked Purchase but a little while, for,

5. *Mirza-Codbadin*, his Predecessor's youngest Brother, retaliated his treachery upon him, and tho' for a while his Cousin *Melec Nezamedin* forced him to fly the Kingdom, yet at his Death he recovered it, and left it at his own to,

6. *Paca-Turansha*, a Victorious Prince, whom nothing could conquer but Death, which stripping him of his Regal Power in 1488. he had these Successors,

7. *Mozad-sha Bedin.*

8. *Salger-sha.*

9. *Shawez.* And

10. *Saffadin*, whom *Albuquerque* subdued in 1507. and caused him to be strangled.

Nording, *Cojeature*, and *Delemsha*, severally attempted the Sovereignty, but *Malomet*, in the spite of them, was crowned King, being the Right Heir; and to him succeeded his Son *Seid-Mahomet-sha*, in 1622. who was subdued by the *English* and *Persians* when they took *Ormus*, which being a remarkable Conquest, it will be worth our while to take the particulars of it.

Conquest of *Ormus* by the *English* and *Persians*. *Sha-Abbas*, the Emperor of *Persia*, resolving to subdue *Ormus*, commanded *Emangoly-chawn*, Governour or Duke of *Shyraz*, to undertake it, who advances toward *Gambroon* with 9000 Horse and Foot, at such a time as he expected to meet the *English* Fleet there, whose Assistance he obtained upon these Conditions, which they first settled under Hand and Seal: 1. That the Castle of *Ormus*, if it were taken, with all the Ordnance and Ammunition, should belong to the *English*. 2. That the *Persians* might build themselves another in any part of the Isle, if they pleased. 3. That the Spoil should be equally divided. 4. That the *English* should have the *Christian*, and the *Persian* the *Pagans*, their Prisoners. 5. That the *Persians* should pay for half the Victuals, Wages, Shot and Powder. 6. That the *English* should be Custom-free in *Gambroon* for ever. These Articles being Signed and Sealed, each Party prepared for fight.

Jan. 20. 1622. they became Masters of the Fort with small difficulty, and then played upon the Castle with a dozen pieces of Cannon, but to little effect, till the *Persians* sprung a Mine, which blew up a great part of the Wall. The *Portugueze* were not surprized at it, but making a Sally at it, maintain'd an obstinate fight with the *Persians*, and when they retreated, so plied the *Persians* who pursued them, with Hand-Granadoes, Fire-Balls, Powder-Pots and Scalding Lead, that they lost above 1000 Men.

The *Persians* Courage was much cooled by this Skirmish, and little was done for some time; but *March* 28. the *Portuguese* being humbled by Necessity, *viz.* the Plague, Famine and Fluxes, were forced to move for a Cessation of Arms, promising to pay the Duke down two hundred thousand *Tomans*, and a Yearly Tribute of an hundred and forty thousand Rials, but not being accepted, they held out to *April* 18. when the *Portuguese* agreed to surrender the Castle to the *English*, and submit themselves, and all they had, to their Mercy, upon Condition that they might have their Lives, and a safe Convoy to *Muskat*, which was perform'd on the 23d. so far as lay in the *English*, for the *Persians* not only intercepted 300 *Arabs* and *Portuguese*, and cutting off their Heads sent them to *Gambroon* as a Trophee, but violated the Women, defiled the Temples, and defaced the Houses, and because an *Englishman*, contrary to Order, was found pillaging a Monastry, they broke their Articles with the *English*, seize on all, and gave them only twenty thousand pound, besides their part of the Cannon of the Castle. The King of *Ormus*, *Seid-Mahomet-sha*, was made Prisoner to the *Persians*, and is a Prisoner at

The *Persians* Cruelty and Falshood.

at *Schyraz* at this day, under an Allowance of five Marks *per Diem*; and so *Ormus* is now the most Disconsolate Place in the World, which was latterly the Glory of the East. This happened after the *Portuguese* had been fixscore Years Masters of it.

Gambroon or Bander. On *Jan.* 10. 1627. they came to *Gambroon*, called by the *Persians Bander*, i. e. the Port Town, because it is the best Port the *Persian* has: It is situated upon a level Ground near the Sea, having no Hills nigh it by fifteen Miles. It stands in *Carmania*, and before the Fall of *Ormus* was a small Town, but since is so increased in Buildings and Inhabitants, that for Grandeur it may be ranked with the Towns of best Note in *Persia*, because being frequented by Merchants from all Parts, it is become a City of great Commerce for raw Silk, Carpets, Cotton, and other Commodities brought thither by Land, and all sorts of Merchandize by Ship.

The Trade.

Buildings. The Buildings are for the most part of Brick baked in the Sun, which will so harden them, that they appear as well and lasting as if they were burnt. They are built low, and most of them with small Courts and Belconies, terrassed a top, where they sleep in the cooler Weather upon Carpets, and pargetted with Plaister, as hard as that of Pans.

Windows. The Windows are Letticed, and made to shut or open as they please.

Summer. In Summer the Air is so hot, that the Inhabitants are forced to remove to *Lar*, and other neighbouring Villages, for cool Streams and Shades. Their Summer lasts 9 Months, and in that time 'tis rare to see a Cloud in the Sky; so that 'tis intolerable hot, insomuch that some, that stay in the Town, lie naked in Troughs of Water to cool themselves, which yet parboils their Body, and makes them apt to catch cold.

Sherbet, Wine, Coffee, and the Vertues of it. Here is the best *Shyraz*-Wine in all *Persia*. They drink Coffee or Coho much; it is a black Drink, or Broth, made of Bunny-Flowers, or Coava-Berries. It is not toothsome, being somewhat bitter, but very wholsome, (the People say) for it comforts raw Stomachs, helps Digestion, expels Wind, and removes Drowsiness.

Sherbet. Sherbert also is much valued for its coolness, being a Drink made of Water sweetned with Syrrup of Limons,

Arack. and mixed with Rose-water, tho' they refuse not Arack or Strong-water, qualified with Sugar, as a Cordial in the hottest Seasons, especially where their Diet is coarse, and Stomachs are crude and raw through diffusion of heat.

Fruits. They have plenty of Fruits, but most of them Imported, as Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Pomecitrons, Figs, Dates, Currans, Myrobalans, Apricocks, Almonds, Pistacho's, Apples, Pears, Quinces, Sugar; as also Flowers and Nuts in great variety and quantities.

Meat. Nor have they less abundance of Carbarito's, and Mutton, Hens, Eggs, Rice, with Oysters, and many kinds of Fish, which make the place more pleasant to live in. The best Houses in the Town are the Sultans, the Shaw-banders, and the *English* and *Dutch* Agents. The *English* is allowed to display a Flag from the top of his House, in memory of their good Service done at the taking of *Ormus*, and for some time they had half the Customs for Goods Imported.

Castles. At the North and South-end of the Town are two Castles, which have 80 Pieces of Brass Ordnance planted; they were brought from *Ormus*, but the Gunners are unskilful.

Hummums. The *Mahometan* Mosques, and *Jewish* Synagogues, are few and inconsiderable, but the Hummums are more conspicuous, and much resorted to. The Town is unwalled, and badly supplied with fresh Water, and the Streets are narrow. It is well furnished with Camels, *Persian* and *Arabian* Horses of the best sort, Mules and

Infested with Jackals. Alinego's, but much infested with Jackals, which invade the Town by Night in Troops, and tear the Dead out of their Graves, howling in a dreadful manner. The Inhabitants hunt them with Swords, Lances and Dogs, but they are too many and daring to be conquered.

Naughty Women, Fit the 11. When the Merchants flock to this City for Trade, in *November*, *December* and *January*, here are great numbers of Women, comely in their Body and Dresses, having their Hair neatly plaited, Faces painted, and Cheeks hung with Pearl, Ears with Rings, and Noses with broaches of Gold, but Lewd, and intolerably Impudent.

Persons. Among the Traders, the most observable are the *Banians*, an unsociable sort of Men. They eat no Flesh, Eggs or Roots, of a red Colour, nor drink Wine or Wine-Vinegar. They believe the Transmigration of Souls into Beasts and Vegetables. They are healthy, through their Abstinence, but of weak Bodies and small Courage. About three Miles from *Gambroon* is a Tree called the *Banian*-Tree, which spreads 209 paces, and will afford covert to some hundreds of Men without crowding. It is adorned with Ribbands, and Streamers of Taffata of divers Colours, and neatly trimmed within in Arches. Within them is a Pagod, with three Images in it, of grim Visages and deformed Shapes, repre-

A Banian-Tree.

Their Pagod and Images. senting their three Forefathers, *Cuttery*, *Shuddery* and *Wise*, whom these Idolaters formally Worship. He tarried 24 days at *Gambroon*, and then departed with the *English* Embassador, Sir *Dudmore Cotton*'s Caravan, of 12 Horse and 29 Camels. The Sultan furnished them with both, and they were of the best sort.

Camels. The Camels were of that sort called *Coozel-besh* Camels, a Beast abounding in *Persia*, and of great use. They are long-lived, gentle, patient in travel, and of great strength, for they will carry well near a thousand Weight; content with little Food, and less Drink, from which they will abstain near four days. The Embassador hearing that *Sha-Abbas* the *Persian* Emperour was at *Asharaph*, upon the Sea-shore of the *Caspian* Sea, set forward thither for Audience, and came first to *Band-Ally*, a Village five *Pharsangs*, or 16 Miles *English* from *Gambroon*, travelling most part of the Way by the Sea-shore.

Pharsangs, what. The way of counting Distances in *Persia* by *Pharsangs* is ancient, and still continues; the Word comes from *Persa*, which signifies three Miles, both in the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* Language.

Band-Ally. At *Band-Ally* are neat Caravan-Serrays, or Inns, for the Caravans, built by charitable *Mahometans* for the use of Travellers, where they may rest sweetly and securely. At the Gate of some of them is a Bazar, or Sutlers Tent, to furnish them with Provisions. They are furnished with Water from certain Tanks, or Cisterns, which are so plaistered as to preserve the Rain-water sweet a long time; and being so preserved, 'tis the wholsomest of all Water.

Gacheen, Comestan, Tangydolen. From hence they travelled the next day to *Gacheen*, five *Pharsangs*, and the day following to *Coureshan*, seven *Pharsangs*, and the next day to *Tanghy-dolen*, thro' a narrow way, where is a neat Caravan-Serray with Cupulo's; a neighbouring Hill supplies it with Water by a Spring, which in its course renders all the Valley fruitful, but the Country about it is barren and sandy, yet produces plenty of Dates.

Warmoot. Their next days Journey was four *Pharsangs* to *Warmoot*; in the way they saw three gray-headed *Arabians* sitting cross-legg'd in a black Tent, singing a doleful Requiem to their dead Brother with sighs and tears, according to their Custom, seven days. Nigh *Warmoot* are *Duzgun*, *Laztande*, and other Towns, where is got the best *Assafœtida* in the East. The Tree which pro-

Assafœtida. duces it exceeds not the Briar in height, but the Leaves resemble those of Roses, and the Root the Radish; the smell is offensive, but the taste so good, that the Natives, who are accustomed to it, like no Meat, nor Sauces without it. The next day they got to *Ourmangel*, five Pharsangs, and in another to *Lar*.

Lar described. *Lar* is both a City and a Province, within three days Journey of the *Persian* Gulph. The Province is about an hundred Pharsangs a-cross. Great part of the Country is barren and sandy, but where there are Rivolets or Springs, the People live and improve it, and have Oranges, Limons, Pomgranates, Figs and Fruits, and variety of Grain. Dates and Palms grow in the barrenneſt Soil, and 'tis thought there are Mines and Sulphur in the ground. The City of *Lar* is in the middle of the Province, and stands in 27 Deg. 40 Min. Northern Latitude. It was founded or increased by *Laargeberg*, Son of *Phyroc*, who was Prince of it, and had 18 Successors, of which the last, *Ebrahim-cawn*, was conquered by *Emangeby-cawn*, Duke of *Shyraz*, and his Kingdom added to *Sha-Abbas*'s Dominions. *Ebrahim* had his Life, and a Pension promised him, which he enjoyed a while, but *Sha-Abbas* not being easie, he was put to Death. It is seven days Journey from *Gambroon*, fourteen from *Shyraz*, and twenty from *Babylon*. It is but meanly Water'd by a few Springs, which they use to Water their Gardens, where they shade themselves in their hot Seasons

Subject to Earthquakes. It is subject to Earthquakes, by which it hath suffered the loss of 500, and sometimes 3000 Houses, which overwhelmed many of the Inhabitants; and the Castle in one, tho' founded on a Rock, was in very great danger. It is unwalled, because defended on the East and North with lofty Rocks. The Castle is brave and stately, law-

The Castle. ing the Town, as well as threatning the Enemy. It is built of good Stone, and the Walls are well furnished and beautified with Battlements and Platforms, on which are mounted 12 Brass Cannon Pedro's, and two Basilisks.

In it are Huts for the Soldiers, and an Armoury sufficient to furnish with Lance, Bow and Gun, 3000 Men. It is usually well Victualled, Armed and Manned, to Command the City and Country, and defend them against any Invasion.

The Bazar. The Bazar is a Noble and Elegant Fabrick, built of white Chalky Stone, and covered over. The Circumference from the Center is about 80 paces; 'tis full of Shops of several Trades.

The Mosques. The Mosques are many; the most remarkable is round, varnished within with *Arabick* Letters, and painted with Knots, and beautified with *Mosaick* Work: Their famous Prophet, *Emer-Ally-Zeddey-Ameer*, whom they greatly reverence, is buried here, with some others of lesser Note.

The Fruits. The Country about it affords variety of Fruits, as Dates, (which being Male and Female, the latter will not bear, unless a flowred Bough of the Male be applied to it) Oranges, Limons, Melons, Pomgranates, and most excellent Pomcitrons; and Flowers, as Jasmins, Roses, Tulips, *&c.*

Beasts. Here are also Goats, Hens, Rice, Barley; Rack and Aqua-vitæ are sold at easie Rates. But the Musketto's are very troublesome here, and Water bad, their Tanks stinking; Necessity indeed obliges the People to drink of it, but it causes Catarrhs, breeds sore Eyes, putrefies the Guts, and breeds long Worms in the Legs, by no Ointment or Medicament to be prevented.

The People. The Inhabitants are a mixture of *Jews* and *Mahometans*, most of them Blear-ey'd, Rotten-toothed, and Mangy-legged, caused by the violent heat and unwholsome water. Their Habit is a Wreath of Callico about their Heads, a Girdle of Plad of divers colours, and Sandals on their Feet, being naked on the rest of their Body; but some few have golden Sashes on their Heads, Robes of Sattin on their Bodies, and Rings on their Fingers. They delight much in Archery, and in rich Swords.

Their Learning. Here are some Proficients in Philosophy and Mathematicks, but they please themselves most in Astronomy; but in Mechanick Arts it equals any in *Persia*.

Jaarown. West of *Lar*, about 60 Miles *English*, is a Town called *Jaarown*, inhabited chiefly by *Jews*, which some repute at least one thousand; but others five thousand; 'tis probable that this place is the *Kirjah-Jearim*, mentioned *Ezr.* 2. 25. *Neh.* 7. 29. from whence some of the *Jews* returned to *Jerusalem* to build the Temple by *Cyrus*'s Edict; but most certain that they were the Captive's Children, which *Salmanessar*, or *Enemessar*, carried from *Samaria*, 2 *Kings* 17. 6. *A. M.* 3220. In, or near this place, is a precious Liquor or Mummy growing, they call it *Mumnaly-koob*, which is carefully preserved for the King's Use only; it distils from the top of the Mountains in *June* about five Ounces. It is a most odoriferous Gum, and Soveraign against Poyson, and a Catholicon for all sorts of Wounds. This Balsam the Emperor presents to other Princes in small quantities, when they send him costly Presents of Gold, Pearl, *&c.*

A precious Mummy.

Alexander. *Alexander*, after he had Pray'd and Sacrific'd at *Susa*, endeavour'd to lead his wanton Army over the Hills of *Jaaroun* to *Persipolis*, but being beaten by *Ariobarzanes* and his little Army, was forced to find another way.

They left *Lar Feb.* 11. under the Conduct of an Old *Coozelbash*, who, out of hopes of a Reward, provided them good Quarters every Night. In this Journey there fell some Rain, which stopped their progress by an immoderate Flood, for Rain falls here but seldom, but when it does, it comes sometimes with such a Deluge as sweeps away Men and Houses; yea, whole Caravans.

Great Rains.

Di-achow. On the 14th day they arrived at *Di-achow*, or *Tochco*, where they saw many Tombs, most with Grave-stones, and an *Arabick* Memorial. The Alcoran commands, That none be buried in Cities, for fear the Dead infect the Living; and that no Grave shall be made in the place where another hath formerly been buried. A Mile from the Town they saw about 60 long Pavilions, which were black without, but within were full of Female Beauties. The *Persians* call them *Ulockes*, and the Ancients *Nomades*. They live in Poverty, but content, free from Care, Envy, Tumult and Riot. From hence they passed forward to *Berry*, having observed nothing remarkable in the way, but a thick Wall of great length and height, cut out of the Rock, as a Boundary of Old between the Kingdoms of *Lar* and *Shyraz*.

Ulockes or Nomades.

Berry is but a Village, yet famous through all *Persia* for the Immunities granted it by a Learned *Syet*, and for an *Arabick* School, where is taught Civil Law, Astrology and Physick, and a *Pythagoras*'s Silence, to Discourse by Signs. Near it is the Tomb of their great Doctor *Emawn-Zeddy-e-Meer-u-Maddy-Ally*, which they have in great Veneration, covering it continually with a white Linen Cloth; it stands in a Chappel, on the top of which is a Steel Mirrour, in which, they say, they see the deformity of their Sins. None may enter it with Boots or Shoes on; and all may find Satisfaction to their Desires, by presenting large Offerings to it.

Berry de-scribed. A strange Relic.

From *Berry* they travell'd to *Bannarow*, where they were Entertained with Feasting and Musick, and so passed to *Goyoone*, a Town which brags of a thousand, but they are but ordinary Houses. Here *Melec Mahomet*, a Man famous for enlarging the Authority of his great Prophet, lies buried. From hence, through a desolate Wilderness inhabited only by Ostriches, Storks and Pelicans, they came first to *Cur-bobbo*, and then to *Mobacke*. Here lie buried *Mahomet*, *Hodgee*, *Ishmael* and *Ally*, four *Mussel-men* Doctors, whose Tombs, said to be of 400 Years standing, are resorted to with much reverence. Next day they went to *Coughton*, and so through *Ungbee*, *Moyeebaw*, and *Pully-pot-sboaw*, to *Sheraz*.

Goyoone.

This City is one of the pleasantest in all *Asia*, lying in 29 Deg. 20 Min. Northern Latitude, and 88 Deg. Longitude: It probably derives its Name from *Sherabo*, a Grape, which abound here, and those of the most generous sort. It is watered by *Kur*, a River, which rising in the *Tapirian* Mountains, after a Current of 200 Miles, mixes with *Coaspes* (now *Tab*) and *Uley*, loses it self in the Gulph, which discharges it self into the *Indian* Ocean. The City is about seven Miles in compass, Walled in by *Usun-Cassan*, the famous *Armenian* Prince, in the 1470, seated pleasantly on the N. W. side of a spacious Plain, 20 Miles long and 6 broad, inclosed with lofty Hills, defended by Nature, enriched by Trade, and made lovely by Art; the Vineyards, Gardens, Cypresses, Sudatories and Temples, ravishing the Eye and Smell, so as in all places appears Delight and Beauty.

Sheraz de-scribed. Compass of the Walls.

Here 'tis said Magick was Invented, *Nimrod* lived, *Cyrus* was born, and lies Entombed all but his Head, which is sent to *Pisegard*; the first Sibil that prophesied of our Saviour's Incarnation: and from hence 'tis thought the *Magi* set forth to Worship our Saviour at his Birth. The Houses are of Sun-burnt Bricks, yet hard and durable, terrassed above, but not very lofty. Their chief Furniture is Carpets, and few are without Gardens of high Chenaers and Cypresses.

Things it is famous for.

There are in it 15 brave Mosques, round, and tiled with a Plaister made of Lime-stone burnt, which being dry, becomes so hard, that it resembles true Stone. The top and outside is pargetted with Azure-stone resembling Turquoises, and the inside is lined with black well polish'd Marble. The tops are beautified with many double gilded Crescents or Spires, which reflect the Sunbeams most delightfully to such as behold the City from the neighbouring Mountain. The Steeples of two of them, of which the one is square, and the other more round, rise to a vast height, being adorned with Gold, and blue Varnished with Knots and Poesies. Most of them are rendred Venerable to this Superstitious People, by the Tombs of some or other of their Alcoranism Doctors, which are so adorned, as if Art were at a loss to express the Excess of their Devotion to them. A little out of the Town lie interred two of their famous Poets, *Mastadini Sadds*, (who wrote the *Rosarium* translated into Latin by *Gentius*) and *Hodgee Haier*, whose Poems are in great esteem through all *Persia*.

The Mosques. Tombs in them.

Here is also a College, wherein is read Philosophy, Astrology, Physick, Chymistry, and Mathematicks, which makes it the more famous in *Persia*. The Gardens are very large and beautiful, well Walled, and abounding with Oaks, Cypresses, Chenaers, and the like Trees for shade; and Oranges, Limons, Pomgranates, Pomcitrons, Pistacho's, Apples, Pears, Peaches, Chesnuts, Cherries, *&c.* for Fruits. As also rare and sweet Flowers, and Physical Herbs. The Earth is dry, but green, the Air a little sharp, but wholsome. And indeed, as the Eastern Parts are more warm, so they are more pleasant and refreshing than the West, and produces better Fruits, Plants, Grain, Spices, Drugs, Herbs, Gems, Minerals, and other things.

A College. Fruits.

The most usual Pastime used here is Swinging upon Ropes stretched from Tree to Tree, especially during the *Birane*. They have a scarcity of Water, because there is only a small Rivolet near it, but it ought to be imputed to the lazines of the Inhabitants, since within fifteen Miles there is a gallant River, which might be brought thither by Pipes, or Aquæducts.

Swinging.

The Inhabitants of this City, at the *Nouroux*, or Spring, live Epicures, sending Presents one to another, and spending their time in Drinking, Singing and Playing. The Gardens are all open to walk in, and the Women,

The Nouroux, or Spring.

men, for 14 days, have the liberty to appear in publick, and they will not lose their time, but consume it in a Labyrinth of wanton Sports. Chastity is no Virtue at this time, when Pleasure is to take its ranges. This Feast was begun by King *Shalelladyn*, Son of *Ulp-Arslan*, and is commonly celebrated when the Sun enters *Aries*, with a greater Solemnity than any other.

The Duke of Syraz.

The Duke of *Shyraz*, who at present is *Emangoly-cawn*, a *Georgian* by descent, and *Mussul-man* by Profession, is one of the Tetrarchs that Rule the *Persian* Empire; his Territories reach near 400 Miles round, and afford him the Titles of *Arch-Duke of* Shyraz, *Sultan of* Lar *and* Jaarown, *Lord of* Ormus, Maquetoon, Kermoen, Chusistan, Sigestan *and* Farsistan, *Prince of the Gulph of* Persia, *and Isles in it, the Great* Beglerbeg, *Commander of* 12 *Sultans*, 50 *thousand Horse*, *Slave to* Sha-Abbas, *Protector of* Mussul-men, *Nutmeg of Comfort, and Rose of Delight*. His Revenue is said to be four hundred thousand Tomans, (every Toman being five Marks Sterling) but out of it he is to pay fifty thousand Horse upon Muster. This Duke, in his Seraglio's, has above 300 Concubines for his Pleasures at home, while he Exercises himself in more Manly Sports abroad; as chasing the Lion, hunting the Tyger, dislodging the Boar, unkennelling the Jackal, *&c.* at which he raises whole Countries, not less than twenty thousand Men serving to rouze that kind of Game. *Shyraz* was the Seat Royal of the Kings for near 700 Years, and they are lately removed from thence. The Lineal Descent of them is as follows:

The Succession of the Kings of Syraz.

Abuzoez Deilamshaw, descended, as they say, from *Adsher*, last King of *Persia*, the hundredth in descent from *Adam* according to their Pedigree.

Deilamshaw, Surnamed *Bosa*, or *Mebeca*, who had three Sons, *viz.*

Ally, who died without Issue, and left his Territories to his second Brother

Hussan, who had Issue, but they were deprived for a while by

Zedda-Mobel, a stranger brought in by *Mustapha* the *Babylonian* Caliph. He was succeeded by

Eyna-daddaul, who having no Issue, the Succession fell upon *Hussan*'s Son

Rocnaddaul, who being possessed of his Father's Seigniories died peaceably, *A. D.* 980. He left three Sons, who lineally inherited their Father's Jurisdiction, *viz.*

Sherfa-daule, who died Issueless, *A. D.* 990. Heg. 370.

Shems-daule, who soon after his Coronation was dispatched by Treason.

Baheo-daule, who reigned 12 Years, and at his Death commanded that his Eldest Son,

Sultan-daule, should succeed him. This Prince was bred up in Warlike Exercises, and wanted not Courage to enlarge his Empire, yet could not defend himself against his restless Brother *Hocem-Masharef-daule*, but was forced to yield him a part of his Kingdom. He died *A. D.* 1025. and was buried in *Shyraz* with great Solemnity, leaving his Kingdom to

Abdul-cawn his Son, who was by the unnatural practises of his two Uncles, *Abulfawar*, and *Gelaladaul*, first troubled and disturbed, and after dispossessed of his Dominions; but at length, by the Death of the former, recovered his Right again, and was received joyfully by his Subjects. He lived not long, but bequeathed his Royalty to

Aben-Melec-Rahim, who dying without Issue, the *Mahoyan* Race ended in him.

Abumanser, the pretended Son of *Gelaladaul* abovementioned, succeeded. He married *Dauta*, the Daughter of *Fosbal-beg*, by whom he had five Sons, *viz. Abumanser*, *Chozroe-pherux*, *Abubcer*, *Abuzeddai*, and *Abocily*. He died at *Kermoen*, when he had reign'd five Years, and was buried in *Hurkawn*, not far from *Jasques*. The Kingdom came to

Abumanser his Eldest Son, who enlarged *Shyraz*, and spared for no Cost to make it beautiful; but while he busied himself thus at home, his ambitious Brother

Cosroe-pherus unexpectedly took possession of his Territories, but Revenge pursued him, for going to see his Grandfather *Tosbal-beg*, he was Imprisoned for his Cruelty to his Brother, and died there with Stench and Famine. Yet this did not discourage

Abuzeddai, the fourth Brother, from usurping his Eldest Brother's Right, till the Injur'd *Abumanser* dispossessed him by a Battel, in which *Abuzeddai*, and most of his Associates, were slain: Yet could not *Abumanser* long keep his Right for

Fazele, his Lieutenant, unawares seized him, and securing him in a noisome Prison, adorned his base Head with his Master's Diadem; but his Brother *Abouly*, not able to bear this treachery, took an advantage of *Fazele*, and having pulled the Crown from his Head, set one better becoming him upon it, *viz.* of flaming Iron, and transplanted the Regal Diadem upon his own Head, which he held seven Years, and then dying without Issue, in the Year of Christ 1100. Heg. 480. the Scepter fell to

Mahumed-Abutalip-Togrulbeg, Son of *Michael*, Son of *Salguein*'s Son of *Didacus* a *Turkoman*, in whose Family it continued till *Mahumed-Abul-casan* died, *A. D.* 1220. Heg. 600. without a Successor, and then it fell to a Race of *Tartars*, of which

Cingis-cawn, Lord of *Ketoa-cawn*, *Maurenahar* and *Gaznehen* was the first. He died *A. D.* 1228. and

Tuki-kawn succeeded him, and after him

Chagatay-cawn, from whom descended *Tamerlane*, whose Issue now Rules all the *Indies* within *Ganges*. After the *Tartar*, the *Turks* planted themselves afresh here, led by

Chara-Mahumed, *A. D.* 1415. Heg. 795. whose Posterity enjoyed it till 1470. Heg. 870. when they were banished by

Acen-beg, otherwise called *Usan-Cassan*, an *Armenian*, whose Grandson

Alvan was, *A. D.* 1504. Heg. 884. utterly despoiled of all, by his ambitious Kinsman

Ismael-Sophy, Great Grandfather to

Abbas, the *Persian* King, that now reigns, and is of the *Ben-Allyan*, or *Sophian* Stem.

From *Shyraz* they travelled to *Persepolis*, 30 Miles N.E. of it. The Way is sandy and hilly; about Mid-way is the River *Cyr*, or *Cyrus*, over which lies a well-built Stone-Bridge called *Bynd-Emir*, *i. e.* the Prince's Bridge. *Persepolis*, as it is called 2 *Macch.* 9. 2. or *Elamis*, 1 *Macch.* 6. was the Metropolis of the World, under the Reigns of the *Persian* Kings from *Cyrus the Great*. The Founder of it is thought to be *Sosarmus*, Grandson of *Belochus*, but being enlarged by *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*, it was made the Royal Seat of the *Persian* Kings. In its most flourishing condition it was (as *Curtius* says) the richest, noblest, and loveliest City in the World. The Buildings were most beautiful and stately, being most of Cedar and Cypress Wood; but that which gave it the greatest Lustre, was the Palace of the *Persian* Monarchs, which for its Situation, Prospect, rich Materials, and curious Art, was incomparable. It was built at the East-end of a spacious Vale, upon a Rock, 400 Paces from the City, the Platform containing 50 Acres of ground, or thereabouts. The Walls of either side were Elaborately carved with Men and Beasts. The second Story was of Porphyry mixed with Marble of several Colours well polished, and imbellished with costly Stones in *Mosaick* Work. Towards the East was an high and stately Tower encompassed with a triple Wall of Marble well polished, and so battlemented, that the King could from the top have a delightful prospect all over the City. Adjoyning to it was a Mountain, on which was a stately *Mausoleum*, in which were the Tombs of the Kings. The Roof and Casements were of Gold, Silver, Amber and Ivory. The Temple of *Diana*, called *Anaia* by the *Persians*, and *Nanea*, 2 *Macch.* 1. 13. joyns to it, and is built more exquisitely, and with extraordinary Cost, *viz.* of the best sort of Marble of several sorts, intermixed with precious Stones; nor was the Furniture less admirable. When the *Macedonian* Conqueror entred it, for in the entrance was a Throne of pure Gold, thick powdered with sparkling Stones, in the Bed-Chamber, among other Curiosities, was an Artificial Vine presented by *Pytheus*, the Stalk of which was of Burnish'd Gold, and the Clusters of Orient Pearl, mixed with Rubies of great price; and no less rich was the Bed, for the Bedstead was of Gold thick set with Gems, the Bolster was worth 5000 Talents, and the Footstool 3000, each Talent containing 4500 *l.* Sterling, but this Palace and City was fired by *Alexander*, at the instigation of *Thais* a lewd Strumpet, and all its gallantry consumed, yet there are several Remains of it to this day. It was built upon part of a Mountain, and the Foundation is of dark-coloured Marble. The Ascent, which is on the West-side of the Hill, is by 95 Steps, every step being 20 Inches broad, 3 Inches high, and 36 Foot in length from one side of the Stair-Case to the other, which is so contrived as to lead both ways. Every Stair has an half-pace very large and square, flagged with Porphyry, and a bright coloured Marble. At the Stair-head are some Relicks of the Gate into the Court, which is about 20 Foot wide. On the Left Hand of which seems to have been a large Garden-plat, and Eastwards are the Figures of four strange Beasts carved in Stone, which with four Pillars, which interpose, serv'd to support a Gallery. The main Structure

Persepolis described, *Vid.* as it lies in Ruins, Fig. 12.

The Founder of it.

The Palace of the Persian Monarchs.

The Tombs of the Kings.

The Temple of *Diana*.

The Furniture of the Palace.

The Remains of the Palace.

The Gate.

Four Beasts.

Structure ranges all along towards the South to the top of the Stairs. A little distance from the Beasts, is a large square Cistern 12 Foot in Diameter, and 12 Inches thick, near which are some broken Pillars, but so demolished, that it can't be conjectur'd of what use they were. Flanking this is a Marble-Wall running from East to West, about 9 Foot thick and 30 high; and in the middle of it are another pair of Stairs of 30 or 40 Steps.

A Procession. The Wall on each side is Engraven with several Figures in Relief, in rows, resembling a Procession, with their faces toward the Stairs; and having Spears in their hands, some leading Horses, Elephants and Camels, and other Mules, Oxen and Sheep, with long Ears, which makes some think it the Pourtraiture of a great Sacrifice to the Sun, and the rather, because not far from thence is a

A Marble Table. Sculpture of their Priests and Magi. Adjoyning to these toward the West, is a Jasper or Marble Table about 20 Foot from the Pavement, well polished, and inscribed with 20 lines of Characters, every line being a Yard and half broad, or thereabouts, of a strange and unusual shape, neither like Letters nor Hieroglyphick, and so not legible. A Specimen may please the Curious, and therefore the several varieties are here inserted:

Storks reverenced. Adjoyning to this Table is a spacious Room, which some think was a Temple. in it are 19 Pillars almost perfect, where the Storks build their Nests, and are never disturbed, because the People have them in Veneration; they are 20 Cubits high, and about 3 Yards round. Ascending a few Marble Steps is another large square Chamber, 80 paces long on each side, having 8 several Doors; it seems to have been a Room of Presence. Out of this you go into another large Room contiguous, with 7 Doors, and from thence into a lesser, where the Walls are of black Marble, so bright and resplendent, that Men

Rare Gilding. may see their faces in it; and the gilding of the Cornishes, and Verge of the Vests (of the Figures) are as fresh as if it had been newly done, which shews the Excellency of the Artists, who laid it so, that it continues above 2000 Years. The Images on the Walls, which are something larger than the Life, represent Princes seated in their Chairs of State, with their Officers about them. Upon the Treez, over the Heads of the Images, are some Characters something like the ancient *Georgian* Letters, which were corrupted from the *Greek*. Near 40 paces hence is a large Room, and in the middle of it an hole, which leads into a Vault through an Entry seven Foot high, and five broad, paved with large square Marble Stones, and arched above, into a fair Chappel, supported by four large Pillars, on the Wall whereof is

The Image of their Grand P'god. graven their Grand Pagod, with several other Images of Men and Beast. Near this is a second Subterranean passage into another square Chappel, strongly arched and supported with four well-wrought white Marble Pillars, each about seven Yards high; in it are the Figures of a Prince sitting in a Chair of State, guarded with several Pike-men, and Officers of State attending him. There are also several heaps of Rubbish, which doubtless bury many rare pieces of Art, and among others the famous Temple of *Diana*, called by them *Anaya*, reputed the most curious piece of Art in the World, except *Diana's* at *Ephesus*; at the East-end of which rises an Hill, on which stands the Image of a King, who with erected Hands seems to adore the Rising-Sun, and by him is the Figure of Fire, and a Serpent engraven, tho' it is much worn by Wind and Weather. Scarce ten Yards distant from these, and upon the same declivity of the Mountain, stands the Image of their great Pagod, a Dæmon of a very uncouth and ugly shape, of a Gigantick size and magnitude, with a most dreadful Visage between Man and Beast. He has seven Arms on each side of his Body, and instead of Hands he hath Claws like a Vulture.

Jamshead the great Prince of *Persia*. They tell us that this Image represents *Jemsheed*, the greatest Prince *Persia* ever had, both in respect to his Extent of Empire, and the Power he had over Infernal Spirits, which he could Bind and Loose as he pleased by his Magick Spells. According to their Stories, he lived about 100 Years after *Kenmarraz*, or *Kedar-laomer*, whom *Abraham* vanquished. On the Left Hand of this Image stand a Guard of Pike-men, and below these 20 Flamens. Many other things very remarkable, both for Art and Story, might be observed by the Curious, and exact from this unparallel'd piece of Antiquity, which, *as it is undoubtedly* without Imposture, so it exceeds all the Miracles of this Nature upon Earth, and 'tis pity a perfect Draught of it is no where extant, especially since the People near it have no value for it, but are every day defacing it, because they are now and then forced to give free Quarter to some *Soldats*, and others, who repair thither to see it out of meer Curiosity, tho' the Dukes of *Shyraz*, now called *Chilminar*, punish them for it.

Little more than a Mile from *Shyraz* is *Mardasht*, a *Mardasht*, a Village of near 200 Houses; the People of which are Superstition of the Inhabitants. so transcendently Superstitious, that if any Christians come among them, they Sift ashes and dust upon the places they tread on, apprehending that the Earth is pollured by them. This, and the neighbouring Villages, being watered from the River *El-chyr* by Aquæducts, are very pleasant at most Seasons, the Gardens and Fields being rendred fruitful in Flowers, Fruits and Corn, but they draw the River very low. Northward, about three Miles from *Shyraz*, at the foot of a Mountain verging toward *Persepolis*, stands carved the Figure of a Giant, which the *Persians* say is one *Rustan*, an Hero *Rustan's* Image. much celebrated in their Annals for his Romantick Wonders and Acts. He is thought to have lived about the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, or the Great *Ahesheurus*, who married *Hester* the *Jewess*, in whose Wars 'tis likely he was a great Commander. Near him stand several Images of Women and Maidens carved; one of which they say is the Figure of *Rustan's* Earthly Goddess, for love of whom he, like a Knight Errant, performed many brave Adventures.

Not far from thence, in a place where the Mountain Two Giants is made smooth, are two large Figures of Giants on on Horse-back. Horseback, facing each other, and contending for a Ring, on which they both lay their hands. This Symbol possibly represents the great Contest for the Monarchy of the World, which happened between *Darius* and *Alexander*, *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*. There are several other Images carved in this Mountain, which are worth a Travellers notice. Upon either side of this Mountain are cut, or pierced, several holes, some of a larger size than others, which are thought to be the Sepulchres of the *Persian* Kings, who, as *Diod. Siculus* tells, were not buried in *Cemeteries*, but in the Marble Mountains.

Besides these, upon the same Mountains are some pie- Pieces of Perspective. ces of Perspective elaborately and regularly cut out, resembling the noblest sort of ancient Structure, and embellished with some few Pictures of Men, which serve for Ornament. About 300 paces Southward from *Chilmanor*, is a single Column entire from top to bottom, but so low, that 'tis hard to conjecture for what use it was. Some space from the Mountain towards the Valley, are several Coffins or Troughs of Stone, some whole, but most broken, in which one may presume dead Corps have been laid. There are also some Relicks of Tanks, or Conservatories of Water, towards which one may perceive the Aquæducts cut through the Mountain to lead.

March 28. they came to a Town called *Meyown*, a *Meyown*, a place very delightfully seated, and well accommodated *Ishmael's* with sweet Water, excellent Wine, plenty of Wood, and *Tower.* store of Grass; it belongs to their highly honoured Prophet *Ishmael*, whose Tomb in a well built Machit, called *Emoom Ishmael*, is here seen, and is endowed through the Liberality of many Princes and great Men, with the Yearly Maintenance of twelve thousand Mawnd-shaws of Rice, and four thousand of Barley.

Next Night they Lodged at *O-jone*, a Village consist- *O-jone.* ing of 30 Families, most of them Prophets, or Prophets Children, which makes it a place of bad Entertainment, because they drink no Wine, nor are allowed any Grapes, nor is their Water good, tho' they have good Tanks.

Over craggy and steep Hills they travelled to *Tartang*, *Tartang.* a small Town remarkable for a Meschit, in which is the Tomb of the King's Great Uncle covered with Violet-coloured Velver, and came the next Night to *Asscpse*, which has nothing observable but an old Castle, sometimes a Garrison, in and about which inhabit no less than 4000 *Georgians* and *Sarcasses*, who are by profession Christians, but live in Captivity, and great Temptation, for if any of them turn *Mahometan*, they are immediately preferr'd beyond vulgar Merit. The Villages which followed in the way had nothing remarkable till they came to *Gombazallello*, where there is a good Carravans- *Gombazallello.* raw, and the best Wheaten-bread in *Persia*, but in the Road is a Mountain of black Marble, where doubtless are also Quarries of Serpentine and Porphyry if the Earth were examined. Out of this part of the *Perchoetrian* Mountains the River *Rhogamana* springs, which having watred *Shyraz* runs into the *Persian* Gulph. The next Night they lodged at *Yezdecawz*, a Town which *Yezdecawz.* stands

stands pleasantly in a narrow Valley, and the next day passing through *De-Moxalbeytra velled* to *Annebant*, or *Byal*, a Village of 30 Families, but most Apostate *Georgians*. It is inclosed with an high, strong and round Wall, with Battlements, which makes it resemble a Castle. It is commanded by *David-chawn*, Brother to the Duke of *Shyraz*, who for his Apostacy was made an Eparch. Here is a neat *Carravans-raw*, with Banqueting-Houses, and well ordered Gardens. From *Annebant* they rode to *Commeshaw*, or *Caumaxa*, which boasts in a thousand Houses, where the memorable Battel betwixt *Artaxerxes*, and his Brother *Cyrus*, was fought; and the next day came to *Maycar*, a Town of about a thousand Houses, which tho' they are neat, are not comparable to their Dove-Houses for curious Outsides. Which Bird they much reverence, partly in memory of *Semiramis*, who, as *Berosus* relates, was in her Infancy nourished, and at her Death transformed into a Dove; and partly from those, which being taught to feed at *Mahomet*'s Ear, communicated to him (as the People believe, and he pretended) Intelligence from some Angel. The next Night they came to *Spahawnet*, a Village six Miles South from *Spahawn*, where having remained a day or two, till the Governour could provide for the Reception of the *English* Embassadour, who was with them, they were conducted to *Spahawn*, *April* 10. by the Visier, Sultan *Meloyemberg*, and *Hodge-Nazar*, the *Armenian* Prince, with a Cavalcade of about 4000 Horse, and innumerable Foot, Men, Women, Children, and *Bannians*, who lined the Way and Bridges for above two Miles, and welcomed them with the Acclamations of *Hoshomody*, *Soffowardy*; and the better sort, *Hoshgaldom*, *Soffogaldom*, *i. e.* Welcome, Welcome, heartily Welcome. The ancient Inhabitants of this Country are *Georgians*, intermixed with other Nations; and there is a Suburb of this City inhabited by *Georgians* and *Armenians*, called from thence *Jelphelius*, as some think. The Soil is for the most part Mountainous, much resembling *Helvetia*, where the *Switzers* live. From the tops of some Hills, the *Caspian* and *Euxene* Seas may be discovered. They derive their Name from St. *George* their Patron, and from the *Gordian* Hills, which they inhabit, tho' the *Greeks* derive their Name from Γεωργοι, Husbandmen, because most of them are of this Profession. These People, through the goodness of God, with their Neighbours the *Carcashians* and *Armenians*, hold fast their Christian Profession, notwithstanding they are sufficiently threatned by *Turk*, *Tartar* and *Persian*, which surround them, and tell them that all *Natolia*, where once were the famousest Churches in the World, is now overspread with *Mahometans*. They were interdicted the Communion of the Orthodox, by *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*; nevertheless, under *Sapores*, twenty thousand of them suffered Martyrdom. By Profession, they are now most of them *Nestorians* and *Jacobites*, and more inclinable to Arms than Trading, as their Neighbours the *Armenians* be. For comelinesse of Body, height of Spirit, and faithfulness in Trust, they are in such repute with the *Persians*, that they are employed in the greatest Commands against the *Turks*, and the King has the greatest number of his *Conselbashes* from them, it being seldom or never heard that any of them prove false, or having served the *Persian* will turn *Turks*.

Now concerning the *Armenians*. They have their Name from their Country, *Armenia*, which is divided into *Major* and *Minor*. The lesser is part of *Natolia*, and the greater lies between *Tartary* on the North, *Media* and *Assyria* on the South, and the *Euxene* and *Caspian* Seas on the East and West. It included anciently *Colchis*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, *&c.* which are now swallowed up in the Names of *Zuria*, *Mingrelia*, *Turcomania*, *&c.* The chief Cities of it are *Beranii*, *Arsanica*, *Carcathiocerta*, *&c.* and in the lesser *Nicopolis*, *Cæsarea*, *&c.*

They have two Patriarchs who reside, the one at *Jerusalem*, and the other at *Sinah* in *Arabia*. They have 12 Titular Bishops, who are very poor, tho' that ought not to render them despicable. They honour much the three first General Councils. They read the Old and New Testaments in their Mother Tongue, and have a Litany, part of which they Expound every Lord's-Day in the Church. They allow of two Sacraments only, and administer the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and deny the real Presence. They celebrate Baptism after the *Eutychian* sort, as *Jacobus* Father of the *Jacobites*, and *Joannes Philoponus* mistaught them; and most of them follow the condemned Opinion of *Nestorius*, encouraged by *Cozroes* in hatred to *Heraclius* the Emperour. The Proselyte *Gentiles*, or *Mahometans*, they sign in the Forehead with a burning Cross, but others they sign only with the Cross, as glorying in that Hieroglyphick, which the *Jews* and *Mahometans* esteem so ignominiously of. They are great Lovers of Tradition, and do not pray for the Dead, believing that they come not either into a State of Happiness or Torment till the last Judgment. They abstain every Year five Sabbaths from Flesh, Fish, Cheese and Butter, in memory of these five Ages, in which their *Gentile* Forefathers sacrificed their Children to the Devil.

They fast on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* every Week, except between *Easter* and *Ascension*, and are strict Observers of *Lent*, refraining from their Wives, as well as Flesh, Fish, Milk, Eggs and Butter, feeding upon Oil, Honey, Dates, Cucumbers, Herbs, *&c.* and drinking only Water; but at other times eat Flesh of all sorts, Pork it self not excepted, which they account a dainty Fare. Before the three great Festivals they fast twelve days.

They marry often at 9 or 12 Years old, the Laity twice, and the Clergy but once; but Trigamy is hated by all. They honour their Elders. They allow of no Images in Churches, and condemn the *Greeks* for doing the contrary, but have Images in their Houses. They respect the Cross, but worship it not. They do not believe a Purgatory. Their Churches are but mean. They pay Obedience and Respect to their Superiours, and punish Theft and Adultery. Yet they have some Idolatrous Customs among them, for at their Burials they lead a Lamb without blemish about the Church, which they after kill, and give to every one a bit, as a Symbol of Charity. On *Good-Friday* they represent the Burial and Death of Our Lord theatrically, with sorrow in their faces; and on *Easter-day* they joyfully celebrate the Resurrection, with a representative Body, using the old Salvo which the *Greeks* do, in the Morning, *He is risen indeed*, which they call an Angelical Note, and after celebrate it as a great Festival, the *Mahometans* and *Jews* not being allowed to mix with them. They fast upon the Nativity. The *Jesuits* have been very industrious to bring them over to the *Roman* Communion, but in vain. They insist much upon Antiquity, and have a Catalogue of 200 Bishops since their Conversion, and some of them were noble Martyrs. The *Armenians* at this day are the greatest Travellers, East and West, of any of the *Asiaticks*, through a desire of Gain, and affectation of Novelties, their Country lying convenient for Navigation upon the *Caspian*, *Euxene*, and *Mediterranean* Seas, and the *Palus Mæotis*; and tho' the *Turk* and *Persian* often causelesly quarrel with them, and domineer over them, yet they are averse to War.

Learning is not now in so great repute as it was formerly, yet they have Schools and Universities. They have *David*'s Psalms, and some other parts of H. Scripture, which were translated into the *Armenian* Tongue by S. *Chrysostom*, during his Banishment from *Constantinople* into that Country; as also the Works of *Gregory Nazianzene* and *Cyril*, translated out of *Greek* into their own Language. Their Alphabet consists of 28 Letters. They write from the Left Hand to the Right. Their Language is very difficult to learn, by reason of the harsh Aspirations.

Spahawn (now called *Ispahan*) is seated in the 32 Deg. 39 Min. Northern Latitude, and 86 Deg. 30 Min. Longitude. This City is ancient, and in several Ages has changed her Name. Two thousand three hundred Years ago it was called *Dura*, then *Hecatompulos*, after *Nymzemena*. *Ben Jonas* calls it *Asphahan* and *Aespachar*, and *Cluverius Hagistan*, and the *Arabian* Geographer *Asbahawn*. At this day it is called by the Natives *Spahawn*, but by Writers *Spaha*, *Spachen*, *Achabar*, *Aspahan*, *Ispaan*, *Spahan*, and *Hispahan*. This City is the Metropolis of the *Persian* Monarchy, and seated in the *Parthian* Territory (now called *Ayrac*) in the middle of the Empire: It is in compass about 9 Miles, including about seven thousand Houses, which contain about two hundred thousand Souls; of which, besides the Natives, there are Merchants of many Nations, as *English*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *Poles*, *Muscovites*, *Indians*, *Arabians*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Turks*, *Jews*, and others, drawn thither by hopes of Gain. The Situation of it is pleasant, the Buildings neat, of which the Mydan, Mesquets, Hummums and Palaces, are most observable; rich in Trade, and very full of People, as being the place of the usual Residence of the Court. The Air is pure, quick and healthy, and the Soil is fruitful, being Watered by the River *Sindery*, which tho' so wide in rainy Seasons as to require a Bridge of 35 Arches, yet in Summer is so low and shallow, (being drained by little Rivolets to water the Gardens) that Children can wade over it; and after it has gone a few Leagues further, it is drunk up by the thirsty Valleys, and never arrives at the Ocean.

The

The Mydan. The Mydan is as spacious and pleasant as any in the Universe; it is a thousand paces from North to South, and above two hundred from East to West. The Building is of Sun-dried Brick, and full of Shops within fraught of sundry sorts of Wares, arched above in Cupulo's terrass-wise, and pargetted with blue Plaister, and being the noblest part, is placed in the heart of the City.

The King's Palace. The King's Palace, called *Chonna Posthaugh*, joins it on the West-side, which possesses a large spot of ground backward, but is even with the other Buildings in the front; it is pargetted and painted with blue and gold, embroider'd with Poesies of *Arabick*, which after the *Grotesco* manner makes it shew very pleasant. Within the Rooms are Arched, enlightened by Lattices, embossed above, and painted with red, white, blue and gold, and on the sides with Sports and Landskips; the Floors spread with Carpets of Silk and Gold, without other Furniture, terrassed above, and garnished with a Tower over-topping many Mosques. The Garden, or Wilderness, fragrant with Flowers, and full of Birds.

The Hippodrome, *Vid* the form of it, Fig. 13. Within the Hipp-drome many of the Cavalry use to ride, from whence they repair to the Court-gate with their Lances in their Hands, and Swords and Quivers by their Sides, to attend the King, if he pleaseth to go abroad; if not, after they have waited a while, they depart. The North Isle of the Mydan hath 8 or 9 arched Rooms, usually hung with Lamps and Latten-Candlesticks, which make a great shew. Hither the *Posthaugh*, and others, repair frequently for Pastime, as Tumbling, Slight of Hand, dancing Girls, and painted *Catamites*.

The Mint. At the farthest end North is the Mint, where they Coin Gold, Silver and Brass, and by it are Cooks Shops: Before the King's Doors are 31 Demi-Cannons, and 12 Iron Culverins, brought thither from *Ormus*, or *Babylon*.

The Mosques. Opposite to the Palace is a fair Temple, or Jewma-Machit, built round, but within distinguished into Isles. The outside is Stone, and the inside is lined 15 foot high, with white polished Marble-Cupulo's, and compassed with Walls, and open to the Air, the Isles excepted, which are covered. In the Center is a large Tank of pure Water, and at the Portal another. The other Mosques are much of the same form, tho' less sumptuous; and some have slender high Steeples, or Towers, terrassed near the top.

The Hummums. The Hummums in the City be many and beautiful, some 4 square, but most round; they are built for the most part of white Stone well polished, the Windows are large without, but narrow inwardly, and the Glass thick and dark. The Roof is round, Tiled with counterfeit Turquoises, which is perfect blue, beautiful and lasting. The inside is divided into many Cells, some

The Baths. for Delight, others for Sweating; all for Use, for Bathing with the *Persians* is as familiar as Eating and Drinking, and almost as necessary, because they use much sitting, and little Exercise. The Baths are of pure Stone, paved with black and chequer'd Marble. Men frequent them in the Morning commonly, and Women in the Afternoon. The price for Bathing is very small, which makes them use it oftner; so that the Gain is great.

The Use of Bathing. Bathing is accounted a Catholicon against most Diseases, especially Colds, Catarrhs, Flegm, Aches, Agues, the *French*-Pox, and the like.

The City described. The City is built upon a Level ground, and in an Oval form, having many Streets, and scarce any House but is accommodated with large Gardens full of Cypress-Trees. The City Wall is of no force against Cannon, but of use against Horse and Lances. Some Parapets and Bulwarks it has, but more for Ornament than Use, the *Persian* being so Magnanimous, as to Die rather than be Besieged. It has 12 Gates, but 4 of them are lately shut. The Palaces are few, low built, pargetted and painted without, and gilt within, and spread with Carpets. They have all large Gardens beautified with Flowers, and plentifully Watered.

The Seraglio. The Royal Seraglio is famous for the Treasure and Beauties it contains; but since 'tis dangerous to inquire into them, little can be said of them. The Castle is large, strongly Walled and Moated; made Defensive with some Pieces of Brass, but more by the Troops of Eunuchs who guard the Ladies. The Gardens, for Grandeur and Sweetness, excel all others in *Asia*; so that you may call it another Paradise.

The King's Garden. At the West of *Spahawn* is the King's Garden, called *Nazar-Jareeb*, which is very famous. From the Mydan you go to this Garden by *Cherbaugh*, through a Street two Miles long, most of the Way on both sides being Garden-Walls, here and there adorned with Summer-Houses, and planted all along with Chenaer-Trees, which serve both for Shade and Ornament. Being come to the Garden *Nazer-Jareeb*, you find it encompassed with a Wall about three Miles in Circuit, wide and well-built. From North to South 'tis about a thousand paces, and from East to West seven hundred, the Walks in 9 easie Ascents passing through it both ways. In the middle of the Garden is a spacious Tank, having twelve equal sides of 5 foot long set out with leaden Pipes, which spout up the Water in variety of Conceits. At the North-Gate is a Summer-House erected for Prospect and Pleasure, garnished without, and within divided into 6 Rooms. The lower Rooms are adorned with Tanks of white Marble, and the higher Rooms are beautified with variety of Landskips, which represent their Manner of Sports, Hawking, Fishing, Riding, Shooting, Wrestling, Courting, and other Fancies. The Roof upon the Parget is gilt and painted with blue, and other Colours. This Garden is replenished with Trees of all sorts for Medicine, Shade and Fruit, which are all so green, sweet and pleasant, that it may be termed the King's Paradise. The Tank and Summer-House.

Monuments of Antiquity. Monuments of Antiquity, in or about this City, are only these few, *viz.* *Rustan*'s Tomb almost ruined, and only preserved by *Gowers Cabala*: *Darius* (or *Xerxes*'s) Mount, a rising Hill, where *Xerxes* stood when he viewed his innumerable Army, and considering that none of them should be living in a few Years, wept: *Demaund* Hills, through which *Abbas*, by the unspeakable toil of 40 thousand, and sometimes 100 thousand Men, in 20 Years time forced a River to *Spawhawn*: A Column or Pillar of Heads of Men and Beasts, slain by *Abbas* for their Rebellion against him; it exceeded the Steeples of many Mosques in *Spahawn* at first, but now is much ruin'd. The Heads of Beasts are mingled with Mens, because the Mufti perswaded *Abbas* to spare the Men, that survived the heat of his fury, and slay Beasts instead of them. *Vid.* the Fig. 14.

The Suburbs of *Spahawn*. *Spahawn* has many Suburbs, *viz.* *Jelphey*, *Gower-abaut*, *Abbas-abaut*, *Chanz-abaut*, *Azan-abaut*, and *Cheigh-Saban*: 1. *Jelphey*. *Jelphey* is Governed by a peculiar Potestate, an *Armenian* Christian Prince, stiled by them *Hodge-Nazar*, a Merchant by Profession, but having a Superintendency over them. He and his Subjects enjoy freedom of Conscience, but for Money Matters, and Publick Taxes, are at the sole disposition of the King. The Inhabitants of this Suburb are reckon'd 10000, and these in *Azen-abaut* 4000 Families. They are habited like the *Persians*, but have greyer Eyes, and brighter Hair. They are for the most part Merchants, Factors for the King, who generally seizeth their Estates at their Death, if they are rich. They profess Christianity, taught them erroneously by *Jacobus*, the *Syrian* Monothelite, and have two Patriarchs, one residing in *Jelphey*, the other at *Sis* near *Tharsus*, and sometimes at *Ecmeasin*. 2. *Gower-abaut*, so called from the *Gowers*, who are Relicks of the ancient *Persians*, and inhabit there. The other *Persians* contemn them, partly because they are more ancient, and partly because they shame their Idleness by their Industry. They are Idolaters, and worship the Sun, whom they call *Mythra*, but build no Temple to it, because they say no place is sufficient capacious enough for it. Their Lawgiver was *Zertoost*, or *Zoroaster*, who first taught the *Persians* Magick and Judicial Astrology. Their Flamens are a sort of *Platonists*, for tho' they acknowledge many Creatures to be excellent, yet they say they are no way comparable to their Creator, who is the Center of all Perfection. Nevertheless they Deify an Elemental Fire, which they say doth never extinguish. Their Marriages are the same with the *Indian Persees* above related. In reverence to the Fire they forbear to burn the Dead, as being Unclean things, but put them into the hollow of a Tree, standing upright, till their Observation releaseth them; for if the Vultures pluck out the Right Eye, then they conclude that the Party's Soul is in Paradise, but if they pull out the Left, than an Evil Spirit vexes him, and so they Feast or Fast as they think they have cause. These People are for the most part Mechanicks, or Husbandmen, and very few Scholars or Merchants. Their Habit differs little from the common Mode, save that their Head-attire is after the *Hyrcanian* fashion. The Women shew their Faces, and their Apparel and Hair is tinctur'd with yellow, and their Scarf is Flame-coloured, resembling the Sun their Deity. Many of them, either out of Zeal or Poverty, go barefoot, using neither Shoes nor Sandals.

The *Portuguese* Friers, *Carmelites* and *Augustinians*, have two Houses here, and their Chappels are neatly gilt and adorned with Organs, Altars, Crucifixes, Images, Candles, and other like Ornaments, with which they endeavour

Portuguese Friers among them.

endeavour to convert the People to Popery, but the *Armenians* are rather Spectators than Auditors, and hate all Innovations, and the *Persians* by their Principles contemn Images, yet are these Religious of great use to send Intelligence to *Goa*, and other parts of *Christendom*.

Leaving *Spahawn*, *May* 1. to go towards the Court, which lay at *Asharaff* in *Mozendram*, 400 Miles distant Northward from it, they came to *Reig* on Horse-back, and finding the weather intollerable hot, travelled the rest of the way by Night, refreshing themselves by Day in Caravans-raws, where the Gnats were not too troublesome.

Reig.

Sardahan, Whoomg. From *Reig* they travelled first to *Sardahan*, which is 16 Miles; then to *Whoomg*, 27 Miles, where they rested.

Tawghchaut. Next they came to *Tawghchaut*, an House and Garden of the King's, which for beauty and sweetness, equals any in *Parthia*, tho' 'tis planted in a barren Soil; for it not only abounds with most sorts of Trees familiar to the Climate, but with *Persian* Fruits and Flowers, *viz.* Pomegranates, Peaches, Apricocks, Plums, Apples, Pears, Cherries, Chestnuts, damask, red, and white Roses, Tulips, and other Flowers in great variety, watered with Streams, beautified with artificial Grots, and having also Hummums of Stone, paved with white Marble.

The Summer-house. The *Mohul*, or Summer-house has a dozen Chambers, delightful to the view, being emboss'd with Gold, and painted with various Colours.

Bawt. Obigarmy. From hence they passed first to *Bawt*, and then to *Obigarmy*, two of the King's Houses, over an hospitable and sandy Desart, ten Miles broad, but an hundred long. The Ground is covered with a loose and flying Sand, which being agitated by the Wind, moves like Waves of the Sea, and overwhelms Passengers, but the dryness of the Soil makes these Vapours not very common.

Suffedaw. The next Night they rode 21 Miles to *Suffedaw*, and the Night following 30 to *Syncow*, as a good Caravans-raw, as the other was a bad one, made of white polished Stone. This last Nights travel was upon a Stone Causey, broad enough for ten Horses to go a-breast, built by extraordinary labour and expense, over a part of a boggy great Desart, which will not bear Horse or Camel, unless on the Causey, which thro' drifts of Sand and Salt, Travellers sometimes miss of, and so perish. They had the like Causey further in their Road for 22 Miles, till they came to the Borders of *Old Parthia*, where they pitched, and the next Night came to *Ghezz*, which is 18 Miles, a pretty Lodge belonging to the King.

Ghezz.

The Nomades. Here they met with some of those Creats, or wandring Herds-men, called *Nomades*, who have no fixed Habitation, but for Profit or Delight, remove from place to place, as Fancy and good Pasturage invites them, with all their Families and Substance in Waggons of six Wheels, two Stories high, covered with Felt.

The Pylæ Caspiæ. Part of this Journey lay thro' the *Pylæ Caspiæ*, or Valley of Mount *Taurus*, which is not more than four yards broad, and eight Miles long. This Pass a Thief with 500 Horse, undertook to keep against all Commers in *Abbas*'s Reign, to the great sorrow of the King of *Larry-Joon*, and even *Abbas* himself, but an *Armenian*, with some few *Coosul-Bashaws*, undertook the conquest of them, which he effected by single Combate with the Thief, whom he overcame and killing, by the help of the *Coosel-basha's*, scattered his Followers. *Abbas* was pleased with the bravery of the Action, and rewarded him, but not being able to bear the Glory of it long, commanded *Lollabeg* to cut off his Head.

Halvary. Their next Night's travel was to *Halvary*, 18 Miles from *Ghezz*, a Village pretty well built, and delightfully seated by a sweet Rivulet, and on a pleasant Soil, which is usually green, and produceth plenty of Olives, Wallnuts, Wheat, Wood, and other things.

Periscow. From hence they rode the next Night to *Periscow*, 20 Miles, where the King has an House, and sometimes resides here for the conveniency of Hawking, because Pheasants and other Game more abound here, than in most other parts of *Parthia*. This Town has very sweet Water, and stands upon the Brow of a Hill very well wooded, but at this time was governed by a corrupt Man, one *Mahumed*, who sought always to extort Bribes ever from Strangers.

Gheer. After two days stay in *Periscow*, they travelled to *Gheer*, 24 long Miles, and the next Night to a Village abounding so with Frogs, that their abode was unpleasant there thro' their loathsome noise.

Aliavar. *Aliavar*, 21 Miles further, was their next Mansion, a very pleasant place for Earth, Water, and Wood: Here they found store of Pheasants, a Bird abounding in these *Hyrcanian* Towns, but originally proceeding from the River *Phapis* in *Mingrelia*, which empties it self into the *Euxine* Sea, near *Trapezond*.

Necaw. From thence they went to *Necaw*, 25 miles, where the King has an House, and the other Buildings and Churches are like ours in *Europe*. Here, as in some other parts of *Hyrcania*, they are exceedingly pestered with Flees and Gnats in Summer-time. The Fields also are much pestered with Snakes, which will wind about the Horses Legs as they travel, but do no other harm.

Asharaff described. Next Night they got to *Asharaff*, a City upon the *Caspian* Sea, where the Emperour of *Persia* was at that time, expecting the *English* Embassador. The Sultan of the Town with 50 *Coosal-bashaes*, met the Embassador three Miles from the Court, and brought him with his Attendants civilly into *Asharaff*, but the Ceremony was far below the State of so great a King, and the Person of the Embassador. *Asharaff* is distant about two miles from the *Caspian* Sea, seated in a low Ground, surrounded with many salt Marshes, and but meanly watered, with a small Spring only from the Mountains of *Taurus*.

The Soil. The Ground is reasonably fat, but not well cultivated, the greatest part of the Inhabitants being Souldiers. There are about 2000 Families in this Town, but doubtless must increase, because the King begins to affect the place, and has newly built him a Palace there, but not very large. The King has two other Palaces near, *viz.* at *Farrabaut* and *Abassabaut*, where there is a Summer-house, excelling all his others for Prospect, Paintings, Hummums, Water-works; and a Forrest stored with all sorts of Game. The Palace here is not very regular, but rather confusedly divides it self into four Mohuls or Banqueting-houses, which be gorgeously painted; and were they united, they would more delight the Eye. From them you have a pleasant prospect into the *Caspian* Sea, and may see Mount *Taurus* at a distance. The Palace looks into very pleasant Gardens.

The Bazar is but ordinary, and the Machits not to be admired: The Chambers of the Palace are large and square, the Roofs arched and richly guilded, the Ground is spread with Carpets of Silk and Gold: In the midst are Tanks full of sweet water, and round about them Flagons, Cisterns, and other Vessels of Massy-Gold, which are sometimes, upon special Occasions, filled with Perfumes, Wine, Rose-water, Flowers, *&c.*

Hyrcania or Mozendram. This City lies in *Hyrcania*, or, as the *Persians* now call it, *Mozendram*, which is a Country in most places of a good Soil and Clime, abounding in Grass, Fruit, Corn, Flowers, *&c.* and having Cattle in great plenty; moreover for their manner of Husbandry, Buildings and Civility, more resembling *Europe* than any other part of *Asia*. The Goodness of the Soil is much bettered by the many Rivers and Rivolets, which springing from Mount *Taurus*, water the whole Country, and empty themselves into the *Caspian* Sea, such as *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*, which gave two Kings their name, *Araxy*, *Obsel*, *Connee*, *Mazeras*, *Bundana*, *Hydiro*, *Aragus*, and others. This Country in ancient times so abounded with Wood, that it was called *Sylva Hyrcania*, and nourished several sorts of noxious Creatures, as Snakes, Lions, Foxes, Wild-Cats, Boars, and Tygers, instead of which, now there is plenty of Cows, Buffalo's, Horses, Camels, Sheep, Mules, Deer red and fallow, Antelopes, Hogs, Goats, and other Beasts, as also Birds, Hens, Pheasants, Patridges, Nightingales, Pouts, Quails, Wood-cocks, Thrushes, and other Birds: and Fish, as Sturgeon, Mullet, Mussels, Dog-fish, Tunnyes, and others: It produces all sorts of Grain, and Fruits, and Roots, in great variety.

The Grain and Trees. Among the Trees that grow here, which are Oak, Elm, Ash, Mulberryes, and the like, there is one that distils a Juice sweet like Honey, which is called *Occhus*. The chief Towns of this Country are *Farrabaut*, *Asheraff*, *Abassebaut*, *Periscow*, *Omoal*, *Barfrushdea*, *Chacoporo*, *Caban*, *Baldith*, *Baedz*, *Darabgier*, *Dengee*, *Sumachy*, *Erez*, and *Bachu*, nigh which last is a Spring of that rare kind of Oyl, or clammy Substance, called *Nift* or *Nephti*, which will take fire from the Sun-beams, or other heat. If it be not the same mentioned 2 *Macch.* 1. 36. 'tis much like it. Near *Chacoporo* also is a Spring, whose Water is sweet and profitable for eleven Months in the Year, but one Month is so brackish, that it is unfit both for drinking and dressing Meat. The Natives here for the most part are exceeding courteous to Strangers, and hospitable, industrious in Husbandry. They have a Dialect of their own, but speak *Persian* for the most part, tho' imperfectly.

Nephti a rare Oyl.

The Tapiri. The *Tapiri* inhabited here of old, who had a Custom after they had three or four Children, to lend their Wives to their Neighbours to breed on, to which the Women as willing condescended; a Custom now abro-

gated, but not wholly left. The Country is Champion, but incloſed near the Towns. The Paſtures are full of Snakes, and Woods of large Mulberry-Trees, which feed the Silk-worms, about which the People employ themſelves. This Worm came into *Perſia* from the *Seres*, or *Regio Serica*, in *Scythia*, towards *Indiſtan*: Theſe Worms produce the *Perſian* King 7600 Batmans of raw Silk yearly, which, they ſay, will be of that colour you lay before the Worm commonly, tho' it is uſually white, green, yellow, or Sand-colour.

Silk-worms.

Terrabaut deſcribed.

Upon *Whitſunday* they left *Aſheraff*, and came to *Terrabaut*, five Miles from it, and lying South-Eaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea. The Situation of this City is flat, the Soil rich, and beautified with Gardens full of Fruit, watered with a River of ſweet water 40 Paces broad, which ſpringing from Mount *Tauris*, incorporates here with the *Caſpian* Sea. The Air is not ſo pure here as it is higher up the Country. Inſtead of Walls it has a deep Moat, the Banks of which are planted with Willows and other Trees for Shade and Ornament. The Houſes are not flat above, according to the *Perſian* way, but the Roof is ſharp, and tiled as ours in *England*, and the Windows are glazed. This Town has about 3000 Families, the Streets are broad enough, but not regular. The Moſque is but ordinary, and the two Buzars not ſingular. Moſt Houſes have their Gardens, and ſome reach down to the *Caſpian* Sea. The King's Houſe at the North end of the Town is of moſt note. From the Balconies of it you have a fine proſpect on to the Sea. It has two large Courts, diſtinguiſh'd into Knots and Graſs-plats, which ſo abound with Flowers and Trees, as if they would ſurfeit the Senſes with delight. The Houſe is ſpacious, but low, the Rooms are high, but ſo long, that they reſemble Galleries. Three of the Chambers are moſt richly furniſhed with Seilings well painted, and embuſſed with Gold, Looking-glaſſes on the ſides, and *Muſcovian* Glaſs in large clear Panes, cemented with Gold. The Floors new laid with Velvet, and Carpets of Cloath of Gold.

The *Caſpian* Sea. *Vide* Fig. 15.

The *Caſpian* Sea, which lies near this City, is deſervedly reckoned one of the Wonders of the World: for greatneſs, taſte, and colour it reſembles the Ocean, but has this wonderful in it, That tho' it receives many great Rivers into it, and has no viſible vent, yet it never overflows the Banks. It is 3000 Miles in circumference, and the ſhape and figure of it is oval: from North to South 'tis 600 Miles in Diameter: 'tis ſhallow by the Shoar, and full of quick-ſands; but more off at Sea, 'tis deep and unfathomable. Upon the North it has a part of *Tartary*, called *Nagay*, on the Eaſt *Nagathas*, on the South *Hyrcania*, and on the Weſt *Media* and *Armenia*, ſurrounded with lofty Hills, furniſhed with Fiſh, and upon the Shoar hath many Towns well-peopled, and traded to by many Nations. 'Tis thought that it hath ſome ſecret courſe with the *Euxine*, and ſo much the rather, becauſe that Sea hath a Current Flux running from the Eaſtern Shoar, which is nigheſt the *Caſpian*, towards the *Thracian Boſphorus*. The ebbing and flowing, if any, is ſcarce diſcernable in this Sea. Ships in eight days will croſs this Sea from *Forrabaut*, or *Derbent*, to *Aſtracan*, if the Winds be favourable.

Aſtracan deſcribed.

This Town and Iſle lies in 47 Degrees of Northern Latitude, is ſeated upon a riſing Ground, and has a Line about it for defence, and upon the Works ſome Pieces of Cannon mounted. The Houſes are not many, nor well built, but ſufficiently peopled; for altho' the Soil be barren, and Air bad, yet ſuch is the Deſire of Gain, that it is much reſorted to by the Merchants of ſeveral Countries, who trade thither for Furs of [illegible] Sable, Woolverin, Ermyn, Luſern, Miniver, Bever, O[illegible]quirrel, and the like, which are brought thither out of *Ruſſia* and *Tartary*, as alſo for Fiſh, which the Sea produces in great plenty, and eſpecially for Caveare and Potargo, which are made, the one of the Row of Sturgeon, and the other of the Mullets, and for Salt, which they make there of the Salt-water, and vend in great quantities.

Volga deſcribed.

Six Leagues from *Aſtracan* runs the great River *Volga*, or *Wolga*, which ſprings out of a Mountain about an hundred Miles from *Teraſlave* in *Ruſſia*, in 60 Deg. Northern Latitude, and after 2000 Miles Courſe, diſgorges it ſelf at ſeveral Mouths near this Iſle into the *Caſpian*. Were the depth of this River anſwerable to its breadth, it would afford an eaſie Paſſage into *Perſia* and the *Indies*.

Derbent deſcribed.

Derbent is a Poſt-Town upon the *Caſpian*-Shoar of great ſtrength, and no leſs Antiquity, being founded, as is ſaid, by *Alexander the Great*, who alſo erected the great and ſtrong Caſtle of *Kaſtow* adjoining. This Town for trade, is not inferiour to any other upon that Sea, which makes it rich and populous. It is a Garriſon, and made defenſive by regular Fortifications: the Circuit of the Wall is three Miles, and affords a proſpect to the *Caſpian* Sea. It is ſituate in that part of *Armenia* the Great, which is now called *Ziuria* and *Myral*, but *Albania* of old, in 41 Deg. 15 Min. Northern Latitude. It ſtands in the Confines of the *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Dominions, and ſo has been often the Subject of Contention between thoſe two mighty Princes.

Twixt *Aſtracan* and *Derbent* is the noted Emporium called *Araſh*, becauſe the River *Araxes* waters it, where ſuch an abundance of Silk is bred and ſold, that ſome think it the *Regio Serica*; and indeed many Camels load are carried from here unto *Caſhan*, where the Manufactures of Carpetting and other Silken-ſtuffs are made in perfection, much to the advantage of the Town. At this place alſo is ſtore of Cotton-wool and Galls, which Merchants value, and of Piſtachoes, Pomegranates, Grapes, Melons, Oranges, and other Fruits liked by Travellers, in great abundance. *Araſh.*

From hence to *Baccin*, a ſmall Town, yet thought conſiderable enough by Geographers to give the *Caſpian* Sea the name of *Mare de Baccin*, is 18 *Engliſh* Miles. Near this place is a Spring, out of which the Inhabitants ſtill fiſh a blackiſh Oyl, which ſerves for Lamps and other Houſhold-uſes, and has no offenſive ſmell. *Baccin.* Oyl ſtilled out of a Spring.

Thence to *Bildith* is 14 Miles, thro' a level and fruitful Country, watered by *Araxes* and *Cyrus*.

From hence the way lay by the Sea-ſide to *Chacopore*, 12 miles from *Ferrabaut*. This Town lies by a Beat of the Sea, which coſts the Inhabitants ſome charge to guard themſelves againſt. Here is a River which is ſalt one Month in the Year, but the Reaſon is not known. *Chacopore.*

The next Town they came to was *Barfruſhdea*, a large Town, well built and peopled, trading in Silk-worms, and having plenty of Wood and Water. The Inhabitants delighted much in Archery, an Exerciſe long uſed here; and then they travelled to *Omoal*, a large Town, built on the North ſide of Mount *Taurus*, and inhabited by 3000 Families, but a mixture of ſeveral Nations, *Armenians*, *Scythians*, *Perſians*, and *Jews*, *Curds*, *Banyans*, *Indians*, and *Maſcovites*, who tho' they make a Babel in Languages, yet live friendly together, all tolerating their own Forms, and having among them ſeven ſeveral Sabbaths; for the *Bannians* keep *Thurſday*, the *Perſians* *Friday*, the *Jews* *Saturday*, the *Armenians* *Sunday*, the *Peguans* *Munday*, the *Gowers* and *Curds*, or Fire-worſhippers, *Tueſday*, and if the *Scythians* beyond *Bochar* were there, they might compleat the Week. The Town is built in a large Level, but withal upon a very pleaſant and fruitful Soil; the Buildings are ruinous, but ſhew ſome ſigns of Greatneſs. The Caſtle is fair and ſtrong, being fortified with a deep Moat or Trench, full of Waters, which ſerves to defend them from Inſults of the Mountaineers of *Taurus*. Moſt of the Houſes have Gardens to them. The Cathedral or *Jeuma Mechit*, is moſt noted, in which they ſay, there are 444 Princes and Prophets entombed, which raiſe veneration among the People, and admiration among Paſſengers, eſpecially that of *Meer Agewmadeen*, to which they cheerfully offer the Myſteries of their Religion, and perform their Funeral Rites. *Barfruſhdea.* *Omoal.* Seven Sabbaths in a Week.

From *Omoal* they travelled to *Larry-John*, or *Joon*, 30 Miles, where Mount *Taurus* bounds the Kingdom of *Hyrcania*: This Mountain is reputed the greateſt in all the World, both for length and height; for it reacheth in length 3000 miles, from the leſſer *Aſia* to the fartheſt parts of *Eaſt-India*, and it is ſo high, that its top mounts a good way up into the middle Region, leaving the Clouds a great way below, as ſuch who have aſcended it, do witneſs. From the top of this Mountain you have a Proſpect Northward of a part of *Tartary*, which is ſo large a Country, that it not only contains a third part of *Aſia*, but extends it ſelf Eaſtward a great way in *Europe*. It is divided into *Sarmatia*, *Aſiatica*, *Scythia*, and *Cathaia*; or as others, into 1. *Tartary* the old, 2. *Zacathai* within *Imaus*, 3. *Cathai* without *Imaus*, 4. *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, and 5. *Tartary* the leſs. Their Name in *Hebrew* imports a Remnant or ſcattered Generation, as they really are, for they have no certain Habitation, but are ever wandring to and fro, they ſcarce know whither, their wealth wholly conſiſting in their Cattle. *Larry-Jon.* Mount *Taurus*. *Tartary* divided and deſcribed.

Polygamy they allow, and in their Marriages abſtain only from Mothers and Siſters: A fierce, perfidious and crafty People, expert in Riding, Darting, and Running, altogether barbarous, unleſs at *Zagathai*, where Commerce has taught them a little Civility. They ſeldom eat Bread, for Mares Milk, Fleſh half boiled, ſoure Milk and Herbs are the greateſt Dainties. Polygamy allowed.

About

A description of Asia, Affrica &c. from J.T

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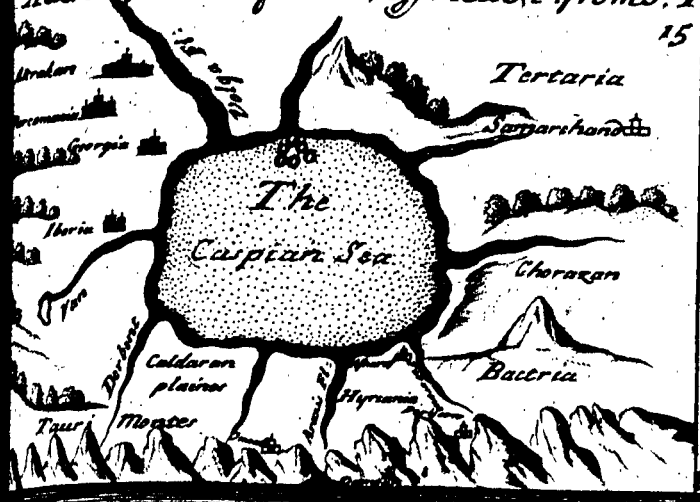

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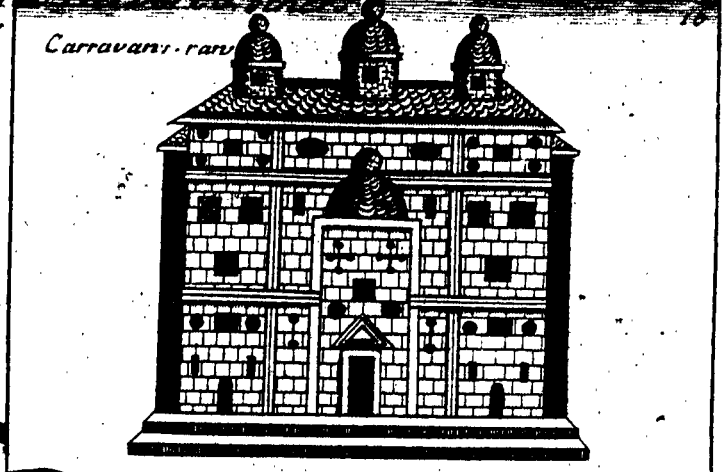

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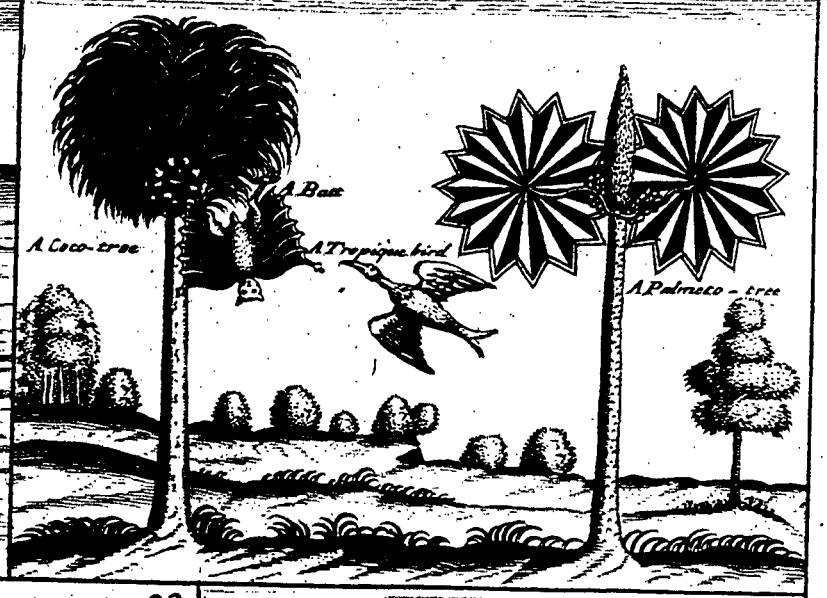

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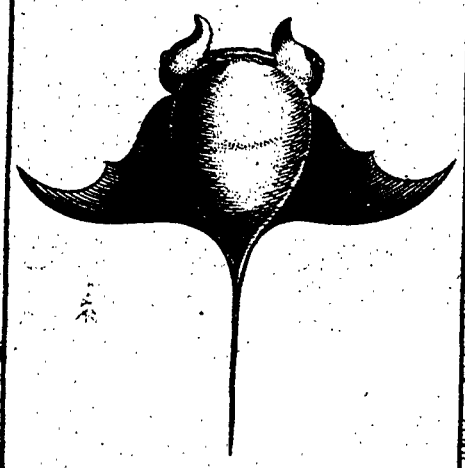

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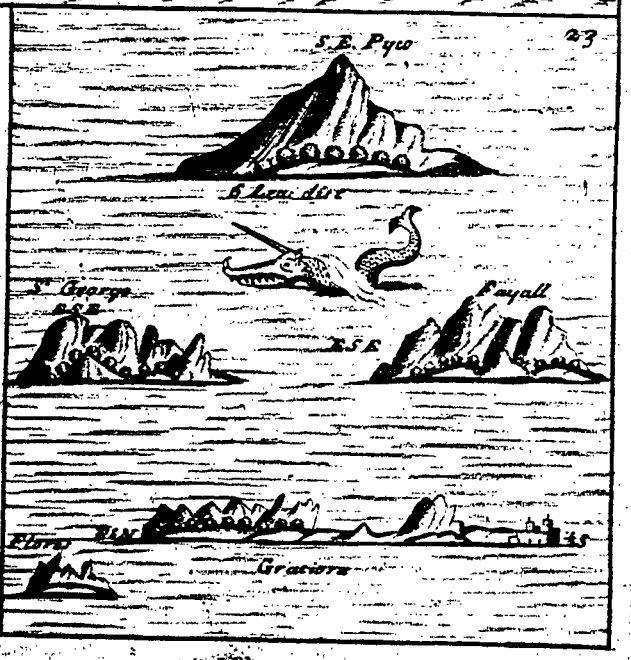

Cha

Mahometans and *Christians.*

Mergiana described.

Sardiana described.

Bactria.

Samarchand.

Aria described.

Tucharistan.

The *Turks*, whence.

The *Turkish* Empire, how raised.

The *Scythians*

Mount *Taurus* described, and the things memorable in it

Mahometans and Christians.

About the Year 1200 they received *Mahomet*'s Doctrine, yet have many *Jews* among them, and some *Hoords* profess *Christ*, tho' infected with Nestorious Heresy about two Natures in him. The *Muscovites* have introduced Image-worship amongst them, yet only in paint, and not in Sculpture, which last they think violates the Commandment only. The rest are Gentiles:

Mergiana described.

Zagathai comprehends *Mergiana*, *Sogdiana* and *Bactria*. *Mergiana* is a Country so fruitful for Corn and Wine, that as *Strabo* reports, one bunch of Grapes presented to *Alexander*, filled a Basket a Yard round. The Patriarch *Noah* is said to have planted here after he forsook the Ark, and in his Memory was the City *Nyssa* or *Noyssa* built, and from hence *Nimrod*, and the rest of the Builders of *Babel* being defeated in their Attempt by the confusion of Tongues, dispersed themselves into several parts of the Earth.

Sogdiana described.

Sogdiana adjoins this Province, watered by the River *Orcus* or *Nycapheac*: It was the Boundary of the *Persian* and *Assyrian* Monarchy. From it at several times have issued out such swarms of the People, as have well-nigh over-spread the Universe.

Bactria.

Bactria has *Mergiana* on the West, *Sogdiana* and the River *Oxus* on the East and North, and *Aria*, with part of *Paropamissa* on the South, and is now known by the Name of *Corazan*.

Samerchand.

Samerchand in former Ages was not only famous for being the chief Mart both of this and all other Countries thereabouts, but for being the birth and burial-place of *Tamerlane*, that great Victor, who subdued more Nations in 8, than the *Romans* did in 800 Years, but 'tis now a poor place, and gives precedence to *Bochar*, the Birth-place of the great Naturalist *Aricenna*.

Aria described.

Aria, now called *Heri*, had a Governour of its own, *Sha-Abbas*. *Eri* is the principal Town of it, and is three Miles about. It abounds so much with Roses, that it furnishes all the Country round about with Rose-water, much excelling ours in *Europe* for sweetness, which they use in Sherbets, Banquets, and Entertainments, to perfume the Floors they sit on, and places.

Tocharistan.

In these parts also lies *Tocharistan*, from *Tochara*: It is the Original Seat of *Torcis*, the Posterity of *Togarmach*, the Son of *Gomer*, a People not appearing in the World till roused by *Heraclius*, in his long and fierce War with *Cosroes* the *Persian*, and not till 200 Years after, breaking thro' the *Caspian* Streight, some *Hoords* of them settled themselves in part of *Armenia*, called *Turcomania*, where they served *Mahomet*, Sultan of *Persia*, against the *Calyph* of *Bagdat*, but being abused by his Captain *Tangrolipix*, made themselves Masters of *Persia*. *Rabbi Ben Jonas* says, that the *Jews* carried captive by *Salmanesser*, associated themselves with these Forces of *Nisapire*. They were not heard of in *Europe*, till the Year 1200, and the Foundation of their vast Empire was not laid till 1300, when *Ottoman*, the Head of the *Oguzian* Family, having conquered *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, now called *Bursia*, and other parts of *Natolia*, left so great an Army to *Orchan* his Son, that he ventured over into *Europe*; and since, his Successors under three Princes and eleven Emperours, within the space of 300 Years, have enlarged their Dominions over much of *Africk*, more of *Europe*, and most of *Asia*. The most considerable Towns are *Tuzz*, the great Birth-place of *Nazarradyn*, the great Mathematician, Translator and Commentator upon *Euclid*, *Sarchas*, *Gelack*, and others, bounded by *Nycapheac*, a Branch of *Imaus*. There is a part of this Country called *Mauranabar*, which hath to the South the River of *Gihon* or *Jehun*, and to the South-east *Garnehen*, a large, but desolate Country now, tho' once so well governed by the *Gentiles*, that they punished Murder, Theft, and Adultery, and disallowed Idol-worship.

The Turks, whence.

The Turkish Empire, how raised.

The Scythians.

More North the *Scythians* beyond *Imaus* inhabit. Their Country was of old called the *Regio Serica*, by reason of the abundance of Silk and excellent Tapestry and Carpeting there found.

Mount Taurus described, and the things memorable in it.

Concerning Mount *Taurus*, the things most memorable are, 1. The *Pyree* of Idol-fire, which (according to their Tradition) has continued unextinguished for full 50 Generations. The Fane is round, representing Eternity, in the midst an Altar raised 5 Steps from the Ground, under which the Fire was placed within a Trench, which they worshipped with Divine Honour, and sacrificed not only Children, but Men in it. 2. The *Meleike Bahaman*, who commanded many Hills and Dales in that Mountain, with mutual Love between him and his Subjects, tho' envied both by *Tartars* and *Persians*. *Abbas* having conquered *Mozendram*, resolved to be no longer bearded with this Mountainous King, who pried, as he pretended, into his Affairs, and to that end sent *Methicul-beg* with 30000 Men against it, but when all warlike Attempts proved in vain, by Falseness, Oaths and Treachery, he drew the Old King, and his three hopeful Sons, to a Banquet, where they perished; and so *Abbas* gained his Possessions and Kingdom. 3. The high Peak of *Damoan*, whose top, like a shaped Pyramid, surmounts all other parts of *Taurus*, from it the *Caspian* Sea, tho' at Eightscore Miles distance, is very visible. At the top it is composed of Shulphur, which causes it to sparkle like *Ætna*, and yields a pleasant Object to the Eye, tho' it offends the Nose. Most parts of *Persia* and *Asia* are furnished with Brimstone from hence. The Sulphureous Veins in this Mountain produce hot Baths, which are wonderfully flocked to in *August* by diseased People, not only from several Parts of *Persia*, but of other remote Countries, and they receive from them notable Cures. Three of them are compassed with Walls for the Nobility, and the other two are open for all.

The *Jews* inhabit about this Mountain in great Multitudes, asserting, That they were settled here by *Salmanesser*, *A. M.* 3220. as is storied, 2 *Kings* 17. 6. These *Jews* will needs have it, that *Noah*'s Ark rested upon this Pique of *Taurus*, and not upon that which is nearer *Armenia* called *Baris*, which signifies a Ship, as if it retained the Name of that Accident; for as to the Name of *Ararat*, that and *Caucasus*, and *Taurus*, are all the Names of this Ridge of Mountains, which environ the *Caspian* Sea.

Nova.

Damaon.

East of this high Peak is a Town called *Nova*, in which are about an hundred Families, and hard by is *Damaon*, by the *Jews* called *Jehud*; it is a Town of good repute among the *Persians*. It is situate in 36 Deg. 20 Min. Northern Latitude, and 83 Deg. Longitude. It is included in a Skirt of *Taurus*, and is the utmost Limit of *Media* to the North. It is watered by a branch of *Gozan*. Here are 200 Families of *Jews*. The Bazar is built high, and Wine and Fruits are sold there at easie prices, because very plentiful.

Bomahcem.

From hence they went to *Bomahcem*, in the ancient *Media*, a Province situate in the Center of *Asia*, and accounted a rich and noble Country.

Media described.

The *Greeks* say it takes its Name from *Medus*, the Son of *Jason* and *Medæa*, but the *Hebrews* more truly from *Madai*, *Japhet*'s third Son. It was anciently divided into the Greater and Less, but now into *Gheylan*, *Deilan*, *Vaaz-pracan*, which are the Lesser *Media*; and *Aderbyon*, *Harran*, *Sultania* and *Trabrizzan*, which is the Greater *Media*. It has Mount *Taurus* on the North, *Parthia* on the South, *Bactria* on the East, and *Armenia*, and part of *Assyria*, on the West: A rich and puissant Country in the World's Infancy, but now barren and miserable, yet Camels and Dromedaries make a shift to live upon the Sandy Plains, upon the Boughs of Trees and Shrubs, which they rarely meet with.

These Beasts are of one Descent, and vary according to the Countries they breed in. In *Bactria* and *Persia* they have but one bunch, but in *Arabia* two. In Rutting-time the Males are mad, yet will not Couple with any but their Consort, and this they do backward. The Female carries her Burden 20 Months, and Suckles her Young one (for they commonly have but one at a Birth) two Years, not losing her Milk by a second Conception. They live 60 Years, labour much, eat little, refrain Drink three days, but then drink immeasurably. Their Milk is cordial, and their Flesh rank and lean, yet in *Asia* preferr'd before Beef, Veal, or Pork, because the Alcoran commends it to them.

Tyroan.

From *Bomaheen* they travell'd to *Tyroan*, a Town of some Greatness and Antiquity, seated in the midst of a large Plain. The Air is temperate in the Morning, and at Night, but at Noon very hot. The Houses are made of white Bricks hardned by the Sun, and are computed to be about 3000, of which the Bazar and Duke's Palace are the fairest, but neither of them to be admired. A Rivolet in two Branches runs through the Town, making the Groves and Gardens very verdent and fruitful. The King has a Garden near the Town as large as the City. The Masters of Families lodge with their Concubines, some 3, some 6, upon the tops of their Houses. The Caravans-raw exceeds the Mosque for elegancy. The Inhabitants are stately, and the Women lovely, both desirous of Novelties. *Tyrean* stands in 35 Deg. 40 Min. Northern Longitude, and 80 Latitude.

The King's Gardens. V. Fig. 16.

Charab.

From *Tyroan* they travell'd to *Charab*, a place for the scalding Sand and frying Sun Inhospitable, nevertheless, heretofore of some repute, when called *Kyr*, or *Chyr*, and gave Name to the Country round about. Here the *Assyrian* Prince *Figlath-Pyleser* settled the Inhabitants of *Damascus*, 2 *Kings* 16. 19. From hence to *Tauris* is two days riding. This City is the Metropolis of *Media*, situate in that part of it which is called *Atropatia*, now *Taberiz*, or *Teveris*. In Scripture it is called *Achmetha*,

and *Ecbatan*, by which Name it was most famous, and was 16 Miles about, having Walls strong and stately, 70 Cubits high and 50 broad, beautified with many lofty Turrets and Battlements. In it were many noble Palaces, and the chiefest of them was that which *Daniel* built, made afterwards the *Mausoleum* of the *Median* Kings; and next the Palace of *Darius*, built of Cedar, the Roof being studded and plaited with burnished Gold, but now there are no Remains of them. Now it is a City large and populous, famous for an In-land Trade, and so well governed, tho' there is a Garrison kept in it, that Merchants may traffick there without fear or danger. It is situate near a part of *Taurus* called *Baronta*. It is compassed with a Mud Wall 5 Miles about. The Houses after the common Mode are flat a top, and built of Sundried Bricks. The Bazar is large, and Gardens lovely, especially that planted by King *Tamas*, which is now turned into a Pasture for Horses. It is badly supplied with fresh Water. It was a long time a Seat of War, between the *Turks* and *Persians*. *Selini*, *A. D.* 1514. sent an Army against it under a Basha that ransack'd it; and *Solyman*, in 1530. pillaged it, and burnt it; and when it began a little to revive, *Ozman*, in 1585. utterly ruined it. But *Emyr-Hamze-Mirza*, Elder Brother to *Sha-Abbas*, recovering it from the *Turks*, to whom he gave a notable Overthrow betwixt this City and *Ardavil*, rebuilt and fortified it, and *Sha-Abbas* compleated its Grandeur in 1619, which it now enjoys under the *Persian* Government.

Daniel's Palace.

Sumachy described.

Three days Journey from hence is *Sumachy*, or *Shamakie*, a Town consisting of 4000 Houses, well Peopled, and much resorted to by the *Russian* and *Armenian* Merchants: It lies in 39 Deg. Northern Latitude. Near the Town is a Fountain, or Spring, which sends forth a Liquor thick and clammy like Tar. From hence they travell'd to *Sanguirabaut*, a Town of about 100 Cottages, and so to *Shaw-lee*, *i. e.* the King's Town. The People dwell here in Cottages like Ovens, to shelter themselves from the scalding Sun. In probability, this was the Land of *Nod*, *i. e. Cain's* banishment from the presence of the Lord, being East of *Eden*; and tho' the City of *Enoch* is not now to be found here, yet the Mountains *Enochi*, a part of *Taurus*, shew some footsteps of it.

The Land of Nod.

Casbyn described.

From hence they hasted to *Casbyn*, or as the *Persians* pronounce it, *Kazvin*; it was anciently called *Arsacca*, from *Arsaces*, the Founder of the *Median* Empire. It is likely this was *Rages*, mentioned in *Tobit*. It lies in 36 Deg. 15 Min. Northern Latitude, and 85 Deg. 30 Min. Longitude. It was made the Metropolis of the *Persian* Monarchy by King *Tamas*, to confront the *Ottoman* Kings. It stands in *Media*, in the Province of *Sheirvan*. It is at this day, for multitude of Buildings and Inhabitants, the chief City in *Media*, and equals any other City in the *Persian* Empire, except *Spahawn*. It is seated in a large Champion, which yields store of Grain and Grapes, but little Wood. Here *Ephestion*, *Alexander's* Favourite, was buried, but his sumptuous Monument is devoured by Time. It is watered by a small River, which helps the Industry of the Inhabitants, so that the Soil produces an abundance of Rice, Roots, Fruits and Flowers, in variety, for they have an Art here of drawing Rivers into Subterraneous Channels. Here are many pleasant Gardens, which bear many sorts of Fruit, as Grapes, Oranges, Limes, Limons, Pomcitrons, Musk, Water-Melons, Plums, Cherries, Peaches, Apricocks, Figs, Gooseberries, Pears, Apples, Pistachoes, Filberds, Hazle-nuts, Wall-nuts, Almonds and Pomgranates. This City is compassed with a Wall about 7 Miles in circuit, which contains about twenty thousand Families in them, and near 200 thousand People. The Bazar is large and pleasant, the Meidan uniform and beautiful, and the King's Palace and Haram low, but built of raw Bricks, varnished within, and painted after the *Persian* Custom, the ground being spread with rich Carpets. Near the Palace-Gate is a great Tank of Water made at the Common Charge. The Hummums are many, and handsomly adorned with azure Tiles and pargetting. The Common Buildings content the Inhabitants, but have nothing of admiration. The Gardens are many and large, but not to be compared with those of *Spahawn* and *Shyraz*. The Mosques are neither so high, nor curious in Architecture, nor glorious within, as in many lesser Towns, tho' they exceed in number. The Air in the Spring is temperate and pleasant, but in the Summer exceeding hot, and in Winter as cold. Sir *Robert Sherley*, and Sir *Dudmore Cotton*, the two *English* Embassadors, with whom Sir *Tho. Herbert* travelled, died, and were bury'd in this City; so that his Retinue were forced to get a Phirman, or Pass-port, for their safe passage homeward, before they could travel farther, which by Importunity, and dancing a long Attendance upon *Mahomet-Ally-beg*, the King of *Persia's* Favourite, they hardly obtained, and it was to this effect:

Ephestion's Tomb.

The form of a Pass-port.

'The High and Mighty Star, whose Head is covered with the Sun, whose Motion is comparable to the Firmament, whose Imperial Majesty is come from *Asheraffe*, and hath dispatched the Lord Embassador of the *English* King, *&c.* The Command of the Great King is, That his Followers be Conducted from Our Palace of *Cazbin* to *Saway*, by the *Darogood* of *Saway*, to the City of *Coom*, and by the Sultan of *Coom* to the City of *Cashan*, *&c.* through all my Territories. Fail not my Command. I also Command them a Safe travel.

July *Bahmen* Heg. 1008.

With this Leave, Sir *Tho. Herbert* and his Company left *Casbyn* by Night, to avoid the heat of the Sun, and came by *Perissophoon*, *Asaph* and *Begun*, where there is a Royal Caravans-raw, or Hospital of Charity, built by King *Tamas*, in every thing convenient, but wanting good Water, to *Saway*, a Town both great and fruitful, of Old called *Messabatha*, or *Ortacana*. It lies in 35 Deg. 7 Min. Northern Longitude. It is pleasantly situated upon a rising Hill, having twelve hundred Houses, and refreshed with a pleasant Rivolet from the Mountain *Baronte*, which makes the Earth fruitful in variety of Grain, as Wheat, Rice, Barley, Figs, Pomgranates, Olives, and Honey. The Birds here make such sweet Musick, especially the Nightingales, that they much advance the delight of the place. From hence they passed over certain Plains full of Artificial Mounts and Trenches, where *Lucullus* and *Mithridates* encamped their Armies, but the Learned King became a Captive to the *Roman*, and came to *Coom*. This City is situate in 34 Deg. 40 Min. Northern Latitude, and is at this day a City of great Note in *Persia*. It was anciently called *Arbacta*, and was one of the four best Cities of the Empire, equal to *Babylon*, if their Tradition be true, being at least 50 Miles in compass, whereas *Babylon* is said to be but 60, and *Rome* 50 Miles round. It has several Names, as *Coim*, *Kom*, *Komie*, *Como* and *Comm*. It is situate in a large and delightful Plain, the Country round about, for some Miles, being very fruitful, and air sweet, never over hot or foggy, refreshed with continual Breezes, and cool Gardens, which not only afford shadow, but delicious Fruits, *viz.* Grapes, Pomgranates, Melons of all sorts, Pomcitrons, Apricocks, Plums, Pears, Pistacho's, Almonds, Apples, Quinces, Cherries, Figs, Wall-nuts, Small-nuts, Peaches, Berries, and the best Wheat in *Persia*, except that of *Gumbazellello*. It has about 2000 Houses, most of them more than common Structures, well built, formed and furnished, and Streets spacious. The Bazar is beautiful, but the City is unwalled. The Mosque is famous and venerable, richly adorned, and beautified by the enshrining of the Body of *Fatima*, *Mortis-Ally's* Wife, and their Prophet *Mahomet's* Heirs. The Mosque is of the *Epirotick* form, the Tomb is three Yards high, covered with Velvet, and the Ascent is by three or four steps of refined Silver. From *Coom* they rode to *Zenzen*, of Old called *Zoara*, and so to *Cashan*, which is 36 Miles; the Way is easie and plain, tho' sandy.

Saway described.

Coom described.

Cashan stands in 34 Deg. 7 Min. Northern Latitude. It may worthily be reputed the second City in *Parthia* for Grandeur, Wealth and Beauty. It is a City both great, lovely and ancient, well seated, comely built, and abundantly Peopled, but very hot, and incommoded with Scorpions, which breed in great Numbers hereabouts. It is a little Serpent, a Finger long, which alone stings with the tail, but so venomous is its Sting, that many die of the wound, and few escape Madness for a day at least. The best Remedy against it is Oil of Scorpions applied to it, and Bleeding. This Noble City is about as big as *York*, and contains near 4000 Families. The Houses are fairly built, pargetted and painted without; the Mosques and Hummums curiously adorned with Cupulo's, blue like Turquoises. The Bazar is spacious and uniform, furnished with Silks, Damasks, and Carpets of Silk and Gold, and store of Spices, and other Merchandize. The People are Industrious, Civil, Active, trim and neat in their Attire, yet being never Idle, work abundance of Sattins, Silk, and Cloth of Gold. They have a singular Art in Dying Silks with curious Colours, staining Linen Cloths like the *Indian* Pantadoes, and making lively Flowers and Knots upon Leather. Nor are places for Pleasure wanting, having Gardens which abound with Fruits, and Fields yielding plenty of Corn, being Tilled by the Laborious *Tymars*.

Cashan described.

Scorpions, their Sting, and a Remedy against it.

The Caravans-raw in this City is the Noblest in all *Persia*,

The Caravans-raw.

Persia, being large enough to lodge the Court of the greatest Prince in *Asia*. The Foundation, rising 6 foot above ground, is Marble, and the Superstructure dried Brick pargetted, and adorned with knots and fancies in *Arabick* Characters, in azure, red, and white Colours, laid in Oil, after the manner of the *Romans*. It is a perfect Quadrant, and every side is 200 paces, and has in the middle a square Tank of excellent Water, and to it are added noble Gardens. The People here have a Tradition, that the three Wisemen, who went from the East to adore Christ in the Manger, came from this City; and tho' it wants not probability, yet it doth certainty.

Bizdebode. *Aug.* 23. they came to a Village called *Bizdebode*, 18 Miles from *Cashan*, and rested there that day; they came in the next Night to *Natane*. Here *Diana* has a Temple, and *Natez.* is called from thence *Natez*. There is a Tradition, that *Darius* was here slain by *Bessus*. It stands between two Hills, from whence there is a delightful prospect into the adjoyning Country.

Reiz. From hence they went to *Reiz*, and so to *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, passing through many small Towns, in which is nothing worthy of Note, save that 'tis said, that at *Coromon-shabom* was decided that famous Contest for the *Persian* Crown, betwixt *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*, recorded by *Xenophon*, and in memory of which, there are in the Concave of the adjoyning Mountain several Pictures of Men, Elephants, and other Beasts.

Bagdat or Babylon. Of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, since there are many things memorable of it under both Names, I shall describe it under them. *Babylon* was of Old a City, standing in the Country of *Shinar*, *Gen.* 11. 2. a Vale watered by *Euphrates*, one of the Rivers of Paradise. The Country was afterwards called *Chaldæa*; and lastly, *Babylonia*. To the East it had *Suscaria*, to the West *Mesopotamia*, and the South the *Persian* Gulph. The Name was taken from the Confusion of Languages, which God sent among those presumptuous Builders, who, under *Nimrod*, their audacious Leader, resolved to secure themselves an Asylum against all Dangers, by building a Tower which *The Tower of Babel.* should reach up to Heaven, which tho' God permitted them to carry on by 30 Years labour, to an height of 5000 paces, as some say, yet by this Accident it was left unfinished.

Nimrod the first King and Idolater. But *Nimrod* settling by it 56 Years, increased it into a large City, and set up a Sovereignty over his conquered Neighbours. He first taught his People Idolatry, and dying, was Deify'd by the Name of *Sadormyn*, which the *Romans* afterwards changed into *Saturn*.

Belus. *Belus*, Surnamed *Jupiter Babylonicus*, succeeded in his Government, *A. M.* 1800. he was worshipped under the Name of *Baal*, or *Bel*. His Son *Ninus* (called *Amraphel* *Ninus or Amraphel.* in Scripture) ruled after him, and having conquered *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Media* and *Bactria*, became the first Universal Monarch. He enlarged *Niniveh the Great* upon *Tigris*, begun by his Great Grandfather *Nimrod*, and after by *Nebuchadnezzar* made the Capital City of *Assyria*. After his Death and Burial in the Temple he had built, and dedicated to *Belus* his Father, *Juno* his Mother, and *Rhea* his Grandmother, whose Statues he had erect-*Semiramis.* ed in it to be worshipped, *Semiramis* his Widow reigned. This Virago ruled 40 Years, and in that time enlarged the Empire from *Æthiopia* to *India*. She also made elegant Gardens in *Media*, but more especially made one at *Babylon*, upon many high Pillars of Stone, and brought water out of the River *Orontes* into it. She also contracted *Euphrates*, and built the noblest Bridge over it *Obelisks.* that we read of in any Story. She raised two Obelisks in *Babylon*, the least of which was 134 foot high, and 25 in thickness, hewn out of *Ararat*, and brought down *Two Palaces.* the *Tigris* thither. She also erected two incomparable Palaces on the East and West-end of *Babylon*, the one extending 30, the other 60 Furlongs, and each encompassed with a stately Wall. But that which transcended all, was the noble Building erected in the middle of the City, of black polished Marble, being a thousand paces on every side at the Basis, and having 8 Towers set upon one another, each 9 Furlongs high, and diminishing as they *The Temple of Belus.* rose. At the top was a Chappel, in which was a sumptuous Bed and Table of Gold, in which were placed three golden Images, representing *Jupiter*, i. e. *Belus*; *Ops*, i. e. *Nimis* her Husband, and *Juno* her self, each Statue being 12 Cubits high, of pure Massy Gold; and these those Idolaters worshipped for many Ages, till the whole was demolished by *Xerxes*, when he was beaten out of *Greece*. *Semiramis*, at her Death, was Interred at the bottom of it, and her Heart put in an Orb of Gold above. She also much enlarged the City it self, and built a Wall about it more than 300 Furlongs in length, in height 50 Cubits, and in thickness 40 Foot, and so Battlemented on both sides, that six Chariots might drive a-breast on the top of it, and not fall. It was also compassed with a broad Trench full of Water, and entred by an hundred Gates of Brass. *Semiramis* began it, but it was perfected by *Amyrtis*, *Nebuchadnezzar's* Wife, as some say, but others say by *Nitocris* his Daughter. *Nebuchadnezzar* also built a Palace so magnificent *Nebuchadnezzar's Palace.* here, that it extorted this impious Boast from him, *Is not this Great* Babel *that I have built?* This City, for many Generations, was the Residence of the Monarchs of the whole World, honoured with the Court of 49 Emperors, from *Nimrod* to *Belshazzar*, for about 1600 Years; a City so beautiful and stately, that *Pausanias* calls it the most Glorious that ever the Sun beheld, and the Scripture the Golden City, *Isa.* 14. 4. The Princess and Glory of Kingdoms, *Isa.* 47. and the Praise of the whole Earth: A City so large, that *Aristotle* said one part knew not that the Enemy was entred, for three days after it was taken by *Cyrus*. A City so rich, that when *Alexander* took it, he found a Treasure of 200000 Talents of Gold. But this great City, according to the Prophesies of Scripture, is fallen, and become a desolation, *Jer.* 50. 51. *Rev.* 17. nevertheless, as her rise was, so was her destruction by degrees. The greatest blow given it was by *Seleucus ruin'd Babylon.* *Seleucus Nicanor* in 3645, and 360 Years before Christ, who building another City 50 Miles North of it, at the place where *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet, where *Chalne*, mentioned *Gen.* 10. 10. stood, which he called *Seleucia*, partly by perswasions, but principally by menaces, forced six hundred thousand Souls out of *Babylon* to People his new City, and so laid it waste.

Bagdat is raised out of the Ruins of Old *Babylon*, and *Bagdat.* lies in 36 Deg. 20 Min. Northern Latitude; first at *Bugia*, for the Caliph's Charge, who disbursed two Millions of Gold to re-edify it, but it enjoyed not this Splendor long, for *Clyta* the *Tartar* sacked it.

Almansor the 23d Caliph, having by Magick found out a lucky time to restore her, as he thought, built a fine Mosque, and repaired the City, and several Caliphs perfected her beauty, tho' since she has often changed her Governours, having sometimes the *Turks*, and sometimes the *Persians* its Masters; it is under the *Turks* now. At this day it scarce equals *Bristol*, either for bulk or beauty, including about fifteen thousand Families. It is watered by *Tigris*, which there is somewhat broader than the *Thames* at *London*, but not so Navigable, or Gentle. The Buildings most remarkable in it *The best Buildings are,* are, 1. The Bridge, which resembles that at *Roan* in *1. The Bridge.* *Normandy*, being made upon 30 long Boats, which are boarded and chained one to another, and made to be parted at pleasure. 2. The Mosque, which is large, *2. The Mosque.* round, and pleasantly raised of white Free-stone brought down the *Tigris* from *Mosul*. 3. The Sultan's Palace, *3. The Sultan's Palace.* which joins the Bazar or great Market-place, is large, but low, and near it are some Brass-pieces, which the *Turks* brought thither, or the *Persians* took from *Ormus*. 4. A little Chappel called *Panch-Ally*, memorable for an *4. Panch-Ally.* Impression of 5 Fingers, which they say *Mortis-Ally* made in the solid Stone there. 5. The Colio-Houses, or *5. The Colio-Houses.* Houses of good Fellowship, where towards Evening many *Mussulmen* commonly assemble to drink Coffee, and fuddle themselves with Arack and Tobacco. Coffee is most esteemed, because they hold that *Mahomet* sipp'd no other Broth save this, and that *Gabriel* invented it. 6. The Bazar is large and square, the Houses are comely, *6. The Bazar.* and Gardens sweet, yet all put together are much inferiour to many later built Towns about her, tho' for her Antiquity she is much honoured by Travellers. Twelve Miles lower towards *Euphrates* is seen a confused Mount, which some imagine to be the rubbish of *Nimrod's* Tower, but I rather suppose it to be the Ruins of *Belus's* Temple, built by *Semiramis*. *Bagdat* is distant from *Aleppo* 40 days Journey by the Caravan, and in the way 'tis worth our while to see Old *Sushan*, which gives Name to the Province of *Suscaria*.

Sushan was one of the famous Palaces of the Kings of *Sushan described.* *Media*, where they spent three Months in the Spring, as they did the two Summer Months in *Ecbatan*, and the seven Winter Months at *Babylon*. It was built by *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes*, *A. M.* 3444. as *Pliny* relates. *Athenæus* derives the Name from the plenty of Lillies growing there, which in *Hebrew* are called *Sushan*, but I rather suppose it derived from *Chus* (*Noah's* Grandson) being called from him *Chusiana*, from whence it still retains the Name of *Chusistan*. At this day 'tis called *Val-* *Now called Valdac or Baldach.* *dac*, or *Baldach*; it is watered with the River *Choaspes*, which arises in the Mountains of *Jaaro*, and falls into the *Persian* Gulph near *Balsora*. The Water of this River was of such account of Old with the *Persian* Kings, that they would drink no other, as they would eat only the Wheat of *Assos*, and Salt of *Memphis*. *Shushem* was

in

in compass 120 Furlongs; the Wall was Quadrangular. In Buildings, Walls, Houses and Temples, it resembled *Great Babylon*.

The Palace. The Royal Palace is said to be built by *Mordecai*; the Outside and Pavement were *Mosaick*-work, made of small pieces of Chequered Marble, arched also, and supported with Pillars richly gilded, and set with Stones of lustre. The Roof is painted in the resemblance of the Sky, and in all parts as rich and fine as Art or Nature could make it. It was also famous for its clear Springs,

Naphta. and more especially for *Naphta*, an Oily liquid Substance, which being set on fire will inflame the very air. It had some form and beauty, till *Moses*, Surnamed *Azkar*, *A. D.* 641. Heg. 21. depopulated it, but now 'tis like *Nineveh*, or *Mosul*, nothing but Ruins.

Paradise &c. Near this place was *Paradise*, or the Garden of *Eden*, where *Adam* was placed immediately after his Creation; for tho' there are found many wild Conceits in several Authors about the place where *Paradise* is, some saying 'tis in the middle Region of the Air, others in the Mountains of the Moon, others in *Happy Arabia*, and the like, yet the Rivers between which the Scriptures say it lay, and by which it was bounded, determine it to have been in *Mesopotamia*, in the place still called *Eden*, for questionless it was watered with *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, which in their several Courses, the one from *Periardo* in *Armenia*, and the other from Mount *Libanus*, divide themselves into four branches, of which *Pison* and *Gihon* are two; and tho' *Pison* is said to compass *Havilah*, 'tis not that in *India*, but in *Susiana*, so that all things occur to fix the place here.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Compleat Succession of the Persian *Kings, from* Nimrod *to* Abbas *now Reigning.*

The Succession of the *Persian* Kings. SIR *Tho. Herbert* having thus given us an account of his Travels, by his Chorographical Descriptions of the Countries he passed through, to make his History compleat, adds an Historical Account of the Succession of the Kings of *Persia*, so far especially, as they had relation to the places taken notice of in his Travels, and tracing them from the first Original, says, That *Noah* having forsaken the Ark, and in the space of 130 Years peopled the East, sent out some of his Children to plant the more Western Parts, who accordingly travelling from the East, pitched in the Vale of *Shinar*, and began to build a City, and a Tower which might reach up to Heaven, God abominating their impious Design, descended to them, and confounded their Language; so that they were forced to disperse themselves upon the face of the whole Earth.

Nimrod. *Nimrod*, with a certain number of these Builders, remained still in those places, and being found a Person active, courageous and aspiring, was chosen their Governour, and having subdued the neighbouring Plantations, became the first Monarch of the Earth, and the beginning of his Kingdom was *Babylon*, *Erech*, *Accad* and *Calneh*, in the Land of *Shinar*. For his Tyranny he became a Proverb, *As* Nimrod *a mighty Hunter before the Lord*. He ruled 25 Years as King, and dying about the Year of the World 1844. was buried at *Babylon*.

Belus. *Belus* his Son succeeded him, who is stiled *Jupiter Babylonicus*, *Baal* and *Bel*, which in *Chaldee* signifies the Son, or Sovereign Lord. He at 60 Years of Age gave place to

Ninus. *Ninus* his Son, who imitating his Ancestors, added to his Empire *Arabia*, *Armenia*, and the Countries that verge upon *Bactria*; and to Deify his Father *Belus*, The Original of Idolatry. erected his Statue of Gold, which he commanded his Subjects to worship. This was the Rise of Idolatry. When he had reigned 50 Years, his Wife *Semiramis*, an *Ascalonite*, on whom he doated, so captivated his Reason, that she prevailed with him to leave the Supreme Command in her hands for five days, which she so managed, as to deprive him both of Power and Life; and so she swayed the Scepter without Competitor.

Semiramis. *Semiramis* was a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, and so enlarged the *Assyrian* Empire, that she added to it not only *Æthiopia* and *Bactria*, but also several Parts of the *East-Indies*: *Quò præter illam & Alexandrum nemo intravit*, says an Old Historian, but at last met with such a misfortune as made her Victory inglorious, for *Stasanes* forced her to an hasty and confused retreat over *Indus*, which swept away all her Army but 20 Persons, *viz.* three Millions of Foot, ten hundred thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Chariots. Her other memorable Actions are above related in the Description of *Babylon*. Her Death, after 42 Years reign, is variously reported; some affirm it to have been Natural, but others say she was slain by her Son

Ninias. *Ninias*, or *Ninus* II. by others called *Zaneis*, *Mars*, and *Amraphel*, to revenge his Father's Death; but however that be, he succeeded her in the Kingdom. He is supposed to be the Prince whom *Abraham* overthrew with *Keder Laomer* King of *Elam*, or *Persia*, near *Damascus*, to Rescue his Nephew *Lot*, whom they had carried away Captive from them. He began his Reign in the 2000th Year of the World, and reigned 38 Years.

Arius, by some called *Thuras*, succeeded him, and after him followed 37 Emperours more, of whom we have hardly so much left as their Names, till * * * * * * * *

Sardanapalus, who began to reign over that Monarchy, *A. M.* 3124. Historians represent him to have been a Prince so degenerated from the Warlike Spirit of his great Ancestors, that he is stiled, *Vir muliere corruptior*, A Man more effeminate than Woman, for he sequestred himself from the Company and Business of Men, and gave himself up wholly to the Society of his Wives and Concubines, imitating them both in their Habit and Employments. In this Dress *Arbactus*, his Lieutenant of *Media*, having obtained admission to him, with difficulty found him; and when he saluted him with all due Reverence, saying, *Salve Domine Imperator*, he answered, *Ne die me Dominum precor, Ego enim sum Domina*, Call me not Lord, but Lady. The Lieutenant, ashamed that so vast an Empire should have so weak an Head, immediately rebelled; and having drawn *Belochus*, the *Babylonian* Governour, into the Conspiracy, hasted to besiege *Nineveh*, and depose him, but by the vigilancy and fidelity of the Governour it was so well Victualled, Manned and Defended, that it bid defiance to the Besiegers, and at divers Sallies forced them to retreat. And thus it held out near two Years, till by the overflowing of the *Tigris* such a breach was made in the Wall, for 20 Furlongs, that there was no way to keep the Enemy out. *Sardanapalus* being thus driven to despair, retired with his Wives and Concubines into his Palace, and setting it on fire, was consumed with them in the flames. Thus the Succession from *Nimrod*, which had continued for 1350 Years, ended, and the two Conspirators divided his Empire to themselves by agreement.

Arbactus arrogated to himself *Media* and *Persia*, with the adjacent Provinces, (tho' some say *Persia* fell to *Achæmenes*, who assisted them, and of whom *Cyrus the Great* was descended) but *Belochus* had for his share *Babylon*, and the East of *Assyria*, *Nineveh* being included.

Arbactus having thus raised himself by *Sardanapalus*'s Fall to the Sovereignty of *Media*, died, and was succeeded by

Mandanes, as some, or *Sosarmus* as others. He ruled thirty Years, and by Death gave place to

Medidus, who reigned 25 Years, as some hold, or 40 as others, and then left his Kingdom to

Cardicas, who, after 13 Years rule, bequeathed his Royal Scepter to

Diocles, or *Dejoces*, whom some repute to have been that *Arphaxad* whom *Nebuchadonosor* slew in the Mountains

tains of *Ragau*, *Judith* 1. 15. but the distance of time between *Nebuchadonosor* and *Diocles* being 80 Years, it is not probable that *Arphaxad* was *Diocles*, but some of his Successors; for *Diocles* dying *A. M.* 3291. was succeeded by

Phraortes. *Phraortes*, a Prince of great Courage and Success. He died before the Walls of *Nineveh*, as he was besieging it, and left the *Median* Crown to his Son

Cyaxares. *Cyaxares* I. He prosecuted the *Assyrian* War, begun by his Father, and laid close Siege to *Nineveh*, but was forced to raise the Siege, upon the News that a great Body of *Scythian* Horse had invaded his Country, and there rested. This was an unexpected Chance of War, which he was forced to endure some Years, till by inviting the most considerable of their Officers to a Banquet, and picking a quarrel with them in their Cups, upon a Signal given by *Cyaxares* all their throats were cut, and so he recovered his Right; for this Accident was of that dread to the other *Scythians*, that they willingly departed into their own Country with this Character, that they were overcome more with their own Drunkenness than War. He reigned 40 Years, and then gave place to

Astyages. *Astyages* his Son, who was proclaimed King after his Father's death, and crowned with all due Ceremony. He is mentioned in the Apocryphal story of *Bell* and the *Dragon*. He is memorable in History, not for his Warlike Actions, but his neat Apparel, in which he excelled all the Princes of his time. His Daughter *Mandane*, whom he had by *Ariana* his Wife, he gave in marriage to *Cambyses* the *Persian*, Father of *Cyrus* the Great, whom fearing, because the Astrologers had foretold by some Dreams of his, that he should over-run all *Asia*, and out-shame all his Posterity, he endeavoured to make him away, but in vain. To him succeeded his Son

Cyaxares. *Cyaxares*, who is thought to be the same Person, who in Scripture is called *Darius* the *Mede*, who left this Kingdom, *A. M.* 3406, to

Belochus settled himself in the *Assyrian* Empire about the Year of the World 3146. and left it to

Pul Asser, called *Figlath Pileser*, who is said, 2 *Kings* 15. 29. to have over-run *Galilee*, one of the three Provinces of *Judea*, and carried all the Inhabitants of *Naphtali* and *Damascus* Captives into *Assyria*. He reigned 23 Years, and

Salmanassar, by some called *Narbonassar*, who prosecuting his Father's Designs, plundered *Samaria*, and made the King of *Israel* to pay him Tribute; which because *Hoshea*, King of *Israel*, neglected to do, he again besieged *Samaria* three Years, and taking it, carried away the ten Tribes into *Media*, and settled them in *Halah* and *Habor*, by the River *Gozan* (God permitting it for his Peoples sins.) This Prince, after ten Years reign, was succeeded by His Expedition.

Sennacharib, who going against *Tirhakah*, King of *Æthiopia*, sent a blasphemous Message to King *Hezekiah* by *Rabshakeh*, thinking to fright him to send him a great Present, but *Hezekiah* commending his Cause to God by Prayer, God sent his Angel and destroyed his numerous Army of 180000 in one night. *Sennacharib* frighted with this disaster fled to *Nineveh*, and as he was worshipping his God *Nesroch*, was slain by his Sons *Adrammeleck* and *Sharezer*, who fled into *Armenia*, and his Son (after he had ruled 7 Years)

His Death. *Esarhaddon* reigned in his stead. He revenged his Father's Death upon his two Brethren, but they opposing him, in the confusion gave opportunity to

Merodach, or *Berodac Balladan*, Governour of *Babylon*, to rebel, and succeeding in his Attempt deposed him, transferred the Seat-Royal to *Nineveh*, and reigned in his stead 40 Years, and left the Throne to

Ben-Merodach his Son, who after 20 Years left his Kingdom to

Nabopullozar, who vanquished *Pharaoh Nectio*, King of *Ægypt*, and at the end of 25 Years, left his Government to his Son

Nebuchadonosor, who by reason of his many Victories, was called the *Hercules* of the *East*: He was the Golden Head, to which God gave a Kingdom and Power both over Men and Beasts: He made *Ægypt* a Province, burnt *Jerusalem*, and carried the *Jews* Captives, subdued *Syria* and *Arabia*. In a Word, extended his Dominion to the Confines of the habitable World. He abased *Nineveh*, and beautified *Babylon*, erected a stately Wall and noble Palace for himself, of which he was so proud, that God so humbled him, caused him to dwell with Beasts; yet at length restored him to his understanding again, and after 44 Years rule, he left his Throne to

Evil-Merodach, who was a Friend to the Captive *Jews*, and particularly to *Jehojachin*, *Jer.* 52. 31. yet being a Prince of no courage, *Amasis* revolted from him in *Ægypt*, *Astyages* in *Media*, and *Cyrus* in *Persia*. These raised an Army and marched against him, and in the end deprived him of his Life and Kingdom.

Belshazzar succeeded him, a luxurious and tyrannical Prince; who tho' in a besieged City, could not forbear carousing in the Vessels of the *Jews* Temples, and so by God's decree, was sentenced to Destruction, which immediately befel him, for that Night the City was taken, and he slain. *Cyaxares* obtained his Empire two Years, and then left this, with the Command of *Media* and *Persia*, to

Cyrus the *Persian*. *Cyrus.*

He was the Son of *Cambyses* and *Mandane*, the Daughter of the King of *Media*: *Cambyses* was Son of *Cyrus*, Son of *Darius*, Son of *Achemenes*, Son of *Perses*, who gave his Name to *Persia*. *Achæmines* was a Prince of that virtue and repute, as gave his Race for many Years the name of *Achemenidæ*. *Cyrus* (whose Name is derived from *Chyr Sherez*, which in *Hebrew* signifies the Sun) calling to mind some Years before, the Destruction intended him by his Grandfather *Astyages*, Ambition predominating over all parental Respects, marched against him with a gallant Army of *Persians*, under the Conduct of *Harpagus*, who had preserved *Cyrus* from his Grandfather's cruelty, and having subdued him, sent him Prisoner into *Hyrcania*, where he died soon after of grief. *Cyaxares* was old when he succeeded, and the *Chaldæan* Emperour, knowing that *Cyrus*, whose success he disliked, was his Heir, both by Birth and Conquest, proclaimed War against *Cyrus*, and drew *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*, into a League with him. *Cyrus* knowing the design of the *Babylonian*, with a Body of Horse, quickly marched into *Cappadocia*, to prevent their conjunction, and engaging the *Lydians* first, forced them to retreat into *Sardis*, which he assaulted and took, with their King. The *Chaldæans* apprehending their Danger by this Overthrow of their potent Ally, and fearing that *Cyrus* would make their Country a Seat of War, victualled *Babylon* with Provisions of all sorts for 20 Years siege. But *Cyrus* was preordained for the Conquest of that City and Empire, *Isa.* 44. 28. 45. 1. by God, and tho' the *Babylonians* could out-brave Force, they could not withstand their Fate; but while they securely trusted to their Walls, which were inexpugnable, the crafty Enemy drains their River, and gains an easy entrance into the City, which being surprized, became a Prey to the Conquerour, the People flying, the King buried in Wine and Sleep, and all defenceless, and so the Mistris of the World submitted to the *Persian* Yoke. The Fame of this Conquest served to subdue the rest of *Asia* with little trouble, but *Cyrus* giving the Reins to his restless Desires, must be conquerour of *Scythia*, and accordingly marched with a numerous Force against the *Scythians*: *Tomyris* was Queen of the *Scythians* at that time, and opposed him with an Army of equal number and resolution: Both sides were desirous to engage, but *Tomyris* after a sharp Conflict, was Victor, and having *Cyrus* in her Power, who had before slain her Son *Spargapizes*, she commanded his Head to be cut off, and throwing it into a Bowl of Blood, said, *Cyrus! now drink thy full of Blood*, as *Herodotus* and *Justin* relates of his death, but *Valerius Maximus*, and *Strabo* report, that he died in peace at the Age of 70 Years, and in the 29th of his Reign, and was buried royally at *Pasargada*, a City in *Susiana*, and his Son

His quarrel with *Astyages.*

Astyages Death.

Babylon how taken.

Cyrus slain by *Tomaris.*

Cambyses. *Cambyses* succeeded him: He was infamous for Cruelty and Lust, but his Reign was short and turbulent: He subdued *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*, as far as *Elephantina*, and on a jealous Humour murdered his Brother *Smerdis*, by the Hands of that Villain *Prexaspes*, for which being afterward grieved, he was almost enraged with a Frenzy, when he heard that 50000 of his Men whom he had sent to burn the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, were buried in the Sands. He also demolished the Temple of *Anubis* at *Memphis*, and broke the Neck of their beastly God, and at *Damascus*, attempting the same Impiety, he was casually wounded by his own Sword so mortally, that he could not be recovered, but in extremity died frantick and unpitied, when he had reigned not quite nine Years. The Deputy whom *Cambyses* had left to govern *Persia* in his absence, had a Son, which resembled

His Impiety.

Smerdis Magus. *Smerdis*, whom *Prexaspes* had slain, and bore the same Name: Him he vested with the Imperial Robe and Crown which *Cyrus* left, and the Imposture passed well enough (because *Prexaspes* denied that he had slain *Smerdis*) till *Otanes*'s Daughter discovered it to her Father, that he had no Ears, by which he was know to be *Smerdis* the *Magician*. This begat a Conspiracy against

him

him among the seven Princes that governed the Realm, and they soon found a way to destroy him, when he had worn the Diadem eight Years. These Princes after his Death not finding any right Heir to the Crown, agreed, That he should reign whose Horse neighed first the next Morning at the rising of the Sun, which *Darius*'s Groom effected for his Master, by causing his Horse in the Night to cover a Mare in the place where he was to come in the Morning; for coming there again, he neighed couragiously, and so his Master was crowned King at *Persagard*, by the Arch-flamen, by the Name of

Darius Hist. *Darius Histaspis* (from his Horse, which in the *Persian* Tongues is called *Asp* or *Aspis*). During the Interregnum *Babylon* revolted, and by the Faithfulness of *Zopyrus*, was reduced. He was very kind to the *Jews*, who minding him of *Cyrus*'s good Intention to rebuild their City and Temple, obtained leave to prosecute that Design. The *Rabbi's* will needs have him to be *Ahasuerus*, who married *Hester*, and preferr'd *Mordicai*. His Embassadors, which he sent to *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, being slain for their lascivious behaviour to the Women in their Cups, he took it for a Breach of the Law of Nations, tho' he much disliked their Conduct, and marching with a great Army over the *Hellespont*, he harassed *Greece* as far as the Plain of *Marathon*, where *Miltiades* with a small number of *Athenians*, opposed his Progress, and gave him Battle. The *Persians* it seems had been much affrighted with Apparitions before the Fight, and joining Battle, were so shamefully routed, that they never durst rally, till they were got over the *Hellespont*. This Defeat encouraged *Egypt* to revolt, which together with the Dissentions among his Sons for the Crown, broke his Heart with grief, so that he died soon after, when he had reigned 36 Years. He nominated for his Successor (notwithstanding *Arta Bashanes* was his eldest Son) his second Son, but first born after he came to the Throne, named

Xerxes. *Xerxes*, for his Successor: He first reduced *Egypt*, and then made mighty Preparations for the War with *Greece*, raising 180000 Foot, 80000 Horse, and 1000 Ships, which is the most moderate computation. With this vast Army, which at a review extorted Tears from him, when he thought they must all die in a few Years, he marched into *Greece*, having made a Bridge with 600 Boats, coupled together, and planted over the *Hellespont*: At the *Thermopylæ*, a narrow Pass between the Mountains that separate *Thessaly* from *Greece*, not exceeding half an Acre, *Leonidas* the *Spartan* King, with 300 *Lacedæmonians*, opposed his Passage, and hindred his further progress, till they were all slain, with a great loss to the *Persians*. *Xerxes* having mastered this Difficulty, kept on his march to *Athens*, which being abandoned by the *Athenians*, he fired it. In the way his Army plundered the Temple of *Delphos*, which was much enriched by the Gifts of many Princes and Kings. This Sacrilegious Act (for so it was thought, because he acknowledged *Apollo* to be a God, tho to excuse it, he said, 'twas impious to confine the Celestial Gods to Earth) caused many Calamities to pursue him; for his first *Armado* was beaten and sunk by *Themistocles*, the *Athenian* Admiral, which put him into such a fright, that he fled into *Asia*, and left *Mardonius* to manage the War in *Greece*, which he did with like Success, being overthrown at *Platæa* by Land, and at *Mycale* by Sea in the same day. These Defeats put him into such a Frenzy, that he imprisoned *Neptune*, *Boreas*, and *Proteus*'s Images, and commanded their Hands and Legs to be loaded with Fetters, because they had favoured the *Greeks* against him, and chained the *Palladium*, and fired *Minerva*'s Temple, because she was the Tutelar Goddess of the *Athenians*. Being arrived at *Babylon*, he pulled down part of the Walls, to shew that he put no confidence in their strength, and demolished the Temple of *Belus*, the noblest piece of Antiquity then extent in the World, taking away from thence the Statue of *Belus*, which was twelve Cubits high, of massy Gold, and slaying the *Flamens* that endeavoured to rescue it. He also exercised the like Tyranny against Men, for he slew *Masistis* the *Bactrian* Lieutenant, with his Wife and Children, which Fate *Artabazus* his Uncle fearing, conspired with *Mithridates*, an Eunuch, his Chamberlain, and slew him. A Fact sufficiently revenged on him by

Artaxerxes. *Artaxerxes*, his Son and Successor, who began his Reign *A. M.* 3500, and governed the Empire honourably full 44 Years. He was called *Longimanus*, or *Long-hand*, because his Right hand was longer than his Left. He made a Peace with the *Athenians* in the first Year of his Reign, by the advice of *Timagoras*, and reduced *Egypt*. *Themistocles* being banished by his ungrateful Country-men, fled to his Court, and was entertained kindly; but being desired to serve under him in *Egypt* against the *Græcians*, he poisoned himself rather than be obliged to fight against his Country; tho' ungrateful to him, to please his Friend. The rest of this King's Reign was peaceable. He was kind to the *Jews*, as appears from *Ezra*, c. 7. and *Nehemiah*, c. 2. and therefore by most is taken to be that *Ahasuerus*, who kept his Court at *Shushan*, his Name in the *Persian* Language being *Arta-Shasht*. He permitted *Nehemiah*, *Ezra*, and *Zorobabel*, to return and build *Jerusalem*, that it might be again inhabited. He was contemporary with *Joiachim* the High-Priest, and died in a good old Age, and was buried at *Persepolis*, as his Father *Xerxes* was.

Darius Nothus, or the Bastard (after the death of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* Queen *Hester*'s Children, who is said to have been married to his Father *Artaxerxes*) possessed himself of the Empire, and held it 19 Years. *Egypt* rebelled against him, and by making a defensive League with the *Athenians*, preserved their Liberty under his and his Successors Reign. He had two Sons by an incestuous Marriage, *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*, a Prince so ambitious, that his Father was forced to keep him at a distance from him, by making him governour of *Asia* the less, in which Post he was when his Father died, and left his Empire to his eldest Son

Darius Nothus.

Artaxerxes II. This Prince fell into great Troubles from the restless Ambition of his Brother *Cyrus*, who being encouraged by the favour of his Mother *Parasatis*, and secret Insinuations of *Tessaphemes*, his pretended Friend, who told him he had most right to the Kingdom, because he was born after his Father was King, whereas his Brother was born before, began to aspire to the Government: *Tessaphemes* being cautious of his Designs, informs *Artaxerxes* of it, who thereupon sends for him to Court, and when he appeared, was secured in Fetters of Gold, but by the Intercession of his Mother, he was set at Liberty, and restored to his Lieutenancy of *Lydia* and the adjacent Provinces. *Cyrus*'s Ambition at his return was improved into revenge, and thereupon having obtained Aids from *Greece*, who were willing to widen the Breach in *Persia*, to secure themselves, raised Forces with a resolution to win the Crown, or find a Grave. From *Syria* he marched into *Assyria*, and without opposition possessed himself of *Susa* and *Babylon*, which made him think the rest his own: But *Artaxerxes*'s approach with a huge Army of 900000 Men, altered his former Apprehensions. The Armies no sooner met, but they prepared for Battle, and quickly engaged. *Cyrus* full of Courage and Youth, rushing thro' the thickest of his Enemies, made at *Artaxerxes* himself, and assaulted him so fiercely, that 'twas thought he was slain; but *Artaxerxes* was only enraged by it, and returned his blows so heavily, that *Cyrus* gave ground, and being known by the falling off of his Train, was slain by *Mithridates*, a young *Persian*, which so disperited the Army, that they fled. The *Athenians* among whom *Xenophon* was, kept themselves together, and in despight of the *Persians*, made a safe retreat into *Greece*. *Mithridates* was after the Battle, highly rewarded, but soon after by *Parasatis*'s Subtlety, cruelly put to death, and *Statira* for shewing a Detestation to the Fact, poisoned. Among the Spoils, *Darius* the Prince light upon *Aspasia*, *Cyrus*'s Mistress, and fell in Love with her: The old King also hearing her Beauty commended, desired to see her, and fell also in love with her, but yielded to the Youth of his Son, that he should have her, yet not being able to suppress his Passion, took her again from him, and shut her up in the Temple of *Anaya*, or *Diana* at *Ecbatan*. This Action so enraged the Prince, that he attempted to assassinate his Father in his Closet, for which he was condemned to die, and the Sentence was executed (the Conspirators being most of them slain in the Attempt). The King approved of his Death at first, but upon reflection that he had lost so hopeful a Man, it broke his Heart, and so he died, after he had reigned 36 Years, being buried at *Persepolis*, *A. M.* 3600.

Artaxerxes II.

Ochus his third Son was crowned King, and reigned 26 Years: He was guilty of as many tragical Actions, as any of his Predecessors. In reducing *Egypt*, and conquering *Judea*, *Bactria*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, he spilt much Blood, giving little quarter any where. At home he inconsiderately made away his two Brethren, and as he was contriving further mischief, was poisoned by *Bagoas* the Eunuch, with a Design to have mounted the Throne himself; but finding that not feisible, he raised the next Heir to it, whose Name was

Ochus.

Arsames, but *Bagoas* fearing least this King should revenge his Father's death upon him, soon after slew him. In his Death the Royal Race of *Cyrus* the Great was

Arsames.

at

at an end, after they had ruled the *Persian* Empire about 230 Years. *Bageas*, altho' of great Power, yet for his treasonable practises was grown so odious to the Subjects, that he found it in vain to attempt the Throne himself, and therefore he thought it the best way to secure himself by preferring his Friend, the Lieutenant of *Armenia* to it, named

Darius Codomannus.

Codomannus: He was of the Royal Blood, and of such noted Valour and Courtesy, that he was no sooner mentioned than approved. Being settled in the Regal Seat he assumed the Name of *Darius*, to ingratiate himself with the People, who had that Name in Veneration: He was a Man of as great Prowess and Virtue as any of his Royal Predecessors, but the Supream Power had irresistibly decreed his Ruin, and the downfal of the *Persian* Empire, as *Daniel* had foretold, *c.* 11. 2. And in order to it, *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, so soon as he could prevail with the *Grecian* States to be their Captain-General, resolved to invade *Asia*, but his Design was opposed so effectually by *Memnon*, a *Rhodean* Officer under *Darius*, that *Philip* made little progress in it during his Life, and his Death seemed utterly to put an end to it.

Alexander's Intention to invade Greece.

Alexander succeeded him, and was for some time busied with intestine Broils at home, which he had no sooner composed, but he resumed his Father's purpose of invading *Asia*, to retaliate (as he pretended) the *Persians* for the many Invasions and Vexations they had given *Greece*, but principally to quench his Ambitious Thirst, and so give the Reins to his boundless Spirit. He disposed of his own Kingdom to *Antipater's* Trust, and distributed his Treasure among his Friends, saying to *Parmenio*, *The Hopes of* Asia *was sufficient for him.* The Army which he provided for this Expedition was inconsiderable, *viz.* 30 thousand Foot, 5 thousand Horse, and 150 Ships, but his Men were most of them old Souldiers, bred up in his Father's Wars. He landed in *Asia* without any Opposition, had Defiance to the *Persians* at his first landing, by throwing a Dart, and offered a Solemn Sacrifice upon *Achilles's* Tomb: *Darius's* Army under *Spithridates*, their

The Battle of Granicus.

General, met him about the River *Granicus*, in the *Adrestian* Field, and encountered him; *Spithridates* performed the part of a gallant Commander in this Fight, but being slain, the Army fled, and *Alexander* gained a compleat Victory, with the slaughter of 20000 of his Enemies, but not above 30 both Horse and Foot of his own. This Victory made him Master of the most parts of *Asia* the less, and furnished him with Recruits and Provisions. Passing thro' *Phrygia*, he cut the fatal Knot at *Gordis*, upon which the Conquest of *Asia*, according to the *Oracle*, depended. *Darius* by this time began to think it seasonable to secure himself, and resolved with a numerous Army to engage *Alexander* in Person, and to that end raised 300000 Foot, and 100000 Horse. All the Riches almost of *Asia* marched along with this Army, the Priests, Chariots of the Sun, the King's Mother, Wives, and Concubines in their richest Apparel, and Chariots of Gold attending the King in this Royal Expedition. The *Persians* doubted not but their multitude would either affright, or oppress *Alexander's* few Men, but they found the contrary, for hopes of such vast Spoils transported them with a Desire of fighting, so that they no sooner met them than they engaged. The Fight was short, for the *Persians* being more careful to preserve their Riches, than encounter a parcel of rough Fellows, fled, and the *Macedonians* pursuing them, slew of them 100000 Foot, and as many Horse, took all the Treasure, which was 2000 Camels and Mules loaded, and made *Darius's* Mother, Wife, Children, and King, Prisoners, whom he used as a Noble Prince, not suffering them to be violated, or their Jewels to be taken from them: The Spoils of this Battle were very many and rich. Soon after this Battle *Parmenio* routed Prince *Memnon's* Brigade, near *Damascus*, slaying the Prince, and taking not only the Wives and Daughters of most of the *Persian* Nobility Prisoners, but a further Mass of *Darius's* Treasure, amounting to 6200 Talents of coined Money, and 500 Talents in Bullion, besides other Wealth of great value. This Victory subjected *Phenice*, and the greatest part of *Syria* to him, of which, that he might make a thorough Conquest, he besieged *Tyre* and *Gaza*, and took them. Then he went up to *Jerusalem*, but *Jaddas* the High-Priest, with his Brethren the Priests, meeting him in their Pontificals, he put off his Hostile Temper, and desired a Blessing of him, as the Priest of the most High God. From thence he marched into *Ægypt*, which submitted to him: Here he visited *Jupiter Ammon's* Temple with great Difficulties, passing thro' the scalding sandy Deserts, and was saluted by the name of *Jupiter's* Son by the Oracle. Returning to *Memphis*, he marched toward the North part of *Assyria*, called *Adiabene*. About this time the *Persian* King offered *Alexander* his Daughter, with all *Asia* and *Ægypt*, and 30000 Talents for her Portion; but *Alexander* had grasped the whole World in his Designs, and answered, *That the Firmament could not endure two Sons*, and so they prepared on both sides for another Fight. *Darius* recruited his Army to 500000 Horse and Foot, and *Alexander* to 50000. They soon met and engaged, and much Bravery was shewn on both sides, but the Victory again fell to *Alexander*, tho' with the loss of 300 of his best Men, of which were *Parmenios*, *Perdiccas*, and *Ephestion*, but he slew above 40000 of his Enemies. This Victory broke the Hearts of the *Persian* Nobility, and set the Imperial Crown upon his Head; for the Cities round about surrendred to him; first *Arbela*, near which the Battle was fought, then *Babylon*, which he most desired and admired; *Mabeus* or *Mazæus*, the Governour, surrendred it to him, with all its Treasure and Riches, and him he left to preserve it with a Garrison, and so departed to *Susacha* and *Persepolis*, which were also surrendred to him by *Abutiles* and *Tiridates*, their Governours. *Anabarzanes* in this March, met him first in the *Pylæ Persidis*, and with a small party of resolute *Persians* so defended it, that *Alexander*, after the loss of more Captains and Men than in the two great Battles, he was forced to find another way, and then hasted to secure *Persepolis* for his Master, but being denied Admission by *Tiridates*, he wheeled about, and met the *Macedonian* Victor, and fought him in another place, where his former Success failed, and he found his Grave. *Alexander* after this marched to *Persepolis*, and tho' he was admitted without Opposition, yet he licensed his Souldiers to kill and spoil as they listed, and after he had taken to himself, besides 12000 Talents in Coin, set the City and Palace on fire, to revenge the Mischiefs done to *Greece* by *Xerxes*, it being the Principal Seat and Burying-place of the Kings. *Alexander* after this, having received Intelligence that *Bessus* had perfidiously slain his Master *Darius*, who at his Death retained so greatful a Memory of his Civility to his Kindred, that he implored all his Gods, that *Alexander* might have his Desires, and be conqueror of the whole World, gave order for a speedy March in pursuit of this Regicide, and so with 20000 Foot and 3000 Horse, marched towards *Bactria*, designing to carry on his Conquest towards the East at the same time. Having passed *Parthia* and *Hyrcania* in 15 days, he came to *Bargiene*, where *Bessus*, who was for his Treachery become the reproach of Men, being apprehended by his own Party, was brought to *Alexander*, who abhorring the sight of him, ordered that he should be delivered to *Oxartes*, *Darius's* Brother, to be disposed of as he thought fit. This done, he appointed the Interment of the Royal Embalmed Corps, which was performed in a military manner, himself being the Chief Mourner, and expressing so much grief in his Countenance, that he won the Hearts of the *Persian* Princes to submit voluntarily, whom before he had forced. This Funeral being thus performed,

Darius vanquished a second time at Arbela.

Anabarzanes's Valour.

Persepolis burnt.

Darius slain by Bessus.

Alexander King of Persia.

Alexander passed his Army over the Rivers *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, and thirsting after the Conquest of *India*, directs his Course thro' part of the *Massagetes* Country. In this Part he laid the Foundation of twelve Cities, but falling into some Excesses, he slew *Clytus*, his old and trusty Servant. After this he marched to *Nysa* and reposed himself and Army there a-while. Hereabouts he was shewed a most ancient Monument of *Camari*, the fourth in descent from *Adam*, who reigned over the *Indians* of these parts before the Deluge. Here he constituted his *Argyraspides*, who had their Armour filletted and damasked with Silver. *Porus* a valiant and powerful *Indian* Prince, having notice of *Alexander's* approach towards his Country (which contain'd a great part of what the *Mogul* holds in *Indostan*) met him on the Banks of *Hydaspes* with a great Body of Horse and Foot, and many Elephants of War, where they fought, and gave the *Greeks* such a Proof of their Valour, that tho' they got the Victory, yet they grew weary of conquering with so much difficulty, and desired to put an end there to this tedious War. *Alexander* was unwilling to hear of such Designs, and to put the Thoughts of them out of their Minds, he celebrated the *Bacchinalia*, and for fifteen days allowed the Army to indulge themselves in all manner of Debaucheries, and then marched from the Mountain *Meros*, thro' *Dædala* and *Acadera*, where he took a Castle which could not be subjected by *Hercules*, with *Mazaga* and *Nora*, two principal places of strength, and so with some difficulty passed his Army over the River *Acesines*, a Branch of the River *Indus*, and set Foot in *India*. Here he acquainted his great Officers with his Designs to penetrate as far as *Ganges*, which they seemed to approve of, but when it was known to the Army, it raised such a general discontent, that finding he could not allay it, either by Threats or

Porus's Battle with Alexander.

The Army desire to go home.

The River Acesines.

Diu. Promiſes, he was forced to ſeem contented, and ſo he departed to *Diu*, anciently called *Patalee*, where muſtring his Horſe and Foot together, which had gone ſeveral ways, he invaded the Country of the *Ox dracans*, and ſtormed the Principal Fort the *Mallians* had, but raſhly mounting the Parapet, and leaping into the Town with two Officers only, had periſhed, had not the Army forced their Entrance as Men deſperate to reſcue him. After this he ſubdued the *Brachmans* Countrey, and preparing for his March againſt the moſt remote *Indians*, aſſembled on the River *Ganges*, the Camp broke out into freſh Murmuring, which not being able to appeaſe by all the Arguments he could uſe, he was forced to condeſcend, and ſo publiſhed his Reſolutions to treat, which was received with general Acclamations of Joy, tho' he had a Deſign rather to recruit his Army, by meeting with thoſe 15000 which were marched towards him as far as *Paſcuez*. Having therefore reſted a Month upon the Banks of *Indus*, he prepared for a March towards *Ormus*, diverting himſelf in that time with obſerving the Flux of the River, the Situation of the Sea-Coaſts, the Largeneſs of the Horizon, and Proſpect of the Ocean, which for his further Recreation he would needs one day venture upon, and accordingly went aboard his Admiral riding near *Diu*, and ſailed 20 Leagues South-weſt on the Ocean, but the Contrariety of the Element having its uſual Effect, and the Sky threatning a Storm, it ſoon became unpleaſant to him, and ſo he haſtened to Land, being ſatisfied, that tho' he had ſubdued the Land, he muſt leave the Sea unconquerable. And now *Alexander* having given his Admiral Inſtructions to ſurround not only *Arabia*, but *Africke*, taken *Ambigar*'s City by ſtorm, and laid the Foundations of the City *Barce* the laſt of 70 Cities which he had built in his nine Years Government; he bid *India* and the Ocean farewel with a Sigh, and advanced into the Country of the *Orytes*. Here he met with great ſcarcity of Proviſion for his Army, till he came into *Gedroſia*, which compenſated them with as great plenty. Marching along the Coaſts, here he met with Recruits near the City *Arbis*, which is under the Tropick of *Cancer*, at which his Army tired, and near ſpent, greatly rejoiced. Here he ſolemnized the Feaſt of *Bacchus* again, with the former Luxury and Riot, and ſoon after at *Theſpacus* viewed his new Fleet, and took ſome recreation by Sea, but the Tradition of his coaſting about *Arabia*, and landing at *Socotora*, deſerves no Credit. Removing his Camp further to a convenient place for pitching his glorious Tent, he gave Audience to an hundred Embaſſadors, which were come from the remoteſt parts of *India* on this and the other ſide of *Ganges*, with rich Preſents to congratulate his Victories, and crave his Alliance. Theſe Strangers he entertained, and after Audience, feaſted them moſt magnificently upon an hundred Beds of Burniſhed Gold, and diſmiſs'd them with Preſents ſuitable to his Greatneſs. After this he marched thro' *Carmania* to *Lar*, and thence to *Perſagard* (now *Halquera*) where *Orſines*, a Prince of the Blood-Royal of *Perſia*, was inconſiderately put to death by *Alexander*, for robbing *Cyrus*'s Tomb, upon the falſe Accuſation of *Bagoas* his Enemy, who upon further Examination, was diſcovered to have wronged him, and ſuffered the ſame Puniſhment, his Houſe and rich Furniture valued at 600000 Crowns, being given to *Perdicas*. Here *Calanus* the *Indian Brachman*, in contempt of death, built his own Funeral-Pile, and burnt himſelf alive. After this, *Alexander* returned to *Suſhan*, and married the *Perſian* Princeſs *Statira* himſelf, and gave her Siſter to his dear *Epheſtion*, and other *Perſian* Ladies to the great Officers of his Army; for the greater Magnificence of which Marriages, he made a Royal Feaſt for 9000 Gueſts, to each of whom he gave a Golden Cup for their Sacrifices, and diſcharged all the Debts of his *Macedonian* Souldiers out of his own Treaſury, which amounted to 9070 Talents, which is of our Money 500700000 Crowns. This was a great Sum for *Alexander* to ſpare, ſince his Yearly Revenue was 300000 Talents, beſides the vaſt Sums taken by him out of the Treaſury of *Babylon*, *&c.* Having ſome Apprehenſions of Death in going to *Babylon*, he turned with his Army towards the North, and came to *Ecbatan*, where his Favourite *Epheſtion* died of a Fever, which caſt *Alexander* into ſuch an extream Paſſion of Grief, that he cauſed a general Howling to be made thro' the Camp for ſeven days, ordered all the Horſes in the Camp to be ſhorn, and no Inſtruments of Muſick to be heard. For him he erected a Monument, which coſt him 12000 Talents, and cauſed his dead Corps to be worſhipped as a Deity, by offering Incenſe to him. While theſe Obſequies were performing, *Alexander* had notice that ſeveral Embaſſadors from *Carthage*, and ſeveral parts of *Africa* and *Europe*, attended his coming to *Babylon*, to congratulate his Succeſs in the Eaſt, and divert his Journey into the Weſt, by craving his Alliance, which cauſed him to haſten thither. The *Chaldean* Magicians oppoſed his Entrance into it, and prevailed with him to turn aſide to *Byrſa* beyond *Euphrates*, but here meeting with *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher, who laughed at their Art, he returned to *Babylon*, where he made as ſplendid an Entrance as Art could invent. After Audience, he ſummoned a Parliament of the whole World, and gave them the moſt ſumptuous Entertainments, in which having given to *Perdicas Darius*'s Ring, with which he ſealed all his Commiſſions and Diſpatches, he died, not without ſuſpicion of Poyſon given him by *Caſſander* his Cup-bearer, at the Direction of his Father *Antipater*. *Alexander* died in the 33d Year of his Age, and 12th of his Reign.

The Oxidracans and Malians.

Alexander returns to Ormes.

The Chaldeans oppoſe Alexander's entrance into Babylon.

His Death.

Aridæus his Natural Brother by the Suffrage of the Army, was choſen to ſucceed him, and *Perdiccas* aſſigned his Governour, but were both ſlain not long after, the one by *Olympia* and the other by *Ptolemy*. After their Death, the Empire, tho' large enough to have ſatiated the Ambition of all, was torn into many pieces, till by the Sword it was all in a ſhort time reduced under four, of which

Aridæus.

Seleucus was one: He obtained the Government of *Syria*, and made *Perſia* a Subordinate Province of his Empire: Under this Prince and his Heirs *Perſia* remained 30 Years, notwithſtanding the Diſcontents of the *Perſian* Nobility, until *Theodatus* Governour of *Bactria*, which was then a rich Country, and far diſtant from *Syria*, revolted, and took upon him the Supream Title. His example encouraged the reſt of the Eaſtern People to ſhake off the *Macedonian* Yoke, and elect themſelves Kings of their own Countrey. Among them *Arſaces*, a Noble *Scythian*, being well acquainted with the Diſcontents of *Perſia*, but chiefly moved by Ambition, enters the Country in an hoſtile manner, defeats *Andragoras* the Lieutenant of the Province, over-runs *Hyrcania*, and having obtained the Aſſiſtance of *Theodatus*'s Son, affronted *Seleuchus*, called *Calcimachus*, in the Field, and having gained a compleat Victory, utterly aboliſhed the *Syrian* Government in *Perſia*, and arrogated to himſelf the Empire as Conquerour.

Seleucus.

Arſaces being thus raiſed by Fortune, *A. M.* 3718, invited the *Scythians* to be Sharers with him in his good luck, and named the Country *Parthia* from them (for *Parthi ſunt exules Perſarum*) keeping the Native *Perſians* in ſubjection to them: He enlarged the Bounds of his Dominion almoſt from *Euphrates* to *Indus*, living ſo highly honoured by his Subjects, that *Cyrus* was not more eſteemed by the *Perſians*, *Ptolemy* with the *Ægyptians*, or *Romulus* with the *Romans*, than *Arſaces* with the *Parthians*: He built *Dara*, afterwards called *Aſpadara*, and now *Spahawn*. The ninth from him called

Arſaces.

Herodes, had the Honour to give the *Roman* General *Craſſus* a memorable Defeat at *Carras*; and his Succeſſor

Herodes.

Phraortes forced *Marcus Antonius* with loſs ſufficient to retreat over *Araxis* into *Syria*, but *Ventidius* his Lieutenant two Years after redeemed his Credit, by ſlaying

Phraortes.

Pacorus, the King of it, in Battle, and had reduced the Country to the *Roman* Subjection, had not *Anthony* envying his Glory, recalled him; nevertheleſs the *Roman* Name was of ſuch Terrour by this Defeat, that the *Parthians* acknowledged Obedience to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who by his Election ſet over them

Pacorus.

Phraortes II. in whoſe time our Saviour the Prince of Peace was born.

Phraortes II.

Orodes, whom ſome call *Doridcus*, ſucceeded him, and had for his Succeſſor

Orodes.

Vonones, to whom

Vonones.

Tiridates, the laſt of the *Arſacide*, ſucceeded. He was ſlain by

Tiridates.

Artabanus, whom the *Perſians* call *Ard-Bahamen*: twelve of this Prince's poſterity ſwayed the *Parthian* Sceptar after each other, until the laſt was treacherouſly ſlain by *Caracalla* the *Roman* Emperour, under a Pretence of a Marriage with the *Parthian* King's Daughter, which Breach of Faith ſo highly incenſed the *Parthians*, that they maintained a gallant and deſperate Fight againſt the *Romans* under

Artabanus.

Caracalla, nor would be reconciled, till they underſtood, that

Caracalla.

Macrinus, his General, had revenged their Quarrel upon *Caracalla*, and poſſeſſed his Throne: Nevertheleſs he enjoyed the Kingdom but one Year, and then gave place to

Macrinus.

Heliogabalus, who held the *Roman* Scepter three Years, and then gave place to *Alexander Severus*, who was buried at *York*. In his time the *Perſians* under the Command of *Artaxerxes*, endeavoured to recover their Freedom,

Heliogabalus.

Freedom, and after three days fight broke off the *Roman* Yoke.

Artaxerxes I. *Artaxerxes*, whom the *Persians* call *Ard'yr-Bahan-chan*, *i.e.* Father and Lord in War, was no sooner Invested in the *Persian* Throne, but considering how much the *Romans* had encroach'd upon his Empire, sent his Embassador to them to demand Restitution. *Severus*, with a considerable Army, advances towards *Persia* to return an Answer, but having divided his Men into three parts, so weaken'd himself, that he returned without effecting any thing, and tho' little Blood was spilt, yet this want of success so raised the Spirits of the *Persians*, that when *Valerianus*, about 25 Years after, hearing that *Artaxerxes* was dead, marched against them with hopes of succeeding better than *Severus* had done, it fell out worse, for

The Chaldeans oppose Alexander's entrance into Babylon.

Sapor. *Sapores* his Successor beat the *Roman* Army, and took *Valerian*, Surnamed *Colobus*, Prisoner, whom, to his dying day, he made his Footstool; a great contempt to the *Roman* Name, yet the deserved punishment of this Emperour, who had been so great a Persecutor of the Christians, and had broiled S. *Lawrence* to Death. *Gallienus* succeeded *Valerian* in the *Roman* Empire, but neither he, nor any of his Successors, for four turns, gave *Sapores* any molestation, so bad was the Entertainment their Predecessors had found against them: This gave him the more leisure to exercise his Tyranny at home, and disturb the World abroad, for he coasted with his Army into *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cappadocia*, and at last was slain by *Odeniatus* the *Palmyrian* King, when he had reigned 20 years.

His Death.

Hormisda I. *Hormisda* reigned after *Sapores*; the *Persians* called him *Kirman-shah*, he ruled but 13 Months, and then yielded his place to

Varanes I. *Vararanes*, who possessed the Throne 3 Years.

Narses I. *Narses*, called *Yezd-gird* by the *Persians*, followed him, and after 16 Years reign left the Crown to his Son

Varanes II. *Vararanes* II. Surnamed *Seganense*, whom the *Persians* call *Bessaran*. He, after a few Months, left the Throne to a stranger named

Narses II. *Narses*: This Prince prosecuted the War with all possible rage against the *Armenians* and *Mesopotamians*, in whose behalf *Galerius*, the *Roman* Consul, fought against him with bad success at first, but venturing a second Battel was Victor; which so disheartned *Narses*, that in the height of Despair and Impatience he burnt himself, after 8 years Government.

Aridans.

Mizdates. *Mizdates* reigned 7 years after him, and left the Throne to

Sapor. *Shapores*, or King *Porus*. He was a restless Adversary to the *Romans*, and tyrannical to the *Persians*, and to the Christians most malicious. He was acknowledged Sovereign before he was born, the Crown at a venture being set upon his Mother's Belly before she was delivered. *Julian* the Apostate raged not more against the Christians in the *Lesser Asia*, than *Sapores* did at the same time in the *Greater*, the *Jews* perswading him, that the *Christians* favoured the *Romans*; and so from the Year 337 to 347, he Massacred above thirty thousand Christians, it being the practise in these Primitive Times, among the Christians, to oppose force with patience only, and tho' these Tyrants thought, by these means, to destroy the Memory of Christ and his Doctrine, yet they found that the Blood of the Martyrs was indeed the Seed of the Church, according to the Old Verse; *Sanguine fundata è Ecclesias Sanguine crevit*, &c. *Julian* out of Cruelty to the *Christians*, as well as out of Ambition besieging his Territories, was mortally wounded under the Walls of *Clesiphon* by an Invisible Hand, and expired with this despairing Exclamation, *Vicisti, Galilæe, Vicisti*; and about the same time *Sapores* being at *Mopsiorior*, a Town under Mount *Taurus*, sighed out his affrighted Ghost at the Age of 71 Years, and *A. C.* 380. leaving his Kingdom to his Brother

A great Persecution in Persia.

Artaxerxes II. *Artaxerxes* who in the 11th Year of his Reign took his Farewel of the World, and

Sapores III. *Sapores* succeeded him, but reigned but five Years.

Varanes III. *Varanes*, Surnamed *Cinnizat*, was the next Heir, and ruled ten Years.

Yezd-gird. *Yezd-gird*, a constant Friend to the *Romans*, succeeded. *Socrates* reports, that he was Converted by *Maruthas* Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, who was sent into *Persia* for that end by Pope *Innocent* and *Theodosius* the Emperor, by whose perswasion he destroyed the *Pyræum*, or Idol-Temple, and extinguished the Fire, which for many preceding Generations had by those *Gentiles* been Heathenishly worshipped. The *Persian* Stories say he Apostatized; but that is not so certain, as that he died *A. D.* 426. in the 20th Year of his Reign.

Varanes IV. *Varanes* IV. or *Baharan*, Inherited the Regal Dignity. He is taxed with Cruelty to the Christians, for whose Defence *Theodosius* Jun. sent *Areaburus* with a gallant Army. *Varanes* distrusting his own strength, requested Aid from *Alamundarus* an *Arabian Saracen*. These Armies had their Rendezvous about *Babylon*, but before the Battel begun, such a pannick fear seized the *Pagans* that they fled, and were above a hundred thousand of them swallowed up in *Euphrates*, besides what fell by the Sword of their Pursuers. The *Persian* King seeing Divine Vengeance thus to pursue him, was Heart-broken with grief, and died, when he had tyrannized twenty Years. His Successor was

Varanes V. he made a Peace with the Emperor *Martian*, and died in the 17th Year of his Reign. *Varanes V.*

Perozes. *Perozes*, or *Pherux*, possessed the empty Throne. He was a Prince more rash than valiant, and perished in his Wars with the *Scythians*, when he had reigned twenty Years.

Valens. *Valens*, or *Belax*, or *Julas*, was then chosen King, and ruled four Years.

Cabades. *Cabades*, or *Cobad* and *Canades*, got next into the Throne, and possessed it ten Years; and

Lambases. *Lambases* Deposed him, and reigned four Years, and then was Deposed for making a brutish Edict, that Women should be common, and *Canades* placed in the Throne: But he being through too much lenity to his Brother made blind unexpectedly, the Tyrant was restored again. He made great Wars upon the *Romans*, because they had induced *Zatus*, King of the *Lazars* in *Colchos*, to receive Baptism at *Constantinople*, the Emperor *Justinian* himself standing the Godfather, and most of the Nobility of *Asia* honouring the Solemnity. He slew many thousand of the *Lazars* and *Armenians* in this War, and died when he had reigned 30 Years.

Cosroe I. *Cosroe*, his Son, was after the accustomed Solemnity crowned King in his stead: He was the most cruel Tyrant that ever reigned in *Persia*. He made a Peace with *Justinian* the *Roman* Emperor for an hundred Years, but broke it soon, and exasperated him to the uttermost. He put to Death his innocent Brother *Balax*, and aged Uncle *Aspebides*; and when the People murmured at it, he commanded them to follow him into *Syria*, where he engaged them in a desperate War against the *Palmyrians*, who, under *Zenobia*'s Conduct, beat them soundly. In revenge whereof, he plundered *Barrhosa*, *Antioch*, *Seleucia*, *Apamola*, and other Parts thereabouts. In *Phænicia* he ravished *Euphemia*, a Christian Lady, and begot *Hormisda*, who succeeded him, and commanded the Nymphs of *Daphne* to sacrifice Incense to him, least he should ravish them. He burnt *St. Michael's* Church, besieged *Sergiropolis*, and attempted to spoil *Jerusalem*, but hearing that *Belisarius* was approaching, he renewed his League with the *Romans* to avoid the storm, which he never intended to keep, for he broke it the next Year. At this time the *Armenians* received the Christian Faith, and the *Romans* received Complaints from the Christians of *Cosroe*'s Cruelty; whereupon *Justin* the Emperor sends *Tiberius* to relieve them. *Cosroe*, with an Army of equal strength, meets the *Romans*, but was overpower'd and vanquished. Many *Persians* were slain upon the place, and many in the pursuit, *Cosroe* himself escaping narrowly; but when he came to reflect upon his loss, especially of his Fire-god, he fell into such despair, that he soon after died, and was buried at *Clesiphon*, a City in *Susiana*, not far from *Hercules*'s Altar, after he had reigned Eight and forty Years, leaving his Regal Power to

His Lust and Impiety.

Hormisda II. *Hormisda* his Son. He was crowned King *A. D.* 589. His eight years Rule was very troublesome, for in his third year *Mauritius*, Son-in-Law, and Lieutenant to *Tiberius*, entred *Persia* with an Army, and acted all manner of Hostilities, altho' *Tama*, *Cosroe*, &c. did all they could to prevent it. *A. D.* 589. *Philippicus*, with some *Roman* Legions, entred *Persia*, to relieve the Christians in those Parts. *Cardarigas* being told by the *Magi*, that they were brought thither to be destroy'd by some uncontroulable Destiny, engag'd them, but lost above thirty thousand *Persians* in the fight. *Barames*, a noble *Bactrian*, escaped from the *Romans*, but being forced by *Hormisda*, who was almost distracted for this Overthrow, to put on Womens Garments, and with a Distaff in his Hand to brave the Enemy, he retreated into those Parts which affected him; and prevailing with *Ferra-chan* and *Byndoes*, *Persian* Noblemen of Account, to joyn with him, they speedily raised such a Force, as to seize the King and depose him, crowning in his room his Son

Cosroe II. *Cosroe*. The Soul of his cruel Grandfather seemed to be transmigrated into this Man, for he first caused his own Father to be Assassinated, whom the People had in that esteem, that they deify'd him. *Barames* abomi-

riating this Cruelty, thought to have pulled him down, as he had raised him up; but the King having notice of his design, endeavoured to have raised some Forces for his defence, but not finding any that would appear in his Service, (so generally hated was he) he was forced, to save his life, to fly to *Byzantium*, with his Wife *Cesarea*. *Mauritius* and his Empress receiv'd him courteously, and after he pretended to become a Christian, he sent an Army, commanded by *Narses* and *Commentiolus*, to re-invest him in his Empire, which they effected, and *Cosbroe*, in gratitude, professed to become a sincere Christian, sending the Emperor a Cros of great value in Gems and Gold, and a Chalice of the same Metal; but as soon as he heard of the Massacre of *Mauritius*, with his Wife and Children, by *Phocas* the Captain of his Army, and the Arrogance of Pope *Boniface*, who assumed the Title of *Universal Bishop*, he denied Christ, yet vowed to Sacrifice himself in *Mauritius*'s quarrel. This done, *A. D.* 603. with an Army of a hundred thousand Men he entred into *Syria*, and there did all the mischief imaginable, as well as in *Palestine* and *Phenice*. The *Lesser Asia* also underwent his fury, and he chased the poor Christians to *Calcedon*. After that he takes *Capessa* and *Edyssa*; and to his satisfaction, in 612, hears of the untimely Deaths of *Narses* and *Phocas* his Enemies, who were beheaded by *Heraclius*. That Year also he sacked *Apamea*, *Cæsarea*, *Cappadocia*, &c. and was overjoyed at a Victory over the Christians at *Antioch*, which encouraged him to over-run *Palestine*, and ravage *Jerusalem*, where he derided the Venerable Patriarch *Zacharias* to vex the Christians, and took the Cros from thence, and carried it to *Shyraze*, where 'twas kept some Years:

Mauritius the Emperor slain by *Phocas*.

His Cruelty to the Christians.

He much infested the *Roman* Empire, especially in *Anatolia*, and Massacred three hundred thousand Christians, vowing that he would exterminate their very Name. *Heractius* had his hands full at that time, and desiring a Cessation of Arms, but not obtaining it, was forced to engage him once, and again, and was as often Victorious; and at the Battel of *Gazacos* put his Army to flight, and made him seek his own safety in *Media*. *Heractius* sought for *Cosbroe*, but could not find him, whereupon he executed his Wrath upon his Idols, sacrificing the *Flamens* for it, and extinguishing the *Pyræum*, with which he mixed common Fire, and made it active to consume the City to ashes. *Cosbroe* by this time had gather'd a fresh Army out of *Hyrcania*, and sent *Shahrubleeca* to Forage *Albania*; but hearing they were in a good posture of defence, he return'd to wait for *Sarbaras* with new Forces, which, had they joyned, would have done much mischief, but *Heraclius* timely interposing, defeated both those Armies in one day, neither knowing of the others loss. *Mahomet*, the false Prophet, was a common Soldier in *Heraclius*'s Army at this time, and soon after this his Hegyra, or flight from *Mecca*, begins, because the Inhabitants of that place threaten'd to kill him for his Innovations, *A. D.* 622. and of this Emperor's Reign 13.

Heraclius's Success against him.

Mahomet's Hegyra began.

Cosbroe being of a restless temper, commands *Sarbaras* again to take the Field with a numerous Army, to try his fortune with *Heraclius*, who, as soon as he heard of it, advances toward him, and after an hot dispute came off Victor; many lost their lives, but the *Persian* Horse, with the General, made a fair retreat. The Emperor had his Winter-Quarters in *Paphlagonia*; but *Cosbroe* swells with passion, and resolves to try another Battel before his last *Exit*, and to that end Musters together an Army of 150000 Men, which he divides into three parts, giving one to *Sayn*, who was to go against the Emperor, another to *Sarbaras*, who was to march to *Constantinople*, and a third he commanded himself, staying upon the Frontiers. *Heraclius* having Intelligence of his force and drift, divides his Army also into three parts, one part he hastens into *Thrace*, and another under *Theodore* to oppose *Sayn*, who tho' he bravely behaved himself with his Regiment of *Chrysolocol*, which he trusted most in, was routed, and no wonder, since God visibly helped the Christians in *Heraclius*'s Army, by pouring down Hail-stones upon their Enemies. The *Persians* fled, and *Sayn* himself was slain, but his Body was redeemed, which the Tyrant, instead of allowing it a decent Burial, commanded it should be arrayed in Rags, perfumed with Dogs-turds, and cut in pieces. *Sarbaras* in the mean time entred *Thrace*, pillaged *Chalcedon*, and laid Siege to *Constantinople*, and for ten days stormed it; but such was the resolution of the Christians, that they could not gain an entrance, but hearing of *Heraclius*'s coming they rais'd the Siege, and made a safe, tho' dishonourable Retreat, into their own Quarters. The Emperor resolving to retaliate the *Persians* for this Violence, entred *Armenia* with a considerable Army, and in a long Battel obtained a Victory over the *Persians*, and pursuing *Cosbroe*, made a forcible entry into *Clesiphon*, which he first plundered, and then totally demolished by Fire. *Cosbroe* hearing of *Sarbaras*'s ill success in *Thrace*, was inflamed with passion, and sent an Assassine to murder him, but the Emperor's Son having notice of it, discover'd it to the General, who being provok'd by his Master's ingratitude, raised a dangerous Rebellion.

Heraclius vanquishes *Cosbroe*'s Army a second time.

Cosbroe seeing things succeed thus unfortunately, fell into a Fever first, and then into a Flux, of which he died, having nominated *Mardeses*, the Son of *Syra* his beloved Wife, for his Successor, but before the Crown could reach his Head, he was slain by his Brother *Syroes* before his Father's face, which Fratricide, when *Cosbroe* cursed, his Son commanded some Villains to shoot him, and so he suffered for the Cruelty he had used towards his Father *Hormida*, and breathed out his wretched Spirit when he had reigned, or troubled the World rather, 50 Years. *Cosbroe*'s Death.

Heraclius hearing of *Cosbroe*'s Death, hoped that the old Quarrel was at an end, and therefore travell'd to *Jerusalem* to present the Patriarch *Zacharias* with the Cros he had rescued from *Cosbroe*, and arrived there *Sept.* 17. 628. the same Year that *Boniface* published his *Universal Supremacy* to the World, and *Mahomet* his *Alcoran*. The Pope's Supremacy and Alcoran published together.

Syroes, or as the *Tarick* calls him, *Seyrviah*, reigned six Years, and was then rewarded for his Parricide, being slain by *Sarbaras*, whom the *Persians* call *Shawryr*. *Syroes.*

Ardeshyr-Xirviah was the next Heir to the Crown, but enjoyed it 3 Months only, being also Murdered by *Sarbaras*, who was within eight Months slain himself by *Joon-sha*, or *Shyn-shaw*, Lord of that part of *Taurus* called *Larry-Joom*. *Ardeshyr Xirviah.*

Joon-sha, at the end of three Months, was banished by *Joon-sha.*

Turvan, or *Turan-Dect*, Natural Daughter to *Cosbroe*, who at the end of 16 Months was made away by Poison, and died much lamented. To her followed *Turvan.*

Jazan-Zeddah, who ruled 9 Months and then died; and after him ruled *Jazan-Zeddah.*

Azurmy-Dect, *Cosbroe*'s youngest Daughter, who governed but 16 Months and then died, leaving the Government to *Azurmy-Dect.*

Shezir, or *Kezir*, who at the end of 6 Weeks was slain by *Shezir.*

Phoorg-Zeddah, who was poisoned, and gave place to *Phoorg-Zeddah.*

Yesdgird, who was forthwith made away by *Yesdgird.*

Bornarym, who met with the same fate from *Bornarym.*

Hormisdas, who was taken Captive, and his Kingdom made subject to *Hormisdas.*

Mahomet, *A. C.* 640. Hegyra 20. And so *Persia*, after a Succession of 28 Kings, who ruled it for 400 Years, was forced for a time to submit to the Power of the *Saracens*. *Mahomet* was then in the *Roman* Army, and first putting his *Arabian* Brigade into a Mutiny for want of Pay revolted, and being made their General, quickly reduced *Arabia*, *Ægypt* and *Syria*; and finding *Persia* in a perplexed condition, seized it. *Mahomet.*

Ebubochar succeeded *Mahomet*; he is said to have Warred against the *Abassines*, *Dybanes* and *Bernagassees*. He died in his great Climacterick Year, having sat as Caliph, and King of *Persia*, two Years, and was succeeded by *Emirian.*

Omar or *Hoskmar*, Son of *Kattab-Tanuques*, a Wealthy Merchant. He pursued *Alhy*, the Son-in-Law of *Mahomet*, for pretending to the Caliphship, and having raised a great Army, sacked *Bashra* an *Arabian* City, and proceeding as far as *Gabata*, tyrannized over *Syria* and *Ægypt*, Forraged *Palestine* and *Iberia*, and Invaded *Assyria*. *Omar.*

After these things coming to *Bagdat*, his head Quarters, he resolves to repose there, and spend the remainder of his time in Exercises of Devotion, making a Vow to endeavour the utmost Extirpation of Christianity, which he judged the surest way to propagate the Alcoran. To this end he gave a Commission to *Mavi*, and sends him with a numerous Army first against the *Syrians*, and with small opposition took *Damascus*, a City at that time very Wealthy, and so full of Delights, as *Mahomet* acknowledged, that he durst not trust himself there for fear of temptations. He Vows extirpation Christians.

In like manner he sent sundry other Captains, with considerable Forces, to reduce other Countries with the Sword; as *Rustan-beg*, with 15000 Horse, to *Chusistan*. But he being slain at the Siege of *Esoair-Mecrom*, *Moses*, Surnamed *Asher*, commanded after him, and subdued *Abawaz*, *Sabur-Arkan*, *Correstan*, *Jaarown* and *Lar*, making them to acknowledge *Mahomet*, and Enrol themselves *Omar*'s Tributaries. How he propagated Mahomet's Doctrine.

Habi-

Habu-Obed-ben-Masudi also, with 13000 Horse, subdued *Irac*, *Waste* upon *Diglat* and *Elshaer*, tho' at first repulsed with the loss of 5000 Men; *Yesdgird* the *Persian* General opposed the *Saracens* at *Galula*, *Spahawn* and *Yezd*, but *Omar's* Fortune in other places dispirited his Men, so that they did nothing with success. After *Yesdgird's* Death, *Hormisda* laboured to repel the *Saracens*, and recover the Liberty of his Country, but was slain with his whole Army. *Omar*, about 6 Months after this Battel, was slain treacherously, and was buried in the *Alcaba* at *Mecca* near to *Ebubocar*, his Predecessor, after he had ruled 12 Years.

Omar.

Ozman, in despight of *Ally*, succeeded him, and reigned ten Years, having the Pontificacy four Months. By *Hucba*, his Field-Marshal, who commanded a great Body of Horse, he subjected divers Parts of *North-Africk*, as *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, as far as *Tunis* or *Carthage*.

The Colossus of Rhodes demolished.

Mavi, Sultan of *Damasco*, over-run *Syria*, *Ægypt*, *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, where he acted many Cruelties; and among other things, demolished the huge *Colossus* built by *Chares* of *Lyndus*, at the expence of 300 Talents in 12 Years. This huge Image was of gilded Brass, 80 Cubits high, the Thumb as big as a large Man, the Legs stood on either side of the River, so wide, that a large Vessel under Sail might pass between them. In one Hand it held a Javelin pointing to the East, and in the Breast was a Mirrour, in which the Inhabitants of the Isle could descry Ships at a distance. He sold it to a *Jew* of *Emissa* for 200*l.* Sterling, who broke it down, and loaded 930 Camels with the Brass of it. He also defaced 100 other *Colossus's*, and 70000 costly Monuments. *Heraclius* the *Roman* Emperor died *A. C.* 640. after he had reigned 30 Years, and *Heraclius's Constantinus* succeeded him. He was poysoned in the 7th Month of his Empire, by *Martina* his Step-Mother, that she might advance her Son *Heraclemas*, but contrary to their expectation the People banished them both, cutting off their Noses and Tongues, and *Constans* was saluted Emperor. *Ozman* by this time had finished his Paraphrase upon the Alcoran, which he digested into seven small Tracts, and subdivided into an 114 Chapters. And since *Mahomet* in the second and third *Azoara*, promises the greatest share in Paradise to such as destroy most Unbelievers, *Ozman* having done his Church-work, devises from this Doctrine to enlarge his Empire, but under this Charitable pretence, to shew other Nations the way to Paradise; and to that end, promises his Blessing to any that would undertake the Conquest of *India*.

Constans Emperor of Rome.

His Conquests to propagate Mahomet's Doctrine.

Abdel-Ben-Emyr, a Man both Valiant and Superstitious, accepts the Task, and with 30000 Men hastens thitherwards, but by *Ozman's* Instructions first directs his Course towards *Tartary*, and subdues *Asia*, *Corasan*, *Maurenahar*, *Gasnehen*, and *Dileman*, as far as *Jehun* and *Ador*, Rivers beyond the *Oxus*. *Ozman* by these Conquests made himself the most puissant Prince then living, yet the Multitude at home was so enraged against him, that he was forced to drink Poison voluntarily to escape being slain by them; and so he died in the 88 Year of his Age, in the 5th Year and 8th Month of his Caliphship, *A. D.* 655.

Ally.

Ally, the right Heir, was after his Death saluted Caliph by the Army, which consisted of 10000 *Persians*, and 20000 *Arabs*, at *Mecca*; but his Reign was full of trouble, for *Mavi* the *Syrian*, chief of the *Ommiari* Race, storming at *Ozman's* fall, and thinking himself worthy to succeed him, enters *Arabia* with a hundred thousand Men, resolving to Depose *Ally*, but in the first Encounter was well beaten, and lost ten thousand of his Men, but at the second Battel, *Ally* lost not only the Day, but his Life and Crown, and

Mavi, or Mauvias.

Mavi, or *Mnavias*, was saluted King. *Ally* died in the 63d Year of his Age, and was buried at *Mosqued* near *Cufe*, upon *Euphrates*. He left a Ring, with which the *Persian* Kings Wed their Kingdom, and the Motto of it is, *Corde Sincero Deum Veneror*. By *Fatima*, *Mahomet's* only Daughter, *Ally* had *Hocem*, who had twelve Children, which *Mavi* slew all, but *Musa-Cheresim*, or *Mahomet-Mahadin* the youngest, who escaped, and is thought still to be alive.

Mavi having thus stated himself in the Government, sent *Sufindus* his Kinsman with a great Force against the *Grecians*, and to besiege *Syracuse* and *Byzantium*, but by *Constantine* the Emperor he was slain, with thirty thousand other *Saracens* of his Army.

A great Plague.

The same Year the Plague raged so horribly in the *Mahometan* Empire, that the like had not ever been known, and *Mavi* himself died of it, in the 77th Year of his Age, and 24 of his Reign; his Symbol was *ignosce precor*. He was so implacably bent against the Family of *Ally*, that besides the Slaughter of his Son and Grandchildren, he caused an *Anathema* to be used daily in their Common-Prayer against him, which the *Ommiari* Family continued for eight Descents, till by *Omar* it was abolished, and the Murder of *Ally's* Family was revenged by *Abdulla-Soply* the 22d Caliph, who inviting all the *Ommiari* Race, being 80 Persons, to receive the Fealty, caused them all to be Murdered, and then had this Dirge sung over them, *For the day of* Hussan *and his eleven Sons.* About this time there were such terrible Earthquakes in *Asia*, that 600 Cities and Villages were overturned by them in one Night.

Terrible Earthquakes.

Thezed.

Yezed, or *Jezed*, followed *Mavi*: He was an eminent Poet, and put the Alcoran into Rhime. His Riot and Venery so exasperated *Mutar-Mevia-Ben-Abdella*, that he made him away when he was but 40 Years old, having ruled but three Years.

Mutar.

Mutar was as quickly Dethroned by

Abdel-Ben-Jezed.

Abdel-Ben-Jezed, a *Benhumian*, who sat but 9 Months, and then was deposed by

Marvan.

Marvan, who was dispossessed by

Abdalla.

Abdalla, who was bereft of Life and Kingdom by

Aben.

Aben, or *Abdal-Melec*, who was forced to fly by

Didacus.

Didacus, as he himself was by

Oyledore.

Oyledore, who was slain by *Justinian's* help by

Solyman.

Solyman, who was expulsed by

Abdal-Melec.

Abdal-Melec, who returning from Banishment, took revenge to the uttermost upon *Mutar's* Murderers. The Christians were the worse for this Establishment, for he forthwith Forraged *Syria*, *Armenia* and *Thrace*, and in the fifteenth Year of his Empire died, ordaining

Ubyt.

Ubyt, called *Ulitus*, and *Evelid Mirahninus*, to be his Successor. This Caliph died of grief, because the Armies, which he had sent into *Spain*, rebelled against him.

Zulzemyn.

Zulzemyn succeeded him, and him

Omar-Ben-Abdemazed.

Omar-Ben-Abdemazed, who was deposed by

Yezid.

Yezid, the Son of *Melec* the late Caliph.

Ebrahim.

Ebrahim marched off soon after him, a fool-hardy and unfortunate Prince. After his Death the Empire was divided between

Gezid and Walid.

Gezid and *Walid*, who having sped so well in *Asia* and *Africk*, invaded *Europe* with all the Forces they could get together. *Walid's* Army, led by *Abdiramc*, having first crossed the Streight in Vessels, marched into *Spain*, conquered *Granada*, and settled themselves there for seven hundred Years, till of late *Ferdinand* and his Successors drove them out, and forced them into *Barbary*. *Gezid's* Forces, led by *Sha-Reblan*, entred *France*, but met with such resistance from *Charles Martel*, then King, and 30000 *French*, that after a long and smart fight, in sight of the City of *Tours*, in *Touraine* in *France*, the *Saracens* were beaten, and three hundred thousand of them slain, *July* 22. 726. The News of this misfortune so afflicted the two Caliphs, that they died mad.

Marvan.

Marvan was placed in their stead, in whose time *Hyllin* his General purposed to invade *Tartary* with an hundred thousand Men, but in the way was assaulted by Sophy *Salyn*, St. *Azmulli's* Son, descended from *Ally*, and in the conflict slain. *Marvan*, in revenge, invades *Persia* with three hundred thousand Men, and encounters *Salyn* near *Spahawn*, who vanquished the *Arabian* with the loss of an hundred thousand of his Men. *Marvan* affrighted at this loss flies to *Babylon*, and from thence by *Mecca* into *Ægypt*. *Salyn* pursues him, and by his Banishment or Death put an end to the Race of his inveterate Enemies the *Benhumians*, begun by *Mavi*. The Family of *Ally*, or *Ben-Abbas*, began by this means to recover the Sceptre of *Persia*, *A. D.* 750. Heg. 130. when

St. Azmulli.

St. *Azmulli* mounted the Throne. He was Crowned King at *Cufe*, and sat as Caliph also; for altho' *Abubalia* opposed him for a while, yet he held it against him. About this time it was that the *Turks*, living then in the most Northerly Parts of *Zagathai*, made an Irruption through the *Caspian Streights*, and for some time seated themselves in *Turcomania*, a Province in *Armenia the Greater*. This *Azmulli* it was, that revived *Mutar's* Tenents to the Honour of *Ally*, and Disgrace of the three Successors of *Mahomet*, published afterward by *Sict Gumet* of *Ardaveil*. St. *Azmulli* being dead, his Son

Salyn.

Salyn was saluted King, who living but 3 Years,

Alabeor.

Abubeor, called *Bugsafer* and *Almansor*, succeeded him, *A. D.* 758. Heg. 138. He repaired *Bagdat*.

Mahadi-inbana.

Mahadi-Abubalia followed him, and next to him reigned

Moses.

Moses, or *Eladi Mirza*. In his time *Charlemagne* flourished, and this Isle under King *Edgar* changed its name from *Britain* to *England*. He was the Father of

Amarumlus,

Amarumlus. *Amarumlus*, or *Aaron*, whom the *French* speak so much of. He had a great amity with the Emperour *Charles*, and they sent Embassadors and Presents to one another: He is said to have died a *Christian*. In his time some Fanatick Schollars undertook to fly in the sight of thousands, but perished among the Rocks, tho' the Wind was high. *Aaron*, after 33 Years Rule, died, and was succeeded by

Mahomet. *Mahomet* his Son, who reigned five Years.

Abdalea. *Abdalea* came after him. He raged against the *Christians*, and troubled several Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, and dying, was succeeded by

Mullacaon. *Mulla-caon*, who equally vexed the *Christians*, disturbed *Italy*, and alarmed *Rome*, but he in a short time yielded to fate, and was succeeded by these *Caliphs* in order.

Wacke.	*Mortader.*
Almota.	*Elhaker.*
Montacer.	*Rassia.*
Abbas.	*Rezi-Bila.*
Muglaedren.	*Muctacsi.*
Almotez.	*Moriah.*
Mastad-Bila.	*Tayaha.*
Almet-Hemed.	*Kadirkamet.*
Mutazed.	*Mahomet.*
Moctafi-Bila.	*El-Takeir*, in whom ended

the Caliphs of the *Arabick* or *Persian* Stem; for then *A. D.* 1030, *Heg.* 410, came in

Tangrolipix. *Tangrolipix* the *Turcoman*, who was called into *Persia* by the then *Sultan*, to assist him against the *Babylonian Pharaon*: When the *Turk* had freed *Mahomet* from his Danger, he desired to go into *Armenia* to visit his Kindred, who were lately seated there; but was denied, which he resented with such impatience, that before *Mahomet* could appease the angry *Turk*, he was bereaved both of Life and Kingdom. In his Death the Family of *S. Azmadi* was eclipsed, till *Sha-Ismael* received the Splendour of it. From *Tangrolipix* descended

Osteman, Son of *Ertogul* the *Oguzian*, who in 1300, *Heg.* 680, laid the Foundation of the *Turkish* Empire in *Asia* and *Europe*, as the *Salghuicars* commanded *Persia*, begun by

Togrul Beg *Togrul-Beg*, Son of *Saighuicus*, Son of *Didacus* the *Turk* or *Tartar*. He was slain by Treason, and his Successour was

Pharug-zad. *Pharug-zed*, *Masue's* Son, who was slain by *Olo-ben-Æsolan*, Prince of *Gaznehen*, and left his Government to

Ebraim-ben-Masud. *Ebraim-ben-Masud*, whose Son *Masud* having married the Daughter of *Melec-Sha*, King of *Turquestan*, entred *Persia* with a great Army from *Corasan*, and near *Tabriz* slew *Almodstarshad-bila-Caliph*, and in another Fight *Rasheed-bila*, his Son at *Spahawn*. To *Masud* in *Gaznehen*, succeeded *Sha-Esoam*, who was slain by *Baharon-sha* his Brother, and *Cosrhao* his Son ruled in his stead, who after he had foraged *India*, died *Heg.* 640, and in him the *Sabutaque* Family came to an end. In these times

Ghaladud-daul. *Ghaladud-daul* was Caliph of *Babylon*, and part of *Persia*, whose seventh Successor

Mostaed-zem *Mustaed-Zem*, was slain by *Cingis-chan*, *An. Heg.* 580. and

Almostansor-bila-Mansor *Almostansor-bila-Mansor* governed *Chaldea* and *Persia* in his place.

Charar-Mahomet. *Charar Mahomet* the *Turk*, entred *Persia*, *A. D.* 1415. *Heg.* 795, and having ruled three Years, left

Kara-Issuph. *Kara-Issuph* to succeed him. He also died after three Years at *Casbyn*, and left six Sons, of which all of them died untimely, except

Sha-Ismael. *Joon-Sha*. In his time the *Ottomian* Race had so enlarged their Conquest in the *Lesser Asia*, that the *Grecian* Princes, (to stop that Impetuous Torrent) were forced by their Embassadors to beg the Protection of the Victorious *Tartar*, *Tamberlane*, who having lately received an Affront from the *Turk*, willingly undertook it, and with all the Force he could make, marcheth against *Bajazet*. Near Mount *Stella* (in the Plain where *Pompey* worsted *Mithridates*) was maintain'd a long and bloody Fight between them, but the Victor fell to *Tamberlane*, who slew many thousand *Turks* to gain it, and having taken *Bajazet*, put him in an Iron Cage, as Men used to do Wild Beasts, and carried him in that ridiculous posture, thro' all his March, after which the rest of the *Turkish* Provinces submitted to him, without any considerable resistance. *Tamberlane* passing thro' *Media* towards *Samachand*, gave a Friendly Visit to *Syet*, or *Shee-Seffee*, a reputed Saint at that time, living in *Ardavil*, who perceiving that by *Hebare-Mirza's* Advice, the Conquerour had decreed many thousand Prisoners to Slavery or Death, begged their Liberty, which *Tamberlane* granting, this Mercy highly increased the Opinion of his Holyness. *Tamberlane* soon after died, *viz. A. D.* 1407, and was buried at *Anzar* in *Cathaya*, and three Years after the *Persian* Saint followed, leaving a Son behind him, called *Siet Ganet*, who pretending to great Zeal, and Angelical Contemplation, fitted all things for the pulling down of *Joon-Sha*, which he thus effected: He invited

Acem. *Acem*, or *Usem*, otherwise called *Usan-Cassan*, the *Armenian* King, to the Conquest of *Persia*, which by the Overthrow of *Malaonores*, and the death of *Joon-Sha*, was quickly effected, *A. D.* 1470. *Heg.* 850. The Saint of *Ardaveil* in the mean time composed a new Model of Church Affairs, with a Design to make a perpetual Schism between the *Turks* and *Persians*, which the Victor was contented to permit. The Opinion of the *Syet's* Holiness made his new Doctrine to be received without Examination. He taught them, that *Ebubeci*, *Omar*, and *Ozman*, the three Caliphs that succeeded *Mahomet*, whom they had formerly esteemed as Prophets, were Impostors, and Intruders upon the Caliph-Ship (it being *Ally's* right, upon the account of his Marriage with *Fatima*, *Mahomet's* only Daughter) and so it was thought fit that those three pretended Prophets should be expunged the Calendar, and reputed Hereticks. This has caused an irreconcilable Difference between the *Turks* and *Persians*; so that the Former account the Latter Hereticks, and the *Mufti* declares it more meritorious to kill one *Persian* than an hundred Christians. This Breach was contrived by *Ganet* to advance his own Tribe, as descended from *Mirza Cerisim*, the Grandson of *Ally*, and to make his Access to the Crown easier, which, when *Joon-sha* perceived, *Ganet* withdrew himself into the *Arabian* Territories, where he married *Martha* the Daughter of *Usan-Cassan* to his Son *Ayder Myrza*, that his Access to the Throne might be rendred more easy. *Usan-Cassan* still kept what he had conquered, and lived long in Peace, maintaining a good Correspondence with *Mahomet* the *Great Turk*, till being sollicitated to it by the *Venetians*, he invaded the *Turks* Dominions, and fought several times successfully with two great *Turkish* Generals, *Mustapha* and *Amurath*, but at last was overpowered and worsted by *Mahomet*; for grief of which, together with Age, he died, in the Year 1477, and was buried at *Casbyn*. He left seven Sons, but most of them came to untimely ends, and their Children fell into many Quarrels among themselves for the Diadem, till at length most of them being kill'd, and the rest fled,

Acem. *A Schism between the Turks and Persians.*

Evan-beg got the Possession of it, and kept it peaceably five Years, till seeing *Ayder* his Brother-in-Law grown popular by his Sanctity, he grew Jealous of him, and so by the Suggestions of *Jacup*, he caused him to be murdered, and had done the like to his Son *Ishmael*, but that having timely notice of it by a Friend, he withdrew to *Pir-Ally*, the Governour of *Mozendram*, and so escaped the Danger. *Ishmael* in the mean time, as his Years encreased, so did his Reputation with the *Persians*, who seeing his Courage and Ingenuity, wished for an Opportunity to raise him higher, which he was as ready to embrace. *Morad*, or *Amarath*, *Elvan's* Brother, aiming at the Crown, gave *Ishmael* an Occasion to raise what Forces his Friend *Pir-Ally* could assist him with, upon the just Pretence of securing himself, and revenging his Father's Death; and so he possessed himself of *Sumachy*, which he fortified. *Elvan* immediately advanced with all his Forces to suppress these Rebellions, and fortunately worsted *Morad*, and obliged him to fly for safety into *Arabia*; but his Success with *Ishmael* was clear different; for *Ishmael* having obtain'd many additional Recruits from *Tauris*, and especially from *Arzenion*, first slew *Pharac-Issuph*, his Father's Murderer, and then joining Battle with his Uncle *Elvan*, at or near *Tesdicauz*, the Midway between *Spahawn* and *Shyraz*, after an hour's Fight, had the better, and put *Elvan's* Army to flight, himself being slain in the pursuit, and so

Evan-beg.

Ishmael, surnamed *Sophy*, both by Blood and Conquest, got the *Persian* Scepter into his Hand, the People receiving him with universal Joy, for the Restauration of the Diadem to a Prince of their own Blood. The Crown was no sooner on *Ishmael's* Head, but by Proclamation he ratified the Reformation his Grandfather had contriv'd, and declared the *Turks* Hereticks, and to assure them of his Fitness to govern, he entred *Diarbic* with a considerable Army, and reduced it, and soon after did the like to *Armenia*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, and *Sarcashia*, which he challenged for his Right, as descended of *Usan-Cushan*, to the Amazement of the *Turks*. About 1506, *Techellis Aydars*, Disciple, out of zeal to propagate his new broached Opinions, and force the erroneous *Turk* to a Conformity, with a considerable Party of Horse, which *Ishmael* gave him liberty to raise, and divide with his Fellow-Disciple *Cassem*, gave a notable Disturbance to the

Ismael Sophy.

the *Turks* for some time, for having adjudged the *Turks* Hereticks, and proclaimed them Enemies to the Faith of the *Mussalmen*, worthy to be prosecuted with Fire and Sword, they entred *Natolia* in an Hostile manner, with twenty thousand Horse and Foot. They defeated *Orcan*, the Governour of those Parts, under *Bajazet*, in a pitch Battel, at *Iconium* near *Lycaonia*, and soon after did the like to *Caragozes*, and *Ally Bashe*, in the Plains of *Ancyra*; so that *Bajazet* himself was startled at their Success, as if *Tamerlane*'s Ghost were revived. And certainly, had *Ishmael* furnished this Captain with Recruits, and given him such encouragement as he deserved, he had made a great progress against the *Turks*, but failing, he was forced to maintain his Men upon Plunder, which rendred him odious to the Country, and gave the *Turk* advantage against him; so that *Ishmael*, to appease the one and gratify the other, put *Techellis* to Death.

A Schism between the *Turks* and *Persians*.

Bajazet makes Peace with *Ishmael*.

This Storm being blown over, *Bajazet* observing that *Ishmael*'s Prudence and Conduct might disappoint his Designs of extending his Empire, both Eastward towards *Indus*, and Westward against the Christians, thought it Wisdom to make a Peace with the *Persian*, that he might not be interrupted in his Designs. During this Peace, *Ishmael* was as active as *Bajazet*, for he reduced *Shervan*, *Gilan*, the Princes in *Hircania*, *Chusistan*, *Kermoan*, and *Mairon*, that were not Feudatory to him; part of *Mezandran*, and made *Acen-Ally*, King of *Corazan*, an Homager to him. *Ishmael* having thus enlarged his Dominions, directs his march, with all his Force, towards *Oxus*, and having passed that River, harrassed and plundered all the Provinces, Cities and Towns, of that part of *Scythia*, as far as *Balke*, the Metropolis of the *Usbeg-Tartars*; thus sufficiently retaliating the *Tartar* for the Inroads and Disturbances they had at several times given the *Persian* to oblige the *Turk*.

Bajazet makes War on *Ishmael*, who worsts him.

But hearing that *Bajazet*, at the importunity of the *Tartars*, was drawing towards the Confines of *Persia*, with a great Body of Horse and Foot, he retreated loaden with Spoil homewards. In a few days Intelligence was brought him, that the *Turks* were drawing towards *Rivan*, and that the *Mesopotamians*, under the *Turk*, had by treachery got into *Bagdat* and plundered it, using the *Persian* Garrison barbarously, by calling them Raffadins, or Hereticks, and cutting off the Noses and Thumbs of many of them. *Ishmael*, to revenge these Cruelties, fell into *Diarbec* with fifty thousand Horse, and harrassed the *Turkish* Quarters to purpose, and engaging the Enemy near *Caramit*, had the better of them, and pursued them to the Banks of *Tigris*.

Bagdat poisoned, and *Semi* succeeds.

In the Year 1511. Heg. 891. *Ishmael* again recovered *Bagdat* by the treachery of *Bamez-beg*, who for a certain Sum of Money let him in at a Postern. *Lemius* also, a *Portuguese* Agent, was civilly treated by *Ishmael* at *Casban*, and *Bajazet* was poisoned by a *Jew*, and his Son *Selim* succeeded him. *Ishmael* provoked him to make a War against him by harbouring *Morad*, or *Amurath*, his Elder Brother's Son, and putting him at the Head of ten thousand Horse; whereupon *Selim* in Person marched against him with an Army of 300000 Foot and Horse, and passed the River *Araxis* by the help of their great Guns. *Ishmael* having Intelligence of *Selim*'s approach, marched against him with thirty thousand Horse, and sixty thousand Foot (tho' the *Persian* Annals allow not above half the number.) The Emperors and their Armies drew up in a large place, called the *Calderon* Plains not far from *Coy*, and nearer unto *Nassivan*, where for full 16 hours a most memorable Battel was fought, with equal fierceness and resolution on both sides, and tho' there was found ten *Turks* to one *Persian* slain, yet for as much as there was no Chase, the Victory is not clear; but because *Selim* immediately after the fight retreated into *Caramania*, it may seem to have inclined to the *Persian* side. In his return he caused *Aladeales*, the King of *Anti-Taurus*, to be strangled for his Correspondency with *Ishmael*, and his Nephew *Morad*. Soon after this, *Selim* with all his Force invaded *Ægypt*, and by the treachery of *Caer-beg*, the Sultan of *Aleppo*, vanquished *Campson Gaurus* the King of it, and made his Kingdom a Province, which the *Turk* holds to this day.

A Battel with *Ishmael*.

Ishmael's action after.

In the mean time *Ishmael* took care of his wounded Soldiers, and having recruited his Army, perfectly subdued *Mozendram*; and for the better preservation of his Person and Honour, instituted a Life-guard for himself called *Coozel-Bashe*'s, consisting at first of an hundred, but now of a thousand Horse, most of them *Georgians*, all well-experienced Men, and well-reputed for Arms, and for that reason they have extraordinary Pay. While these things were doing, *Bagdat*, by the treachery of *Mahomet Ally-beg*, was again delivered to the *Turk*, and *Sha-Tamas* was born at *Ardavil*; and in the five succeeding Years, *Ishmael* had by several Wives 5 other Sons, *viz. Helcawn*, *Sermiza*, *Elias-beg*, *Sommirza*, and *Barbon-cawn*.

Selim died, and *Solyman* succeeded

In the Year 1520. *Solym* the Great *Turk* died, and was succeeded by *Solyman*, *Ishmael* survived him but five Years, and then left his Crown in the 20th Year of his Reign, and 40th of his Age, (being buried at *Ardavil* near his Ancestors) to

Tamas

Tamas, or *Tahamas-shaw*. In his time *Solyman* having gotten *Babylon*, reduced *Diarbec* and part of *Chusistan*, with all the adjacent Countries that confine the North of *Arabia*, as far as *Balsora*. From hence the Great *Turk* had a fair prospect into the *Persian* Gulph, and began to think of Conquering all the Regions as far as *Indus*. To that end having built a great Navy at *Suez*, he sent it under the Command of *Solyman Bassa*, with ten thousand Men, to surprize *Diu*. The *Portuguese* had private notice of the Design, and tho' secretly carried, had so well provided for them, that when the *Turks* came before it, they repulsed them with great loss, and sunk so many of their Ships, that not one third part of them lived to return; a Success so grateful to the *Persian* King and *Mogul*, that they Congratulated the Christians for it.

Solyman invaded *Persia*, and is routed by *Delementer*.

Solyman was heartily vexed at his loss and disgrace, but thought fit to dissemble it, and drawing up all his Horse out of *Diarbec* and *Caramania*, he fell unexpectedly into *Media*, and entred *Tabriz* without opposition, where he cut down the Trees, spoil'd the Gardens, levelled the King's Palace, and other Houses, to the ground, and carried away the rich Spoils to *Caramit* in *Diarbec*. *Tamas*, and the *Persian* Nobility, who were sufficiently incensed by these Actions, was not idle in the mean time to find means to retaliate, and for that end ordered *Delementer*, a Person who had many times engaged the *Turk*, with 6000 Horse to follow them in the Rear, which he did, and much galled them; and when their Army was drawn up near *Berbis* to fight him, he fell into their Quarters in the Night with a mighty noise, and after a little resistance put them into such a Confusion; that they fled where they could best to secure themselves. In the pursuit, five Sanziacks, eight hundred Janisaries, and twenty thousand private Soldiers, were slain, forty Pieces of Cannon taken, and all his Seraglio of fine Women, on which Old *Solyman* doted. The two Bassa's hardly escaped, and *Ebrahim* the chief fell under his Master's displeasure, and was soon after strangled. *Solyman* the next Year, in the Head of an hundred and fifty thousand Men, re-enters *Persia*; and *Sha-Tamas*, having had experience that the *Turks* had great advantage against them by their Ordnance, prevailed with the Vice-Roy of *Goa* to furnish him with 5000 *Portuguese*, good Fire-men, from their Garrisons, which they willingly granted, because of the late Invasion of *Diu* by the *Turks*. The *Portuguese* brought with them a Train of twenty Pieces of Cannon, which in the fight so mischieved the *Turks*, that the *Persians* had the better, which they imputed to the good Services of the Christians. *Solyman* by this mischance was forced to draw back into *Natolia*, but hearing that *Mustapha*, who had incurred his Father's displeasure, had committed himself to the *Persian*, he marches thither again with an Army of eighty thousand Men, doing all the mischief he could. *Tamas*, to prevent the spoiling of his Country, advanced with all the Force he had as far as *Erez*, where coming to an Engagement, the *Persian* Horse, not enduring the noise of Guns, forsook the Field and fled.

The *Persians* worst the *Turks*.

Mustapha strangled.

Mustapha being thus left to shift for himself, fled to his Father's Tent, and besought pardon for his Mother *Roxellana*'s sake, but the inexorable *Turk* wanting bowels, ordered him to be strangled, tho' his only Son then living by that *Venter*. Not long after it, Old *Solyman* died at the Siege of *Zigeth* in *Hungary*, and *Amurath* succeeded him, the Ambassadors from most parts Congratulating his Access to the Crown. *Sha-Tamas* also dispatched *Shaculy-chan* in an Embassy to *Constantinople*: The *Turks*, in the interim, took *Nicosia* and *Cyprus* from the *Venetians*, which occasioned a perpetual League with *Spain*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, and caused an Embassy to be sent to the *Persians*, to engage them to fall speedily upon the *Turkish* Quarters; but *Sha-Tamas*, either through fear, or love of his own ease, would not yield to their desires. Nevertheless, *Amurath* had no sooner made an end of the *Cyprian* War, and recruited himself after the great defeat given him at the *Lepanto*, but he fell afresh to quarrel with the *Persian*: *Tamas*, not suspecting his designs, was invading the *Usbegs* Country, and happily took *Cabul*, but hearing that the *Turk* was about to make War upon his Country, forthwith retreated to the *Casbyn*, where amidst his Martial Consultations and Provisions, he was seized with Death, *May* 11. 1576. when he had reigned 50 Years, and lived 68. and was interred at *Ardevil* with all due

Amurath, who succeeded *Solyman*, invades *Persia*.

Ceremony

Ceremony among his Royal Ancestors. He left 12 Sons behind him, and 3 Daughters. *Mahomet* the Eldest claimed the Crown as his Birth-right, but could not have it, because of the strong Faction which stood for *Ishmael* his second Brother; so that he was forced to fly into *Georgia* for safety. In the mean time, *Peria-Conconne*, his Sister, and *Sahamal-chan*, who headed *Ishmael*'s Faction, put *Ayder*, and 3 other of the Sons of *Tamas*, to Death; and soon after, *Ishmael* himself was served the same Sauce by her. *Mahomet* at the same time was gathering Men in *Georgia* and *Curdistan*, to obtain his Right, and having got together 12000 Men, made his way by force to it.

Mahomet. *Mahomet* was no sooner arrived at the Throne, but he commanded his *Amazonian* Sister's Head to be cut off, which was accordingly done, and presented to him on a Spears Head. The *Turk* observing the advantage that these intestine Broils gave him, resolves, with all the Forces he could draw out of *Natolia*, *Diarbec*, and the Parts about *Bagdat*, to make an entire Conquest of *Persia*, and ordered *Mustapha*, the cruel and perfidious Bassa, to undertake the Task, which was so agreeable to his temper. *Mahomet*, in the interval, got himself quietly established on the Throne, insomuch, that upon the first News of the *Turks* approach, Sultan *Tocomac*, Governour of *Kervan*, an expert Soldier, and feared by the *Turks*, with a gallant Body of Horse encounter'd them on the Frontiers of *Armenia*, in which Engagement, tho' he shewed a great deal of Resolution, and routed the Van of *Mustapha*'s Army, yet the wrathful Bassa, advancing his whole Body, oppressed the *Persian* so with numbers, that tho' they fought desperately, they were forced to retreat, leaving 4000 of their Men dead behind them. *Mustapha*, as a Trophee of this Victory, faced a Bulwark with the Heads of the slain; but finding upon a Muster that he had lost 40000 of his Men, by Fluxes and the Enemies Sword, he thought it best to retreat, but by the way being encouraged with a large Recruit of Men, led by *Menuchara* a *Georgian* Prince, he resolved to re-enter *Shervan*.

The Persians vanquished by th. Turk.

The Persians rally and worst the Turk.

Tocomac, the *Persian* General, had no sooner notice of it, but with a spriteful Party he beat up the *Turks* Quarters, as they lay dispersed in a Valley by the River *Conac*, which being increased by some Rains, swept away above 10000 of them in the flight. Notwithstanding this loss, *Mustapha* continued his march as far as the City *Erez*, which finding unpeopled, he put in a Garrison of 5000 Men, most of them *Georgians*, and going on took *Samachy* without resistance, and appointed *Osman-beg* chief Commander in those Parts, and then departed to *Erzerom* his Head Quarters. *Emyr-hamze*, *Mahomet*'s Eldest Son, having in the mean time got some Experience in the *Indian* War, so ill endured these Bravado's of the *Turks*, that he never left solliciting his Father, till he gave him a Commission to raise what Horse he could to oppose the *Turk*. This valiant Prince soon raised twenty thousand Horse, with which he prosecuted the Enemy so bravely and successfully, that his fame spread through all *Asia*, insomuch that the *Turks* gave out that *Castriot* was revived, for he first defeated *Cayas* the Basha, as he was a forraging, he took *Erez* by Storm, and sent all the Cannon to *Casbyn* as a Present to his Father, he routed the *Bæcopence Tartar*, destroying most of their Men, and taking *Abdul-Cheray* their General Prisoner; he took *Sumachy*, making all the *Turks* Prisoners of War, and thus by his Valour broke in pieces the *Turkish* Army of seventy thousand Men, so that for some Years after the Country had rest.

Emir-Hamza's Victories

The *Turks* being thus happily expelled *Persia*, *Emir-hamze*, loaden with Spoils as well as Victory, in triumphant manner returned into *Casbyn*, where he was embraced by the King, his Mother, and the young *Tartarian* Prince being in company. The *Tartar* had his liberty, giving his Parole to be a true Prisoner, but being allowed too much liberty with the Queen-Mother, the Sultans envied him, and caused him to be slain by the Rabble, which provoked the *Crim*, whose Brother he was, to joyn with the *Turks* to revenge his Death.

Amurath raises greater Forces.

Amurath, upon the News how formidable the Prince of *Persia* was like to appear in the ensuing Spring, gave *Mustapha* Orders to levy a greater Army, and prosecute the War with Fire and Sword, who accordingly drew together all the Cavalry the *Turk* had in *Syria* and *Armenia*, the *Greater* and *Less*, and a huge Body of Foot, and *Hassan* Aga marched with the Van to *Teflis*. *Emangoly-chan*, late Governour of *Genge*, was constituted General of the *Persians*, and having notice of *Hassan*'s intent to fall into *Shervan*, he took the advantage of a Pass, and falling upon them, slew many of them, and scattered the rest in the Woods, in which, while the *Persians* ranged to find the Enemy, the *Turks* laid an Ambush for them at their return, and having slain many of them, took the *Persian* General Prisoner, whom they kept under a Guard at *Erzerom* three Years, and would neither accept an Exchange, or Ransom. *Hassan* being now Master of the Field advanced to *Teflis*, but was unexpectedly charged by the *Persians*, and that with such admirable Courage, as the *Turk* was put to flight, and their Train and Treasure taken; *Hassan* escaped on his Horse, and carried *Mustapha* the News of his defeat, which the Old Man was so angry at, that he had strangled him, had not his taking the *Persian* General, and his relation to the Grand Visier, pleaded for him. This Disaster, and the approaching Winter, caused *Mustapha* to send his Army into their Winter-Quarters, and so gave the *Persians* time to prepare against the Spring.

The Persian General Prisoner.

Amurath having notice of these actions of his Favourite, which were misrepresented by his Enemies, summoned him to *Stambul* to answer his Miscarriage, and was discharged his Command, and had lost both his Life and Estate, had not the Sultana interceded for him. *Sinan-Bassa*, his Enemy, was put into his place, which vexed him most of all. During this, the differences between the two Brothers, *Emir-hamze* and *Abbas*, Governour of *Asia*, hindred the necessary preparations against the *Turk*, so that the *Persian* King chose rather to sue for a Peace by *Maxut-chan*, his Embassador, with a rich Present, than proceed in the War. The Grand Seignior accepted the Present, but would not grant a Peace, unless the *Persians* would deliver *Tabriz*, *Cabin*, and all *Sheirvan*, to the *Turk*, to be enrolled for ever in the Provinces under that Crown. The Embassador would give no answer to these Demands, till he had consulted with his Master, and therefore sent to *Mahomet* about them, who called his Chief Officers together to consult about it, and the result was, *That no inch of Earth should be given the* Turk *more than he could gain by his Sword.* To prevent which, a great Army under the Victorious *Emir-Hamze*'s Command was sent to the Frontiers of *Armenia*, and *Abbe-Miaza* was sent with another Army to prosecute the War against the *Mogul*. *Maxut-chan* was immediately called home, and that he might discover their Order and Force, he passed through the Enemies Quarters, of which he gave such a satisfactory account, when he came to *Casbyn*, that he was made Treasurer, a place both honourable and profitable; but *Emir-chan* made him so uneasie in it, that he was forced to withdraw, and live privately at *Van*, rather than run any further hazards. *Emir-Hamze* drawing towards the *Turk*, entrusted *Simon-chawn* the *Georgian*, and *Tocomac* the *Persian*, with part of his Forces, and so formed an Ambuscade, into which they drew the *Turk*, and slew above 6000 of them; the rest escap'd to *Erzerom*, the Bassa's head Quarters, a Town of great strength as well by Nature as Art, and very convenient for Provisions, which may be brought thither from the Midland, *Euxin* and *Caspian* Seas. It stands in *Cappadocia*, called of Old *Leuco Syria*, and has *Armenia* on the one hand, which the River *Euphrates* divides from it and *Caramania*, which comprehends the ancient *Lycia*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia* and *Cana*, on the other. *Amurath* resolving to fall into *Hungary*, and those parts, thought fit to call home *Sinan-Bassa*, to advise with concerning that War, and constitute *Mahomet-Bassa* (Nephew to *Mustapha*, who was lately dead of Age and Grief, but some rather think of Poyson) General against the *Persians*. At *Erzerom* he muster'd all his Army, and the Season being good, marched without resistance as far as the River *Araxis*, burning and doing all the Spoil he could. *Emir-Hamze*, by his Scouts, having notice of their number and approach, ordered *Tocomac*, with *Simon* the *Georgian*, to stop their progress as well as they could, till he came up with his Horse and Dragoons. These Captains falling upon the *Turks*, in their march towards *Tauris*, made good their ground, till they were over-powered by *Mahomet*'s Horse, but when he understood by some Prisoners that the *Persian* Prince was at hand, he thought best to retreat; which, when the Prince knew, he pursued them with unusual haste, and killed many in the Rear, as well as caused many to be drowned in their passing the Rivers hastily, but he continued his march till he came to *Teflis*.

Ebrahim-chawn, Embassador of the *Persian* King at *Constantinople*, received an Affront at the Circumcision of his Eldest Son *Mahomet* without any provocation, being made a Prisoner some time, with his Attendants; but *Mahomet* would take little notice of it, because the difference between his Sons threatned a Civil War, but at length they were seemingly reconciled. In the mean time, *Ferrat-chan* was made General of the *Turks* against the

the *Persians*, but doing little in that place, he was called home, and *Osman-Bassa* put in his place. This *Bassa* was quick of Resolution, and by Nature fierce, and having raised an Army of 200000 Horse and Foot, with a suitable Train of great Guns, he marched thro' *Media*, almost in view of *Tauris*, destroying his Enemies Country all along. *Emir-Hamze*, the *Persian* General, knowing the way of the *Turks* March, advanced against them with 10000 good Horse, the King following with 80000 Horse and Foot more. The *Persian* Prince encamped five Leagues Southward of *Taurin*, and expected the coming of *Osman*, who knowing that the *Persian* Horse were afraid of his Artillery, continued his March with a resolution to try the Fortune of a Field, but *Osman* not thinking it convenient to have *Taurin* on his Rear, resolved to take it; *Alliculi-chan* was the Governour, and before he could summon it, made such a sally out upon the *Turks*, as killed them a thousand Men, and retreated with a little loss. This unexpected Assault so enraged the *Turk*, that he hastened his approach, and having planted his Batteries, plaid so furiously upon the Wall, that he made a large Breach, and resolved to storm it. The besieged seeing their Danger, beat a Parley, and surrendred the Town upon Conditions; but some of the Inhabitants breaking them by making away some Janizaries in a Stove, the incensed *Turk* gave the Souldiers liberty to plunder, kill, ravish, and do what they list, some few only escaping to the *Persian* Camp. *Emir-Hamze* hearing the Relation of this Cruelty, drew out a Party to be revenged of the Enemy, but *Osman* ordering a Party of 40000 to beat him back, he was forced to retreat, yet so gradually, as shewed their Valour.

Persians conquer the Turks.

Soon after this, the whole Armies engaged, but the *Persians* had the better, tho' the *Turks* by the help of their Artillery, made a pretty good retreat, leaving 6000 Men to the Mercy of the Enemies Sword. Upon this the Prince sent a Defiance to the *Turkish* Army, which was accepted by the General, and within five Days both Armies drew out for Battle. The *Turks* were upwards of 100000, but the *Persians* scarce amounted to half the number, yet being superiour in Resolution, gain'd the Victory; for after that the *Bassa* of *Caramit* fell by *Emir-Hamze's* Sword, the *Turks* gave Ground, and fled in Confusion, having lost the *Bassa* of *Frepizorid*, six *Sanziacks*, and 20000 Common Men, and had not the *Turks* great Guns disordered now and then the *Persian* Horse, they had obtained a compleat Victory: The *Persians* lost 2000. *Osman* was so daunted with this ill success, that having constituted *Giaffer-chan* Governour of *Tauris*, with whom he left a good part of his Army to defend it, he went himself to *Erzerom*, to recover his Flux, but tho' *Ozman* got thither safe with his Guard, yet his Foot and Train, which marched slower, were interrupted, for the *Persian* Horse crossing a nearer way, got before them, and skirmishing with them, seized their Caravan near *Sancazan*, which consisted of above 6000 Camels and Mules, with valuable Burthens, besides *Asmegoes* loaden with Provisions, and when the whole Army came up, there followed another Engagement. The *Turks* (tho' *Osman* was absent) were so well commanded, that tho' the *Persians* had the better, yet 'twas with a considerable loss, which they requited with the death of 20000 *Turks*. The Relation of this Encounter being carried to *Ozman* by the rest of the Army, was so unpleasant to him, that it increased his Distemper, insomuch that within a few Days after he gave up the Ghost, leaving the Conduct of his shattered Army to *Bassa Sinan Cicala*, a good Souldier, and Wary, who when he came to take his Musters at *Erzerom*, found that *Ozman*, one way or another, had lost 100000 Men. The *Persian* Prince after these Victories, returned to *Casbin*, where he was embraced by his aged Father, honoured by all the Officers, and little less than adored by the Vulgar; but after a little Refreshment he was uneasy that *Taurin* was in the Hands of the *Turk*, and became restless in his Desires to reduce it, but was retarded in his Preparations by the envious Contrivances of his Brother *Abbas* and *Alliculy-chan*, who sought all ways to eclipse his Glory, and lessen him in his Father's Opinion, whom popular applause had made jealous of him. In the mean time *Ferrat Bassa*, with a great Army was marching with a seasonable Relief to *Taurin*, which was distressed for Victuals, and by Fluxes and other Distempers, had lost most of its Men. The *Persian* King rous'd by this Advance of their Enemy, by the Perswasions of his Son *Abbas*, Commissioned *Alliculy-chan* his Friend, to go Commander in chief of an Army distinct from that, which his Brother *Emir-Hamze* commanded. *Emangely-chan* also brought another Army of 15000 Men, but the Prince had the Command of the main Body of Horse and Foot, bring about 40000 more; *Emangely-chan* by the Prince's Order, went to discover the Enemy, and in beating up the Quarter of *Reynal-chan* near *Salmas* did some execution, but as soon as *Alliculy-chan* saw the *Turkish* Army, he drew back, and suffered the Enemy to prosecute their way, harrasing the Countrey. This treacherous Act of *Alliculy-chan* angred the Prince, but it not being seasonable to punish it, he resolved to join with *Emangely-Chan*, and encounter the Enemy, to which he was encouraged by the coming in of many Volunteers to serve him; but when he was in the height of his hopes, he was slain by an Eunuch as he lay sleeping on a Pallat in his Tent, supposed to be done by the Procuration of his Brother *Abbas* and *Alli-coully-chan*. His death over-whelmed *Persia* with Grief, and made the Army heartless and careless to give any further resistance to the *Turks*, who rejoiced at it as their greatest Fortune. The Eunuch was severely tortured, and the Prince buried at *Ardevil*, with all Demonstrations of Love, *Sept.* 1586, near the Dormitories of his Ancestors. *Ferrant-chan* the *Turkish* General, tho' he could not but shew some Tokens of Sorrow for this Noble Heroe's Death, yet let not the Advantage slip, but in a short time made tributary the whole Territory about *Gaege*, and forced a Contribution from *Sumachy* and all the Country betwixt that and the *Caspian-Sea*. When he was called home, *Cicala-Bassa*, Governour of *Bagdat*, had the Charge of the *Persian* War. He wasted the *Median* Territories, which ly upon the Frontiers of *Diarbec*; but while *Mahomet* was sending *Emangely-chan* to oppose his Motions, *Amurath* the better to prosecute his intended War in *Europe* by his Embassador, desired a Cessation of Arms with the *Persian*, who willingly condescended to it, that he might have leisure to enlarge his Dominions towards *Candahor* and *Chabul*, and so Articles were agreed and signed. *Hostage* exchanged, and the Peace proclaim'd at *Constantinople* and *Casbyn*. *Shaw-Mahomet*, tho' he had quiet in his Dominions, yet had none in himself; *Emir-Hamze's* Death was such a wound to him, that he never had one joyful Day more, but spent his life in continual Sorrow, till Death put an end to his disconsolate Life, in the Year of our Lord 1597, and with all due Ceremony he was buried among his Princely Ancestors, and in his place

Alliculy-chan's treachery.

Emir-Hamze slain.

Abbas his Son was proclaimed, and soon after crowned King. Embassadors from most parts of the World came soon after to congratulate his Access to the Crown, and among the rest, one from *Turkey*, who after that Complement, threatned *Abbas* with War, unless he sent his Son, or some eminent Hostage instead of the King's Nephew lately dead, which being done before the other Embassadors, was so highly resented by *Abbas*, that he commanded him to be gone, at which when the Embassador smiled, the King fell into so great a Passion, that he ordered him to be slain, but this Sentence was after recanted, and being chabucht on the Soles of his Feet, he was sent away miserably disgraced, partly to shew how little he valued the *Turks* Amity, and partly to be quit for the uncivil Treatment a *Persian* Embassadour had not long before received at *Constantinople*. *Amurath* looked upon this usage of his Embassador as an high Affront, and blaspheming, breathed Defiance, vowing the utter Extirpation of the *Sophian* Race; but being forced to respite his revenge by reason of some Wars in *Hungary*, and Troubles at home, he died before the Execution of it, in 1604, leaving *Sultan Achmet* his Successor, who being intent upon the entire Conquest of *Hungary*, still put off the Revenge he designed the *Persian*. *Abbas* by this means had time given him to compass his Designs, and understanding that *Cicala-Bassa*, Governour of *Babylon*, was absent from his Charge in prosecution of *Zeli-Ally*, a famous Relet, he caused several of his Officers, and *Coorel-Bassa's*, to be disguised like Merchants, and under colour of a Caravan, enter *Bagdat* unsuspected; and so he became Master of the place. *Cicala* having made his Peace at Court, levied a powerful Army to invade *Persia*, and besiege *Bagdat*, and accordingly the next Spring fell upon the Viceroy's Quarters at their Van, spoiling all he could; but young *Emir-Hamze-Mirza*, *Abbas's* eldest Son, with a strong Body of Horse, meeting him about *Sultany*, gave him such a blow, that in a little time after all the *Persian* Provinces were cleared of the *Turks*. *Sha-Abbas* now moving in his own Orb to secure himself the better against his Inveterate Enemies, sent his Embassadors to the Emperour *Rodolphi* King of *Poland*, *Henry* IV. of *France*, *Philip* IV. of *Spain*, and the *Venetians*, to engage them in a joint League against their common Enemy, which *Achmat* knowing, ordered *Nassaph Bassa* to raise all the Forces he could, to find him work at home; but before either

Abbas, Vide his Effigies, Fig. 7.

A Turkish Embassador treated ill by the Persians.

the Peace or Levies for War were finished, a Peace upon the *Persian* Embassadour's arrival at *Constantinople*, was concluded between these two *Mahometan* Princes, and *Sha-Abbas* to confirm it, sent an extraordinary Present in 1613, to the Port, that he might more vigorously prosecute the War with the *Great Mogul*. But this Peace did not hold long, for in 1618. the *Turk* by way of *Erzerom*, entred *Media*, the Army being commanded by *Alby-Bassa*, and taking the Opportunity of the King's absence, plundered as far as *Ardevil*, but *Emir-Hamze* advancing toward them, they came to truce again, but soon broke it, and insisted upon the restitution of *Tauris*. The Command of the *Persian* Army was given to *Emir-Hamze*, whom the *Turk* dreading, thought not fit to prosecute the Design, and so things seemed quiet, till *Abbas* having settled things about *Larry-Joon* in *Mozendran*, returned home, and then taking the Opportunity of the *Turks*, he engaged in *Hungary*, in the Head of a Royal Army, he cleared *Shervan*, expelled their Garrisons, cut off *Van* and *Testis*, and soon after mastred *Balsora* and *Bagdat*, which soon revolted to the *Turks* again. In the mean time the *Persian* having Intelligence from *Constantinople* of the Destructions there, *viz.* That the *Janizaries* had upon some slight disgust put to death *Osman* and *Mustapha*, the *Grand Seignior*, which they had made successively, and *Delavir* the *Grand Visier*, and set up *Achmat* the Brother of *Osman*, invaded *Diarbeck* with a considerable Body of Horse and Dragoons, and having bribed one of the principal Officers of *Bagdat*, got entrance into it, and became absolute Master of it, before the Governour *Achmat* had any notice of it for prevention. *Achmat* hereupon not daring to trust himself in it, withdrew with a small party of Horse into *Karamania*, and by his Flight so discouraged all he left behind, that not only the whole Province, but all the Countries from *Armenia* to *Balsora*, submitted to the *Persian* Crown, the *Turks* which stood out, flying either into *Syria* or *Egypt*. The *Persian* after this Success cast his Eye upon *Natolia*, where *Abassi-Bassa* commanded, who being obnoxious for his late Revolt, the *Persian* doubted not but he would espouse their Cause for his own Defence, but trying him to deliver *Erzerum* to them, the crafty *Turk* slew a thousand of their Men that they sent to take Possession of it, for which being pardoned his former Revolt by the Port, and presented, he fell into *Diarbe*, with all the Force he could make, and gave a considerable defeat to a Body of *Persian* Horse and Foot: *Abbas* was startled at this Loss, and having notice of his strength, and of his summoning *Bagdat*, he marched in the Head of 30000 Horse toward the Enemy, who were double his number. The *Turks* nevertheless resolved to continue the Siege, and entrenched themselves, but *Abbas* giving them continual Alarms, and cutting off their Provisions, reduced them to so great want, that the *Turks* were forced to draw off, and retreat with Bag and Bagage; but being retarded by their Artillery, the *Persians* pursued them so for ten days, that few of them escaped. *Abbas* having thus sufficiently scoured the Western Parts, was no less active and successful elsewhere; for the next Year, *viz.* in 1627, by the good Conduct of *Kurchiki-cawn*, he drove out the *Turk* quite out of *Shervan* and *Gheylan*, and reduced the Natives to their Allegiance; and by *Tamas-Cooli-beg*, likewise annexed *Mozendran* to his Empire, having done the like a little before by *Lolla-beg* and *Emangely-cawn*, in the Conquest of *Lar*, *Karmaen*, *Ormus*, *Chasiskan*, *Macran*, and part of *Ajaman* and *Jazirey*, so as he extended his Territories, one way from *Indus* to *Euphrates*, and the other from the *Caspian-Sea* to *Babylon*, and the Gulph of *Persia*, which to this Day the *Persians* keep to the Honour of their Crown and Terrour of their Neighbours.

Abbas having attained to this great Degree of Glory, died in the Year 1628, *Heg.* 1008. after he had lived 80 Years, and ruled 43. His Body was carried from *Casbyn* to *Ardevil*, and there buried by his great Ancestors, and he was succeeded by *Sophi* his Grandson, who after 15 Years resigned the Crown to his Son *Abbas* now reigning, and was buried at *Coom*. His Death. *Sophi Abbas* now reigning.

CHAP. XXIV.

Some Miscellaneous Observations relating to the Persons, Customs, and Manners of the Persians.

Miscellanies. SIR *Tho. Herbert* having given us a brief Account of the Revolutions of State amongst the *Persians*, under a long Succession of Kings, has added many other useful Observations concerning the Country and People, which not being capable to be reduced to one Head, are set down promiscuously in this Chapter, which follow in order.

The Names of *Persia*. Concerning the Names of the Country, he observes, that no Nation hath had greater Changes and Variation of Names than *Persia*; for in *Nimrod's* days 'twas called *Chusa* or *Cush*, from *Cush* the Son of *Cham*, who first settled here: In *Chedarlaomer's* days it bore the Name of *Elam*, from *Elam* the Son of *Sem*, from whom the People were called *Elamites*, or *Elemæans*; and so it continued till *Daniel's* time, after which 'twas called *Persia*, from *Perseus* a *Grecian* Hero, who subdued it. In the time of the *Parthians* it was called *Arsace*, from *Arsaces* their beloved King, and after that *Artea*, which signifies, a Noble Country; and from thence many of their Kings and Nobles have taken their Fore-names, as *Artaxerxes*, *Artabanus*, &c. Since the *Tartars* over-running it as they did the greater part of *Asia*, have named it *Chorsoria*, or rather *Corsace*. The *Arabians*, *A. C.* 598, when *Mahomet* subdued it, named it *Saracenia*, and the *Turks Azenica*. The *Scythians* call them *Aramei*; and *Sief Guner*, the late Reformer of the *Alcoran*, calls it *Ezniziria* and *Agamia*.

Extent of it. The Empire is bounded with *India*, *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, the *Caspian* and *Persian* Seas. From *Candahor* to *Babylon* it stretches 440 Pharsangs, or 1320 Miles *English*; and from *Seiply* near *Van* in *Georgia*, to Cape *Guadir* in *Gedrosia*, 496 Pharsangs, or 1488 Miles *English*; so that the Compass is not much less than 4000 Miles. The North and East part of the Country is fertile in Grass, Corn and Fruit, because the Air is temperate, and the Soil often moistened with Showers; but the South and West (except by the Rivers) is barren, mountainous, and sandy, having no Rains, because of the Heat, yet habitable, by reason of the frequent Breezes. In general, the Air is healthy, tho' with variety of Heat and Cold.

The Revenue of the Persian King. Concerning the Revenue of the Kingdom, he says, he must go upon conjecture much, because nothing is more uncertainly computed than the Wealth and Revenues of a Kingdom. The publick Revenue of old was 14560 *Euboic* Talents, which being brought to the King's exchequer in different sorts of Coin from the several Provinces, was melted down as soon as it came in, and kept in Earthen Pots till there was occasion to coin it for use. The present Revenue of the *Persian* Kings is about 357000 *Tomans*, which amount to about 1190000 *l.* Sterling, which is raised from Raw Silk, Cottons, and Customs. The *Persian* King thinks no way of getting Money dishonourable, for he sends into the Market every day Presents of Fruits and Flowers in most of his Towns, which are 90 walled Towns, and above 40000 Villages, who must return his Presents with Gold and Silver. He has also his Factors abroad, who return, some in three, others in five or seven Years, giving no Account to their Commissioners; and if they return empty, they are rarely sent again, but if they come full fraught to his liking, he rewards them considerably, and further gratifies them with a Woman out of his Haram, an Horse, a Sword, a Mandil, or the like. The Caravans from *Indostan*, *Tartary*, and *Arabia*, which pass thro' his Country every Year, importing Merchandizes of several sorts, as *Chine* Ware, Sattens, Silk, Stones, Drugs, *&c.* he finds Arts to make them sell at moderate Rates, or pay well for their safe Passage, and so gains greatly by them. Besides, by a Customary Law, he makes himself Heir to whom he pleases, so that few rich men die, but he claims their

their Goods, and none dare dispute his Title. He also, according to an Old Mode, expects Annual Presents from his great Men. The Duke of *Shyraz* lately presented the King with as many Larrees as were valued at 465000 Florins, 49 Goblets of Gold, 72 of Silver, and other Rarities, too great a Present for a Subject, unless he were allowed all sinister ways to enrich himself, as indeed the Governours under all *Mahometan* Princes are. They have Power of Life and Death, condemn without hearing, and dispose of Mens Persons and Estates, when, and how they please, without any respect of Right, especially at Mens Deaths, where there is any considerable Estate, their Heir seldom coming in for above a tenth part.

Presents to the King.

The *Persian* King how honoured.

Concerning the Honour they give their Kings, it is the Custom in *Persia*, as in other Eastern Countries, to adore their Kings; so that as of Old, they are not content to reverence him as the Image of God, who by his Infinite Wisdom governs and preserves all things, but they have a more transcendant Opinion and Esteem concerning him, making prostrations before him, not presuming to spit or cough in his presence, nor pull their Hands out of their Sleeves, swearing by his Head, bowing their Bodies, and kissing the Letters that come from him. In his Titles, to illustrate his Perfections, they give him the Epithets of *Amber*, *Nutmegs*, *Roses*, and such sweet Odours and Flowers as most delight the taste, which is the Custom all over the East. But tho' in Government they are Absolute, yet they have certain Ordinances of War to be observed by their Soldiers, and a kind of Imperial Law to be observed by all other Subjects, which they have Judges constituted to Execute; but they are so subject to Bribery, unless in Criminal Matters, that little Justice is to be had from them.

His Laws in War and Peace.

The Nature of the People.

Concerning the Natives, they are generally well-limb'd and straight; the Zone they live in makes them tawny, the Wine cheerful, and Opium lustful. The Women paint, the Men love Arms; all affect Poetry. They allow no hair in any part of the Body, but on the upper-lip, on which they wear it long, thick, and turning downward, and on the top of their Heads, by which they are made to believe, that their Prophet, at the Resurrection, will lift them up into Paradise; which fancy, 'tis probable, that *Mahomet* took from *Ezek.* 8. 3. where the Angel took up that Prophet by a lock of his Head, and lifted him up between the Earth and Heaven, or from the *Apocryphal* Story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, where *Habakkuk* the Prophet is said to be transported from *Judea* to *Babylon*. The rest of their hair is shaven off, and made incapable of growing again by the Oil *Dowac*, with which they anoint the places thrice.

Their Turbants.

Instead of hair, they wreath about their Head rolls of Linen, not only for Ornament, but to keep off the heat of the Sun, and defend them against an Enemy. Most of the *Persians* wear them large and valuable, tho' for the most part of Callico; and the Superiour sort of People have them woven with Silk and Gold, with a rich Fringe or Tassel of Gold and Silver at the end, but at Feasts and Entertainments they wreath them with Ropes of Orient Pearl, and Chains of Gold set with precious Stones of great value. The Kings differs not in shape from others, but in bigness only, or in that he sets it more upright. With these Turbants the *Persians* go covered all day long, and are never uncovered neither at their Devotion, nor in the King's Presence, because they count it irreverent, but they express their complaint by bowing the Head towards the Heart; but both these Customs were brought in among them by *Mahomet*, for before they wore a kind of Hat, or Bonnet, and uncovered their Heads both at Salutations and in the Presence of their Superiours, and still to Strangers they will do it sometimes in Complaisance.

Their Garments.

They wear no Bands, and their Alijoba, or upper Garment, is of Callico stitch'd with Silk, or quilted with Cotton. The better sort have Garments of Parti-coloured Silk, as Sattin, or Gold and Silver Chamlots, for variety best pleaseth them. No colour displeaseth but black, and that is never worn, because 'tis dismal and unlucky. Their Sleeves are straight and long, their Vest reacheth to their Calves. Their Wastes are girt with Sashes of Silk and Gold eight Yards long. They distinguish the Qualities of those that wear them; Dukes and Nobles have them of Gold, Merchants and *Coosalbashes* of Silver, and Men of inferiour Rank of Silk and Wool. Their Shirts are of Cotton, their Breeches have Stockins sewed to them, which do not touch their Shoes by two inches. Their Shoes are of Leather of any colour they fancy, well-stitched, sharp-toed, with high heels, and nailed, yet not for Thrift, but out of Custom. Over their other Cloaths they throw a short Cloth-Coat without Sleeves, and furred. In hot Seasons they wear Stockins of *English* Cloth heeled with Leather.

Gloves, or Gold Rings, are of no esteem among them, but they wear Silver Rings in Memory of *Mahomet*'s Ring left to *Osman* for a Legacy. They paint their nails and hands with Alcanna, or Chaa-powder, into a red or tawny colour, not for Ornament only, but to cool their Liver, and make them Valiant in War. In their Rings they wear Agats or Torquoises, which of all Stones they most delight in; but some have their Name, or a Word out of the Alcoran engraven in them.

Their Rings.

Their Mullah's, or Clergy, engross all their Learning. They write with a Reed or Cane, and kneel usually while they write for their ease. Their Paper is very glossy, made of Bombasine, or Cotton-wool; and dropping Oiled colours, they vein it like Marble.

Their Learning and Writing.

They wash with great Geremony, joyning the tops of their Fingers together of both Hands, both before and after Meals, and upon their natural Occasions, which they do in the open Streets.

Their Swords are more bending than the Faulchions, of pure Metal, and as sharp as a Razor. The Hilts are without Wards, being of Gold, Silver, Horn, Ivory, Steel and Wood.

Their *Persian* Scimitars were of that value with the *Scythians*, that they worshipp'd them as the Image of *Mars*. Their Scabbards are of Camels Hide, cover'd with Velver on Festivals, and embroidered with Gold, or set with Stones of price. They seldom ride without Bows and Arrows, the Quiver being wrought or cut very artificially, the Bow short, but strong, and the Arrows long and well-headed. They are so Skilful in Archery, in which they chiefly delight, that they can in a full career cleave an Orange hung cross the Hippodrome, and when past the Mark, turn backward and hit the rest. They have some Cannon mounted at *Lar*, &c. but seldom use them in Field-Services, which give the *Turks* some advantage against them, who disorder the Horse with the noise of them. The use of Muskets they have learn'd from the *Portuguese*, and use them well.

Persian Scimitars worshipped.

The Women veil their faces in Publick. They are low in stature, but straight and comely, more corpulent than lean, for Wine and Musick fatten them. Their complexion is naturally pale, but by painting made sanguine. Their hair is black and curled, their forehead high, skin soft, eyes black, have high noses, pretty large mouths, thick lips, and round cheeks. Honest Women, when they go abroad, speak to none in their Way, nor unveil their faces. When they ride, the vulgar sort sit astride, but the better sort are mounted on Camels in Cages of Wood covered, to keep them from the sight of Men. Their hair cur'ing hangs about their shoulders, and sometimes is plaited in a Cawl of Gold; round about their face and chin they usually hang a Rope of Pearl. Their Eye-lids are coloured Coal-black with a fine Pencil dipped in the Mineral called *Alcohole*. They make also Incisions in their flesh of various shapes and forms. Their Noses are hung with Jewels of Gold set with rich Stones, and their Ears have Rings of equal lustre. They beautify their Arms, Hands, Legs and Feet, with painted Flowers and Birds.

Their Women, their Persons and Gurb. *Vid. Fig.* 18.

The Courtezans have a more lascivious Carriage and Dress: They force every Limb to dance to the Musick of their Bells and Timbrels. Their Habit is loose and gawdy, reaching to their mid-leg; under which they wear Drawers of Cloth of Gold Sattin, tissued Stuffs, or costly Embroidery. They are of no Religion, look temptingly, drink notably, and covet Men and Money greedily. The Queen is present with the *Persian* Kings at Supper and Banquets, but withdraws when the King is disposed to drink and be merry, for then they call for Musick and Courtezans, for they will not have their Wives privy to their Intemperance and Wantonness.

Their Courtezans.

Concerning the Arms of *Persia*, *Xenoras* observes, that in Old time they bore *Luna*, an Eagle crowned with the Sun, displayed *Saturn*, which continued till *Cyrus* altered it, who, as *Xenophon* tells, had an Eagle hung upon a long Spear for his Arms. The *Persian* Kings bore this Escutcheon, till *Crassus* was overcome by them, and then they Blazoned a Sagittary on their Royal Standard, with which also their Doricks (a piece of Gold of 15 *s.* value) was stamped. But *Mahomet*, when he had conquered them, and introduced his Law, rejected these, and chose a *Mercury*, and Moon Crescent, with this Impress, *Tetum dum impleat Orbem*, alluding to an Universal Command, which the *French* have transcribed and set up at *Fountainbleau*. *Sict Gunet* changed *Mahomet*'s Coat, and invented a new Ensign, *viz. Venus*, a Lion couchant Sol; the Sun Orient in his face of the same, Minted also in their Brass Medals, and as a tye of Amity accepted of by the

The Arms of *Persia*.

Great Mogul and Neighbouring Princes. The *Cawns*, *Beglerbegs*, *Sultans*, *Aga's*, *Soldegars*, and *Cooſel-baſhes*, bear no Coat-Armour, becauſe they are ignorant in Heraldry. No honour among the *Perſians* is Hereditary. They are very civil and noble in their Natures to one another, and eſpecially to Strangers. They allow Degrees among themſelves, and other People, and give a due reſpect to Men according to their Degrees, Quality, or Merit. In Old time they were Idolaters, as the Governours now are, but by converſing with the *Greeks* and *Romans*, they have learned to worſhip Dæmons, and aboliſhed their Celeſtial Worſhip. They honoured *Jupiter*, or the Firmament; but *Apollo*, *i. e.* the Sun, or *Mythra*, they moſt affected, and to him they dedicated many Temples, and giving him Titles of Honour, Health and Gentleneſs. The Moon alſo they had no adoration of, ſuppoſing her to be eſpouſed to *Apollo*, and ſtill they bowed to it at its firſt appearance. *Venus* alſo had equal Reverence, and the Elements were Deify'd. Reward and Puniſhment came alſo into the Number of their Gods. *Zertoſt* commanded them to keep a continual Fire, not to be fed with common Fuel, nor kindled with profound Air, but ſuch as ſhould come from the Beams of the Sun, Lightning, Flints, or the like. The Water they would not allow to be corrupted with dead Carkaſſes, Dirt, Urine, or any other naſty thing. Images they little regarded, performing their Religious Rites in Groves, Mounts, or other places. Their Marriages they commonly celebrated in the Spring about the Æquinox, and the Bridegroom eat nothing but Apples and Camels Marrow. Polygamy they approve of, not only from the Example of their Kings, but becauſe they honour ſuch moſt as have many Children.

The Education of their Children.

They ſeldom ſaw their Children till they were four Years old, from which Age to twenty they learn to ride and ſhoot, fare meanly, lodge hard, watch. The Old Men went plain, but the Young Mens Habit was rich, their Arms and Legs being hung with Chains of burniſhed Gold, or Braſs, which imitated the Sun's brightneſs. In their War they wore Coats of Mail, or Steel, curiouſly linked, and their Breaſt-plates ſcaled: Their Targets were of Ox-hide, large and round, and their Cap of Linen in many folds. Bows, Swords and Axes, were their Arms, which they kept well, and managed dexterouſly. The great Mens Tables were ſplendid in rich Furniture and Diſhes of Gold, but in Meats very ordinary and ſparing. They were much given to Drunkenneſs, with which they ſealed all their Negotiations and Bargains with, nevertheleſs their Complements are hearty, embracing their Equals, and giving the Head and Knee to Superiours. Superſtitious they are, and care not to act in any Affair, unleſs by caſting the Die they light of a Fortunate Chance. In Sickneſs and Troubles ſome uſe Sorcery, preſcribing Charms, Croſs-Characters, Letters, and the like, taken commonly out of the Alcoran. Necromantick Studies they much admire, becauſe above common reach, and few of their *Siets* but can exerciſe. *Friday* is their Sabbath, which they keep licentiouſly.

Their Callings, Buſineſs, Arts and Sciences.

Concerning their Callings, Buſineſs, Arts and Sciences. The Soldiery is moſt in requeſt among them, of which they have four degrees, *viz. Chawns*, *Cooſel-baſhes*, *Aga's*, and *Chelily*, or *Coridſchey*. The *Timars*, or *Turqmars*, are more deſpicable. Upon the Muſter, the *Perſian* King can march three hundred thouſand Horſe, and ſeventy thouſand Foot or Muſquetoons, ſuch force he can advance, but ſeldom exceeds fifty thouſand, becauſe 'tis as many as can be Forraged in ſuch barren Countries, which afford little Paſturage, or other Provender for Horſes, and therefore they feed them with chopt Straw and Barley, which renders them leſs apt to Diſeaſes, and keeps them in as good heart as ours, which have better Proviſion. In Peace they are not idle, but exerciſe themſelves in ſundry ſorts of Martial Feats. They love to hunt and chaſe the Stag, Antelope, Gazal, Tyger, Boar, Goat, Fox, Jackal, Wolf, and the like. They know well how to uſe the Bow, Dart, Scimitar, Gun and Javelin. Their Harquebuz is longer than ours, but thinner, and they uſe it well, but deteſt the trouble of Cannon, and ſuch Inſtruments of War, as require Carriage. They have large Greyhounds, of ſuch Courage, as to encounter Lions. They have Spaniels, but not ſo good as their Hawks might challenge, for they have Eyeries of Eagles, Lannars, Gawſe-hawks, and Hobbies, with excellent Falcons, out of *Ruſſia* and *Scythia*, which they fly commonly at Hares, Jackals, Partridge, Pheaſant, Hern, Pelicans, Poots and Oſtriches. The Vulgar ſort delight in Morrice-dancing, Wraſtling, Bandying, Swinging on the Ropes, Ram and Cock-fighting, in which Exerciſes they ſpend both Time and Money. Cats are more in requeſt with them than Dogs, which they frequently carry in their Arms, in imitation of their Prophet *Mahomet*, who uſually carry'd a Cat in his Sleeve. Merchants are in eſtimation among them, who trade into *Turkey*, *Ruſſia*, *India*, and other Parts of *Aſia*, but ſeldom into *Europe*. Their Mechanicks are induſtrious and ingenious in working Silk and Cotton, dying and weaving Carpets, and printing Flowers of all ſorts in Leather and in Colours, of which they make Buſkins, Sandals, Saddles, and Furniture for Houſes.

Their Phyſicians.

Their Phyſicians are great admirers of Nature, doting ſo much thereon, that they often make the Inſtrument the Cauſe. They are well Moralled, and civil in Language and Guarb, which beget them eſteem from all that converſe with them, but are Covetous, and love Magick Studies. They have degrees tranſcending one another in Title, as their Skill and Seniority merits. They are moſt of them Philoſophers, but their Libraries are ſmall, and their Books uſually Arabick, but choice and uſeful. They prefer Plants and Vegetables before Minerals. In their Schools they affect Silence, and ſitting croſs-legged, wag their Bodies, imagining that motion advantages their Study, and ſerves for Exerciſe. The Doctors are named *Hackeems*, *i. e.* Learned Men, but their Mountebanks *Shitan-Tabib*, *i. e.* the Devils Chirurgeons. They are Maſters of much Knowledge, and delight much in Judicial Aſtrology. Many Arabick Writers, learned both in Natural Philoſophy and Mathematicks, have flouriſhed in thoſe Parts, and their Books they read, *viz. Hippocrates*, *Galen*, *Averroes*, *Alfarabius*, *Avicenna*, *Razis*, *Albumazar*, &c. In Geography they have *Abuifeda*, and in Oratory *Alphraganus*, which they read and become admirable. They have plenty of Herbs, Druggs, Gums and Odours, which they underſtand the uſe of, and can apply ſeaſonably.

Some of their Medicins.

For Fluxes they give Sloes, Rice, Cinnamon, Pomegranates, and Barbaries. To purge Melancholy, Aloes, Senna and Rhubarb. For Flegm, Turbith; and for Colds and Sweatings, Oils of Beavers, Leopards, Jackals, *Herba Matis*, and *Ladies Roſe*. The Country affords plenty of *Galbanum*, *Scammony*, *Ammoniac*, *Manna*, *Piſtachoes*, *Dates*, *Rhubarb*, *Opopanax*, *Sarcocolla*, and *Aſſafœtida*; which laſt is found in greateſt quantities about *Labor*, and the River *Indus*. But Sweating is the Epidemick Phyſick, being of leaſt Charge and moſt Uſeful, inſomuch that ſome Cities have three hundred Hummums, or Baths, and others many, tho' not ſo numerous. By frequent Bathing their Skins are made ſoft and fine, and their Bodies tender and active. They compute their Years by Moons, and not by the Sun, ſo that the number of Days in the whole Year with them amounts but to 353, which our computation by the Sun exceeds 12 Days, and makes a great difference between their Hegyra and our Year of the Lord.

Such as practiſe Manufactures are of an Inferiour account to the Soldiers, nevertheleſs they live plentifully, and out of the reach of the King's jealous Eye, which often ruin the great ones. The Peaſants are Slaves, and can call nothing their own, becauſe they are ſo ſubject to the Rapine of the *Begs* and *Cooſel-baſhes*, tho' upon complaint they find reaſonable Juſtice from the *Cauſees*. They are of a gentile and obliging Nature, facetious, harmleſs in Diſcourſe, and little inquiſitive after Foreign News, ſeldom inquiring more about any Country than, Whether they have good Wine, fair Women, ſerviceable Horſes, and well-temper'd Swords. Few of them can read, becauſe that Science is ingroſſed by Church-men, Clerks, Santo's and Merchants, yet honour ſuch as can.

Their Muſick and Poetry.

Some little Skill they have in Muſick, which reſembles the Doric and Phrygic, a ſoft and lofty Conſort. Above all Poetry lulls them, but their Poems are Amorous and Laſcivious. *Abul-Caſen*, who lived *Anno Heg.* 385. *Elgazzuly*, *Ibnal-farid*, and *Elfargani*, are their principal Poets in thoſe fancies; nor is Poetry rewarded better any where than there. *Mahomet* the Great, *Almanſor*'s Son, gave Poet *Marvan* for ſeventy Diſticks, which he preſented him with, 70000 Staters: And *Taher*, King *Abder-Haymon*'s General, for three Verſes, which a Poet gave him, requited him with three hundred pieces of Gold; and tho' their Verſes be but lame, yet their ſinging them makes them harmonious.

Their dancing.

The Men affect not dancing, yet take no ſmall pleaſure in the Boys and Girls that do, who to admiration conform the parts of their Bodies by ſtrange windings and geſticulations to the ſound of Bells, Timbrels and Cimbals. The Art of painting the Face in theſe Countries, is more ancient than commendable, not only Women, but Men uſing it.

Perſia

Eunuchs, their Antiquity and Use.

Persia continues the ancient Custom of emasculating Youths, not only to preserve the Excellency of their Voice in singing, but principally for the guarding of the Seraglio of great Persons, which tho' it sufficiently effeminate them, yet some Eunuchs have neither wanted Courage nor Reputation, but have been elected Generals for the Field. They are of ancient standing in the Court of *Persia*, and were formerly made by the Excision of the Testicles only, but now all the Secrets are cut off, because a jealous *Turk* observed one of these Geldings covering a Mare. Honest Women rarely shew their faces, covering their beauty with a white Sheet; and no Man dares to praise anothers Wife, for fear of stirring up the Jealousie of her Husband.

Circumcision how used in this.

Concerning Circumcision; it is here used, and none can be called a *Mussulman* without it. Men, and sometimes Women, conform to it; the Men for Paradise, and Women for Honours sake. The Males are Circumcised at *Ishmael's* Age, which was thirteen Years old, and the Women between nine and fifteen, as is practised in and about *Cairo*. The *Arabians* practised it before *Mahomet*, who is thought rather to have permitted than commanded it; a Fee is to be paid at the Ceremony, and for want of it, the poorest sort are seldom cut. The Ceremony is more or less, according to the difference of degree, performed either at home, or in the Mosques. If a Son to a *Mirza*, *Cawn*, *Sultan*, or *Chelaby*, be to be Circumcised, it is done with great pomp, for his Kindred and Friends, in their best Equipage, assemble at the Parents House, and as a Symbol of their Joy, present him with Gifts of sundry prices. After a small stay, they mount the Boy upon a fine Horse, with rich trappings. He is finely Cloathed, holding in his Right Hand a Sword, and in his Left Hand the Bridle. Two Slaves go on each side him, one bearing a Lance, the other a Flambeau. Before goes the Musick, and the Father follows, whom the rest of the Kindred attend in Order, according to the nearness of their Relation. The *Hodgee* attends at the entrance of the Mosque, helps him down, and hallows him, and then they go immediately to their Work: One holds his Knee, a second Disrobes him, and a third holds his Hands, whilst others, by some trivial conceit, seek to divert his thoughts, to extenuate his ensuing pain. The Priest having said his Prayers, dilates the Fore-skin, and in a trice, with his Silver Scizzars, Circumciseth him, and then applies an healing Powder of Salt, Date-stones, and Cotton-wool. The Standers by, to joy his initiation into *Mahometanism*, throwing down their *Munera Natalitia*, salute him by the Name of a *Mussul-man*, but if the Ceremony be performed at home, they provide a Banquet, before which the Boy enters before the Company uncloathed and circumcised; and in memory of it they Feast three days, as *Abraham* did when *Isaac* was weaned. At the end of these days, the Child is led about in State, bath'd and purged, and having a white Turbant upon his Head, is saluted with Acclamations. But Apostate Christians go before the *Cadi*, who leads them to the Mosque, where they are without any ceremony Circumcised; which done, they spurn at the Cross with their feet, and spit thrice at it, making their profession in these words, *La, la, la, illah, &c.* God is first, praise him, and next to him *Mahomet*. Then they hold up one finger, to renounce the Trinity, and he receives a new Name. Then he is led upon an Ass slowly through the City, that every one may observe that he is become a Proselyte of *Mahomet*; but praised be God, we have few Examples of such Christians.

Apostate Christians how Circumcised.

Marriage, by whom used, and how contracted.

Concerning their Weddings, they have not much variety: All marry, as they pretend, to furnish the Emperour with Soldiers for Defence, and Paradise with Saints, to sing the Praises of *Mahomet*, except their *Dervies*, which are an Order of begging Friars among them, who from a transcendant conceit of their own Purity forbear Matrimony. Such as intend to marry, provide a Sum of Money to buy the Woman's good-will he has a mind to, her Parents having no more to do but to bath and purify her. They chuse their Wives more by report of others than by their own knowledge, the Friends of either Party recommending and concluding the Match. On the day of Marriage the Bride is Veiled with Lawn, and bravely Mounted, a Troop of Friends accompanying her to the Church, and in the Mid-way she is met with as many more, and all to greaten the Ceremony. Entring the Mosque, the *Mulay* takes the Protestation of their good liking, and she demands three things, as the *Jewish* Women did of Old, Bed-right, Food and Cloathing. Their Fathers having declared their Consent, the Priest circles them with a Cord, joyns their Hands, takes a reciprocal Oath, and calls *Mahomet* to witness; and then the *Caddi* having enrolled their Names, with the Day, Hour, Month and Year of their Nuptials, dismisses them with an *Euge*. The first day is spent in Feasting and Jovialty, the Men and Women asunder. At Night the Bride is washed and perfumed, that she may be better accepted by her Husband. The next Night they bathe together, and so continue seven days Feasting, in which time, if the Man discover the Woman not to be a Virgin, she is returned to her Parents with dishonour, otherwise she is kept till Death makes a Divorce.

Incestuous Marriages allowed, and Divorces.

The Alcoran allows Incestuous Marriages, under a pretence of preserving Love in Families. If a Man be weary of his Wife, or she be barren, he acquaints the *Mulay* with it, who will give him a Divorce upon his allowing his Wife a Dowry; and if they agree again, they may be married again, and that often. They may not marry any of another Religion, but use them as Slaves or Concubines. They refrain from them in their Diseases. Their Law allows four Wives, and Concubines without number. They never wed Prostitutes. The Women give suck two Years. They permit not Widows to marry again, till 120 days be expired from their Husbands Death.

Their Death and Burials.

Concerning their Death and Burials. They retain many of the ancient Ceremonies used by the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; when a Man dies, the next of Kin closeth his Eyes, as did *Joseph* and *Telemachus*. The nobler sort have their Sepulchres in the sides of the Mountains about *Persepolis*, in very deep Pits; and some are Embalmed, their Brains being drawn out with a Silver Instrument, and their Belly (as soon as the Bowels are taken out being filled with Spices, but the poorer sort use only Bitumen, or the Juice of Cedar, which resists putrefaction. Their most usual way of Burial is this: They wash the Corps first with clean Water, and then carry it to the Grave orderly, and with silence, and lay it in their Church-yards, where none have lain before, for they never bury in their Mosques, or Churches. They place his Head towards *Medina*, and the next a-kin watch for seven days to keep the Evil Angel from his Grave, singing Psalms of Lamentation for the Dead. Others take a different Method: In the first place go Kindred of the Dead, then his Slaves naked to the Waste, who, to express their Zeal, scratch their Arms and Breasts, and cut and print Circles in their Flesh, so that the Blood runs down in many places. Next follow some Youths, who carry on their shoulders some Texts of the Alcoran, while they utter the praises of the Dead. Next these go many Persons of the best rank, who put their hands to the Cord that draws the Hearse, and on every side throng the Multitude with Laurel, Cypress, or Flowers in their hands. In the last place go the *Præficæ*, or Mourning Women, who tear their hair, and counterfeit tears, and shrieks to provoke others to passion. In this manner they go slowly with silence to the Burial-place, and having first cried out, *Lala-Hidalla*, *i. e.* Let us praise God, uncloath, wash, and anoint the Carkass, and so wrapping it in fine Linen bury it, with his Head towards *Mecca*, his Face towards Heaven, and his Arms spread out to embrace *Mahomet*. Upon the Grave they fix two stones, one at the Head, and the other at the Feet, on which his Name, Quality, and time of his Burial, is noted in *Arabick* Characters. There they leave him, but go twice a day to sing his Requiem, beseeching *Mahomet* to succour him against his bad Angels, of whom, as a part of their Creed, they hold this Opinion, *viz.* That so soon as any *Mussul-man* is buried, forthwith *Mucngar* and *Quarequar*, two ugly Devils, assail him, one with an Iron Club, and the other with an Hook of flaming Brass, in which posture they view the Carkass, command him to lift up his Head, and falling on his Knees beg his Soul, which then returns to him, that he may give an account of his former life. If upon his Confession it appear good, the Devils flee away, and give place to two Angels apparelled in white Silk to comfort him, not leaving him till the day of Doom, nor seeming unwilling to protect him; but if upon Examination his Life appear bad, the two Devils, one beating him down into the Earth with a Club, the other pulling him up again with his Hook, torment him in that manner till *Mahomet* calls a Parliament to give him deliverance. In former times they used to burn the Bodies of the Dead in a Linen called *Linum Vivum*, made of the stone *Asbestos*, which will not consume in the Fire, but preserves the ashes in it unmixt from the ashes of the Pile; but this Custom is now left off, and they bury their Dead in the ground.

Their Opinion about the Angels that attend the Dead.

The Furniture of their Houses and Diet.

Concerning the Furniture of their Houses and Diet: A Pan, a Platter, and a Carpet, is the Epitome. Their Diet

Diet is soon dress'd, quickly eaten, and as readily digested as described. Their Table is usually the ground, covered with a Carpet, over which they spread a Pintado, and sit cross-legged as Taylors do. Before every Man they lay five or six Cakes of Wheat like Pancakes, which are their only Bread; they tear it in pieces with all their fingers. Spoons with handles half a Yard long, and large Bowls, lie scattered up and down the Board. They seldom go beyond *Pelo*, but will make forty several sorts of Dishes of it, by dressing it several ways, *viz.* with Butter, Fruits, Turmerick, Saffron, Onions, Garlick, Almonds, Raisins, which give it a different colour, *&c.* or without, giving it several Names, as *Chelo*, *Cishmy-Pelo*, *Cherry-Pelo*, *&c.* They have also a Meat resembling *Maza*, which was Meal mixed with Water and Oil, with Gobbets of flesh. They have also little Pasties of hashed Meats, like the *Turks* Sambouses. They eat Rice, because they call it an Holy Grain, sprung from *Mahomet*'s Civet. They eat also Salads, Achairs, and hard Eggs. Their Mutton is sweet, but fat principally in the Tail, which commonly weighs twenty pound. The Country yields Camel, Goats and Pheasants, and their Law allows the eating of them, but prohibits Beef, Veal, Pork, Hare and Buffolo. They sell Camels flesh in the Markets roasted upon Scuets, or cut in Mammocks and Carbonado'd; three or four Spits are sold for two pence. The Poor content themselves with dry Rice, Herbs, Lentils, Roots, Fruits and Flummery, and are well satisfied with such slender Diet. They sometimes eat Locusts, and Dates preserved in Syrrup mixed with Butter; Milk is with them a precious Food. Their Cheese and Butter is the worst that ever was tasted, the Cheese is blue and hard, bad to the eye, worst to the taste, and worst of all to the digestion. Their Butter is sluttish, full of hairs, and unsalted. Their Drink is sometimes fair Water, Sugar, Rose-Water, and Juice of Limons mixed, and confected with Citrons, Violets, and other sweet Flowers; and for more delicacy, an addition of Amber, which we call Sherbet. They also drink Wine, pretending a peculiar Privilege indulged them by *Ally* and *Siet Gunet*, which the *Turks* are not worthy of. They also drink Arack and Aquavitæ, and take Tobacco much, which they suck through Water; but above all, affect Coffee, or Coho, a drink as black as Soot, wholsome as they say, but not toothsome, if supped hot it comforts the Brain, expels Melancholy and Sleep, purges Choler, lightens the Spirits, and begets an excellent Concoction, and by Custom becomes delicious; but all these Virtues beget not their liking of it so much as this Romance, that it was invented and brewed by the Angel *Gabriel* to restore *Mahomet*'s decay'd moisture, which it did so effectually, as that he did Wonders both in *Mars* and *Venus*'s Camp.

Their Bread. Pelo. Maza. Pasties. Salads. Mutton. Camels. Goats. Pheasants. Herbs. Locusts. Cheese and Butter. Sherbet. Coffee, its Virtues.

Opium is much used among them: They chew it, and say it helps Catarrhs, Cowardice, Epilepsies, strengthens much; so that Foot-Posts are enabled by it to run Day and Night without intermission. The *Persians*, for the most part, eat in Porcellane, or other Earth, not valuing Silver, because, they say, *Mahomet* going into Hell, saw the Devils at Dinner served in Silver. In feeding they use no Knives, but feed themselves with four fingers, which is enjoyned them by Tradition. They never cut, but break or rend their Bread, because *Ozman* in his Parody tells them, that *Shitan*, or the Devil, cuts all he eats. At their Meals they are the merriest Men alive: No People in the World have better stomachs, drink more freely, and eat more plentifully, condemning the Epithets given Wine in the Alcoran, that 'tis Giants Blood, and Devils Gall.

Opium and its Virtues.

They never quarrel in their Cups, nor desire any Man to sit longer, or drink more than he pleases. They never drink Healths, nor one to another, as the Christians do, who have that civil Custom, but too often abuse it.

Their Drinking.

Their Beds are Cots of two Foot high, or four low Posts strengthened with Girth-Web, a Shag, or Yopangee spread a top, which is of double use, for it serves as an Umbrella abroad, and at home for a Coverlet. In Summer their Slaves attend about them, some to wast, and beget cool air, others to scare away the Gnats, and such like buzzing Vermine, which trouble them exceedingly in hot Weather. The Men account it a shame to make Water standing, because Dogs do it, and when they piss, they have Slaves attending with Silver Ewers filled with Water to cleanse the pollution.

Their Beds.

The better sort ride so often on Horseback, tho' but a few Rods, that they count a Mad Man that walks. Their Horses for Service are of the *Arabian* breed, fashioned like Jennets, but swifter, and of more courage. They curb their Metal in with sharp Bits. Their Bridles are long, and sometimes studded with Gold, of which Metal are their Stirrups and Pummels often. The Saddles of the better sort are usually of Velvet, high and close like our great Saddles, and the Trees are curiously painted. Their Horses are generally in good liking, tho' their fare be mean, *viz.* Chopt Straw and a little Barley. Mules with them are as valuable as their Horses, because more serviceable in Ways sandy and mountainous. Men commonly use Horses, and Women Mules and Camels. On every Camel they hang two Capua's, which hold two Women apiece. They are a sort of Wooden Cages, covered with Cloth, in which they sit. When any Haram travels, they are guarded with Eunuchs armed with Bows and Swords, both for Offence and Defence.

Their Riding and Horses.

Now concerning their Religion, or Superstition rather, it varies not from the *Turks* in any particle of the Alcoran, and yet they account one another Hereticks. The Schism was begun *A. D.* 1400. by *Siet Gunet*, the better to advance the *Sophian* Title, and is held up still so furiously, that those two Mighty Monarchs prosecute one another with an hatred irreconcileable.

The *Persian* Religion.

Mahomet was the Son of *Abdar* a Pagan, and *Emma* a Jewess, born at *Jathreb* in *Arabia*, *Anno Chr.* 574. *Justinian* governing the *Roman* Empire, and *Cosbroes*, the Father of *Hormusda*, the *Persian*. His Parents were poor, and therefore he became an Apprentice to *Zayed-ben-Hartah*, a rich Merchant, who dying, left his Servant a considerable Legacy, but Traffick decaying by reason of the Wars between *Cosbroes* and the *Romans*, *Mahomet* listed himself first under *Heraclius*, and after under the *Persian*, not caring who was vanquished so he gained. Having much increased the Estate his Master left him by the War, he ventured to set up for himself, and having Credit enough to Command many *Tartars* and *Arabians*, he attacks first the Christian Forces, and then the *Persian*, and beats them both. Upon this Occasion, observing the Discords among the *Romans* by the Death of *Mauritius*, whom *Phocas* slew, he gives it out, that he was Ordained from the beginning of the World to Eclipse the Power of the Pope, to Instruct the World in a better way than *Moses* or *Christ* had; that he was the Comforter, and sent to advance the *Arabian* Name above all other in the Universe. The *Jews* at first cried him up for the *Messiah*, but when they saw him eat Camels flesh abhorred him; but the Savages still admired him, credited his Revelations, and hoped he would effect his Promises. But before he could effect them, the *Persians* broke in upon him and his Men, and so miserably beat them, that he was forced to fly for his life upon his Dromedary, leaving his Men to the fury of the *Persians*, and losing all his Money. This Misfortune filled his Heart with sad reflections for a time, but afterward considering that he might retrieve all again if he had but Money, laid close Siege to *Chodaige*, a Woman of great Wealth, and by some thought Queen of *Corasan*, and by his amorous assaults won her. By her he had three Sons, and as many Daughters: His Sons died young, and his Eldest Daughters *Fatyma* and *Zamah* were married to *Ally*, and his Younger *Om-Kalsbom* to *Abuboker*. He had many other Wives and Concubines. And now having raised himself again in the World, he began to think of discharging his promise in giving the World a more excellent Doctrine than *Moses* or *Christ* had, and having taught certain Doves to feed out of his Ear, and Camels to expect their Food from him, he got so great a reputation for Holiness, that all *Arabia* expected great things from him.

Mahomet's Pedigree and Life.

Having therefore the help of *Sergius* an *Italian* Monk, a *Sabellian*, discontented because he missed of the Bishoprick of *Byzanth*, and *John* of *Antioch* an Heretical *Nestorian*, two subtle Spirits, he furnished his Alcoran by mixing Truth with Falshood, *A. D.* 620. being then 46 Years of Age. Having composed his Alcoran, he went to *Mecca* to have it received, but the *Arabs* perceiving his design, and knowing his Birth and Breeding, banished him, and had destroyed him, had not his Wives Relations saved him. *Mahomet* was so disheartned at this repulse, that he once resolved to burn his Book, but *Sergius* telling him that so great a Work could not fail of Opposition, revives his hopes, and secludes himself from Company for two Years, and then again ventures to divulge his Doctrine, to which by gifts, and other perswasions, he attracted so many Followers, that within seven Years his Alcoran was received at *Mecca*, and from thence spread it self into all the East. *Mahomet* soon after dies, in his Climacterick Year, *A. D.* 637. Heg. 17. ordaining *Ally* to succeed him, and his Corps to be Entombed in *Ayscea*, Grant in *Jathrip*, which he now named *Medina Talnabi*. His Alcoran or Sunna, *i. e.* the Book of Truth,

His helps to compass.

His Alcoran.

His Marriage.

The Contents of the Alcoran.

Truth, or Legend for the Faithful, is ſtuffed with Philoſophy, both Moral and Natural, and mixed with ſo many Fancies and Inventions, as renders the whole abſurd and ridiculous. In the Preface 'tis ſaid, that the Book was ſent from God by *Gabriel* to *Morta-Ally*, but he miſtaking the right Man gave it to *Mahomet*, but God ſeeing him indued with equal Virtue, the Angel was not blamed, but the Gift was confirmed. They report alſo, that as ſoon as he was born, the Angel brought him three Keys, by which a threefold Dominion was conferred on him, *viz.* over Law, Victory and Prophecy.

The Names of it.

The *Alcoran*, called by them *Kuraun*, i. e. Scripture, *Aleſalem*, i. e. the Law of Peace, and *Alcacan*, i. e. Judgment, was digeſted by *Ozman*, 15 Years after *Mahomet*'s Death, into a Volume twice as big as *David*'s Pſalms; and divided into 114 *Azaora's* or Chapters, put by *Ozman* into a kind of Rhime, and writ originally in *Arabick*. It contains not ſo much Rules for Devotion and a good Life, as a Relation of his own Acts, intermixed with the Art of War and Peace, Syſtems of Rhetorick, Mathematicks, and Ethicks, borrowed out of *Ariſtotle*, and other Philoſophers, but groſly and confuſedly handled. His Mother inſtructed him in the *Jewiſh* Rites, and *Sergius* in the Goſpel; from whence it is that he mentions *Noah*, *Jonas*, *David*, and other Prophets, commending their Writings, and quotes St. *Luke*'s Goſpel at large. It ſays of *Chriſt*, That he is the *Meſſias*, Word, Spirit, and Light of God, not omitting his Aſcenſion; yet he will not own him to be the Son of God. He ſays, that he was the moſt Holy, Chaſt, and Powerful Saint that ever lived upon Earth, and ſays, he ſhall ſave the *Chriſtians*, as *Moſes* ſhall the *Jews*, but in another place he aſſerts, that no Soul ſhall be ſaved but by the Alcoran. No Man therefore among them dares undervalue our Bible, but practice it ſo far as is commanded by the *Alcoran*. And ſo they reverence *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, and viſit his Sepulchre and the Saints Tombs, yet with *Arrius* it denies Chriſt's Divinity, with *Sabellicus* the Trinity, with *Macedonius* the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and with *Manichelus* the Death of Chriſt. In Chap. 32. he politickly Commands that no Man be ſo impious as to queſtion any tittle of his Law, or diſpute about it. Their Commandments are eight, *viz.*

The Doctrine about Chriſt.

The Commands of the Alcoran.

I Commandment. *There is but One Great God, and* Mahomet *is his Prophet.*

The *Muezins* and *Talismans*, every fourth hour, ſing this aloud from the Steeple-tops of every Moſque. This Command is borrowed either from the Decalogue, or 4th of *Ezekiel*. The ancient *Bards* and *Druids* made it an Article of their Faith in thoſe dark Times.

II Commandment. *'Tis neither Good nor Juſt that any* Muſſul-man *live unmarried, leaſt the Profeſſors of the* Alcoran *be diminiſhed.*

Polygamy allowed.

Polygamy is tolerated by this Law, yea, ſuch are thought moſt Honourable, who ſuperabound in Wives and Concubines. *Mahomet* boaſts in his Alcoran, that he had ſtrength enough to ſatiate 40 Women; and 'tis to be thought, that in this Precept he had reſpect to the Natural Diſpoſition of the *Arabians*, who are better pleaſed with ſuch Freedom and Voluptuouſeſs than Virtue, not caring how, ſo he could make them Obey him.

III Commandment. *It behoves* Muſſul-men *to be Charitable, and to hate Contention.*

Travellers find ſpecial Advantage by this Commandment, for whereas there are no Inns in theſe Countries, they have erected Buildings for the Accommodation of Travellers, which are always open and clean kept, and near them is a large and convenient Stable: Yea, ſo remarkable is their Charity, that they not only erect Hoſpitals for the lame and diſeaſed, but ſometimes for aged, ſtarved, or hurt Birds, Beaſts, and ſuch Creatures.

Hoſpitals for Beaſts and Birds.

IV Commandment. *It behoves* Muſſul-men *to invocate their Prophet every day five times at leaſt, and to attend his coming patiently.*

They accompliſh this Precept with ſo much regard, that when the *Muezin* call from the Steeple of the Moſque, they fall to Prayer, whatever buſineſs they are about. Before they enter the Moſque they waſh their Feet, lay aſide their Shoes, and being aſſembled, turn their Faces all one way. In their Prayers they ſhut ſometimes their Eyes and Ears, and ſometimes drop their Beads, and at every Name of *God* or *Mahomet* kiſs the Earth. They often repeat *Llay-lala*, or *Hilala*, *i. e.* Praiſes, and then ſay a Prayer to this effect: *In the Name of the Good and Holy God, praiſed be the Sovereign of all Worlds, the Merciful God of Doom. Thee we ſerve, thee we call upon, ſhew us the beſt way, that which thou haſt revealed to* Mahomet, *not that whereby thou puniſheſt the Ungodly.* Another Prayer they have, which is a Tautology of the Names of God, which they uſe often in all *Mahometan* Countries. Theſe are the moſt uſual Prayers, but they are not without other ſet Forms of Prayer, compiled by *Ozman* in his Parody, and more largely by the famous *Almotannably*, who in his high-flown Conceits endeavoured to exalt his Name and Reputation above *Mahomet's*. Theſe Prayers are for the ſafety of their Kings, an happy Iſſue, the welfare of their Country, thanks that they are *Muſſul-men*, or true Believers. Their five Canonical hours are, 1. About break of Day. 2. Noon. 3. Three in the Afternoon. 4. Sun-ſet. 5. Midnight. The firſt hour is performed by four *Teſſalems*, and two Prayers. The ſecond by ten times kiſſing the Earth with five *Elfata's*. The third by eight Grovelings, and four Ejaculations. The fourth by five *Sizeda's*, or kiſſing the ground, and three Orations. The fifth hath fifteen *Teſſalems*, and eight Repetitions. Howbeit, the *Perſians*, ſince their Reformation, think it enough to pray thrice, *viz.* Morning, Noon and Night, in 24 hours. On their *Guzumaa* or Sabbath, they aſſemble in their Moſques, (which are without Seats and Bells) firſt waſhing their Faces, Hands, and Arms to the Elbow, then kneeling with their Faces toward *Medina*, ſpeak not one to another, nor ſpit or cough, if they can avoid it.

Their hours of Prayer.

V Commandment. *See thou obſerve Yearly a Month Lent, a* Byram, *with the other Feſtivals.*

The *Lent*, or *Ramadan*, begins commonly at the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, in imitation of our *Lent*, or rather the forty days of *Moſes* abode in the Mount, tho' they ſay in memory of *Mahomet*'s hiding himſelf in the Deſart, when the People of *Mecca* perſecuted him for divulging his Alcoran, or rather for his remaining ſo long in the ſixth Heaven, when he ſays, He had the Honour to ſhake hands with the Almighty, (which he ſays was ſeventy times colder than Ice) and to prove it to the People, commanded the Moon to deſcend, *&c.* During this *Ramadan*, they eat nothing all the day, and he is accounted a Heretick that abſtains not; but the Sun is no ſooner down but their Carnival begins, and they let out their Appetite to all manner of Pleaſures, and Epicurize in all manner of Dainties. This Feaſt they keep twenty nine days, or one Moon, for tho' the Alcoran commands forty days, yet thoſe of the New Reformation have limited it to a Month.

Their *Lent*, whence Inſtituted.

The *Byram* begins as ſoon as their *Lent* is ended, which they celebrate for three days with the greateſt Merriment, and on the laſt of them uſually reſolve upon a Pilgrimage to viſit their Prophet's Sepulchre, not entombed in an Iron Coffin, and hanged between two Load-ſtones, as ſome have reported, but laid under a fair Marble, poliſhed, and engraven with Arabic Sentences out of the Alcoran. In the Way they wallow in all kind of Turpitude, and are no where miſſuſed, being cloathed with a Pilgrim's Coat, and Hypocritick Sanctity.

Their Byram.

The *Buccarie* they ſolemnize in *November*, in commemoration of the Ram ſacrificed by *Abraham*, at which time as *Iſhmael* (as they ſay ſhould have been Offered.

The *Buccarie*.

Oudhuſſan, a Feſtival kept in Memory of *Hocem*, or *Huſſan* the Son of *Ally*, who was ſlain, with eleven of his Sons, by *Mavy* the Caliph of *Damaſcus*, Nephew to *Oſman*, as a Triumph againſt the *Benhanians*, who left no means unattempted to have rooted out the Family of *Ally* root and branch, which nevertheleſs was providentially preſerved in one of the Stem, named *Mirza Sheresim*, from whom *Azmully*, *Sies Gunet*, and the preſent Sophian Race, is deſcended. On this day they puniſh *Mavy*, by a deformed Image of him with a black Face, Noſe pierced through with a Dart, and clad with Straw, which they drag through the Streets in great Multitudes, curſing and tormenting of it in the vileſt manner. In token of Joy, they unanimouſly ſing their *Epinicia*, and crying aloud, *Tough Ally*, ſtrive to rend the Clouds with Clamours. At a ſet-time they ceaſe, and giving fire to a Train of Gun-powder, blow up the deteſted *Syrian*. Squibs rattling, and the People making an hideous noiſe at his Funeral. *Huſſan*'s Ghoſt after this ſleeps quietly, as they think, and each *Perſian* commending one another's Zeal, ſpend the following Night in Merriment.

The *Oudhuſſan*.

Mavy's puniſhment.

Jedi-Oniſant, which is kept in Memory of the aforeſaid *Huſſan*, *Ally*'s Son, who they believe was loſt in a Wilderneſs, where thirſt, or rather *Mavy* the Caliph killed him. Nine days they wander up and down, ſhaving neither Head nor Beard, nor ſeeming Joyful, but inceſſantly beating their Breaſts; and ſome tear their Garments, crying *Huſſan*, *Huſſan*, in a melancholy Note, ſo long and loud, till they are hoarſe. The *Dervices*, and other *Santoons*, being in the Croud, expreſs their Zeal by turning round with incredible ſwiftneſs for a long time. The tenth day they find an Imaginary *Huſſan*, at which

Jedi-Oniſant.

The *Dervices* Devotion.

which they shout with all their Might, till they bring him to his Grave, where he sleeps till next Year's Zeal fetch him out to accompany their Devotion. This Feast is like the Heathen Festival of *Adonis*, the *Ægyptian* of *Osyris*, and the *Jewish* for *Tamuz*, *Ezek.* 8. 14.

Their New-rouz.

The *Nowrouz* is in imitation of our New-Years-Day, only they begin their Year at the Vernal Æquinox. This is a Festival of Jollity, wherein few Prayers, but all manner of Pleasures are used. For the rest of the Year, very few Women of Quality appear in publick, and those veiled from the sight; but in these 12 days of the *Nowrouz* all places are full of them, they discover their Faces, frisking in amorous Postures, and drawing the Eyes by a forced Magick. They also send Gifts and Presents up and down one to another, as Silk, Gold, Horses, Fruits, and the like. Nothing but Riding the Horse, Drinking, Cock-fighting, Fortune-telling, Singing, Swinging in the Air, Courting, and the like, being observed to the last minute of the Festival.

Women appear publickly.

The *Imamy*.

The *Imamy* is kept in Memory of *Mahomet*'s Camel. In *November*, the Priest of *Mecca* sends a Camel by his Son to *Spawhawn*, where it is welcomed by many thousand *Mussal-men* with extreme Joy for so Holy a Present. The *Hodgee* that brings it, perswades them to a thankful remembrance, and Blesses them. The Multitude thronging about it lead it into a Field, and having plucked off the hair with admirable dexterity, which they keep as a sacred Relick prevalent against sudden Death, Hunger, Thirst, Poverty, and the like, the *Hodgee* signs it for sacrifice; and then the *Darraguod* pierces it with his Javelin, the Visier beheads it and gives it the King, and then the Multitude tear the Carkass in pieces, greedy to obtain a Charm of long Life and Plenty, as they imagine it to be.

The Sacrifice of a Camel.

The *Cadiyer-Ally* is a Feast in Memory of *Ally*'s Victory over the three Caliphs of *Mecca*, Conquered by Death, not *Ally*. After some Lamentations they utter many Prayers. Sing-songs, and bestow Alms. The King is at most Charge at this Solemnity, because of the Honour which reflects on him by the Memory of his Ancestors.

The *Cadiyer-Ally*.

The *Auwetpatsion* (or *Owdt-baptsion*) is celebrated in Memory of *Mahomet*'s Baptism by *Sergius*. Many of the ordinary sort of *Mahometans* assemble at this Feast, and when the *Darraguod* has ended his Sermon, promiscuously sprinkle one anothers Faces with Water, then besmear their Flesh with Dirt and Filth; (which to please the King the great ones will also sometimes do) at last they wash themselves, and suppose themselves purer than ever.

The *Auwetpatsion*.

The *Sophian* is a Solemnity of Fasting, Feasting and Praying, for the prosperity of their King, and continuation of the Line of the *Sophi's*.

The *Sophian*.

The *Feast of Roses and Daffidils*, is begun by a Procession of *Santoons* at the first budding of those Flowers, and for thirty days is celebrated with all manner of Sports and Recreations. This Feast seems to be derived from the times of the ancient Kings of *Persia*, who had the Supreme Monarchy of the World. At the keeping of this Feast they set up an infinite number of Tents, which are full of Men, Women, Boys and Girls, who sport themselves with Arms, Musick, Songs and Dances, much like the Games of *Olympus*, or *Orgyes* of *Bacchus*.

The Feast of *Roses and Daffidils*.

VI Commandment. *Reverence thy Parents.*
How they perform this Law, many Tragical Stories daily shew us.

VII Commandment. *Cursed be the Slayer.*
A Law so well practised in *Persia* through the rigour of the Governours, that one may travel in their Country in any place, and at any time, without dangers; for tho' they are bred up to War, and are great lovers of Wine, they scarce ever quarrel, or kill any Man. Yet to enlarge their Territories, and propagate their Faith, they think it a Meritorious Act to kill and slay their Enemies, without any tincture of Mercy.

VIII Commandment. *Do so to others, as thou wouldst others should do to thee.*
This Law obliges them to be Humane and Courteous, as they generally are, but whoever resorts to them for Justice, will soon discern that Bribery, which is lately crept in among them, hinders the Observation of this Law in the true sense of it.

The Alcoran being a Miscellany of divers Sciences, contains many Paradoxes in it. In the 33 *Azaora*, he says, That *Dagial*, or *Shytan*, *i.e.* the Devil, at length shall be saved by *Mahomet*'s means. And in the 72 *Azaora*, he adds, That *Elgehenny*, *i.e.* the Infernal Ghosts, shall after I know not how many Years be freed. In the 85 *Azaora* he treats of the Zodiac; and in the 91, 92, 93, of the Moon, Night and Morning, and in the 113 of the Firmament, but his Philosophy savours of his Ignorance, who declares of himself, That he could neither Read nor Write, and therefore pretends his Learning was Supernatural. In one Chapter he says, *Solomon* was a great Magician, and that he learned it of *Marot* and *Arot*, two bad Angels; but we may with more reason say, *Mahomet* was one, if that be true which he says of himself, that being on a time compassed with a great Assembly of *Arabians*, he pointed at the Moon with his Thumb and long Finger, and in Obedience to him it immediately clove asunder, and fell upon the Hill of *Mecca*, where *Mahomet* at that time stood, and having embraced *Mortus-Ally*, ascended again. In another place he assures his Proselytes, that *Mecca*, *Medina* and *Jerusalem*, be holy Cities, built by *Adam* in Paradise, but framed in Heaven; but *Elmedin* in *Chaldæa*, *Antioch* in *Syria*, *Vastet* in *Ægypt*, and *Eb-beram* in *Armenia*, sprung out of Hell, because they resisted the progress of his Alcoran. In the 47th *Azaora* he records his ascent into Heaven, where he saw rare Objects, and from whence he brought a description of the several Spheres, Heavens, Hell and Paradise, as also of Angels and Saints, Judgment, the Resurrection, Joy and Pain. Their Authors tell it thus: One Evening, as *Mahomet* was sporting with *Ayse* his young Wife at *Mecca*, *Gabriel* (called by the *Persians Seraphiel*) entred the Chamber in a flash of fire, and thus saluted *Mahomet*, *Hail thou beloved Man! I come to fetch thee: God, whom thou so zealously worshippest, desires to see thee at his own Habitation.* *Mahomet* demands how he should ascend? The Angel shews him an Ass, called *Albarack*, and bids him mount him, and he carried him to *Jerusalem* at four steps, where the Angel taking him into his Protection, carried him into Heaven, into which *Gabriel* the Porter, who keeps seventy thousand Keys, for so many Divisions in Paradise, let him in. He passed the seven Heavens in a moment, (tho' he says they are 500 Years travel) and says, The first is of refined Silver, in which all the Stars are fixed with Chains of burnished Brass. The second is of Gold, tried seven times in the Fire. The third of Pearl. Here he saw innumerable Troops of Saints and Angels, as *Adam*, *Enoch*, *Samuel*, *Abraham*, &c. They saluted him, and he prayed for them. The fourth was of *Smaragds*, where he saw innumerable Companies of other Angels incessantly praising God. Among them he saw *Phaiy*, the Angel of Mercy, who keeps the Holy Pen with which God registers all things past, present, and to come, with Ink of pure Light, and in such a mysterious Character, that none but himself and *Seraphael* can read it. The fifth Heaven is of Diamonds, where he saw the Wisest of all the Angels, who keeps the Book wherein all Mens Names are written, and as he blots them out they die. The sixth is of *Turquoise*, and the seventh of *Alahab*, *i.e.* Fire and Light congealed. All these inclose one another like Pearl, or Onions, and are of transparent Metal. Above all is the Heaven of Heavens, full of Light and Silence. There *Mahomet* saw the highest Throne, supported by seven Angels, and on it the Almighty, who laid his hand on *Mahomet*'s Face in a sign of Welcome; at which *Mahomet* blush'd for shame, and swet for fear. From him, after he had received full Instructions, he descended with his Alcoran. Of Angels he says, they are either good or bad, both are subject to Death: The Good, because they consist of flame, an Element, and to sin, because *Lucifer* for his Ambition was driven out of Paradise. Bad Angels are imprisoned in Dogs, Swine, Toads, Wolves, Bears, Tygers, *&c.* After the Day of Doom they shall be tormented in Hell some Millions of Years, but in the end shall be delivered. Of the Great and General Judgment he says, 'Tis as certain as the Day of Death, and will happen suddenly, when the World is wrapt up in careless Security. The Angels know not the time, till *Mahomet* points it out by a great and fearful Duel between *Adriel* and Death, whom in the end he vanquisheth, but becomes thereby so enraged, that he destroys all the living Creatures of the World. After this ensues an Universal Earthquake, attended with a shower of purling Brimstone, which destroys all Grass, Trees and Vegetables, and turning the Earth topsy-turvy, reduceth them to their first Chaos. Forty days it remains in this condition, and then God will for forty days and nights more rain a shower of Mercy, and then by a gracious and gentle breath reduce the World into a fresh and glorious Estate. Then he will call up *Seraphiel*, and bid him sound his Trumpet. At the first sound shall ensue a revivification of Men and Angels, and at the second Angels shall resume their Glories, and Men their Flesh. Then *Michael* shall in his Balance poise every Man's Deeds, and they, whose good Actions over-poise their bad, are put upon the Right-hand,

The Paradoxes of the Alcoran.

Mahomet a Magician.

Mahomet's Ascension to Heaven.

The seven Heavens.

The Heaven of Heavens.

The Nature of Angels.

The Day of Judgment and the manner of it.

hand, and all others on the Left. Such as are loaden with sins, are to pass over a narrow and weak Bridge to Hell; such as have few sins go over safely, but they that have many break the Bridge, and fall into an Abiss. The Alcoran then tells us what Hell is, *viz.* That 'tis in the middle of the World, encompassed with a thick Wall of Adamant, entred at seven Gates of flaming Brass, divided into many Cells; some of which are more loathsome, and fuller of torment than others. Some have sharp Pikes and Swords placed upright to torture Souls, some are full of Oil and Brimstone ever flaming; others abound with Toads and Serpents, and all the noisome Creatures imaginable. The Damned eat nothing but forbidden Fruit, which being in their Bowels, burns like Sulphur, and makes them roar continually. Some Rivers are full of Crocodiles, and others so cold as to make them gnash and chatter: Howbeit, their Doctors teach, that these pains shall not endure for ever, but after each Soul has suffered so many thousand Years as their sins deserve, *Mahomet* will deliver them, and the Devils also.

What Hell is.

The nature of Paradise he says is this: 'Tis a place of as much delight as *Mahomet*'s Carnal imagination is able to fancy. He supposes it will be upon the Earth after the Day of Doom. The Alcoran says, 'tis as many Miles about as there be Motes in the Sun, the Wall is Gold nine times refined, it has seven Gates, the first of Carbuncle, second of Pearl, third of Emerald, fourth of Turquoise, fifth of Jacinth, sixth of Smaragd, and seventh of Amethyst. It is divided into seven spacious Gardens, which are subdivided into seventy times seven places of delight, each filled with Inhabitants, Musick, Wine, and all Sensual pleasures imaginable. All have cool refreshing Rivolets of Chrystal, drilling over Pibbles of Amber. Summer-houses it hath also shaded with Trees ever fruitful and verdant. In the center of this *Elizium* is so broad a Tree, that all Paradise is delightfully shaded by it; the Trunk of it is Diamond, and Leaves Gold. From several Quarters come four streams of purest Water, Milk, Coho and Honey. Aromatick Flowers are there in abundance, which ravish both Eye and Smell. The Birds please with far more delightful Singing than the sweetest Nightingales. The Air is compounded of self-ravishing Odours. *Mahometans* (for *Christians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles*, have not such Glory) are ever young and sprightful there. The Women are exceeding beautiful and courteous, and the Males have a complexion brighter than the Sun. These are the Fanatick Doctrines of the Alcoran, which are firmly believed by the *Asiaticks*.

What Paradise is.

A Tree in the midst of Paradise.

There are seventy Orders or Degrees among them, and tho' their Tenets are very ridiculous, yet they are so esteemed of here, that in their defence they will become Martyrs; for these false Teachers are so ravished and transported by having gained a Dominion over the Faith and Consciences of Men, that no Persecution can make them leave it. They have various sorts of Ecclesiasticks. The Mufti is the Chief in hearing and deciding Cases of Error, which if he fail in, the Priest of *Mecca* determines it. The *Caddi-Cadeleskris* are next. The *Hodgee's*, *Emeri's*, and *Mulai's*. The first are Expositors, the other are Mendicants, who eat their Bread in Idleness. The *Tylalli* converse most, and the *Dervices* are wandring Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing. The *Telismans* regard the hours of Prayer, by turning the four Hour-glass. The *Muyezim* cry from the tops of the Mosques, *Llala-Hillala*. The *Calenderi*, *Abdalli* and *Dervistari*, are Pæderasts, and dangerous to meet in Solitary places. The *Terlaqui* and *Cobtini*, are of the Family of Love. The *Leshari* and *Papasis*, are Fortune-tellers and Star-gazers. The *Stuuni*, *Naappi*, and *Tecuai*, Vow Silence and Assassinate. The *Sietti* and *Imami*, sometimes pull out their Eyes, having seen *Medina*, and others their Tongues. The *Haquizmals* sing amorous Songs, some for Pennance go naked, and others are covered with ashes. The *Dcoanni* are Fools and Madmen, yet thought Inspired. The *Mandee* afflict their Bodies by Thirst, lashing and wounding themselves, and in Charity carry Burdens, or do any servile Work *gratis*. Some abjure Flesh, Fish, Wine, and Rose-water; some live like Hermits, others build Houses to Safe-guard Birds and Beasts, and feed them, and have Musick to keep them from melancholy. Others build Hospitals, Inns, Baths, Mosques, and the like. Some are Poets, others Mimicks. Others have Seeds and Charms to make Women fruitful. Some scorch their Skins in the Sun, and others anoint their naked Bodies with Honey, to invite the Flies and Wasps to torment them; and this they do, as they think, out of Pity and Piety. These, and many other such like things, they do in Obedience to their Alcoran, and are past all Conviction in these Follies, because the Crafty Lawgiver, perceiving his Divinity and Philosophy insufficient to abide the trial, has Commanded them, that none upon pain of Damnation should presume to question a Syllable of his Law, and therefore as few, but the Ecclesiasticks, will study it; so all by a reverenc'd Ignorance and Obstinacy hope to be saved by it.

Their several Orders of Church-men and Religious.

CHAP. XXV.

Sir Tho. Herbert's *Travels into other Parts of* India, *with his Observations of things most remarkable in them.*

SIR *Tho. Herbert* and his Company, having spent some time in travelling over *Persia*, returned again to *Swalley*, and on *April* 12. set Sail to make some Observations upon other Parts of *India*, than which the World for Pleasure and Wealth has none more considerable. Being three or four leagues off at Sea, they had a prosperous gale, and had sight of some noted Towns, *viz. Gundavee*, *Daman*, *S. John de Vaca*, *Choul* and *Dabul*. Most of these Towns were subjected by *Alberquerq* to the Crown of *Portugal*.

Dabul, of Old called *Dunga*, is situate in 17 degrees and 35 min. Northern latitude; heretofore it was under the Command of the King of *Decan*, but now is subject to the *Portugueze*, to whom *Fr. Almeida* gained it by stratagem. It is seated upon an high, pleasant, and fruitful Hill, from whence streams a Rivolet of fresh Water, very useful in that hot Clime. The Road is reasonable good for Anchorage. The Houses appear to the Seaward beautiful, tho' they are but low, and terrassed a top to qualify the heat and cold. An old Castle, and a few Temples, is all she boasts of at present, for the Bazar is but ordinary, the Streets narrow, and her Mart inconsiderable, her Trade being removed to *Goa*, and *Calicut* on the South, and *Surat* and *Cambaia* on the North.

Dabul described.

Choul lies in 18 deg. 30 min. Northern latitude; it was taken from the King of *Decan* by *Almeida* in 1507. and to secure it to the *Portugueze* he built a Fort, which he fortified with Cannon. *Misamoluc*, the King of *Decan*, endeavoured to recover it with a numerous Army of Horse and Foot, besides Elephants, but by the gallant Defence made by the *Portugueze*, he was forced to raise the Siege with loss and shame. The Inhabitants are a mixture of *Portugueze* and *Bannians*; it affords nothing else observable. After five days Sail they came close to the Isle of *Goa*, where they found the air so hot, that they were forced to sweat and live like Salamanders.

Choul described.

Here they were troubled much with an *Indian* Fly called *Cacaroch*, which alive vexes the flesh with its biting, and dead the Nose with an odious smell. This Weather continued but a Week, and then having a fresh gale, they came to an Anchor *April* 23. in Mount *Elly*, or *Delyn's* Bay, a Port in the Dominions of the *Malabar*. Here the treachery of the Inhabitants kept them in their Ships, who yet brought them in their Canoes Coco's, Mango's, Jacks, Green Pepper, Caravances, Buffolo's, Hens, Eggs, and other things, which they sold dear. Here they had the Wood called *Calambuco*, a Tree much valued and used at Funerals; it is very sweet and delightful to the smell, grows high and even. It is found

A Fly called *Cacaroch*.

Delyn's Bay.

commonly in the lofty Mountains of *Chamoys*, in *Cochin-China*, and being hardly got, is sold at exceſſive Rates, becauſe the *Bannians* delight to have this Wood in their Obſequies; and the *Japonians* value it for Ornament in their Houſes, for they imagine no Pillow ſo wholſome to ſleep on. The Richer ſort alſo burn *Arabian* Gums with the Dead, which they firſt wrap in pure white Linen, ſweet and fine, or tranſparent Taffata. Here are the faireſt Limons, as alſo Pappa's, Coco's, Banana's and Plaintains, very ſweet and delicious. The Oranges are juicy and dainty, and of ſo curious a reliſh, as that they affect the Eater beyond meaſure, and the Rind is no leſs pleaſant than the Juice. The Tree has bloſſoms, green and ripe Fruit all together. The Banana's are no leſs delightful, the Tree is low, but ſpreads gracefully; the Fruit is like a Sauſage for ſhape, but moſt pleaſant in taſte, they are yellow when ripe, and the Rind peels off eaſily, and the Fruit diſſolves in the Mouth with an incomparable reliſh. The Jack grows upon a Tree very low, it is in ſhape like a Pumpion, without of a yellow colour mixed with Veins, and within full of Kernels, which lie in golden Cloves; the Fruit is ſomewhat unpleaſant at the firſt taſting, but of double benefit in the ſtomach, being reſtorative and good for the back. The Anana is as big as the Jack, ſpringing from a Root like an Artichoak, and never riſing above two foot high, and ſo eaſily gathered. It has an hard Rind, but pleaſant within, and the ſtomach much covets it, being eaſie of digeſtion. The Duroyen reſembles the Jack, beautiful on the outſide, and excellent within; being opened it ſmells like a rotten Onion, but the Meat is white and cordial, nutritive and dainty. It abounds moſt in *Malacca* and *Java*; Arec and Betele are here much uſed. The Arecca-Tree grows high, and is like the Palmeto, the Wood is fuzzy, and the Fruit like a Walnut, but like good Oil has neither taſte nor ſmell, but being wrapped in a Leaf of Betel, or Be-tree, and chewed, they ſay it cures the Cholick, removes Melancholy, kills Worms, purges the Maw, preſerves Teeth, prevents Hunger, and ſtupifies the Senſe, which makes the *Indian* Women to chew it when they are to be burned with their dead Husbands.

Beſt Limons and Oranges.

Banana's.

Jacks.

The Duroyen.

Anana's.

The Arecca

Mount Elly is in 12 deg. latitude, and 55 deg. 30 min. longitude; 'tis as hilly place as any in the *Indies*, and parts the two rich and populous Kingdoms of *Decan* and *Malabar*. Stormy Weather is uſually here when the Sun is neareſt, and makes their Summer; and from the Summer-Solſtice to the Autumnal Æquinox, it continues windy and rainy. Theſe extraordinary Rains cauſe the overflowing of the *Menan* in *Siam*, and *Suhan* in *Pegu*, as the like Weather about the ſame time in *Æthiopia* raiſes the Waters of the *Niger* and *Nilus*. This is the Winter of the Eaſtern People, the Weather being always fair for the other 8 Months, and more eſpecially along the *Indian* Coaſt of *Malabar*, of which a little.

Mount *Elly*.

The *Menan* and *Suhan*.

Malabar is at this day a great and famous part of *India*, extending from *Batticala*, a Port in 14 deg. to Cape *Comryn*, which is about 7 degrees North of the Æquinoctial, but 400 Miles in length, but no where above an hundred in breadth, and in ſome places not more than fifty. The Country is ſo populous, that the *Samoryn* of *Calicut* is able, upon occaſion, to take the Field with two hundred thouſand Men, to oppoſe his powerful Neighbours the Kings of *Narſinga*, *Decan* and *Golcunda*. It is verdant for the greateſt part of the Year, abounding with Cattel, Corn, Silk-worms, Peppers, Ginger, Tamarinds, Caſſia, Cardamom, Rice, Myrobalans, Anana's, Pappa's, Melons, Dates, Coco's, and other Fruits; and has ſeveral Defenſive Towns and Harbours, as *Coulam*, *Cochin*, *Calicut*, *Mangelore*, &c. The Roads about it are anchorable and ſecure, and afford as good Harbours as any in the *Indies*. *Malabar* is divided into ſeveral Petty Governments, which are all ſubject to the Great *Samoreen*, a naked Negro, but mightily exalted by being the principal *Brachman*, and no leſs tyrannical than proud. The *Negroes* are his Nobles, who exerciſe no leſs Authority over their Inferiours, than the *Samoreen* doth over them, being freely tolerated an Arbitrary liberty, Life excepted. They are extremely Libidinous, provoking their appetites by Art and Diet, and eſpecially by the uſe of the Herb *Deutroa*, which heightens their Security and Recreation. They are Proud and Lazy, and uſually go armed. They load their Necks and Arms with Silver, Bracelets, Ropes of Pearl, and other Effeminate pieces of Bravery, and are ſo ſtately, that they expect more than ordinary reſpect, for they will not allow an inferiour Perſon to look them in the face, or appear within fifty paces. Of colour, they are rather black than olivaſter, their hair curls, and grows longer than the *Africans*, and tho' they wear their hair, yet they wreath about their Temples a curious ſort of Linen, ſometimes wrought with Silk and Gold. They wear about their Waſte a piece of Callico, but are naked in all other parts of their Body. The Vulgar wear about their Waſte a parti-coloured Plad, and pink their Skin. The Women Veil themſelves like other *Indians*. Their greateſt pride is expreſſed in adorning their Ears, with many weighty Baubles to dilate them, and their Noſes with Jewels of Silver, Braſs and Iron, and hanging their Arms and Legs with rich Chains.

Malabar deſcribed.

The Defenſive Towns and Harbours.

The King and Nobles.

Their Colour and Habit.

Concerning their Marriages, it was formerly a Cuſtom that the *Brachman* had the firſt Nights Company with the Bride, but that Cuſtom is wholly abrogated. The *Samoreen* confers his Command on his Siſter's Iſſue, thinking they were of his Blood. They are a People addicted more to Arms than Arts, and tho' the *Portugueze* thought them eaſie to overcome, becauſe they were naked and unlearned, yet were deceived in both, Nature inſtructing them in the ways of their Defence.

Their Marriages.

The Country abounds with Minerals and Stones of price, and no part of it is deſtitute of Fruit and other Proviſion; but the Land, eſpecially by the Sea-ſide, is Wooddy and Mountainous; and in thoſe Parts that lie between *Narſinga* and *Malabar*, there are many Wild Beaſts, that make the Ways dangerous, and Serpents that have Wings and Feet, if Report may be believed.

The Product of the Country.

Moſt of the People in their Diet abſtain from Fleſh and Wine; yea, Wine-Vinegar and Strong-Water, not allowing themſelves the Liberty of Radiſh-Roots, Onions, Garlick, or other Roots and Herbs, that have a tincture of red, and reſemblance of blood, that they may keep to the Rules of the Shaſter, and Example of their Anceſtors, contenting themſelves with Milk, Rice, Sugar, Herbs, and Fruits of ſeveral ſorts and Spices, being of the *Bannian* perſwaſion, who will not take away any Creatures life to preſerve their own. Paſſing from hence they came before

Their Diet.

Calicut, thought to be *Ptolemy's Canthapa*, and anciently called *Callicarn*, once a Town of Trade, but now ruined by the *Portugueze*, who have transferred their Mart and Staple to other Towns, and ſo made this place poor and deſolate. It lies in the 11 deg. Northern latitude, and ſtanding in the hot Zone, muſt needs at ſome time of the Year be very hot. The Earth is but meanly fruitful in Graſs, but the Gardens, by the help of Brooks brought into them by Art, are for the greateſt part of the Year redundant in variety of Flowers and Fruits. The City is of it ſelf large, but the Houſes are low, thick and dark, and the Streets narrow. The Harbour is at ſome diſtance from the Town, and but indifferent to anchor in; there are near it the Remains of two ſtrong Forts, raiſed by the *Portugueze*, but demoliſhed by the *Malabar*. The *Somireen* uſually reſides in this City, a Prince of great Power and Awe, black in colour, and treacherous in diſpoſition. They worſhip many *Pagotha's* here, pretending that they adore not Idols, but the *Deumo's* they repreſent; the *Portugueze* have defaced moſt of them. Their Grand *Caco-Deumo*, whoſe Chappel is uncovered, and the Walls about three yards high, has upon his Head a Diadem, whence iſſue out four great Ram's Horns. His Eyes are ſmall and ſquint, and his Mouth large, opening like a Port-cullice, from which branch out four great Tuſks. His Noſe is flat, and his Beard ſpreads like the Rays of the Sun. His Hands reſemble the Claws of a Vulture. His Thighs and Legs are ſtrong and hairy, and Feet and Tail are like a Monkies. All which put together, make the Devil like himſelf, and the People groſs Idolaters.

Calicut deſcribed.

Other Temples they have full of Pagods, equally deformed, yet all differing in their ſhapes, ſome black, ſome red. Every Morning the Prieſts (a Jogue) perfumes and waſhes them, the Devil it ſeems leaving a filthy ſmell behind him. Every Morning, the Prieſt attired in Lawn, Sacrifices a live Cock, which having killed with a ſharp Silver Knife, and embowelled, he ſends to the *Somareen*, who receives it as Food ſent him from his *Deumo*, and what he leaves is given not to the Poor, but to the Crows, his Serviteurs.

Their Temples and Sacrifice.

They exchange Wives, and tolerate Polygamy both in Men and Women, and the Iſſue is bequeathed as the Woman nominates. They write in Sedge and Palmeto Leaves, as the Ancients did, but inſtead of a pin of Iron, they write with a piece of hardened Wood cut ſharp. Then they paſſed by

Polygamy.

Coulam, it is a Town and Province, and ſtands in 9 deg. North. About 200 Years ago the Town was rich, great and populous, traded to by many *Indians*, enlarged ſo by the *Somareen*, that it numbred 100000 Inhabitants, but now the period of her Excellency is come, *Callicut* and *Goa* have Monopolized the Trade from

Coulam deſcribed.

from her. The *Bannians* all along this Coast swarm in Multitudes, sucking in gain by an unmeasurable thirst and industry, which is ravished from them by Drones, the *Moors* and *Gentiles*, who are Lords over them: For the *Bannian* is no Swaggerer nor Royster, he abhors Domineering and Fighting, and suffers himself to be fleeced by any Man, rather than resist, or shed Blood by breach of Peace, or making the least Opposition; they love no Tumult, no Innovation, are content to submit rather than govern. They are Morally honest, courteous in their Behaviour, temperate in Passion, decent in Apparel, abstemious in Diet, industrious in their Callings, charitable to the Needy, humble, merciful, and so innocent, as not to take away the Life of the silliest Vermin, least by destroying any living thing, they should dislodge the Souls of their Friends from their Mansions, for they believe the transmigration of Souls into Beasts.

The Bannians described.

Among them are mixed some Christians whose Ancestors were converted by St. *Thomas* the Apostle, as indeed there are Christians almost in all *Mahometan* Countries, because the *Mahometans* allow Liberty of Conscience, according to a Chapter in their Alcoran, That none are to be disswaded from the Religion they have sucked in from their Cradle. These *Indian* Christians have sundry Ceremonies and Forms, of long time practised among themselves, differing from the usages both of Papists and Protestants. Their Churches are low, and poorly furnished, but neatly kept, and without painted Images. They assemble cheerfully, and at their entrance shut their Eyes for contemplation. They kneel with their faces toward the Altar, where the Priest is seated, whom they salute with humble Reverence, and he returns his Blessing by lifting up his Hands and Eyes. At a set hour Prayer begins, and the whole Service seldom lasts above two hours. They first make a brief Confession of Sin, and then Expound some part of the Scripture, to which the People attend with gravity and silence. They sing an Hymn, and at their going out of the Church re-salute the Minister, who ceaseth not to elevate his Hands till they are departed. At home they usually read a Chapter out of each Testament in their Mother-Tongue, into which they held St. *Thomas* translated them out of the Originals. Every first *Sunday* in the Month the Priest reads an Homily, written, as they say, by the same Apostle, or some of his Scholars.

Christians of St. Thomas.

They baptize commonly at the fortieth day after the Birth, if the Parents desire it not sooner, and at it. They sign with the Cross on the Forehead, and then wash all over with Water. The Lord's Supper they Administer in both kinds, and the Communicants receive it kneeling. They observe two days Preparation, in which time they eat no Flesh, revel not, and company not with Women; and in the Church, if need be, make their Confession. The Clergy marry but once, the Laity twice: Widows, if they marry before the Year be expired, are ill reported of. None, unless in case of Adultery, are allowed to Divorce. In Sickness the Priest is usually sent for, both to Pray and give the Eucharist, if desired; which done, they take their farewel of their Wife, Children, and other Friends, and so rid themselves of Worldly distractions, that by contemplating on the Joys of Heaven, they may mitigate the grim aspect of approaching Death. Being dead, the Survivors rather Joy than Mourn, and having first washed the Corps, lay it in clean Linen. Friends accompany him to the Grave, and place the Body with the Head West, and five days after visit the Family. They Feast and Fast according to our Custom. Their *Lent* begins in the Spring, and is observed forty days. Their Year is Solar. Our three chief Festivals they celebrate, and on the first of *July* commemorate the Martyrdom of S. *Thomas*. They have many *Protomists*, and the chief of them reside in an House built upon a Mountain 9 Miles from *Cranganor*. Since the *Portuguese* have settled in *India*, they shave their Heads. Laicks pay Tithes, affect Justice, profess Truth, practise Humility, and believe no Purgatory.

Their Baptism with Marks of the Cross.

Their Burials.

Their Fasts and Feasts.

Their Tonsure, Habit and Sacrifice.

May 7. they came close to *Brin-John*, an high Mountain, and passing Cape *Comryn* sailed by the *Maldives*, the King of which stiles himself Emperor of 13 Provinces, and 12000 Islands, and so kept on their Course to

Brin-John.

Zeylon, called by the Inhabitants *Chingal*, who are a very comely People, and well-featur'd, nothing like the *Africans* save in colour. They are very ingenious, and good Mechanicks. The better sort wear Silks, but the Vulgar are naked from the Waste upwards. The air is very hot, being within 8 degrees of the Æquinoctial. The length of it is about 70 leagues, breadth 40, and circuit 250, or thereabouts. The Seeds of Christian Knowledge were sown in this Island very early, perhaps by Queen *Candace*'s Eunuch; since *Dorotheus*, who lived in *Constantine*'s days, says he preached the Gospel in many parts of *Arabia* and *India*, and sundry Isles thereabouts, but now they are most of them turned Apostates. In *Claudius*'s days, some of the Natives of this Island came to *Rome*, and pretended much to the Knowledge of Astronomy and the Sphere, which 'tis probable they derived their Skill of from the *Gymnosophists* the Scholars of *Zoroaster*. *Laurentius*, the Son of *Almeida*, discovered it in 1500. At present 'tis over-run with Heathenism, and there is scarce any Village or Mount without its inanimate Pagod, their supposed Deity, or *Malc Geny*. Among others was the infamous Idol called *Hanimane*, or *Apes-Tooth*, which was highly esteemed and resorted to by Millions of *Indians*, till *Constantine*, the Vice-Roy of *Goa*, took it away from them at *Columbo*, and tho' they offered him 300000 Ducats burnt it; yet a Crafty *Bannian* forged another so well, that the *Jogues* believed it the same, and so he sold it to the joyful *Zeilonians* for great price.

Zeylon described.

Their Idols.

Not far from *Mattacala* stands another famous *Pagetha*, of which the *Jogues* report, that *Joshua* their King believing it a senseless Idol, the Image on a time, when he entred his Temple, breathed out Fire, his Eyes seemed to sparkle with rage, and his Scimitar in his Hand wrathfully bent against him; at which the King being amazed, cried out for help, accuses his Infidelity, and having satisfied for his Error, became a zealous Idolater.

Upon *Columbo's-Peak* they shew the foot-steps of Old *Adam*, who they believe was born and buried there; and not far from it is a Lake of Salt Water, said to be the tears of *Eve*, which she shed for her Son *Righteous Abel*, for whom she wept 100 Years. The Soil is good, and abounds with sundry sorts of Spices, as Pepper, Ginger, *&c.* but there is the greatest plenty of Cinnamon, which is a precious Bark. The Tree is straight, and the Boughs grow in a comely Order; it resembles the Olive-tree in height, but the Bay in leaves. The Blossoms are very white; the Fruit round, hard, and dark-coloured. It is covered with a thick Bark, of which the Peasants strip it in the Summer, and dry it in the Sun. This Island affords many other Rarities, as Oranges, Dates, Coco's, Anana's, Plantains, Mastick, Elephants, Buffalo's, Cows, Sheep and Hogs, Smarages, Rubies, Balass-Diamonds, Amber-greese, *&c.* These things first invited the *Danes* to trade hither; and then the *Portuguese*, under the Victorious *Almeida*, to covet it, who in spight of their united Heptarchy, in 1506. made them pay the Annual Tribute of 250000 pound weight of their best Cinnamon to their King *Emanuel*. Store of Pearl-Oysters have been taken between Cape *Comryn* and *Zeylon* of good value. Here also is no want of Gold, but the King thinks Porcellane-Dishes more valuable.

Adam's foot-step.

The Cinnamon-tree described.

From *Zeylon* they sailed by the Coast of *Coromandel*, which stretches above 300 leagues from Cape *Comryn* under 8 deg. North, towards the *Æstuarium* of *Ganges*, now called the Gulph of *Bengal*. Upon this Coast are several Towns of Note, as *Negapatan*, *Meliapore*, *Polycat*, *Armagun*, *Narsinga*, *Mesilipatan*, *Bipilipatan*, and sundry others; in some of which the *English*, and in others the *Dutch*, have Factories.

Coromandel.

The *Ganges* is one of the largest Rivers in the World, it holds its Course of 3000 Miles, and is increased by 50 other Rivers that run into it, and for above 100 Miles is double the breadth, and thrice the depth, that *Euphrates* is at *Babylon*. It divides *India* into two parts, and branches it self into several streams. Upon the Banks of it stand many noted Towns, and at length at 5 Mouths, of Old called *Cambysum*, *Magnum*, *Cambericum*, *Pseudostomum* and *Antibolum*, empties it self into the Gulph of *Bengal*, and then into the *Indian* Sea. The *Bannians* have the Water of *Ganges* in that great esteem, that they covet to have their Mouths wetted with in deadly Fits.

The Ganges described.

Negapatan, so called from the [illegible], on whose Banks it stands, lies in [illegible] Northern Latitude, and odd Mixtures of Slime hot and unwholsome through [illegible] Winds and unseasonable Rains, which are common here some part of the Year, yet they have good Water, well-relished Fruits, which nourish much. The People are blackish, and unfit for Studies, much vexed with Fevers, Fluxes, and other distempers. The Heat is so great here, that it weakens their stomachs, and makes them unfit for Labour. They wear a fine Shuddery, or Veil over their Secrets, and a small Wreath about their Heads, going naked in the rest of their Body in all sorts of Weather. They have Gold, precious Stones, and other Merchandizes, which draw Trade to them. They tolerate all Religions.

Negapatan described.

Their Marriages.

The manner of their Marriages is extraordinary. The Priest with a Cow, and the Man and Woman, go to the Water-side, where the *Bramyn* mutters a short Prayer, and then links their hands about the Cows tail, pours upon them all his hallowed Oil; and lastly, forces the Beast into the River, into which she goes willingly so far as till they be up to the middle in the Water, nor do they return till the waves force them. Being come on shore they untie, and hold this Mysterious Conjunction forcible and sacred for ever after.

Women burnt with their Husbands when dead.

The Heathens are averse to Law and Morality here, and as if they were ignorant of the Law of Self-preservation, allow their Wives to burn with their Husbands; so that Death having separated them, the Wife conceits her self a dead Carkass, and resolves to make her self an Holocaust. To this end she Cloaths her self with Lawn, Fetters her Arms, Legs and Thighs, with Chains, expressing Love, but her Ears, Nose and Fingers, are adorned with Pearl and precious Stones. With one hand she holds a Nosegay of Flowers, and in the other a Ball, both which they account Emblems of Paradise. She is attended with a great number, some accompanying her for love, others for civility, but most to encourage her, and grace the Ceremony. The Priest all the way describes the Joys she shall possess with her Husband, whom she shall immediately enjoy in Paradise. She returns a modest smile, trips on, and chews something in her Mouth to intoxicate her Brain. Upon the sight of the Pile she seems transported with satisfaction; and when her Husband's Carkass is laid upon it, and it begins to burn, having bid farewel to Parents, Children and Friends, she, like a mad Lover, whirls about the Pit, and willingly throws her self into the midst of the flames, which soon turn both of them into ashes. Musick of sundry sorts, with the Acclamations of the Spectators, make a great noise, both for the greater honour of the Obsequy, and that the shrieks of the poor wretch may not be heard to discourage others. The *Mahometans*, since they have come into these Parts, have prohibited them the use of this barbarous Custom, but some Women have made themselves away, yet others more wise do refuse it; but then, by way of ignominy, they are commanded to shave their Heads, and sequester themselves from Company, as a punishment. This Custom, that the Wife should be burnt with the Husband, is not so ancient as that of burning the Dead is, but was brought in upon this Occasion: Several lascivious Wives, upon some slight provocation, or other distaste, did ordinarily poyson their Husbands, for prevention of which, this *Draco's* Law was devised and enjoyned the Widow, which tho' it seems a severe Institution, yet it was necessary to extirpate so bad a Custom. Nor is some part of their Devotion less Tragical, as well as Lewd and Wicked, as this instance may prove: Upon a certain Feast they set a Massy Pagod, or Idol of Metal gilt, upon a Chariot of eight Wheels richly gilded, into which they ascend by several easie steps; upon it the *Fogues*, and several prostituted Girls are placed; for through an hellish Zeal the Parents destinate their pretty Children to Lewdness. Thus mounted they go on the Procession, and happy is the Man, (in their esteem be he rich or poor, great or base, that can lend an hand to draw the Chariot; yea, they account them happiest, who out of a frantick Zeal rashly throw their naked Bodies in the way, to the end, that by the weight of the Chariot they may be crushed to Death, and become thereby the Devils Martyrs. But enough of these things, let us come now to

The Original of burning the Wives with their dead Husbands.

Meliapore described.

Meliapore, a famous Town in the Kingdom of *Bisnagar*, lying in 13 deg. 20 min. Northern latitude. It was first called *Salamina*, then *Melange*, after that *Meliapore*, and now S. *Thomas*, because that Apostle is said to have suffered Martyrdom here, after he had finished his Labours in publishing the glad Tydings of Salvation through *Persia*, *Hyrcania*, *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and many other Parts of *India*. His death happened about thirty Years after our Saviour's Passion, and a Commemorative Feast in his Memory is celebrated *July* 1. by all the Native Christians of *India*. This is all that makes this Town famous at this day, for it's but small and poor in it self, and has but little Trade to it, unless for Cotton-Ware, and some common Commodities. It is said that the Inhabitants of this place have this mark set upon them for their Cruelty to S. *Thomas*, that one Leg is always bigger than the other in the Calf. S. *Thomas* Sepulchre remained in this Town, and was much resorted to and honoured by the *Indian* Christians, till about 50 Years since, when the Relicks of this holy Apostle were taken away and enshrined in the Virgin *Mary*'s Church at *Goa*, by the Command of *John* III. King of *Portugal*. Near this Town are *Polycat*, *Armagun*, *Caleture*, *Tamassery* and *Petipoly*, *English* Factories, and all in the way to

S. Thomas's Feast.

His Sepulchre.

Narsinga, a noble Part of *India*, and famous all over *Asia*, bounded by *Malabar*, *Golcunda*, *Bengal*, and the Ocean. The King is so rich, that he despises his Neighbours, and so powerful, that he values neither *Mogul*, *Decan*, *Somaryn*, nor *Peguan*. The Country is so full of all things necessary for Use and Pleasure, as fair Towns, strong Forts, pleasant Fields, and choice Minerals; and has such Rivers, as so enriches the Earth, that it abundantly produces Corn, Cattel and Fruits, insomuch, that he is reputed as considerable a Monarch as any is in *India*. His Annual Revenue is computed to be two Millions of Money. The *Bannians* swarm like Locusts in this Kingdom, and the *Brachmans* are no where more reputed of, having several Temples, of no fine Structure, but full of Idols. *Narsinga* described.

Bisnager (which is the *Binagra* of *Ptolemy*) is now the second City for Grandeur and Trade in that Kingdom, encompassed with a Wall of near four Miles in Circuit, regularly fortified, well built, and no less Wealthy. The Haven is good, and the City frequented by Ships from *Europe*, and Junks from all parts of *India*, *Persia* and *Arabia*. The Custom heretofore was, that a Traveller, when he came to the Court, had civil Entertainment, and was many times invited by the King, the better to shew his Bravery, for his Coat was thick set with Stones and Gems of lustre, which when he was Cloathed with, he so nearly resembled the Sun, whom they worship, that he was little less than adored. His Court was full of Majesty, and his Guards consisted of a thousand Men. Polygamy he affects, and reckons it one of his principal Titles, that he is the Husband of 1000 Wives, many of which have him all his life in such esteem, that at his Death they voluntarily burn themselves with him. More Northward upon this Coast is *Bisnager* described.

Mesulipatan, or by contraction *Messipatan*, a Town situate in 16 deg. and half Northern latitude, and in the Skirt of the *Bengalan* Gulph; the Province has a mixture of Idolaters. The *Gentiles* are most numerous, but *Mahometans* are most powerful, since it has been made subject to the *Mogul*. The Town is neither for bulk or beauty considerable, being about 50 Years ago almost unpeopled and made desolate by a raging Mortality and Famine. The Streets are but few, and those narrow; the Houses are low, and Fields parched by the extreme heat that rages there from *March* to *July*, from which time to *November*, Wind and Rain as incessantly disturb them, so that of 12 Months they have but four, *viz.* from *November* to *March*, wholsome and moderate. Nevertheless, the Rains so prepare the Earth for the reception of Seed, that they usually reap two Harvests of Rice, Caravans, and other Grain. The *English* at present have their Residence here, and bring a Traffick hither for Rice, Callico's, and the like Commodities, which will increase daily, unless the deceitful disposition of the People occasion their remove thence to *Armagun* and *Polycat*, Towns upon the same Coast, and neighbouring to *Mesulipatan*, where they may sit down with more Ease and less Charge, and have as great variety of Merchandize. *Mesulipatan* described.

Two Harvests in a Year.

Near this place is an unchaste Town, tho' its Name seems to import otherwise, being called *Casta*; a Town Infamous for Idolatry. The Mosques shew Art in the Sculpture, but are hateful in their impious Devotion, their Pagods bearing some resemblance with the Images of *Priapus* and *Pan*, which *Servius* describes with great Eyes, a flat Nose, wide Mouth, four great Horns, a long Beard, claws for Hands, and Crook-legg'd, all over deformed. The Feasts of *Bacchus* are still here Celebrated, for they cover themselves with Skins, adorn their Heads and Tresses with Ivy, in one Hand holding a Javelin, and in the other Cimbals of Brass and Timbrels, attended by many Boys and Girls, which ramble like so many distracted People up and down, and striving to rend the Air with their continued Clamours. *Casta* described.

The Cow is here adored as the *Ægyptian Apis*, or Py'd Bull was, and so are the Sun, Moon and Stars, as Celestial Souls. Others there be among them, that have Rivers and Trees in Veneration, as the *Celtæ* described by *Tacitus* had. In one of their Festivals they have a wicked Custom to fasten sick and needy Men to an Engine, which elevating him equal with the Pagod, the Blood trickles from his wounded shoulders, and at his descent he is dashed against a Tree. Then after he has Invocated the *Deumo* to accept his Offering, he returns home with hopes to thrive the better ever after. They often Sacrifice in the Night, making the Streets bright with Lights. Cows adored here.

The Indians described.

They

Their Burial. They have a different kind of Burial from what we find in most other places, for here the Corps is placed either in a deep Cave, which is long and narrow, or else between two Walls built on purpose, wherein the simple Relict voluntarily incloses her self, expecting Death by Famine, which is the most languishing and formidable Death. They go for the most part naked, the heat of the Zone excusing Cloathing.

Their Carricurries, Vid. the Fig. 19. They delight in Fishing and Sporting upon the Water in Boats, or Curricurries. From this Coast they sailed to

Malacca described. *Malacca*, which is in, or near the *Aurea Chersonesus*, places so Celebrated for the plenty of Gold that has been brought from thence, that *Ophyr* is not without reason fixed hereabouts; for tho' *Rabianus Maurus*, and after him *Christopher Columbus*, places it in the Gulph of *Mexico*, and *Geropius* in *Peru*, which retains the Name of *Pervaym*, a Name of the same import as *Ophyr*; and *Ortelius* would perswade us, that he has found it in *Ægesymba*, or South *Africk*, at a place called *Phura*, a part of *Soffola*, yet that *Ophir* was at and about *Malacca*, or at least *Ophir here placed.* in some contiguous Parts of the *East-Indies*; and that *Joktan*, with all, or most of his Sons, were planted in the *East-Indies*, appears by the continuation of the Names of the principal Planters still remaining in these Parts, for the Old Name of *Ganges* is *Joktan*, and the *Taphin* near it retain *Ophir*'s Name plainly. In *Pegu* is a Country call'd *Ava*, *Chava* and *Chavilah*, and the Inhabitants *Eulei*, which shew *Havilah* to be their Founder. Of *Hadoram*, the *Aramai* in *Guzurat* seem to be descended. *Abimael* is the Father of the *Malls*, or People of *Malabar*, as they were called of Old. Of *Obal* are the *Obelites*, and *Abelotes*, which Historians place about *Ganges*. From *Elmodan*, the *Emodian* Mountains may be supposed to take their Name without straining. The Town and Province of *Joor*, or *Jehor*, plainly retains the Name of *Jerah*, and the *Sabæi*, who in conjunction with the *Tococe* opposed *Alexander*'s Conquest, bear the Name of *Sheba*; so that there are plain footsteps, that *Ophir* was hereabouts. *Malacca* is situate in 5 deg. Northern latitude, and is a City in the Kingdom of *Siam*, *Malacca subjected to the King of Portugal.* to whose King it was subject till *Alberquerq* took it from him, and put it under the King of *Portugal* his Master, and made a Garrison, fortifying it with 3000 Ordnance. He also seized the King's Exchequer, in which he found above 1250000 pieces of Rials of Eight, but the Death of the King was so ill resented by the King of *Siam*, and the neighbouring Potentates, that combining together, and taking the Advantage of *Albuquerq*'s Absence, they suddenly appeared before the Town, and by a desperate Storm mastered the City and Citadel, yet generously gave the *Portugueze* leave to Ship themselves away, commanding their Works to be demolished. Nevertheless, it was not long after brought under the Crown of *Portugal*, and so continued, till it was lately wrested from *The Dutch have it.* them by the *Hollander*, who have gotten many Plantations in those Parts, and by their Naval Force have not only engrossed to themselves the *Molucco* Islands, but almost all the Trade of the East. *Malacca* is a place of good account both for Strength and Trade, tho' being a low Land 'tis not reputed healthy. The Town is long, extending about two Miles, but not half so much in breadth. The Buildings are low and ordinary, and the Streets narrow. The Bazar is the only place of beauty in it. It is watered by the *Gaza*, which here admits a Bridge tho' near the Sea, 'tis 3 leagues wide. For its defence it has a Castle stored with Cannon, and a Wall reasonably flankered and strengthned by a latt Graff and Counterscarp. The *Siamites*, who being banished their own Country settled here, being civil and industrious have invited the Trade hither, and so made the Town *Their Fruits and Corn.* wealthy and considerable. The Gardens and Fields about it abound with Fruit, among which the Duroyen and Pine-Apple are the principal, and the Land being low, and Soil fat, it encourages them to plant Corn, and several sorts of Grain. But being near the Æquinoctial Line, the Air is usually very warm, and sometimes above measure. They have frequent Thunder, but qualify'd with long nights, and frequent showers and breezes. Here the Manzoons blow W. N. W. from *August* to *October*, about which time the Wind veers N. N. E. until *March* be ended, and then it turns S. and holds till *The Indians described.* the beginning of *August*. The *Indians* are numerous hereabouts, the better sort wear rich Apparel, but the Vulgar go for the most part naked. They are generally Witty and Hospitable, love Musick and Novelties, civil in Peace, fierce in War, deceitful if too much credited. Their Language is Copious, as the *Latin* and *Arabick* are.

Sincapura described. *Sincapura* divides this Continent from *Sumatra*, being scarce half a degree to the North of the Æquinoctial and the most Southernly Cape of the *Asian* Continent. It was a place of great Trade with the *Chineses*, *Javans*, *Sumatrans*, and the People of other Isles thereabouts, until *Malacca* drew the Commerce from thence. The Streight is not above a Musket-shot over, and so rocky, that it affords a dangerous passage. From *Malacca* 'tis not above 12 hours travel to

Patania described. *Patania*, called *Potinga* by *Ptolemy*: It lies in 7 deg. Northern latitude in the Gulph of *Bengal*, called *Sinus Argaricus extra Gangem*, between *Malacca* and *Siam*. It affords many Commodities, which draw the Merchants thither. 'Tis under a Regal Government, and the Princes derive themselves from one *Gingee* Son, and Vice-Roy to the King of *Delly*, settled here when *Patania* was subdued. The *Mogul*, his great Neighbour, has often threatned to Dethrone him, but he keeps his own, being defended by the *Ganges*, and small Islands in it, which he has well fortified. The Town is by situation strong, which is increased by 12 brass Ordnance; one of which is 26 foot long. Here are some Idol Temples, but the Monuments of most Note are the Tombs of their Kings. The People are black, and by reason of the heat go for the most part naked. They take great delight in chewing Betel and Opium, and drinking Arack, a strong Liquor, which they do to excess. The better sort usually eat in their Plates of Gold, others in Porcellane. The *Their Languages.* People usually speak three Languages, which are written as many different ways, *viz.* the *Malai*, from the Right-hand to the Left, as the *Hebrew*; the *Siamese*, from the Right-hand to Left, as we; and the *Chinese*, downright; all three are useful to such as Traffick. They are a mixture of *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*, the one worship God, as the other do their Pagods, both erroneously. They *Their Hospitality and Vice.* are very hospitable to such as come to reside among them for Novelty or Gain, and enquire not after their Country, Business or Religion, but they are so addicted to Vice, that Strangers had need to pray for Grace to resist Female temptations, for the Women are foolishly frolick, and fearlesly merry; idleness and heat provokes them so, that they wallow in all manner of Turpitude. The Grape moves them to Wickedness, for they delight their Palate with the choicest Wines, Arac and Fruits, but by their Intemperance they shorten their days. Near it is

Siam. *Siam*, called anciently *Sabanna*, and *Cortatha*, a City and Kingdom distant from the Æquinoctial 14 deg. a great and famous part of *India*. The King of it has a large Jurisdiction, *Joor*, *Malacca*, a great part of *Pegu*, *Brama* and *Cambogia* were Tributary to him, *Patania* also; *Jamohay*, *Odjea*, and other Territories, watered by *Ganges*, acknowledged him, so that within the memory of Man, he was able to bring into the Field 500 Elephants, and 200000 fighting Men armed with good Swords, Bows and Arrows, Shields and Lances. He pretends to a long Race of Royal Ancestors. The Zone is hot, which makes the Men black, and Cloathing almost needless, so that they content themselves with a Cambolin of Lawn of sad colour, trebled about their shoulders, and carry a Sambrero in their hands to abate the heat. They wear no Sandals, that the scorching Sands may mortify their flesh. They allow liberty to *Their Matton worship.* Christians, Moors, and other Superstitious, yet the Natives are transcendent Idolaters, worshipping Deities in the shapes of *Pan* and *Priapus*, with other Goatish fancies, and in such postures as are not fit to be mentioned. They have Groves and Altars, on which they Offer Flesh, Fruits and Flowers; and many times, when their *Tallapoi* tells them their *Duomo* is melancholy, they make harmonious Musick to them to make them chearful. Others by break of day, run to their Pagods with a Basket of Rice, hoping that day will be happier. The Kings of *Arrachan*, *Tanassery*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, *Auva* and *Tangu*, are all *Gentiles*, and have their Temples stuffed with Pagods. The *Tallapoi* preach usually every *Monday* (their Sabbath) in the Market, and call the People together by the sound of a Copper Bason. They seem Mendicants by Profession, yet what by their Policy, and what by their Incantations (for they foretel future Events, and have great Knowledge in things past, present, and to come, by Magick, and Moral Observations, resolving, disswading, applauding, and directing them) they are had in very great Estimation. These are their Priests. Their People are very great Sodomites, a Sin which Nature abhors. Sedge and Palmeto leaves are used for Paper. The usual place of the King's Residence is at *Indy*, a Town situate in an Isle compassed with the *Menan*. His Palace is large, pretty well built, and held defensible. The other Houses are low and mean, and the Streets narrow, but very useful to keep out the extreme heat which sometimes rages. The Inhabitants of *Cormandel* and the *Chineses*, trade hither with Sattens, Porcellanes, and

other

other Commodities of value, which make the place more noted. The Boys often paint themselves with blue from top to toe, and cut, gash, and pink their Skins, for Beauty and Ornament. The Men affect Perfumes, and practise Complements. The Soil, tho' watered with the *Menam*, is but indifferent for Grass, but abounds in rich Stones, as Diamonds, Chrysolites, Onyx, Magnets and Bezoars. It bears plenty of Lignum Aloes, Benjamin and Cotton. It has also Mines of Iron and Copper. There is Gold and Silver also, but most of their Silver comes from *Japan*. They have such plenty of Provisions brought to them from other Parts, that they are bought here cheaper than in many other places. Among Stones, the Cabriz or Blood-stone, which is here generated, is most memorable; the Vertue of which is so marvellous, that 'tis said, when the *Portugueze* killed a Man who had one about him, tho' they gave him many wounds he bled not till they pulled it from him, to their great admiration. The Beast out of which it is taken is called a Caball. The *Chineses* residing at *Bantam* understand it best, tho' some say that in *Siam* and *Java* they are seen oftenest. Near this Kingdom lies

Pegu, called by *Ptolemy Lestarum Regio*; bounded by *Siam*, *Ganges*, and the Ocean, was a greater Monarchy 50 Years ago than now it is, because the *Siamites* have taken many wealthy Seigniories from it, but is still Commander of many Territories and Islands. It is the *Braman* Metropolis, and is situate in 16 deg. 40 min. Northern Latitude. The City is walled with Stone, beautified with Turrets, has 4 fair Gates, and 12 Posterns, but is chiefly defended by a large deep Graff that compasses it. The Streets are not many, but large and broad, which is rare in the hot Countries. Before most of their Doors do grow Trees, useful for Shade and Fruit. It is divided into the New and Old, but this last is largest, and best inhabited. The Country is now bare of Wood, tho' anciently well Timbred. They are Worshippers of Devils, for their Varella's are stuffed with ugly Idols; and that at *Dagonnee*, for Structure without, and Ornament within, excels any in the East. This Kingdom abounds with all sorts of Nature's Blessings, *viz.* store of Gold, Silver, Lead and Iron, as also Smaragds, Topazes, Rubies, Saphires, Garnats, Emeralds, Espmels and Cats-eyes; also plenty of Rice, Caravans, Long-Pepper, Sugar, Benion, Musk, Lac, Bamboos, Cotton and Callicoes. It is probable S. *Thomas* preached the Gospel here, but they delighted in darkness rather than light, for they now wallow'd in abominable Sins, and their Kiacks are full of filthy Idols. Yet *Bomferius* tells us of remarkable Opinions among them, *viz.* They believe that the World (consisting of Heaven, Sea and Earth) consisted of 4 Creations, and that for Impiety it was 4 times destroyed, *viz.* by Fire, Wind, Water and Earthquakes. Each Age was governed by a Guardian Deity, which was Transitory and Mortal. They reckon that the Destruction of the World, and the Death of their last God, was 30000 Years ago, and that all shall once more suffer a Chaos. They also imagine that a great Lord, who is Omniscient and Omnipotent, and Rules in Heaven, but they do not worship him, because Satan assures them he desires it not, and does them no hurt, and therefore they worship him that he may do them no mischief. They believe a Resurrection of the Body after Death, and a Re-union with the Soul, and as (*Bomferius* tells us) a threefold Receptacle of Souls departed, *Nashac*, *Nishac* and *Scheca*, *i. e.* Heaven, Hell and Purgatory. Their Habit is a thin fine Lawn, they wear no Beards, and dye their Teeth black, because Dogs-teeth are white, whom they hate to be like. They cut and pink their flesh to become as Modish as their Neighbours. The Crows and Parrots here are usually grey, as they are in *Africk*. The Land is low in many places, and subject to Inundations; but that which troubles them most is, the multitude of ravenous Beasts among them, as Tygers, Wolves, and the like offensive Creatures, to avoid which they raise their Houses upon Arches, or Posts of Bamboos, and get up to them by Ladders. About 100 Years ago the King of *Pegu* was a very formidable Monarch, having 12 Wealthy Provinces which acknowledged him their Sovereign, *viz.* *Siam*, *Auva*, *Chavilan*, *Brama*, *Jangomer*, *Tangram*, *Cablan*, *Lauran*, *Meliotalke*, *Arrachan*, *Tangu* and *Rachan*, out of which he Yearly extracted 2 Millions of Crowns, and a Million of Men, to serve him upon all Occasions; but this would not content him, he must have all his neighbouring Princes in contempt, which begat a Rebellion first from the Vice-Roy of *Siam*, and then from those of *Brama*, *Tangu* and *Rachan*, who miserably harrassed his Kingdom by Civil Wars, till by a Marriage the Kingdoms of *Siam* and *Pegu* are now divided, but settled in Peace, and begin again to flourish. To *Pegu* from *Bengal*, *Negrais-bar* and *Cosmin*, are brought in Paro's or Boats by Water, Vessels which are pretty large, and sowed together with *Cairo* (as 'tis here called) which is a Cord made of the Rind of Coco's, for they have no Iron, their curious Quilts and Carpets, stitch'd and wrought with raw Silk and threads of Gold and Silver, and the Bark of a Tree called *Mega*, Callico's, Rice, Pepper, Ginger, Sugar, Honey, Butter, Lac and Wax, with other Merchandizes. At *Ceylon* are found Stones of price. This Monarch, when he will appear in his Majesty, loads his Head, Ears, Arms, Hands, Nose and Legs, with Gems, which set him out like Stars, and when he Worships, Deifies a white Elephant of an unusual bigness. The Elephant is for growth and understanding the chief of Sensitive Creatures. They go two, and sometimes three Years with Young, and have extreme torment in their Labour. Their Teat is between their Fore-legs, which the Young Ones easily find. At three Years of Age they wean themselves, and eat Herbs, Shrubs, Boughs of Trees, and other Vegetables, but when they are in Service, they are allowed more dainty Fare to increase their Strength and Courage, as Corn, Fruits, Roots, Sugar-Canes, Milk, Whey, and the like. They grow till they are 15 Years Old, and are usually 18 foot high, and some of the highest mount to 24 foot high. Notwithstanding their bigness, they are not dull and unweildy, but nimble and brisk spirited. They can, and usually do lie down, as other Beasts; and *Suetonius* says, one at *Rome* was taught to dance upon a Cable. They are highly commended for Courage, and tho' their Tusks and Proboscis are their best Weapons, yet they can frame their mighty Body into Offensive and Defensive postures. In Rutting-time, which is in the hottest Season, the Males are mad, and can hardly be ruled without a Females company. His Trunk is composed of small Nerves, which be full of strength, and very active; his Skin is rough and Ash-coloured. His Teeth are proportionable to his Body, 13 Foot long some, and weigh upwards of 130 pound. Muddy Rivers, and cool shady Places, are his delight, but he hates Swine, Serpents and Mice. The Growing of a Cock also offend him. Here are also store of Musk-Cats, a Beast bigger than a Castor, with a little Head, clear Eyes, long Muzzle, sharp Teeth, parti-coloured, hard and bristly hair, yellow above, and white below. His Pocket is near his Genitals, which is scraped with a Stick or Spoon when he is in Services, but when free, sends it out voluntarily, and it is discovered by the smell. By these Countries lie several Islands, the Description of which follows.

Sumatra, called of Old *Taprobane*, or *Taparvane*, and by some supposed to be *Ophir*, or *Parvaym*. By the Inhabitants called *Salytra*, or *Sabutra*. It is one of the largest Isles in the Universe, in length 600, and breadth 240 Miles. *Alvaro Telezzo* discovered it in 1506, and since most Merchants in the World trade thither. 'Tis under the Æquinoctial, so that our Pole-star is not visible to them. It is governed by many Petty-Kings, but the King of *Acheen* is the most powerful. All of them have store of Gold and Stones, but miserable in their Superstition. Most of them, not many Years since, adored Cats, Rats, Dogs and Devils; but since the Alcoran has been received there, the worship of these Elementary Creatures has been abolished. Both Sexes go naked. The Soil is good by the Rivers-sides, but barren where the Gold is found. Here are several Towns of Note, as *Acheen*, by the People called *Ashey*, *Pedir*, *Pacem*, *Daya*, *Tyco*, *Byaman*, *Jambee*, *Tycoa*, *Baruzec*, *Cattatinga*, *Menantabe*, *Gambar*, *Aru*, *Daru*, and *Passaman*, which has plenty of Gold. *Manancabo* is the most Inland Town, which does not want Gold. In the Streight betwixt this Island and the Continent, against *Jor*, which the King of *Acheen* conquered in 1613, are the *Barellæ*, and other small, but pleasant Islands. The Rivers abound with Fish, and might prove more delightful for the Net and Angle, did not the Crocodiles, which swarm here in greater numbers than in the *Nile*, frustrate both. These Creatures are the greatest Wonders we meet with in Nature, in that from as small a beginning as an Egg, not much bigger than a Turkies, it increases to 8 or 10 Yards in length, and whereas other Creatures have their growth unto a period, and then decay, the Crocodile grows bigger and bigger until its Death. Their Bodies are no longer than their Tails, which they use as the Elephant doth his Proboscis. Their Mouth is so wide, that they can swallow an Horse or Man whole; their Teeth are engrailed. They have no Tongue, and cannot move their Upper-Jaw. Their Belly is penetrable, but their Back can hardly be pierced. They eat nothing all the Autumnal Quarter, but all the rest of the Year greedily devour all sorts

The Soil and its Product.

The Blood-stone.

Pegu described.

The Product of it.

Their strange Opinions.

The Kingdoms of Pegu.

Water brought to Pegu.

A white Elephant Worshipped.

Elephants described.

Musk-Cat

Sumatra described.

Crocodile described.

sorts of prey: The Number 60 is notable in the Female. Before she lays Eggs 60 days pass, and she lays usually 60 Eggs; she conceals them 60 days, and sits on them 60 days before hatching. She has 60 Teeth and 60 Joints, and they usually live 60 Years. It is a Monster, being neither Beast, Fish, nor Serpent, but the most noxious of Monsters. The *Ægyptians* make it the Hieroglyphick of Impudence, because it's daring to all but such as are very bold, to whom it is very fearful. The *Ichneuphons* awe it, because it often steals into its Belly, and gnaws its Guts, while he opens his Chaps to let the *Trochilus* into his Mouth to pick his Teeth, which is the Food that Creature lives on. The flesh of it is so good and sweet, that by many it is accounted a dainty. From hence they sailed by some small Isles called *Marrah* and *Lampon*; in the Streights of *Sunda* to

The Ichneumon and Trochilus.

Java Major, is an Island situate in 7 deg. 40 min. S. Latitude, and in an 120 deg. Longitude, a very great and noble Isle, for from East to West it stretches 150 Leagues, or 450 Miles, and from North to South 90 Leagues, or 270 Miles *English*. The Midland is for the most part Mountainous, and thinly Peopled, but the Sea-Coasts is low and very populous. The Uplands are very subject to Wind, but healthy, but the Coasts are marshy and unwholsome. It is a Compendium of the World, for it abounds with all things that be either useful or excellent. The Coast (by reason of the Trade for Pepper) has Towns best built and most wealthy. Upon the North-side and to the North-East are *Bantam*, *Palamban*, *Jackatra*, (new-named by the *Dutch Batavia*) *Japarra*, *Tuban*, *Jortan*, *Grecy*, *Cheringin*, *Serabaya*, &c.

Java described.

Bantam lies in 6 deg. 20 min. Southern Latitude, and 3 deg. of Westerly variation. It is the biggest City in the Island, as the Natives own, and stretched almost two Miles in length. The most remarkable places in it are the *Pengrans* Palace, the Bazar, a few irregular Streets, and at the farthest end the *Chineses* joyn together, as the *Jews* do at *Amsterdam*, but their Houses are nothing so splendid. The Town of its own growth affords little, save Rice, Pepper and Cotton-wool, but the greatest quantities of Pepper are brought by the Industrious *Chineses* in Junks, or Praws, every *January*, from *Jamby* in *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Malacca*, and other places, making *Bantam* the Magazine, out of which, by Money or Exchange for Commodities, they furnish the *Dutch*, *English*, and other Nations.

Bantam.

The *Chineses* are no quarrellers, tho' Voluptuous, Venereous, costly in their Sports, great Gamesters, and in trading too subtle for young Merchants: Oftentimes so great Gamesters at Dice, that when they have lost their Estates they'll stake their Wives and Children, yet in a little time, *Few* like, by gleaning here and there they'll redeem all; but if they do it not by the day appointed, they are sold in the Market for the most advantage. The Isle has one Sovereign Prince, whom they call the *Mattaran*, who has four Deputy-Governours, and is so powerful as to be able to carry 200000 Men into the Field upon Occasion, who are indeed ignorant of Martial-Discipline, especially as we use it, but of approved Courage and Dexterity, and sufficiently ingenious, as to the invention of their Arms and Execution.

The Chineses described.

They commonly use Lances, Darts, Arrows and Shields, but the greatest Bravery is in their Crizes, a Weapon two foot long, and four inches broad, waved, sharp both in the edge and point, but, contrary to the Laws of Nature and Nations, venomed. The handle of them is usually of Wood or Horn, (but sometimes of Gold, Silver or Ivory) cut into the form of a misshapen Pagod, which they Idolize; for after they have committed any Murder, they ask the Pagod on their Crest pardon, as *Lewis* XI. the King of *France*, did the Crucifix in his Hat. The *Javans* are a corrupt People, and trade in Murder, Adultery, Theft, Rapine, Deceit, and all other Wickedness. Magick and Astrology delights them, and their Priests are excellent in those Studies, in which Satan instructs them to oblige him in gratitude to worship him. The Natives, till of late, were not acquainted with Navigation, but in the Art of swimming (as most Negroes) are most expert. Such as dwell at some distance from the Sea make Hunting their chief Recreation, a Sport which tries their Courage, as well as their Agility, for the Isle has store of Tygers, Ounces, and such Beasts, as will bear chase and resist. The Alcoran is received in this Island as well as its Neighbours. They are very friendly to the *English*, especially since the *Dutch* have forced *Jacatra* from them, betwixt whom there is an irreconcileable Enmity. The *Oran-kays* are the chief sort of People, who are lazy and sociable, but deceitful. They repute themselves descended from *China*, and have a Tradition, that their Ancestors in a Junk were casually driven upon that Isle by a Tempest 700 Years ago. They are a very proud Race, wear their hair pretty long, and about their Heads sometimes wreath a valuable Sash, which none but themselves dare touch. Elsewhere they go naked to the Waste, where they gird themselves with a parti-coloured Mantle, which falls no deeper than their knees. Their ordinary Food (and that bought not at easie rates) is Rice, Pinange, Wheat, Betel, Opium, Goats, Hens, Eggs, Coco's, Plantans and Jacks. They have excellent good Water to drink, and for Wine, Rack-a-pee, which being temperately drunk, cheers the Heart, kills Worms, cures Fluxes, and helps Digestion, but immoderate drinking it hastens Death. These Countries, for the greatest part of the Year, are subject to such loud thunders and flashes of Lightning, as are very dreadful.

In this Isle nothing but Pepper and Cotton is worthy our noting. Pepper comes of Seed first sown, and in the growth is supported by Poles like Hops or Vines, till by its maturity it gets the strength of a bushy, round and pleasant Tree. The Pepper hangs in many Clusters, four Inches in length, and one about, and yield each about 50 or 60 Corns, which be full, round and fragrant, but the smooth are best accounted of.

Pepper described.

The Cotton-tree is slender, but straight, a Yard high, but like a Briar. At the top it divides it self into several small branches, which are each of them charged with many Balls, round, and like a Wallnut, which contain the Bombast. When they are ripe, they beat the Cotton out with Flails, to the great enriching the Owner.

The Cotton-tree.

Baly is an Isle near *Java*, lying on the East-side of it, inhabited by *Gentiles*. The Women there continue the Custom as yet of burning at their Husband's Funeral, more than in any other places in *India*, where the *Mahometans* have Dominions. The Way from *Java* to the *Celebes* is North-East, distant from *Bantam* 200 Leagues.

Baly, an Isle.

Celebes, of Old called *Cassiteria*, and *Solis Insula*, now *Makasser*, from the best City in it, is an Isle for quantity and quality very considerable; it stretches from the Æquator 6 degrees South, is of an Oval form, and is at least 200 Miles long; well-peopled, but with bad Men, being till of late the worst of Savages, Men-Eaters, which is now reformed by their receiving of the Alcoran, tho' the greatest part of the Inhabitants are still *Gentiles*. The Isle is fruitful, tho' under the most frying part of the Torrid Zone; they go naked, save that they tie a few Fig or Plantain-leaves about their middles. Their day is Sun, but complexion Night. The better are Tulip-painted, and wear a thin Shirt, with a pure white Shuddero, for Ornament, to set off their black hue. The Women paint their Faces and Body, but are very impudent and amorous, and so Skilful in the Art of poysoning, that they can sing safety to themselves while they destroy others. They have Poysons that destroy immediately, others operate in an hour, the Veins and Body rotting to amazement. This place is an Hell upon Earth, no staying in it, and so they hasted to

The Celebes described.

The *Moluccoes*, called *Solis Insulæ* in former Ages, are five in number, *Molucco*, *Gillolo*, *Ternate*, *Tidore* and *Machian*, or *Matan*, where *Magellan*, after his long Voyage in 1520, ended his Life, thro' the treachery of those *Barbarians*, to whose Prince he had a little before given Assistance. The *English* were the first Christians that traded hither, but the *Dutch* have thrust them out. *Gillolo* is the biggest, and *Ternate* the highest of these Islands; all of them bear Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Ginger, Pepper, Oil, Aloes, and Honey. They lie under the Æquinoctial, but by the daily showers and breezes, which the nearness of the Sun causes, the Fruits ripen sooner, the Earth smells more Aromatical, and the Air is more Nutritive there, than in most other places thereabouts.

The Moluccoes described.

The Clove-tree differs in proportion according to the Soil where it grows; some are as big as the Bay-tree, which it resembles, the Leaves being only somewhat narrower, others no bigger than the Box-tree, or other Trees of little growth. 'Tis for the most part of the Year green, having Leaves long and small, spreading into many branches. It blossoms early, but the Flowers change their colour three times a day. In the Morning they are pure white, at Noon a distempered red, and at Night black. The Cloves discover themselves at the very tip of the branches, and in their growth send out such a smell, as ravishes the Senses. They are pruned thrice every Year, and gratefully return a treble Vintage; and tho' it be perfected but once in three Years, yet it proves a great advantage. Physicians say, that Cloves are hot and dry in the third degree, strengthen the stomach, help concoction, and suck up moisture so exceedingly, that no other Plant will thrive near it. The Nutmeg-tree, like the more excellent sort of Trees, is

The Clove-tree.

The Nutmeg-tree.

not very lofty, scarce rising so high as the Cherry; some have liken'd it to the Peach, but it differs in the shape of the leaf and grain, and affects more compass. The Nut is compassed with a coarse defensive husk, resembling the thick Rind of a Wall-nut, but at full ripeness discovers her treasure, the Mace with a Vermilion blush twining round it, and both sending forth most pleasing smells. The Mace in a few days turns yellow by the Sun's beams, and invites the Gatherer. In these Isles only are found those rare and beautiful Birds called commonly *Manucodiatæ*, or Birds of Paradise; he is of the bigness of a Parrot, the Feathers upon his Head are so small, as rather resemble Hair than Feathers, his Train thick, very long, and curiously coloured, being in some parts of his Body green, and in others yellow. His Wings are large, and of a bright colour, but he has no Feet; in flying he mounts exceeding high, and continues long in motion, Travellers much esteem it, but the Natives superstitiously reverence it.

Mace.

Birds of Paradise.

Several other Islands of Note there are hereabouts, some of which, namely *Amboyna*, were in the quiet possession of the *English*, until they were dissetled by the treachery and cruelty of the *Dutch*, who, under a shew of Friendship, invited their Factors to a Feast, and not only got possession of the place, but put them to Death, with most cruel and exquisite Tortures, to the everlasting Disgrace of their Persons and Nation.

Amboyna, how gotten by the Dutch.

Banda lies near the *Moluccoes*, in 4 deg. 30 min. of Southern Latitude, and 20 Leagues from *Amboyna*; it has many small Isles round it, *viz. Puteavey*, *Lantore* the biggest, *Batan*, *Labatacka*, *Nero*, *Tycobassa*, *Cumber*, *Puleen*, *Salyma*, and others, which are called by the Name of *The Isles of Banda*, they appear like one continued Wilderness of Nutmeg and Clove-trees, Pepper, Vines and Olives. Our *English* Merchants first traded hither also, and the People by their means contracted a perpetual Amity with our King, but the *Dutch* have now expelled our Merchants from thence by force, and now entitle themselves Lords of *Banda*, caring for no Man's Right nor Interest but their own, altho' 'tis well known that the *Dutch* traded thither after the *English*, and that till the Year 1598, they had no trade in any part of the *Indies*, in which Year 3 Ships and a Pinnace set forth from *Amsterdam*, being their first Venture into the *East-Indies*, but what they wanted in Time, they have got by unjust Craft, and now are increased to the wonder and admiration of the Natives. Near these Isles lies

Banda described.

The *Dutch* in possession of them.

Borneo, called by *Ptolemy Pornc*, is directly under the Æquator; it is supposed to be the *Insula bonæ fortunæ*, and is of an Oval form. The greater part inclines to the North, towards which it is extended 7 deg. but to the South but three; it was accidentally first discovered by Mr. *de Bren*, and is subject to the *Spanish* Government and Avarice, which is indefatigable and insatiable after Gold. It has many Villages, which are full of People, but they are poor, and miserable Idolaters. The plenty of Gold, Diamonds, and other Merchandize, which is found here, as Bezar, Lignum, Aloes, Musk, Civet, Benjamin, Amber, Sanguis Draconum, Wax, Rice, Rattans, or Canes, draw a great concourse of Merchants and Travellers thither. Her best Sea-Towns and Ports are *Socodania*, which lies in 1 deg. 35 min. South, and from *Bantam* N. E. an 150 Leagues, or thereabouts, and *Bemermassin*; the rest are scarce worth regard. Bezar, or as the *Persians* call it, Pezar, and Pazahar, is of two sorts, one sort found in *Asia*, *viz.* in *Persia*, and at *Pegu* and *Borneo*, which is the best, and the other in *America*, but inferiour to it. It is found in the Stomach or Maw of a Goat, and other Beasts, but that which is taken from Beasts which feed upon Theriacal Herbs is most Soveraign, and of greatest Vertue to expel Poyson; it is of divers shapes, for some resemble a Plumb, a Date-stone, or Doves-egg; others are like Chesnuts, Goats-kidneys, but all blunt at the end. The colour also is as various, for some are red, or pale green, others are Dark-yellow or Sky-coloured; the last are best. They consist of many Scales, which like Onions inclose one another, and as they grow less, yield more splendor, and increase in vertue. Many are Counterfeit, and to discover the Cheat, they either pierce them with hot Bodkins, or having first weighed them, steep them in cold Water 4 hours; if they do not crack, nor increase in their weight by lying in the Water, they are held good, but if they do either, 'tis a sure sign they are base and vile. The Bezars of *Borneo* are not above half the value with the *Persian* Lignum Aloes, called by the *Javans* and *Malayans Garro*, by the *Indians* and *Portugueze D'Aquile*, and by the *Chineses* and *Cochin-chineses Calamba*; it is formed of large round Sticks of a clouded grain, mixed with veins of Ash-colour. It is pleasant to the eye, weighty in the hand, bitter to the taste, but aromatick to the smell, and takes fire very quickly; upon which account it is that the *Indians*, *Malayans*, *Siamites*, *Peguans*, *Cambogians*, and *Borneans*, use no other Wood when they burn the Corps of their deceased Parents, which with them is the noblest way of Burial.

Borneo described.

Lignum Aloes.

Musk is bred in the Navel of the Cat, and is either yellow, brown, or black; the first is the best, and the last the worst. The choicest is of an Amber-colour, not unlike Spikenard, and is covered with a Skin, which shoots out some bristly hairs; this sort is of so strong a smell, that to many it seems offensive, and being tasted affects the strongest Brain. Sweet Spices take away the smell of it. If it dissolves soon in the Mouth, and slowly in the Hand, 'tis known to be good.

Musk.

Civet (which is a sort of Musk bred in a little Bladder within the Testicles of a certain Creature not unlike a Cat) is of different colours; the deepest yellow is usually the best, the worst is white and greasy, nevertheless, when it is new, 'tis pale, and gradually turns yellowish.

Civet.

Benjamin, which is called by the *Malayans Menyan*, and by the *Indians Benyan*, is either white or yellow, and both sorts are streaked; this Gum issues from a Tree which is high and small, spreading with fruitless branches, the Leaves are somewhat like the Olive. *Arabia* breeds good, but *Pegu* and *Siam* better; that from *Sumatra*, *Priaman* and *Barrouse*, is coarse and bad.

Benjamin.

Amber is of many sorts, grey, brown, white and black; the grey is reputed the best, the black the worst, and the other two indifferent. The best sort of grey is pure, and interlaced with ashy veins, and not subject to sink; it is for the most part gotten in *Soffala*, *Magadoxa*, *Monibassa*, *Mosambique*, *Madagascar*, *Mohelia*, *Melinde*, and other parts of South *Africk*, but at great hazards.

Amber.

Concerning Gems, the places reported most famous for them are these: The Emerald *Calchedon*, Onix and Sardonix *Sardii*; Bezar, Amber, Hemathist and Turquoise, are for the most part to be had in *Arabia*, *Indostan* and *Persia*. Pearls, Beryls, Saphires, Adamants, at *Zeylon*; Jasper, Cornelion, Chrysolite, Agate, Heliotrope and Jacinth, in *Malabar*, *Narsinga*, and *Cochinchina*. Diamonds come from *Borneo*, *Golconda*, *Bisnagar*, *Delly*, and the Isles near the *Greater Java*. Gold, Silver, Rubies and Porcellane, from *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Bengal*, *Sumatra*, *Japan* and *China*.

Places most famous for Jewels.

The best and most Orient Pearl are fished near *Bahrim*, in the *Persian* Gulph, where they say have been found no less than 100 Pearls, great and small, in one Oyster; nevertheless, store of small Pearl are had in Oysters, Muscles, and other Shell-fish, all along the Coasts of *India*. Not far from *Borneo* was found a Pearl, round and orient, as big as a Dove's-Egg, and of great value; and the *Mogul* has Pearls of an incredible bigness.

Pearl.

By a N. N. E. Course they sailed by *Mindanc*, an Isle as big as *Sicily*, extending from 6 to 9 deg. North. The *Philippines* lie Northward of *Mindano*, and near them all the *Manilles*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Insulæ Satyrorum*. They are nameless, because numberless, but the biggest of them, and most famous, is called *Luconia*, which lies 14 deg. North.

Mindano.

West of this Island lies *Cambogia*, a rich part of the *Asiatick* Continent; and North, *Shyma* and *Shicoca*, two Isles best known to the Inhabitants of *China* and *Japan*.

Cambogia.

Formosa, an Isle very advantageously situated for Trade, stands in 22 deg. and is 150 Miles in length, and 50 in breadth, lies in the way to *Japan*, neighbouring upon *China*; it was first inhabited by the *Spaniards* and *Mulattoes*, who grew very numerous and rich, till the *Dutch* thrust in a Colony among them.

Formosa.

Corea is a long, narrow Peninsula, famous in the Situation, but infamous in the Inhabitants, who are a People that live by Spoil, and doing mischief to their Neighbours; more subtle than the *Chineses*, or *Japoneses*.

Corea.

Japan was unknown to the Old Geographers, and first discovered by *Motus*, *Peshotus*, and *Zeymorus*, three banished *Portugueze*, who seeking their Fortune in a Vessel, were driven by Storm upon this Isle in 1542, and from that time it became well known to that Nation; but the *English* did not trade thither till 1613, and the *Dutch* more lately. Whether it be an Isle or no is disputable, tho' some pretend to know the Dimensions of it, and accordingly limit it between the 35 and 48 Degrees, asserting it to be 230 Leagues long, and 109 broad. The Soil is barren and coarse, but fruitful in Minerals. The Towns of best Note and Traffick are *Meaco*, the Metropolis, a Midland City, *Surunga*, *Ozacca*, till of late the Residence of the Court; the Buildings in them are very ordinary. Of best Note are the *Foliques*, which are filled with *Manada's*, to which the *Japonians* are exceedingly addicted.

Japan described.

The

Their Religion.

The Jesuits have taken great pains to Convert the People to Christianity; and in *Xaverius's* days there were many that professed their Belief in Christ, but they have since Apostatized, and the greatest Number becoming *Gentiles*, have Massacred the constant Professors of the Faith, insomuch, that there are now but few Christians among them, the People rather inclining to the Alcoran, which is of late come very near them, and agrees best with their Sensual Appetites.

Their Government.

The Government is Monarchical, above 60 Petty-Princes doing Homage to the Emperor of *Japan*. The Country is for the most part Mountainous, but full of Rivolets, which make it abound with Corn, Grass and Minerals. The North and East Parts are less Peopled than the South and West. The Old *Roman* punishment of Crucifixion is here used, a Death not more full of torture than Ignominy. The People are Valiant, and reasonably Civil, but affecters of Novelties, very jealous and revengeful upon Occasions. They pretend much to Learning, and especially pride themselves in their Skill in Geography, tho' ignorant of that Art, as used in *Europe* and *Africk*. They divide the World into three Parts only, *China*, *Japan* and *Siam*, which sufficiently shews their Skill in it. At their Entertainments they sit long and fare well, and in their eating use Sticks, or Forks, and shift the Table, as new Courses are served. In riding they mount on the Right-side. Their Alphabet contains but 20 Letters. At Funerals they wear white.

Their hatred to the Chinese.

They deny themselves to be descended of the *Chineses*, but are really Exiles of *China*, banished above 600 Years ago for an Insurrection; upon which account they retain an implacable Animosity to the *Chineses*, and rob and prey upon them on all Advantages, yea, abominate them in their Prayers, and in all their Complements and Ceremonies are opposite to them as may be. The Children are so sensible of their Reputation, that to vindicate themselves from a false Accusation they'll cut off a Joint from their Fingers, and wish it may never heal if it be true. Murder, Theft, Treason and Adultery, are punished severely, either by Crucifying, or Beheading with a Cuttan. *Ozacca* is 80 Leagues from *Bungo*, a Port of good Note, but in nothing so remarkable as for a Castle, regularly fortified, and of excellent stone, varnished and tiled with Plates of Gold, the Walls are 20 foot thick, and the whole is encompassed with a large deep Trench full of Water, over which are some Draw-bridges. This Castle was of late the Prison of *Coja-zamma*, Eldest Son of *Fiqua-zamma* the late Emperor, whose Father *Faxiba-zamma* subjected all the other Princes of *Japan* to himself, and made them by Oath to acknowledge him their Sovereign. Over-against *Ozacca*, on the other side of the River, stands *Sacay*, a Town traded to by the Christians. *Edo* is not far from it, a place strongly Walled and well Peopled. Fifteen Leagues from thence is *Oringeo*, a Town that affords good Anchorage. *Fyrando* and *Succate* are *English* Factories. *Succate* is a pretty Town, watered with a sweet River, and defended by a Castle: a Forrest of 3 Miles long encompasseth the Town almost, and under the lofty Pines and spreading Sycamores the People pay their Idolatrous Worship, for under those green Trees are many small, but richly tiled Fotiques, where they adore their Pagods in the shape of *Pan* and *Priapus*, yea, Satan himself in his ugliest Forms; so in all the Country, where there are most Trees and Corn, there are most Idolaters. In *June* and *July* they seldom fail of prodigious Storms, called Tuffons, or Hurricanes, that for 24 hours thunder most dreadfully in the Air. In *Meacco* are 60 Temples and Colleges, in which some have numbred 3333 *Chamebræ*, or little gilded Deities, called by them *Manada's*, of which *Shaca* and *Amida* (as the *Bonzees* say) have the highest rank in their Calendar. Among them is a Monstrous Image erected by *Tyco-zamma* of *Ari-caike*, so large, that the Chair he sits in is 70 foot high and 80 broad, his Head big enough to hold 15 Men, and his Thumb 40 Inches in compass, and the rest of the Body proportionable. At *Dabys* is such another *Colossus*, of hollow Copper raised, 24 foot high: But the *Fotique* at *Tencheday* is most remarkable, where Satan often appears. This Temple is of an extraordinary Structure, and served by many *Bonzees*.

A Damosel Presented to the Idol.

Among other Sacrifices or Forms of Worship used here, this is one: That a Damosel every New Moon is brought into the Temple by a *Bonzee*, and placed right against the Idol. At her entrance the Room is forthwith illuminated with *Lignum-Aloes* burning in Lamps of Gold, but soon after the Lamps are extinguished miraculously, and in gross Darkness the Deity is said to company with her. At her return she is entertained with Musick and Songs, and the Enthusiastick Girl resolves them many Questions, and is of more repute with them ever after.

A Notable Delusion of Satan. Due West from *Japan* is

China described.

China, this Country is the most Easterly part of the Continent of the *Greater Asia*, a Kingdom no less Great than Wealthy, and as Famous as Great, but not well discovered, because they are jealous of Strangers. It has many Names, because it is a Custom among them, that every new King gives Names both to themselves and the Kingdom. *Ptolemy* calls them, *Sinæ um Regio*, and other Geographers *Seres*. The Inhabitants call their Nation *Tamen*, and themselves *Tamegines*. It is a spacious Monarchy, extending from 17 to 47 deg. of Northern Latitude; it is almost square, and from every side 1500 Miles, and so is 4000 Miles in compass. The Country is full of sweet and navigable Rivers, some of which are no less inhabited than the Cities, which are said to be 600, besides Walled Towns 2000, Unwalled 4000, Castles 1000, and Villages almost innumerable, which contain (as the Friars estimate them) above 60 Millions of Men; besides Women and Children, 4 times more than all *France* is supposed to have. The whole Empire is divided into 15 Provinces, governed by so many *Quonfu* and *Laufiæ*, who have their Deputies called *Tutons* and *Chyans*. Each Province has a Metropolis, but the chief of them are *Paquin*, *Nanquin*, *Cantam* and *Quinzay*. *Paquin* has now the precedency, tho' *Quinzay* had it formerly; it elevates the Pole 41 deg. 15 min. and is, if the Relation of some be true, not only the greatest and best Peopled City in all *Asia*, but the whole World, for they say it hath 30 *Dutch* Leagues in circumference, in which are many stately Buildings, 24000 *Mandarins* Sepulchres, the meanest of them are not without some beauty, and as many little gilded Chappels, besides 3800 Idol-Temples, as many Gates and Posterns as there be Days in the Year, 120 Bazars, and above 1000 Bridges. This City is distant about 100 Miles from that marvelous Wall built 1000 Years since by *Chrisnagol*, or as others call him, *Zaintzan*, their 117th King, to keep out the *Tartar*. The Wall is 1200 Miles long, 12 Yards thick, and 6 Fathoms high, and was 27 Years erecting, by the continual Labour of 750000 Men; nevertheless, it could not hinder the *Tartar* of late from over-running, and subjecting this great Empire to them, by forcing their passage through it. *Nanquin* is the second City for Grandeur in the *Chinese* Empire, once the Metropolis of it; it is situate in 35 deg. Northern Latitude, and is 8 Leagues from the Sea. It is 12 Leagues about, being encompassed with strong Walls and Ditches. The King's Palace is very large, and the other Buildings many, being accounted 200000, but not beautiful. The Temples are 2000, the Streets fair, and People industrious. It is 600 *English* Miles from *Paquin*, the Way for the most part being Navigable. *Cantam* lies in 25 deg. Latitude; it is a rich and spacious Town, Ships ride commonly in view of it, but from *Paquin* it is little less than 2 Months travel. Here Merchants are permitted to go ashore, but when they enter the City-gate, usually Enrol their Names in a Book, engaging themselves upon a Penalty to go on board at Night, but of late they are allowed a little more liberty. The Merchants trade hither for Musk, Gold, Silks of all sorts, Cabinets, Porcellane, and several other rich Commodities. *Quinzay* borders on *Cochin-china*; it was of Old the greatest, and is at this day the most remarkable City in the Orient for variety of ancient Rarities, of which the most Notable are their *Meani*, or Idol-Temples. The Country is Champain, and exceeding Fruitful. The Rivers abound with Fish, which the *Chineses* not only Feast themselves with, but upon Frogs, Snakes, Rats, Hogs, Dogs, and such like Creatures, which other Nations abominate; and for better dispatch, they fish with Cormorants. The People are Olive-coloured, more black or white as they live at a distance from the Æquinoctial. They wear their hair long and filletted, but their Beards are thin and ugly. Their Eyes are commonly black and small, Noses little, Nails almost as long as their Fingers, but serving to distinguish their Generosity. The better sort have their Cloathing of Silk, and a slight sort of Sattin, and the meaner in black Cloth made of Cotton. Both wear their Coats long and quilted, made to tie on the Left Arm; their Sleeves are long, and the Wrists very strait. Their Shoes are of such Stuff as their Coats, but some have them richly embroider'd, the Soal being of Cloth or Callico. The greatest variety is in their Head-attire; some knit their hair in Cawls of Silk, or Horse-hair, others with Fillets of Gold and Silver. Others wear high round Caps made with fine twigs stitched with Silk of divers Colours, but others fancy an Antick sort of Hat, which is high-crown'd and round, and one half without a brim. No colour pleaseth them so much

as tawney. The Women are Modeſt, and differ nothing in their Apparel. They cover themſelves with a Veil of white Linen, ſo that nothing appears but their Feet, which from their Infancy they ſo ſtraiten to make themſelves A-la-mode, that they become many of them lame. They Tolerate Polygamy, and that odious Sin of Sodomy, and are not aſhamed to expoſe them to publick view by paintings. They are a proud, lazy, jealous and voluptuous ſort of People. Muſick, Poetry, Painting and Stage-plays, delight them exceedingly, and they care not what they ſpend in Luxury and Fire-works. They eat in Porcellane, and put their Meat in ſeveral ſmall Diſhes, which they love to Mince, and take it up with two Sticks of Bone, or Ivory, or with their Nails, which ſome wear very long for that Uſe, for they account it abſurd to touch either their Mouths or Meat with their Fingers. Their Drink is commonly hot, and appears to be Coffee by the colour and taſte. They drink a little and often. The *Louthiays* eat on Tables, ſit on Stools, and will be ſerved on the Knee.

No Beggars. Tho' they are given to Idleneſs, yet they have few or no Beggars; for if a young Perſon beg he is whipped, if an old one, he is ſent to an Hoſpital to be provided for.

Their puniſhments. Murder and Theft they puniſh with Death. The leaſt puniſhment they uſe is the Strapado. Their Juſtice is ſevere, their Priſons ſtrong, and Executions quick. They honour their *Mandarins*, reverence the *Chyams*, and almoſt adore their King. No Subject can have recourſe to him but by Petition. His Wives Children and Eunuchs only have acceſs to him. Ambaſſadors enter not into his preſence without ſome Gifts of value. The People are much pleaſed with Novelties, and more eſpecially love to ſee ſtrange Arts, which they practiſe with delight. Few of them but have Skill either in Tillage,

Their Arts and Trades. making *China*-Diſhes, Painting, Singing, Playing, or ſome other Art which is uſeful and modeſt. They affect Mathematicks. They uſe no Letters, but Characters, of which they have above 40000. They write downward with Pencils made of Horſe-hair, ſuch as Painters uſe. Their Language is almoſt all Monoſyllables. Moſt of them have a Vein of Poetry and Muſick, and are ſtudious in all the Liberal Sciences. Scholars and Merchants are in greater eſteem with them than Men of War.

Their honour to their King. No People in the World honour their King more than they, for they ſuppoſe him too Glorious to look on. They obey his Will in every thing, they fill his Exchequer Yearly with above 100 Millions of Crowns, and call him the Undaunted Emperor, Lord of the whole World, Son of the Sun, and Beauty of the whole Earth.

Their Duty to their Parents. Nor do any People expreſs more filial Reſpect to their Parents than they, for they obey them at all times, and in all places; marry not without their Conſent, leave their Childrens Names to them, honour them be they never ſo mean, maintain them be they never ſo poor, and at their Death expreſs all Symptoms poſſible of Duty, Mourning in white Linen as the *Jews* did of Old, ſeldom leſs than two or three Years; the longer they mourn, they think they better expreſs their filial Affection.

Their Pride. They arrogate to themſelves the Invention of all Arts and Knowledge in the Liberal Sciences, and it can't be denied but they have ſome of them, as Logick, Rhetorick, Muſick, Arithmetick and Aſtronomy. They are, they ſay, the moſt unmix'd People in the Univerſe, have all from their own Ingenuity, and borrow nothing from others. They boaſt that they firſt invented Characters, Guns, Painting, Tillage and Navigation, in which if they do not falſify, yet they come far ſhort of the *Europeans* in the perfection of thoſe Arts, for their Guns are ſhort like Piſtols; their Painting is with mean Deſigns and filthy Poſtures, tho' their Colours are good. They ſhadow but meanly, in which conſiſts the excellency of Painting. Their Husbandry is without much Art, for tho' their Grain is good, the Soil rich, and the Zone moderate, yet is neither their Corn ſo good, various, and certain as ours. Their Navigation is lame, they build many Ships, but without beauty or ſtrength. Nor have they much Skill in Sailing, having no good Mathematick Inſtruments, nor knowing the Uſe of the Compaſs. They are ignorant of the Load-ſtone, uſing the *Dog-Star* and *Urſa Minor* for their beſt Directors; yet, they ſay, they ſee with both Eyes, the *Europeans* with one, and all other People are blind. They love Gaming exceſſively, and will Stake their Wives and Children in their playing, which if they loſe, they willingly part with them till they can redeem them. They are Hoſpitable one to another, and believe a Reſurrection, for they will ſometimes lend Money to be paid in another World. Stage-plays, Masks, Fire-works, and ſuch Devices, pleaſe them wonderfully, nor care they what Money they expend in ſuch Sports, if their expectation be not fruſtrate. Their Houſes are meanly built, and as badly furniſhed. Their *Meani* have no external Beauty nor Grandeur as might be expected in ſo rich a Country, and among ſo Superſtitious a People, but they are many times lined with excellent good Porphyry, Serpentine, and like Marble. Their Colleges and Temples expreſs, by ſome Invention or other, their Infernal Art and Familiarity with the Old Magician, to whom they devote ſome Enthuſiaſtick Boys, who pronounce ſomewhat that points at his Worſhip and their Obedience. They Celebrate their Birth-days very ſolemnly for a Fortnight, ſpending the Day in Paſtimes, and the Nights in Feaſting, indulging themſelves much in choice Fruits and Wines. *New-years-Day*, which is with them in *March*, they keep with all ſolemnity, ſtriving to exceed each other in the fancies of their Pageants, and adorning their Doors with Paper-Arches and Images by Day, and with Lanthorns and Lights by Night. Their Weddings have more or leſs Ceremony, according to the Quality of the Perſons. Their Funerals are thus Celebrated: When a Man dies, they firſt waſh, then Perfume, and laſt of all put his beſt Cloaths on, and covering his Head, ſet him in a Chair. Then his Wife having paid her Reſpects, goes to him and kiſſes him, and takes her leave of him with all the ſorrow imaginable; and after her, the Children and Relations do all the ſame in their Order. This done, after three days they lay him in a Coffin of precious Wood, which they cover with a Silk Cloth, and over it place his Picture. For 15 days the Corps reſts in that ſort, and every day a Table is ſpread before it well-furniſhed with Meat, which the Prieſts, who burn Incenſe and offer Sacrifice, are allowed to eat in the Night. When they carry it to the Grave, Women are hired to howl, to move others to compaſſion; and upon the Coffin ſometimes they ſet the Image of a Dead Man, who is to ſhew him the readieſt way to *Elizium*. When the Burial is over, the Widow and Children keep themſelves from Company ſome few days, and when they go abroad, wear Sackcloth next their Skin, have long and plain Cloaths, and for three Years ſpace are not ſeen to laugh or joy in any thing, but to the utmoſt of their power ſhew their love by their continued lamentation, abſtinence from Feaſts and Paſtimes, and ſubſcribing their Letters by the Name of ſuch a ones (*viz.* the Dead Man being named) Diſobedient Widow, Son, &c.

Their Guns. Their Husbandry. Navigation. Their love of Gaming. Their Colleges. Their Feſtivals. Their Funerals. Their Mourning.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Sir Tho. Herbert's *Return home from* China *into* England, *and the things remarkable in his Way.*

THE Ravishing Delights, and Magical Excellencies of the Orient, tho' pleasing his Mind, could not take his thoughts off from his own beloved Country, but *Ovid's Nescio quâ Natale Solum*, &c. was always the close of his Observations; and so setting Sail homeward upon *June* 7. after a long Voyage through Storms, endured with much patience, he came to the Isle of *Digarroys*, which is 50 Miles about, and in the 20 deg. South Latitude. Here they would not anchor, because they knew that the Isle of *Mauritius* was but 90 Leagues distant upon a W. N. W. Course, and there they expected some refreshment. The Isle of *Digarroys* was first discovered by the *Portugueze*; it is a desolate Island without Inhabitants, but plentifully furnished with Wood, Tortoises, Dodo's, and the like Fowl. At the South-West are Shoals, which are long and dangerous. By the benefit of a constant Wind, they soon arrived at *Mauritius*.

The Isle of *Digarroys*.

Mauritius is an Isle situate within the Torrid Zone, under 20 deg. 5 min. Southern Latitude, and 20 deg. 20 min. Longitude from Cape *Comeryn*. The variation is 24 deg. and 19 min. It properly belongs to *Africa*, and is removed 100 Leagues, or thereabouts, from *Madagascar* to the East. For variety of Temporal Blessings, this Isle may compare with any place in the Universe. It was first discovered by the Industry of the *Portugueze*, who gave it the Name of *De-cerne*, which the *Dutch* changed into that of *Maurice*, for reasons not known to us. It was thought by the first Discoverers, that Christians had formerly inhabited this Isle, by the Crosses, and other Symbols found there. It abounds with, and is capable of all things necessary for Humane Life, which can be required in the Zone that 'tis placed in. The Land upon the Sea-coast is high, but elsewhere Champian and Plain. It is of an Oval shape, and in Circuit not above 100 *English* Miles. The Air exceeding good; and the Soil, tho' untilled, so fruitful, that it produces without Seed, Grass, Herbs and Flowers. Ambergreese is often found floating about this Island, but how generated is not known, but it is highly valued according to its Nature. Here is also Coral in abundance: 'Tis a green Shrub or Plant in the Salt Sea, but has no Leaves. It beareth white Berries, which by force of the Sea and Air turn into Stone, and when it turns red it is valuable. It grows also upon the *Malabar* Coast, in the Red-Sea, and some other Parts of the *African* shore, and near the *Philippine* Islands. It produceth Trees of several sorts, some good for Timber, others for Food, all for Use. The most rare Trees are the Ebony, which affords Wood of different Colours, as black, white, red and yellow, all of great Use; but the black is most valuable. The Tree is commonly high, and very straight, covered with a smooth Bark. They were found here in great plenty, but the *Dutch* and *French* have carried away such abundance, that the plenty is much abated. Here also grows that Phœnix in Nature the Palmeto or Date-Tree; the Trunk of it is slender, but very high and round, not branching but near the top, and then resembling Sedge rather than Boughs, which are ever green. Under the Sedge appears a soft pulp, not unlike a Colliflower, but because the vegetative Vertue of the Tree consists in it, it will not thrive after it is severed, but while that substance remains it yields a Liquor like the Toddy, which is in colour and relish not unlike Must, or new Wine, which issues out of the Bark, when it is pierced, the quantity of a Pottle in an hour. It is a kind of Tree-honey, and being drunk with moderation comforts the Spirits, purges and helps Obstructions, and kills Worms, but being immoderately taken intoxicates the Brains, and disposes to Fluxes, but being set two days in the Sun, turns acid, and then is binding. Here are also Coco-Trees, both Male and Female; they both bear Blossoms, but the Female is only fruitful, and that by inoculating a flowering branch of the Male into it, or planting it near it, and not otherwise. Lizards and Parrots, and other Birds, flock to the Trees that are pierced, when Men are gone, to suck up the remaining Liquor. Several other sorts of Trees there are, which differ in quality and form, which tho' they had a resemblance to Pines, Sycamores and Limes, and the Fruit to Artichokes, Plums, Nuts, &c. yet were in Nature different. This Isle has great variety of Birds, and some of them very rare, as the Dodo, whose Body is round and fat, which causes its slow pace, and is so big, as to weigh no less than 50 pounds. It is better to the Eye than Stomach, for the flesh is so oily and cloying, that only strong Stomachs can digest it. It is of a melancholy Visage, and has such small Wings as are unable to hoist her from the ground. Her Head is half covered with down of a dark colour, and the other half naked; the Bill is hooked, and from the thrill or breathing place to the end, is of a light green colour mixed with a pale yellow, her Eyes are round and bright, she has fine down instead of feathers, which grow only 3 or 4 at her Tail, her Legs are thick and black, her Tallons great, and her Stomach so hot as to digest Stones. Here are also Aeries of Hawks, and sundry other Birds, as Goshawks, Lanners, Hobbies, Passe-Flemingoes, Geese, Pouts, Swallows, Kites, Black-birds, Sparrows, Robins, Herons, white and beautiful, their flesh good, but feathers more valuable: Cacato's fierce, and not to be tamed, Bitterns, Hens, and many others, but the Parrots are most curious in their feathers, and more esteemed for their prating. In the Rivers are found great variety of Fish; the rarest are the Man-atee, a Fish which uses both Elements, their Fins serving for Stilts on Land, as they do for Oars in the Sea. The Flesh differs little from Veal in taste. They affect shoal'd Waters, and usually swim near the shore, that they may graze upon it; their eyes are small, their bulk about three Yards long, and in breadth about half so much. A gentle Fish, delighted in beholding Man's face, and valuable for a Stone found in the Head, which being pounded and drank in Wine fasting, cures the Stone and Colick. The Torpedo, or Cramp-fish, which by hiding it self in the Mud, catches lesser Fish very strangely, for by his coldness he benums such Fish as swim over him, or lodge near him, and so preys upon them. When they are taken, they affect the Hand of the Catcher with a sudden trembling, by evaporating a cold breath, which stupifies the touch. The Eagle-fish, made more for Admiration than Food, the Eyes are 5 quarters asunder, and the Fins, from one end to the other, 4 Yards; its Mouth is so wide, and Teeth so long, that it resembleth a small Port-cullice. The Tail also is very long and small. Other strange Fish are also met with here, some have the shapes of Hedge-hogs, other of Cats, some round, and some triangular. More ordinary Fish are found also here in abundance, as Dolphins, Boneta's, Albicores, Cavallo's, Porpices, Grampasses, Mullets, Breams, Tench, Trout, Soals, Flounders, Tortoises, Eeles, Pikes, Sharks, Crabs, Lobsters, Oysters, Craw-fish and Cuttle-fish, Rock-fish and Lampits. Moreover, this Isle affords Goats, Hogs, Beeves, and Land-Tortoises, some of which are so big, as to suffer two Men to sit on them, and so strong as to carry them; yea, some report that 15 Men have stood upon one of them. The Sailors use to eat them, but they are better Meat for Hogs than Men; as are also their Rats, Bats and Monkies. Hens excel them, and are easily catched, for they flock together in companies of 30 or 40 together; and if you kill one, they will none of them be frighted at it. In this Isle are several good places to anchor in, but two are most frequented, the one on the North-West, and the other on the South-East; both which Bays seem to be Land-locked, and have Ouzy-ground, so that Ships ride safe there in 5, 10, 15, or 20 Fathoms, no where dangerous. The Soil of it is stony towards the shore, but at more distance has rich Mould, covered with Grass and Herbs, and bearing Wood in abundance. It has Springs of good Water, and nothing wants which may delight the Eye, or satisfy the Taste. It is uninhabited, but such invitations 'tis like will be soon accepted. From the Isle of *Maurice* they set sail, and on the 5th day came to an Island called *England's-Forest*, so named by Capt. *Castleton*, Commander

Mauritius described.

Coral.

Trees, Fruit.

The Palmeto, Vid. Fig. 20.

The Birds.

The Dodo described, Vid his form, Fig. 21.

Hawks.

Fish.

The Manatee, Vid. the shape, Fig. 22.

The Torpedo, or Cramp-fish.

The Eagle-fish.

Tortoises.

Hens.

Bays.

The Soil.

England's-Forest, an Isle.

Commander of the *Pearl* in 1613, but some of late have given it the Name of Seignior *Mascarenas*. This pleasant Isle is about 50 Miles in Circuit, it lies in 20 deg. 55 min. Southern Latitude, and is distant from the Isle of *Mauritius* 37 Leagues. The ground is very high, and raiseth it self a good way into the middle Region; the Earth is every where green, especially in tall Trees. It had no Creatures in it but Birds, till the *English* put some Hogs and Goats into it, that by multiplication they might be an happy Relief to Passengers. Here are plenty of Fish, and the Eels are of a remarkable bigness, some of them weighing 30 pounds, and they are very moist and sweet to the taste. The Birds are much the same as those mentioned in the Isle of *Mauritius*. From hence they sailed into the *Mare de Zur*, where for many hundred Miles they were recreated with many shoals of Fish, that play'd about their Ship, and among others the Whale, some of which seemed longer than their Ship, tho' of great burden. This Fish usually exceeds any other Creature in bigness, being near 40 Cubits long, and a 4th part in thickness; yea, *Nearchus* told *Alexander*, he saw one 50 Cubits long. And *Pliny*, in his Nat. Hist. lib. 32. says, there are some 603 foot long. After 70 days sail they came to the Island of

S. Helena, an Isle, described.

S. Helena, placed in a rough Sea, but secured from Inundation, not so much by its height, tho' extraordinary, as by the Supreme Providence, which sets Bounds to the Sea. It has no Isles near it, but stands in an equal distance between the Ports of *Rio Grandi* in *Brasile*, and Cape *Negro* in the Kingdom of *Congo* in *Africk*; its Name was given it by *John de Nova* about the Year 1502, because he discovered it in his return from *India* to *Lisbon*, *May* 3. a day Consecrated to the Memory of the Most Religious Empress *Helena*, the Mother of *Constantine* the first Christian Emperor. This Isle lies in 16 deg. of Southern Latitude, and from the utmost Promontory of South *Africk* 22 deg. Longitude. It is distant from the Lands-end of *England* 4500 *English* Miles, and from the *Cape of Good Hope* 1740. It belongs to *Africa*. It is but small, not exceeding 30 *English* Miles in circumference, but so excessive high, that it veils its head often in the Clouds, which send down sufficient moisture to cool the Sun's ardour. Nevertheless, the Land is not more eminent in its height than the Sea is profound in its depth, being so deep, that it affords ill anchoring save at the N. W. where 'tis but 20 fathoms; yet to ride securely, 'tis best to carry the Anchors ashore. The flux and reflux of the Sea hardly appears here, because of the great depth. The Land is so steep that it can hardly be ascended, insomuch that the Sailors thus describe the Way up to it: *That 'tis such, as that a Man may chuse whether he will break his Heart in going up, or his Neck in coming down*; but being once up, scarce any place can yield a more large and delightful prospect. The Land is very even and plain a top, without any Hills. It has some Springs, which are sweet at their rising, but running through the Salt Hills, and drawing near the Sea, where they meet with a saltish Vapour, they are brackish. There are but two noted Rivolets in it, the one running down towards the Chappel, built there for God's Worship by the *Spaniards*, but pulled down by the *Dutch*, and put to common Uses; the other running into *Limon-Valley*, so called from a Limon-Tree growing there. There are some Ruins of a little Town lately demolished by the *Spaniard*, because it was become a Magazine of a private Trade from both *Indies*; other Monuments or Antiquities there are none. There are no Inhabitants at present, but plenty of Hogs and Goats, who multiply there to admiration. Here are also store of Pheasants, Pouts, Quails, Hens and Partridges, as also of Herbs and Roots, tho' not naturally growing here, but sown by the *Portugueze*, as Wood-Sorrel, Three-leaved-Grass, Scurvy-Grass, and the like; all Herbs soveraign against the Scurvy, the usual disease at Sea, and most predominant with the Islanders, Basil, Parsley, Mint, Spinage, Fennel, Anise, Radish, Mustard-seed, Tobacco, and the like.

Mr. *Candish* put in here.

Mr. *Candish*, in his Voyage round the Globe, putting in here, found store of Limons, Oranges, Pomgranates, Pomcitrons, Figs and Dates, but now none of these Fruits are found here, save one Limon-Tree, which how it comes to pass none can tell. After a Weeks refreshment here they took their leave of this Isle, a prosperous Gale inviting their departure, and on *Octob.* 16. came just under the Sun. The *Thursday* after they had a prospect of

Ascension-Isle, so named by *John de Nova* in the Year 1502, because he discovered it first upon that Feast. It lies in the 7th deg. of Southern Latitude, and is little more than 30 Miles in Circuit; 'tis neither well wooded nor watered, has nothing observable in it. From *St. Helena* 'tis 720 *English* Miles, or thereabouts. On the 27th day they crossed the Æquinoctial a fourth time. The Weather here is very hot, save that it is qualified by the continual blowing of the Manzoons and Tornadoes, which cause a variable Weather, *viz.* loud blasts of Wind, nasty showers of Rain, and terrible Thunder and Lightning. On *November* 11. they became parallel to *Cape de Verd*, and those Isles called by the Poets *Gorgades*, because they feign that those three Islands were the Habitations of the three *Gorgons*, *Meduſa*, *Stenia* and *Uriabe*, making them Furies instead of Beauties, contrary to *Perseus*'s report of them. Leaving these Isles upon the more Westerly Course, they coasted part of the *American* Continent, *viz.* *Guiana*, *Florida*, *Virginia* and *New-England*, and other Parts of *Norembega*. Here they observed, that the Sea in many places, as they sailed, was so covered with green Weeds, and small Berries, even where the Water was not to be fathomed, that it rather seems a Field of Grass than the Ocean, and much retarded their way in Sailing. About the beginning of *December* they had sight of the *Azores*, or *Flemish* Islands, which Name seems to infer as if they were found out by the *Dutch*; for according to Tradition, a Merchant of *Bourges*, bound for *Lisbon* in 1449, was by stress of Weather driven so far West, as unexpectedly, betwixt the Latitude of 38 and 40 degrees, he descried several small Islands in view one of another, but at that time without shew of any Inhabitants. He called them the *Flemish* Islands. Coming soon after ashore at *Andalusia*, and reporting his Adventure, the *Portugueze*, by his Compass, easily found the Way to them, and quickly planted them with Men, and whatever else was necessary, giving them at the same time the Names of *S. George*, *S. Michael*, *S. Mary*, three Saints, to whose Patronage the Captain thought fit to recommend three of the Isles; *Fayall*, from the Beach-Trees which then abounded in this Isle, *Pyco*, from the Pyramidal shape it bears, and *Tercera*, because it resembles three Isles. This is the biggest and fruitfullest of them, for it abounds with Wine, Oil, Corn, Fruit and Oade. *Angra* is her best Town, and *Brasile* her strongest Fort, which also command the Haven. *Pyco* is extraordinary high Land, and surges in a Peak, or Spire, like *Teneriff*, so far above the Clouds, that the top is usually covered with Fogs, and is seldom to be discerned by the Sailors. This Isle is not above 10 Miles in compass; the higher Earth is for the most part Sulphur, and shews many hollow places, at which smoke and flame often evaporate, and now and then send forth Brimstone, but in the Valleys are delightful Shades, and cool Rivolets, into which when the Fire is vomited, it causes a terrible noise, to the terror and amazement of Strangers. These Islands are more subject to Earthquakes than other places. In 1591, in *S. Michael's* Island, there happened an Earthquake which continued shaking from the 26th day of *July* to the 12th of *August*, to the extreme affrighting of the Inhabitants, for by the force thereof, they perceived the Earth to remove from place to place; and *Villa Franca*, the best Town, it had quite demolished, the Ships that rode at Anchor in the Bay trembled and quaked, insomuch that the Inhabitants thought verily that Dooms-day was at hand. The *Spaniards* report for a truth, that the Isle *Corvo*, adjoyning to the former, rose out of the Sea, being before under Water; but this Miracle is not so credible, as that this Isle and *Flores* was discovered by the *Spaniards*. These Islands suffered much from the *English* in the quarrel they had with *Spain*, for in 1588, the Earl of *Essex* sacked *Flores* and *Corvo*, and gave *S. Michael* to be plundered by the Soldiers, and the next Year *Fayall* underwent the same Fate. In 1597, *Pyco* was made a prey to the *English* under Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, so that the Inhabitants of these Isles had reason to curse the Catholick ambition. At *S. Michaels* the true Meridian is only found, for there the Needle shews no variation either Easterly or Westerly, contrary to what is observed in other places. Leaving the *Azores*, the Wind being fair they entred the *Cantabrian* Ocean, and at length came to anchor at *Plimouth*, giving God hearty thanks for their preservation from so many Dangers in their long Voyage.

Ascension-Isle.

The Isles of Gorgades.

The *Azores*, or *Flemish* Islands, *Vid.* Fig. 13.

Tercera, its biggest of them, described.

Earthquakes in these Isles.

The Isle *Corvo*.

The true Meridian here.

Navigantium

Navigantium atq; Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING

Voyages, Trafficks, and Diſcoveries TO RUSSIA AND The Northern PARTS.

CHAP. I.

The Journal of William de Rubruquiſh, *a* French-man, *of the Order of the* Minorite Friers, *into* Tartary *and* China; *Written to* Lewis IX *King of* France, 1253.

1253. IN the Year of our Lord 1253, I departed from *Conſtantinople*, and paſſing the *Euxine* Sea, arrived in the *Tartars* Country, who have no ſetled place of abode, but travel toward the South in Winter, and when the Spring approaches, they remove again towards the North. Their Houſes are made of Wickers platted together and placed in Carts, ſome of which are ſo large, that meaſuring once the breadth between the Wheel-ruts of one of their Carts, I found it to be 20 Foot over, and when the Houſe was upon the Cart, it reach'd over the Wheels on each ſide five Feet at leaſt. I told 22 Oxen in one Team, drawing an Houſe upon a Cart, eleven a breaſt. The Axle-tree of the Cart was of an huge bigneſs, like to the Maſt of a Ship. The Man that drove the Oxen ſtood in the Door of the Houſe. They go a ſlow pace, and when they come to any place where they intend to make ſome ſtay, they take down their Houſes from their Carts, and turning the Doors Southwards, the Maſter's Bed is placed at the North end of the Houſe. If he have more Wives than one, ſhe with whom he ſlept the Night before, ſits by his ſide the Day following, and all his other Wives muſt that Day reſort unto the ſame Houſe to drink.

How they make their *Coſmos*.

In Winter they make excellent Drink of Rice, and alſo of Honey: In Summer they care not for any Drink but *Coſmos*, which is Mares Milk prepar'd after this manner. They faſten a long Line unto two Poſts ſtanding firmly in the Ground, and unto the ſame Line they tye the young Foals of thoſe Mares they intend to milk; then come the Dams to ſtand by their Foals, gently ſuffering themſelves to be milked; and if any of them be unruly, they put her Foal under her to ſuck her a while, and removing it away again, a Man milks the Mare. When they have gotten a quantity of this Milk, they pour it into a great Bladder or Bag while it is new, and beat the Bag with a Club, till it begins to boil like new Wine, and to be ſowre and ſharp of taſte. It bites the Tongue like Wine of Raſps, leaving a taſte behind it like to Almond Milk; it intoxicates weak Brains, and ſtrongly provokes Urine.

Caracoſmos. The *Caracoſmos* or black *Coſmos*, for Men of quality to drink, is made on this manner. They beat the Milk till the thickeſt part deſcend to the bottom like the Lees of White-wine, which is given to Servants, and makes them ſleep exceedingly. That which is thin and clear, their Maſters drink, and is a very ſweet and wholſome Liquor.

Their Butter. Their Cows Milk is churned into Butter, which is boiled and put into Rams Skins and reſerved for Winter. They put no Salt in it, and yet it putrifies not, by reaſon of the long boiling. The Milk that remains after the Butter, they let ſtand till it be as ſowre as may be, then boil it till 'tis all turned into Curds, which they dry in the Sun until they are as hard as the Droſs of Iron, and ſtore it up in Bags againſt Winter; at which time when Milk faileth, they put the ſaid Curds, called *Gryut*, into a Bladder, and pouring hot Water into it, beat it till the Curds are diſſolved, and the Water become very ſowre, and then drink it.

Of their Diet. As to their Food, they eat all manner of Carrion without Exception, and among ſo many Droves it cannot be, but ſome Cattle muſt needs die. But in Summer, as long as their Mares Milk laſts, they care not for any Food. When a Horſe or Ox dies, they cut the Fleſh into thin ſlices, and hanging it up againſt the Sun and Wind, it preſently dries without Salt, and alſo without ſtench or Corruption. They make better Puddings of

1253. their Horses than of their Hogs, which they eat being new made; the rest of the Flesh they reserve till Winter. When they eat a Ram, they mince the Flesh in a Bowl with Salt and Water, (other Sauce they have none) and the Master of the House taking what he pleases for himself, gives to the rest of the Company a Morsel or two upon the Point of a Knife or a little Fork, which the Receiver must eat alone, and not impart any of it to another. If he cannot eat it all, he puts the rest in a square Budget, which they commonly carry with them for the saving their Provisions, and wherein they lay up their Bones when they have not time to gnaw them throughly.

Their Women. The Women are for the most part very fat, and the lesser their Noses are, the handsomer they are esteemed. Their Duty is to drive Carts, to lay their Houses upon their Carts, and to take them down again, to milk Kine, to make Butter and *Cyrut*, to dress Skins and make Garments, which they sow with Thread made of Sinews. They ne'er wash any Apparel, nor their Dishes or Bowls, but when their Meat is boiled, they wash the Platter wherein it must be put, with scalding hot Broth out of the Pot, and then pour the said Broth into the Pot again. The Womens Garments differ not from the Mens, only that they are somewhat longer.

The Men. The Men spend their time in making Bows and Arrows, Stirrops, Bridles and Saddles, building Houses and Carts, keeping Horses and Camels, milking Mares, Sheep or Goats, dressing and tanning Hides, which is done with Sheeps Milk thickned and salted.

Marriages. As to their Marriages, no Man can have a Wife among them until he has bought her, whereby their Maids are often very stale before they are married. They inviolably observe the first and second Degrees of Consanguinity, but have no regard to the Degrees of Affinity, but will marry two Sisters successively or together. Widows never remarry, because they believe that every Widow after death shall return to her own Husband.

Laws. Murder, Adultery and Sacriledge, are punished with death. The Criminal must be taken in the Fact, or confess the same, which if he refuse to do, they put him to torture. Small Thefts are punish'd with cudgelling, and if the Executioner gives 100 Strokes, he must use 100 Staves. If two Men fight, no Man dare intrude to part 'em, nor may the Father help his own Son; but he that is worsted, must appeal unto the Court of his Lord, which may be done presently and without delay; and whosoever offers violence to him after appeal, is put to death.

At our first arrival among these barbarous People, after they had made us wait a long time, while they were sitting in the shadow under their Carts, they came to us on horseback. The first Question was, If we had ever been with them before? and we answering that we had not, they impudently began to beg our Victuals, whereupon we gave them some of our Bisket and Wine, and when they had drank one Flagon, they demanded another, telling us, That a Man goes not into the House with one Foot: But we gave them no more, excusing our selves that we had but little. We were five Persons in company, and had with us four covered Carts. They ask'd what I had in them, whether Gold, Silver, or precious Garments, to carry unto *Sartach* their Duke? I answered, That they had nothing to do to ask such Questions, but that their Duke should see what we had brought when we should come to him. With this Answer they seemed satisfied, giving us Horses and Oxen, and two Men to conduct us. Whilst they were furnishing us with these Necessaries, they ceased not to beg our Bread for their Children, wondring at all things they saw, as our Knives, Gloves, Purses and Points, and desiring to have them; for they think themselves Lords, and that nothing should be denied them by any Man. That Evening our Guides gave us some *Cosmos*, which was very savoury, and made me sweat extreamly. In the Morning we met the Carts of *Scacatai*, a Prince of that Country, unto whom the Emperour of *Constantinople* had written Letters of Request to let me pass thro' his Territory. The Carts cover'd with Houses seemed like a mighty City. There were with them huge droves of Oxen and Horses, and flocks of Sheep. Our Guide told me that I must present something to *Scacatai*, and went before to give notice of our coming. His Interpreter advanced to us, asking us what we would present unto his Lord. We took a Flagon of Wine with some Bisket and Fruit; but he was not contented, because we had not brought some rich Garment.

Court of *Scacatai*. When we were admitted to his Presence, we found him sitting on his Bed with a Citron in his Hand, and his Wife sitting by him, the upper part of whose Nose seemed to be pared away; that she might seem flat nosed, and the place was anointed with a black Ointment. I besought him that he would vouchsafe to accept of that small Gift at our hands, excusing my self that I was a Monk, and that it was against my Profession to possess Gold, Silver, or precious Garments, and therefore had not any such thing to give him. Hereupon he caused our Present of Wine, &c. to be received, and distributed it among his Men, who were met together to drink and make merry. I delivered him also the Emperour of *Constantinople*'s Letters. He asked us if we would drink any *Cosmos* (for those Christians which live among them, as the *Russians*, *Grecians*, &c. will never drink of it, and account themselves no Christians after they have once drank it, and their Priests reconcile them to the Church as if they had renounced the Christian Faith). I answered, that we had as yet sufficient of our own, and that when it should fail us, we must be constrain'd to drink such as should be given us. He then asked what Words we would deliver to Duke *Sartach*; I answered, the Words of Christian Faith. He asked again, what these Words were, for he was desirous to hear them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could by my Interpreter, the Apostles Creed, which when he had heard, he shook his Head. When we had travailed in his company until *Whitsunday*, he order'd two *Tartars* to drive our Carts, and one to conduct us to Duke *Sartach*, also one Goat and many Bladders of Cows Milk; but their *Cosmos* is so highly esteem'd, that he gave us but little of it. Our *Tartar* Servant would intrude upon us, when we set under our Carts in the shade, to avoid the vehement heat at that time, and would eat up our Victuals; and had so little manners as to lay their Tails in our presence while they were discoursing with us. Thus we travelled with great toil, till we arrived at the Bank of the River *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*. It is here as broad as the River *Seine* at *Paris*. We were first ferried over, and then our Carts in two Boats bound together, one Wheel in each Boat. The *Tartars* move no further northwards than this place, but in the beginning of *August* return southwards.

1253.

On the last of *July*, we arrived at the Court of Duke *Sartach*, within three days journey of the River *Volga*. Court of *Sartach*. He had six Wives, and each of them about 200 Carts. Our Guide addressed himself to one *Coiat* a Nestorian, a Man of great authority, whose Office is to introduce Forreigners. When I came before him, I told him for what purpose I was come, and requested so much favour at his hands, as to bring my Letters to the sight of his Lord, excusing my self for bringing no Present to him or his Lord, by reason of my being a Monk, not receiving nor using any Gold, Silver, or other precious things, save only our Books, and the Vestments wherewith we served God. He answered very courteously, that being a Monk, in so doing I did well, for so I should observe my Vow; neither did he stand in need of any thing we had, but was ready to bestow upon us such things as we wanted, and causing us to set down and drink of his Milk, he requested us to say our Devotions for him. Then he enquired who was the greatest Prince among the *Franks*; I said the Emperor; He replied *No*, but the King of *France*. Then returning to our Lodging, we sent him next Morning a Flagon of *Muscadel*, and a Box of Biscuits, which was more acceptable to him. The next Morning he commanded me to come to Court, and to bring the King's Letters and my Vestments and Books with me, because his Lord desired to see them. We went accordingly, lading one Cart with Bisket, Wine, and Fruits, and another with our Books and Vestments, which he caused to be laid open, and demanded whether I would bestow all those things upon his Lord. We answered, That our humble request was, that our Lord his Master would vouchsafe to accept our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, not as a Present, because it is too mean, but as a Benediction, lest we should come with an empty Hand before him; and when he shall see the Letters of my Soveraign Lord the King of *France*, he will by them understand for what cause we are come unto him, and then our selves and all that we have, shall stand to his courtesy; but as to our Vestments, they are holy, and it was unlawful for any but Priests to touch them. Then he commanded us to put on the said Garments, that we might go before his Lord, and we did so. I put on the most precious Ornaments, and took in my Arms a very fair Cushion, and the Bible which your Majesty gave me, and a most beautiful Psalter which the Queen bestowed upon me, wherein were goodly Pictures. My Associate took a Missel and a Cross, and the Clerk having put on a Surplice, took a Censor in his Hand. When we came near, the Felt hanging before his Door was

Coiat the Nestorian.

lifted

1253. lifted up that he might behold us. Then they caused the Clerk and the Interpreter to bow the Knee thrice, but of us they required no such submission. They diligently admonish'd us, that in going in and coming out, we should not touch the Threshold, and requested us to sing a Benediction; We entred in, singing *Salve Regina*: The *Moals* or rich *Tartars*, thrusting in with us, prest us very much: All his Wives were there assembled. Then *Coiat* carried to his Lord the Censor with Incense, which he took in his Hand, and beheld very diligently. Then he carried the Psalter to him, which he, and his Wife that sate by, looked earnestly upon. Lastly, he carried the Bible to him, and *Sartach* asked if the Gospel were contained therein: I told him it was, and all the Holy Scriptures besides. He took the Cross in his Hand, and asked if the Image upon it were the Image of *Christ*: I said it was. Then he commanded all to stand aside, that he might the better see our Ornaments. I delivered to him your Majesties Letters, with a Translation into *Arabick* and *Syriack*. When he had heard them, he order'd our Bread, Wine and Fruits to be received, and permitted us to depart with our Vestments and Books to our Lodging: But in the Morning early, a Priest, who was Brother unto *Coiat*, came to us, and requested to have our Box of Chrisme, because *Sartach* (as he said) was desirous to see it, and so we gave it him. In the Evening *Coiat* sent for us, saying, Your King hath written good words to my Lord and Master *Sartach*, but there are some Difficulties in them, concerning which, he dare not determin without the advice of his Father *Baatu*, and therefore you must go thither, leaving your Vestments and Books in my custody, because my Lord is desirous to take a more diligent view of them. The next day he sent a *Nestorian* Priest, who took them from us.

Court of *Baatu*. Then came our Guide, telling us we must depart immediately; and so travelling eastward, we came on the third day to the River *Volga*, and passed down stream in a Bark to the Court of *Baatu*, which when I beheld, I was astonish'd at the sight; for the Houses or Tents seemed like a huge and mighty City, the People ranging about it for the space of three or four Leagues. The Court is called in their Language *Horda*, which signifies the Middle, because the Chief among them always dwells in the midst of his People, excepting that directly towards the South, no Subject may place himself, because toward that Region the Court Gates are open, but to the right and left, they may extend themselves as far as they will, and every one knows on which side of the Court he ought to place his House when he takes it from the Cart. The next day we were brought unto the Court of *Baatu*, and caused a large Tent to be erected, because his House or ordinary Tent would not contain so many Men and Women as were assembled. Our Guide admonished us not to speak, till *Baatu* should give us Commandment so to do, and that then we should speak our minds briefly. When we came into his Presence, the first Question he ask'd us was, Whether your Majesty had sent Ambassadors unto him or no; I answered, That your Majesty had sent Messengers to * *Ken-Can*, and would not have sent to him or *Sartach*, if you had not heard that they were converted to Christianity. Then leading us unto his Pavillion, we were charged not to touch the Cords of the Tent, which they think equivalent with the Threshold of the House. *Baatu* sate on a Bed guilt all over, with three Stairs to ascend to it, and one of his Ladies sate by him. At the entrance of the Tent was a Bench furnish'd with *Cosmos*, and stately great Cups of Silver and Gold, richly adorned with precious Stones. We stood before him in our Habits bare footed and bare headed: After he had beheld us earnestly, he commanded us to speak: Then our Guide gave us direction to bow our Knees and speak: Whereupon I bowed one Knee, but he signified that I should kneel upon both Knees, and being loth to contend about Circumstances, I did so. And the Prince again commanded me to speak; then I thinking of Prayer unto God, (because I kneeled on both Knees, began to pray on this manner. "*Sir*, We beseech the Lord, from whom all "good things do proceed, and who hath given you these "Earthly Benefits, that it would please him hereafter to "make you Partaker of his Heavenly Blessings, because "the former without these are but vain and unprofita"ble. *And I added further*, Be it known unto you for "certain, that you shall not obtain the Joys of Heaven, "unless you become a Christian; for God saith, *Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not, shall be condemned.* At these Words he modestly smiled, but the *Moals* began to clap their Hands and to deride us, and my Interpreter himself was abashed and utterly dashed out of countenance. After silence made, I said unto him, I came unto your Son, because we heard that he was become a Christian, and I brought unto him Letters from my Soveraign Lord the King of *France*, and your Son sent me hither unto you; the cause of my coming is therefore best known unto your self. Then he caused me to rise up, and enquired your Majesties name and my name, and the names of my Associate and Interpreter, and order'd them all to be put down in writing. He demanded (having been inform'd that your Majesty was departed from your own Countries with an Army) against whom you waged War. I answered, against the *Saracens*, because they had defiled the House of God at *Jerusalem*. Then he ordered us to sit down, and gave us *Cosmos*, which is accounted a great favour when any Man is admitted to drink it in his own House. As soon as we had taken our leave, our Guide came to us and said, Whereas your Master requests that you may remain in this Land, *Baatu* cannot grant it without the consent of *Mangu-Can*, wherefore you and your Associate with your Interpreter must go to him, but the Clerk and the Lad shall return to the Court of *Sartach*, and tarry there till you come back. I intreated him to speak to *Baatu* that the Clerk might go with us; He said, *No more Words*, it being resolved that so it shall be, and therefore I dare not go to the Court any more. Thus we parted with tears, the Clerk and the Lad being sent back to the Court of *Sartach*, where (as I afterwards understood) they found the *Nestorian* Priests in his presence, adorned with our Vestments.

I with my Associate and Interpreter, rode forward with *Baatu* along the Bank of *Volga* for five Weeks together; at length, about the middle of *September*, a *Moal* came to us saying, I am the Man that must conduct you to *Mangu-Can*; we have thither a Journey of four Months long to travel, and there is such extream cold in those parts, that Stones and Trees are riven asunder; therefore I would wish you to consider with your selves whether you be able to endure it. I said, I hoped by God's help, we should be able to brook that which other Men can endure. Then he bid us to shew him all our Garments, and what he thought less needful for us, he willed us to leave behind, and the next day they brought each of us a furred Gown made of Rams Skins, with the Wool still upon them, and Breeches of the same, with Buskins and Shoes made of Felt, and Hoods of Skins after their manner.

On the 16th of of *September* we set forward, having three Guides to direct us. We had on the North side *Bulgaria* the greater, on the South the *Caspian* Sea. We rode continually eastward over the Plains of *Cangle* 46 days, travelling almost every day as far by my estimation, as from *Paris* to *Orleans*, and sometimes further, as we hapned to be provided with Post-horses; for some days we had change of Horses twice or thrice a day; at other times we travelled two or three Days together, and saw no People, and then were constrained not to ride so fast: We being Strangers had always the worst Horses. They always mounted me upon a strong Horse, because I was corpulent and heavy, but whether he went easie or not, I durst not question. We endured much Hunger, Thirst and Cold, eating no Victuals but in the Evening: In the Morning we supt off some sodden Millet, and at Night we had some Rams Mutton, and every Man a measured quantity of Broth to drink, which flesh Broth did much refresh us: We were sometimes for want of Fewel, fain to eat our Flesh half boiled or almost raw, having seldom any other Fewel but the Dung of Horses and Oxen, unless it were a few Thorns in some places. There are Woods growing on the Banks of some Rivers, but are very rare. Our Guide at the first seemed to disdain us, and it was tedious to him to conduct such base Fellows; but when he began to know us better, he directed us to the Habitations of rich *Moals*, who live dispers'd over this vast Desart. They marvelled that that we would receive neither Gold nor Silver at their Hands: They inquired concerning the great Pope, whether he was so old as they had heard, it being reported among them that he was 500 Years old: They enquired also of our Countries, whether there were abundance of Sheep, Oxen and Horses. On the Eve of *All-Saints* we forsook the way leading towards the East, and went directly southward, and on the 9th day came to Mount *Caucasus*, not far from which stands the City of *Coliat*, where we tarried 15 days for *Baatu*'s Secretary, who ought to have accompanied our Guide for the dispatching some Affairs in the Court of *Mangu*. Thence we continued our Journey until the 27 of *December*, at which time we arrived at the Court of *Mangu-Can*, and on the fifth of *January* were admitted to his presence.

* Signifies a Diviner or South-sayer, and Ken-Can is the supposed Presbyter John.

1253. Court of *Mangu-Chan*

First, some *Nestorian* Priests came to us, demanding of us what Reverence we would do to *Chan*, whether after our own fashion or theirs: I answered, That we were Priests given to the Service of God, but would humble our selves to all Men for the Lord's sake: and that if they pleased, we would first sing Praises to God, who had brought us safe hither from a far Country, and would afterwards do whatsoever their Lord should please, provided that he command us nothing against the Worship and Honour of God: Then they entring the House, deliver'd what we had said, and their Lord being contented, they placed us before the Gate of the House, lifting up the Felt which hung before it, and because it was *Christmas* we began to sing,

A Solis ortus Cardine
Et usque Terræ limitem,
Christiani canamus Principem,
Natum Mariâ Virgine.

From the first Eastern Land
To furthest Western Strand,
Let us Christ laud and sing,
Blest Virgins Son, our King.

When we had sung this Hymn, they searched us to see if we had any Knives about us; then we were admitted. In the Entrance there stood a Bench with *Cosmos*, by which they order'd our Interpreter to stand, and caused us to sit on a Form before the Ladies. The whole House was hung with Cloath of Gold, and on a Hearth in the middle of the House, a Fire was made of Ox Dung, Thorns, and Wormwood Roots, which grow there very big: He sate on a Bed cloathed with a spotted Fur, shining like a Seals Skin. He was a flat nosed Man, of a middle stature, about the age of 45 Years, and his Wife, a little pretty young Woman, sate by him; and one of his Daughters who was marriageable, with divers little ones, sate next to them upon a Bed. He had that Daughter by a Christian Lady whom he dearly loved, and altho he had married that young Wife, yet the Daughter was Mistress of all that Court which had been her Mothers. He made them ask us what we would drink, whether Wine or Rack, *i. e.* Drink made of Rice, or Cows Milk, or Mead. I answered, Sir, we are not Men who take pleasure in drink, What pleases you shall content us: Then he commanded some of that made of Rice to be given to us, clear and savoury as White Wine, whereof I tasted a little for Reverence sake; but our Interpreter (to our misfortune) standing near the Butlers, they gave him much Drink and he was quickly drunk. Then *Chan* caused Falcons and other Birds to be brought unto him, which he took upon his Fist, and after a long time commanded us to speak, which I did as followeth. "We first give Thanks and Praise to God, who hath brought "us from remote Parts of the World to see *Mangu-Chan*, to whom God hath given so great Power upon "Earth; and we beseech our Lord, by whose Command we live and die, to grant him a long and prosperous Life, Sir, we heard that *Sartach* was become a "Christian, whereat the Christians, but especially the "King of *France*, rejoiced, and sent us with Letters to him, "wherein are Words of Peace, testifying whose Servants we are, and intreating him to permit us to abide in his Country, it being our Office to teach Men "to live according to the Law of God. *Sartach* sent us "to *Baatu* his Father, and *Baatu* hath sent us hither "unto you. Ye are they to whom God hath given great "Dominions upon Earth, we therefore intreat your "Highness to give us leave to continue in your Country, "to do the Service of God for you, your Wives, and "your Children. We have neither Gold nor Silver "nor precious Stones to present unto you, nor any thing "but our selves, whom we present to serve and to pray "unto God for you. At the least give us leave to continue till the cold be past, my Companion being so weak that he cannot travel. He then answered, "As the Sun "spreads his Beams every where, even so our Power and "*Baatu*'s spreads it self, so that we have no need of your "Silver and Gold. Hitherto I understood my Interpreter, but further I could not perceive any perfect sentence, whereby I found that he was drunk, and *Mangu-Can* was drunk also, as I thought. He seemed to be displeased that we went to *Sartach* before we came to him, but my Interpreter being out of order, I held my peace, only beg'd, his Highness would not be displeased at what I had spoken of Gold and Silver, because I spoke it not as if he had need of such things, or desired them, but because we were willing to honour him with temporal as well as spiritual things; then making our Obeisance to him, we withdrew, his Secretary and Interpreter accompanying us, who were very inquisitive of the Kingdom of *France*, whether there were many Rams, Oxen, and Horses there. They appointed one to attend on us; In the Evening the Interpreter came again to us, saying, *Mangu-Can* hath compassion on you, and gives you two Months time to stay, in which time the extream cold will be past; and further says, that within ten days journey towards the North, there is a good City called *Caracarum*, if ye will go thither, he will furnish you with Necessaries, or if ye will abide here you may, but it will be a troublesome thing for you to follow the Court. I answered, The Lord preserve *Mangu-Can*, and grant him a prosperous and long life, but by the good Providence of God, we have found here a Monk, who we think to be an holy Man, wherefore we would willingly stay with him, because we would pray together for the Life of *Chan*, which Answer being carried to him, he sent to the Monk to know if he would have our Company, who gladly answer'd that he would; and so we dwelt with him till our departure to *Caracarum*.

1253.

On *Septuagessima Sunday* the *Armenian* Priests went in procession to the House of *Mangu*, and the Monk, my self and Associate (being first searched if we had Knives) went in with the Priests. As we were entring, I observed one of the Servants carrying out the Shoulder-Bones of Rams burnt to the blackness of Coals: Upon enquiry I was informed, that the *Chan* never does any thing, not so much as permit a Man to enter into his House, before he have consulted with those Bones, which is done in this manner.

The Faith of the Tartars.

He causes three Bones to be brought unto him unburnt, and holding them in his Hand, he thinks of the Thing whereof he would consult, whether he may do it or not, and then delivers the Bones to be burnt. When they are burnt black they are brought unto him, and if the Bones by the heat of the fire are cleft forth right, then he concludes that he may do it; but if the Bones be cracked athwart, or round pieces fly out of them, then he doth it not; yet if one of the three be cleft forth right, he doth it. We were admonish'd at our entrance not to touch the Threshold, but my Companion coming out last, turned his Face about and bowed to *Chan*, and then hastily following us, stumbled at the Threshold, whereupon, they that observed the Threshold, laid hands on him, and commanded an Officer to carry him to *Bulgai*, who is the Judge of those that are arraigned of life and death. When I looked back and saw him not coming, I thought they had detained him to give him some lighter Garments, he being weak and so laden with Pelt Garments, that he could scarce go. The next day *Bulgai* came, and diligently enquired whether any had warned us to take heed of touching the Threshold; I answered, Sir, our Interpreter not being with us, how was it possible we should understand? so he pardoned him, but would never after suffer him to come into any of the Houses of *Mangu-Can*.

Manner of Divination by Blade-Bones.

Threshold's pestilent.

About *Passion Sunday* the *Chan* began his Journey to *Caracarum*, and the Monk and we followed him: As we passed between the Hills it was extream cold, with much Wind and Snow, whereupon he sent about mid-night to the Monk and us, intreating us to pray unto God that he would mitigate that Wind and Cold, because the Beasts in the Train being with young and ready to bring forth, were in danger of their Lives. The Monk sent him Incense, requiring him to put it on the Coals and offer it to God, which whether he did or no, I know not, but the Tempest ceased, which had continued two days. On *Palm Sunday* we entred *Caracarum*, carrying the Cross aloft with the Banner. The City is enclosed with a Mud Wall, and hath four Gates, two Churches for the *Mahometans*, one for Christians, but most of the Inhabitants are Idolaters, called by them *Tuinians*.

Caracarum.

One day I was sent for to the Court, and the chief Secretaries were very urgent with me to know the cause of my coming, telling me that *Chan* knows well enough that you have no message unto him, but only come to pray for him, as many other Priests do, but if you have any thing else to say to him, declare it. I told him I had nothing more to say to him, unless I should speak the Words of God unto him, which I would gladly do, if he would hear them. They asked what Words of God I would speak unto him; I said, This is the Word of God: *To whom much is committed, more is required at his hands; to whom more is forgiven, he ought to love more.* I told *Mangu* himself, *that God had given him much; for the Power and Riches he hath, were not given him by the Idols of the* Tuinians, *but by the Omnipotent God, who hath made Heaven and Earth, in whose Hands all Kingdoms are, and translates them from Nation to Nation for the Sins of Men;*

wherefore

wherefore if ye love him, it shall go well with him, if otherwise, let him know that God will require all these Things at his hands. Then one of them said, *Is there any Man that loves not God?* I answered, *God saith, if any Man love me, he will keep my Commandments; therefore he that keepeth not the Commandments of God, loveth not God.* Then said he, *Have you been in Heaven that you might know the Commandments of God? No,* said I, *but he hath given them from Heaven to Holy Men, and at last he himself descended from Heaven to teach us; and we have these things in the Scriptures, and can see by the Works of Men, whether they keep them or no.* He replied, *Will you then say that* Mangu-Chan *keeps not the Commandments of God?* I answered, *If it please* Mangu-Chan, *I will recite to him the Commandments of God, and he shall be his own Judge, whether he keep them or not.* So they departed and told him that I said that he was a *Taine* or Idolater, and kept not the Commandments of God: Whereupon he called me before him, and said, Tell me the truth, whether you said that I was a *Tainian?* I answered My Lord, I said not so; but if your Highness please, will recite the Words I spake: Then reciting what I had said, he replied, I thought you said not so, for it is a Word you should not speak, and your Interpreter hath not rightly interpreted. Then holding forth his Staff to me, he said, *Fear not,* we Moallians, said he, *believe that there is but one God, through whom we live and dye; and we have an upright Heart towards him. As God hath given unto the Hand divers Fingers, so hath he given many Ways to Men; God hath given the Scriptures to you, and ye Christians keep them not. Ye find it not in the Scriptures, that one of you shall dispraise another; Do you find it?* said he; No said I, but I told your Highness from the beginning, that I would not contend with any: *I speak it not,* said he, *as to you. In like manner, ye find it not, that for Money a Man ought to decline from Justice.* No Sir said I, neither came I into these Parts to get Money; nay, I have refused that which was given me. *I do not speak it,* said he, *for that God hath given you the Scriptures, and ye keep them not, but he hath given us Southsayers, and by doing that which they bid us, we live in peace.* Then he began to speak of my Return, saying, You have staid a long time here, my pleasure is therefore that you return: Will you carry my Letters? I answered, That if he could make me understand his Words, and that they were set down in writing, I would endeavour to deliver them safely. Then he asked if I would have Gold or Silver; I said, we received no such things, but we have not wherewith to defray our Expences, and without your help we cannot get out of your Country. Then said he, I will provide you all Necessaries through my Country; how far would you be brought? I said, let our Pass bring us into the King of *Armenia*'s Country, if I were there, it were enough. He answered, I will cause you to be conveyed thither, and after look to your self; so I departed from his Presence, and never saw him more.

The Faith of the Tartars.

Assoon as the Letters were dispatched, they called me and interpreted them, the Tenor whereof I wrote, as I could understand them by my Interpreter, which is this.

Mangu-Chan's Letters to Lewis, the King of France.

"THE Commandment of the Eternal God is this; There "is but one Eternal God in Heaven, upon Earth there "is but one Lord, *Chingis Can Temingu Tingij*, that is to "say, *the sound of Iron* [they call *Chingis* the sound of "Iron, because he was a Smith] This is the Word "which is spoken to you; whatsoever *Moals* we are, "whatsoever *Naymans*, whatsoever *Merkets*, whatsoever "*Musulmans*, whatsoever Ears may hear, where-"soever Horse may go, there cause it to be heard "and understood, that since they have heard my "Commandment and would not believe it, and "would levy an Army against us, ye shall hear and "see, that they shall be, as having Eyes and not seeing, "and when they would hold any thing, they shall be "without Hands, and when they would walk they shall "be without Feet. This is the Commandment of the "Eternal God, by the Vertue of the Eternal God, by "the great World of the *Moal*. The Commandment of "*Mengu-Chan* is given to *Lewis* the King of *France*, and "all other Lords and Priests, and to the great World of "the *Franks*, that they understand my Words, and the "Commandment of the Eternal God, made to *Chingis* "*Chan*. A certain Man called *David*, came to you as an "Ambassador of the *Moals*, but he was a Lyar, and "with him you sent your Ambassadors to *Chen-Can*, who "arrived not at his Court until after his death. *Charmis* his "Wife sent you some Cloth called *Nesi*, but how should "that wicked Woman, more vile than a Dog, know "Matters appertaining to War and Peace, to settle the "great World in quiet, and to do good? Those two "Monks which came from you unto *Sartach*, were sent "by him to *Baatu*, who, because *Mangu-Chan* is the "greatest over the World of the *Moals*, sent them unto "us; but now, that the great World, and the Priests "and Monks might live in peace, and enjoy their Goods, "and that the Commandment of God might be heard "among you, we would have sent our Ambassadors of "*Moal* with your Priests; but they answered, that be-"tween us and you, were many bad Men and trouble-"some Ways, so that they feared they could not bring "them safe unto you; but if we would deliver them "our Letters containing our Commandment to King "*Lewis*, they would carry them. Wherefore we have "sent the Commandment of Eternal God by your said "Priest, it is the Commandment of the Eternal God, "which we have given you to understand; and when "you shall hear and believe it, if you will obey us, send "your Ambassadors unto us, so shall we be certified "whether ye will have Peace with us or War. When "by the Power of the Eternal God the whole World "shall be in Unity, Joy, and Peace, from the rising of "the Sun unto the going down of the same, then shall "it appear what we will do; but if, when ye shall hear "and understand the Commandment of the Eternal "God, and will not hearken to it, nor believe it, say-"ing, Our Country is far off, our Hills are strong, our "Sea is great, and in this Confidence shall levy an Army a-"gainst us, to know what we can do; he who made "that which was hard, easy, and that which was far off, "near, the Eternal God himself knows it.

On the ninth of *July*, we were called to Court, and one of the Officers holding three Garments or Coats, said to us, Ye have staid long here praying for *Coan*, and will not receive Gold nor Silver, he intreats you, that at the least every one of you would receive a single Garment, that ye depart not empty from him; then we received them out of respect to him, for they take it very ill if their Gifts are contemned; so taking our leave we went to *Caracarum*.

My Companion, who had been long sick, desired to stay here, so we parted with tears in our Eyes, and I proceeded on my Journey with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one Servant. We were two Months and ten Days travelling from *Caracarum* to *Baatu*, in all which time we saw some Graves but no Town, nor token of any House. Sometimes we had no Sustenance but *Cosmos* for two or three days together, and were once in great danger, not being able to find any People, our Horses tired, and our Provision failing us. A vast Desart.

In the end of *August* I met *Sartach*, who was then travelling to *Mangu-Chan*, with his Wives and Children, Flocks and Herds: I paid my Duty to him, saying, I would willingly have staid in his Country, but *Mengu-Chan* would have me return to my own and carry his Letters. He answered, That I must perform the Will of *Mangu-Chan*, and meeting with *Coiat* in his Train, I required him to restore our Cloths and Locks: He replied, Did you not bring them to *Sartach*? I said, Tho' I brought them to *Sartach*, yet I gave them not to him, and that he knew. He answer'd, you say true, and none can resist the truth, I left your Goods with my Father, who is near *Sarai*, a new Town *Baatu* hath made on the East side of *Volga*, but our Priests have some of the Vestments. I told him, if he liked any thing, he might keep it, so my Books be restored. He being in haste to be gone, said, The Train of Ladies follows us near at hand, you shall alight there, and I will report what you say to *Sartach*, and send you his Answer by this Man. In the Evening the Man returned with two Coats, saying, Behold two Garments, the one *Sartach* hath sent to you, and the other, if it seem good to you, you shall present to the King on his behalf. I told him I wear no such Garments, I will present them both unto my King, in honour of your Lord. He gave me also *Sartach*'s Letter to *Coiat*'s Father, to restore all that belonged to me, so setting forward, we came to the Court of *Baatu* the 16th of *December*, 1254, the same day I departed thence the Year past: I found the Clerk and the Lad I had left there in good health, tho' they had suffered much Want, and if the King of *Armenia* had not comforted them and recommended them to *Sartach*, they had perished. The *Tartars* thinking I had been dead, had demanded of them if they could keep Oxen or milk Mares, and if I had not returned, they had certainly been made Slaves.

Baatu hearing of my coming, commanded me to appear before him, and ordered the Letters which *Mangu-Chan* sends unto your Majesty to be interpreted to me; for *Mangu* had written to him to add, leave out, or exchange

change what he ſhould think fit. Then ſaid he, You ſhall carry theſe Letters, and cauſe them to be underſtood. When *Coiat*'s Father had read *Sartach*'s Letter which I brought him, he reſtored my Veſtments, except three *Albes* and an *Amice* trim'd with fine Silk, a Stole, a Girdle, and a *Tualia* adorned with Golden Embroidery and a Surplice: He reſtored alſo all the Silver Plate, except the Cenſor and a little Box where the Chriſme was, all which, *Sartach*'s Prieſt had gotten: He gave me all my Books again, except our Ladies Pſalter, which I could not deny him, becauſe he ſaid *Sartach* took much delight in it.

I travelled a Month with them before I could have a Guide, and then parting from them, being the firſt of *November*, we went toward the South; for the firſt five days we ſaw not a Man, and were in great danger by reaſon of thirſt.

On the 11th we came to the Mountains of the *Aleni*, and in two days more to *Porta Ferrea* or *Derbent*, built by *Alexander* the *Great*: The City is above a Mile long, with a ſtrong Caſtle on the top of the Hill: Here we found Vineyards, and drank Wine again.

Four days Journey hence we came to a great City called *Samag* or *Shemaki*, and then entred a great Plain, thro' which the River *Cur* flows, from which the *Curgi* have their name, whom we call *Georgians*.

Then leaving *Perſia* and the *Caſpian* Mountains on the left towards the South, and *Curgia* on the right, we directed our Journey S. W. till we came to a City called *Naxuan*, formerly the Metropolis of a great Kingdom, wherein was 800 *Armenian* Churches, but the *Tartars* have made it a Wilderneſs, and there are now but two ſmall ones left, in one of which the Clerk and I kept the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas* as well as we could. An *Armenian* Biſhop told me, there was a Church not far diſtant, where St. *Bartholomew* and St. *Judas Thaddeus* were martyred.

Near this City is a Mountain called *Maſſis*, on which they ſay the Ark of *Noah* reſted; and there is a little Town near it called *Cemainum*, which ſignifies Eight, ſo called, ſay they, from the eight Perſons that founded it, who came forth of the Ark. They ſay many have eſſayed to climb the Hill, but could not, tho' it did not ſeem ſo high to me, but that Men might well get up unto it: An old Man gave me this Reaſon why none ſhould climb it, becauſe, ſaid he, *Maſſis* is the Mother of the World.

The ſecond Sunday in *Lent* we came to the River *Euphrates*, by which we deſcended eight Days, always going to the Weſt. Thence we paſſed weſtward through very hilly Countries and deep Snow. There was ſo great an Earthquake there that Year, that in the City of *Arſengen* 10000 Perſons of note periſhed, beſides poor People, of whom no notice was taken. Riding three days together, we ſaw the gaping of the Earth as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and heaps of Earth which came from the Mountains and filled the Valleys; ſo that if a little more of the Earth had been moved, that which *Eſay* ſpeaks had been literally fulfilled, *Every Valley ſhall be filled, and every Mountain and little Hill ſhall be humbled*. We continued our Journey to *Iconium*, thence to *Curcum* a Haven of *Cilicia*, from whence I paſſed into *Cyprus*, where I arrived 16 *June*, and at *Tripolis*, *Auguſt* 15, 1255.

Mountain whereon *Noah*'s Ark reſted.

CHAP. II.

Sir Hugh Willoughby's *unfortunate Voyage to diſcover and ſettle a Trade in* Ruſſia, 1553.

1553. IN the laſt Year of the Reign of *Edward* VI. three Ships were ſet forth by the *Company of Merchants Adventurers for the Diſcovery of Places unknown*, whereof *Sebaſtian Cabota* was Governour, *viz.* the *Bona Eſperanza* of 120 Tuns, Admiral, commanded by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*; the *Edward Bonadventurer* of 160 Tuns, commanded by *Richard Chancellor*; and the *Bona Confidentia* of 90 Tuns, whereof *Cornelius Duporth* was Maſter.

They departed from *Deptford* the 11th of *May*, and on the ſecond of *Auguſt* at Night, being near the Coaſt of *Finmark*, the *Edward* loſt ſight of the other two, in very foul weather, and ſteering their Courſe for *Wardhouſe* in *Norway* (as it had been agreed upon) they tarried there ſeven days, expecting the arrival of the other two Ships, but they not appearing, Mr. *Chancellor* in the *Edward* purſued his Voyage, and firſt diſcovered the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, where anchoring, he eſpied ſome Fiſhermen in a Boat, who being amaz'd at the ſtrange Greatneſs of his Ship, endeavoured to eſcape from him, but he overtaking them, was informed by them that the Country was called *Ruſſia* or *Muſcovy*, and that the Duke's name was *Joan Baſſiliwich*.

The Governour of the place ſent advice hereof to the Court, and the Meſſenger returned with Orders for Poſthorſes and Sleds to be gotten for Mr. *Chancellor* and his Company without any Money; and after a long Journey of near 1500 Miles, he arrived at *Moſco*, the chief City of the Kingdom. Twelve Days after his arrival, the Secretary advertiſed him, that the Duke's Pleaſure was, that he ſhould attend with the King of *England*'s Letters. He was firſt brought to an Anti-chamber, where ſate about 100 Gentlemen all in Cloth of Gold, and from thence was conducted into the Counſel-Chamber, where ſate the Duke himſelf, in a long Garment of beaten Gold and an Imperial Crown upon his Head. When he had delivered his Letter, the Duke told him he was welcome, and enquired of the health of the King his Maſter, and then inviting him to dinner. In the middle of the Dining-Room was a Table covered with Cups of Gold: The number of Perſons that dined were about 200, all ſerved in Veſſels of Gold, and the Gentlemen that waited were all in Cloth of Gold. Before the Service came in, the Duke ſent to every Man a piece of Bread, and the Bearer called the Party ſo ſent to, by his name aloud, and ſaid, John Baſſiliwich, *Emperour of* Ruſſia, *and great Duke of* Muſcovia, *doth reward thee with Bread*; at which Words all Men ſtand up, and ſo likewiſe when he ſendeth drink. Dinner being done, he departed to his Lodging, an hour within night.

Mr. *Chancellour* having obtained a Priviledge written in *Ruſſe*, with the Great Duke's Seal, did in the beginning of the Year 1554, return with the ſaid Ship *Edward* to *London*. The other two Ships attempting further Northwards (as appears by Sir *Hugh Willoughbies* Papers) were in *September* encountred with ſuch extream cold, that they put back to ſeek a Wintring Place, and miſſing the ſaid Bay of St. *Nicholas*, fell upon a Deſart Coaſt in *Lapland*, and entred into a River called *Arzina*, which was ſoon frozen up. They ſent out three Men S. S. W. three days journey to ſee if they could find People; then they ſent out three Men Weſtward four days journey; and laſtly, three Men S. E. three days journey, who all returned without finding of People or any Habitation: Here they all periſhed, being 70 Perſons, for want (as ſome think) of making Caves and Stoves. Their Bodies were found in the Ships the next Summer by *Ruſſian* Fiſhermen, and it appears by a Will found in Sir *Hugh Willoughbies* Ship, written by his Kinſman *Gabriel Willoughby*, that he and moſt of the Company were alive in *January*, 1554.

1554.

A Copy

1554.

A Copy of the Letters Missive, from Edward the VI. to the Kings, Princes, and Potentates, inhabiting the North-East Parts of the World, when Sir Hugh Willoughby attempted his Voyage thither, Anno Dom. 1553. and in the seventh and last Year of his Reign.

Edvardus sextus *Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ*, Rex, Omnibus Regibus, &c.

EDward the VI. *by the Grace of God, King of* England, France *and* Ireland, *&c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges and Governours of the Earth, and all others having any excellent Dignity on the same, in all places under the universal Heaven, Peace, Tranquility and Honour be unto you, and your Lands and Regions under your Dominions, and to every of you as is convenient.*

Forasmuch as the Great and Almighty God hath given unto Mankind above all other living Creatures, such an Heart and Desire, that every Man seeks to join Friendship with other, to love and be loved, also to give and receive mutual Benefits, it is therefore the Duty of all Men according to their Power, to maintain and increase this Desire in every Man, with well deserving to all Men, and especially to shew this good Affection to such, as being moved with good Desire, come unto them from far Countries; for how much the longer Voyage they have attempted for this Intent, so much the more do they thereby declare, that this Desire hath been ardent in them. Furthermore the Examples of our Fathers and Predecessours do invite us hereunto, who have ever gently and lovingly treated such as of friendly mind came to them, as well from Countries near hand as far remote, committing themselves to their protection; and if it be right and just to shew such humanity towards all Men, doubtless the same ought chiefly to be shewn to Merchants, who wandring about the World, search both the Land and the Sea, to carry such good and profitable things as are found in their Countries, to remote Regions and Kingdoms, and to bring thence such things as they find there commodious for their own Countries, as well that the People to whom they go, may not be destitute of such Commodities as their Countries do not produce, and that they themselves may be Partakers of such things wherein they abound; for the God of Heaven and Earth, in providing for Mankind, would not that all things should be found in one Region, to the end, that one should have need of another, that by this means Friendship might be established among all Men, and every one seek to gratify all. For the establishing and furtherance of which universal Amity, certain Men of our Realm moved hereunto by the said Desire, have taken a Voyage upon them by Sea into far Countries, to the Intent, that between our People and them, a way may be opened to bring in and carry out Merchandize, desiring us to further their Enterprize: Who assenting to their Petition, have licenced the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, *Knight, and other our trusty and faithful Servants with him, according to their Desire, to go to Countries to them yet unknown, as well to seek things as we lack, as also to carry into them from our Regions, such things as they want; so that hereby Commodity may ensue, both to them and us, and an indissoluble and perpetual League of Friendship be established between us both: We therefore desire your Kings and Princes, and all other to whom there is any Power on the Earth, to permit unto those our Servants, free Passage by your Regions and Dominions; for they shall not touch any thing of yours, you being unwilling. Consider you that they also are Men, if therefore they shall stand in need of any thing, we desire you of all humanity, and for the Nobility which is in you, to aid and help them with such things as they lack, receiving again of them such things as they shall be able to give you in recompence. Shew your selves so towards them, as you would that we and our Subjects should shew our selves towards your Servants, if at any time they shall pass by our Regions.*

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in Heaven, Earth, and the Sea, and by the Life and Tranquility of our Kingdoms, that we will with like humanity accept your Servants, if at any time they shall come to our Kingdoms, where they shall as friendly and gently be entertained as if they were born in our Dominions, that we may hereby recompence the Favour and Benignity you have shewed to our Men. Thus after we have desired you Kings and Princes, &c. with all Humanity and Favour to entertain our well beloved Servants, we will pray our Almighty God to grant you long Life and Peace, which never shall have end. 1554.

Written in *London*, which is the chief City of our Kingdom, in the Year from the Creation of the World 5515, in the Month of * *Iiar*, the fourteenth Day of the Month, and the seventh Year of our Reign.

* For *Iiar* possibly we ought to read *Abir*, which in the *Saracen* Language is *February*, interpreted by them the Month to set Ships to Sea.

Copy of the Emperour of *Russia*'s Letters, sent to King *Edward* the VI. by the Hands of *Richard Chancellor*, 1554.

THE Almighty Power of God, and the incomprehensible Holy Trinity, rightful Christian Belief, &c. We great Duke Juan Vasilivich, *by the Grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all* Russia, *great Duke of* Volodemer, Mosco *and* Novogrod, *King of* Kazan, *King of* Astracan, *Lord of* Plesco, *and great Duke of* Smolansko, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, *&c. Lord and great Duke of* Novograd *in the* Low Country, *of* Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yarusla veley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, *and* Condensa, *Commander of all* Siberia, *and of the North Part, and Lord of many other Countries greeting. Before all, right, great, and worthy of Honour,* Edward *King of* England, *&c. according to our most hearty and good Zeal, with good Intent and friendly Desire, and according to our Holy Christian Faith and great Governance, and being in the light of great understanding, our Answer by this our honourable writing unto your Kingly Governance, at the request of your faithful Servant* Richard Chancellor *with his Company, as they shall let you wisely know, is this. In the strength of the 20th Year of our Governance, be it known, that at our Sea Coasts arrived a Ship with one* Richard *and his Company, and said that he was desirous to come into our Dominions, and according to his Request, hath seen our Majesty and our Eyes; and hath declared unto us your Majesties Desire, as that we should grant into your Subjects to go and come, and in our Dominions and among our Subjects, to frequent free Marts with all sorts of Merchandise, and upon the same to have Wares for their return; and they have also delivered us your Letters, which declare the same Request. And hereupon we have given Orders, that your faithful Servant* Hugh Willoughby *be well entertained wheresoever he shall land or touch in our Dominions, who as yet is not arrived, as your Servant* Richard *can declare.*

And we with Christian Belief and faithfulness, and according to your honourable Request and my honourable Commandment, will not leave it undone, and are furthermore willing that you send unto us your Ships and Vessels when, and as often as they may have passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmless; and if you send one of your Majesties Counsel to treat with us, whereby your Country Merchents may with all kind of Ware, and where they will, make their Market in our Dominions, they shall have their free Mart with all free Liberties through my whole Dominions, with all kind of Wares to come and go at their pleasure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our Letter, our Word, and our Seal, which we have commanded to be under sealed.

Written in our Dominion, in our City, and our Palace in the Castle of *Mosco*, in the Year 7060, the second Month of *February*.

This Letter was written in the *Muscovian* Tongue, in Letters much like to *Greek*, very fair written on Paper, with a broad Seal hanging to the same, much like to the broad Seal of *England*, having on one side a Man on Horseback fighting with a Dragon. Under this Letter was another Paper written in *Dutch*, which was the Interpretation of the other.

The second Voyage to Russia.

THE Company sent two Ships for *Russia* this Year, *viz.* the *Edward Bonadventure* and another, with divers Agents and Factors, who had with them Letters from their Majesties King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* to the *Great Duke*. They passed up the *Dwina* to *Vologda*, where 1555.

where leaving the rest of my Company, *Richard Chancellor*, *George Killingworth*, *Henry Lane*, *Edward Price*, and *Robert Best*, went forward in Post Sleds to *Mosco*, where arriving the fourth Day of *October*, and giving notice of the said Letters, Houses and Diet were appointed for them and their Train, and they were soon after conducted thro' the City of *Mosco* to the Palace. They passed thro' several Rooms, wherein were many ancient grave Persons in long Robes of Gold, Tissue and Violet, with Caps, Jewels and Chains. These proved to be no Courtiers, but Merchants and other ancient Inhabitants, who were thus furnished from the Wardrobe and Treasury, to wear them for a time, and so to restore them.

Then entring into the *Presence*, being a large Room flored with Carpets; there sate above 100 Men in richer Habits, who when the *English* came in and paid Reverence, all stood up, the Prince only sitting, and yet rising when the King or Queen's name was mentioned: They were then admitted to kiss his Hand, and invited to Dinner; the Prince sate bare headed, his Crown and rich Cap upon a Pinnacle by. Not far distant sate his Metropolitan, with divers of his Kindred and chief *Tartarian* Captains. A Table was appointed for the *English*, in the midst of the Room, directly against the Prince, who sent them several Messes from his own Table, in Dishes of massy Gold, which were delivered to them by their Christian Names, as *Richard*, *George*, *Henry*, &c. likewise Bread and several sorts of Drink of purified Mead made of clarified Honey. At their rising, the Prince called them to his Table to receive each of them a Cup of Drink from his Hand, and took into his Hand Mr *Killingworth*'s Beard, which would reach over the Table, and pleasantly delivered it to the Metropolitan, who seeming to bless it, said in *Russe*, *This is God's Gift*: His Beard was thick, broad, of a yellow colour, and in length five Foot and two Inches of assize. Then taking leave, being night, they were accompanied by many People, carrying Pots of Drink and Dishes of Meat dressed to their Lodging.

Mr *Killingworth* being informed that the two Ships, with the dead Bodies of Sir *Hugh Willoughby* and his People, were found by *Russian* Fishermen, sent thither, and much of the Goods and Victuals was recovered and saved.

1555. ## The Letters of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, to *Juan Vasilivich*, Emperor of *Russia*; written the first of *April*, 1555. and in the second Voyage.

PHilip *and* Mary, *by the Grace of God, King and Queen of* England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, *and* Ireland, *Defenders of the Faith, Princes of* Spain *and* Sicily, *Archdukes of* Austrich, *Dukes of* Burgundy, Milan, *and* Brabant, *Counts of* Hapsburg, Flanders, *and* Tirol, *to the right High, right Mighty, and right Excellent Prince, garnished with all Gifts of Nature, by God's Grace,* John Vasilivich, *Emperour of all* Russia, *Great Duke of* Volodemer, Mosco, *and* Novogrod, *King of* Cazan, *King of* Astracan, *Lord of* Plesko, *and Great Duke of* Smolensko, *of* Tueria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, *and others, Lord and great Duke of* Novogrod *of the* Low Country, *of* Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yeraslave, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria *and* Condensa, *Commander of all* Siberia, *and of the North Parts, and Lord of many other Countries, greeting. Wherefore as by the Consent and Licence of our most dear and entirely beloved late Brother, King* Edward *the* VI. *whose Soul God pardon, sundry of our Subjects, Merchants within the City of* London, *within this our Realm of* England, *did at their own proper Costs and Adventure, furnish three Ships to discover, search and find Lands, Islands, Regions, and Territories, before this Adventure not known, nor commonly haunted and frequented by Seas; one of which three Ships, named the* Edward Bonadventure *(whereof our right well beloved* Richard Chancellor *was then Governour and Great Captain) chanced by the Grace of God and good Conduct of the said* Chancellor, *to arrive and winter in the North Part of your Empire of* Russia. *Forasmuch as we be credibly informed by the Report of our trusty and welbeloved Subject, that your Majesty did not only call him and certain of his Company to your Imperial Presence and Speech, entertained and banqueted them with all Humanity and Gentleness, but also being requested partly by the Letters of our said Brother, and partly by the request of the said* Richard Chancellor, *have by your Letters Patents under your Seal among other things granted, That all such Merchants as shall come forth of any of our Realms of* England *or* Ireland *with all manner of Wares, if they will travel or occupy within your Dominions, they may freely and at their liberty, travel out and in, without hindrance or any manner of loss; and of your further ample goodness, have promised that our Embassadors, if we send any, shall with free good Will, pass to and from you without any hindrance or less, with such Message as shall come unto you, and to return the same to our Kingdoms well answered, as by the same your Letters written in your Lordly Palace and Castle of* Mosco, *in the Year 7063. the Month of* February *more at large appeareth. Like as we cannot but much commend your Princely Favour and Goodness, and in like manner thank you for the abundant Grace extended to the said* Richard Chancellor, *and others our Subjects Merchants, even so these are to pray and request you to continue the same Benevolence towards them, and other our Merchants and Subjects, which do or shall hereafter resort to your Country: And for the more Assurance and Encouragement to trade and exercise the Feat of Merchandise with your Subjects and all other Merchants within your Dominions, that it may please you at this our contemplation, to assign and authorise such Commissaries as you shall think meet, to trade and confer with our welbeloved Subjects and Merchants, the said* Richard Chancellor, George Killingworth, *and* Richard Grey, *Bearers of these our Letters, who are by us authorised for that purpose; and to confirm and grant such other Liberties and Privileges, unto the Governour, Consuls, Assistants and Commonalty of the Fellowship of the said Merchants, as the said Bearers in their name, propose and required by you to be granted for their safe Conduct, good Government, and order to be erected and continued among them in your said Dominions; and this with such your Clemency and Expedition, as we upon the next arrival of the said* Richard Chancellor, *may be informed of your gracious Disposition and Answer, which your Benevolences so to be extended, we be minded to requite towards any your Subjects Merchants that shall frequent this our Realm, as your Contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right High, right Excellent, and right Mighty, Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have you in his blessed keeping.*

Given under our Seal at our Palace of *Westminster*, the first of *April*, in the Year from the blessed Incarnation of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, 1555. and in the first and second Years of our Reigns.

A Copy of the first Priviledges granted by the Emperour of *Russia* to the *English* Merchants, in the Year 1555. 1555.

'*John Vasilivich* by the Grace of God, Emperour of '*Russia*, Great Duke of *Novogrod*, *Muscovia*, &c. 'To all People that shall see, read, hear or understand 'these Presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath 'planted all Realms and Dominions, in the whole 'World with sundry Commodities, so as the one hath 'need of the Amity, and Commodities of the other, and 'by means thereof Traffick is used from one to another, 'and Amity thereby increased; and because amongst 'Men nothing is more to be desired than Amity, with'out which, no Creature being of a natural good Dispo'sition, can live in quietness; so that it is as troublesome 'to be utterly wanting, as it is perceived to be grievous 'to the Body to lack Air, Fire, or any other Necessa'ries most requisite for the Conservation and Mainte'nance thereof in health, considering also how need'ful Merchandise is, which furnisheth Men with all 'that which is convenient for their Living and Nourture, 'for their Clothing, Trimming, the satisfying of their 'Delights, and all other things convenient and profitable 'for them, and that Merchandize bringeth the same 'Commodities from divers Quarters in so great abun'dance, as by means thereof nothing is lacking in any 'Part, and that all things be in every place (where en'tercourse of Merchandizes is received and imbraced) 'generally in such sort as Amity thereby is entred into 'and planted to continue, and Injoyers thereof be as 'Men living in a Golden World: Upon these Respects 'and other weighty and good Considerations, us here'unto moving, and chiefly upon the Contemplation of 'the Gracious Letters, directed from the Right High, 'Right Excellent, and Right Mighty, Queen *Mary*, by 'the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *France*, &c.

'in

1555. in the Favour of her Subjects, Merchants, the Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers for discovery of Lands, &c.

'Know ye therefore that we of our Grace special, meer Motion and certain Knowledge, have given and granted, and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successours, do give and grant as much as in us is and lieth, unto *Sabastian Cabota* Governour, Sir *George Barnes* Knight, &c. Consuls, Sir *John Gresham*, &c. Assistants, and to the Commonalty of the aforenamed Fellowship, and to their Successours for ever, and to the Successours of every of them, these Articles, Grants, Immunities, Franchises, Liberties and Privileges, and every of them hereafter following expressed and declared, *Videlicet*.

'First, we for us, our Heirs and Successours, do by these Presents give and grant free Licence, Faculty, Authority, and Power, unto the said Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and Commonalty of the said Fellowship, and to their Successours for ever, that all and singular the Merchants of the same Company, their Agents, Factors, Doers of their Business, Attorneys, Servants, and Ministers, and every of them, may at all times hereafter for evermore, surely, freely and safely with their Ships, Merchandises, Goods, and things whatsoever sail, come and enter into all and singular our Lands, Countries, Dominions, Cities, Towns, Villages, Castles, Ports, Jurisdictions, and Districts by Sea, Land, or fresh Waters, and there tarry, abide, and sojourn, and buy, sell, barter and change all kind of Merchandizes, with all manner of Merchants and People, of whatsoever Nation, Rite, Condition, State or Degrees they be, and with the same or other Ships, Wares, Merchandizes, Goods, and Things whatsoever they be unto other Empires, Kingdoms, Dukedoms, Parts, and to any other place or places at their Pleasure and Liberty, by Sea, Land or fresh Waters, may depart and exercise all kind of Merchandizes in our Empire and Dominions, and every part thereof, freely and quietly, without any Restraint, Impeachment, Price, Exactions, Prest, Straight, Custom, Toll, Imposition or Subsidy to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demanded, taxed, set, levied or inferr'd upon them or any of them, or upon their Goods, Ships, Wares, Merchandizes, and things, of, for, or upon any Part or Parcel thereof, or upon the Goods, Ships, Wares, Merchandizes, and Things of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe Conduct or Licence, general nor special of us, our Heirs or Successours, neither shall be bound to ask any safe Conduct or Licence in any of the aforesaid places subject unto us.

2. *Item.* 'We give and grant to the said Merchants this Power and Liberty, that they nor any of them, nor their Goods, Wares, Merchandizes or Things, nor any part thereof, shall be by any means within our Dominions, Lands, Countries, Castles, Towns, Villages, or other Place or Places of our Jurisdiction, at any time hereafter attached, stayed, arrested nor disturbed for any Debt, Duty, or other thing, for the which they be not principal Debtors or Sureties, nor also for any Offence or Trespass committed, or that shall be committed, but only for such as they or any of them shall actually commit, and the same Offences (if any such happen) shall be by us only heard and determined.

3. *Item.* 'We give and grant that the said Merchants shall and may have free Liberty, Power and Authority, to name, choose, and assign Brokers, Shippers, Packers, Weighers, Measurers, Waggoners, and all other meet and necessary Labourers for to serve them in their Feat of Merchandizes, and minister and give unto them and every of them a Corporal Oath, to serve them well and truly in their Offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their Oath, may punish and dismiss them, and from time to time choose, swear and admit others in their Place or Places, without Contradiction, Let, Vexation or Disturbance, either of us, our Heirs or Successours, or of any other our Justices, Officers, Ministers or Subjects whatsoever.

4. *Item.* 'We give and grant unto the said Merchants and their Successours, that such Person as is or shall be commended unto us, our Heirs or Successours, by the Governour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said Fellowship resiant within the City of *London*, within the Realm of *England*, to be their chief Factor within this our Empire and Dominions, may and shall have full Power and Authority to govern and rule all *English* Men that have had or shall have Access, or Repair in or to this said Empire and Jurisdiction, or any Part thereof, and shall and may minister unto them, and every of them, good Justice in all their Causes, Plaints, Quarrels and Disorders between them moved, and to be moved, and assemble, deliberate, consult, conclude, define, determine and make such Acts and Ordinances, as he so commended with his Assistants, shall think good and meet for the good Order, Government and Rule of the said Merchants, and all other *English* Men repairing to this our said Empire and Dominions, of any part thereof, and to set and levie upon all and every *English* Man, Offender, or Offenders, of such their Acts and Ordinances made, and to be made, Penalties and Mulcts, by fine or imprisonment. 1555.

5. *Item.* 'If it happen that any of the said Merchants or other *English* Men, as one or more do rebel against such chief Factor or Factors, or his or their Deputies, and will not dispose him or themselves to obey them and every of them as shall appertain, if the said Rebels or Disobedients do come and be found in our said Empire and Jurisdictions, or any Part and Place thereof, then we promise and grant, that all and every our Officers, Ministers and Subjects, shall effectually aid and assist the said chief Factor or Factors, and their Deputies, and for their Power shall really work to bring such Rebel, or disobedient Rebels, or Disobedients, to due Obedience, and to that Intent shall lend unto the same Factor or Factors, and their Deputies, upon request therefore to be made, Prisons and Instruments for Punishments, from time to time.

6. *Item.* 'We promise unto the said Merchants and their Successours, upon their Requests, to exhibit and do unto them, good, exact and favourable Justice, with Expedition in all their Causes, and that when they or any of them shall have access, or come to or before any of our Justices, for any their Plaints moved, and to be moved between any our Subjects or other Strangers, and them or any of them, that then they shall be first and forthwith heard, as soon as the Party which they shall find before our Justices, shall be impeached, which party being heard forthwith, and assoon as may be, the said *English* Merchants shall be rid and dispatched, and if any Action shall be moved by or against any of the said Merchants being absent out of our said Empire and Dominions, then such Merchant may substitute an Attorney in all and singular his Causes, to be followed as need shall require, and as shall seem to him expedient.

7. *Item.* 'We grant and promise to the said Merchants and to their Successours, that if the same Merchants or any of them shall be wounded, or (which God forbid) slain in any part or place of our Empire or Dominions, then good information thereof given, we and our Justices and other Officers, shall execute due Correction and Punishment without delay, according to the Exigence of the Case, so that it shall be an Example to all others not to commit the like; And if it shall chance the Factors, Servants, or Ministers of the said Merchants or any of them to trespass or offend, whereby they or any of them shall incur the Danger of Death or Punishment, the Goods, Wares, Marchandizes, and things of their Masters shall not therefore be forfeited, confiscated, spoiled nor seized by any means by us our Heirs or Successours, or by any our Officers, Ministers or Subjects, but shall remain to their use, frank, free, and discharged from all Punishment and Loss. 1555.

8. *Item.* 'We grant, that if any of the *English* Nation be arrested for any Debt, he shall not be laid in Prison, so far as he can put in sufficient Surety and Paun; neither shall any Sergeant or Officer lead them or any of them to Prison, before he shall have known whether the chief Factor or Factors, or their Deputies shall be Sureties, or bringing in Pawn for such arrested; then the Officers shall release the Party, and shall set him or them at liberty.

9. *Item.* 'Moreover we give, grant and promise to the said Merchants, that if any of their Ships or other Vessels shall be spoiled, robbed, or Damnified in sailing, anchoring, or returning to or from our said Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Merchants, or other Persons, whatsoever he or they be, that then and in such case, we will do all that in us is, to cause Restitution, Reparation, and Satisfaction to be duly made to the said *English* Merchants, by our Letters and otherwise, as shall stand with our Honour, and be Consonant to Equity and Justice.

10. *Item.* 'For us our Heirs and Successours, we do promise and grant to perform, maintain, corroborate, authen-

1555. authenticate and observe all and singular the aforesaid Liberties, Franchises, and Priviledges, like as presently we firmly do intend, and will corroborate, authentick and perform the same by all Means and Ways that we can, as much as may be, to the Commodity and Profit of the said *English* Merchants, and their Successours for ever.

And to the Intent that all and singular the said Gifts, Grants, and Promises may be inviolable observed and performed, we the said *John Vasilwich*, by the Grace of God, Emperour of *Russia*, great Duke of *Nouogrod*, *Mosco*, &c. for us, our Heirs and Successours, by our Imperial and Lordly Word instead of an Oath, have and do promise by these Presents, inviolably to maintain and observe, and cause to be inviolably observed and maintained, all and singular the aforesaid Gifts, Grants and Promises from time to time, and at all and every time and times hereafter: And for the more corroboration hereof, have caused our Signet hereunto to be put.

Dated in our Castle of *Mosco*, the 20th Day of in the Year

The Charter of the Merchants of Russia, *granted upon the Discovery of the said Country, by King* Philip *and Queen* Mary.

PHilip and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen, &c. To all manner of Officers, true Jury Men, Ministers and Subjects, and to all other People as well within this our Realm or elsewhere under our Obeysance, Jurisdiction, and Rule, or otherwise unto whom these our Letters shall be shewed, seen, or read, greeting.

Whereas we be credibly informed, that our right trusty, right faithful, and welbeloved Counsellors, *William* Marques of *Winchester*, Lord High Treasurer of this our Realm of *England*, *Henry* Earl of *Arundel* Lord Steward of our Houshold, *John* Earl of *Bedford* Lord Keeper of our Privy Seal, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord High Admiral of this our said Realm of *England*, &c. have at their own Adventure, Costs, and Charges, provided, rigged, and tackled certain Ships, Pinaces, and other meet Vessels, and the same furnished with all things necessary, have advanced and set forward, for to discover, ascribe, and find Isles, Lands, Territories, Dominions, and Seignories unknown, and by our Subjects before this not commonly by Sea frequented, which by the Sufferance and Grace of Almighty God, it shall chance them sailing Northwards, North-eastwards, and North-westwards, or any Parts thereof, in that Race or Course which other Christian Monarchs (being with us in League and Amity) have not heretofore by Seas trafficked, haunted, or frequented, to find and attain by their said Adventure, as well for the Glory of God, as for the Illustrating of our Honour and Dignity Royal, in the Increase of the Revenues of our Crown, and general wealth of this and other our Realms and Dominions, and of our Subjects of the same: And to this Intent our Subjects above specified and named, have most humbly beseeched us, that our abundant Grace, Favour and Clemency may be graciously extended unto them in this behalf: Whereupon we inclined to the Petition of the foresaid our Counsellors, Subjects and Merchants, and willing to animate, advance, further and nourish them in their said godly, honest, and good Purpose, and, as we hope, profitable Adventure, and that they may the more willingly and readily atchieve the same, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, have granted, and by these Presents do grant, for us, our Heirs and Successours, unto our said right trusty, and right faithful, and right welbeloved Counsellors, and the other before named Persons, that they by the name of Merchants Adventurers of *England*, for the discovery of Lands, Territories, Isles, Dominions, and Seignories unknown, and not before that late Adventure or Enterprise by Sea or Navigation, commonly frequented as aforesaid, shall be from henceforth one Body and perpetual Fellowship and Commonalty of themselves, both in Deed and in Name, and them, by the Names of Merchants Adventurers for the discovery of Lands, Territories, Isles, and Seignories unknown, and not by the Seas and Navigations, before their saidlate Adventure or Enterprise by Sea or Navigation commonly frequented, we do incorporate, name and declare by these Presents, and that the same Fellowship or Commonalty from henceforth shall be, and may have one Governour of the said Fellowship and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers. 1555.

The discovery principally intended for God's Glory.

And in consideration that one *Sebastian Cabota* hath been the chiefest Setter forth of this Journey or Voyage, therefore we make, ordain, and constitute him the said *Sebastian*, to be the first and present Governour of the same Fellowship and Commonalty, by these Presents, to have and enjoy the said Office of Governour, to him the said *Sebastian Cabota* during his natural Life, without amoving or dismissing from the same Room. *Sebastian Cabota* first Governour of the Company.

And furthermore, we grant unto the same Fellowship and Commonalty and their Successours, that they the said Fellowship and Commonalty, and their Successors after the decease of the said *Sebastian Cabota*, shall, and may freely and lawfully in places covenient and honest, assemble themselves together, or so many of them as will or can assemble together, as well within our City of *London*, or elsewhere, as it shall please them, in such sort and manner as other worshipful Corporations of our said City have used to assemble, and there yearly name, elect and choose one Governour or two of themselves and their Liberties, and also as well yearly during the natural life of the said *Sebastian Cabota*, now Governour, as also at the election of such said Governour and Governours before his decease, to choose, name and appoint 28 of the most sad, discreet, and honest Persons of the said Fellowship and Commonalty of Merchant Adventurers, as is above specified; and four of the most expert and skilful Persons of the same 28, to be named and called Consuls, and 24 of the residue, to be named and called Assistants to the said Governour or Governours, or Consuls for the time being, which shall remain and stand in their Authority for one whole Year then next following: And if it shall fortune the said Governour, Consuls and Assistants, or any of them so to be elected, and chosen as is aforesaid, to die within the Year after his or their election, that then and so often, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Fellowship and Commonalty, to elect and choose of themselves other Governour or Governours, Consuls and Assistants, in the place and stead of such as so shall happen to dye, to serve out the same Year.

Sir George Barnes, William Garret, Anthony Husie, John Sutheot, the first four Consuls.

And further we do make, ordain, and constitute *George Barnes* Knight and Alderman of our City of *London*, *William Garret* Alderman of our said City, *Anthonie Husie*, and *John Sutheot*, to be the first and present four Consuls of the said Fellowship and Commonalty by these Presents, to have and enjoy the said Offices of Consuls to them the said *George Barnes*, *William Garret*, *Anthony Husie*, and *Sutheot*, for term of one whole year next after the Date of these our Letters Patents; and we do likewise make, ordain, and constitute, Sir *John Gresham* Knight, Sir *Andrew Judde* Knight, Sir *Thomas White* Knight, Sir *John Yarke* Knight, *Thomas Offley* the elder, *Thomas Lodge*, *Henry Herdson*, *John Hopkins*, *William Watson*, *William Clifton*, *Richard Pointer*, *Richard Chamberlaine*, *William Mallorie*, *Thomas Pallie* the elder, *William Allen*, *Henry Becher*, *Geffrey Walkenden*, *Richard Fowls*, *Rowland Heyward*, *George Eaton*, *John Elliot*, *John Sparke*, *Blase Sanders*, and *Miles Mordin*, to be the first and 24 Assistants to the said Governour and Governours, and Consuls, and to the said Fellowship and Commonalty by these Presents, to have and enjoy the said Offices of Assistants to them for term of one whole Year, next after the date of these our Letters Patents. And further, we for us, our Heirs and Successours, as much as in us is, will and grant by these Presents unto the said Governour, Consuls, Assistants, Fellowship and Company of Merchants Adventurers aforesaid, and to their Successours, that the said Governour or Governours, four Consuls, and 24 Assistants, that now by these Patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the said Fellowship and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers, or the more part of them which shall be then present, so from time to time to be chosen, so that there be 15 at the least wholly agreed thereof, the said Governour or Governours, or one of them, and two of the said Consuls should be there, and twelve of the residue of the said number of 15, shall be of the said Assistants, and in the absence of such Governour, that then three of the said Consuls and twelve of the said Assistants at the least for the time being, shall and may have Use and Exercise, full Power and

Authority,

1555. 'Authority to rule and govern all and ſingular the Merchants of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and to execute and do full and ſpeedy juſtice to them, and every of them, in all their Cauſes, Differences, Variances, Controverſies, Quarrels, and Complaints, within any our Realms, Dominions and Juriſdictions only moved, and to be moved touching their Merchandiſe, Trafficks, and Occupiers aforeſaid, or the good Order or Rule of them or any of them.

'Alſo we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſo much as in us is, do likewiſe by theſe Preſents grant, that the ſaid Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and their Succeſſours ſhall and may have perpetual Succeſſion, and a common Seal, which ſhall perpetually ſerve for the Affairs and Buſineſs of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty. And that they and their Succeſſours ſhall and may be for ever able Perſons, and capable in the Law, for to purchaſe and poſſeſs in fee and perpetuity, and for term of Life or Lives, or for term of Years or otherwiſe, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, and other Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments whatſoever they be, by the name of the Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of the Merchants Adventurers by Seas and Navigations for the diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, Dominions and Seigniories unknown, and before the ſaid laſt Adventure or Enterpriſe by Seas not frequented, as before is ſpecified, and by the ſame names, ſhall and may lawfully alien, grant, let and ſet the ſame or any part thereof, to any Perſon or Perſons able in the Law to take and receive the ſame; ſo that they do not grant nor alien the ſame, or any part thereof into Mortmain, without ſpecial Licence of us, our Heirs or Succeſſours, firſt had and obtained.

'Alſo we for us our Heirs and Succeſſours have granted, and by theſe Preſents do grant unto the ſaid Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of the ſaid Merchants and to their Succeſſours, that they and their Succeſſours, ſhall and may lawfully purchaſe unto them and their Succeſſours for ever, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments whatſoever, of the clear yearly value of threeſcore and ſix Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four pence of lawful Money of *England* and not above, as well of ſuch Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, as be holden or ſhall be holden of us, our Heirs or Succeſſours, as of any other Perſon or Perſons, the Statues provided againſt Alienations into Mortmain, or any of them, or any Article or Clauſe in them or any of them contained, or any other Law, Cuſtom, Statute or Proviſion to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding: And that they by the name of the Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers, for the diſcovery of Lands, Territories, Iſles, Dominions and Seigniories unknown by the Seas and Navigations, and not before the ſaid late Adventure or Enterpriſe by Seas frequented as aforeſaid, ſhall and may be able in the Law to implead, and be impleaded, to anſwer and to be anſwered, to defend and to be defended before whatſoever Judge or Juſtice temporal or ſpiritual, or other Perſons whatſoever, in whatſoever Court or Courts, and in all Actions perſonal, real, and mixt, and in every of them, and in all Plaints of *novel Diſſeiſon*, and alſo in all Plaints, Suites, Quarrels, Affairs, *Buſineſſes* and Demands, whatſoever they be, touching and concerning the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and the Affairs and Buſineſs of the ſame only, in as ample manner and form, as any other Corporation of this our Realm may do.

'Moreover, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, have given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give and grant unto the ſaid Governour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers aforeſaid, and to their Succeſſours, that the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, and their Succeſſours, in manner, form and number afore rehearſed, ſhall have full Power and Authority from time to time hereafter, to make, ordain, eſtabliſh and ereet all ſuch Statues, Acts and Ordinances, for the Government, good Condition, and laudable Rule of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers aforeſaid, as to them ſhall be thought good, meet, convenient and neceſſary, and alſo to admit unto the ſaid Corporation and Fellowſhip to be free of the ſame, ſuch and as many Perſons as to them ſhall be thought good, meet, convenient and neceſſary. And that every ſuch Perſon or Perſons as ſhall fortune hereafter to be admitted into the ſaid Fellowſhip, Commonalty and Corporation, ſhall from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the ſame. And alſo we will, and by theſe Preſents grant for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, unto the ſaid Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers aforeſaid, and to their Succeſſours, that the Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants of the ſame, in manner, form and number afore rehearſed, and their Succeſſours for the time being, ſhall and may have full Power and Authority by theſe Preſents from time to time, as to them ſhall ſeem good to limit, ſet, ordain and make Mulcts and Penalties by Fines, Forfeitures and Impriſonments, or any of them upon any Offender of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, for any Offence touching the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and alſo that all Acts and Ordinances by them or their Succeſſours to be made, which time ſhall think not neceſſary or prejudicial to the ſaid Fellowſhip or Commonalty, at all times to revoke, break, fruſtrate, annihilate, repeal and diſſolve at their pleaſure and liberty. And further we will, that if any of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty ſhall be found contrarious, rebellious or diſobedient to the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls, and the ſaid Aſſiſtants for the time being, or to any Statues, Acts or Ordinances by them made or to be made, that then the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls, and the ſaid Aſſiſtants, in manner, form, and number above ſpecified, for the time being, ſhall and may by vertue of theſe Preſents, mulct and puniſh every ſuch Offender or Offenders, as the Quality of the Offence requireth, according to their good Diſcretions. 1554.

'And further, we will that none of the ſaid Offender or Offenders ſhall decline from the Power of the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, in manner, form and number aboveſaid for the time being; ſo always, that the ſaid Acts, Statutes, and Ordinances, do only touch and concern the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty of our before named Merchants Adventurers, or the Men of the ſame Fellowſhip and Commonalty, and none other; And ſo always, that ſuch their Acts, Statutes and Ordinances be not againſt our Prerogative, Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of our Realms and Dominions, nor contrary to the ſeveral Duty of any of our Subjects towards us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, nor contrary to any Compacts, Treaties or Leagues, by us or any of our Progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by us, our Heirs and Succeſſours to be made, to or with any foreign Prince or Potentate, nor alſo to the Prejudice of the Corporation of the Mayor, Commonalties and Citizens of our City of *London*, nor to the prejudice of any Perſon or Perſons, body Politick, or corporate, or incorporate, juſtly pretending, claiming, or having any Liberties, Franchiſes, Privuedges, Rights or Preheminences, by vertue or pretext of any Grants, Gift, or Letters Patents, by us, or any our Progenitours heretofore given, granted or made.

'Moreover, we for us, our Heirs and Succeſſours, will, and by theſe Preſents, do grant unto the ſaid Governours, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, Fellowſhip, and Commonalty of our Merchants aforeſaid, that their ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants, and their Succeſſour in the time being, in manner, form and number above rehearſed, ſhall have full Power and Authority to aſſign, conſtitute and ordain one Officer, or divers Officers, as well within our aforeſaid City of *London*, as alſo in any other place or places of this our Realm of *England*, or elſewhere within our Dominions, which Officer or Officers, we will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the Fellowſhip or Commonalty of the ſaid Merchants, and that the ſaid Sergeant or Sergeants, ſhall and may have full Power and Authority by theſe Preſents, to take, levy and gather all manner of Fines, Forfeitures, Penalties and Mulcts of every Perſon or Perſons of the ſaid Fellowſhip and Commonalty, convict and that ſhall be convicted upon, or for breaking of any Statutes, Acts, or Ordinances, to be made by the ſaid Governour or Governours, Conſuls and Aſſiſtants for the time being.

'And further, we will and alſo grant for us our Heirs and Succeſſours, that the ſaid Officer or Officers ſhall have further Power and Authority for the Default of Payment, or for Diſobedience in this behalf (if need be) to ſet hands and arreſt as well the Body and Bodies, as the Goods and Chattles of ſuch Offender and Offenders, and Tranſgreſſors, in every place and places not franchiſed. And if it ſhall fortune any ſuch Offender or Offenders, their Goods and Chattles or any part thereof, to be in any City, Borough, Town Incorporated, or

1555. other place franchised or priviledged, where the said Officer or Officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Mayor, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other head Officers or Ministers within every such City, Borough, Town, Incorporate, or place or places franchised, upon a Precept to them or any of them, to be directed from the Governour or Governours, Consuls and Assistants of the said Fellowship, in number and form aforesaid, under the common Seal of the said Fellowship and Commonalty for the time being, shall and may attack and arrest the Body or Bodies of such Offender or Offenders, as also take and seize the Goods and Chattles of all and every such Offender or Offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and the same Body and Bodies, Goods and Chattles of all and every such Offender and Offenders, being within any such Place or Places franchised, and every part thereof so attacked and seized, shall, according to the Tenor and Purport of the said Precept, return and deliver unto the said Officer or Officers of the aforesaid Fellowship and Commonalty.

And further, we will and grant for us, our Heirs and Successours by these Presents, that all and every such Mayor, Sheriff, Bayliff, or other head Officers or Ministers of any City, Borough, Town Incorporate, or other places franchised, shall not be impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any of our Court or Courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said Precept or Precepts.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant Grace, meer Motion, and certain Knowledge, for us, our Heirs and Successours, as much as in us is, have given and granted, and by these Presents do give and grant unto the said Governour, Consuls, Assistants, Fellowship and Commonalty of Merchants Adventurers, and to their Successors, and to the Factor and Factors, Assign and Assigns of every of them, full and free Authority, Liberty, Faculty and Licence, and Power to sail to all Ports, Regions, Dominions, Territories, Lands, Ilies, Islands, and Coasts of the Sea, wheresoever before their late Adventure or Enterprise unknown, or by our Merchants and Subjects by the Seas not heretofore commonly frequented, under our Banner, Standard, Flags and Ensigns, with their Ship, Ships, Bark, Pinnaces, and all other Vessels of whatsoever Portage, Bulk, quantity or quality they may be, and with any Mariners and Men as they will lead with them in such Ship or Ships, or other Vessels at their own proper Costs and Expences, to traffick, descry, discover and find, whatsoever Isle, Islands, Countries, Regions, Provinces, Creeks, Arms of the Sea, Rivers and Streams, as well of Gentiles, as of any other Emperour, King, Prince, Governour, or Lord whatsoever he or they shall be, and in whatsoever part of the World they be situate, being before the said late Adventure or Enterprise unknown, and by our Merchants and Subjects not commonly frequented, and to enter and land in the same without any manner of Denying, Pain, Penalty or Forfeiture to be had or taken by any of our Laws, Customs or Statutes to our use, or to the use of our Heirs or Successours for the same.

King Philip and Queen Mary shall by disanulling Duke Alexander's Division.

And we have also granted, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successours, do grant unto the said Governours, Consuls, Assistants, Fellowship and Commonalty, and to their Successours, and to their Factors and Assigns, and to every of them, Licence for to rear, plant, erect and fasten our Banners, Standards, Flags and Ensigns, in whatsoever City, Town, Village, Castle, Isle, or main Land, which shall be by them newly found, without any the Penalties, Forfeitures or Dangers aforesaid, and that the said Fellowship and Commonalty, and their Successours, Factors and Assigns, and every of them shall and may subdue, possess and occupy all manner of Cities, Towns, Isles, and main Lands of Infidelity, which is or shall be by them or any of them newly found or descried, as our Vassals and Subjects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, Title, and Insurrection of the same Cities, Towns, Castles, Villages, Isles, and main Lands, which shall be by them or any of them, newly discovered or found unto us, our Heirs and Successours for ever.

Conquest Permitted.

Anno 1554. And furthermore, whereas by the Voyage of our Subjects in this last ‖ Year attempted by Navigation, towards the discovery and disclosure of unknown Places, Realms, Islands and Dominions by the Seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almighty God to cause one of the three Ships by them set forth for the Voyage and Purpose above mentioned, named the *Edward Bonadventure*, to arive, abide, and winter within the Empire and Dominions of the high and mighty Prince our Cousin and Brother, Lord *John Basilvich*, Emperour of all *Russia*, *Volodomer*, Great Duke of *Muscovy*, &c. who, of his Clemency, for our Love and Zeal, did not only admit the Captain and Merchants our Subjects into his Protection and Princely Presence, but also received and entertained them very graciously and honourably, granting unto them by his Letters addressed unto us, frank Access in all his Seigniories and Dominions, with Licence freely to traffick in and out with all his Subjects in all kind of Merchandise, with divers other gracious Priviledges, Liberties and Immunities, specified in his said Letters under his Signet: Know ye therefore that we of our further Royal Favour and Munificence, of our meer Motion, certain Knowledge, and special Grace, for us, our Heirs and Successours, have given and granted, and by these Presents do give and grant unto the same Governours, Consuls, Assistants, Fellowship, and Commonalty above named, and to their Successours, as much as in us is, that all the main Lands, Ilies, Ports, Havens, Creeks, and Rivers of the said mighty Emperour of all *Russia*, and great Duke of *Mosco*, &c. and all and singular other Lands, Dominions, Territories, Isles, Ports, Havens, Creeks, Rivers, Arms of the Sea, of all and every other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler and Governour, whatsoever he or they before the said late Adventure or Enterprise not known, or by our aforesaid Merchants and Subjects by the Seas not commonly frequented, nor by any Part nor Parcel thereof lying Northwards, North-eastwards or North-westwards, as is aforesaid, by Sea shall not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any our Subjects, other of than the said Company and Fellowship, and their Successours without express Licence, Agreement and Consent of the Governour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said Fellowship and Commonalty above-named, or the more part of them, in manner and number aforesaid, for the time being, upon pain of Forfeiture and Loss, as well of the Ship and Ships, with the Appurtenances, as also of all the Goods, Merchandises, and things whatsoever they be, of those our Subjects, not being of the said Fellowship and Commonalty, which shall attempt or presume to sail to any of those places, which be or hereafter shall happen to be found, and trafficked unto, the one half of the same Forfeiture to be to the use of us, our Heirs and Successours, and the other half to be to the use of the said Fellowship and Commonalty. And if it shall fortune any Stranger or Strangers for to attempt to hurt, hinder or endamage the same Merchants, their Factors, Deputies or Assigns, or any of them in sailing, going or returning at any time in the said Adventure, or for to sail or trade to or from any of those Places, Lands or Coasts, which by the said Merchants, their Factors, Deputies and Assigns, have been, or shall be descried, discovered and found, or frequented, as well within the Coasts and Limits of Gentility, as within the Dominions and Seigniories of the said mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and every other Emperour, King, Prince, Ruler, and Governour, whatsoever he or they be, before the said late Adventure or Enterprise not known by any of our said Merchants and Subjects, by the Seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, North-westwards, or North-east-wards as aforesaid, then we will and grant, and by these Presents do licence, and authorise for us, our Heirs and Successours, the said Merchants, their Factors, Deputies, and Assigns, and every of them to do their best in their defence, to resist the same their Enterprises and Attempts. Willing therefore, and straightly commanding and charging all and singular our Officers, Mayors, Sheriffs, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffs, and all and singular other our Ministers and Liege Men and Subjects whatsoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the said Governour or Governours, Consuls, Assistants, Fellowship and Commonalty, and to their Successors and Deputies, Factors, Servants, and Assigns, and to the Deputies, Factors and assigns of every of them, in executing and enjoying the Premisses, as well on Land as in the Sea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you shall be thereunto required. In witness whereof, &c.

1555. *The Muscovites Priviledges unto the English.*

The largness of the Priviledge of the Muscovie Company.

Anno 1555.

Apud Westmonasterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum nostrorum primo & secundo.

Further

Further Priviledges granted to the Merchants of Russia.

'THese Letters Patents were confirmed by act of Parliament, 8. *Eliz.* 1566. wherein it is enacted, 'That by reason the name by which the said Fellowship 'is incorporated by the Letters Patents aforesaid is 'long, and consisteth of very many words, that there- 'fore the said Fellowship, Company, Society and Cor- 'poration, shall from henceforth be incorporated and 'called only by the name of the *Fellowship of English Mer- 'chants for discovery of new Trades.* Provided that it 'shall be lawful for any of the Subjects of this Realm 'to sail to the Port, Town, Territory or Castle of 'Wardhouse, or to any part of *Norway*: Not to trans- 'port any Cloth or Kersies before the same shall be 'dressed, and for the most part died within this Realm, 'upon forfeiture of five Pound for every Cloth and Ker- 'sy, one half to the Queen, the other half to the Ma- 'ster or Warden of the Cloth-Workers of *London*. Nor 'to transport any Commodity of this Realm but only 'in *English* Ships, and sail for the most part by *English* 'Mariners, on forfeiture of 200 Pound, one Moiety to 'the Queen, the other to the head Officers of any Port- 'Town, having any Haven or Harbour decayed, by 'whatsoever name they be incorporated, to the repa- 'ration of such Harbour, that will sue for the same in 'any Court of Record, by Action, Bill, Plaint or In- 'formation, wherein no Essoin, Protection or Wager of 'Law for the Defendant shall be allowed.

'Provided also, that whensoever the said Company 'shall willingly withdraw, and discontinue wholly by 'the space of three Years, in time of Peace, the discharg- 'ing of their Merchandises at the Road of St. *Nicholas* 'Bay in *Russia*, and do not discharge their said Merchan- 'dizes at some other Port or Road lying on that 'North Coast of *Russia*, or other Territory now sub- 'ject to the said Prince, hitherto by the Subjects of this 'Realm not commonly frequented, that then during the 'time of any such discontinuance and withdrawing as is 'aforesaid, it shall be lawful to all the Subjects of this 'Realm to trade to the *Narve* only in *English* Bottoms, 'any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstand- 'ing.

The Third Voyage to Russia.

1556. THe Company sent two Ships to *Russia* this Year, *viz.* the *Edward* and the *Philip* and *Mary*, with Supernumerary Masters and Mariners, to bring home the *Bona Speranza* and the *Confidentia* that had been frozen up in *Lapland*. They touched at *Lapland*, and thence sailed to the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, from whence they came all together on the 20th of *July*, bringing with them a *Russian* Embassador, named *Osep Napea*, with 16 of his Retinue, who were shipped with Mr. *Chancellor* in the *Edward*, but by contrary Winds and violent Tempests they were separated. The *Confidentia* was seen to perish on a Rock on the Coast of *Norway*; the *Speranza*, wherein were divers *Russe* Merchants and Servants of the Embassador, was never since heard of. 'Tis supposed, that by two Years wintering in *Lapland*, she became unstaunch, and sunk. The *Philip* and *Mary* arrived in the *Thames* the 18th of *April*, 1557. the *Edward* on the tenth of *November* 1556. arrived in the Bay of *Petesiego*, in the North of *Scotland*, where forced from her Anchors, she was split upon the Rocks in the Night, and Mr *Chancellor* with seven *Russes* and divers Mariners were drowned, the Embassador with a few others, with much difficulty escaping.

As soon as the News of this Disaster came to *London*, the sixth of *December*, the Company obtained Letters from the Queen to the Queen Dowager and Council of *Scotland*, in favour of the said Embassador, and immediately dispatched *Lawrence Hussy*, Doctor of the Civil Law, and *George Gilpin*, into *Scotland*, with Money and other Necessaries to relieve him, and conduct him with his Retinue into *England*. They arrived at *Edingburgh* the 23d of *December*, and after visiting the Embassador, repaired to Queen Dowager with their Letters, who gave them hopes of speedy restitution, and in order thereunto, sent Commissioners with an Herald of Armes to *Pettisiego*, commanding by Proclamation all Persons as had any part of such Goods as were spoiled, and taken out or from the Ship, to bring them in and restore the same; so that after much Trouble, Time and Charges, some small Parcels of Wax, and other small trifling things of no value, were by the poorer sort of *Scots* brought to the Commissioners, but the Jewels, rich Apparel, Presents, Gold, Silver and costly Furs, were concealed and embezel'd. Whereupon the Queen at the request of the Ambassador, caused about 180 of them to appear before her and answer the same, whereof not only good Testimony by Writing was produced, but also the things themselves found in the Hands of the *Scottish* Subjects, who by subtil and crafty dealing and connivance of the Commissioners, abused the Embassador and his Attendants, so that no effectual Restitution was made; whereupon he departed towards *England*, on the fourteenth day of *February*, and on the 18th came to *Berwick*, where by the Queen's Command, he was honourably received by the Lord *Wharton*, and on the 27th was met twelve Miles from *London* by 80 Merchants with Chains of Gold, well mounted, and all their Servants in one Livery, and conducting him to a Merchants House four Miles from *London*, he there received a quantity of Gold, Velvet and Silk, with all Furniture thereunto requisite, wherewith he made him a riding Garment, reposing himself that Night. The next day he was conducted to *London* by 140 Merchants of the *Russian* Company, and as many of their Servants in one Livery, and by the Queen's Command was met on the way by the Lord *Mountague*, with 300 Horse, who conducted him to the North part of the City, where four eminent Merchants richly apparell'd, presented him a fair large Gelding, with rich Trappings and a Foot-cloth of Crimson Velvet. The Embassador being mounted, was met at *Smithfield Bars* by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen in their Scarlet, and rode thro' *London* between the Lord-Mayor and Lord *Montague* to his Lodgings in *Fanchurch Street*, a great number of Merchants riding before, and their Servants following after. 1556.

Here he tarried, expecting the King's return from *Flanders*, which was the 21st of *March*, during which time he was daily visited by the Aldermen and chief of the Company, who sent him a rich Cup-board of Plate, and provided all kind of Victuals for his Table and his Servants, with all sorts of Officers to attend upon him.

The Queen also presented him with a rich piece of Cloth of Tissue, a piece of Cloth of Gold, another piece of Cloth of Gold raised with Crimson Velvet, a piece of Crimson Velvet in grain, a piece of Purple Velvet, a piece of Damask purpled, and a piece of Crimson Damask, all which he thankfully accepted.

On the 25th of *March* he was conducted into the presence of the King and Queen, where, after he had deliver'd his Letters, made his Speech, and presented their Majesties with two Timber of Sables (the rest being lost in the Shipwrack) he was dismiss'd with much Honour and Respect. A Timber is twice 40.

The time of the Year approaching for his departure, he received the Presents from their Majesties to the Emperour, which were,

1 Two rich pieces of Cloth of Tissue.
2 One fine piece of Scarlet.
3 One fine Violet in grain.
4 One fine Azure Cloth.
5 A pair of Brigandines, with a Murrain covered with Crimson Velvet and gilt Nails.
6 Two Lions, a Male and Female.

Gifts given to the Embassador at his departure.

1 A Chain of Gold of 100 *l.* value
2 A large Bason and Ewer of Silver gilt.
3 A Pair of Pottle Pots gilt.
4 A pair of Flagons Gilt.

Gifts sent from the Emperour of *Russia* to the King and Queen of *England*, spoiled by the *Scots* after the Shipwrack.

1. Six Timber of Sables, rich in colour and Hair.
2. Twenty entire Sables, exceeding beautiful, with Teeth, Ears, and Claws.
3. Four living Sables, with Chains and Collars.

4. Thirty

4 Thirty Luſarns, large and beautiful.
5 Six large and great Skins, very rich and rare, ſuch as are worn by the Emperour only.
6. A large and fair white Jerfoulcon for the wild Swan, Crane, Gooſe, and other great Fowls, with a Drum of Silver, uſed as a Lure to call the Hawk.

1556. This Year alſo the Company ſet out a Pinnace, called the *Search Thrift*, *Stephen Burrow* Maſter, to diſcover the Harbours in the Northern Seas. He went beyond the Bay of St. *Nicholas* as far as the Iſland *Vaygats*, but meeting with much Ice and Snow, and continual North-eaſt and Northerly Winds, and the Nights beginning to grow dark, he thought it beſt to return to the 22. *Aug.* Bay of St. *Nicholas*, where he arrived at *Colmogra* the 11th of *September*, and there wintered, intending upon the approach of next Summer to proceed in the diſcovery of the River *Ob*, but being ſent to *Wardhouſe* next Spring in ſearch of the *Engliſh* Ships; the Deſign for that time was laid aſide.

The Fourth Voyage to Ruſſia, &c.

Written by ſome of the Engliſh, *who then went over to ſerve the Emperour.*

1557. THE Company ſet out four Ships this Year, *viz.* the *Primroſe*, the *John Evangeliſt*, the *Ann*, and the *Trinity*: The Embaſſador *Oſep Napea* was Shipped on the *Primroſe*, whereof *Anthony Jenkinſon* was Commander. They departed from *Graveſend* the twelfth of *May*, and arrived in the Bay of St. *Nicholas* the thirteenth of *July*, having ſailed from *London* unto the ſaid Bay 750 Leagues.

The Embaſſador and his Company with great joy went aſhoar, and as many of us *Engliſh* Men as came to ſerve the Emperour, travelled with him to *Moſco*. We went up the River *Dwina* to *Vologhda*, being 1000 Verſts, and every Verſt is three fourths of an *Engliſh* Miles. There we laded our Cheſts and things in ſmall Wagons with one Horſe, and we were fourteen days in travelling from *Vologhda* to *Moſco*, which is 500 Verſts.

The twelfth of *September* we arrived at *Moſco*, and were brought by *Napea* and two of the Emperour's Gentlemen unto a large Houſe, where every one of us had his Chamber appointed.

The fourteenth of *September* we were commanded to come unto the Emperour, and were immediately admitted to his Preſence, and kiſſed his Right-hand: He ſate in a Chair of State, with a Crown on his Head, and a Staff in his Left-hand, garniſhed with coſtly Stones. He told us by his Interpreter that we were all welcome, and willed us to dine with him; ſo we gave Thanks and departed till Dinner was ready. When Dinner time approached, we were brought into the Dining Room, and were placed at a Table over againſt the Emperour, that he might behold us all.

At the upper end of one Table ſate the Emperour, his Brother, and the King of *Cazan*, who is a Priſoner: About two Yards lower ſate the King of *Cazan*'s Son, a Child of five years of age, and beneath him ſate many of the Nobility.

At another Table near to the Emperour's, ſate a Monk alone, who was in all points as well ſerved as the Emperour. At another Table ſate *Chirkeſſes*, entertained by the Emperour to ſerve againſt his Enemies.

All the Tables were covered only with Salt and Bread, and after we had ſate a while, the Emperour ſent to every one of us a piece of Bread, the Meſſenger uſing the Words, *The Emperour and great Duke gives thee Bread this Day*. There came in ſix Singers, who ſtood in the middle of the Chamber with their Faces towards the Emperour, whoſe Voices were not delightful to our Ears.

The Emperour did not put a morſel of Meat into his Mouth until he had firſt bleſſed it, and in like manner when he drank; for he was very religious in his way, and eſteemed his Religious Men above his Noble-Men.

The Dinner laſted five Hours, and the Tables being taken away, we came into the middle of the Room, and reverenced the Emperour, who delivered to every one of us with his own Hands a Cup of Mead, and gave us leave 1557. to depart. He ſent to our Lodging the ſame Evening, three Barrels of Mead of ſeveral ſorts, in all about a Hogſhead.

The 16th of *September* the Emperour ſent to our Lodging for every one of us a *Tartar* Horſe, the Streets of *Moſco* being very dirty in the Summer.

The 18th he ſent us furred Gowns of branched Velvet and Gold, and ſome of red Damask; that of Doctor *Standiſh* our Phyſician was furred with Sables, and the reſt with white Ermin, and ſome with grey Squirrel, and all faced and edged round about with black Beaver.

The 10th of *October* the Emperour gave Dr. *Standiſh* Dr. of Phyſick, 70 Rubles in Money, and to the reſt of us that were Men of Occupations, thirty Rubles a piece. A Ruble is worth about 13 Shillings Sterling.

Every year upon Twelfth Day, they hollow the River *Moſcua*, which runs thro' the City, after this manner. They make a hole in the Ice three Fathom ſquare, the ſides whereof are trimmed with white Boards; then at nine in the Morning they come out of the Church in Proceſſion as followeth. The Hollowing of the River.

Firſt, young Men with Wax Tapers burning; then follow Banners, the Croſs, Images of our Lady, St. *Nicholas*, and other Saints; then about 100 Prieſts; then the Metropolitan led between two Prieſts, and after him the Emperour with his Crown upon his Head, attended by his Nobility. When they came to the Hole, the Prieſts ſate themſelves in order about it: On one ſide of the Hole was a Scaffold, with a Chair in which the Metropolitan ſate, but the Emperour ſtood upon the Ice; then the Prieſts began to ſing their Service and bleſſed the Water, which done, the Metropolitan took a little in his Hands and caſt it upon the Emperour and his Nobles, and then they returned to the Church with the Prieſts. When the Emperour was gone, there was a great Crowd, for there came above 5000 Pots to be filled with that Water, a *Muſcovite* thinking himſelf unhappy if he hath not ſome of this Water. Many went naked into the Water, Men, Women and Children, divers ſick People were thrown in, and plucked out quickly, and when the Crowd was gone, the Emperour's beſt Horſes were brought to drink of the ſame Water, and many other Men brought their Horſes to drink, and by that means make their Horſes as holy as themſelves.

The *Ruſſes* begin their *Lent* eight Weeks before *Eaſter*; the firſt Week they eat Eggs, Milk, Cheeſe, Butter, Pancakes, and ſuch things, viſiting one another, and from that Sunday until our *Shrove-Sunday*, there are but few *Ruſſe* ſober, and it is accounted no reproach among them. Their Lent.

The next Week being our firſt Week of *Lent*, they keep a great Faſt, and the People are perſwaded that the Metropolitan neither eats nor drinks any thing for the ſpace of ſeven Days, and they ſay there are many Religious Men which do the like.

The Emperour eats but one Morſel of Bread and drinks but one draught of Drink in a day during that Week, and none of reputation come out of their Houſes in that time, ſo that the Streets are void of company, except a few poor People: The other ſix Weeks they keep as we do ours, but not one of them will eat either Butter, Cheeſe, Eggs or Milk.

On *Palm-Sunday* they have a Solemn Proceſſion in this manner.

Firſt, there is a Horſe covered with white Linen down to the Ground, his Ears being made long with the ſame Cloth like to aſſes Ears. Upon this Horſe the Metropolitan ſits on one ſide like a Woman; In his Lap lies a fair Book with a golden Crucifix upon the Cover, which he holdeth faſt with his Left-hand, and in his Right-hand he hath a Croſs of Gold, wherewith he bleſſeth the People as he rides.

There are about 30 Men who ſpread their Garments before the Horſe, and as ſoon as the Horſe is paſt over any of them, they take them up and run before and ſpread them again, ſo that the Horſe always goes on ſome of them. They which ſpread the Garments are all Prieſts Sons, and for their labour the Emperour gives them new ones.

A Nobleman leads the Horſe by the Head, but the Emperour himſelf going on foot, leads the Horſe by the Reins of his Bridle, holding a Branch of a Palm-Tree in his other Hand: Then followed the Nobility and Gentry, and a great number of People. In this order they went to Church, and then the Emperor and ſome of the Nobility dined at the Metropolitan's Houſe. The Emperour leads the Metropolitan's Horſe in proceſſion.

The

The rest of this Week until *Easter Day*, they kept very solemnly, continuing in their Houses for the most part, and upon *Monday* or *Thursday*, the Emperour always receives the Sacrament, and so do most of his Nobles. Upon *Good Friday* they continue all the Day in Contemplation and Prayers, and they use to let loose a Prisoner instead of *Barrabas*. The Night following they go to the Church, where they sleep until the next Morning. They have a Custom to colour Eggs red, of which every Man and Woman gives one to the Priest of their Parish upon *Easter-Day* in the Morning; and they carry such Eggs in their Hands on that day and three or four days after. They use it they say as a Token of their unanimous joy for the Resurrection; for when two Friends meet in the Holydays, they take one another by the Hand, and one says, *Christ the Lord is risen*, the other answers, *It is so of a truth*, and then they kiss and exchange their Eggs, both Men and Women, continuing in killing four Days together. The Emperour hears all Complaints himself, and gives Sentence with expedition, but refers Religious Matters to the Metropolitan.

Arising in the great Church.

They have Monks, Fryers, and Nuns in many great and rich Monasteries, who keep great Hospitality, and relieve many poor People daily: They eat no Flesh during their lives, as is reported, but they may eat Fish every day. Many of these Monks are great Merchants, and have Boats which traffick in the Rivers from place to place.

The Hospitality of their Monasteries.

They have no Preachers, whereby they live in gross Ignorance and Idolatry: The Priests are married and wear the same Garments with other Men: Their Crowns are shaven, the rest of the Hair hanging over their Shoulders: They never shave their Beards. If a Priest's Wife die, it is not lawful for him to marry again.

Want of Preachers cause of Ignorance and Idolatry.

At the Communion the Priests breaks the Bread, and puts it into the Wine, and takes it out together with a Spoon.

Communion.

Their Churches are full of Images, unto which the People bow, and knock their Heads against the Ground before them, that some will have large Knobs on their Foreheads. Their Service is in the *Russian* Language, but few of the common People understand one half of what is read in their Churches.

Images.

When a Child is born, it is not baptized until the next *Sunday*, and then they may take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, who settle themselves about a Table in the Church, whereon stands an Earthen Pot full of warm Water, every one holding a small Wax Candle burning; then they repeat certain Words after the Priest, among which is, that the Child shall forsake the Devil, at which Words they all spit: Then he blesses the Water in the Pot, and breaths over it, and taking all the Candles which the Gossips have, holds them all in one Hand, and lets part of them drop into the Water, and then gives every one his Candle again. After the Water is thus sanctified, he holds the Child in a small Tub, and one of the Godfathers takes the Pot with warm Water, and pours it all upon the Child's Head.

Baptism.

Then follow many more Ceremonies, as anointing the Childs Ears and Eyes with Spittle, and making Crosses with Oyl upon his Back, Head and Breast: Then the Priest taking the Child in his Arms, carries it to the Images of St. *Nicholas* and our Lady, &c. and speaking to the Images, desires them to take charge of the Child that he may live, and believe as a Christian ought to do, &c. Then clipping off some of the Childs Hair, he delivers the Child to the Godfathers and Godmothers, one of whom hangs a Cross about the Child's Neck, which he must always wear, for that *Russe* who has not a Cross about his Neck, they esteem no Christian.

Their Matrimony is performed in this manner: The Man sends to the Woman a small Box, wherein is a Whip, Needles, Thread, Silk, Linnen Cloth, Scissars, &c. as also some Raisins, Figs, &c. to let her know, that if she offend she must be punished, but if she do well, no good thing shall be withheld from her; and she sends to him a Shirt, Handkerchiefs, &c. of her own making. When the day of Marriage is come, the Bride resists and strives with those that would have her out of the House, and pretends to weep; yet in the end two Women get her out and lead her to the Church, her Face covered, that her Dissimulation may not be perceived, because she makes a great noise as if she were sobbing and weeping, until she come at the Church, and then her Face is uncovered: Then cometh the Man accompanied with his Friends, who bring with them a Pot of Wine or Mead: Then the Priest joins them together, much after our Order, they promising to love and serve each other during their Lives; which done, the Woman drinks to the Man, and when he hath drank, he lets the Cup fall to the Ground, hasting to tread upon it, and so doth she, and which of them treads first upon it, they think will have the Victory, and be Master at all times after, which for the most part happens to be the Man, because he lets it fall himself, and so is most ready to set his Foot upon it: Then they go home, the Woman's Face uncovered, the Boys in the Streets following them and uttering immodest Words. When they come home, the Wife is set at the upper end of the Table, and the Husband next to her; then they drink till they be all drunk, and sometimes have a Fidler or two, and two Men who led the Bride from Church, dance naked a long time before the Company. When they are weary of drinking they go to bed, and the Bridegroom puts some Money into one of his Boots, which she must pull off, and if she happen on the Boot where the Money is, she hath it for her pains, and is excused from pulling off his Boots for all time to come; but if she miss the Boot where the Money is, she is bound from that day forward to pull off his Boots continually.

Matrimony.

They marry very young, the Sons at 16 or 18, and the Daughters at 12 or 13. Men of credit keep their Wives very close, so that they are rarely seen, but when they go to Church at *Christmas* or *Easter*, or to visit some of their Friends.

Most part of the Women ride astride in Saddles with Stirrops as Men do. Painting their Faces is counted no shame among them, and they colour their Eye-brows as black as jett.

When any one dies, they stretch him out, and put a new pair of Shoes on his Feet, then wind him in a Sheet, and the Priest puts a Certificate into his Right-hand, to assure St. *Nicholas* that the party died a Christian; but those who are hanged or beheaded, have no such Testimonial with them.

Burial.

Many poor People among them perish for want of Food; some are forced to dry Straw and Stamp it, and eat it instead of Bread; In the Summer they make good shift with Grass, Herbs and Roots, Bark of Trees is good Meat with them at all times. No People in the World live more miserable than the Poor in those Parts; most of those who have sufficient for themselves and others, are so unmerciful, that they care not how many they see die of Hunger in the Streets.

Bread made of Straw.

The Country is subject to many Diseases, and they hold the best Remedy is, to go often into the Stoves or Baths, and almost every Man hath one of his own, which he heats commonly twice a Week, and all the Houshold sweat and wash themselves therein.

Stoves.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The ſeveral Voyages of Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon, *the firſt whereof was in the* Primroſe, *with the Ambaſſador* Oſep Napea, *in the year* 1557.

1557. MR *Jenkinſon*, Commander of the *Primroſe*, having ſet the Embaſſador aſhore at the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, 12 *July* 1557, as was ſaid in the laſt Chapter, he tarried there till the ſaid four Ships were diſcharged and laden again, which departed for *England* the firſt of *Auguſt*.

He arrived at *Moſco* the 6th of *December*, and on the 25th dined with the Emperour: The Entertainment was very ſplendid, but being deſcribed already in the laſt Chapter, I ſhall not repeat it here.

The City of *Moſco*, he ſays, is great, the Houſes for the moſt part of Wood, and ſome of Stone, with Windows of Iron, which ſerve for Summer. There are many fair Churches of Stone, but more of Wood, which are made hot in Winter. The Emperour's Palace is in a fair large Caſtle ſituate upon a Hill, two Miles about, and the River on the South-weſt ſide of it; It hath 16 Gates in the Walls, and as many Bulwarks.

The Country is full of moriſh Ground, and plain, abounding with Woods and Rivers, and produces great plenty of Corn. They have many ſorts of Meat and Drink when they Banquet, and delight in eating of groſs Meats and ſtinking Fiſh: Before they drink they uſe to blow in the Cup, and their greateſt Friendſhip is in drinking. They are great Talkers and Lyars, without any Faith or Truſt in their Words, Flatterers and Diſſemblers.

In every good Town there is a Tavern, called a *Curſemay*, which the Emperour ſometimes lets out to Farm, and ſometimes beſtows for a Year or two on ſome Duke or Gentleman, in recompence of his Service; and during that time he is Lord of all the Town, robbing and ſpoiling, and doing what he pleaſes, and when he is grown rich, the Emperour removes him, and ſends him to the Wars again.

In the Winter they travel upon Sleds, the Way being hard and ſmooth with Snow, and the Waters and Rivers all frozen; and one Horſe with a Sled will draw a Man upon it 400 Miles in three Days; but in Summer the Ways are deep with Mire, and travelling is very ill.

A *Ruſſe*, if he be a Man of Ability, never goes out of his Houſe in Winter, but upon his Sled, and in Summer upon his Horſe: In his Sled he ſits upon a Carpet, or a white Bears Skin. The Sled is drawn with a Horſe decked with Foxes and Wolves Tails about his Neck, and is guided by a little Boy on his Back: His Servants ſtand upon the Tail of the Sled.

merly a City of great wealth, where we tarried till the 13th of *June*, and the next day paſſed by a goodly River, called *Cama*, on our Left-hand, and all the Country from thence to *Aſtracan*, and from thence on the North ſide of the *Caſpian* Sea, to a Land of the *Tartars*, called *Turkmen*, is called *Mangat* or *Nagay*, whoſe Inhabitants are *Mahometans*, and were all deſtroyed in 1558 (while I was at *Aſtracan*) by Wars among themſelves, accompanied with Famin and Peſtilence, ſo that the ſaid Country is now deſolate, to the great content of the *Ruſſes*, who have had cruel Wars with them for a long time. The Riuer of *Cama*. *Nagayan Tartars.*

Theſe *Nagayan*, when they flouriſhed, were divided into Companies called *Hords*, every *Hord* having a Ruler, whom they obeyed as their King, and was called a *Murſe*. They had no Towns or Houſes, but lived in the open Fields, every *Murſe* having his *Hord* about him, with their Wives, Children, and Cattle, who when they had conſumed the Paſture in one place, removed to another; and when they remove, they have Houſes like Tents ſet upon Wagons or Carts, which are drawn from place to place with Camels, and therein their Wives, Children, and all their Wealth, which is very little, is carried about, and every Man hath at leaſt four or five Wives, beſides Concubines. Uſe of Money they have none, but barter their Cattle for Apparel and other Neceſſaries. They delight in no Art or Science, except it be that of War, wherein they are expert, but for the moſt part they are paſturing People, and their Riches conſiſts in Cattle. They eat much Fleſh, eſpecially the Horſe, and drink Mares Milk, wherewith they are often drunk. Corn they ſow not, neither do they eat any Bread, mocking the Chriſtians for the ſame, ſaying, that we diſable our Strength, by eating the top of a Weed, and drinking a Drink made of the ſame, and impure their own Strength to their great devouring of Fleſh and drinking of Milk. But to proceed on my Journey. *Hords.*

All the Country on the Right-hand of the River *Volga*, from over againſt the River *Cama* unto the City of *Aſtracan*, is the Land of *Crim*, whoſe Inhabitants are alſo *Mahometans*, and live for the moſt part like to the *Nagayans*, having continual Wars with the *Ruſſians*: They are valiant in the Field, and are ſupported by the *Turks*. *Crim Tartars.*

The 28th we came to a great Hill, being the juſt mid-way between *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, which is about 200 Leagues; it is in the Latitude of 51 Degrees 47 Minutes.

The fourteenth of *July* we arrived at *Aſtracan*, conquered by this Emperour of *Ruſſia* ſix Years paſt, 1552: It is from *Moſco* to *Aſtracan* 600 Leagues. The Town is ſituate upon an Iſland on the ſide of a Hill, having a Caſtle within the ſame, walled about with Earth and Timber. The Town is alſo walled about with Earth, the Houſes for the moſt part are very mean. The Iſland is deſtitute of Wood and Paſture, and the Ground will bear no Corn. *Aſtracan.*

The Air is infected by reaſon of much Fiſh, eſpecially Sturgeon, which is the chief Food of the Inhabitants, Fleſh and Bread being very ſcarce. They hang up their Fiſh in the Streets and Houſes to dry for their Proviſion, which cauſes ſuch abundance of Flies, as the like was never ſeen in any Land. *Store of Sturgeon.*

There was a great Famin and Plague while I was there, eſpecially among the *Nagayan Tartars*, who come thither in great numbers to ſeek for Succour from the *Ruſſians*, their ancient Enemies; but they were but ill entertained, a great number of them dying for hunger, and lay dead in heaps all over the Iſland, very pitiful to behold. Many of them were ſold by the *Ruſſes*; I could have bought 1000 *Tartar* Children of their own Parents, a Boy or a Girl, for a Loaf of Bread not worth above ſix pence in *England*. *Famin and Plague at Aſtracan.*

Aſtracan is the furtheſt Hold that the *Ruſſians* have taken from the *Tartars* towards the *Caſpian* Sea: The Trade there is but ſmall and beggerly, altho' there come Merchants from divers places: The *Ruſſes* bring red Hydes, red

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Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon's *Voyage from* Moſco *to the City of* Boghar *in* Bactria, *Anno* 1558.

1558. THE 23d of *April*, 1558 (having obtained the Emperor of *Ruſſia*'s Letters to divers Kings and Princes through whoſe Dominions I ſhould paſs) I departed from *Moſco* by Water, having with me two Servants, *Richard* and *Robert Johnſon*, and a *Tartarian* Interterpreter, with ſeveral parcels of Wares.

On the 11th day of *May* we came to a fair Town and Caſtle, ſituate at the falling of the River *Occa* into the River *Volga*, called *Noſe Novogrod*, where we tarried till the nineteenth, for the coming of a Captain, who was ſent by the Emperour to rule at *Aſtracan*, who being arrived, and having 500 great Boats under his Conduct, with Victuals, Soldiers, Munition and Merchandiſe, we departed all together the ſaid 19th day, and on the 29th day came to *Cazan*, for-

1557. red Sheep-Skins, Veſſels of Wood, Bridles and Saddles, Knives and other Trifles, alſo Corn, Bacon, and other Victuals: The *Tartars* bring Wares of Cotton-wool, and wrought Silks: The *Perſians* from *Shemaki* bring coarſe Sowing Silk, Craſto-Girdles, Shirts of Mail, Bows, Swords, and ſuch like things, and ſome Years Corn and Walnuts, but all things in ſuch ſmall quantity, that there is no hope of any Trade in thoſe parts worth following.

The Iſland is 12 Leagues long and three broad, and lies Eaſt and Weſt, in Latitude 47 Deg. 9 Min. We tarried there till the ſixth day of *Auguſt*, and having bought and provided a Boat, in company with certain *Tartars* and *Perſians*, we laded our Goods and embarked our ſelves, and the ſame day departed; my ſelf and the two *Johnſons* having the whole charge of the Navigation down the River *Volga*, being very crooked and full of Flats near the Mouth thereof. We entred the *Caſpian* the 10th of *Auguſt*, being 20 Leagues from *Aſtracan*, in Lat. 46 Deg. 27 Min. And on the 19th, being at an Anchor near a River called *Jaic*, and all our Men athoar (except my ſelf then very ſick, and five *Tartars*, whereof one was reputed a Holy Man, becauſe he came from *Mecca*) there came unto us a Boat with 30 Men, well armed, who boarding us, began to enter into our Bark, which our holy *Tartar*, named *Azy*, perceiving, asked them what they would have, and withal made a Prayer; whereupon the Rovers ſtaid, declaring that they were Gentlemen baniſhed from their Country, and in great want, and came to ſee if there were any *Ruſſes* or other Chriſtians in our Bark. *Azy* anſwered them reſolutely, that there were none, avowing the ſame by great Oaths of their Law (which lightly they will not break) whom the Rovers believed, and upon his Words departed; and ſo thro' the fidelity of this *Tartar*, I with all my Company and Goods were ſaved, and our Men being come aboard, we departed, ſteering Eaſt South Eaſt, and on the 27th there aroſe ſuch a Storm, that we thought verily we ſhould have periſhed: It continued three days, and put us from the Port we deſigned, and forced us to anchor in a bad Haven, and ſending ſome of our Men on Land to talk with the Governour and People, for Proviſion of Camels to carry our Goods from the Sea-ſide to a place call'd *Sellyzure*, which is 25 days journey, our Meſſengers returned with comfortable Words, and fair Promiſes of all things.

Wherefore the third of *September*, 1558, we diſcharged our Bark, and I with my Company were civilly entertained by the Prince and People; but before our departure we found them to be a very bad and brutiſh People, for they ceaſed not daily to moleſt us, either by fighting, ſtealing or begging, raiſing the Price of Horſes, Camels, and Victuals, double what it was wont to be, and forced us to buy the Water that we drank, which made us to haſten away, and to conclude with them for the hire of Camels, *&c.* according to their own demand; ſo that for every Camels load, being but 400 weight of ours, we agreed to give three Hides of *Ruſſia*, and four wooden Diſhes, and to the Prince or Governour, one ninth and two ſevenths, that is to ſay, nine ſeveral things, and twice ſeven ſeveral things; for Money they uſe none.

And thus being ready the 14 of *September*, we departed, being a Caravan of a thouſand Camels; and having travelled five days journey, we came to another Prince's Dominion, and upon the way were met by certain *Tartars* on Horſeback, well armed, and Servants to *Timor Sultan*, Governour of the Country of *Mangiſlave*, where we meant to have arrived and diſcharged our Bark, if the Storm had not diſappointed us. Theſe *Tartars* ſtayed our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opening our Wares, took ſuch things as they liked beſt, for their Prince, without Money. They took from me a ninth, whereupon, after much contention, I rode unto the Prince, and preſented my ſelf before him, requeſting his Favour and Paſport to travel thro' his Country, and not to be robbed and ſpoiled by his People. He granted my Requeſt, entertaining me very civilly, and commanded me to be well feaſted with Fleſh and Mares Milk, for Bread they have none, nor other Drink except Water; But he had no Money to give me for ſuch things as he took of me, which were worth about 15 Rubbles, however he gave me his Letter, and a Horſe worth about ſeven Rubbles, and ſo I departed from him, glad when I was gone, for he was reported to be a very Tyrant, and if I had not gone to him, I underſtood his Commandment was, that I ſhould be robbed and deſtroyed.

This *Sultan* lived in the Fields, without Caſtle or Town, and ſate in a little round Houſe made of Reeds, and covered with Felt without, and with Carpets within. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wild Country, eſteemed by the People as much as the Biſhop of *Rome* is in moſt parts of *Europe*, with many more of his chief Men. The *Sultan* and he demanded of me many Queſtions of our Kingdoms, Laws, and Religion, as alſo the cauſe of my coming into thoſe parts. To whom I anſwered as to me ſeemed beſt, which they took in good part. 1557.

So I departed and overtook our Caravan; we travelled 20 days in the Deſarts, from the Sea-ſide, without ſeeing Town or any Habitation, carrying our Victuals with us, yet were neceſſitated to eat one of my Camels and a Horſe for our part, as others did the like; and during the ſaid 20 days we found no Water, but ſuch as we drew out of old deep Wells, very brackiſh, yet paſſed ſometimes two or three days without it. And the fifth of *October* we came to a Gulph of the *Caſpian* Sea again. Here the Cuſtomers of the King of *Turkmen* met us, who took Cuſtom, of every 25 one, and ſeven ninths for the ſaid King and his Brethren. *Twenty days journey in the Deſert.*

Having refreſhed our ſelves, we departed the next day, and on the ſeventh arrived at a Caſtle called *Selligure*, where the King, called *Azim Can*, reſided, with three of his Brethren, and on the ninth day I was commanded to come before him, to whom I delivered the Emperor of *Ruſſia*'s Letters, and gave him alſo a Preſent of a Ninth, whereupon he entertained me very well, and cauſed me to eat in his Preſence as his Brethren did, feaſting me with Fleſh of a wild Horſe, and Mares Milk, without Bread. And the next day he ſent for me again, and asked me divers Queſtions about the Affairs of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, as alſo concerning our Country and Laws, and at my departure, gave me his Letters of ſafe Conduct.

The 14th we departed from *Selligure*, and on the 16th arrived at a City called *Urgence*, where we payed Cuſtom as well for our own Heads as for our Camels and Horſes; and having there ſojourned one Month, the King called *Aly Sultan*, Brother to the forenamed *Azim Can*, returned from a Town called *Coreſan*, within the Borders of *Perſia*, which he had lately conquered from the *Perſians*, with whom he and the reſt of the Kings of *Tartaria* have continual Wars. Being commanded to come before him, I preſented the Emperour of *Ruſſia*'s Letters, and after asking me divers Queſtions, he gave me his Letters of ſafe Conduct.

Urgence ſtands on a plain Ground, with Walls of Earth, by eſtimation four Miles about; the Buildings are alſo of Earth. It hath one long Street, covered above, which is the place of their Market. It hath been won and loſt four times within ſeven Years, by Civil Wars, by means whereof there are but few Merchants in it, and they are very poor, ſo that in all that Town I could not ſell above four Kerſies. All the Country from the *Caſpian* Sea to *Urgence* is called *Turkman*, ſubject to the ſaid *Azim Can*, and his five Brethren. The chief of them is call'd *Can*, but is little obeyed except in his own Dominion; for every one will be King of his own Portion, and one Brother is perpetually ſeeking to deſtroy another; for being begotten of divers Women, they have no natural Affection, and are commonly the Children of Slaves, either Chriſtians or Gentiles, whom the Father keeps as Concubines, and every *Can* or *Sultan* hath four or five Wives, beſides young Maids and Boys; and when there are Wars between the Brethren (as they are ſeldom without) he that is vanquiſhed flies to ſome watering places in the Deſarts, with ſuch Company as will follow him, and there lives by robbing and ſpoiling as many Caravans of Merchants and others, as he is able to overcome, until he be in a capacity of invading ſome of his Brethren again. From the *Caſpian* unto the Caſtle of *Selligure*, and in all the Countries about the ſaid Sea, People live in the open Fields, removing from one place to another in great Companies, with their Cattle, whereof they have ſtore, as Camels, Horſes, and Sheep, both tame and wild. Their Sheep are of great ſtature, with Buttocks weighing 60 or 80 Pound.

There are many wild Horſes killed by the *Tartars*, with their Hawks, who are taught to ſeize upon the Horſe's Head or Neck, till the Hunter can come up with him and kill him with an Arrow or Sword. In all this Land there grows no Graſs, but a certain Bruſh or Heath, whereon the Cattle feeding, become very fat. *Wild Horſes.*

The *Tartars* are good Archers, and never ride without their Bow, Arrows, and Sword. They are great Devourers of Fleſh, which they cut in ſmall pieces, and eat it greedily by handfuls, eſpecially Horſe-Fleſh.

The 26th of *November*, We departed from *Urgence*, and the ſeventh of *December* arrived at a Caſtle called *Kait*, ſubject to a *Sultan* called *Saramet*, who deſigned to rob all the Chriſtians in the Caravan, had it not been for fear of his Brother the King of *Urgence*, as we were informed by one of his chief Counſellors, who willed us to make him a Preſent, which we did, and beſides for Cuſtom, one red Hyde of *Ruſſia* for every Camel, and ſome petty Gifts to his Officers.

Thus proceeding on our Journey, the tenth of *December* at Night being at reſt, and our Watch ſet, there came to us four Horſemen, whom we taking as ſpies, diſarmed and bound them; upon Examination they confeſſed, that they had ſeen the Tract of many Horſemen and no footing of Camels, and aſſured us that there were Rovers and Thieves abroad, becauſe few People travel in that Country, but in company of *Caravans*, where are many Camels; and the print of Horſes Feet newly made, without Camels Feet, was to be ſuſpected: Whereupon we conſulted, and ſent a Poſt to the ſaid *Sultan* of *Kait*, who immediately came himſelf with 300 Men, and examined theſe four ſuſpected Men ſo ſtrictly, uſing many Threats, that they at laſt confeſſed, there was a baniſh'd Prince with forty Men three days journey forward, who lay in wait to deſtroy us, and that they themſelves were of his Company.

The *Sultan* thereupon appointed a Captain with 80 well armed Men to conduct us; the *Sultan* himſelf returned back again, taking the four Thieves with him. Theſe Souldiers travelled with us two days, conſuming much of our Victuals, and the third day very early in the Morning, they ſet out before our Caravan, and ranging the Deſert for the ſpace of four Hours, they came towards us as faſt as their Horſes could run, telling us they had found the Tract of Horſes not far from us, and therefore willed us to make ready to receive our Enemies, and asked us what we would give them to conduct us further, or elſe they would return. We offered as we thought good, but they refus'd our Offer, and would have more, and ſo not agreeing they departed from us, and returned to their *Sultan*, who (as we conjectured) was Privy to the Conſpiracy.

The *Tartars* manner of Divination.

As ſoon as they were gone, certain *Tartars* of our Company, called Holy Men, becauſe they had been at *Mecca*, cauſed the whole Caravan to ſtay, and would make their Prayers, and divine whether we ſhould meet with any ill Company or no, to which our whole Caravan did agree: Then they killed ſome Sheep, and firſt ſod the Blade-bones of them, and then burnt them, and mingling the Sheeps Blood with the Powder of the ſaid Bones, they wrote certain Characters with it, uſing many other Ceremonies and Words, and by the ſame divined and found, that we ſhould meet with Enemies and Thieves to our great trouble, but ſhould overcome them: I and my Company gave little credit to their Sorcery, but we found it true, for within three Hours after the Departure of the Soldiers, we deſcried far off divers Horſemen making towards us, whereupon we gathered our ſelves together, being 40 of us, well appointed and able to fight, and then going to Prayers, every one after his Law, we profeſſed to live and die together. The Robbers were 37, well armed with Bows, Arrows and Swords, and the Captain a Prince baniſhed from his Country. They called us to yield our ſelves, or elſe to be ſlain; but we defyed them, whereupon they ſhot at us all at once, and we at them very hotly, and ſo continued fighting from Morning until two Hours within Night, divers Men, Horſes and Camels being wounded and ſlain on both ſides, and had it not been for four Hand Guns, which I and my Company uſed, we had been overcome and deſtroyed, the Robbers being better armed, and alſo better Archers than we: But after we had ſlain divers of their Men and Horſes with our Guns, they durſt not approach ſo near, but came to a truce with us till next Morning. We encamped our ſelves upon a Hill, encloſing our Camp with Packs of Wares, and placing our Horſes and Camels within the ſame, to ſave them from the Enemies Arrows: The Robbers alſo encamped within an Arrow ſhot of us, but they were betwixt us and the Water, to our great diſcomfort, becauſe neither we nor our Camels had drank in two days before.

Thus keeping a good Watch, when half the Night was ſpent, the Captain of the Robbers ſent a Meſſenger half way to us, requiring to talk with our Captain, whom they call the *Caravan Baſha*, who anſwered the Meſſenger, I will not depart from my Company to go into the half way to talk with thee, but if thy Prince with all his Company will ſwear by our Law to keep the Truce, then will I ſend a Man to talk with thee, or elſe not. Which the Prince underſtanding, he and his Company ſwore ſo loud, that we might all hear, and then we ſent one of our Company, reputed a Holy Man, to talk with the ſame Meſſenger. The Meſſage was pronounced aloud thus, *Our Prince demandeth of the* Caravan Baſha, *and all of you that be* Buſſarmans (*that is to ſay Circumciſed*) *not deſiring your Blood, that you deliver into his Hands as many* Caphars, *that is, Unbelievers* (*meaning us the Chriſtians*) *as are among you, with their Goods, and in ſo doing, he will ſuffer you to depart with your Goods in quietneſs, otherwiſe, you ſhall be handled with no leſs cruelty than the* Caphars, *if he overcome you, as he doubteth not.* To which our *Caravan Baſha* anſwered, That he had no Chriſtians in his Company, nor other Strangers, but two *Turks* which were of their Law, and altho' he had, he would rather die than deliver them, and that we were not afraid of his Threatnings, and that he ſhould know when Day appeared. The Robbers in the mean time, contrary to their Oath, carried away our Holy Man to their Prince, crying with a loud Voice in token of Victory, *Ollo, Ollo*, which much diſcouraged us, fearing that the Holy Man would betray us, but he, tho' ſtrictly examined and cruelly handed, would not confeſs any thing that might be prejudicial to us, nor yet what Men of ours were ſlain and wounded the day before. Day appearing, we prepared our ſelves to Battle again, which they perceiving, required to come to an agreement with us, demanding much of us, and moſt of our Company being unwilling to hazard another Battle, they having but little to looſe, and a ſafe Conduct to paſs, we were forced to agree, and to give the Robbers 20 Ninths, that is to ſay, twenty times nine ſeveral things, and a Camel to carry away the ſame, which being received, they left us, and we went forward, and that Night came to the River *Oxus*, where we refreſhed our ſelves, having been three days without Water, and tarried there all the next day, making merry with our ſlain Horſes and Camels, and leſt we ſhould meet any more of that Gang, we left the High-way by the River ſide, and went thro' a ſandy Deſert, where we were four Days before we came to Water, and then came to a Well, the Water whereof was very brackiſh, and we were then in great need of Water and Victuals, being forced to kill our Horſes and Camels to eat.

Here we were in danger of falling again into the Hands of Robbers; for one Night being at reſt, there came certain Scouts, and carried away ſome of our Men which lay at a little diſtance from the Caravan, wherewith there was a great Shout and Cry. We thereupon immediately led our Camels and departed, being about midnight and very dark, and drove hard till we came to the River *Oxus* again, and then feared nothing, being defended by the ſaid River; and whether it was that we had gotten the Water, or that the Rogues were far from us when the Scouts diſcovered us, we know not, but we eſcaped that Danger.

Upon the 23d of *December* we arrived at the City of *Boghar* in *Bactria*. The City is very great, the Houſes for the moſt part of Earth, tho' there are alſo many Houſes, Temples, and Monuments of Stone ſumptuouſly built and guilded, eſpecially *Bath Stoves*, ſo artificially built, that the like is not in the World. *Boghar.*

There is a little River running thro' the middle of the City, but the Water thereof is very unwholſome, breeding a Worm of an Ell long in the Legs of ſome that drink it, eſpecially Strangers; it lies between the Fleſh and Skin, and is pluckt out about the Ankle with great skill, every day about an Inch, which is rolled up, and if it break in pulling out, the Party dies: And yet it is there forbidden to drink any thing but Water or Mares Milk, and whoſoever is found to break that Law, is cruelly whipped through the open Markets; and there are Officers who have Authority to go into any Mans Houſe, and ſearch if he have *Aqua Vitæ*, *Wine*, &c. and if they find any, break the Veſſels, ſpoil the Drink, and ſeverely puniſh the Maſter of the Houſe; and many times if they perceive by the Breath of a Man, that he hath drank any ſuch Liquor, he ſhall be puniſhed without further Examination. Worm breeding in the Leg.

There is a Metropolitan in *Boghar*, who cauſes this Law to be ſo ſtrictly kept: He is more obeyed than the King, and will depoſe the King, and ſubſtitute another at his pleaſure, as he did by the laſt King, whom he betrayed, and in the Night killed him in his Chamber: He was a Prince that loved all Chriſtians well.

This Country was heretofore ſubject to the *Perſians*, whoſe Language they now ſpeak, but is now a Kingdom of it ſelf, and hath continual Wars with the *Perſians* about Religion, altho' they be all *Mahometans*. One Occaſion of their

their Discord is, because the *Persians* will not cut the Hair of their upper Lips, as the *Bogharians* and all other *Tartars* do, which they account great Sin, calling them *Caphars*, or Unbelievers, as they do the Christians.

The King hath no great Power or Riches, his Revenues are but small, being chiefly maintained by the City, taking the tenth Penny of all things that are sold, as well by the Craftsmen as the Merchants, to the great impoverishment of the People, whom he keeps in great subjection, and when he lacks Money, he sends his Officers to the Shops of the Merchants, to take their Wares to pay his Debts, as he did to pay me some Money that he owed for 19 pieces of Kersey. Their Money is Silver and Copper, for Gold they have none current: They have but one piece of Silver, worth twelve pence *English*, and their Copper Pieces are called *Poolei*, whereof 120 are equal to one piece of twelve pence, and are more common in payment than the Silver, which the King raises and falls to his most advantage every Month, and sometimes twice a Month, not caring how much he oppresses his People, because he expects not to reign above two or three years, before he be either slain or expelled, to the great Destruction of the Country and Merchants.

The 26th day of the Month I was commanded to come before the King, to whom I presented the *Russian* Emperour's Letters: He entertained us very civilly, causing us to eat in his Presence, and often sent for me, and discoursed familiarly with me in his secret Chamber, about the Power of the Emperour and the *Great Turk*, as also of our Country, Laws and Religion, and made us to shoot in Hand-guns before him, himself also practising upon the same. But after all this great Entertainment, before my departure, he shewed himself a very *Tartar*, for he went to the Wars owing me Money, and tho' he gave order for my Payment, yet I was but ill satisfied, being forced to rebate part, and to take Wares in payment for the rest, contrary to my Expectation; but of a Beggar better Payment I could not have, and was glad to be so paid and dispatched.

But one thing I must needs commend in this barbarous King which was, that as soon as he was informed of our trouble with the Robbers, he dispatched 100 Men well armed, with charge not to return before they had either slain or taken them, who according to their Commission, ranging the Desart, slew part of them, and four they took and brought unto the King, two of whom had been sore wounded by our Guns in the Skirmish; and after the King had sent for me to come and see them, he caused them all four to be hanged at his Palace Gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others; and of such Goods as were gotten again, I had part restored to me, and this good Justice I found at his Hands.

There is yearly a great Resort of Merchants to this City, who travel in great *Caravans* from *India*, *Persia*, *Balgh*, *Russia*, &c. and heretofore from *Cathay*, when there was passage; but they are so beggerly and poor, and bring so small quantity of Wares, lying two or three Years to sell the same, that there is no hope of any trade there worth the following: The chief Commodities brought thither are as followeth.

The *Indians* bring fine Whites, which the *Tartars* roll about their Heads, and other kind of Whites made of Cotton-wool and *Crasca*, which serve for Apparel, but Gold, Silver, precious Stones and Spices, they bring none. They carry back wrought Silk, red Hides, Slaves and Horses, &c. but of Kersies and other Cloth they make but little account. I offered to barter Kersies with some Merchants that came from *Bengala* and the River *Ganges*, but they would not barter for such Commodity as Cloth.

The *Persians* bring *Crasca*, Woolen-Cloth, Linen-Cloth, divers kinds of wrought Silks, *Argomacks*, &c. and do carry thence, red Hides, other *Russian* Wares, and Slaves of divers Countries, but Cloth they would buy none, for they brought it thither themselves, being supplied with it, as I was informed, from *Aleppo* in *Syria*.

The *Russes* bring red Hides, Sheeps Skins, Woolen Cloth, Wooden Vessels, Bridles, Saddles, &c. and carry thence Wares made of Cotton-Wool, divers kinds of Silks, *Crasca*, &c.

From *Cathay* were brought in time of Peace, when the Ways were open, Musk, Rhubarb, Sattin, Damask, &c.

During my stay at *Boghar*, there came Caravans from all these Countries, except from *Cathay*; and the Reason why none came thence, was the Wars between the Cities of *Taskent* and *Casker*, directly in the Way betwixt *Boghar* and *Cathay*; so that for three Years before our being there, no Caravan had gone between *Boghar*, and *Cathay*, and when the Way is clear, it is nine Months Journey.

The time of year being come for all Caravans to depart, and the King being gone to the Wars, and news came that he was fled, I was advertized by the Metropolitan himself to depart, because the Town was like to be besieged. I determined first to have gone thence into *Persia*, and to have seen the Trade of that Country, but was diverted by the Wars newly begun between the *Sophy* and the Kings of *Tartaria*, which made the Roads unsafe; and there was a Caravan that came from *India* and *Persia* with safe conduct, was robbed about ten days journey from *Boghar*, and many of them slain. Also the Metropolitan of *Boghar* took the Emperour of *Russia*'s Letters from me, without which I should have been taken Slave in every place. And besides, all such Wares as I was forced to take of the King and his Nobles for payment of Cloth they had of me, were not vendible in *Persia*; for which and divers other Reasons, I was constrain'd to return to the *Caspian*-Sea the same way I came; so that on the 8th of *March*, 1599, we left *Boghar*, being a *Caravan* of 600 Camels, and if we had not departed when we did, I and my Company had been in danger to have lost Life and Goods; for ten days after our departure, the King of *Samarcand* laid siege to the City, while the King was absent, and gone to war against another Prince who was his Kinsman.

The 25th of *March* we came to the aforesaid Town of *Urgence*, and escaped the Danger of 400 Rovers, who lay in wait for us back again, most of them being of Kindred to that Company of Robbers whom we met with going forth, as we perceived by four Spies whom we took. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two Embassadors to the Emperour of *Russia*, one from the King of *Boghar*, the other from the King of *Balgh*; and after we had tarried at *Urgence* and the Castle of *Sellisure* eight days for the assembling our Caravan, we departed the second of *April*, having four more Embassadors in our Company, sent from the King of *Urgence* and his Brethren, unto the Emperour of *Russia*, with Answers to such Letters as I brought them; and the same Embassadors were also committed to my charge by the said Princes, to whom I promised faithfully, and swore by our Law, that they should be well used in *Russia*, and permitted to depart thence again in safety, as the Emperor also had written in his Letters. They were somewhat fearful, because none had gone from *Tartary* to *Russia* in a long time before.

The 23d of *April* we arrived again at the *Caspian*-Sea, where we found the Bark we had left there, but neither Anchor, Cable nor Sail, but having brought Hemp with us, we spun a Cable our selves, with the rest of our Tackling, and making a Sail of Cloth of Cotton-Wool, we rigged our Bark as well as we could, but Boat or Anchor we had none. In the mean time, while we were contriving to make an Anchor of a Cart Wheel, there arrived a Bark from *Astracan* with *Tartars* and *Russes*, which had two Anchors, with whom I agreed for one; and thus being in a readiness we set sail, I and the two *Johnsons* being Master and Mariners, having in our Bark the said six Embassadors, and 25 *Russes*, who had been a long time Slaves in *Tartary*, nor ever had before my coming, Liberty or Means to get home, and these Slaves served to row when need was. Thus sailing along the Coast, and sometimes out of sight of Land, the 13th of *May*, having a contrary Wind, we came to an Anchor three Leagues from the Shore, and there arose a Storm which continued 44 Hours, which brake our Cable, and being upon a Lee-shore, and no Boat to help us, we hoised our Sail and stood in with the Shore, looking for present death; but as God provided for us, we ran into a Creek full of Oze, where we lived in great fear for a time; for if our Bark had perished, altho' we had escaped with our Lives, yet we had either been destroyed or made Slaves by the wild People of that Country, who live like Beasts without Habitation. The Storm being over, we went out of the Creek again, and having set the Land with our Compass, and taken Marks during the Tempest, while we rode at Anchor, we went directly with our Bark to the place where we rode, and found our Anchor we had lost, the *Tartars* much marvelling how we did it. Two days after, there arose another Storm at North-east, and we lay a try, being driven far into the Sea, and had much ado to keep our Bark from sinking, the Billow was so great; but at last, having fair Weather, we fell in with the River *Yaik*, according to our desire, whereof the *Tartars* were very glad,

They recover their lost Anchor.

glad, fearing we should have been driven on the Coast of *Persia*, then at war with the *Tartars*.

The red Cross set up in the *Caspian* Sea.

On the 28th of *May* we arrived at *Astracan*, where we remained till the tenth of *June*, to provide Boats to go up against the Stream of *Volga* with our Goods. Note, that in our Passage over the *Caspian*, we set up the red Cross of St. *George* in our Flags, in honour of the Christians, which I suppose was never seen in that Sea before.

The *Caspian* is in length about 200 Leagues, and in breadth 150; it hath on the East, the great Desart Country of the *Tartars*, called *Turkmen*, on the West the Country of the *Chirkasses*, the Mountains of *Caucasus*, and the *Euxine*-Sea, distant from the *Caspian* 100 Leagues, on the North is the Land of *Nagay*, and the great River *Volga*, and on the South are *Media* and *Persia*. The Water of this Sea is fresh in many places, and in some places as salt as the Ocean; altho' many great Rivers fall into it, yet it hath no Out-let, unless it be under ground. The River *Volga* alone, by the *Tartars* called *Edel*, is one of the greatest Rivers in the World; it arises out of a Lake in a Marish not far from *Novogrode* in *Russia*, and it is from thence to the *Caspian*-Sea, above two thousand *English* Miles.

I enquired touching the Trade of *Media* and *Persia*, bordering on the *Caspian*, and find it much like the Trade of *Tartary*. The few Ships upon the *Caspian*, want of Port, Poverty of the People, and the Ice, are Hindrances to Trade.

I offered at *Astracan* to some Merchants of *Shamaky* in *Media*, to barter Kersies for their Wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as cheap in their Country as I offered them, which was six Rubbles for a Kersy: And while I was at *Boghar*, Cloth and other Commodities of our Country, were brought thither from *Persia*, and sold as cheap as I could afford ours.

The 10th of *June* we departed from *Astracan* towards *Mosco*, with 100 Gunners in our Company at the Emperour's Charges, for the safe Conduct of the *Tartarian* Embassadors and me, and the 28th of *July*, arrived at the City of *Cazan*, without any refreshment of Victuals in that time, there being no Habitation in all that way.

The 7th of *August* we left *Cazan*, and came by Water to the City of *Morum*, from whence we transported our Goods by Land. On the second of *September* we arrived at the City of *Mosco*, and four days after I kissed his Majesties Hand, and presented him a white Cows Tail of *Cathay*, and a Drum of *Tartary*, which he well accepted. I then brought before him all the Embassadors that were committed to my charge, with the 25 *Russian* Slaves; and that day I dined in his Majesties Presence, who sent me Meat by a Duke, and asked me divers Questions touching the Countries where I had been.

On the 17th of *February* I obtained leave from the Emperour to depart, and on the 21st came to *Vologda*, and there remained till the breaking up of the Year; and then having seen all the Goods laden in Boats, I departed with the same, and arrived at *Colmogro* the 9th of *May*, 1560.

A Letter of Sigismond *King of* Polonia, *written in the 39th Year of his Reign, to* Elizabeth, *the Queens most Excellent Majesty of* England, *&c.*

1559. SIgismund Augustus, *by the Grace of God, King of* Polonia, *Great Duke of* Lituania, Russia, Prussia, Massovia, *and* Samogetian, *&c. Lord and Heir, &c. to the most Noble Princess, Lady* Elizabeth, *by the same Grace of God, Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *&c, our dear Sister and Kinswoman, greeting and increase of all Felicity. Whereas your Majesty writeth to us that you have received two of our Letters, we have looked that you should have answered to them both; First to the one, in which we intreated more at large, in forbidding the Voyage to* Narve; *which if it hath been done, we had been unburdened of so often writing of one Matter, and might have answered your Majesty much better to the purpose; Now we thus answer to your Majesty to those Matters of the which you write to us, the third of* October, *from* Windsor. *First, forasmuch as your Majesty at the Request of our Letters hath discharged the Arrest of Merchants Goods, and of the Names of Men of* Danske, *our Subjects, which was set upon them by the Commandment of your Majesty, and also have restored the old and ancient Liberty of Traffick, we acknowledge great Pleasure done unto us in the same, and also think it to be done according to common Agreement made in times past. Neither were we ever at any time of any other Opinion touching your Majesty, but that we should obtain Right and Reason at your Hand: Forasmuch as we likewise shall at all times be ready to grant to your Majesty, making any Request for your Subjects, so far as shall stand with Justice, yet so far are we from yielding to any thing to your Majesty in Love, Benevolence, and mutual Office, that we judge every good Turn of yours to be recompenced by us to the utmost, and that shall we prove as occasion shall serve, therefore we shall command the Arrests, if any be made by our Subjects (as it is unknown to us) of Merchants Goods and* English *Names, to be discharged, and shall conserve the old Liberty of Traffick, and all other things which shall seem to appertain to Neighbourhood between us and your Majesty, provided that none of the Subjects of your Majesty, hereafter presume to use the Navigation of the* Narve *forbidden by us, and full of danger, not only to our Parts, but also to the open Destruction of all Christians and liberal Nations, which as we have written before, so now we write again to your Majesty, that we know and feel of a surety, the* Muscovite, *Enemy to all Liberty under the Heavens, daily to grow mightier by the Increase of such Things as be brought to the* Narve, *while not only Wares, but also Weapons heretofore unknown to him, and Artificers and Arts be brought unto him, by means whereof he maketh himself strong to vanquish all others, which Things, as long as this Voyage to* Narve *is used, cannot be stopped. And we perfectly know your Majesty cannot be ignorant how great the Cruelty is of the said Enemy, of what Force he is, what Tyranny he useth on his Subjects, and in what servile sort they be under him. We seemed hitherto to vanquish him only in this, that he was rude of Arts, and ignorant of Policies; if so be that this Navigation to the* Narve *continue, what shall be unknown to him? therefore we that know best, and border upon him, do admonish other Christian Princes in time, that they do not betray their Dignity, Liberty and Life of them and their Subjects, to a most barbarous and cruel Enemy, as we can no less do by the Duty of a Christian Prince; For now we do foresee, except other Princes take this Admonition, the* Muscovite *puft up in Pride, with those things that be brought to the* Narve, *and made more perfect in Warlike Affairs, with Engins of War and Ships, will make assault this way on Christendom, to slay or make abound all that shall withstand him, which God defend. With which our Admonition divers Princes already content themselves, and abstain from the* Narve. *The others that will not abstain from the said Voyage, shall be impeached by our Navy, and incur the Danger of loss of Life, Liberty, Wife and Children. Now therefore if the Subjects of your Majesty will forbear this Voyage to the* Narve, *there shall be nothing denied to them of us. Let your Majesty well weigh and consider the Reasons and Occasions of our stopping of Ships going to* Narve, *in which stopping, our Subjects of* Danske *be in no fault, as we have already written to your Majesty, neither use we their Council in the same. In any other Matter, if there be any fault in them against your Majesty or your Subjects, we will gladly do justice upon them, that your Majesty may well understand that we be careful of you and your Subjects. Neither think we it meet to take* Hamburgh *or any other place to judge the Matter; for we have our Council and Judgment Seat at* Rie, *where your Majesty and your Subjects, or any other, shall have Justice administred unto them, with whom we have had ancient League and Amity; and thus much we have thought good to let your Majesty understand. Farewell.*

Dated the fifth of *Decem.* the 39th Year of our Reign.

Sigismundus Augustus, Rex

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon's *Second Voyage from* London *to* Moſco, *and thence over the* Caſpian-*Sea into* Perſia, Anno 1561.

1561. THE *Swallow* and two other Ships were this Year ſet out by the Company of *Merchants Adventurers*, and on board the firſt I embarked. We departed from *Graveſend* the 14th of *May*, 1561, in the third Year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and on the 14th of *July* arrived at *Colmogro* in the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, and after ſome ſtay there, I came to *Vologda*, diſtant from *Colmogro* 700 Miles, where having tarried four days, I arrived at *Moſco* the 20th of *Auguſt*, and notifying my coming to the Secretary, and that I had Letters from the Queen's Majeſty to the Emperour, he informed him thereof. But I was told that the Emperour was then going to be married to a *Chircaſſian* Lady of the *Mahometan* Law, and had commanded that no Stranger, Embaſſador, or other, ſhould come before him for a time, and that during the three days of the Feaſt, the Gates of the City ſhould be ſhut, and that no Perſon, Stranger or Native, ſhould ſtir out of their Houſes during that time.

On the 6th of *September* the Emperour made a great Feaſt, whereunto all Embaſſadors and Strangers of quality were invited, among whom I was one; but the Secretary requiring me to come to him and ſhew him the Queens Letters, I refuſed ſo to do, ſaying, I would deliver them to the Emperor's own Hands, and not otherwiſe: The Secretary replied, that unleſs he might firſt peruſe them, I ſhould not come into the Emperour's preſence; ſo I was not at the Feaſt: But I was told by a Nobleman, that the Emperour enquired for me, and that the cauſe of my abſence was to him unknown. The next day I gave a Petition into his Majeſties own Hands, ſetting forth the cauſe of my coming, ſignified by the Queens Letters, and the Anſwer I had from his Secretary, beſeeching him to accept her Majeſties Letters with ſuch Honour and Friendſhip, as his Letters ſent by *Oſep Napea*, were received by the hands of our late Soveraign Lady Queen *Mary*, or elſe that it would pleaſe his Highneſs to diſmiſs me, ſaying, I would not deliver the ſaid Letters but in to his own Hands, as is uſe in our Country. After ſome Conſideration, I was commanded to come with the ſaid Letters before his Majeſty, and delivered the ſame into his own Hands, with the Companies Preſents, which were gratefully accepted, and the ſame day I dined in his Preſence with great Entertainment. Shortly after I deſired to know whether I might be licenced to paſs thro' his Majeſties Dominions into *Perſia*, according to the Queens requeſt: I was anſwered, that I ſhould not paſs thither, becauſe his Majeſty intended to ſend an Army that way into *Chircaſſia*, which would make my Journey dangerous, and if I ſhould periſh therein, it would be much to his diſhonour. Thus having received his Anſwer, neither to my Expectation nor Content, I remained there a good part of the Year, and having in that time ſold moſt part of the Kerſies and other Wares appointed for *Perſia*, when the time of Year required to return for *England*, I deſired Paſport and Poſt-horſes for Money, which was granted: But being ready to come away, *Oſep Napea* came to our Houſe, and perſwaded me that I ſhould not depart that day, ſaying, that the Emperour was not truly informed, imputing great fault to the frowardneſs of the Secretary, who was not my Friend. The next day I met them both together, and when after much conteſtation, they perceived that I would depart, they willed me to ſtay until the Emperour were ſpoken with again touching my Paſſage: And three days after, the Secretary ſent for me, and told me that the Emperour's pleaſure was, that I ſhould not only paſs thro' his Dominions into *Perſia*, but alſo have his Letters of Recommendation to forreign Princes, with ſome of his own Affairs committed to my charge. Whereupon I prepared myſelf for the Voyage, and the 15th of *March* dined again in his Majeſties preſence, in company of a *Perſian* Embaſſador and others; and receiving a Cup of Drink at his Majeſties Hands, I took my leave of him, and departed from *Moſco* the 27th of *April*, 1562, down the River *Volga*, in company of the ſaid *Perſian* Embaſſador, with whom I had great friendſhip, and arrived in health at *Aſtracan* the 10th of *June*.

As ſoon as I came there, I went to the Captain, unto whom the Emperour had given charge, not only to ſupply me with all things needful during my abode there, but alſo to conduct me with 50 Gunners in two Brigantines into the *Caſpian* Sea, until I had paſſed ſome dangerous places where Pirates do haunt; and having prepared my Bark for the Sea (the *Perſian* Embaſſador being gone before in a Bark of his own the 15th day of *July*) we departed from *Aſtracan*, and the next Evening paſſed the Mouth of the River, lying South-eaſt from *Aſtracan*, 20 Miles diſtant. The 22d aroſe a great Storm, which laſted to the 30th, and made our Bark ſo leaky, that with continual pumping we had much ado to keep her above Water, altho' we threw much of our Goods overboard.

On the fourth of *Auguſt* we arrived at *Derbent*, in the Latitude of 41 Degrees, where I and my Company going aſhoar, we dined with the Captain, to whom I gave a Preſent, and then taking in ſome freſh Water, we ſailed South-eaſt about 80 Miles, and the 6th of *Auguſt* we arrived at *Shabran*, where we unloaded, and being in my Tent, the Governour, called *Alcan Murcy*, came to me and entertained me very civilly, unto whom giving a Preſent, he appointed 40 armed Men to watch and ward with me. *Derbent.*

On the 12th, Orders came from the King of *Shirvan* that I ſhould repair to him with all ſpeed, and 45 Camels, with Horſes for me and my Company, were in readineſs; ſo departing thence we came on the 18th to a City called *Shamaky*, where my lodging was appointed, and the next day I was ſent for to come before the King, named *Obdowlocan*, who then kept his Court in Tents upon the Mountains, 20 Miles from *Shamaky*, to avoid the Heats: On the 20th I came into his Preſence, and kiſſing his Hands, he invited me to dinner, and commanded me to ſit down not far from him. The King with his Nobility richly attired, ſate croſs leg'd upon rich Carpets, and perceiving it was painful for me ſo to ſit, he cauſed a Stool to be brought in, and willed me to ſit thereupon after my faſhion. I told in the firſt courſe 140 Diſhes, and in the ſecond, conſiſting of Fruit, *&c.* 150 Diſhes. Dinner ended, the King ſaid unto me, *Queſh queldc*, that is to ſay, *Welcome*, and calling for a Cup of Water, drawn from a pleaſant Fountain that ſtood before him, he taſted of it and delivered me the reſt, asking how I liked it, and if there were ſo good in our Country. Then he asked me divers Queſtions about the Religion and ſtate of our Country, and whether the Emperour of *Germany*, *Ruſſia*, or the *Great Turk* had moſt Power; to all which I anſwered to his content. Then he demanded the cauſe of my coming, and if I intended to go any further: I told him that I was ſent from the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty of *England* unto the *Great Sophy*, to intreat Friendſhip and free Paſſage for *Engliſh* Merchants to trade in his Dominions, with the like to be granted to his Subjects when they ſhould come into our Countries, to the Honour and Profit of both Realms. The King anſwered, that he would not only give me paſſage, but alſo ſend Men to conduct me to the *Sophy* then at *Casbin*, 30 days journey from *Shamaki*. Three days after he ſent for me again, and I coming in the Morning before he was up (for ſpending the Nights in banquetting with his Women, being 140, he ſleeps moſt part in the Day) he ordered that I ſhould ride on Hawking with ſome Gentlemen of his Court, and that they ſhould ſhew me as much ſport as they could; which was done, and many Cranes killed. We returned about three in the Afternoon, the King being then riſen, and ready for Dinner, to which I was invited, and at the entry of his Tent was met by two Gentlemen with two Garments of that Country faſhion, one of Silk, the other of Silk and Gold, ſent to me from the King, and cauſing me to put off my upper Garment, being a Gown of black Velvet furred with Sables, they put the Garment upon my Back, and

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ſo conducted me to the King, before whom doing reverence and kiſſing his Hand, he commanded me to ſit not far from him, and ſo I dined in his Preſence, he being very merry, and asking me many Queſtion. Dinner ended, I requeſted his ſafe Conduct to the *Sophy*, who diſmiſſing me with great favour, and appointing his Embaſſador, who came lately from *Ruſſia*, and others to conduct me, he gave me at my departure a fair Horſe, with all Furniture, and diſmiſſing me with all my Goods Cuſtom free; ſo returning to *Shamaky*, I tarried there until the ſixth of *October*, to provide Camels, Horſes, and other Neceſſaries for my Journey: And then leaving *Shamaky*, we travelled 60 Miles, and came to a Town called *Tavate*, and paſſing thro' a fruitful Country, on the 16th we arrived at a City called *Ardouil*, where we lodged in an Hoſpital built with fair Stone, by *Iſmael*, Father to the preſent *Sophy*, wherein all Travellers have Horſe meat and Mans meat for three days, and no longer. This ancient City is in the Latitude of 38 Deg.

Ardouil.

Four days journey to the Weſtward, lies the City of *Tauris*, the greateſt City in *Perſia*, but not of ſuch trade as it hath been, or as others be at this time, becauſe the *Turks* have conquered all the Country almoſt as far as the City, and once ſack'd the City it ſelf, which has cauſed the *Sophy* to remove his Court ten days journey from thence, to the City of *Caſbin*.

Tauris.

The 21ſt we departed from *Ardowil*, travelling over Mountains in the Night, and reſted in the day, being deſtitute of Wood, and were forced to uſe for Fewel, the Dung of Horſes and Camels, which we bought of the paſturing People at a dear rate.

On the ſecond of *November* we arrived at *Caſbin*, where our Lodging was appointed near the King's Palace. After two days the *Sophy* commanded a Prince called *Shally Murzey*, Son to *Obdolowcan* King of *Shiruan* aforeſaid, to ſend for me to his Houſe, who asked me in the Name of the *Sophy*, how I did, and if I were in health, ſaying, I was welcome, and invited me to dinner, where I had great entertainment, and then returned to my Lodging. The next day I ſent my Interpreter to the *Sophy*'s Secretary, declaring, that I had Letters directed from our moſt gracious Soveraign Lady, the Queens moſt excellent Majeſty of the Realm of *England*, unto the ſaid *Sophy*, deſiring that I might be admitted into his Majeſties preſence, who advertiſing the *Sophy* thereof, ſoon after anſwered me, that there were great Affairs in hand, and that I ſhould have admiſſion as ſoon as they were finiſhed, willing me in the mean time to make ready my Preſent, if I had any to deliver.

Caſbin.

The *Turk's* Embaſſador to the *Sophy.*

An Embaſſador from the *Great Turk* arrived four days before me, who was ſent thither to conclude a perpetual Peace with the *Sophy*, and brought with him a Preſent in Gold, fine Horſes, rich Furnitures, *&c.* worth forty thouſand Pound. The Peace was concluded with Feaſts and Triumphs, corroborated with ſtrong Oaths by their Law or *Alcoran*, to obſerve the ſame, and to live as ſworn Brethren, aiding each other againſt all Princes that ſhould war againſt them or either of them: And upon the concluſion of this Peace, the *Sophy* put to death the *Great Turk's* Son, name *Briſet Sultan* (a valiant Prince, who fled from his Father to the *Sophy*, and had remained in his Court four Years) and ſent his Head as a Preſent to his Father.

Shaw Thamas.

The 20 of *November* I was ſent for to come before the *Sophy*, called *Shaw Thamas*, and at three in the Afternoon I came to the Court, and alighting from my Horſe at the Court Gate (before my Feet touched the Ground) a pair of the *Sophy*'s own Shoes, ſuch as he wears when he riſes in the Night to pray (as his Cuſtom is) were put upon my Feet, otherwiſe I might not be ſuffered to tread upon his Holy Ground, being a Chriſtian, called by them *Gower*, that is, Unbeliever and Uncican. At the Court Gate my Preſents were diſtributed to Servants of the Court to carry before me, none of my Company being permitted to enter into the Court with me beſides my Interpreter. Thus coming before his Majeſty with ſuch Reverence as I thought fit to be uſed, I delivered the Queens Letter with my Preſent, which he accepting, demanded of what Country of *Franks* I was, and what Affairs I had there to do. I anſwered, that I was of the famous City of *London*, in the noble Realm of *England*, and that I was ſent thither from the moſt excellent and gracious Soveraign Lady *Elizabeth*, Queen of the ſaid Realm, to treat of Friendſhip and free Paſſage for our Merchants to repair and traffick in his Dominions, to bring our Commodities and carry away theirs, to the mutual Commodity of both Realms. He then demanded in what Language the Letters were written; I anſwered, in *Latin*, *Italian*, and *Hebrew*; He replied, We have none in our Realms who underſtand thoſe Tongues. Whereunto I anſwered, that ſuch a famous and worthy Prince as he was, wanted not People of all Nations within his large Dominions to interpret the ſame.

The *Sophy's* Queſtions.

Then he queſtioned me about the State of *Europe*, and who had moſt Power, the Emperour of *Germany*, the King of *Spain*, or *Great Turk*; I anſwered him to his content, not diſpraiſing the *Great Turk*, their late concluded Friendſhip conſidered. Then he reaſoned with me about Religion, demanding whether I was a *Gower*, that is to ſay, an Unbeliever, or a *Muſelman*, that is, of *Mahomet's* Law: I anſwered, that I was neither Unbeliever nor *Mahometan*, but a Chriſtian. What is that ſaid he unto the King of *Georgia*'s Son, who being a Chriſtian, was fled unto the *Sophy*, and he anſwered, that a Chriſtian was he that believes in *Jeſus Chriſt*, affirming him to be the Son of God, and the greateſt Prophet. Doſt thou believe ſo, ſaid the *Sophy* unto me: Yea that I do, ſaid I. Oh thou Unbeliever, ſaid he, we have no need to have friendſhip with the Unbelievers, and ſo willed me to depart: I being glad thereof, did reverence, and went my way, accompanied with many of his Gentlemen and others, and after me followed a Man with Sand, ſifting all the way that I had gone within the Palace, from the place I had diſcourſed with the *Sophy*, unto the Court Gate.

That Night *Shally Muarzy*, Son to the King of *Hircania*, who favoured me much becauſe I was recommended to him by his Father, willed me not to doubt of any thing, putting me in hope that all would end well.

There daily reſorted to me divers Gentlemen ſent by the *Sophy* to confer with me, eſpecially touching the Affairs of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, and to know by what way I intended to return into my Country, whether by the way that I came, or by the way of *Ormus*, and ſo with the *Portugal* Ships. I anſwered, that I durſt not return by the way of *Ormus*, the *Portugals* and we not being Friends; for I was adverriſed that the *Sophy* intended war againſt them, and would have charged me for coming as a Spy thro' his Dominions unto the *Portugals*, thinking them and us to be all one People, and calling all by the name of *Franks*; but by the Providence of God this was prevented.

After this the *Sophy* conferred with his Nobility and Council concerning me, who adviſed him that he ſhould not entertain me well, nor diſmiſs me with Letters or Gifts, conſidering that I was a *Frank*, and of a Nation that was Enemy to the *Great Turk* his Brother; for if he did otherwiſe, and the News thereof ſhould come to the knowledge of the *Turk*, it would be a means to break the new League and Friendſhip lately concluded. Adding further, that he had no need, neither was it requiſite for him to have friendſhip with Unbelievers, whoſe Countries lay far from him, and that it was beſt for him to ſend me with my Letters unto the *Turk* for a Preſent: And this (I heard) he was fully determined to do, as ſoon as he ſhould ſend his Embaſſador to the *Great Turk*, which was intended to be very ſpeedily. But *Shally Murzy* hearing of this, ſent a Man in poſt to his Father, to impart it to him, who wrote unto the *Sophy*, that it would not ſtand with his Majeſties Honour, to do me any harm or diſpleaſure, but rather to entertain me kindly, becauſe I came into his Dominions of my free will, and not by conſtraint, whereas if he ſhould uſe me ill, few Strangers would reſort into his Country, which would be much to his hindrance, *&c.* which after the *Sophy* had conſidered (much eſteeming the ſaid King of *Hircan*, being a valiant Prince and his near Kinſman) he changed his mind, and on the 20th of *March* ſent me a rich Garment of Cloth of Gold, and ſo diſmiſſed me without harm.

While I ſojourned at *Caſbin*, ſome *Indian* Merchants told me they could bring all ſorts of Spices if they were ſure of vent: I gave them encouragement, and doubt not but great ſtore may be there provided.

The ſaid 20th of *March*, 1562, I returned from *Caſbin*, where I had reſided all the Winter, having ſent away all my Camels before, and on the 30th came again to the City of *Ardouil*, and on the 15th of *April* to *Zavat* aforeſaid, where King *Obdowlocan* was at preſent, who immediately ſending for me, declared, that if it had not been for him, I had been utterly ruined, and ſent to the *Turk* for a Preſent, by the Perſwation of the *Sophy*'s wicked Council: That the Holy Men were the firſt Movers thereof: That the *Sophy* intended me much good at firſt, and had ſo done if the League had not been concluded between him and the *Turk*. Nevertheleſs, ſaid he, the *Sophy* hath written to me to entertain you well, and you are welcome into my Country, and ſo tarrying there ſeven days,

days, he uſed me very civilly, and gave me Letters of ſafe conduct, and two Garments of Silk, and then diſmiſſed me with great favour, ſending with me his Embaſſador again to the Emperour of *Ruſſia*. On the 10th of *April* I came to the City of *Shamaky*, where tarrying certain days to provide Camels down to the Sea-ſide, I ſent ſome Men before to get my Bark in readineſs; and leaving *Shamaky* on the 16th, I came to the Sea-ſide on the 21ſt of the ſaid Month, and lading my Goods, attended a fair Wind.

On the 30th day of *May*, 1563, we arrived at *Aſtracan*, having paſſed no leſs Dangers upon the Sea in our return, than we ſuſtained in our going forth, and tarrying at *Aſtracan* until the 10th of *June*, having 100 Gunners appointed for my ſafe guard to conduct me up the River *Volga*, I arrived at *Cazan* the 15th of *July*, and at *Moſco* the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1563.

Soon after my arrival, I came before the Emperour, and preſented him the Apparel given unto me by the *Sophy*; after much conference about the Affairs he had committed to my charge, he ſaid, I perceive your good Service, for which I thank you, and will recompence you for it. I anſwered, That I heartily rejoiced that my Service was ſo acceptable to his Highneſs, that all I had done was but my duty, beſeeching him to continue his favour to the *Engliſh Ruſſian* Company, and that he would be pleaſed to give them a new Privilege more ample than the firſt, all which he immediately granted, and ſo I departed. Afterwards having penned a brief Note how I meant to have the ſame Privileges made, I repaired daily to the Secretary for perfecting the ſame, and obtained it under his Majeſties broad Seal, which at my coming away I delivered to Mr *Tho. Glover*, Agent for the Company there; and ſo having ſojourned all that Winter at *Moſco*, I departed thence the 28th of *June* by Poſt, and coming to *Colmogro*, and ſo down to the Sea-ſide, I embarqued on the *Swallow* the ninth of *July*, and after great danger of loſs of Ship, Goods and Life, arrived at *London* (God be praiſed) the 28th of *September*, 1564.

The Queen's Majeſties Letters to the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, requeſting Licence and ſafe Conduct for Mr. *Anthony Jenkinſon* to paſs through his Kingdom of *Ruſſia* into *Perſia*, to the *Great Sophy*, 1561.

ELizabeth *by the Grace of God, Queen of* England, *&c. to the right excellent and right mighty Prince, Lord* John Baſiliwich, *Emperour of all* Ruſſia, *&c. greeting, and moſt happy Increaſe in all Proſperity. Right mighty Prince, the Amity of your Majeſty towards us and our Subjects is very pleaſant to us to be remembred, which being begun by the Goodneſs of God in the Reign of our moſt dear Brother of happy memory, King* Edward VI. *and afterwards through your not only ſingular Humanity fed and nouriſhed, but alſo through your incredible Goodneſs increaſed and augmented, is now firmed and eſtabliſhed with all manner of Tokens of your benevolence, that now we doubt not, but that from henceforth during many Ages, the ſame ſhall endure to the Praiſe of God, to both our Glories, to the publick great Commodity of our Realms on either Part, and to the private deſired Hope and certain Felicity of all your Subjects. And although that this your Goodneſs hath been abundantly extended to all our Subjects that have at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which we give (as reaſon is) your Majeſty right hearty Thanks, and will again ſhew the like unto yours, right willingly, whenſoever Opportunity ſhall require; yet the abundance of your Benignity, both in receiving and alſo entertaining our faithful and beloved Servant* Anthony Jenkinſon, *the Bringer of theſe our Letters, is unto us for him privately very thankful: For beſides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not only by your Majeſties ſufferance, but alſo your Commandment, enjoyed much Liberty and great Friendſhip, your Goodneſs not ceaſing in this your Domeſtical Diſpoſition of Clemency, did right willingly and of your own abundant Grace, commend the ſame our welbeloved Servant, by your Letters ſealed with your Imperial Seal, to ſundry foreign Princes, unto whom he was minded to Journey, which your Magnificence did purchaſe unto him happily, according to his deſire, both paſſage without all peril, through your notable Credit, and alſo atchieving of his Journey thro' your Commendation. Therefore like as theſe your duplicated Benevolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our Subjects frequenting that your Realm, and alſo this the other extended apart to this our right faithful Servant* Anthony Jenkinſon, *is right aſſuredly feſtened in our remembrance, not only for a perpetual and grateful memorial, but alſo for a mutual and meet Compenſation; ſo we deſire of your Majeſty to vouchſafe from henceforth to conſerve and continue in the geminate diſpoſition of your Benevolencies, both generally to all our Subjects, and alſo privately to this our beloved Servant. And we doubt not, but that at our requeſt, you will again graciouſly ſhew unto the ſame* Anthony, *now admitted into our Service, the like favour as heretofore your Majeſty of your meer motion did exhibit unto him, being then a private Perſon; and therefore we deſire your Majeſty again to grant to the ſame our Servant, your Letters of Licence, Paſſport and ſafe Conduct, through the Tenour, Authority and Help whereof, he, his Servants, together with their Merchandizes, Baggages, Horſes, and Goods whatſoever, that ſhall be brought in, or carried out, by or thro' all your part, and there tarry ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him; and from thence return whenſoever it ſhall ſeem good to him or his. And as we doubt not but that your Majeſty in the goodneſs of your Nature, will graciouſly and abundantly grant all theſe good Offices of humanity, ſo we do heartily deſire that your Majeſty will likewiſe vouchſafe to commend the ſame our Servant, together with all his Goods, by your Letters to other foreign Princes, and eſpecially to the* Great Sophy *and Emperour of* Perſia, *into whoſe Empire and Juriſdictions, the ſame our Servant purpoſeth with his to journey, chiefly for tryal of foreign Merchandizes.*

We therefore do truſt that all theſe our Demands ſhall tend and have effect, according to the hope of our Servant, and to our Expectation, for your Wealth, for the Commodity of both our Subjects, lucky to him, thankful to us, acceptable to your Majeſty, and very profitable to our Subjects on either part. God grant your Majeſty long and happy felicity in Earth, and everlaſting in Heaven.

Dated in our famous City of *London* the 25th day of the Month of *April*, in the Year of the Creation of the World, 5523, and of our Lord God *Jeſus Chriſt* 1561, and of our Reign the third.

The Queen's Majeſties Letters to the *Great Sophy* of *Perſia*, ſent by Mr. *Anthony Jenkinſon*, 1561.

ELizabetha, Dei gratia, *Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ*, Regina, Potentiſſimo & Invictiſſimo Principi, *Magno Sopi, Perſarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum*, Populorum cis & ultra *Tigrim* Fluvium, & omnium intra Mare *Caſpium & Perſicum*, ſinum Nationum atque Gentium Imperatori ſalutem, *&c.*

Elizabeth by the Grace of God, Queen of England, *&c. to the right mighty and moſt victorious Prince, the* Great Sophy, *Emperour of the* Perſians, *&c. of the People on this ſide and beyond the River* Tigris, *and of all Nations between the* Caſpian-Sea *and the Gulf of* Perſia, *greeting, and moſt happy increaſe in all proſperity. By the goodneſs of Almighty God it is ordained, that thoſe People whom not only vaſt diſtance of Lands, and the invincible wideneſs of the Seas, but alſo the very Quarters of the Heavens do fartheſt ſeparate, may nevertheleſs by writing communicate their Thoughts and Deliberations with other grateful Offices of Humanity. Therefore whereas our faithful and right welbeloved Servant* Anthony Jenkinſon, *Bearer of theſe our Letters, is determined with our Licence, Favour, and Grace, to paſs out of this our Realm, and by Gods permiſſion to travel into* Perſia, *and other your Juriſdictions; We mind truly with our good Favour to ſet forward and advance that his right laudable Purpoſe, and that the more willingly, becauſe this his Enterpriſe is only grounded upon an honeſt Intent, to eſtabliſh trade of Merchandiſe with your Subjects, and others trafficking in your Realms; wherefore we have thought good to write to your Majeſty to vouchſafe at our requeſt, to grant to our ſaid Servant* Anthony Jenkinſon, *good Paſports and ſafe Conducts, by means and authority whereof, it may be free and lawful for him, together with his Familiars, Servants, Carriages, Merchandizes, and Goods whatſoever, through your Realms, Dominions, Juriſdictions, and Provinces, freely and without impeachment to journey, go, paſs, repaſs, and tarry ſo long as he ſhall pleaſe, and from thence return whenſoever he or they ſhall think good. If theſe Holy Duties of Entertainment, and ſweeet Offices of Natural Humanity may be willingly*

willingly concluded, ſincerely embraced, and firmly obſerved between us, and our Realms and Subjects, then we do hope that the Almighty God will bring it to paſs, that from theſe ſmall Beginnings, greater moment of things ſhall hereafter ſpring, both to our Furniture and Honours, and alſo to the great Commodity and Uſe of our People; ſo it will be known that neither Earth, the Seas, nor the Heavens, have ſo much force to ſeparate us, as the godly diſpoſition of natural Humanity and mutual Benevolence have to join us ſtrongly together. God grant unto your Majeſty long and happy Felicity in Earth, and perpetual in Heaven.

Dated in *England* in our famous City of *London*, the 25th day of the Month of *April*, in the Year of the Creation of the World, 5523, and of our Lord and God *Jeſus Chriſt*, 1561, and of our Reign the third.

CHAP. V.

The ſecond Voyage into Perſia, *made by* Tho. Alcock, George Wren, *and* Richard Chenie, *Servants to the* Ruſſian *Company, in the Year* 1563.

1562. THE 10th of *May*, 1563. we departed from *Yeraſlave*, and arrived at *Aſtracan* the 24th of *July*; and departing thence the ſecond of *Auguſt*, on the fourth we entred the *Caſpian*, and on the 11th arrived at our Port in *Media*. On the 21ſt of the ſaid Month we came to *Shamaky*, where King *Obdowlocan* then was, who calling us before him the third day after our arrival, we gave him a Preſent, and he entertained us very well.

The King ſate upon the Ground in his Tent, with his Legs a-croſs, the Ground covered with Carpets; we were commanded to ſit down, the King appointing every Man his place to ſit; and the King ordered the Emperour of *Ruſſia*'s Merchants to riſe up, and to give us the upper hand.

Tho. Alcock ſlain. The 20th of *October Thomas Alcock* departed from *Shamaki* towards *Casbin*, and in his return was ſlain in the way between *Leuvatta* and *Shamaky*: Some think his death was procured by a Nobleman whom he had offended, by earneſtly demanding his Debt; others are of opinion, that riding from the Court with out Company, ſome Rogues thinking he had much about him, ſet upon him and ſlew him.

Great Troubles inſued the death of this King, which much hindred the ſale of our Goods; ſome of the old King's Council and great Officers were caſt into Priſon, others fined, and ſome were ſent for by the *Shaugh*.

On the 26th of *April*, Mr. *Arthur Edwards* was appointed by the Agent Mr. *Richard Johnſon* to go in Company with ſome Noblemen to *Casdin*, having with him an Interpreter and two Servants, where he arrived the 15th of *May*, and of his Negotiation there, he gave the Company the following Account.

Arthur Edwards Letter to the Ruſſia Company.

Right Worſhipful, *&c.* On the 29th of *May*, 1556, I was brought before the *Shaugh*, and diſcourſed with him about two Hours. He commanded me twice to come nearer him, demanding what were my Requeſts; and having heard them, promiſed me his gracious Letters. Afterwards he called me twice again to come nearer him, and talked with me about the Affairs of *Europe*. Then he ſaid he would have the Company to ſend him all ſorts of Cloths, but one eſpecially, which Maidens do make (as he ſaid) called *Karengi*, I ſuppoſe he meant Weſtern Dozens died into Scarlets. It was ſtrange to his People (conſidering our Religion) to ſee me ſo long in talk with him.

After my firſt Audience, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them who had my Privilege in writing, that I might have it in readineſs at my next appearance before him, which was on the 29th of *June*. I was then in Apparel that he gave me, and received your Letters or Privileges, ſealed and firmed with the *Shaugh*'s own Hand. That day is one of their chief Feſtivals, at which all his Nobility were preſent. He ſaid to me, that if my Letters were not to my mind, in time to come they ſhould be mended; whereupon I made my Reverence, and ſaid, that with as much ſpeed as might be, our Queen ſhould underſtand his Kindneſs towards our Merchants, and ſo departed.

Since the receiving of the *Shaugh*'s Letters, I have eaten with Dukes and others, who before would not come near me; and every day ſome would come to my Shop, and eat and drink with me out of my own Diſh; and at my return to *Shamaky*, when I ſate down to dinner on the Road, they would come and eat with me unbidden, when I wiſhed them further off; for I ſpared them that which gladly I would have eaten my ſelf.

I was asked by the *Shaugh* if the Company were able to bring him yearly one hundred thouſand pieces of Kerſies and Cloths. I anſwered him, that you were able to furniſh his Country with two hundred thouſand, whereat he rejoiced; for I was told that the *Turk*'s Embaſſador laſt year, had put the *Shaugh* in deſpair, by telling him that the *Turk* would not permit any Cloth to be brought into his Country.

There are many *Venetians* dwelling at *Aleppo* in *Syria*, and others that come yearly there and buy Wools, Galls, Tallow, Saffron, Skins, Cotton and other Wares, and great ſtore of Spices: And the *Armenians* receive from the *Venetians*, Kerſies in barter for raw Silks, giving ſometimes 60 pieces of Kerſies for 70 Batmans of Silk of this Country, and forty pieces for *Groſſing* Silk. Alſo Kerſies ſold commonly for ready Money in *Aleppo*, at 11 and 12 Duckets the Piece (the Ducket being here worth 12 Shillings) may coſt the firſt penny 132 and 144 *Shaughs* a Kerſy. By report it is one Month's travel

The Third Voyage into Perſia, *begun in the Year* 1565, *by* Richard Johnſon, Alexander Kitching, *and* Arthur Edwards, *Servants to the* Ruſſian *Company.*

1565. WE departed from *Aſtracan* the 30th of *July*, 1565, and by reaſon of contrary Winds, it was the 23d of *Auguſt*, before we arrived at our deſired Port called *Naizavoc*. On the fifth of *September*, having procur'd Camels, we departed thence and came to *Shamaky* on the 11th, and on the 17th we preſented to *Obdowlocan* the King of that Country, one Timber of Sables, one Neſt of Silver Cups, part gilt, three Morſes Teeth, four Arſhines of Scarlet, three pieces of Kerſies, with 40 red Foxes.

He received our Preſents, and thanked us for our good Wills, demanding if Mr. *Jenkinſon* were in good health, and if he would return into theſe parts again. He commanded us alſo to ſit down before him, the diſtance of a Quoits caſt from his Tent, where he ſate with divers of his Council and Nobility, ſending us ſuch Meat as was before him. He told us, that if he ſhould hear of any wrong done to us by any Man, he would puniſh him for an example to others. He gave us a little Houſe for the Preſent, until a better could be provided in ſuch place as we ſhould think moſt meet; and at our taking leave, he willed us to put our Requeſts in writing, that he might the better underſtand our Deſires;

Obdolowcan King of Hircania dies. but while we were doing ſo, God took this good King, our Friend, out of this preſent Life, the ſecond of *October*, 1565, whereby we loſt all hopes of recovering Mr. *Alcock*'s Debts, which had not been loſt if the King had lived.

1568.

travel from *Shamaki* to *Aleppo*. Here is much *Venetian* Cloth worn, being crom-plisted, a Yard and half broad, and sold here from 24 to 30 *Shaughs* their *Arshine*, being longer by two Inches than the *Russian Arshine*. You would do well to send of *London* Cloths three or four of all sorts for a Sample, being well shorn and drest. Violets in grain, and fine Reds be most worn, but other good Colours will away, when they shall see them: I wore a Garment of *London* Russet, which was much esteemed. You shall do well to send such sorts as are lively to the sight, and some Blacks for Womens Garments, with some Orange Colours and Tawnies. Here is much broad Cloth worn, and they talk much of *London* Cloths; they that know the wearing of them, prefer them before others: But forget not to send some Western Kersies, *viz.* Dozens, which are well thickned, and close shut in the weaving, being died into fine Reds and some Scarlets; for I think there is no such Cloth for their Caps.

The *Armenians* and others are desirous to barter with us, giving Silk for Kersies, and will serve us with all kind of Spices, to be delivered to us in *Shamaky* at these prices.

A *Shaugh* is 8 a-pence. A Batman is about six Pound *English* weight.

Pepper 18 *Shaughs* the Batman.
Mace large, 40 *Shaughs* and 45 the Batman.
Cloves 40 *Shaughs* the Batman.
Nutmegs 16 and 18 *Shaughs* the Batman.
Cinamon 40 *Shaughs* the Batman.

I was told the *Armenians* bring from *Aleppo* yearly four, five and six thousand pieces of Kersies and Cloths, besides those which other Men bring. Sixty Batmans of Silk is a Mule's lading, and it is reported that one Village of the *Armenians* yearly carries 400 and 500 Mules lading of Silk to *Aleppo*, and brings thence 800 or 1000 Mules laden with Kersies and *Venice* Cloths; 18 pieces of Kersies are a Mules lading.

From *Ormus* to *Casbin* is six Weeks travel, and from *Casbin* to *Shamaky* is sixteen Days with Camels laden; but if one travel with a good Mule unladen, it may be gone in seven or eight Days; but here Travellers must carry their own Provisions on Horses, and so must travel but a foot pace.

The 15th of *July* I left *Casbin* and came to this Town of *Shamaky*: As for *Galls* here to be bought, there is no profit to be made by them: They are brought from *Aleppo*, and sold here not under three or four *Shaughs* their Batman, being six Pounds *English* Weight. Grain that you die Scarlet withal is worth the Batman in ready Money, 200 *Shaughs*, which computing the *Shaugh* at 6 *d. Russe*, may be six Rubbles for their *Batman*.

The Privileges *granted by the* Shaugh *to the Company is as followeth.*

1. 'THat you shall pay no manner of Customs or Toll, 'now, nor in time to come; And that such '*English* Merchants as you shall appoint now and here- 'after, shall pass and repass into all his Dominions and 'Countries adjoining, to buy and sell all sorts of Commodities with all manner of Persons. Privileges granted to the Company by the Sophy.

2. 'That in all places where any of our Merchants 'shall resort or abide, his chief Governours, Rulers, 'and Justices, shall aid and defend us against all evil 'Persons, punishing those that shall do us any wrong.

3. 'That for all such Debts as shall be owing by any 'Person, Justice shall be done on the Party, and we paid 'at the day.

4. 'That no manner of Persons, of whatsoever State 'or Degree they be, shall presume to take any kind of 'Wares or Gifts, without leave and good will.

5. 'If by Chance-medly any of our Merchants or 'Servants (which God forbid) should kill any of his 'Subjects, that no part of your *Goods* shall be touched or 'medled withal nor any *Party* but the Offender; and 'true Justice to be ministred, and none of us to suffer 'without the Prince's Knowlege and Advice.

6. 'That all Debts shall be paid to any of us in the 'absence of the other, be the Party dead or alive.

7. 'That no Person return any kind of Wares back 'again, being once bought or sold.

8. 'That when God shall send your Goods to shore, 'his People shall presently help us on Land with 'them.

The *Shaugh* caused his Secretary to write the said Articles in the four Letters he gave me (whereof two are in the *Turkish* Language).

I have computed all Charges from hence to *Colmogro*, to which adding the Fraight to *England*, at three pound *per* Tun, the whole will not stand you in above 18 or 20 Shillings *per* Hundred. God grant me in health to see your Worships, *&c. Shamaky* in *Media*, the 8th of *August*, 1566.

Arthur Edwards.

CHAP. VI.

The Fourth Voyage into Persia, *in the Year* 1598. *by Mr* Arthur Edwards, *Agent*, Lawrence Chapman, *and other Servants to the* Russian *Company.*

1568. WE departed from *Teraslave* in *July*, 1568, and arrived at a Port called *Bilbil*, on the 14th of *August*. The People were not so ready to aid us in bringing the Ship into Harbour, and unlading the Goods nor so obedient to the *Shaugh*'s Privileges as we expected. As soon as our Goods were got on Shoar, we were compelled to open and sell it at their price, or else it would have been worse for us.

We departed thence as soon as we had got Camels, and came to *Shamaky* the first of *September*. Thence we came to *Ardouil*, where we sold nine pieces of Kersies at 150 *Shaughs* the Piece.

And being then not far from *Tauris*, the Agent sent thither Mr. *Chapman* and an Interpreter, with 54 Kersies, but he found there such store of broad Cloth and Kersies brought thither from *Aleppo*, that no Man offred more than 140 *Shaughs* for a Kersy.

At *Amadia*, six days journey from *Tauris*, grow abundance of Galls, bought up yearly by the *Venetians*, and sold there for two *Bistes* the *Tauris* Batman, about six Pound *English* weight. Many Drugs were to be sold both at *Tauris* and *Casbin*, but in goodness, nothing like such as are brought into *England* from other places; and the price so high, that there would be but small gain in buying them. The price of Spices at our being there (enhanced by reason of War against the *Portugals* at *Ormus*) Pepper 25 *Shaughs* the *Tauris* Batman; Cloves 50 *Shaughs*; long Pepper 25 *Shaughs*; Mace large, 50 *Shaughs*; Ginger 24 *Shaughs*, and the best raw Silk is 60 *Shaughs* the *Tauris* Batman.

Mr. *Edwards* the Agent proceeded in his Journey to *Casbin*, and when he first came into the *Sophy*'s Presence, standing far off, the *Sophy* (who sate in a Royal Seat) commanded him three times to come near him, until he came so near that he might have touched him with his Hand; then asking what Country-man he was, he answered, that he came from *England*. The *Sophy* asked his Noblemen if they knew any such Country, which *Edwards* perceiving, he named it *Inghilterra*, as the *Italians* call it. Then one of the Nobles said *Londro*, to which Mr. *Edwards* replied, that was the name of the chief City of *England*, as *Tauris* was of *Persia*. The Discourse lasted two Hours, wherein after many Questions about the State of *Europe*, he demanded of him what was the chief cause of his coming into his Realm;

to which Mr. *Edwards* anſwered, that it was to promote Merchandizing, and that if his Majeſty would grant us free Paſſage into all his Dominions, with ſuch Privileges as might ſecure our Lives and Goods, we would furniſh his Countries with fine Kerſies and broad Cloths of all ſorts and Colours, as Scarlets, Violets, *&c.* in ſhorter time, and cheaper than he could have them at the *Turks* Hands. Whereupon new Privileges were granted to us, written in Azure and Golden Letters; one Article whereof was, That if any Merchants or their Servants would turn *Mahometans*, that then the Agent might impriſon ſuch Perſon wherever he ſhould find him, and that no Man ſhould keep or conceal him. Before we obtained this Privilege, ſome Servants would rob their Maſters, and then turn *Mahometans*, that their Maſters might have no Law againſt them, either to puniſh them or recover their Goods. A young Man, Servant to one of our Merchants, rather than abide the Correction of his Maſter, would forſake his Faith; but as God would have it, he fell ſuddenly ſick and died, before he gave himſelf to the Devil. If he had turned *Mahometan*, it would have cauſed much trouble to the Merchants, for if he had ſaid that half their Goods had been his, they would have given credit to him; for, before the *Sophy* granted Privileges to our Nation, the People abuſed them very much, and ſo hated them that they would not touch them, calling them *Cafars* and *Gawers*, that is, Unbelievers, and thought it no wrong to defraud or rob them, bear falſe witneſs againſt them, and ſuch Merchandizes as they had bought or ſold, make them take it again, and change it as often as they liſted, and for the Debts of any Stranger, would take the Goods of any other of the ſame Nation, with many other ſuch like Abuſes.

CHAP. VII.

The Fifth Voyage into Perſia, *by* Thomas Baniſter *and* Geofrey Ducket, *Servants to the* Ruſſian *Company; begun in the Year* 1568, *and continuing to the Year* 1574.

1568. UPon the third day of *July*, 1568, they embarked at *Teraſlave*, in a Bark called the *Thomas Bonadventure*, of 70 Tuns, accompanied with *Lionel Plumtree*, and twelve *Engliſh* and 40 *Ruſſes*. About 40 Miles on this ſide *Aſtracan*, they were aſſaulted by the *Nagayan Tartars* in 18 Boats, ſome armed with Swords, ſome with Spears, and ſome with Bows and Arrows, in all about 300 Men. The Fight continued two Hours, and they ſo galled the *Tartars* with their Fire-arms, that they fled with the loſs of 200 of their number, as they were informed by a *Ruſſian* Priſoner, who eſcaped from the *Nagayans* and came to *Aſtracan*, where they arrived the 20th of *Auguſt*.

The Engliſh Bark aſſaulted by the Nagayan Tartars.

Here they were compelled to tarry ſix Weeks, and then proceeding on their Voyage, they arrived at *Bilbil* towards the end of *October*; from thence they went to *Shauaran*, where, as they lodged in their Tents, they were much troubled with a ſort of Foxes, who ſtole their Victuals from them, and in one Night devoured to the bare Bones a mighty wild Boar, that was ſent unto them as a Preſent from the Governour.

Having ſtaid here three or four days, they travelled in four days to *Shamaky*, where ſpending the Winter, in *April* following they took their Journey towards *Ardouil*, a place of great account by reaſon of the Sepulchre of the *Perſian* Kings: Here they tarried ſix Months, finding but ſmall Traffick, the City being more frequented by Noblemen and Gentlemen than Merchants.

The Emperour *Shaw Tiomas* ſent a Meſſenger to this place for our Men to come to his preſence at *Casbin*; Mr. *Ducket* being ſick, could not go, but Mr. *Baniſter* went, and was received with great favour, moſt of his Requeſts being granted to him, this only excepted, that whereas he deſired leave to carry ſome Horſes out of his Dominions into *India*, the *Shaugh* ſeemed unwilling to yield to it, and yet did not altogether deny it, but referred it to ſome further time. The *Shaugh* bought of him many Kerſies making good payment, and would oftentimes ſend his Money before the Wares were delivered.

There is one thing I thought fit to remember, That whereas he purpoſed to ſend a great Sum of Money to *Mecca* in *Arabia*, for an Offering to *Mahomet*, he would not ſend any of his own coin, but ſent to the *Engliſh* Merchants to exchange it for theirs, giving this Reaſon for it, That the Merchants Money was gotten by good means, and was therefore worthy to be made an Oblation to their Holy Prophet; but his own Money was gotten by Fraud, Oppreſſion, and diſhoneſt Means, and therefore was not fit to ſerve for ſo holy a uſe.

After ſix Months ſpent in *Casbin*, Mr. *Baniſter* went thence to *Tauris*, where he found Mr. *Ducket* well recovered, whom he had left ſick at *Ardouil*. There is a place within one Day's Journey of *Tauris*, where great ſtore of Galls grow; Mr. *Ducket* bought many of them, and other Merchandize, he continuing in *Tauris* two years and a half, making ſale of the Companies Commodities.

Mr. *Baniſter* returned from *Tauris* to *Shamaky*, and thence went to *Arraſh*, four days Journey with Camels from *Shamaky*, to buy raw Silk, but there, by the unwholſome Air, and corrupt Water in the hot time of the Year, he with *Lawrence Chapman* and ſome other *Engliſhmen* died, which being made known to Mr. *Ducket*, he immediately came from *Tauris* to *Arraſh*, to take poſſeſſion of the Goods, for otherwiſe by the Cuſtom of the Country, had there been no Merchant or other Friend to enter upon what was left, all had fallen into the *Shaugh's* Hands; which Goods notwithſtanding could not be recover'd from the Officers who had ſeized and ſealed up the ſame, until Mr. *Ducket* had been in Perſon with the *Shaugh*, and procured his Order for the delivery of them.

The death of Thomas Baniſter and Lawrence Chapman.

Whilſt Mr. *Ducket* was at *Casbin* in ſute for Goods, *Lionel Plumtree* by perſwaſion of certain *Bogharians*, made proviſion for a Journey to *Cathaia*, with Carriages and Commodities, and having all things ready, departed ſecretly with a Caravan; but being ſix days journey upon his way, 50 Horſemen by procurement of *Humphry Greenfel* (who was afterwards burnt by the *Portugals* in the Inquiſition at *Ormus*) were ſent after him in Poſt by the *Shaugh's* Lieutenant, to fetch him back again, for fear of divers Inconveniences that might follow.

Humfrey Greenfelburnt at Ormus.

Mr. *Ducket* returned from *Casbin* to *Shamaky*, and thence went to *Caſſan*, four days journey, carrying with him four Mules laden with Money.

In his way he paſſed thro' *Perſepolis*, heretofore the Royal Seat of the *Perſian* Kings, but there remains nothing now to be ſeen but two Gates, diſtant twelve Miles from each other, and ſome few Pinnacles in the Mountains, and Conveniences for freſh Water.

Perſepolis.

Caſſan is a Town of great traffick, much frequented by *Indian* Merchants; no idle Perſon is ſuffered to live among them; playing at Cards or Dice is by the Law preſent death. Here they tarried ten Weeks, and then returned to *Shamaky*, and thence to *Bilbil* again, where their Ship was in Harbour, and ſetting ſail the 8th of *May*, 1573, by reaſon of contrary Winds and dangerous Flats in the *Caſpian*-Sea, they beat it up and down 20 Days; and on the 28th riding at Anchor upon the Flats, about 150 *Ruſſe Caſſaks*, which are Out-laws and baniſhed Men, having intelligence of them, and of the great wealth they had with them, came to them in divers Boats under colour of Friendſhip, and armed with Calivers and other Weapons, entred their Ship, and ſlew divers *Ruſſians* that belonged to the Ship; whereupon Mr. *Ducket*, *Plumtree*, *William Smith* the Maſter, and *Amos Rial*, being under the Spar-deck, did ſo behave themſelves, that they ſcoured the Hatches, and

Caſſan.

The Engliſh Ship taken by the Caſſaks.

and slew 14 of them, and wounded about 30 more; Mr. *Ducket* and the rest in the mean time received divers wounds, and were so overpower'd with the multitude of their Enemies, that they were at last constrained to surrender their Ship to the *Cassacks*, they swearing upon their Crucifixes to do no further harm to their Persons.

The Ship thus taken, and all the *English* grievously hurt, the *Cassaks* put them all into the Ships Boat, with two or three *Persian* Targets full of Horse-flesh and Swines-flesh, without other Victuals or Relief. In this case they made what hast they could to *Astracan*, and being come to the Town, Mr. *Ducket* made great sute to the Captain to have Men and Boats set out for recovery of the Ship, if possible, who immediately sent out his Son with 40 Boats and 500 Men to pursue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rode at Anchor with the Ship, but by their folly in striking up their Drums before they were come near them, the *Cassaks* discovering the Boats, cut their Cables and put to Sea, whereupon the Boats not being able to follow them, returned to *Astracan*. Then sixty other Boats were sent to pursue them the second time, who came to a place where they found many of them, and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid some of the Goods in the Earth in the Ship's Chests, all which they recovered again for the *English* Merchants, to the value of 5000 *l.* out of 30 or 40000, but all the rest the *Cassaks* in the Ship had carried away.

In the same place they found also divers of the *Cassaks* slain by the *English*, buried in the Earth, and wrapt, some in 40 or 50 Yards of Sattin or Taffata, and some in *Turky* Carpets cut and spoiled by those Pirats, of whom as many as could be taken by the *Persians* (who entirely loved the *English* Merchants) were put to most cruel Torments in all places according to their deserts.

Our Men thus spoiled of their Goods and wounded in their Bodies, remained two Months at *Astracan* for their cure, and then went up the *Volga* to *Cazan*, with such Goods as they had recovered from the *Cassaks*. From *Cazan* they went towards *Yeraslave*, but were intercepted by such a Frost in the Night, about the beginning of *October*, that their Boats were crushed and cut asunder with the Ice, whereby they were in danger of loss of Life and Goods, but as much as they could preserve, they convey'd over land in Sleds to *Vologhda*, and thence to St. *Nicholas* to be laden in Ships for *England*.

But Mr *Ducket*, *Plumtree* and *Rial* went with certain Parcels to *Mosco*, and sold some to the Emperour, who pitying the mighty Loss they had sustained from his own rebellious Subjects, bought himself as much as he liked, and payed present Money for the same. So spending that Winter in *Mosco*, in providing such Wares as served for *England*, they embarked at St. *Nicholas* in *August*, and after a terrible Passage of nine Weeks and three Days, with want of Victuals, they arrived at *London* in *October*, 1574, and so made an end of an unfortunate Voyage, which if it had pleased God to prosper, that all things had come as safely as they were carefully provided, and painfully laboured for, it had proved the richest Voyage, and most profitable Return that had ever been undertaken by *English* Merchants, who notwithstanding all Misfortunes, lost nothing of their principal Adventure, but only the Interest and Gain that might have risen by the use of their Stock in the mean time.

Further Observations concerning Persia, *by Mr.* Ducket.

THE King of *Persia* (whom we call the *Great Sophy*) is not there so called, but is called the *Shaugh*. It were dangerous to call him by the Name of *Sophy*, which in the *Persian* Tongue signifies a *Begger*. He lives at *Casbin*, situate in a fertile Valley three or four days Journey in length. The City is ill built, being for the most part of Brick, not hardned with fire, but only dried in the Sun, as is most part of the Building in all *Persia*. The King hath not come out of his Palace in 33 or 34 Years, whereof the cause is not known, but as they say, it is upon a Superstition of certain Prophesies, to which they are greatly addicted. He is now about 80 years of age, and very lusty: He hath four Wives and about 300 Concubines, and once every Year he hath all the fair Virgins and Wives that can be found thereabouts brought to him, and taking such as he likes, he puts away some of them he had before, and with them gratifies such of his Officers as have done him best Service; and if he chance to take any Man's Wife, her Husband is very glad of it, and in recompence of her, he oftimes gives the Husband one of his old store, whom he thankfully receives. Men Concubines

When any Christian comes before him, he must put on a new pair of Shoes made in that Country, and from the place where he enters, there is raised as it were a Causey all the way until he come to the place where he shall talk with the King, who stands always above in a Gallery when he talks with any Strangers; and when the Stranger is departed, then is the Causey cast down, and the Ground levelled again.

The Religion of the *Persians* is the same with the *Turks*, only they differ about the right Successor of *Mahomet*; the *Turks* say it was one *Omer*, and the *Persians* say it was *Mortus Ali*, whose return they have long expected, and the King always keeps a Horse ready sadled for him. They say that Christ was a Holy Man and a great Prophet, but not like unto *Mahomet*, who being the last Prophet by whom all things were finished, was therefore the greatest. Religion of the *Persians*.

There is often great mutiny among the People which of *Mortus Ali*'s Sons was greatest; and I saw in *Tauris* a Man coming from one of these Skirmishes with four Mens Heads in his Hand, holding them by the Hair of the Head; for tho' they weekly shave their Heads, yet they leave a Tuft of Hair about two foot long.

The *Caspian*-Sea neither ebbs nor flows, but swells very high in tempestuous weather. The Water is very salt, unless it be at the Mouth of the great River *Volga*, where the Water is fresh at least 20 Leagues into the Sea. It is very full of Fish, but no monstrous Fish, yet has it many sorts which are not in these parts of the World. Description of the *Caspian*-Sea.

CHAP. VIII.

The Embassy of Thomas Randolph, *Esq; to the Emperour of* Russia, Anno 1568. *briefly written by himself.*

1568. THE 22d of *June* I went aboard the *Harry* in *Harwich* Road, having in my Company about 40 Persons, whereof one half were Gentlemen desirous to see the World. In our Voyage was nothing remarkable, but the great number of Whales engendring together, and the *Sperma Ceti* swimming upon the Sea. On the 32d day after our departure, we anchored in St. *Nicholas* Road, and landed there the 23d of *July*, where there stands an Abby of about 20 Monks. Their Prior presented me with two great Loaves of Rye, Fish salt and fresh, one live Sheep. The Abby is built of Wood; the Church full of painted Images, Tapers, and Candles; the Monks eat together, are much given to drunkenness, unlearned, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their Prayers.

There were no Houses at St. *Nicholas*, besides three or four near the Abby, and another built by the *English* Company for their own use.

This part of the Country is for the most part Wood, and not inhabited by reason of the cold in Winter. St. *Nicholas* stands in 64 Degrees; the River that runs there into the Sea, is called *Dwina*, very large but shallow; It hath its beginning about 700 Miles up in the Country, and upon this River standeth *Colmogro*, and many pretty Villages. The River is pleasant, running between high Hills covered with tall Fir-Trees, and other Wood.

At *Colmogro*, being 100 Versts or 75 *English* Miles from St. *Nicholas*, we tarried three Weeks, until a Gentleman came from the Emperour to conduct us, and furnish us with all Necessaries at the Emperour's charge. The allowance of Meat and Drink, was for every day two Rubbles, besides the charge of Boats, and 80 Post-horses and 100 Carts to carry my Wines, *&c.*

Colmogro. *Colmogro* is a great Town built of Wood, not walled, and the Houses scattering. I was five whole Weeks upon the River *Dwina* before I came to the *Vologhda*, 1000 *Vologhda.* Versts, or 750 *English* Miles, being drawn with Men against the Stream, there being no other passage: It stands upon the River of *Vologhda*, which falls into *Dwina*. The Town is great and long, built of Wood, as all their Towns are: In it are many Churches, some of Brick, some of Wood: Many Monks and Nuns: It is a Town of great Traffick, and many rich Merchants therein.

From hence we passed by land towards *Mosco* in Post, being 500 great Versts, which are equal with our Miles. The Country we passed thro' was plain and pleasant, well inhabited, abounding with Corn, Pasture, Meadows and Woods.

His arrival at *Mosco.* At *Teraslave* we passed the River *Volga*, more than a Mile over, and arrived at *Mosco* about the end of *September*, received by no Man, not so much as our own Country-men suffered to meet us, which bred suspicion in me, of some other Course intended, than we had hitherto found.

We were brought to a large House, built on purpose by the Emperour for Embassadors. Two Gentlemen were appointed to attend upon me, the one to see us furnished with Victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperour's Allowance; the other to see that we should not go out of the House, nor permit any Man to come in to us, in which they left nothing undone that belonged to their charge; but especially he that looked to our Persons watched us so strictly, that we had no small cause to doubt that some evil had been intended us: No Supplication could take place for our Liberty.

Having passed over 17 Weeks in this manner, the Emperour sent us word that we should be ready against *Tuesday* the 20th of *February*, at eight in the Morning.

The Hour being come, the two said Gentlemen, *Pristaves* (as they call them) came unto me in much better Apparel than before I had ever seen them. They pressed us to depart, being mounted upon their own Horses, and I upon such a one as I had borrowed, my Men marching on foot to their great grief. The two *Pristaves* conveyed me into a Room where I tarried two long Hours before I was sent for to the Emperour. In the end, message being brought that the Emperour was sate, I was conveyed by the said *Pristaves* up a pair of Stairs thro' a large Room, where sate about 300 Persons upon three ranks of Benches, all in rich Robes taken out of the Emperour's Wardrobe for that Day, that they might resemble Men of Quality and Honour. His admission to the Emperour's presence.

At my first entry into the Chamber, I with my Cap gave them reverence, such as I judged their stately sitting, grave Countenances, and sumptuous Apparel required, but seeing that it was not answered again by any of them, I covered my Head, and so passing to a Chamber where the Emperour was, two of his Councellors received me at the Door from the two *Pristaves*, and shewing me to the Emperour, brought me into the middle of the Chamber, where I was willed to stand still, and deliver what I had to say; I by my Interpreter opened my Message as I received it from the Queen my Mistress, at whose Name the Emperour stood up, and asked divers Questions of her Health and State: He gave me his Hand in token of my Welcome, causing me to sit down and asking me many Questions.

This done, I delivered her Majesties Present, which was a notable great Cup of Silver curiously wrought, with Verses engraven in it, explaining the Histories engraven on the same. The Queen's Present.

All things said and done to his contentment, he licenced me and all my Company to depart, who were all in his Presence, and were saluted by him with a nod of his Head, and said unto me, I dine not this day openly, by reason of great Affairs I have, but I will send thee my Dinner, and give leave to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our Allowance to thee in token of our Love to our Sister the Queen of *England*.

I with reverence took my Leave, being conducted by two others of greater Dignity than those who brought me to the Emperour's Presence, who delivered me to the two first Gentlemen, who conveyed me to my Lodging.

Within an Hour came to my Lodging a Duke richly apparell'd, accompanied with 50 Persons, each of them carrying a Silver Dish with Meat, and covered with Silver. The Duke first delivered 20 Loaves of Bread, having first tasted the same, and delivered every Dish into my own Hands, and tasted of every kind of Drink that he brought. The Duke and his Company sate down with me, and took part of the Emperour's Meat, filling themselves with all sorts, and went not away from me unrewarded.

Not long after the Emperour sent for me in the Night to speak with me secretly, where, after above three Hours discourse, I was dismissed towards Morning, and he going next day to *Slowoda*, his House of pleasure, I heard no more from him in six Weeks, which was in the beginning of *April*, and the Emperour then returning, he sent for me again. I then dealt effectually with him in behalf of our *English* Merchants, and found him so graciously inclined towards them, that I obtained my whole Demands. Then he commended to my conduct into *England*, a Nobleman of his called *Andrew Savin*, as his Embassador, who embarked with me at St. *Nicholas* about the end of *July*, and arrived safely at *London* in *September* following.

Chap. IX.

The Fourth Voyage of Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, *Embassador from the Queen's most excellent Majesty, to the Emperour of* Russia, Anno 1571.

Note, That Mr. *Jenkinson* made a third Voyage into *Russia*, 1566.

1571. ON the 26th day of *July*, 1571, I arrived in St. *Nicholas* Bay, with the *Swallow* and the *Harry*, and sent away my Interpreter to *Mosco* to advertise the Emperour of my coming, and to know his pleasure for my further access. Discoursing there with some of the Companies Servants, they told me that I was entred into great peril and danger of my Life, and that they heard at *Mosco* that the Prince's displeasure was such against me, that if ever I came into his Country again, I should loose my Head. Whereat I was so dismay'd, that I doubted whether I should proceed, or return home again with the Ships for the safe-guard of my Life: But calling to mind my Innocency, and not knowing that I had offended his Majesty in Word or Deed, I resolved to put my Life in his Hands, and prosecute the Charge committed to me rather

rather than to return home in vain. Wherefore leaving the said Ships on the 29th, I arrived the first of *August* at *Colmogro*, where I attended the return of the Messenger; but the Country being visited with the Plague, none might pass on pain of death, and my Messenger being 800 Miles upon his way, was stopt at a Town called *Shasko*, and not suffered to come further, or return back, nor to send to me; so that in four Months I could not hear what was become of him. In the mean time I found means to send another Messenger with a Guide by an unknown way, thro' a Desert Country a thousand Miles about, thinking that way he might pass without hindrance; but it proved contrary, for after he had passed a great part of his Journey, he fell into the Hands of a Watch, and escaped narrowly from being burnt, both he and his Guide, and their Horses, according to a Law provided for such as would seek to pass by indirect Ways, whereof many have felt the smart, who had not wherewith to buy-off the pain; neither could that Messenger return back to me.

And thus I remained at *Colmogro* until the 18th of *January*, without any Gentlemen to protect me, or lodging appointed me, or allowance of Victuals according to the Country fashion for Embassadors, which as it argued his Majesties grievous displeasure towards our Nation, so the *Russes* perceiving it, used some Discourtesies towards me and my Company; but about the 28th day of *January*, the Plague ceasing, and the Passages being opened, order came from his Majesty that I should have Post-horses to go to *Peraslave*, near to the Court, his Majesty being newly returned from the Wars against the *Swedes*.

I arrived there the third day of *February*, where I remained under the charge of a Gentleman, having a House appointed for me, and allowance of Victuals, but so strictly kept, that none of our Nation or other, might come or send to me, nor I to them.

On the fourth of *March* I was sent for to the Court, and being within three Miles of the same, a Post was sent to the Gentleman who had charge of me, to return back again with me to *Peraslave*, and there attend his Majesties further pleasure, whereat I was much dismayed, marvelling what that sudden change meant, and the rather, because it was a troublesome time, and his Majesty much disquieted with the ill success of his Affairs.

On the 20th I was sent for again to the Court, and on the 23d came before his Majesty, who caused me to kiss his Hand, giving gracious Audience to my Oration, and gratefully accepted the Queen's Letters and her Present, in the Presence of all his Nobility. The Emperour, who all this while sate in Royal State, stood up and said, How doth Queen *Elizabeth* my Sister? is she in health? To whom I answered, God doth bless her Majesty with Health and Peace, and doth wish the like unto thee Lord her loving Brother. Then his Majesty sitting down again, commanded all to depart but the Secretary and one more of his Council, and willing me to approach near to him with my Interpreter, said unto me these Words.

'*Anthony*, the last time thou wast here, we did commit unto thee our trusty and secret Message, to be declared unto the Queens Majesty her self, thy Mistress at thy coming home, and did expect thy coming unto us again at the time we appointed, with a full Answer of the same from her Highness; and in the mean time there came unto us at several times, three Messengers, the one called *Manly*, the other *George Middleton*, and *Edward Goodman*, by the way of the *Narve*, about the Merchants Affairs; to whom we sent our Messenger to know whether thou *Anthony* was returned home in safety, and when thou should'st return to us again: But those Messengers could tell us nothing, and did miscal and abuse with evil Words, both our Messenger and thee, wherewith we were much offended; and understanding that the said *Goodman* had Letters about him, we caused him to be searched, with whom were found many Letters, wherein was written much against our Princely Estate, and that in our Empire were many unlawful things done, whereat we were much grieved, and would suffer none of those rude Messengers to have access unto us. And shortly after we were informed that one *Thomas Randolph* was come into our Dominions by the way of *Dwina*, Embassador from the Queen, and we sent a Gentleman to meet and conduct him to our City of *Mosco*, at which time we looked that thou should'st have returned to us again. And the said *Thomas* being arrived at our said City, we sent unto him divers times that he should come and confer with our Counsel, whereby we might understand the cause of his coming, looking for answer of those our Princely Affairs committed unto thee, but he refused to come to our said Council, wherefore and because our said City was visited with the Plague, the said *Thomas* was longer kept from our presence, which being ceased, we forthwith gave him access and audience; but all his talk with us was about Merchants Affairs, and nothing touching ours. We know that Merchants Matters are to be heard, because they are the stay of our Princely Treasures; but first Princes Affairs are to be established, and then Merchants. After this, the said *Thomas Randolph* was with us at our City of *Vologhda*, and we dealt with him about our Princely Affairs, whereby Amity between the Queen's Majesty and us might be established for ever; and Matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Embassador and us, and thereupon we sent our Embassador into *England* with him to end the same, but our Embassador returned unto us again, without finishing our said Affairs, contrary to our expectation, and the Agreement betwixt us and your said Embassador.

His Majesty having thus made a long Discourse, I humbly beseeched his Highness to hear me graciously, to give me leave to speak without offence, and to believe those Words to be true which I should speak, which he granting, I spake as followeth.

'Most noble and famous Prince, the Message your Highness sent by me unto the Queens most excellent Majesty, touching your Princely and Secret Affairs, immediately, and as soon as I came home, I did declare both secretly and truly unto the Queens Majesty her self, word for word as you commanded me, which her Highness did willingly accept, and being mindful thereof, and willing to answer the same, the next Shipping her Majesty sent unto your Highness, her Embassador *Thomas Randolph*, whose approved Wisdom and Fidelity was unto her Majesty well known, and therefore thought meet to be sent to so worthy a Prince, who had Commission not only to treat with your Majesty about Merchants Affairs, but also those of Princely and Secret Affairs committed unto me. And the cause (most gracious Prince) that I was not sent again was, by reason I was employed in service upon the Seas against the Queen's Majesties Enemies, and was not returned home when Mr. *Thomas Randolph* departed with the Ships to come into your Majesties Country, otherwise I had been sent. And whereas your Majesty says that *Thomas Randolph* would not treat with your Council about the Matters of his Legation, he did therein according to his Commission, which was, first to deal with your Majesties own self, as is commonly used among all Princes when they send their Embassadors about Matters of great weight. And whereas the said *Thomas* is charged that he agreed and concluded upon Matters at the same time, and promised the same should be performed by the Queens Majesty; and thereupon your Majesty sent your Embassador with him into *England*: In answer thereunto, may it please your Majesty to understand, that as the said *Thomas Randolph* doth confess that he had divers times discoursed with your Highness and Council about Princely Affairs, even so he denies that ever he did agree, conclude, or make any promise in any condition or order, as is alledged, otherwise than it should please the Queen's Majesty to approve of at his return home; all which he did justify to your Highness's Embassador's Face in *England*; wherefore most mighty Prince, it well appears, that either your Embassador did not rightly inform your Majesty, or else your Princely Mind, and the true meaning of the Queen's Embassador, for want of a good Interpreter, was not well understood; and how thankfully the Queen's Majesty did receive your Highness's Commendations and Letters sent by your Majesties Embassador, and how graciously she gave him audience sundry times, using him with such Honour in all Points for the sake of your Majesty, her loving Brother, as the like was never shewed to any Embassador in our Realm; and how honourably with full answer in all things, her Majesty dismissed him, when he had finished all your Princely Affairs (as it seemed) to his own content, may appear by a Certificate lately sent with her Majesties Letters unto your Highness, by her Messenger *Robert Beast*, and her Majesty did suppose that your Embassador would have made report accordingly, and that by him your Highness would have been satisfied in all things, otherwise she would have sent her Embassador with him unto your Majesty again,

' again, but now her Highness perceiving that your Majesty is not fully satisfied in your Princely Affairs, neither by *Thomas Randolph* her Highness's Embassador, nor by your own Embassador *Andrea Savin*, nor yet by her Majesties Letters sent by the said *Andrea*, and also understanding your great displeasure towards Sir *William Garret* and his Company, Merchants trafficking in your Dominions, hath thought good to send me at this present unto you Lord Emperour and Great Duke, as well with your Highness's full mind touching your Princely Affairs, as also to know the just cause of your Majesties said displeasure towards the said Company of Merchants, and hath commanded me to answer all things in their behalf, and according to their true Meanings; for her Highness doth suppose your Majesties Indignation to proceed rather from the evil and false Reports of your late Embassador in *England*, and of such wicked Persons of our own Nation resident here in your Highness's Dominions, Rebels to her Majesty and their Country, than from any just Deserts of the said Merchants, who never willingly deserved your Highness's Displeasure, but rather Favour in all their Doings and Meanings; and since the first time of their trafficking in your Majesties Dominions, which is now 19 Years, the said Merchants have been, and are always ready and willing truly to serve your Highness with all things meet for your Treasury, in time of Peace or War, in despite of all the Enemies (altho' the Princes of the East Seas were agreed to stop the *Sound* and the Way to the *Narve*) and have brought, and do bring from time to time such Commodities to your Highness, as her Majesty doth not suffer to be transported forth of her Realm to any other Prince of the World; and what great Losses the said Sir *William Garret* with his Company, have sustain'd of late Years in this Trade, as well by Shipwrack as by false Servants, is manifestly known; and what Service the said Companies Ships did unto your Majesty against your Enemies, two Years past in going to the *Narve*, when they fought with the King of *Poland*'s Free-booters, burning the same, and slaying the People, and delivering as many as were taken alive unto your Captain at the *Narve*, I trust your Highness doth not forget. Wherefore most mighty Prince, the Premises considered, the Queens most excellent Majesty your loving Sister, doth request your Highness to restore the said Sir *William Garret* with his Company to your Princely Favour again, and their Priviledges for free traffick, with your accustomed Goodness and Justice, to be ministred unto them throughout all your Majesties Dominions, as aforetime; and that the same may be signified by your Princely Letters directed to the Officers in all places, any Commandment or Restraint from your Highness to the contrary notwithstanding. And further, that it will please your Majesty not to give credit to false Reports and untrue Suggestions of such as are Enemies, and such as neither would have mutual Amity to continue betwixt your Majesties, nor yet entercourse betwixt your Countries. And as to such Rebels of our Nation, as *Ralph Rutter* and others, who lie lurking here in your Highness's Dominions, seeking to sow Dissentions betwixt your Majesties by false Surmises, spending away their Masters Goods riotously, and will not come home to give up their Accounts, advancing themselves to be Merchants, and able to serve your Highness with all things fit for your Treasury, whereas indeed they are of no credit, nor able of themselves to do your Majesty any Service at all, the Queen's Highness request is, that it would please your Majesty to command that such Persons may be delivered unto me to be carried home, lest by their remaining here, and practising with such as are not your Highness's Friends, their evil Doings may be a cause hereafter to withdraw your Goodness from Sir *William Garret* and his Company, who have true meaning in all their Doings, and are ready to serve your Highness at all times: Using many other Words to the advancement of your Credit, and the disgracing of your Enemies, and so I ended for that time.

Then said his Majesty, ' We have heard you, and ' will consider of all things further, when we have read ' the Queen our Sisters Letters: *To whom I answered*, ' That I supposed his Majesty should by those Letters ' understand her Highness's full mind to his Contentation, and what wanted in Writing, I had credit to ' accomplish in Word. Wherewith his Majesty seemed to be well pleased, and commanded me to sit down; and after pawsing a while, his Majesty said, ' It is now a ' time which we spend in Fasting and Praying, being the ' Week before *Easter*, and because we shall shortly depart hence towards our Borders of *Novogrod*; we cannot give you answer nor your dispatch here, but you ' shall go hence and tarry for us on the way, where we ' will shortly come, and then you shall know our Pleasure and have your Dispatch. And so I was dismissed to my Lodging, and the same day had a Dinner ready dress't, sent me from his Majesty, with divers sorts of Drink, and the day following being the 24th of *March*, a Gentleman came to me from the chief Secretary, to acquaint me the Emperour's Pleasure was, I should immediately depart towards a City called *Otwer*, 300 Miles from *Sloboda*, and there to tarry his Highness's coming unto a place called *Staryts*, 60 Miles from *Otwer*.

Sloboda is a House of Pleasure near *Moscu*.

Then sending my Interpreter to the Secretary, I requested him to shew his Favour to our Merchants in their Sutes, which they should have occasion to move in my absence; who answered, That they should be well assured of his Favour in all. And forthwith Post-horses were sent me with a Gentleman to conduct me, and so departing from *Sloboda*, I arrived at *Otwer* the 28th of *March*, where I remained till the 28th of *May*. Then I was sent for to come unto his Majesty to the said *Staryts*, where I arrived the 10th, and on the 12th was appointed to come to the Secretary, who at our meeting said unto me these Words.

' Our Lord Emperour and Great Duke, hath not only ' perused the Queen's Majesties Letters sent by you, and ' thereby perceives her mind, as well touching their ' Princely Affairs, as also her earnest request in the Merchants behalf, but hath also well pondered your ' Words, and therefore his Majesties Pleasure is, that ' you let me understand what Sutes you have to move ' in the Merchants behalf, or otherwise, because to morrow you shall have access again unto his Highness, and ' shall have full answer in all things, with your dispatch ' away.

Then after long Conference had with him of divers Matters, I gave him in writing certain brief Articles of Requests, which I had drawn out ready as followeth.

I. ' THE Queen's Majesties request is, that it would ' please the Emperour to let me know the just ' cause of his great displeasure fallen upon Sir *William* ' *Garret* and his Company, who never deserved the same ' to their knowledge.

II. ' That it would please his Highness not to give credit to false Reports by such as seek to sow Dissention, and break Friendship betwixt the Queen's Highness and his Majesty.

III. ' That it would please his Majesty to receive the ' said Sir *William Garret* with his Company into his Favour again, and to restore them to their former Privileges and Liberties, for free Traffick in, and thro' ' and out of all his Majesties Dominions, in as ample ' manner as aforetime, according to his Princely Letters ' of Privilege and accustomed Goodness.

IV. ' That it would please his Highness to grant, ' that the said Company of Merchants may have Justice ' of all his Subjects, as well for Money owing to them, ' as other their Griefs and Injuries, throughout all his ' Dominions, suffered since the time of his Displeasure, during which time, the Merchants were forced by ' severe Justice to answer all Mens Demands, but theirs ' could not be heard.

V. ' Also that his Majesty would understand that many Debts are owing to the said Merchants by divers ' of his Nobility, whereof part are in durance, and ' some executed; and that the said Merchants know not ' how to be paid and answered the same, except his Highness pity their case, and command some order to be ' taken therein.

VI. ' That it would please his Highness to command ' that the said Merchants may be paid all such Sum or ' Sums of Money as are owing and due unto them by ' his Majesty, for Wares, as well *English* as *Shamaky*, ' taken into his Highness's Treasury by his Officers in ' sundry places; the long forbearance whereof hath been, ' and is great hindrance to the said Company of Merchants.

VII. That some *English* Merchants now in *Persia*, ' would have come to *Astracan* last Year, but that the ' Ship with some of our Merchants and Mariners appointed to go for them, was stopt at *Astracan* by his ' Highness's Captain there, to the great prejudice of the ' said Merchants: wherefore it may please his Majesty ' to direct his Letters to his Captains at *Astracan* and *Cazan*,

'*Cazan*, to suffer our People to pass with their Ships, 'Barks, &c. and to be safely conducted upon the '*Volga*.

VIII. 'That whereas lately our Merchants coming 'from *Shamaky*, have been ill used by his Majesties 'Customers both at *Cazan* and *Astracan*, where they 'were forced to pay Custom, altho' they sold none of 'their Wares, the said Customers exacting more than 'was due, and for want of present Money, took Wares 'much exceeding their exacted Custom, and kept the 'same as a Pawn: That it may therefore please his 'Highness to direct his Customers to restore and send the 'said Goods to *Mosco*, the Merchants paying such Cu- 'stom as his Majesty shall appoint.

Sloboda's a House of Pleasure near *Mosco*.

IX. 'That it would please his Highness to grant that 'the Company may establish their Trade at *Colmogro*, and 'that such Wares as shall be brought out of our Country fit 'for his Treasury, may be looked upon and received by 'his Officers there; and that his Majesties People 'trafficking with our Merchants may bring down their 'Goods to *Colmogro*, whereby the *English* avoiding great 'trouble and charge, in transporting their Goods so far, 'may sell the same better cheap, to the benefit of his Ma- 'jesties Subjects.

X. 'That the whole Trade from *Persia* and other 'Countries beyond the *Caspian*, may be established at '*Astracan*.

XI. 'And forasmuch as it pleased his Majesty imme- 'diately after the burning of *Mosco*, to command that 'the said *English* Merchants should give in a Note into 'his Treasury for their Losses sustain'd by the said Fire, 'which was accordingly done, and the Particulars a- 'mounted to 100000 * Rubbles and above; it may *Or Marks. 'please his Highness of his accustomed Goodness and 'great Clemency to consider of the same, and to give the 'Company so much as shall seem good unto his Majesty 'towards their said Losses.

XII. 'That it would please his Highness to understand 'that the Queen at the earnest Sute and Request of *An- 'drea Savin* his Embassador, did not only pardon and 'forgive *Thomas Glover* his great Offences against her 'Highness committed, for his Majesties sake only, but 'also command Sir *William Garret* with his Company, to 'deal favourably with the said *Glover* in his Accompts, 'to whom he was greatly indebted, and being their 'Servant, detained their Goods in his Hands a long 'time. Whereupon Sir *William Garret* and Company 'counted with the said *Glover*, ending all things to his 'contents, and he was found to be Debtor to the Com- 'pany above 4000 Rubbles, and bound himself by his 'solemn Oath and his Hand-writing, to pay the same 'immediately after his return into *Russia* with the said '*Andrea Savin*, unto the Companies Agent there; But 'altho' it is now two Years past since the said Agreement, 'and that the Agent hath often requested the Money of 'the said *Thomas*, yet will he not pay the same, but 'makes delay from time to time, alledging, that his 'Majesty owes him a great Sum of Money, without 'payment whereof he cannot pay the Company. In 'consideration hereof, that it may please his Highness 'to give order that the said *Glover* may be paid, and 'that he may discharge his Debt to the Company, and 'the rather because he found such Mercy and Favour in '*England* for his Majesties sake only.

XIII. 'And forasmuch as *Ralph Rutter*, a Rebel to the 'Queen's Majesty, an Enemy to his Country, and to Sir '*William Garret* and his Company, hath a long time re- 'mained here, living on the Spoils and Goods of the 'said Merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his 'Hands, riotously spending the same, during the time 'he was their Servant, and would not come home when 'he was sent for; and also because the Queen does un- 'derstand, that the said *Ralph* with his Adherents, seek 'by all false means to sow Dissention betwixt their Ma- 'jesties, and to overthrow the Trade of the said Mer- 'chants, her Highness's request is, that the said *Ralph* with 'his Complices may be delivered to me, to be carried 'home, and none other of her Majesties Subjects, not 'being of the Company, to be suffered to traffick with- 'in his Highness's Dominions, but to be delivered to 'their Agent to be sent home, because the said Mer- 'chants with great Charges and Losses, both by Ship- 'wrack and riotous Servants, did first find out this Trade, 'and have continued the same 19 Years to their great 'hindrance.

XIV. 'And whereas divers Artificers of our Nation 'here in his Majesties Service, are grieved that they 'cannot have Licence to depart home into their native 'Country, the Queen's request is, according to her 'writing in that behalf, that not only it will please 'his Majesty to permit such Artificers here resident in 'the Service of his Highness, to have free Liberty to 'depart and go home with me if they request the same, 'but also those which shall come hereafter to serve his 'Majesty, to have free Liberty to depart likewise at their 'will and pleasure.

XV. 'That during my long stay at *Colmogro*, attend- 'ing his Highness's pleasure for my further access, I and 'my Company, with the Merchants there, were ill used 'by one *Bessou*, your Majesties chief Officer, who 'dishonoured me, and smote my People, and owes the 'said Merchants much Money and will not pay them; 'wherefore may it please his Highness to send a Gentle- 'man with me to *Colmogro*, to enquire into his evil Be- 'haviour towards her Majesty and me her Embassador, 'and to punish him accordingly, and that he may be 'forced to pay all the Money he owes to the said Mer- 'chants without delay.

XVI. 'And whereas the Company hearing of the 'great dearth in his Majesties Dominions, by licence 'from the Queen (not otherwise permitted) hath sent 'certain Ships laden with Corn into his Highness's Coun- 'try of *Dwina*, rather for the Relief of his Majesties 'Subjects than for any gain; yet the Good Will of the 'said Merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden 'to sell the said Corn, to their great discouragement 'hereafter to send any more: Wherefore may it please 'his Highness to accept the Good Will of the said Mer- 'chants, as well in sending the said Corn as in all other 'things ready to serve his Majesty, and to order his 'Officers of *Dwina* to permit the Merchants to sell the 'said Corn, without paying Custom.

These Articles being delivered to the Secretary, I re- turned to my Lodging; the next day, being the 13th of *May*, I had warning early in the Morning to be at Court betwixt ten and eleven, at which time, being brought before his Majesty, who sate sumptuously apparelled with a rich Crown upon his Head, garnished with pre- cious Stones, his eldest Son sitting by him, and many of his Nobility about him: After my duty done, he com- manded me to approach very near him, and spake as follows.

'*Anthony*, the Queen our loving Sisters Letters we have 'caused to be translated, and do well understand the 'same, and of all things as well by us contained, as by 'word of Mouth by you to us declared, we have well 'considered, and do perceive that our secret Message 'unto you committed, was done truly according to our 'mind (altho' we were advertised to the contrary) 'and now we are by you fully satisfied. And when we 'sent our Embassador into *England* about our great and 'weighty Affairs, to conclude the same with the Queen 'our Sister, he could end nothing for want of such As- 'surance as was requisite in Princely Affairs, according 'to the manner of all Countries, but was dismissed unto 'us again, with Letters of small effect, and no Embas- 'sador sent with him from the Queen, which caused us 'to think that our Princely Affairs were little regarded, 'wherewith we were at that time much grieved; for 'which cause, and for the evil behaviour of your 'Merchants here (who have divers ways transgressed 'and broken our Laws, living wilfully in all their Do- 'ings) we did lay our heavy displeasure upon them, and 'did take away from them their Privilege, commanding 'that the same throughout all our Dominions, should 'be void and of none effect, and thereupon did write to 'the Queen our Sister touching our Griefs.

The Cause of the Emperour's displeasure.

'And now her Highness hath sent unto us again your 'her Embassador, with her loving Letters and full mind, 'which we do thankfully receive, and are thereby fully 'satisfied; And because our Princely and Secret Affairs 'were not finished to our content at our time appointed, 'according to our expectation, we do now leave off all 'those matters, and set them aside for a time, because 'our mind is now changed, but hereafter, when occasi- 'on shall move us to the like, we will then talk of those 'matters again; and since it hath pleased the Queen our 'loving Sister, to send unto us at this Present, and doth 'desire to continue in friendship with us for ever (which 'we do graciously accept and willingly agree to the 'same) we of our Goodness for her Highness's sake, 'will not only from henceforth put away and forget all 'our displeasure towards Sir *William Garret* and his 'Company (as tho' they had never offended us) but will 'also restore them to their Privileges and Liberties in and 'throughout all our Dominions, and we will signify the 'same by our Letters, to all Towns and Cities where the 'said Merchants do traffick, and will shew them favour

' as formerly, if they deserve not the contrary: And ' if the Queen our Sister had not sent thee *Anthony* unto ' us at this present, God knows what we should have ' done to the said Merchants, or whether we should ' have called back our Indignation.

Then I humbly beseeched his Majesty to let me know the particular Offences committed by the said Merchants and the Offenders Names, that I might be able to make report thereof to the Queen my Mistress accordingly, and that the Offenders might have just punishment for their Deserts: He answered, I should not know them, because he had clearly remitted all Offences: and further, that it was not Princely to forgive, and after to accuse the Parties, whereby her Majesties displeasure might fall upon them at home; Notwithstanding, I afterwards came to know some of them, by other means.

Then his Majesty proceeding, said, ' As to the Articles of Request, concerning the Merchants Affairs, ' which you Yesterday delivered to our Secretary, we ' have read the same, and appointed our Secretary to declare unto you our mind, and answer the same; and ' because we are now upon our Journey towards our ' Borders, and shall depart hence shortly, we will dismiss you to the Queen our loving Sister, your Mistress, ' with our Letters, and full mind by word of mouth, ' touching all your Requests, and will send a Gentleman ' of our Houshold to conduct you to your Ships, and ' of our Goodness will give you Victuals, Boats, Men, ' and Post-horses, as many as you shall need; and then his Majesty standing up, and putting off his Cap, said, ' Give our hearty Commendations to our loving Sister ' Queen *Elizabeth*, unto whom we wish long life and ' happy success; and therewith extended his Hand for me to kiss, and commanded his Son sitting by him, to send the like Commendations, which he did, whose Hand I likewise kissed, and then causing me to sit down, he commanded Wine and divers sorts of drink to be brought, whereof he gave me to drink with his own hand, and so I departed.

The next day I was sent for to come to the Secretary and one other of the Council with him, who at our meeting said, ' We are appointed by the Emperour to ' give answer to your Requests deliver'd in writing, ' which his Majesty himself hath perused, and answered ' as followeth.

I. ' TO the first Request it is answered, that all his ' Majesties Grief and Displeasure (now put ' away from the Merchants) did grow, because the ' Queens Majesty did not accomplish and end with his ' Embassador, his secret and weighty Affairs, according ' to his expectation, and the promise made by *Thomas* ' *Randolph* at his being here, and also by reason of the ' ill behaviour of your Merchants resident here in our ' Country, as his Majesty did himself yesterday declare ' unto you.

II. ' To the second, his Majesty willed you to understand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moved ' to break Friendship with the Queens Majesty without ' good and just cause.

III. ' To the third, you are answered by the Emperour ' himself, that his Favour to the Merchants shall be restored, and the same to be known by his gracious Letters of Privilege now again granted.

IV. ' To the fourth, his Majesty hath commanded ' that your Merchants here resident shall exhibit and put ' in writing, unto me his Majesties Secretary, of all ' their Griefs and Complaints, as well for Debts as Injuries offered to them since the time of his Highness's ' displeasure, and they shall have Justice truly administred throughout all his Majesties Dominions without ' delay.

V. ' To the 5th, his Majesty doth not know any ' Debts due unto the Merchants from any of his Noblemen, as is alledged, and whether it be true or no, he ' knoweth not; the Truth whereof must be tried, and ' thereupon answer to be given, and hereafter his Majesty would not have the Merchants to trust his People ' too much.

VI. ' To the sixth it is answered, that his Majesty hath ' commanded search to be made, what Money is owing ' to the Merchants for Wares received into his ' Treasury, as in the Article, (most of the Books of ' Accounts being burnt in *Mosco*) and such as is due, and ' found meet to be paid, shall be paid forthwith to the ' Merchants, their Factors or Servants, who shall come ' for the same; and for payment of the rest, his Majesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

' The 7th and 8th are granted.

' To the 9th and 10th Articles, his Majesty will consider ' of those Matters, and hereafter will signify his Princely ' pleasure therein.

XI. ' To the 11th, as touching an Inventory given ' into the Treasury, what Goods the Merchants had burnt ' in their Houses at *Mosco*, his Majesties pleasure was to ' understand the same, to the intent he might know the ' Losses of all Strangers at that present, but not to make ' restitution, because it was God's doing, and not the ' Emperour's.

XII. ' To the 12th, concerning *Thomas Glover*, his ' Majesty was informed by his Embassador, of the ' Queen's great Mercy and Clemency towards the said ' *Thomas*, for his sake, which his Majesty received in ' good part, but what Agreement or Dealings was between Sir *William Garret* and his Company, and the ' said *Glover*, or what he owes unto the said Merchants, ' his Majesty knows not; and as for the Money which ' the said *Thomas* saith is owing unto him by the Emperour, his Majesties Pleasure is, that so much as shall be ' found due, and growing upon Wares delivered into the ' Treasury, out of the time of his Majesties displeasure, ' shall be paid forthwith to the said *Thomas*, and the rest ' is forfeited to his Majesty, and taken for a Fine, as ' appertaining unto *Rutter* and *Bennet*, accounted Traitors unto his Highness, during the time of his displeasure.

XIII. ' To the 13th Article, concerning *Rutter* to be ' delivered unto you to be carried home, the Answer ' was, that as his Majesty will not detain any *English-men* ' in his Country, who is willing to go home, according ' to the Queen's Request, so he will not force any to depart that is willing to tarry with him; yet his Highness ' to satisfy the Queen's Request, is contented at this present to send the said *Ralph Rutter* home with you, and ' hath commanded that a Letter shall be written to his ' chief Officer at *Mosco*, to send the said *Rutter* away ' with speed, that he may be with you at *Vologhda* by the ' end of *May* without fail; and touching the rest of your ' request in the said Article, his Majesties pleasure shall ' be signified in the Letters of Privilege granted to the ' said Merchants.

XIV. ' The 14th Article is granted.

XV. ' The 15th touching *Bessom*, the Emperour is ' much offended with him, and will send down a Gentleman with you to inquire into his ill behaviour, as ' well for speaking undecent Words against the Queen's ' Majesty as you have alledged, as also against you, ' and for his Outrages against the Merchants, mentioned ' in the Article: And the said *Bessom* being found guilty, ' to be imprisoned and punished by severe Justice accordingly, and after to put in Sureties to answer the Emperour's high displeasure, or else to be brought up like a ' Prisoner by the said Gentleman, to answer his Offences ' before his Majesty; and his Highness doth request that ' the Queen would do the like upon *Middleton* and *Manly*, her Messengers sent hither two Years past, and upon ' all others for their ill behaviour towards his Majesty, ' as may appear by Letters sent by *Daniel Silvestre* from ' his Highness, lest by bad demeanour of such lewd Persons, the Friendship between their Majesties might be ' diminished.

XVI. ' To the 16th and last Article, touching the ' Corn brought into the Emperour's Dominions ' by the Merchants, his Majesty doth greatly commend them for so well doing, and hath commanded to give you a Letter forthwith in their ' behalf, directed to his Officers of *Dwina*, to suffer ' the said Merchants to sell their Corn at pleasure, without paying Custom.

Thus having received my Answer to the 16 Articles by me exhibited in writing, with the Emperour's Letters also to the Queen, I then requested that the new Letters of Privilege granted by his Highness, might be dispatched that I might carry the same with me, and also that such Money due to the Company, which his Majesty had commanded me to be paid, might be delivered to me.

Touching the Letters of Privilege the Secretary answered, it is not possible you can have them with you, for they must be first shewed to the Emperour, and then three to be written of one Tenor, according to your request, which cannot be done with speed, because his Majesties pleasure is, that you shall depart this Night before him, who removeth himself to morrow towards *Novogrod*, but without fail the said Letters shall be sent after you with speed to *Colmogro*, and as to the Money you require, it cannot be paid here, because we have not the

the Books of Accounts, for want whereof we know not what to pay: wherefore it will be beſt that you ſend one of the Merchants after the Emperour to *Novogrod*, and let him repair unto me there, and without fail I will pay all ſuch Money as ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty to be paid after the Books ſeen.

But there being none of the Companies Servants with me, I requeſted the Secretary that I might leave *Daniel* my Interpreter with him, as well for the Receipt of Money, as for the ſpeedy Diſpatch of the Letters of Privilege, but it would by no means be granted that I ſhould leave any of my own Company behind me, and thereupon I took my leave and went to my Lodging, where preſantly there came a Gentleman who had charge to conduct me, and to provide Boats, Men, Poſthorſes, and Victuals, all the way to the Sea-ſide, being 1300 Miles, and alſo to do juſtice upon *Beſſon* aforeſaid, and ſaid unto me, The Emperour's pleaſure is, that you ſhall preſently depart hence, and I am appointed to go with you. So that Night being the 14th of *May*, I departed from *Stavites*, and arrived at *Voleghda* the laſt of the ſaid Month, where I remained five days, expecting a Meſſenger with the new Letters of Privilege, as alſo the coming of *Rutter* whom the Emperour himſelf had commanded before my Face to be ſent unto me without fail, and I did ſee the Letters written to the chief Officers at *Moſco* about it. Nevertheleſs the ſaid *Rutter* did not come, neither could I hear of him after, nor know the cauſe of his ſtay, contrary to the Prince's own Word and Meaning, as I ſuppoſe: I therefore diſpatched *John Norſen*, one of the Companies Servants with Letters to *Novogrod*, where the Court then lay, to advertiſe his Majeſty that *Rutter* was not ſent to me according to his Highneſs's Order, as alſo about the diſpatch of the ſaid Letters of Privilege, and receipt of the Money, giving the Meſſenger ſtrict charge to return unto me again before the departing of the Ships; and the firſt day of *June* I departed from *Voleghda* by Water towards *Colmogro*, where I arrived the 21ſt, and remained there until the 23d of *July*, expecting the return of my Meſſenger, who had time enough to have diſpatched his buſineſs and come back again, but he came not, it being otherwiſe determined before his going, as I did after underſtand, and ſhall at large declare unto the Worſhipful Company as ſoon as I ſhall arrive in *England*.

CHAP. X.

The Voyage of Arthur Pett *and* Charles Jackman, *in two Barks, the* George *and the* William, *ſet forth by the* Ruſſian *Company, for the diſcovery of the North-eaſt Parts of the World,* Anno 1580. *Written by* Hugh Smith.

1580. UPon *Monday May* the 30th, we departed from *Harwich*, and on the 23d of *June*, we put into *Wardhouſe*, to ſeek the *William*, whoſe Company we loſt on the 6th, and to ſend Letters into *England*; At one in the Afternoon the *William* arrived, with all her Company in health.

July. On the firſt of *July* the Wind coming fair, we ſailed from *Wardhouſe*. On the ſecond we bare down to the *William*, who ſailing very ill, Mr. *Jackman* told us he was willing to go to *Kegor*, to mend her Sterage. Mr. *Pet* anſwered him, that if he thought himſelf not able to keep the Sea, he ſhould do as he thought beſt, and that he in the mean time would bear with *Willoughbies* Land (it being part of our Inſtructions) and would meet him again at *Vaigats*; and ſo we ſet our courſe E. N. E.

They part from the William.

The third we were by our reckoning 50 Leagues E. N. E. from *Kegor*, no Ground in 120 Fathom. The 4th we haled S. E. by E. Lat. 71 Deg. 38 Min. On the fifth we ſaw Land, but could not come at it, the Wind being Northerly. On the 6th we met with Ice, and on the ſeventh there appeared more Land North from us, being perfect Land: The Ice was between us and it, ſo that we could not come nearer to it.

A ſight of perfect Land to the Northward.

On the tenth at ten in the Morning, we ſaw Land again, but durſt not bear with it by reaſon of a thick Fog. That Night we came with our Ship within an Iſland, where we rode all Night, and went into a Bay to ride near the Land for Wood and Water.

An Iſland.

The 11th, about a League from us to the Eaſtward, we ſaw a very fair Sound or River, that paſt very far into the Country in two or three Branches, with an Iſland in the midſt.

The main Land.

The 12th at eleven in the Morning, there came a great white Bear to the Water-ſide, and took the Water of his own accord; we chaſed him with our Boat, but for all that we could do, he got to Land and eſcaped from us: We named the place *Bearbay*.

Bearbay.

This Afternoon we ſet ſail, and on the 13th met with great ſtore of Ice, and on the 14th were ſo embayed with it, that it was by God's great Mercy we came out of it, otherwiſe it had been impoſſible; Lat. 70 Deg. 26 Min. We lay along the Coaſt North Weſt, thinking it to be an Iſland, but finding no end in rowing ſo long, we ſuppoſed it to be part of *Nova Zembla*.

From this time to the 18th, we were conſtrained to go many Points of the Compaſs, as the Ice would give us leave, and on the 18th had ſight of the South part of *Vaigats*. We had but four Fathom Water, ſometimes three, and two and a half, and one and a half. There anchoring, we ſent our Boat to ſound, and all to Leeward had four Foot, three Foot, and two Foot; there was not Water for the Boat between *Vaigats* and the other ſide. Finding no more Water, there was no other way but to go back as we came in.

On the 20th we plied to the Northwards, and got into ſix or ſeven Fathom Water.

On the 21ſt we haled along the Coaſt North and North-weſt, and had eight, nine, and ten Fathoms.

On the 22d the Wind blew much with great Fog, and we lacking Water and Wood, bare with an Iſland, where we found ſtore of both. Under a Point of Land we found a Croſs ſet up, and a Man buried at the Foot of it: Upon the ſaid Croſs Mr. *Pett* did engrave his Name, with the Year of our Lord, and ſo likewiſe upon a Stone at the Foot of the Croſs, to the end, that if the *William* ſhould chance to come thither, they might know that we had been there.

The 23d the Wind came S. W. a Sea-board we ſaw ſix fair Iſlands, we haled N. E. and E. N. E. as the Land did trend. At eight very much Wind at S. E. with Rain and Fog, and great ſtore of Ice a Sea-board. At twelve it became calm on a ſudden, and the Wind coming W. N. W. we took in our Boat, and there came down ſo much Wind as we were not able to ſteer afore it with Courſe and Bonners of each. We found the Ice to ſtretch into the Land, that we could not get clear to the Eaſtward, ſo we laid it to the Shoar, and found it clear near the Shoar, and we found alſo a very fair Iſland, which makes a good Harbour, and within are twelve Fathoms.

This Iſland is four or five Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Vaigats*; the Land of the Main tends S. E. and S. E. by E. It is an even and plain Coaſt, with ſix or ſeven Fathom Water a League from the Shoar. This day we found the Pole to be elevated 69 Deg. 14 Min. We put into the Ice to ſeek ſome way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to have ſome clear Paſſage that way, but there was nothing but whole Ice. At nine in the Afternoon we had ſight of the *William*, and there was a great Land of Ice between us, ſo that we could not come one to the other, but we ſounded our Trumpet and ſhot off two Muskets, and ſhe put out her Flag upon her Fore-top-maſt, in token that ſhe did ſee us. We ſhortned ſail, ſeeking a way thro' the broken Ice, and at twelve at Night moored our Ship to a piece of Ice to tarry for the *William*.

The *George* and the *William* meet.

The 25th at five in the Morning, the *William* came to us, to our mutual joy; the *William* had her *Stern-post* broken, so that the Rudder hanging clean besides the Stern, she could in no wise port her Helm. With all hands we lightned her Stern and trimmed her Head, and when we had brought her forward all that we could, we brought a Cable under her Stern, and with our *Capston* did wind up her Stern, and so made it as well as the place would give us leave, and in the end brought her to steer again. We acknowledge this our meeting to be a great blessing of God for our mutual Comfort, and gave the divine Majesty thanks for it. All that Night we took our rest, being made fast to a piece of Ice, and indeed we were so inclosed with Ice, that we could not tell whichway to pass. Winds we have had at will, but Ice and Fog too much against our Wils, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise.

The 26th, the Wind at W. N. W. we set sail to the Northwards, to seek if we could find any way clear to pass to the Eastward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the Ice, so that we could go no further, but were constrained to moor upon another piece of Ice. I think we sailed in all a League this day; here we found 15 Fathoms Oze, and this Oze is all the Channel over. This day Mr. *Jugman* did see Land E. N. E. from us, as he did think, whether it were Land or no, I cannot well tell; it was very like Land, but the Fogs have many times deceived us.

The 27th, the Wind at N. W. we set sail to seek the Shoar; further into the Ice we could not go, and at seven in the Afternoon, we moored to a piece of Ice, the *William* being with us, here we had 14 Fathoms Oze. We wrapt from one Ice to another, and moored again to a piece of Ice until next day: All this Night it did snow, with much Wind at W. N. W. N. W. and by West.

The 28th, the Wind at S. W. and S. S. W. a very fair day, Mr *Pet* and Mr. *Jackman* conferred together what was best to be done, considering the fair Winds we had, and yet we were not able to pass for Ice; they agreed to seek the Land again, and so to *Vaigats*, and there to confer further. We warped from one piece of Ice to another, to get free of them if it were possible. Here were pieces of Ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the top.

The Current runs with the Wind.

The 29th, the Wind S. W. we plied to the Shoar, making many turns among the Ice to small purpose, for with the Wind doth the Current run.

The 30th, the Wind at S. E. and by S. we did our best to seek our way as the Ice would give us leave; sometimes we lay South, sometimes West, and sometimes East.

The 31st, the Wind at S. W. we did our best in turning to windward, but the Current would not give us leave; for, as I said, the Current goes with the Wind. Perceiving that we did no good, we fastned our Ship to a piece of Ice: All this day the *William* lay still, and did as much good as we that had taken so much pains. This day the Pole was elevated 69 Deg. 20 Min. and here we had 17 Fathoms Oze.

August.

The first day of *August* was very calm in the Morning, the Wind at W. N. W. and continued so that Night with great Fog.

The second day the Wind at S. W. all day with Rain and Fog, we lay still, being inclosed with Ice; here we had 21 Fathoms Oze.

The third day, the Wind at West, and W. N. W. we lay still, inclosed in Ice, the Weather being dark with Fog. Thus abiding the Lord's leisure, we continued with patience, and sounding we had 21 Fathoms.

The fourth day we lay still inclosed with Ice, the Wind at W. N. W. the Ice every day increased upon us, yet putting our trust in God, we hoped to be delivered out of it in good time.

The fifth it rained all the Morning with very much Wind at S. S. E. then we set sail, and presently it became calm for an Hour, and then the Wind came to N. N. E. and we made way among the Ice S. W. and S. S. W. and W. as we could find a way for the space of three Hours; then meeting with a whole Land of Ice, we could go no further, but mored our Ship to tarry for a further opening: Here we found 45 Fathoms Oze, and all the Night was very dark with Fog.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th, the Wind from W. by S. to W. by N. we lay still, being inclosed with Ice that we could not stir, labouring only to defend the Ice as it came upon us, the Wind towards Night came to S. S. W. and then the Ice began a little to open: Here we had 70 Fathoms Oze, the Night foggy.

The 9th the Wind at N. W. by W. we lay still because the Ice did yet inclose us. Latitude by Observation, 70 Deg. 4 Min. the Night very fair, but it freezed, so that in the Morning we had much ado to go thro' it, and we feared that if it should freeze so much the Night following, we should never get out of it. This Night one Star appeared to us.

Stars appearing a sign of Winter.

The 10th, the Wind at E. N. E. we with Sail and Oars, made way thro' the Ice, and that Night it snowed very much.

The 11th, the Wind at S. W. by great force we made our way through the Ice, which we thought a thing impossible, but Extremity makes Men do much, and in the Weakness of Man, God's strength most appears: This Night we had 97 Fathoms.

The 12th the Wind from S. E. to W. S. W. all the day very dark with Snow and Fog. At six in the Afternoon we set sail, the Wind at N. N. E. and bare away S. W. all this Night we found the Ice more favourable to us than it was before, which gave us good hopes to get out of it.

The 13th the Wind at N. E. with a blow against a blow against a piece of Ice, we brake the Stock of our Anchor, and many other great blows we had, that it was marvellous the Ship was able to abide them. The side of our Boat was broken by the recoyling of our Ship, the Boat being betwixt a great piece of Ice and the Ship, and it perished the Head of our Rudder. This day was a very hard day with us, and all Night it blew very much Wind, so that we drove with the Ice, and our drift was South, and we had great store of Snow.

The 14th the Wind continued Northerly, we fastned our Ship to a piece of Ice, and drove with it.

The 15th, the Wind at N. E. at nine in the Morning we entred into a clear Sea without Ice, whereat we rejoiced, and not without great cause, giving God the praise. We had 19 Fathom Water, and at twelve a Clock had sight of the Land three Leagues from us. This Day we had the Pole elevated 69 Deg. 49 Min. we ran along the Coast in ten and nine Fathoms peppered Sand; It is a bold Coast without Sands or Rocks.

The 16th the Wind was at East; we were troubled again with Ice, but we got between the Shoar and it. At twelve we were thwart of the South-east part of *Vaigats*, all along which there was great store of Ice, so that we doubted of passage, yet with much difficulty we got between the Shoar and it. The day was dark with Fog, we haled N. by W. and sometimes N. by E. for so the Land trends.

The 17th we haled West, for so the Land lies. The Wind at S. E. very dark with Fog, and in running along the Shoar we came aground, but God be praised, without hurt, for we were presently off again. The *William* came to an Anchor to stay for us, and sent some of their Men to help us, but before they came we were under sail: We went within some of the Islands, and haled W. S. W.

The 18th, 19th, and 20th, the Wind Easterly, at seven this Morning we had 30 Fathom black Oze, and at twelve were upon the sudden in shoul Water, among great Sands, and could find no way out. By sounding and seeking about, we came aground, and so did the *William*, but the Wind being off the Shoar, we had no hurt, and the Night being calm, we did our best all Night, but could not set her afloat. These Shoals lie off of *Colgoyeve*, it is very flat a great way off, and it does not high above two or three Foot Water; it flows N. E. and S. W.

The 21st, the Wind at S. W. and being fair Weather, we did lighten our Ship as much as was possible for us to do, by reason of the place. The same high Water, by the help of God, we got both afloat, and the Wind being at S. W. did help us, for it caused it to flow the more Water, Latitude 68. Deg. 40 Min. We set sail to seek a way out of these Sands, our Boat a head sounding, having six, seven and eight Fathom. We bare to the Southward, and the *William* bare more to the Eastward.

The 22d at eight in the Morning, we saw the *William* under our Lee as far as we could see her, and in a great Fog lost sight of her, and never saw her more.

They lose sight of the *William*.

On the 23d we had sight of the Land of *Hugri*, and and on the 27th we saw Land again, which we made to be *Kegor*; and on the 31st we doubled the North Cape.

We met afterwards with Southerly Winds, which obliged us to put into divers Sounds in *Norway*, where we lay until the first of *December*, and then departing from *Scorp* Sound, on the ninth we had sight of *Scotland*,

and

and on the 26th anchored at *Ratclif*, and praised God for our safe return.

Charles Jackman in the *William* arrived at a Port in *Norway*, between *Fronden* and *Rostock*, in *October* 1580, and there did Winter; and from thence departed again in *February* following, and went in Company of a Ship of the King of *Denmark*'s, towards *Island*, and since that time he was never heard of.

CHAP. XI.

The Voyage of Sir Jerom Bowes *Knight, her Majesties Embassador to* Juan Vasilvich, *Emperour of* Russia, An. 1583.

1583. THE Emperour having the last Year sent an ancient discreet Gentleman of his Houthold named *Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky*, as his Embassador to *England*, who had in special charge to sollicit her Majesty to send over with him to his Master an Embassador from her, to treat of important Affairs concerning both Realms; Her Majesty made choice of Sir *Jerom Bowes*, a Gentleman of her Court, who being attended with 40 Persons, whereof many were Gentlemen, took his leave of her Majesty the 18th of *June*, and with the other Embassador embarked at *Harwich* the 22d of the same, and after a stormy Voyage at Sea, arrived at St. *Nicholas* the 23d of *July* following.

The *Russe* Embassador having reposed himself one day in the Abby, took his leave of the *English* Embassador, and departed towards *Mosco*.

The *English* Embassador tarried four or five days, and then went to *Colmogro*, about 80 Miles distant from St. *Nicholas*.

You must here understand, that before the *English* Embassadors going into *Russia*, the *Hollanders* had intruded into our Trade, notwithstanding a Privilege was long before granted to the *English* for the sole trade thither. The *Dutch* had by chargeable means won three of the Emperour's chief Counsellors to be their assured Friends, namely *Mekita Romanovich*, *Bodan Belskoy*, and *Andrew Shalkan* the Chancellor; for besides daily Gifts which they bestowed upon them all, they took so much Money of theirs at Interest at 25 *per Cent.* as they paid to one of them 5000 Marks yearly for the use of his Money; and the *English* Merchants at that time had not one Friend in Court.

The Embassador having spent five Weeks at St. *Nicholas* and *Colmogro*, there came a Gentleman from the Emperour to conduct him up the River towards *Mosco*, and to provide Victuals for him on the way.

This Gentleman being a Follower of *Shalkan* the Chancellour, was by him (as it seemed) foisted into that Service, on purpose to offer Discourtesies and Occasions of Distast to the Embassador; for the Chancellour with the other two great Counsellours were resolved to oppose themselves directly against her Majesties Embassage, especially in that Point, for the barring all Strangers from trading into the Emperour's Country.

This Gentleman conducted him 1000 Miles up the River *Dwina*, as far as *Vologda*, where he was received by another Gentleman of greater quality than the other, who presented the Embassador from the Emperour, with two fair Geldings, well furnished after their manner.

At *Teraslave* he was met by a Duke well accompanied, sent from the Emperour, who presented him from the Emperour with a Coach and ten Geldings, for the more easy conveying him to *Mosco*, from whence the City was distant 500 Miles.

Two Miles on this side *Mosco* the Embassador was met by four Gentlemen accompanied with 200 Horse, who after a little salutation, not familiar without embracing, told him that they had somewhat to say to him from the Emperour, and would have had him alight on foot to hear it, themselves still sitting on Horseback, which the Embassador refusing to do, they stood long upon terms, whether both Parties should alight or not, which at last was agreed upon, yet there was great niceness whose Foot should not be first on Ground.

Their Message delivered, they embraced each other, and the Embassador was by them conducted to his Lodgings at *Mosco*, a House built on purpose for him, themselves being placed in the next House to it, to furnish him with Provisions, and to be used by him upon all other Occasions.

The Embassador having been some days in *Mosco*, was sent for to Court, and was accompanied with about 40 Gentlemen, well mounted and sumptuously arraied; and in his passage from his Lodging to the Court, stood five or six thousand Musqueteers of the Emperour's Guards. At the entry of the Court he was met by four Noblemen in Cloth of Gold and rich Furs, their Caps embroider'd with Pearl, who conducted him till he was met by four others of greater quality than them, who conducted him to the Emperour's Chamber-door, in which Passage there stood along the Walls, and sate upon Benches in rows, seven or eight hundred Persons, said to be Noblemen and Gentlemen, all in coloured Sattins and Cloth of Gold. At the Door he was received by the Emperour's Herald, and all the great Officers of his Chamber, who conducted him to the place where the Emperour sate in state, having three Crowns standing by him, *viz.* of *Muscovia*, *Cazan*, and *Astracan*, and two young Noblemen on each side of him, apparell'd in white, each of them with a fine broad Ax upon his Shoulder, and there sate upon Benches about 100 Noblemen in Cloth of Gold.

The Embassador thus brought to the Emperour to kiss his Hand, after some Complements and Inquiry of her Majesties health, he willed him to sit down in a place provided for that purpose, nigh ten Paces distant from him, from whence he would have had him to send him her Majesties Letters and Present, which the Embassador thinking not reasonable, stept forward towards the Emperour, but was intercepted by the Chancellour, who would have taken his Letters, to whom the Embassador said, that her Majesty had directed no Letters to him, and so went on, and delivered them himself to the Emperour's own Hands.

He was thence conducted to the Council Chamber, where, after some conference, he was sent for again to the Emperour, where he dined in his presence at a side Table near unto him, and all his Company at another Board by; there also dined at other Tables in the same Room, about 100 of the chief Noblemen that were about the Court. The Emperour used many Favours to the Embassador, and about the middle of Dinner stood up, and drank a great Carouse to the Health of the Queen his good Sister, and sent him a great Bowl full of Rhenish-wine and Sugar to pledge him.

The Embassador after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference with the Emperour and his Council, touching both Embassages, which di ers times raised many Jars; and in the end, after sundry Meetings, the Emperour being dissatisfied, because the Embassador had not power by his Commission to yield to every thing he thought fit (as a Man whose Will was seldom used to be gainsaid) let loose his Passion, and with a stern and angry countenance told him, that he did not reckon the Queen of *England* to be his Fellow, for there are (quoth he) that are her Betters.

The Embassador greatly disliking these Speeches, and being very unwilling (how dangerous soever it might prove to his own Person) to give way to the Emperour to derogate from the Honour and Greatness of her Majesty, with like Courage and Countenance to his, told him, that the Queen his Mistress was as great a Prince as any was in Christendom, equal to him that thought himself the greatest, well able to defend herself against the Malice of any whomsoever, and wanted no means to offend any that either she had, or should have cause to be Enemy unto. Yea (quoth he) how saist thou to the *French* King, and the King of *Spain*?

Truly (quoth the Embassador) I hold the Queen my Mistress as great as either of them. Then what saist thou (quoth he) to the Emperour of *Germany*? The Embassador answered, Such is the Greatness of the Queen my Mistress, that the King her Father had not long since the Emperour in his pay, in his Wars against *France*.

This Answer so displeased the Emperour, that he told him, if he were not an Embassador, he would throw him out of the Doors: whereunto he answered, that he might do his will, for he was now fast within his Country, but he had a Mistress, who (he doubted not) would be revenged of any Injury should be done unto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great heat, bid him get him home, and he with no more reverence than such usage required, saluted the Emperour and departed.

The Embassador was no sooner gone, and the Emperour's choler somewhat setled, but he commended the Embassador before his Council, because he would not endure one ill word to be spoken against his Mistress, and therewithal wished himself to have such a Servant.

About an Hour after he came to his Lodging, the Emperour sent his Principal Secretary to him to tell him, that notwithstanding what had past, yet for the great love that he had for the Queen his Sister, he should very shortly be called again to Court, and have a resolution of all the Matters in question: And further imparted to him, that the Emperour would send a greater Nobleman home with him in Embassage to the Queen his Sister, than ever he yet at any time sent out of his Country; and that he determined also to send to the Queen a Present worth 3000 *l.* and to gratify himself at his departure, with a Gift that should be worth 1000 *l.* and told him also that the next day the Emperour would send a great Nobleman to him, to confer with him about certain Abuses done to him by *Shalkan* the Chancellour and his Ministers.

And accordingly on the day following, he sent *Bedan Bleskey*, the chiefest Chancellour he had, and most in credit with him, who examined all the Embassador's Grievances, righting him in all things wherein he had been wronged, and supplying him with what he wanted.

Soon after, the Emperour ordered a larger Allowance of Diet for the Embassador than he had before. It was so great, that the Embassador oftentimes sought to have it lessen'd, but the Emperour would not by any means.

The Scroul of the new Diet was this.

- One Bushel of fine Meal for three days.
- One Bushel of Wheat Meal for a day and a half.
- Two live Geese for a day.
- Twenty Hens for a day.
- Seven Sheep for a day.
- One Ox for three days.
- One side of a Pork for a day.
- Seventy Eggs.
- Ten Pound of Butter.
- Seventy Penny white Loaves of Bread.
- Twelve Penny Loaves of Bread.
- One Gallon of Vinegar.
- Two Gallons of salt Cabbages.
- One Peck of Onions.
- Ten Pound of Salt.
- One Altine or six penny worth of Wax Candles.
- Two Altines of Tallow Candles.
- A Quart of Cherry Mead.
- As much of *Mallynovo* Mead.
- Two Quarts of burnt Wine.
- One Gallon of sodden Mead.
- Three Gallons of sweet Mead.
- Ten Gallons of white Mead.
- Fifteen Gallons of ordinary Mead.
- Four Gallons of sweet Beer.
- Fifteen Gallons of Beer.
- Half a Pound of Pepper.
- Three Ounces of Saffron.
- One Ounce of Mace.
- One Ounce of Nutmegs.
- Two Ounces of Cloves.
- Three Ounces of Cinamon.

Provender.

- One Bushel of Oats.
- One Load of Hay.
- One Load of Straw.

Now he began so much to discover his Purpose and Affection towards her Majesty and her Country, that he sent to the Embassador, intreating him that Mr. *Cole* his Preacher, and Doctor *Jacob* his Physician, might set down the Points of the Religion in *England*, which was done accordingly, and sent unto him, who seemed so well to like them, as he caused them to be publickly read (with good approbation) before divers of his Council and many others of his Nobility.

Then he seemed very eager to marry some Kinswoman of her Majesties, and said, he would send again into *England* to have one of them to Wife, and if her Majesty would not upon his next Embassage send him such a one as he required, he would then go into *England*, and carry his Treasure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you must understand, that last Year he had sent to her Majesty by his Embassador, to have had the Lady *Mary Hastings* in Marriage, which Treaty by means of her inability of Body, much Sickness, or perhaps by reason of no great liking either her self or Friends, or both, took no place.

The Embassador was now so far grown into the Emperour's Favour, that those great Councellours who were his great Enemies before, were now desirous of some publick Courtesies at his Hands for their Advantage to the Emperour: Nor durst they now any more interpose betwixt the Emperour and him; for not long before this, the Emperour had grievously beaten *Shalcan* the Chancellour, for abusing the Embassador, and sent him word that he would not leave one of his Race alive.

The Embassadour improving his Favour with the Emperour, obtained divers Suits from him for the Benefit of his Countrymen, among which was an old Debt of 3000 Marks, a Debt so desperate, that it had been left out of their Accounts four Years, and in the opinion of all the Merchants, not fit to be mentioned for fear of offending the Emperour too much, and was therefore left out of his Instructions from her Majesty.

He obtained also the repayment of 1500 Marks, which had been exacted from them the two last Years before his coming thither.

Also that all Strangers were forbidden to trade any more into *Russia*, and that the Trade in all the Emperour's Northern Coast, from *Wardhouse* to the River *Ob*, should be only free to the *English* Nation.

He obtained also for the *English* Merchants, the abatement of all Custom, which they had long before paid, and agreed still to continue, amounting to 2000 *l.* yearly.

And among his private Grants, he got leave for *Jane Ricardo* to return home; she was the Widow of Doctor *Bomelius* a *Dutch-man*, and Physician to the Emperour, who for practising Treason with the King of *Poland* against the said Emperour, was roasted to death at *Moscu*, in the Year 1579.

All these were granted, some of the Money already repaid; the old Privileges signed, sealed, and was to be delivered to him at his next coming to Court, before which time the Emperour died of a Surfeit, on the 18th of *April*, 1584. having reigned 54 Years. The death of the Emperour *Jean Vasilwich*

The case was now wonderfully alter'd with the Embassador, who now fell into the Hands of his great Enemies, *Mekita Romanovich* and *Andrea Shalkan* the Chancellour, who after the death of the Emperour, took the Government upon themselves, and presently caused the Embassador to be shut up a close Prisoner in his own House, for the space of nine Weeks, where he was so strictly guarded and badly used, as he daily suspected some further mischief to have followed: At last he was sent for to Court to have his Dispatch, and to take his leave of the Emperour, whether being conducted (not after the usual manner, and brought to the Council Chamber, there came to him only *Shalkan* the Chancellour and a Brother of his, who without more Words, told him for the Sum of his Dispatch, That this Emperour would not treat of further Amity with the Queen, than such as was between his late Father and her, before his coming thither; and they would not hear any reply to be made by the Embassador, but presently caused him and all his Company to be disarmed, and go towards the Emperour. In his Passage such Outrages were offered him, as, had he not used more patience than his natural disposition afforded him, he had not in likelyhood escaped with Life, yet at last was brought into the Emperour's presence, who said nothing to him more than what the Chancellour had said, but offered him a Letter to carry to her Majesty, which the Embassador (because he knew it contained nothing concerning his Embassy) refus'd, till he saw his Danger grow too great. Neither would the Emperour suffer the Embassador to reply, nor could he well, because they had taken away his Interpreter, that the Emperour might not know how dishonourably he had been used. He was ordered to depart from *Mosco* before the Coronation of the new Emperour,

perour, and there was no Favour or Friendship left for him, *Shalkan* the Chancellour having sent him word that the *English* Emperour was dead. He had only one Gentleman appointed to accompany him to the Sea-side, and understanding before he left *Mosco*, that some sudden revenge was designed against him upon the way, he provided the best he could for his defence, by arming his Servants, and commanding the *English* Merchants in her Majesties name to accompany him, that if any such attempt should be made against him, the Aggressors should die with him for Company: This Resolution of his was thought to contribute to his safety, altho' none of the *English* Merchants did accompany him. He was forced to digest many Injuries upon the way before he reached St. *Nicholas*, and then recollecting his ill usage at *Mosco*, and the poor and disgraceful Present sent him (in the name of the Emperour) instead of that which was intended for him by the old Emperour, knowing all this to be done in disgrace of her Majesty and himself, he resolved now to be discharged of the Letter and Present, and so furnishing and placing his Men to answer any assault that should be offered him in getting to his Ship, he bid farewel to the uncourteous Gentleman that brought him thither, and then sent three or four of the most valiant and discreet Men he had, with his Majesties weak Letter and worse Present to be delivered to him or left at his Lodging, and then recovered his Ship in safety, altho' presently after there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receive the same again, but they failed of their purpose; so departing from St. *Nicolas* the 12th of *August*, he arrived at *Gravesend* the 12th of *September*, in the Year 1584.

Chap. XII.

A short Narrative of the Tragical Revolutions in Russia, *after the death of* Juan Vasilowich.

Juan Vasilowich dying in [illegible], in the 54th Year of his Reign, left two Sons, *Theodore* aged 25 Years, who succeeded him, and *Demetrius* an Infant, who was sent with his Mother to a Town called *Ouglets*. He left also one Daughter married to the Lord *Boris*, whose Sister *Irenia* was married to the Emperour *Theodore*. This Lord aiming at the Soveraignty, procured the death of the young Prince *Demetrius* in this manner. The great Bell at *Ouglets*, being rung as is usual in case of Fire, some were set to kill him as he came forth. The Inhabitants, to put away suspicion from themselves, killed such of the Family as they met in their fury; notwithstanding which, *Boris* exercised severe Tortures and terrible Executions upon them. Not long after, the Emperour *Theodore* died in the Year 1598, not without suspicion of being poysoned by *Boris*, having reigned 14 Years. He was impotent in Body and Mind, and very superstitious in Religious Matters, so that his Father was wont to say of him, *That he was fitter to ring Bells in Churches, than to govern an Empire.*

Demetrius murthered.

Death of *Theodore.*

As soon as the Funeral was over, his Will was read, whereby the Empress (Sister to the Lord *Boris*) with the Patriarch, were intrusted with the Administration of the Government. Hereupon a general Assembly of the States was held at *Mosco*, and their Oaths given to the Empress, who immediately went into a Nunnery, there to pass the 40 days of mourning; in which time, either by her own Inclination, or her Brother's Perswasion, she renounced the World, and transferred the Government upon the *Boiarens*, that they according to their Wisdom, and Love to their Country, might take care thereof; whereupon the People were so moved, that they came thronging to the Nunnery Gates, imploring her care in so perilous a time, whom alone they were bound to serve. She commanded them to go to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, but they protested against them, saying, That they had sworn to her, and would be ordered by Lord *Boris* her Brother. Hereupon *Boris* went out to appease the Multitude, and undertook, together with the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, to administer the Government during the 40 days of mourning, in which time the Empress professed her self a Nun, changing her Name to *Alexandria*.

The Empress succeeds.

She enters into a Nunnery.

And professes.

The time of mourning ended, the People were called into the Castle, where the Chancellor made an Oration, perswading them to swear Obedience to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, which they with Out-cries disclaimed, saying, they would do it to none but the Queen and Lord *Boris*. The Council sitting to consider thereof, the Chancellour came forth and commanded them to swear to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, the Queen being now become a Nun, whereupon they unanimously named Lord *Boris* as one worthy of the State, to whom they were ready to swear. He being present, rose up and modestly excused himself, protesting his unwillingness and unworthiness, and willed them to choose some other more worthy; and going thence immediately toward the Church, they laid Hands on him, with loud Cries and Lamentations, beseeching him not to forsake them. He weeping, still refused, alledging his insufficiency, and the more to inflame their desire, absented and hid himself a whole Month with his Sister in the Nunnery. The People fearing his flight, besieged the place, and with continual clamours, urged the Queen to perswade her Brother to accept the Empire. She again sends them to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, upon the mentioning of whose Names they began to mutiny. *Boris* then went forth and told them, if they were no quieter, he also would take Sack-cloth, and enter into a Monastery, as his Sister had done; whereupon they cast out some desperate threats of looking to themselves, since the Commonwealth was so neglected. At last the Queen by their importunity, perswaded her Brother no longer to resist God's Will, who had put this constancy into the Peoples Minds, and to accept that which God seemed thus to command.

Boris after many Excuses, at last seemed to be overcome by his Sister's Intreaties, and assented to her, who signified as much to the People, to whom she presented him, praying them to be as loyal to him, as they had been earnest for him. *Boris* also spake unto them in this manner. 'Forasmuch as it seemeth good to the 'Divine Grace and Providence whereby all things are 'governed, that by common Consent and continual 'Prayers, I take upon me the Principality over you 'and all the Provinces of *Russia*; I will no longer resist, how heavy soever I conceive this Burthen to my 'Shoulders, but have determined to undertake your 'Protection with greatest Fidelity, being ready to 'sway the *Russian* Scepter and Government, as far as 'God's Grace shall enable me; on the other side, be you 'faithful to me and to my Command, as God may 'you help. I am your most gentle King.

Boris his Speech.

Joyful Acclamations followed, with Protestations of their Fidelity and future Obedience. He entring the Monastery, after Prayers received the first Benediction, and the Bells of *Mosco* (of which are reckoned 3000) resounded the publick Joy. All the Magistrates, and such as received Salaries of the King, presented him, according to custom, with Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Bread and Salt, humbly desiring his acceptance, with Wishes of long Life and Happiness: He rendring them thanks, accepted the Bread and Salt only, saying, *That were his, the rest they should keep themselves.* Then inviting them to a Feast, he with *Mary* his Wife, *Theodore* his Son of ten, and *Arsenica* his Daughter of 16 Years of Age, went out of the Monastery in solemn Procession to the Castle. The like Presents were offered to his Wife and Children, who accepted the Bread and Salt only.

The Festival ended, a solemn Oath was taken from all the Governours: Then came News that the *Crim Tartars* had entred the Borders, hoping to find all things in confusion; whereupon he assembled an Army of 300000 Men, and marched in Person against them; the *Tartars* hearing how things went, sent Embassadors to the Emperour's Tents, and returned home, whereupon he marched back to *Mosco*, where he was solemnly crowned by the Patriarch.

Boris crowned.

Twelve

Twelve days together all Orders were feasted in the Castle, and the Magistrates and Officers had a Years pay given them; the *German* Merchants had Money lent them, to be repaid seven Years after without usury, and Immunities and Privileges were granted to those of other Countries: Alms were distributed to Widows, Orphans, and other poor Persons: *Pheodore's* Obsequies were solemnly performed, the Priests richly rewarded, and the whole Empire, which seemed to be dead, received a glorious Resurrection.

And now to establish what he had begun; his first care was to increase his Treasure; and as at first he was popularly prodigal, so after a small time he became very penurious, shortning the Allowance of the Court from what it had been in former times. His next care was, to hold good Terms with other Princes, and by forreign Alliances, to settle on his own Race, this new gotten Empire. He is said for this end, to have sought a Wife for his Son out of *England*, and a Husband for his Daughter out of *Denmark*. His Wife being a Woman of a haughty Spirit, thought her too good for any *Hellop* (so they call their Slaves, and such she esteemed all her Subjects) and for that reason refused to give her in Marriage to *Peter Basman*, the best Commander in the Army. *His Policies.*

But while his Sun now shined in the height of his Course, there arose such gross Vapours out of *Demetrius's* Grave, as not only eclipsed his Imperial Glory, but engendred such a bloody Storm, as not only overwhelmed him and all his Family, but also the whole Empire.

Demetrius. About the middle of *October*, 1604, news was brought to Court, that one who named himself *Demetrius Evanowich Beala*, who was supposed to have been murther'd at *Ouglets*, was up in Arms for his Right and Inheritance. This *Demetrius* was in his youth shorn a Friar in a Monastery, from whence making his escape he went into *Poland*, where calling to mind the fond conceit among the *Russes*, that *Demetrius Evanowich* was secretly conveyed away, and that some other was murthered in his stead, and knowing the general distast of the Government of *Boris*, having also many Circumstances of Time, Age, and Features, to advantage and second his Pretence; first made himself known to the Principal Jesuits in *Poland*, to whom he promised, if he might receive help for the recovery of his just Inheritance, his first care should be to reduce the *Russians* to the union of the *Roman* Church. The *Jesuits* communicated the Matter to the Pope, and brought him to the Palatin of *Sendomir*, a potent Man in that Kingdom, whose Daughter he covenanted to marry if he succeeded in his *Russian* Enterprise. The *Palatin* brought him before King *Sigismund*, who gave him a Chain of Gold, and promised to assist him.

Thus by the King's Favour, the *Palatine's* Money, and the *Jesuits* Industry, he raised an Army of 10000 Souldiers in *Poland*, and in his march was joined by 10000 *Cassacks*. *Boris* sent an Army of 100000 Men against him; he also sent Embassadors into *Poland*, to put them in mind of the League between both Nations, and to desire that this Counterfeit *Demetrius*, a Priests Bastard, might be delivered to him alive or dead, adding Threats if they persisted: The Patriarch also with the Bishops and Spiritual Men of *Russia*, wrote unto the Spiritual Men of *Poland*, declaring unto them what that Heretick and Traitor was, from whence he came, and the occasion of his running away, as also the manner of the making away of Prince *Demetrius*, and withal requesting the Rulers and Spiritual Men of *Poland*, that they now knowing what a Runnagate this was, would not give credit to him, nor break the League concluded between them.

But such was the prevailing Power of the Pope and Jesuits in *Poland*, that no credit was given to these Writings. Both Armies meeting, *Demetrius* confident (as he made shew) in the Justice of his Cause, called upon God, so as he might be heard of all, with his Hands stretched forth, and his Eyes lifted up to Heaven, in such like Words, *O most just Judge, kill me first with a Thunder-bolt, destroy me first and spare this Christian Blood, if unjustly, if covetuously, if wickedly I undertake this Enterprise; thou seest mine Innocency, help the just Cause; to thee O Queen of Heaven, I commend my self and these my Souldiers.* *Demetrius* got the Victory, which he used with great modesty; *Boris* hereupon sent some with large Promises to murther him, and the Patriarch excommunicated all that favoured him. *Demetrius* wrote hereof modestly to the Patriarch, and to *Boris* also, offering fair Conditions if he would resign his usurped Empire, which he with Indignation rejected, and is said to have *Demetrius his Prayer.*

been in such a chafe, that he fell down suddenly, much Blood passing from his Mouth, Nostrils, and Ears, and in the end of *April* died, some say of an Apoplexy, others that he poysoned himself, having reigned seven Years. *The death of Boris.*

His Wife and Son being advanced to the Throne, and the Nobility sworn to them, *Peter Basman* their great General, who had performed many honourable Services, and was the Man of greatest hope and expectation in the whole Empire, was speedily dispatched with an Army, but upon his march revolted to *Demetrius*, and with him all the *English*, *Scots*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Flemings*. They were all kindly received by *Demetrius*, who marching towards *Mosco*, sent Messengers with Letters to the Lords of the Council, which entring the Suburbs, were conducted by infinite numbers of the Commons to a spacious Plain before the Castle Gate, where the Council then sate, and were summoned by the said Messengers, to come and hear their rightful King *Demetrius Ivanowich*, speaking unto them by Letters; many of them came, for otherwise the Commons were resolved to fetch them out; then the Emperour's Letters were read aloud to this effect. *Peter Basman revolts to Demetrius.*

'That he much wondred, having sent many Letters and Messengers to them, with manifest Proofs of being their lawful Prince, as being the Son of *Juan Vasilewich*, and the only Brother of *Pheodore*, self-Upholder of happy memory, their late Emperour; yet notwithstanding his long Patience, they had not only refused to answer his Princely Letters, but had been so presumptuous as to detain his Messengers; all which, notwithstanding, he being confident of his just Title, and willing to spare his Subjects Blood, had in his Princely Wisdom and Clemency, again wrote, these his last Peace-requiring and Grace-offering Letters, and to this end had sent Men of great Birth, with Commission to displace his Enemies the *Godonoues*, and others, till his further Pleasure were known; and if they would now submit themselves to him, as to their lawful Prince and Soveraign (as he was well satisfied they in their Consciences knew him to be) they should yet find him a gracious and merciful Lord, if not a severe and just Avenger of their many misdeeds, &c. *Demetrius his Letters.*

But before this Letter was half read, the Multitude ran violently into the Castle, and released two of *Demetrius* his Messengers, who had been miserably tortured, whipt, and roasted. Then the Prince, Empress, and Princess were taken into Custody, and *Demetrius* was by consent of the Nobles, (some few excepted) declared their right and lawful Emperour.

The Empress advised the young Prince and Princess to follow their Father's example, and murder themselves by Poyson, promising to bear them Company; the Mother drank first, and was pledged by the Son, who both died immediately, but the Princess drinking but little, survived. Others ascribe this Murther to the command of *Demetrius*, and that this Self-murther was a pretence only. *The Empress and Prince poyson themselves.*

He entred *Mosco* the 19th of *June*, with pompous Procession of Soldiers and Priests, the latter carrying Banners, with Pictures of the Blessed Virgin and *Nicholas*, their tutelar Saint. *Demetrius* mounted on a white Palfey, and attended by the Patriarch and others, went first to the Temple of our Lady, and after Prayers to St. *Michaels* Church, wherein *Juan Vasilewich* lay buried, and hearing that *Boris* lay there interred, he presently commanded his Body to be taken up, and to be removed to a meaner Chapel without the City. Then passing by the House of *Boris*, he was so offended at the sight, that he sent Workmen presently to raze the same. Thence proceeding to the Imperial Palace, and taking upon him the Government, he shewed more favour to the *Poles* and other Forreigners, than to the *Russes*, which hastned his ruin. Seventy noble Families of the Kindred or Faction of *Boris* were exiled, that their Goods and Lands might be shared among Strangers.

But his Clemency was remarkable to *Suisky*, his Successour in the Empire, who being condemned for refusing to acknowlege him as Emperour, and uttering reproachful Speeches on him, as, that he was of base Parentage, and had conspired with the *Poles* to overthrow the *Russian* Nobility and Religion; yet when he was at the place of Execution, after he had ended his Prayers, and on his Knees expected the fatal Stroke, received his Pardon. *His Clemency to Suisky.*

The first of *September* being New-years-day with the *Russes*, was appointed for his Coronation, and *Martha* the Empress (his supposed Mother) Widow of

Juan

Juan Vasilovich was sent for, from the Monastery far from Court, where *Boris* had placed her. An honourable Convoy was herein employed, and he with great shew of Piety went to meet her, embraced her with Tears, and bare-headed on Foot, attended her Chariot to the Castle. To the *Jesuits* he allotted a fair place not far from the Castle, for the exercise of the *Romish* Religion, and would have then declared himself in that point, but fearing *Suisky*, he waited a fitter Opportunity.

The death of *Boris*.

His next care was to recompence the *Poles*, to enter into a League with that Nation, and to consummate the marriage; for which reason he sent *Athanasius* his Treasurer with 300 Horsemen, and Jewels for the Lady and her Father, worth 200000 Crowns. who in *November* came to *Cracovia*, had audience of King *Sigismund*, where he with all thankfulness, acknowledged the King's forwardness with his Nobles in recovering his Master's Right, to which God hath given success beyond expectation; That he deplored the *Turkish* Insolences in *Hungary* and other parts, and would willingly join with the *Pole* and other Christian Princes against them. In the mean time that he was willing to make an everlasting League with him, and to that end intreated his good Leave to take upon himself a Wife out of *Poland*, namely, *Anna Maria*, Daughter of *George Mecinsie*, Palatine of *Sendomir*, in pursuance of a Contract made with her at the time of her being in *Poland*, which is as followeth.

Embassage to *Poland*.

Peter Basman revolts to *Demetrius*.

Demetrius his Letters.

Copy of the Contract of Marriage in the time of his being in *Poland*.

'We *Demetry Evanowich*, by the Mercy of God, Prince of all *Russia*, &c. calling to memory our former Life, being not in that form and manner, as in other great Monarchies, as was in the time of our Predecessours, and other Christian People. Nevertheless, by the Providence of Almighty God, from whom proceedeth a beginning and an end, and from whom cometh Life and Death, we have by him espied and made choise unto our self, with good liking in the time of our being in the Kingdom of *Poland*, of a Companion of great and honourable Birth, and of Godly Education, and is such a Companion, with whom we shall by the Mercy of God live peaceably, which is the resplendant and noble Lady *Marina*, Daughter to the great Palatin *Sendemersko*, and upon this Occasion have taken him for our Father, and in regard that we are not yet in our own Kingdom, we do therefore purpose hereafter to take order for her coming unto us, with the said General *Sendamersko*. Likewise when I shall come to live in my own Kingdom, then shall the Palatin *Sendamersko* remember his faithful and true Promise with his Daughter, the Lady *Marina*, her Vow, my self remembring my own Vow, and so both of us to hold it faithfully with Love and Affection, and to that end do we bind our selves by our Writings. Likewise first and principally in the name of the Holy Trinity, I do give my faithful and true Princely Promise, that I will take in Marriage the Lady *Marina*; if on the contrary I do not, then I wish that I might give this as a Curse upon my self, also as I shall enter into our Kingdom and Heretage of *Mosco*, then will I give the Palatin her Father, a Reward of 100000 Pieces of *Polish* Gold, and to the Lady *Marina* our Wife, in consideration of her great and long Journey, as also for the providing and furnishing her self, I will give out of my Treasure, Velvets wrought with Silver and Gold, and the Messenger that shall be sent to me from the Lord her Father, or from the Lady her self, I shall not hold or keep, but shall let them pass, and shall reward them with Gifts, which shall be a Token of our Princely Favour. Secondly, as soon as we shall come to the Imperial Throne of our Father, then presently will we send our Embassador to the resplendent King of *Poland*, And to the forenamed Lady *Marina* our Wife, we give two Lordships, viz. *Novogrod* the *Great*, and *Vobsko*, with all the Provinces belonging to the same, with Counsellors, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, and Priests fitting for a Congregation, to rule and govern freely, with full Authority, in the same manner and form as if we ruled; and my self to have no more Right, Title, or Authority in the said two Cities; and do wholly give and bestow all on the said Lady *Marina*, that is contained in this Writing, as soon as by God's help, we shall be married together, and thereunto have given this our Writing, sealed with our Princely Seal; But if our Wife shall not have by us any Children, then in those two Lordships before specified, she shall place Men in Authority of her own, to govern and do justice: And it shall be free for the said Men in authority, to give Lands and Inheritance to their own Souldiers, and to trade freely at pleasure, as if it were in their own true and lawful Dominion, and to build Monasteries, and set up the *Romish* Religion, and to have *Latin* or *Romish* Priests and Schools, but she her self to abide and remain with us. And concerning her Priests, to have as many as shall be needful to be kept for her own Godly *Romish* Religion, without all let or hindrance; and as we our self by the Mercy of God, are already inclined to the same, so will we likewise with earnest care, seek by all means to bring all the Kingdom of *Mosco* to the knowledge of the *Romish* Religion, and to set up the Church of *Rome*. Also if God should not grant unto us good success, whereby this be performed within a Year, then it shall be at the pleasure of our Father to separate me and his Daughter *Marina*; but if it shall please him to forbear till another Year, then do I pass this my Bill with my own Hand-writing, and thereunto I have sworn my self, and given a Vow according to the Holy Order, and all in this Bill to hold and keep carefully; as also that I shall bring all the *Russe* People to the *Latin* Religion. Written at *Sambore* the 25th of *May*, *Anno* 1604.'

He promises to establish the *Romish* Religion.

Prince *Demetry* of *Ouglets*.

At the end of eight Days the Contract was solemnly finished by the Cardinal Bishop of *Cracow*, and the Embassador with her Parents were feasted by the King.

In the end of *January*, the Bride, her Father, Uncle and train of Women, accompanied the *Russian* Embassador in his return, and arrived at *Mosco* in the end of *April*, where they were married by the Patriarch, and both of them solemnly crowned.

Demetrius his Marriage, & th crowned.

Demetrius had brought a Guard of *Germans* with him from *Poland*, which being without example of his Predecessors, and seeing it disliked of his Subjects, he dismissed, together with all foreign Souldiers. They being thus sent away without pay, returned with the cathiered *Polanders* to the Borders, where they committed many Outrages, to the great discontent of the *Russes*, many of whom were offended at his too much respect to the *Poles*, others questioned his Birth, whereupon he entertained many *Livflanders* and *Germans* for his Guards, to whom he added 100 *English* Halberdiers, with as many *Scots*, and 100 *French* armed with Partisans.

At this time came an Embassador with Letters from *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, which because they gave him not the Title of Emperour, were not received nor opened. In excuse whereof, the Embassador used Words unsufferable to *Russian* Patience, telling him that he should go and deprive the *Great Turk* of those Titles. *Demetrius* dissembled his Resentment in regard of the Assistance he formerly had, and might still expect from the *Poles*.

On the sixth day after the Marriage, being the 17th of *May*, a solemn Feast was held, wherein the Emperour and Empress sate crowned in the Hall, at which the *Polish* Embassador refused to be present, except he might sit at the Princes Table, as the *Russian* Embassador had been honoured at *Cracow*; the *Russes* denied stifly, but *Demetrius* at last yielded. The *Poles* had domineer'd over the *Russes* as if they had been a conquer'd People, whereupon the Nobility and Commons taking the advantage of this time, when the *Poles* stood least on their guard, came to the Court at three in the Morning, and *Suisky* their Leader having caused the great Bell to be rung in token of Fire, that *Demetrius* might be rais'd and come forth of his Apartment, *Peter Basman*, who came running out half naked, was slain by one of his own Servants, and *Demetrius* awakned with the noise, and now seeing a greater danger than Fire, took a *Turkish* Sword, and slipping down from a Window, brake his Leg with the fall, whereby he was easily taken, and by *Suisky*'s command, carried into the great Hall where Embassadors have Audience; where some upbraiding him with his Impostures, he with his Sword laid one of them on the Ground, and then desiring the Nobility that he might be permitted to speak to the People, it was denied. Some say that he obtained of *Suisky*, that he might be tried by the Testimony of the Empress *Martha*, Widow of *Juan Vasilowich*, who being brought out of the Nunnery, affirmed before the Nobles on her Oath, that her Son *Demetrius* was many Years before murthered by the command of *Boris*, executing her former Acknowledgments of this Imposture, as proceeding from her Fear, and the general acceptance he found among the People, whereupon they ran upon him, and with many Wounds slew

A bloody Day.

Peter Basman slain.

Demetrius slain.

slew him. His Body was dragged thro' the Mire into the Market-place, exposed some Days to publick view, and then burnt.

Among his Papers was found the Contract between him and the *Palatine*, before his coming out of *Poland*, That assoon as he should acquire the Kingdom of *Mosco*, he would take his Daughter to Wife, and give her the Provinces of *Novogrod* and *Vobsko*, therein freely to build and set up Monasteries, and establish the *Romish* Religion. There were found also by him, Letters from the Pope and Cardinals to that effect, and that he should be mindful to take in hand speedily, what he had promised and vowed to *Sigismund* and the Cardinals, *viz.* To be himself of the *Romish* Religion, and to bring all the People of *Russia* into the same, not only those that of themselves were willing, but others also, and to put them to death that should seek to oppose it.

The Palatine *Sendomir*, Father of the Empress, was blocked up in his House: The miserable Bride was spoiled of all her Apparel and Jewels, without Garment to cover her, or Bed to lie on, careful only of her Father and Uncle, and wished that she with them might save their Lives and recover their Country.

Many *English* and other Merchants suffered in this Tumult; *Ambrose Cellar* lost his Life, and 30000 Crowns; *James Win* was beheaded with his own Sword; *Nathan* lost 150000 Florins; *Nicholas Limborough* 50000; twelve hundred *Poles* lost their Lives; many of them were saved by the *Boiarens*; 400 *Russes* were slain; at Night the Tumult ceased; the new Empress, her Father, his Brother, with other *Poles*, to the number of 8 or 9000, were committed to safe custody.

Suisky's Speech. After the Tempest was calmed, the *Boiarens* assembling in Council, *Suisky* made a Speech to them, professing himself sorrowful for what had passed in the execution of a just Zeal for the Imperial Family and his Country, and in hatred of a cruel Tyrant. That *Juan Vasilowich* (how injuriously soever taxed by some) had left Kingdoms annexed to his Inheritance, as Monuments of his Magnanimity. That *Theodore* succeeded, but *Boris* ruled, who first murthered the youngest Brother, as was thought, and after that poysoned the other, to attain the Empire. That for these Reasons *Demetrius* (whosoever he was) found Friends, himself amongst others; but when Religion was endanger'd, Forreigners advanced, Laws violated, Exotick Fashions introduced, and Liberties suppressed, he withstood him with the Peril of his Life, which it grieved him to have enjoyed by his Grant, who being a Robber, had no Right to take it. Yet seeing their forwardness in so just a cause, he (more regarding his Countries Safety than Rumors and Reports) had been their Captain, to do that which God, the Disposer of Kingdoms, by the success had approved; so that it remained now, seeing the Imperial Family was extinct, they should seek one of the noblest Blood, most religious Zeal, and experienced Wisdom, who would esteem his Peoples Hearts his strongest Forts, to become their Prince.

He is chosen Emperour. Thus was he chosen Emperour, who not long before was at the Block to be beheaded, for reporting that he had seen the Body of the true *Demetrius* after he was dead, and did help to bury him. This *Suisky* was 50 Years old, never married, a Prince of great Wisdom, and a Favourer of the *English* Nation.

One of his first Acts was to send an Embassy into *Poland*, to complain of their obtruding that Changeling on *Russia*, whereby above 200 of their principal Nobility had lost their Lives, demanding Restitution of the Monies which that Imposter had caused to be transported into *Poland*, or else he would, with King *Charles* of *Sweden*, enter *Poland* with an Army, to be revenged on them for breaking the League they had sworn to. *Sigismund* answered modestly, excusing their helping him whom they conceived to be the right Heir, and desired that the Peace might continue.

A second Demetrius. But when things were better settled in *Poland*, and grown worse in *Russia*, by the Dislike conceived against *Suisky*, another *Demetrius* arose, who pretending to have made his escape on the day of the Massacre, so cunningly and confidently related particular Passages of past Occurrents, that the Lady of *Demetrius* was by him bedded, and being assisted by the *Poles*, he raised an Army and laid siege to *Mosco*.

There was at that time some difference between *Charles* King of *Sweden* and *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, who laid claim to the Crown of *Sweden*. *Suisky* takes hold of this Advantage, and is assisted by the King of *Sweden*, with an Army consisting chiefly, of *English*, *French* and *Scots*, under the command of *Pontus de la Gardie*, a *French-man*. These march to *Mosco*, then besieged by the new *Demetrius*, and *Poles*, and put him into such fear, that not trusting the *Poles*, he stole away by Night with a small Retinue; the *Poles* obtained Articles of Composition, and departed. But *Demetrius* raising another Army of such *Russes* as voluntarily came to him, again laid siege to *Mosco*, wherein *Suisky* then was, while *Zolkiewasky* a *Polish* General beleagred another part thereof with 40000 Men, whereof 1500 were *English*, *Scots* and *French*. *Suisky* seeing no hope to withstand them, betook himself to a Monastery. The *Muscovites* soon after surrendred their City to the *Poles*, and joined with them against *Demetrius*, who thereupon fled, and was afterwards killed in his Camp by a *Tartar*. *Suisky* having lost his Liberty and Empire, was carried Captive into *Poland*, where, after he had been exposed to scorn and manifold Miseries, he died in Prison. *Demetrius slain.* *Suisky dies in Poland.*

The *Muscovites*, to rescue themselves from their present Miseries, agreed with the *Polish* General *Zolkiewsky*, to elect *Vladislaus*, Son of King *Sigismund*, for their Emperour, but whether for Breach of Conditions on his part, or out of an inveterate hatred to the *Poles*, or natural jealousy and distrust of Strangers, or a National Inconstancy, they soon grew weary of him, and began to think how they might restore their former Government, which they effected in this manner. *Vladislaus chosen Emperour.*

There dwelt in the North about *Dwina*, a bold Fellow, a Butcher, who railing at the baseness of the Nobility, and Corruption of the Officers, said, If they would choose a good Treasurer, and pay Souldiers well, they might soon have those that would fight and expel their Enemies the *Poles*, provided they would first choose a worthy General, for which place he recommended to them a poor maimed Gentleman, named *Pozarsky*, who had done good Service, but being neglected, did now live retiredly. The Multitude approved his Council, and chose *Pozarsky* for their Leader, and the Butcher for a Treasurer, delivering into his Hands what Money they had, which he so faithfully disbursed, and *Pozarsky* so well discharged his trust, that a great Army was gathered, and *Mosco* then besieged by the *Poles*, was relieved. And for further security against the *Poles*, and to recompence the Sufferings and Imprisonment of the *Russian* Chancellour, then in *Poland*, they elected his young Son *Micallowich*, under whose Empire (having a good Council appointed) they might live happily; the Butcher also was made a Councellor. Embassadors were sent to divers Princes to mediate between them and the *Poles*, and by the Countenance and Intercession of the Emperour, the King of *Great Britain*, and other Princes, the young Emperour was peaceably setled in his Dominions, and making a truce with the *Poles* for 14 Years, he obtained thereby his Fathers liberty, who was after consecrated Patriarch of all *Russia*. *Encouraged thereunto by a Butcher.* *Micallowich Son to the Chancellour, chosen Emperour.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

An Account of the English *Affairs in* Russia, *after the death of* Juan Vasilowich. *Written by Mr.* Jerom Horsey, *then remaining in* Russia, *as Servant to her Majesty*, 1584.

1584. JUan Vasilowich being dead the 18 of *April*, 1584 his Son *Pleodore Jnanowich*, aged 25 Years, was crowned with great Solemnity on the 10th of *June* following. As soon as the Ceremony was over, Mr. *Horsey* was called to the Emperour as he sate in his Imperial Seat, and then *John de Wale*, a famous Merchant of the *Netherlands*, lately come to *Mosco*, and pretending himself a Subject to the King of *Spain*, was called also. Some of the Nobility would have preferr'd him before Mr. *Horsey*, to which Mr. *Horsey* would not agree, saying, He would have his Legs cut off, rather than yield to such an Indignity offered to the Queen his Soveraign, as to bring a Present to the Emperour, after a Subject of the King of *Spain*, or any other whatsoever. The Emperour perceiving the Controversy, sent his Lord Treasurer and another of his Council to them, who returning and declaring to the Emperour what they had heard, Mr *Horsey* was first admitted, and made his Present to the Emperour in behalf of the *English* Merchants trading thither, wishing him joy, and long to Reign in tranquility, and so kissed the Emperour's Hand, who accepted the Present, and said, that for his Sister's sake, Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample manner as ever his Father had been. After him, the said Subject of the King of *Spain* was admitted with his Present, whom the Emperour willed to be no less faithful and serviceable to him, than the Queen of *England*'s Subjects had been, and then the King of *Spain*'s Subjects should receive Favour accordingly.

Not long after Mr. *Horsey* was sent from the Emperour on a Message to the Queen of *England*. He departed from *Mosco* the fifth of *September*, and travelling over Land, delivered his Letter to the Queen, and was forthwith commanded to repass into *Russia*, where he arrived by Sea on the 20th of *April*, 1586. He now obtained such ample Privileges for the Merchants, as in 20 Years before would not be granted; the Heads whereof are as follows.

The Emperour's Privileges to the *English* Merchants.

'THrough the Will of the Almighty, and without beginning God, which was before this World, whom we glorify in the Trinity, one only God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Maker of all things, Worker of all and every where, Fulfiller of all things, by which Will and Working, he both loveth and giveth Life to Man; that our only God, which inspireth every one of us, his only Children, with his Word, to discern God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy quickning Spirit of Life now in these perilous times, establish us to keep the right Scepter, and suffer us of our selves to reign to the good profit of the Land, and to the subduing of the People, together with the Enemies, and to the maintenance of Vertue.

'We *Pheodore*, the Off-spring of *John*, the Great Lord, Emperour, King, and Great Prince of all *Russia*, &c.

'For our Sister's sake Queen *Elizabeth*, and because the *English* Merchants do alledge, that they have had great Losses by Sea, I have granted that they shall trade into all parts of our Dominions, without paying Custom.

'But they shall not bring in nor carry out of our Dominions, any other Mens Goods but their own, nor sell them, or barter them away for them.

'Also our natural People, shall not buy or sell for them, or from them, neither shall they keep any of our Subjects Goods, or Pawns by them to colour them.

'Also they shall not send any of their Russe Servants, into any City to ingross Commodities, but into what City they themselves shall come, they shall buy and sell, and shall sell their own Commodities and not ours.

'Also they shall sell all their Commodities by whole sale and not by retail.

'And they shall buy, sell, and exchange their own Commodities themselves, and the *Russe* Merchants shall not make sales, or exchange for them or from them any of their Commodities.

'In case of Shipwrack on our Coast, we will cause the Goods to be sought out in true Justice, and to be given to the *English* which shall at that time reside in our Country; and if it shall so happen that there be no *English-men* within our Realm, then will we cause these Goods to be laid up in a place together, and when the People of *England* shall come into our Realm, then all those Goods to be delivered to them.

'And whereas we have gratified the *English* Merchants with a House at *Mosco*, and also at *Teraslave*, *Vologda*, *Colmogro*, and at the Haven of the Sea, we have commanded that there shall not be taken of them any yearly Rent for those Houses, neither shall they pay any Duty or Tax with any of the Townsmen of those places.

'Our Officers and sworn Men at *Colmogro*, shall take an account in writing, of the Commodities of *England* and *Russia*, what the Merchants shall declare themselves, but they shall not overlook their Commodities, nor unbind any of their Packs.

'And if any Controversy happen concerning Merchandise or Injuries, then they shall be judged by our Treasurers and Secretary of the Embassadors, who shall do Justice between both Parties; and if the Truth cannot be discovered by Law, then it shall be sought out by Oath and Lot, and the Judges or Justices shall take of them no kind of Duty, for matters of Law, in any place throughout our Realm.

'Given in our Princely Palace within the City of *Mosco*, in the Year from the Foundation of the World, 7095, in the Month of *February*.

CHAP. XIV.

A Treatise of Russia, *by Doctor* Giles Fletcher, *Embassador from Queen* Elizabeth *to* Theodore, *Emperour of* Russia, A. D. 1588.

1589. THIS Country formerly called *Sarmatia*, is bounded on the Northwards by *Lapland*, and the North Ocean; on the South by the *Tartars* called *Crims*; on the East by the *Nogayan Tartars*, who possess all the Country on the East side of *Volga*, towards the *Caspian* Sea; on the West and South-west by *Lithuania*, *Livonia*, and *Polonia*.

The Country is of great length and breadth; from *Narva* in the West to *Siberia* in the East, is 4400 Versts, or thereabouts; and from *Cola* to *Astracan*, is reckoned 4260 Versts. A Verst by their reckoning is 1000 Paces, yet less by one quarter than an *English* Mile.

Of the Soil and Climate. The Northern parts towards *Cola*, St. *Nicholas*, and *Siberia*, are all very barren, by reason of the extream cold in Winter, nothing growing there but great Woods of Fir and Birch, and consequently but few Inhabitants; so likewise along the River *Volga*, between *Cazan* and *Astracan*, altho' the Soil be very fruitful, there are but few People, by reason of the Neighbourhood of the *Chrim Tartars*, who will neither build Towns, nor suffer the *Russes* so to do. The Country differs very much from it self according to the Season of the Year; so that a Man would marvel to see the great alteration between Winter and Summer in *Russia*. The whole Country in Winter lies under Snow, sometimes a yard or two thick, but greater towards the North. The Rivers are all frozen up a yard thick or more, how swift or broad soever they be; and this commonly from the beginning of *November* till the end of *March*, at which time the Snow begins to melt; so that it would breed a Frost in a Man to look abroad in that time and see the Winter-Face of that Country. The sharpness of the Air you may judge of by this; Water cast up into the Air, congeals into Ice before it come to Ground: In the extremity of Winter, if you hold a Pewter Dish or Pot in your Hand, or any other Metal (except where their warm Stoves be) your Fingers will freeze fast to it, and draw off the Skin at parting. When you pass out of a warm Room into a cold, you shall sensibly feel your Breath to wax stark, and even stifeling with the cold as you draw it in and out. You shall see many drop down in the Streets, many Travellers brought into the Towns sitting dead, and stiff in their Sleds; divers loose their Noses, the Tips of their Ears, and the Balls of their Cheeks, their Toes, Feet, &c. Many times, when the Winter is very hard and extream, the Bears and Wolves issue by Troops out of the Woods, driven by hunger, and enter the Villages, tearing and ravening all they can find; so that the Inhabitants are fain to flee for safeguard of their Lives. And yet in the Summer you shall see such a new Face of a Country, the Woods, which are for the most part Fir and Birch, so fresh and so sweet, the Pastures and Meadows so green and well grown (and that upon a sudden) such variety of Flowers, such noise of Birds (especially Nightingals, that seem to be more loud, and of a more variable Note than elsewhere) that a Man shall rarely travel in a more pleasant Country.

Of the Cold of *Russia*.

This fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there, seems to proceed from the benefit of the Snow, which all the Winter time keeping the Ground warm from the rigour of the Frost, in the Spring time, when the Sun dissolves it into Water, it so throughly drenches and soaks the Ground, which is for the most part of a slight sandy Mold, and then shines so hotly upon it again, that it draws forth the Herbs and Plants in great plenty and variety in a very short time. As the Winter exceeds in Cold, so the Summer inclines to too much Heat, especially in *June*, *July*, and *August*, being much warmer than in *England*.

The Country is well watered with Springs, Rivers, and Lakes; some of these Lakes are 60, 80, 100, and 200 Miles long, with breadth proportionable.

The chief Rivers. The chief Rivers are, 1. *Volgha*, which hath its Spring 200 Versts above *Troitzave*, and grows so big by the conflux of other Rivers, that by that time it comes thither, it is an *English* Mile broad and more, and so runs into the *Caspian* Sea, about 2800 Versts in length.

The next is *Boristhenes*, now called *Neper*, dividing the Country from *Lithuania*, and falls into the *Euxin.* Sea.

The third is, *Tanais* or *Don* (the ancient Bounder between *Europe* and *Asia*), it riseth in the Province of *Rezan*, and so running thro' the Country of the *Chrim Tartars*, falls into the Lake *Maeti*, by the City of *Azof*. By this River you may pass from *Mosco* to *Constantinople*, drawing your Boat over a little *Isthmus*; a few Versts overthwart.

The fourth is *Dwina*, many hundred Miles long, with great Rocks of Alabaster on the Banks, towards the Sea-side, emptying it self into the Bay of St. *Nicholas*.

The sixth *Onega*, falling into the Bay of *Solouetsco*, 90 Versts from the Bay of St. *Nicholas*; from which Port into the *Finland*-Sea, and so into the *Sound*, may be passed all by Water.

Seven *Moskua*, that runs thro' the City *Mosco*, giving it the Name.

All these are large Streams, the least to be compared to the *Thames* in breadth, and in length far more, besides divers others. The Pole at *Mosco* is 55 Deg. 10 Min. and at St. *Nicholas* 63 Deg. 50 Min.

Of the Native Commodities of the Country.

Their Fruit and Grain. For Fruits, they have Apples, Pears, Plums, Cherries, Melons, &c. Wheat in such plenty, that it is sometimes sold for two *Alteens* or ten Pence Sterling the *Chetfird*, which makes almost three *English* Bushels.

Their Rye is sowed before Winter, all other Grain in the Spring, and for the most part in *May*. They that dwell far North, are supplied from the Southern Parts, and are sometimes forced to make Bread of a Root called *Vaghnoy*, and of the middle Rind of the Fir-tree.

Furs. The Native Commodities are, First, *Furs* of all sorts, whereof are transported some Years by Merchants of *Turky*, *Persia*, *Bougharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, and into some Parts of *Europe*, to the value of four or five hundred thousand Rubbles.

Wax. The second Commodity is *Wax*, whereof hath been shipped fifty thousand Pood yearly, every Pood containing 40 Pound.

Honey. The third is *Honey*, whereof, besides an exceeding great quantity spent in their ordinary Drinks, great store is carried out of the Country.

Tallow. Fourthly, of *Tallow*, they transport much yearly, the richer sort using Wax for their Lights, and the poorer sort, Birch dried in their Stoves, and cut into long Shivers. Of Tallow there has been shipped one hundred thousand Pood yearly.

Hides. Fifthly, Their *Losk-hide* and *Cow-hide*; their *Losh* or *Buff-hide* is very large, their *Bull* and *Cow-hide* (for Oxen they make none, nor Weathers) is of a small size: There have been transported in some Years one hundred thousand Hides, besides great store of Goats Skins.

Train Oil. Sixthly, *Train Oil* drawn from the *Seal-Fish*; towards the end of Summer, they go down with their Boats to the Bay of St. *Nicholas*, to a Cape called *Faxnose*, where they leave their Boats till the next Spring, and then returning thither again, they draw their Boats over the Sea Ice, and use them for Houses to rest and lodge in. Then dividing themselves five or six Boats in a Company, they that first find the Haunt, fire a Beacon which they carry with them, and thereupon the rest joyning them, they inclose the Seals in a Ring, that lie sunning themselves together upon the Ice, commonly 4 or 5000 in a Shoal, and so invade them, every Man with his Club in his Hand. If they hit them on the Nose they are soon killed, but if on the Sides or Back, they will bear a great blow, and many times catch and hold down the Club with their Teeth by main force, that the Party is forced to call for help to his Fellows. When they have killed

killed what they can, they take the Skin from the Body, with the Lard or Fat, and all that cleaves to the Skin. This they take with them, leaving the Bodies behind, and so go to Shoar, where digging Pits of a Fathom and a half deep, they take the Fat or Lard from the Skin, and throw it into the Pit, casting among it hot burning Stones to melt it withal. The uppermost and purest is used in oyling Wool for Cloth; the grosser, (which is of a red colour) they sell to make Soap.

Caviar. Seven, *Ickary* or *Caviar*, whereof a great quantity is made upon the River *Volga*, out of the Fish called *Bellougina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Severiga*, and the *Sterledey*, and is exported into most parts of *Europe*.

Hemp, Flax. Eight, *Hemp* and *Flax*, whereof great quantity is transported yearly.

Salt. Nine, *Salt*, which at *Astracan* is made naturally by the Sea Water, which casts it up into great Hills, and is digged down and carried away by Merchants, paying three Pence Custom for every hundred weight.

Tar. Ten, *Tar*, whereof they make great quantity out of the Fir-trees, and send much abroad.

Slude. About the River *Dwina* grows a soft Rock called *Slude*; this they cut into pieces, and tear it into thin Flakes, which they use instead of Glass for Lanthorns. It gives a clearer light than Glass, and is better than Glass or Horn, because it is not so apt to break or burn.

Saltpeter and Brimstone. *Saltpeter* they make in many places, and some small store of *Brimstone*, but want skill to refine it.

Iron. Their Iron is somewhat brittle: They have no other Mine growing within the Realm.

Beasts. They have Fallow-Deer, the Roe-buck, and great store of Goats. Their Horses are but small, but very swift and hardy: They travel them unshod both Winter and Summer, without all regard of pace. Their Sheep are but small, and bear course and harsh Wool.

Fowls. They have great store of Hawks, whereof the most esteemed is the *Gerfaulcon*; of other Fowls the principal are the Swan, the Stork, the Crane, the Tedder, of the colour of a Pheasant, but far bigger: Of Pheasant and Patridge they have great plenty.

Fish. For fresh Water Fish, besides those common with us, as Carp, Pike, Pearch, Tench, Roach, &c. they have divers kinds very delicate, as the *Bellouga* or *Bellougina*, four or five Ells long; the *Ositrina* or Sturgeon, the *Severiga*, and *Sterledy*, like to a Sturgeon, but less. These four kinds of Fish breed in the *Volga*, and are sent thence into the whole Realm for a great Food. Of the Roes of these four kinds is made great store of *Caveare*. They practice their Fishing in Summer, and send it frozen in the Winter into all parts of the Realm.

The chief Cities of Russia.

The chief City of *Russia* is *Mosco*; it is in a manner round, with three strong Walls one within the other, and Streets lying between; whereof all within the inmost Wall (fenced and watered by the River *Moskua*, that runs close by it) is accounted the Emperour's Castle. The number of Houses, (by the Account given to the Emperour) before it was fired by the *Chrim* in the Year 1571, was 41500.

Novogrod. The next in greatness, and in a manner as large, is *Novogrod*, where (as the *Russians* say) that great defeat was given by the *Scythians* to their Slaves, who, during their Masters absence in the Wars against the *Tartars*, had possess'd their Houses, Lands, and Wives; whereupon advising what was best to be done, it was resolved to set upon them with their Horse-whips; and so marching on, and lashing all together with their Whips in their Hands, they gave the onset, which seemed so terrible in the Ears of their Villains, and struck such a sense into them of the smart of the Whip which they had felt before, that they fled like Sheep: In memory of which Victory the *Novogradians* have ever since stamped their Coins, with the Figure of a Horse-man shaking a Whip aloft in his Hand.

The Streets instead of paving, are planked with Fir-trees, plained and laid close one to the other. Their Houses are of Wood, without any Lime or Stone, built very close and warm with Fir-trees plained and piled one upon another; betwixt the Trees they thrust in Moss to keep out the Air; every House hath a pair of Stairs up into the Chambers out of the Yard or Street. This Building seems far better for their Country than Stone or Brick, which are colder and more damp than their wooden Houses, especially of Fir, which is a dry and warm Wood, and whereof they have such plenty, that a fair House may be built for 20 or 30 Rubbles, where Wood is scarcest; the greatest inconvenience, is its aptness to take Fire, which happens often, by reason of the dryness and fatness of the Fir, which burns like a Torch, and is hardly extinguished till all be consumed.

Of the Emperour's Title.

The Emperour's stile runs after this manner; *Theodore Juanovich*, by the Grace of God, Great Lord and Emperour of all *Russia*, Great Duke of *Volodemer*, *Mosco*, and *Novogrod*, King of *Cazan*, King of *Astracan*, Lord of *Plesko*, and Great Duke of *Smolensko*, of *Tweiria*, *Jeurgheria*, *Permia*, *Vadska*, *Bulgharia*, and others, Lord and Great Duke of *Novograd* of the Low-Country, of *Chernigo*, *Rezan*, *Polotskoy*, *Rostove*, *Yarustavely*, *Bealozera*, *Leifland*, *Oudoria*, *Obdoria*, and *Condensa*, Commander of all *Siberia*, and of the North Parts, and of many other Countries, &c.

This Stile contains in it all the Emperour's Provinces, and setts forth his Greatness, and therefore they have great delight and pride in it, forcing not only their own People, but also Strangers that have any Matter to deliver to the Emperour by Speech or Writing, to repeat the whole Form from the beginning to the end, which breeds much Cavail, and sometimes Quarrel betwixt them and the *Tartar* and *Poland* Embassadors, who refuse to call him *Czar*, that is, Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long Stile. When I had audience of the Emperour, I saluted him only with thus much, *viz.* Emperour of all *Russia*, Great Duke of *Volodemer*, *Mosco*, and *Novograd*, King of *Cazan*, King of *Astracan*, the rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried to have their Stile appear larger than the Queen of *England's*, but this was so ill taken, that the Chancellour, who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the Nobility, with a loud chasing Voice, called still upon me to say out the rest. I answered, that the Emperours Stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by Strangers, and that I had repeated so much of it as might shew that I gave honour to the rest, &c. But all would not serve, till I commanded my Interpreter to say it all out.

Of the State or Form of their Government.

Their Government is much after the *Turkish* manner, which they seem to imitate by applying all things to the advantage of the Prince, as near as the Country, and reach of their Capacities in Politick Affairs will give them leave to do.

Their highest Court is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publick Assembly*. There are present at it, 1. the Emperour; 2. About 20 of his Nobility, who are of his Council; 3. Some of the Clergy, about the same number. As for the *Burghers* or any to represent the Commonalty, they have no place there, the People being of no better account with them than Servants or Slaves, who are to obey, not to make Laws, nor to know any thing of publick matters before they are concluded.

The Court is held in this manner, The Emperour summons such of his Nobility as he thinks fit, being, as was said, all of his Council, together with the Patriarch, who calleth such Bishops, Abbots, and Friars, as are of best reputation among them.

The Emperour attended with his Nobility, is met in an Ante-chamber by the Clergy, following their Patriarch, who blesseth the Emperour with his two Fore-fingers, laying them on his Fore-head and the sides of his Face, and then kisseth him on the right side of his Breast. Then one of the Secretaries propounds the cause of their Assembly, and the principal Matters which they are to consider of; and the Patriarch with his Clergy have the Prerogative to be first asked their opinion, what they think of the Points propounded by the Secretary, whereto they answer commonly to this effect, 'That the Emperour 'and his Council are of great Wisdom and Experience, 'in the Policies and publick Affairs of the Realm, and 'far better able to judge what is profitable for the Com-'monwealth than they are, who attend upon the Ser-'vice of God only, and Matters of Religion, and 'therefore may it please them to proceed; that instead 'of their Advice, they will aid them with their Prayers, 'as their Duties and Vocations do require, &c. Then up stands some Abbot or Friar (appointed before hand) and desires that it would please his Majesty to command to be delivered unto them, what his own Judgment and determinate pleasure is, touching the Matters propounded by his Secretary.

Whereunto he replied by the Secretary in the Emperour's name, 'That his Highness with those of his noble 'Council, upon good and sound Advice, have found the 'Matters proposed to be very good and necessary for the 'Wealth of his Realm, notwithstanding, because they 'are religious Men, and know what is right, his Majesty 'requires their Godly Opinions, yea, and their Censures 'too, for the approving or correcting the said Propositi-'ons, and therefore desires them again to speak their 'minds freely, and if they shall like, to give their 'Consents, that then the Matters may pass to a full Con-'clusion.

Hereunto, when the Clergy have given their Consents (which they commonly do without much pausing) they take their Leaves with blessing the Emperour, who brings the Patriarch on his way as far as the next Room, and so returns to his Seat. The Acts thus passed by the *Zabore*, are drawn into a Proclamation, which they send into every Province and chief Town of the Realm, to be published by the Dukes and *Diaks*, or Secretaries of those places. The Sessions ended, the Emperour invites the Clergy to a solemn Dinner, after which, they depart to their own homes.

Among other Methods, these following have been used by their Emperours to augment their Treasure.

I. They would suffer their Subjects to give freely to the Monasteries (which many do, especially in their last Wills) and to lay up their Money and Substance in them, to keep it more safe; whereby their Monasteries are exceeding rich. This was done to have the Money of the Realm more ready for their Hand, when they list to take it; which many times is done without any noise, the Friers being content to part from some, rather than hazard to loose all at once.

To this end *Juan Vasilowich* did what few Princes would have done in their greatest Extremities; he resigned his Kingdom to the Emperour's Son of *Cazan*, as tho' he meant to retire to a private Life. Towards the end of the Year he caused this New King to call in all Charters granted to Bishopricks and Monasteries, which they had enjoyed many hundred Years before, and to cancel them all. This done (as if he had disliked the Fact and Misgovernment of the new King) he resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in favour of the Church and Religious Men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himself, reserving and annexing to the Crown, so much of their Lands as he thought Good.

By this practice he wrung from the Bishopricks and Monasteries, an huge mass of Money, from some 40, some 50, some 100000 Rubbles, and this as well to increase his Treasure, as to abate the ill opinion of his hard Government, by a shew of worse in another Man.

II. To make an open shew of want when they intend to lay a heavy Tax upon the People, as was done by *Theodore Juanowich*, at the beginning of his Reign, when being left very rich (as was thought) by his Father, he sold most of his Plate, and stampt some into Coin, that he might seem to want Money, whereupon presently came out a Taxation.

III. They would sometimes send their Messengers into the Provinces to forestal and ingross Commodities, taking them at small Prizes (what themselves list) and selling them again at excessive Rates, to their own Merchants and Strangers; If they refused to buy them, then to force them to it. The like is done when any Commodity, native or forreign (as Cloth of Gold, broad Cloth, &c.) thus engrossed by the Emperour, happens to decay or marre by long lying, which is forced upon the Merchants at the Emperour's price, whether they will or no.

IV. By engrossing foreign Commodities, and then forcing his Merchants to buy them of his Officers at his own price.

V. By making a Monopoly for a Season of all such Commodities as are paid him for Rent or Custom, and to enhance the price of them, as Furs, Corn, Wood, &c. During which time none must sell of the same Commodity, until the Emperour's be all sold.

Juan Vasilowich sent into *Permia* for certain Loads of Cedar, whereof he knew that none grew in that Country. The Inhabitants returned answer, That they could find none there; whereupon he taxed their Country in 12000 Rubbles, as if they had concealed the Commodity. Again, he sent to the City of *Mosco* to provide for him a *Colpack*, or Measure full of live Fleas for a Medecin: They answered, that the thing was impossible, and if they could get them, yet they could not measure them, for leaping out, whereupon he set a Mulct upon them of 7000 Rubbles.

To these may be added their Seisures and Confiscations upon such as are in displeasure, and the Conniving at their *Dukes* and *Diacks* in the Provinces, till their time be expired, and then turning all into the Emperour's Treasury, but never any thing back again to the right Owners, how great or evident soever the Injury be.

Of the Nobility and Degrees of Persons among them.

The Degrees of Persons or Estates in *Russia* are as follows.

I. The *Vadelney Knazey*, that is the exempt or privileged Dukes.

II. The *Boiarens*, who besides their Nobility, are honoured with the Title of *Counsellors*.

III. The *Voyavodey*, or such Nobles as are, or have been *Generals*, whose Title descends to their Posterity also. These take place of all Dukes and Nobles that are not of the two first sorts: And these three Ranks of Nobility have the addition of *Vich* put to their Sirname, which is a Note of Honour that the rest may not usurp; and if it be not added in the naming of them, they may sue the *Bestchest* or Penalty of dishonour upon them, that otherwise shall term them. Title *Vich.*

IV. The fourth and lowest degree of Nobility, is of such as bear the name of *Knazey* or *Dukes*, but come of the younger Brothers of those chief Houses through many descents, and have no Inheritance of their own, save the bear Title of Duke. For the Title of their Dignities descends to all their Children alike, whatsoever else they leave them; so that the Sons of a *Voivode*, or General in the Field, are called *Voivodey*, tho' they never saw the Field; and the Sons of a *Kezy*, or Duke, are called *Knazey*, tho' they have not one Groat of Inheritance or Livelyhood to maintain themselves. Of this sort there are so many, that the plenty makes them cheap; so that you shall see Dukes glad to serve a mean Man for five or six Rubbles a year, and yet they will stand highly upon their *Bestchests* or reputation of their Honors; and so much of their Nobility.

The second Degree of Persons is their *Sina-Boiarsky*, or Sons of Gentlemen, who are all preferred, and hold that name by their Service in the Wars, being Souldiers by their very Stock and Birth; to which order are preferred their *Diacks*, or Secretaries, who serve the Emperour in every chief Town, being joined in Commission with the Duke of that place. The second degree of Persons.

Lastly, their *Commons*, whom they call *Mousicks*, in which number they reckon their Merchants and Artificers. These are reckoned in no degree at all, nor have any place or Suffrage in the *Zabore*, and are esteemed no better than *Kolophey's* or Villains, and so subscribe themselves in all their Writings to any of the Nobility, as they of the Nobility do unto the Emperour; and indeed no Bondslaves are kept in more awe and subjection, than the common People are by the Nobility, Officers and Souldiers; so that when a poor *Mousick* meets with any of them upon the High-way, he must turn himself about, as not daring to look him on the Face, and fall down with his Head to the very ground.

As to their Lands and Goods, they are so exposed to the rapine of the Nobility and Souldiers, besides the Taxes, Customs, Seizures, and other publick Exactions laid upon them by the Emperour, that they are discouraged from following their Trades, because the more they have the more danger they are in, not only of their Goods, but of their Lives also; and if they have any thing they convey it into Monasteries, or hide it under Ground, or in Woods, as Men do when they are in fear of foreign invasion; so that many Villages and Towns are without Inhabitants; and in the way towards *Mosco*, betwixt *Vologhda* and *Teraslave*, about 100 *English* Miles, there are 50 Villages at least, some half a Mile, some a Mile long, that stand vacant and desolate without any Inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realm, as I have been told by those that have travelled the Country. The servile and miserable estate of the *Russe* People.

This oppression makes the People (tho' otherwise hardned to bear any toil) to give themselves over to Idleness and Drinking, as caring for no more than from hand to Mouth.

In every great Town the Emperour hath a *Caback* or drinking House, where is sold *Aqua Vitæ* (which they call *Russe* Wine) Mead, Beer, &c. Out of these he receives Rent, amounting to a great Sum of Money, some yield 800, 900, 1000, 2000, or 3000 Rubbles a year. Here the poor labouring Man and Artificer many times *Cabacks* or Drinking Houses.

spends

spends all from his Wife and Children; some will lay in 20, 30, or 40 Rubbles or more into the *Caback*, and vow themselves to the Pot until all that be spent; and this (as he will say) for the honour of *Hosp dare*, or the Emperour. You shall have many there, who have drank all away to the very Skin, and so walk naked. While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth, whatsoever cause there be, because he hinders the Emperour's Revenue.

Altho' the People seem apt enough to receive any Art (as appears by the natural Wits in the Men, and very Children) yet they excel in no common Art, much less in any learned Science. They are kept in ignorance, that they may be fitter for the servile condition they are in, and have neither Reason nor Valour to attempt innovation; for which purpose they are kept from travelling, that they may learn nothing, nor see the Fathions of other Countries abroad. You shall seldom see a *Russe* Traveller, except he be with some Embassador, or make an escape out of his Country, which he can hardly do, by reason the Borders are watched so narrowly, and the Punishment, if he be taken in the Attempt, which is death, and confiscation of all his Goods; neither do they willingly suffer any Stranger to come into their Realm out of any civil Country, farther than necessity of uttering their own Commodities, and taking in of foreign, enforces them to do.

Russe not permitted to travel.

And therefore in the Year 1589, they consulted about the removing of all Merchants Strangers to the border-Towns, to have their residence there, and to be more wary in admitting other Strangers hereafter into the Inland parts of the Realm: For the same purpose also, they are kept within the Bounds of their Degree by the Laws of their Country, so that the Son of a *Mousick*, Artificer, &c. is ever a *Mousick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no means to aspire any higher, except, having learned to write and read, he attain to the preferment of a Priest or Diack. The *Russe* Character is no other than the *Greek* somewhat distorted.

Of their publick Justice, and manner of proceeding in Civil and Criminal Matters.

Proceeding in Civil Causes.

Their proceeding in Civil Actions is on this manner, First the Plaintiff puts up his Supplication, shewing the Wrong done unto him, whereupon a Warrant is granted to him, which he delivers to the *Pristaw* or Serjeant, to arrest the Party, who must put in Sureties to answer at the day appointed, or else stand at the Serjeants mercy, for his safe keeping.

These Serjeants are commonly very cruel towards their Prisoners, clapping as many Irons upon them as they can bear, to squeeze out of them the larger Fees; tho' it be but for Six-pence, you shall see them go with Chains on their Legs, Arms, and Necks. When they come before the Judge, the Plaintiff declares according to the Contents of his Supplication. They have no Attornies, Counsellors, &c. to plead their Cause for them, but every Man is to tell his own tale, and plead for himself as well as he can.

Controversies ended by kissing the Cross.

If they have any Witness or other Evidence, they produce it before the Judge; If they have none, or if the Truth of the Cause cannot so well be discerned by the Plea, or Evidence on both parts, then the Judge asks the Plaintiff or Defendant (which he thinks good) whether he will kiss the *Cross*, upon that which he avouches or denies. He that takes the Cross (being so offered by the Judge) is accounted clear, and carries the Cause. This Ceremony is not done in the Court, but the Party is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there it is done, the Money in the mean time hanging upon a Nail, or lying at the Idol's Feet, ready to be delivered to the Party, as soon as he hath kissed the Cross before the Idol.

This kissing the Cross is as their corporal Oath, and accounted with them a very holy thing, which no Man will dare to violate or profane by a false Allegation.

The manner of drawing Lots.

If both Parties offer to kiss the Cross, then they draw Lots, by putting into a Cap two equal Balls of Wax, in one of which is the name of the Plaintiff, and in the other that of the Defendant; then the Judge calls some By-stander, and commands him to strip up his right Sleeve, and with his bare Arm in God's name, severally to take out the two Balls, and he whose Name comes out first, is presumed to have the right on his side, and the other Party is convicted and delivered to the Serjeant to carry him to the *Pravoush* if he do not pay the Money, or content the Party. The *Pravoush* is a place where such as have Sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adjudged, are beaten with great Cudgels on the Shins and Calves of their Legs. Every Morning from eight to eleven, they are set on the *Pravoush* and beaten in this manner till the Money be paid. In the Afternoon and Night time, they are kept in Chains, unless they put in sufficient Sureties for their appearance at the *Pravoush* at the Hour appointed. You shall see 40 or 50 stand together on the *Pravoush* all on a row, and their Shins thus cudgelled every Morning, with a piteous cry. If after a Years standing on the *Pravoush*, the Party will not, or cannot satisfy his Creditor, it is lawful for him to sell his Wife and Children, either outright, or for a certain term of Years; and if the Price of them do not amount to the full payment, the Creditor may take them to be his Bondslaves, for years, or for ever, according to the value of the Debt.

Proceeding in criminal Matters.

When a Man is apprehended for Treason, Murder, Theft, &c. he is brought before the Duke and Diack of that Province; the Examination is all by Torture, as scourging with Whips made of Sinews or white Leather, as big as a Man's Finger, which enters the Flesh and gives a sore lash; or by tying to a Spit and roasting at the Fire; sometimes by wrenching and breaking one of their Ribs with a pair of hot Tonges, or cutting the Flesh under the Nails, &c.

The Examination thus taken, with all the Proofs and Evidences alledged against the Party, are sent to the Council Table at *Mosco*, where only Judgment is given in matter of Life and Death; and that by evidence upon Information, without seeing or hearing the Party, who is still kept in Prison where the Fact was committed, and never sent up to the place where he is tried. If they find the Party guilty, they give Sentence of death according to the quality of the Fact. The Prisoner is carried to the place of Execution with his Hands bound, and a Wax Candle burning, held betwixt his Fingers.

Executions.

Their capital Punishments are Hanging, Beheading, knocking on the Head, Drowning, putting under the Ice, setting on a Stake, &c. but for the most part the Prisoners condemned in Summer are kept till Winter to be knockt on the Head and put under the Ice. These Punishments are to be understood for common Persons; for if Theft or Murder be committed upon a poor *Mousick* by one of the Nobility, he is seldom punished, or so much as called to account for it, because the *Mousicks* are looked upon as their *Kolophey's*: If a Murder or Theft be committed by a Gentleman Souldier, perhaps he shall be imprisoned at the Emperour's pleasure; or if the Fact be very notorious, he may be whipped, which is commonly all the punishment inflicted on them.

If a Man kill his own Servant, little or nothing is said to him, because he was accounted his Bondslave, and so to have a right over his Head; the most is some Mulct to the Emperour if the Party be rich; and so the Punishment is rather against the Purse than the Injustice. They have no written Law, except a small Book containing some Judicial Forms and Circumstances, but nothing to direct them in giving Sentence upon Right or Wrong.

Of their Military Force.

The Souldiers of *Russia* are called *Sinaboiarskoy*, or the Sons of Gentlemen, every Souldier being a Gentleman by virtue of his Military Profession, and none are Gentlemen but Souldiers. When they are of Years able to bear Arms, they enter their Names in the Office of the *Great Constable*, who allots them certain Lands for their maintenance, for the most part the same their Fathers enjoyed; For the Lands assigned to maintain the Army are ever certain, without addition or diminution, and are registred in this Office: But if the Emperour have as many Souldiers in pay as the yearly value of those Lands does amount to, then those who come and enter themselves in the Office, have nothing allowed them for the present, except some one portion of Land be divided in two, which often causes great disorder in that Country; for a Souldier who hath many Children, shall have sometimes but one entertained in the Emperour's pay; so that the rest having nothing, are forced to live by unjust and wicked Shifts, and oppressing the People.

The Moving Castle.

The *Russe* trusteth rather to the number than to the valour of his Soldiers; they charge on all together in a hurry without order; their Ensigns is the Image of St. *George*; the Foot are commonly placed in a moving Castle, so framed that it may be set up in length (as occasion requires) one, two, three, four, five, six, or seven Miles, for so long it will reach. It is nothing else but a double Wall of Wood, with about three yards space betwixt the two sides, so that they may stand within it, and have room enough to charge and discharge their Pieces, and to use their other Weapons. It is closed at both ends

ends, and made with Loop holes on either side, to lay out the muzzles of their Guns, and to push forth any other Weapon. It is carried with the Army whersoever it goes, being taken into pieces, and so laid on Carts sparred together, and drawn by Horses that are not seen, because they are covered with their Carriages as with a Paint-House. It is easily put together without the Help of a Carpenter or Instrument, the Timber being so framed as shut one piece within another.

The *Russes* have been ever observed to be vanquished by the *Poles* and *Swedes* in a pitched Field; but in defending a Castle or Town, they prove good Souldiers, as was seen at the siege of *Volsko*, where they repulsed the King of *Poland* with his whole Army of 190000 Men, and forced him in the end to give over his siege, with the loss of many of his best Captains and Souldiers.

Reward of Valour. If any Man signalize himself, by doing some special piece of Service, the Emperour sends him a piece of Gold stamped with the Image of St. *George* on Horseback. This they hang on their Sleves and set in their Caps: and this is accounted the greatest Honour they can receive for any Service they do.

Of their Ecclesiastical State, or Church Government.

The Patriarch of the *Greek* Church resided formerly at *Constantinople*, and being forced thence by the *Turk*, removed to the Isle of *Scio*, to which place the Emperours and Clergy of *Russia* were wont yearly to send Gifts, and to acknowledge a Spiritual Subjection to him.

In the Year 1588 *Hieronymo* Patriarch of *Scio* (banished by the *Turk* as some said, others, deprived by the Clergy) came to *Mosco* where the Emperour, who was very superstitious, gave him great entertainment. Before his coming to *Mosco*, he had been in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported by some of his Company.

His chief Business was (in revenge of the *Turk* and the *Greek* Clergy, who had thrust him from his Seat) to treat about reducing the *Russe* Church under the Pope of *Rome*, wherein it may seem that coming lately from *Rome*, he was set on by the Pope, who tho' he had in vain attempted the same many times before, (and namely, in the time of *Juan Vasilowich*, by one *Anthony* his Legate) yet thought this the most proper time to obtain his purpose, by the Mediation of their own Patriarch; but this not succeeding, he Patriarch came to a second Point, concerning the resignation of his Patriarchship, and translation of the See from *Constantinople* or *Scio* to the City of *Mosco*. This was so well received by the Emperour, as matter of Religion and Policy, that no other Treaty nor foreign Embassages were regarded, till that Matter was concluded.

The Reasons alledged by the Patriarch for the trasslating his See, were these, *viz.* Because it was under the *Turk*, who is an Enemy to the Faith. 2. Because the *Russe* Church was the only natural Daughter of the *Greek* at this time, and holds the same Doctrine and Ceremonies with it, the rest being all subject to the *Turk*, and fallen away from the true profession; and, to make the better Market of his broken Ware, he insisted upon the Honour that would grow to the Emperour and his Country, to have the Patriarchal Seat translated into the chief City of his Empire. As for the right of translating it, and appointing his Successour, he made no doubt of it, but that it pertained wholly to himself.

The Patriarchal See translated from *Constantinople* to *Mosco*. So the Emperour and his Council, with the principal of his Clergy being assembled at *Mosco*, it was determined that the Metropolite of *Mosco* should become Patriarch of the whole *Greek* Church, and have the same full Authority and Jurisdiction that pertained before to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*; And that it might be done with more solemnity, the 25 of *Jan.* 1588. the *Greek* Patriarch accompanied with the *Russe* Clergy, went to the great Church of our Lady, (having first wandred thro' the whole City, blessing the People with his two Fingers) where making an Oration, he delivered his Resignation in an Instrument of Writing, and so laid down his Patriarchal Staff, which was presently received by the Metropolite of *Mosco*, and divers other Ceremonies used about the inauguration of this new Patriarch.

Hieronymo was that day honoured with rich Presents sent him from the Emperour and Empress, of Plate, Cloth of Gold, Furs, &c. and at his departing, received many Gifts more from the Emperour, Nobility and Clergy. Thus the Patriarchship of *Constantinople* (which hath continued since the Council of *Nice*) is now translated to *Mosco*, or they made believe that they have a Patriarch with the same Right and Authority that the other had: However *Hieronymo* made good advantage of it, and went away with a rich Booty into *Poland*, whether their Patriarchship be current or not.

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. The Clergy of *Russia*, are altogether ordered and overruled by the Emperour and his Council, as well concerning their Lands and Revenues, as their Authority and Jurisdiction, and have so much and no more of both, than his pleasure does permit them. The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction extends to all Testimentary Causes, Marriages, and Divorcements, to which purpose they have their Officiate or Commissaries, that are Lay-men, of the Degree of Dukes or Gentlemen, that keep their Courts, and execute their Jurisdiction, who, besides their oppressing the common People, reign over the Priests also. These Officials are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour or his Council, and are to give account of their Doings to none but them.

Election of Bishops. The election of Bishops pertains wholly to the Emperour; they are ever chosen out of Monasteries; so that there is no Bishop, Archbishop, nor Metropolite, but hath been a Monk or Friar before, and consequently must be unmarried Men. Their Revenues to maintain their Dignities are somewhat large; the Patriarchs yearly Rents of his Lands, besides other Fees, is about 3000 Rubbles or Marks; the two Metropolites, and four Archbishops, about 2500; the Bishops, some 1000, some 800, 500, &c.

The Learning of the Popish Clergy. As for Preaching, they neither use it, nor have any skill in it, the whole Clergy being utterly unlearned; and as themselves are void of learning, so are they wary to keep out all means that might bring it in, least their Ignorance should be discovered; and have therefore perswaded the Emperours, that it would breed Innovation, and prove dangerous to their State to have any novelty of Learning come within the Realm. There came once a Press and Letters out of *Poland* to *Mosco*, where a Printing House was set up with the Approbation of the Emperour himself; but not long after, the House was fired in the Night time, and the Press and Letters were burnt, as was thought, by the procurement of the Clergy.

Priests. The Priests (whom they call *Papaes*) are made by the Bishops, without any great tryal of their Parts or Gifts before they admit them. Their Heads are shorn (not shaven, for they like not that) about an hand breadth on the Crown, and that place anointed with Oil by the Bishop who puts upon him first his Surplice, and then a white Cross of Silk upon his Breast, which he wears eight days and no more; and so gives him authority to say and sing in the Church, and to administer the Sacraments.

It is lawful for a Priest to marry once, but if the first Wife die, he cannot take a second, but he must loose his Priesthood and his Living withal. The Reason they take from that place of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, 1. 3. 2. not well understood, thinking that to be spoken of divers Wives successively, which the Apostle speaks of at one and the same time. If he would needs marry again after his first Wife is dead, he is no longer called *Papa*, but *Rospapa* or *Quondam* Priest. This causes the Priests to make much of their Wives, who are accounted as Matrons, and of best reputation among the Women of the Parish.

The Priests receives no Tyths of Corn or other thing, but stands to the Courtesy of the Parish, and makes up his Income by Offerings, Shrifts, Marriages, Burials, Dirges, and Prayers for the Dead. They use also to visit their Parishoners Houses with Holy Water and Perfume once a Quarter, and so having sprinkled, the good Man and his Wife, with the rest of their Houshold and Houshold Stuff, they receive a Gratuity according to the Man's Ability. These things laid together, may make about thirty or forty Rubbles or Marks a year, whereof he pays a tenth part to the Bishop of the Diocess.

Friars. Of *Friars* they have an infinite Rabble, far greater than in any Country where Popery is professed; the Reason whereof seems to be, because the Friars life is the safest from the Oppressions and Exactions that fall upon the Commons; and besides, such as are voluntary, there are divers that are forced to put on the Friars Habit, upon some displeasure; these are for the most part the chief Nobility. Divers turn Friars to avoid the Punishment they have deserved by the Laws of the Realm; for if a Man can get a Monastery over his Head, and there put on a Coul before he be attacked, he is for ever protected against any Law, for all Crimes but Treason; But they will admit none but such as bring their Stock with them (except such as are commanded by the Emperour to be received) some bring 1000 Rubbles and more, but none are admitted under three or four hundred.

The

The manner of their Admission is thus, First, he is stript of all his secular Apparel, then the Abbot puts upon him next to his Skin, a white Flannel Shirt, with a long Garment down to the Ground, girded upon him with a broad Leather Belt; then is his Crown shorn, the Abbot pronouncing these Words while he is clipping his Hair, *As these Hairs are clipped off and taken from thy Head, so we now take thee and separate thee clean from the World and Worldly Things.* This done, he anoints his Crown with Oil, and puts on his Coul: They vow perpetual Chastity and abstinency from Flesh.

Besides their Lands, they are the greatest Merchants in the whole Country; the Lands of some Monasteries are worth 1000 or 2000 Rubbles a year; there is one Abby called *Troitz*, that hath in Lands and Fees 100000 Rubbles or Marks a year: There are of Friars within it about 700, besides Officers and Servants. They have also many Nunneries, whereof some may admit none but Noblemens Widows and Daughters, who the Emperour will keep unmarried to extinguish their Families.

Of their Lithurgy or Form of Church Service.

Their Morning Service is done in this order: The Priest being come into the middle of the Church, says with a loud Voice, *Blessavey Vladika* (that is) *Bless us Heavenly Pastour*, meaning *Christ*. Then he adds, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one very God in Trinity*; and *Aspody Pomelius* or *Lord have mercy upon us*, repeated three times. This done, he enters the Chancel; where standing at the Altar or Table set near to the upper Wall of the Chancel, he says the Lord's Prayer, and then again *Aspody Pomelius*, or *Lord have mercy upon us*, pronounced twelve times; then, *Praised be the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever*; whereunto the Deacons and People say *Amen*: Then the Priest adds the Psalms for that day, and begins with, *O come let us worship and fall down before the Lord*, &c. and therewithal, himself with the Deacons and People, turn themselves towards their Images that hang on the Wall, and crossing themselves, bow down three times, knocking their Heads to the very ground; After this he reads the Ten Commandments, and *Athanasius's* Creed out of the Service Book.

This done, the Deacon who stands without the Chancel, reads a piece of Legend out of a written Book, of some Saints Life, Miracles, &c. This is read with a kind of a plain singing Note; after which, he adds certain Collects, and so ends his Service, which lasts commonly an Hour and half or two Hours.

All this while stand burning before their Idols, a great many Wax Candles (whereof some as big as a Man's Waist) vowed, or enjoyned by pennance upon the People of the Parish.

About nine in the Morning, the High Service is sung by the Priests and Choristers; and if it be a Festival Day, then *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel*, and *We praise thee O God*, &c. are sung with a more solemn and curious Note. This commonly lasts two Hours.

In the Evening Service the Priest begins as he did in the Morning; and after the Psalms he sings, *My Soul doth magnify the Lord*, &c. and then the Priests, Deacons and People, all with one voice sing, *Aspody Pomelius*, or *Lord have mercy upon us*, thirty times together; whereunto the Boys answer as fast as their Lips can go, *Verii, Verii, Verii, Verii*, or *Praise, Praise, Praise*, &c. thirty times together: Then is read or sung by the Priest the first Psalms, *Blessed is the Man* &c. and in the end of it is added *Allelugia* repeated ten times: Then follows some part of the Gospel read by the Priests, which he ends with *Alleluja*, repeated three times: All this while the Priest stands above at the Altar or high Table within the Chancel, whence he never moves all the Service time; the Deacons without the Chancel Door, and the People stand the whole Service time in the Body of the Church, they having no Pews or Seats in their Churches.

The Sacrament of Baptism is administred after this manner. The Child is brought to the Church within eight days after it is born, the Priest standing ready in the Porch with his Tub of Water by him, declares unto them, that they have brought a little Infidel to be made a Christian: Then he teaches the Witnesses in a set form out of his Book, what their Duty is in bringing up the Child after he is baptized: This done, in the name of God, he commands the Devil after a conjuring manner, to come out of the Water, and so after certain Prayers, plunges the Child thrice over head and ears; for they hold it necessary that no part of the Child be undipped in the Water.

The Form of Baptism is the very same used by us, viz. *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; And as soon as the Child is baptized, the Priest lays Oil and Salt tempered together upon the Fore-head, both sides of the Face, and upon the Mouth, drawing it along with his Finger over the Child's Lips, saying certain Prayers that God would make him a good Christian, &c. All this is done in the Church-porch. Then is the Child (as being now made a Christian, and fit to be received within the Church-door) carried into the Church, the Priest going before, and there he is presented to the chief Idol of the Church, being laid on a Cushion before the Feet of the Image, by it (as by the Mediator) to be commended unto God. If the Child be sick or weak (especially in Winter) they make the Water luke warm. After Baptism, they cut off the Hair from the Child's Head, and wrapping it up with a piece of Wax, lay it up in a secret place of the Church.

When they take a *Tartar* Prisoner, they will commonly offer him Life, on condition to be baptized; and yet they perswade very few of them so to redeem their Lives. *Tartar* choose to die rather then turn Christians.

The Year after *Mosco* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Divoymorsey*, one of the chief in that Exploit, with 300 *Tartars* more, who had all their Lives offered them if they would be baptized after the *Russe* manner, which they all refused to do, with many Reproaches against those that perswaded them; and so being carried to the River *Mosco*, they were all baptized after a violent manner, being brought to the brink of a Hole made in the Ice, and by a knock on the Head forced into the Water.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper they receive but once a year, in their great Lent time, a little before, *Easter*; three at most are admitted at one time, and never above: The Priest begins with certain usual Prayers, the Communicants standing the mean while with their Arms folded: Then the Priest fills a Spoon with Claret, and putting a small piece of Bread into it, tempereth them both together, and so delivers them in the Spoon to the Communicants that stand in order, speaking the usual Words of the Sacrament, *Eat this*, &c. *Drink this*, &c. both at one time, without any pause. The Lord's Supper.

This done, he delivers them again Bread by it self, and Wine, tempred together with a little warm Water, to represent the Blood and Water that flowed out of the side of Christ. While this is doing, the Communicants unfold their Arms, and then folding them again, follow the Priest thrice round the Communion Table, and so return to their places again, where, after some Prayers, he dismisseth them, charging them to be merry for seven days following; which ended, he enjoins them to fast as many more; and this they observe with great devotion, eating nothing but Bread and Salt, except a little Cabbage, or other Plant, and drink nothing but Water.

Of the Doctrine of the Russe *Church, and its Errours.*

I. They will not publickly read some Canonical Books of Scripture, as the Books of *Moses*, especially the four last, which they say (not discerning the difference between the Moral and Ceremonial Law) are all annulled and of no use, by the coming of Christ. The Books of the Prophets they allow of, but read them not publickly in their Churches, because (say they) they were but Directors unto Christ, and proper to the Nation of the Jews; only the Book of Psalms they have in great estimation, and sing and say them daily in their Churches. Of the New Testament, they allow and read all except the Revelation, which, though they allow it, they read not, because they do not understand it.

II. They hold with the Papists, that their Church Traditions are of equal Authority with the written Word of God, and prefer themselves to other Churches, affirming, that they have the true and right Traditions delivered by the Apostles to the *Greek* Church, and so to them. Traditions.

III. That the Church (meaning the *Greek*, and especially the Patriarch and his Synod, as the head of the rest) have a Soveraign Authority to interpret the Scriptures, and that all are bound to hold that Interpretation to be sound and authentick. Authority to interpret Scriptures.

IV. Concerning the Divine Nature, and the three Persons in the one Substance of God, they hold that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, and not from the Son. The Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father only.

V. About the Office of Christ, they hold many foul Errors, and the same almost with the Popish Church, namely, that he is the sole Mediator of Redemption, but not of Intercession

VI. For

VI. For the means of Justification, they agree with the Papists, that it is not by Faith in Christ only, but by their Works only.

VII. They say with the Papists, that no Man can be assured of his Salvation, till the Sentence be passed at the Day of Judgment.

Auricular Confession.

VIII. They use Auricular Confession, and think they are purged by the very Action from so many Sins as they confess to the Priest.

Three Sacraments.

IX. They hold three Sacraments, *Baptism*, the *Lord's Supper*, and *Extream Unction*; yet they hold not the last so necessary to Salvation, but think it a great Curse and Punishment if any die without it.

X. They think there is a necessity of Baptism, and that all are condemned that die without it.

XI. They rebaptise as many Christians (not being of the *Greek* Church) as they convert to their *Russe* Profession.

XII. They observe their Fasts so strictly, and with such blind Devotion, that they will rather die than eat a bit of Flesh, Eggs or such like, for the health of their Bodies in extream Sickness.

XIII. They hold Marriage to be unlawful for all Clergy-men, except Priests only, and for them also after the first Wife, as was said before.

Of their Marriages.

The manner of solemnizing their Marriage is different from that of other Countries; the Man, tho' he never saw the Woman before, is not permitted to have any sight of her all the time of his Wooing, which is not managed by himself, but by his Mother or some grave Matron of his Kindred. When the Parents or Guardians are agreed, (for without their consent the Contract is not lawful) they have a Conference about the Dowry, which is commonly as large as the Ability of the Parents will admit.

The Man makes no Jointure in recompence of the Dowry; but in case he have a Child by his Wife, she enjoys a Third after his decease: If he have two Children by her or more, she is to have an Addition at the discretion of her Husband: If the Husband depart without Issue by his Wife, she is returned to her Friends without any thing but her Dowry, if the Husband leave so much behind him: If the Woman were never married before, her Father and Friends are bound to assure her a Maiden; which occasions many Brawls and Law Suits among them.

The Contract thus made, the Parties send Tokens to each other, the Woman first, then the Man, but yet see not one another until the Marriage be solemnized. On the Eve before the Marriage Day, the Bride is carried to the Bridegrooms House, with her Weeding-Cloths and Bed with her; for this is always provided by the Bride, and hath commonly most cost bestowed upon it: Here she is accompanied all that Night, by her Mother and other Women, but not welcomed or seen by the Bridegroom himself.

The time being come, the Bride puts on a Vail that covers her Head and Body to the middle; and thus accompanied with her Friends, and the Bridegroom with his, they go to Church all on Horseback, tho' the Church be near, and themselves but of mean condition. The Words of Contract are much the same with those used with us, with a Ring also given to the Bride, which being put on, and the Words of Contract pronounced, the Bride's Hand is delivered into the Hand of the Bridegroom, who stands on the other side of the Table: Then the Bride cometh to the Bridegroom, and falls down at his Feet, knocking her Head upon his Shooe in token of her subjection and obedience; and the Bridegroom casts the lap of his Gown or upper Garment over the Bride, as a Token that he will protect and cherish her.

Then the Bridegroom and Bride standing both together at the Tables end, the Father and Friends of the Bride bow themselves down low to the Bridegroom, and then his Friends do the like to the Bride, in token of Affinity and Love ever after betwixt the two Kindreds. The Bridegroom then taking the Bride by the Hand, they are met in the Church-porch by some with Cups of Mead in their Hands; the Bridegroom takes one and drinks to the Bride, who opening her Vail below (that she may not be seen by the Bridegroom) puts the Cup to her Mouth underneath it, and pledges him. Thus returning all together from the Church, the Bridegroom goes not home to his own, but to his Father's House, and she likewise to hers, where either entertain their Friends apart: At the Entry into the House, they fling Corn out of the Windows upon the Bridegroom and Bride, as a token of Fruitfulness and Plenty.

When the Evening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bridegroom's Father's House, and there lodges that Night, with her Vail still over her Head: All that Night she may not speak one Word (for that charge she receives from her Mother and other Matrons her Friends) that the Bridegroom must neither hear nor see her, till the day after the Marriage; neither must she speak in three days after, except a few words at Table, with great reverence to the Bridegroom; if she behave her self otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credit ever after, and will highly be disliked of the Bridegroom himself.

After the third day they depart to their own home, and make a Feast to both their Friends together. On the marriage day and during the Festival, he is called *Young Duke*, and she *Young Dutchess*.

The common People generally use their Wives like Servants, and upon dislike, the Man may enter himself into a Monastery on pretence of Devotion, and so leave his Wife to shift for her self as well as she can.

Of other Ceremonies of the Russe *Church.*

The Sign of the Cross is much abused by them, setting it up in their High-ways, tops of Churches, and in every Door of their Houses, signing their Foreheads and Breasts with it continually, and that with great devotion as should seem by their outward Gesture: The like is done when they begin any Work, sit down or rise up from Meat; and think all other Christians to be no better than *Turks*, because they do not sign themselves with the Cross, as the *Russians* do.

They have Holy Water in great esteem as the Popish Church hath, and on Twelfth Day they hallow all the Rivers in the Country: It is done at *Mosco* with great Solemnity, as hath been before described. The Patriarch after certain Prayers, conjures the Devil to come out of the Water, and therefore on the Morning before, all the People of *Mosco* make Crosses of Chalk over every Door and Window of their Houses, lest the Devil being conjured out of the Water, should fly into their Houses.

At every Brewing, they bring a Dish of Wort to the Priest within the Church, which being hallowed by him, is poured into the Brewing; The like is done with the first Fruits of their Corn in Harvest.

Besides their weekly Fasts on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, they have four Lents every Year; in their great Lent they have three Vigils, and the last *Friday* they call their great *Vigil*, at which time the whole Parish must be present in the Church, and watch from nine in the Evening until six in the Morning, standing all the time, except when they fall down and knock their Heads to their Idols, which must be just 170 times in the whole Night.

About their Burials they have many Superstitions and prophane Ceremonies, as putting between the Fingers of the Corps, a Letter to St. *Nicholas*, whom they make the Porter of Heaven Gates, as the *Papists* do St. *Peter*.

In Winter when all is covered with Snow, and the Ground so hard frozen as no Spade nor Pickax can enter, their Custom is not to bury the dead, but to keep the Bodies of such as die in Winter, in an House in the Out-parts of the Town, by them called *Bohsedom* or *God's House*, where the dead Bodies are piled up like Billets in a Wood Stack, as hard with the Frost as a very Stone, till the Spring come, and then every Man takes his dead Friend and commits him to the Ground. They bury their dead as they used to go, with Coat, Hose, Boots, and the rest of his Apparel.

Of their private Behaviour, and manner of living.

As to the Constitution of their Bodies, they are generally of a large size, and account it a Grace to be gross and burly.

Diet.

Their Diet is rather much than curious; they commonly begin their Meals with a small Cup of *Aqua Vitæ*, (called by them *Russe* Wine) and drink not again till towards the end of their Meals, and then take it in largely, kissing one another at every Pledge. After Dinner there is no talking with them, but every Man goes to his Bench to take his Afternoon sleep, which is as ordinary with them as their Nights rest. They begin their Meals with their baked Meats, next their Roast, (whereof they use but little) and lastly their Broths.

Bath-stoves.

This Diet would breed in them many Diseases, but that they use Bath-stoves or Hot-houses twice or thrice a Week, instead of all Physick; All the Winter, and almost

almost the whole Summer they so warm the House, that a Stranger can hardly bear it. These two Extreams (specially in the Winter) of heat within their Houses and cold without, makes them of a dark and sallow Complexion, their Skins being tanned and parched both with Cold and Heat, especially the Women, who are for the most part of far worse Complexions than the Men; and therefore the *Russians* allow their Wives and Daughters somewhat to buy Colours to paint their Faces, which they do so visibly, that every Man may perceive it, and yet no notice is taken of it, because it is common, and pleases their Husbands.

The *Russians* being thus accustomed to both Extremities, of Heat and Cold, can bear them more patiently than Strangers can do. You shall see them sometimes (to season their Bodies) come out of their Bath-stoves all on a froth, and fuming as hot almost as a Pig at a Spit, and presently to leap into the River stark naked, or to pour cold Water all over their Bodies, and this in the extremity of Winter.

The number of their vagrant and begging Poor, is almost infinite; They are so pinched with Famin and extream Want, that they beg after a violent and desperate manner, as, *Give and cut me; Give me and kill me*, and such like Phrases.

The *Russes* are said to believe nothing another Man saith, nor speaketh any thing worthy to be believed: This quality makes them odious to all their Neighbours, especially to the *Tartars*, who account themselves to be honest and just in comparison of the *Russians*; and it is thought that the Offence they take at their double dealing, hath been a great Cause to keep the *Tartars* still Heathenish, and to mislike the Christian Profession.

Of the Tartars, Samoits, *and other Borderers.*

Their Neighbours, with whom they have great Dealings both in Peace and War, are the *Polonians*, the *Swedes*, and the *Tartars*, who are divided into many Tribes, different in Name and Government one from another, of whom, the greatest is the *Chrim Tartar*, that lies South and South-east from *Russia*, and most annoys the Country by frequent Invasions, commonly once every Year, and sometimes penetrates very far into the Country.

In the Year 1571, he came as far as the City of *Mosco*, with an Army of 200000 Men, without resistance, the Emperour *Juan Vasilowich* with his Army having marched a wrong way, which was thought done on purpose, as not daring to adventure a Battle, because he supected his Nobility and chief Commanders had a design to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The City he took not, but firing the Suburbs, which were all of Wood, they burnt so furiously, that in four Hours time the greatest part of the City was consumed also, being 30 Miles or more in compass. The throng of the People pressing out at the Gates fartheſt from the Enemy, was so great, that there perished by the Fire and the Croud, 80000 People.

The *Chrim* having thus fired the City, returned with his Army, and sent the Emperour a Knife (as was said) to stab himself, upbraiding his Loss and desperate Case, neither daring to meet his Enemy in the Field, nor to trust to his Subjects at home.

The principal Cause of this continual Quarrel, is for the right of certain Borders, claimed by the *Tartar*, but possessed by the *Russe*. The *Tartar* alledges, that besides *Astracan* and *Cazan*, the whole Country as far as the City of *Mosco*, yea, and *Mosco* it self pertaineth to his right, which seems to be true by the Report of the *Russes* themselves, who tell of a Homage done by the *Russe* Emperour every year to the *Chrim*, the *Russe* Emperour standing on foot, and feeding the *Chrim*'s Horse, (himself sitting on his Back) with Oats out of his own Cap, and that within the Castle of *Mosco*: And this Homage (they say) was done till the time of *Basileus* the Emperour, who surprising the *Chrim* by a Stratagem, changed this Homage into a Tribute of Furs, which was afterwards denied to be paid by the succeeding Emperour.

Hereupon they continue the Quarrel, the *Chrim Tartar* invading him once or twice every Year, about *Whitsontide* or Harvest. If the *Chrim* come in his own Person, he brings with him an Army of 100000 or 200000 Men, otherwise they make short and sudden Inroads with less numbers, invading and retiring as they see advantage.

Their common Practice (being very populous) is to make divers Armies, and so drawing the *Russe* to one or two places of the Frontiers, to invade some other place that is left defenceless. They are all expert Horse-men, and will shoot as readily backward as forward: Their Armes are a Bow, a Sheaf of Arrows, and a Scymitar: The common Souldier hath no other Armer than his ordinary Apparel, *viz.* a black Sheeps Skin, with the Wool side outward in the Day time, and inward in the Night time, and a Cap of the same; but their *Murzes* or Noblemen imitate the *Turks* both in Apparel and Armor. When they pass a River, they tye three or four Horses together, and taking long Poles or pieces of Wood, bind them fast to the Tayls of their Horses, so sitting on the Poles, they drive them over.

When they give an assault, they make a great shout, crying all together *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God help us, God help us.* They choose rather to die than to yield to their Enemy, and will often bite the Weapon, when they are past striking or helping themselves, whereas the *Russe* Souldier, if taken by his Enemy, neither defends himself, nor intreats for his life, as reckoning strait to die; and the *Turk* commonly when he is past hope of escaping, casts away his Weapon, and holds up both his Hands, as it were to be tied, hoping to save his Life by offering himself Bondslave.

The chief Booty the *Tartars* seek for in their Wars, is to get store of Captives, especially young Boys and Girls, whom they sell to the *Turks* or other Neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tyre or be sick on the way, they dash him against the Ground, or some Tree, and so leave him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping Captives or other Booty, because they have certain Bands for that purpose, who mind nothing else.

The *Russe* Borderers being used to their Invasions, keep few Cattle there besides Swine, which the *Tartar* will not touch nor drive away with him, because he is of the *Turkish* Religion, and will eat no Swines Flesh. Of *Christ* our Saviour they confess as much as the *Turk* does in his *Alcoran*, *viz.* That he came of the Angel *Gabriel* and the Virgin *Mary*, that he was a great Prophet, &c. But their Religion differs from the *Turks* in this, that they have Idols made of Silk or other Stuff, of the Fashion of a Man, fastned to the Door of their moving Houses; and have besides, the Image of their King or great *Cham* of an huge bigness, erected at every Stage when the Army marches, to which every one must bow as he passes by, be he *Tartar* or Stranger.

In their Marriages, a Man may take any Woman, except his Mother, Sister or Daughter; and altho' he accompany with the Woman, yet he accounts her not for his Wife, till he have a Child by her: If she be barren, after a certain time he turns her home again.

They have Dukes called *Morsey* or *Dyvonmorsies*, that rule over ten, twenty, or forty thousand a piece, which they call *Hoords*: When the *Chrim* hath occasion for them in his Wars, they are bound to come with their Souldiers, every man with his two Horses at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it comes to his turn to have his Horse eat; their chief Food being Horse-flesh, which they eat without Bread or any other thing with it; so that when a *Russe* takes a *Tartar*, he commonly finds a Horse Leg or some other part of him at his Saddle-bow.

While I was at *Mosco*, there came thither the *Chrim*'s Nephew, accompanied with 300 *Tartars*; he had two very large and fat Horses flayed in a Sled, sent to his Lodging to be made ready for his Supper for him and his Company. They prefer it before other Flesh, because the Meat is stronger than Beaf, Mutton, &c. and yet (which is a marvel) tho' they serve all as Horsemen in the Wars, and eat all of Horse-flesh, there are brought yearly to *Mosco* to be exchanged for other Commodities, thirty or forty thousand *Tartar* Horse. They keep also great Herds of Kine and Flocks of black Sheep, rather for the Skins and Milk, than for the use of the Flesh, tho' sometimes they eat of it. They drink Milk or warm Blood, and for the most part mix them together. In travelling they will bleed a Horse in a Vein, and drink it warm as it comes from his Body.

Towns or standing Building they have none, as being in their opinion neither pleasant nor wholsome; but their Houses are built upon Wheels, and when they come to their Stages, these Cart-houses are placed very orderly in a Rank like Streets, and resemble a very large Town.

They begin to move their Houses and Cattle in the Spring time from the South towards the North, and so driving on till they have grazed all up the farthest part Northwards, they return back toward the South Country, by ten or twelve Miles a Stage, and there continue

all Winter, the Grass in the mean time being grown up again, to serve their Cattle as they return.

Of Money they have no use at all, neglecting Gold and Silver, and all Tillage of their Ground, to be more free for their wandring kind of life, and to keep their Country less subject to Invasions, which gives them a great advantage over all their Neighbours, ever invading and never being invaded.

For Person and Complexion, they have broad and flat Faces, of a tanned colour, fierce look, thin haired upon the upper Lip, and a pit on the Chin, light bodied, with short Legs, as if they were naturally made for Horsemen, which they practice from their Childhood, seldom going a foot about any business. Their greatest Exercise is Shooting, wherein they train up their Children, not suffering them to eat till they have shot near the Mark.

There are divers other *Tartars* that border upon *Russia*, as the *Nagaies*, the *Cheremisses*, the *Mordwites*, the *Circasses*, and the *Shalcans*, which all differ from the *Chrim Tartar* in Name more than Regiment, except the *Circasses* that border South-west toward *Lituania*, who are far more civil than the rest of the *Tartars*, of a comely Person and stately Behaviour, applying themselves to the fashion of the *Polonians*. Some of them have subjected themselves to the Kings of *Poland*, and professed Christianity. The *Nagayans* lie Eastward, and are reckoned the best Warriours among all the *Tartars*, but more Savage and cruel than the rest. The most rude and barbarous is the *Mordovite Tartar*, who worships the first living thing he meets with in a Morning, and swears by it all that day. When his Friend dies, he kills his best Horse, and flaying the Skin, carries it on high upon a long Pole, before the Corps to the place of Burial.

Altho' the *Tartars* are void of Learning and without written Law, yet certain Rules they hold by Tradition, which are common to all *Hoords*; which are,

I. To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, in whatsoever they command for the publick Service.

II. Except for the publick behoof, every Man to be free and uncontrouled.

III. No private Man to possess any Lands, but the whole Country to be as a Common.

IV. To neglect all daintiness and variety of Meats, and to content themselves with that which comes next to hand, for more hardiness and readiness in executing their Affairs.

V. To wear any base attire, and to patch their Cloths, whether there be any need or not, that when there is need, it may be no shame to wear a patch'd Coat.

VI. To take or steal from any Strager whatsoever they can get, as being Enemies to all Men but such as will subject themselves to them.

VII. Toward their own Hoord and Nation, to be true in Word and Deed.

VIII. To suffer no Stranger to come within the Realm, if any do, the same to be Bondslave to him that first takes him, except such Merchants and others as have a *Tartar* Pasport about them.

The *Permians* and *Samoits* that lie North and North-east from *Russia*, are of the *Tartar* kind, having all broad and flat Faces: They are now subject to the *Russe*, and live by hunting and trading with their Furs: They are clad in Seal Skins, with the hairy side outwards; are all black haired, and beardless: They are all Idolaters, worshipping the Sun, the Ollen, the Losh, &c. They live a Savage Life, roving from one place to another, without Habitation: Their Leader in every Company is their Priest.

On the North side of *Russia* next to *Corelio*, lies the Country of *Lappia*, part of which is subject to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who exact Tribute and Custom from them, but the greatest part belongs to the *Russian*. The whole Country is either Lakes or Mountains, but the Inland Parts are furnished with Woods which grow on the Hills sides, the Lakes lying between. Their Diet is very plain, having no Bread, but feed only on Fish and Fowl. They are utterly unlearned, having not so much as the use of any Alphabet or Letter among them. For Witchcraft they are thought to pass all Nations in the World, tho' as to the Story of selling Winds by tying Knots on a Rope, it is a meer Fable. Their continual Practice of shooting Wild Fowl, makes them excellent Marks Men. They travel upon Sleds drawn by the *Olen* Deer, which they turn a grazing all the Summer in an Island, called *Kilden*, and towards the Winter, when the Snow begins to fall, fetch them home again for the use of their Sleds.

CHAP. XV.

The First Voyage of William Barets *into the North Seas*, 1594. *Written by* Garet de Veer.

1594. IN the Year 1594, four Ships were set out from the United Provinces, for the discovery of *Cathaia* and *China*, by sailing to the Northward of *Norway*, *Muscovia*, and *Tartaria*, whereof *William Barentz* was chief Pilot.

Upon the 5th of *June* they sailed from the *Texel*, and on the fourth of *July* saw *Nova Zembla* in 73 Deg. 25 Min.

On the ninth they entred into *Beeren-Fort*, under *Williams* Island, and spying a white Bear, they presently entred their Boat, and shot her into the Body with a Musket; the Bear leaping up, took the Water, and the Men in the Boat rowing after her, cast a Rope about her Neck, and dragged her at the Stern of the Boat, intending to carry her alive in the Ship, and shew her for a Wonder in *Holland*, but she used such force, that they were glad to be rid of her, and content themselves with her Skin; for the Bear swimming to the Boat, got hold of the Stern with her fore Feet, which *Barents* perceiving, said, she will there rest her self, but she strugled so violently, that at last she had gotten half her Body into the Boat, which so daunted the Men, that they ran to the further end of the Boat, thinking they should have been spoiled by her, but the Rope about her Neck caught hold upon the Hook of the Rudder, which held her from coming further, whereupon one of the Men thrust her into the Body with a half Pike, wherewith she fell down into the Water, and so dragging her to the Ship, they killed her out right, and flaying her, brought the Skin to *Amsterdam*.

A white Bear killed.

The 10th of *July* they sailed out of *Beeren-Fort*, and on the 13th found great store of Ice; as far as they could discern out of the top, it seemed like a plain Field. *July.*

On the 17th *William Barentz* took the height of the Sun, and they were then in 77 Deg. and ½.

On the 19th, they were close by the Land of *Nova Zembla*, about Cape *Nassaw*.

On the 25th, they were so inclosed with flakes of Ice, that out of the top they could not discern any thing beyound it, and indeavoured to make their way thro' it, but could not.

On the 28th, the height of the Sun taken at Noon with the Astrolabe, was found to be elevated above the *Horizon* 57 Deg. 6 Min. his declination being 19 Deg. 18 Min. which in all is 76 Deg. 24 Min. the Land lay all covered with Snow, the Weather being clear, and the Wind East.

On the 31th, having laboured forward between the Land and the Ice, they got to the Islands of *Orange*, upon one of which they saw about 200 Sea-horses, lying upon the Shoar and basking themselves in the Sun. They are bigger than Oxen, their Skins like a Seal, with very short Hair, and two Teeth sticking out of their Mouths, on each side one, about half an Ell long, as white, hard and even as Ivory, and as much esteemed in *Muscovia*, *Tartaria*, and the Parts adjacent. Sea Horses or Morses.

Our Men supposing that the *Moses* could not defend themselves, being out of the Water, went on Shoar to assault them and get their Teeth, but they brake all their Hatches, Cuttle-axes, and Pikes in pieces, and could not kill

kill one of them, but ſtruck ſome of their Teeth out of their Mouths, and brought them away with them.

Auguſt: They return. *William Barents* finding that he could not accompliſh his intended Voyage, and his Men refuſing to ſail further, on the firſt of *Auguſt* turned his courſe to ſail back again to meet the other Ships that had taken their courſe to *Weygats*, or the Streights of *Naſſaw*; and on the 15th, the Sun being S. W. *William Barents* took the heighth thereof, and found it to be elevated above the *Horizon* 35 Deg. ſo that there wanted 55 Deg. of 90, which 55 Deg. being added to 14 Deg. ½, which was the Sun's declination, makes 69 Deg. 15 Min. for the heighth of the Pole in that place; and coming to the Iſlands called *Matſlo* and *Delgoy*, they met with the other Ships, that came out of *Weygats* the ſame day.

They meet with their Company.

One of the three Ships had paſt the Streight of *Weygats*, and at the end of it found a large Sea, on which they ſailed 50 or 60 Miles Eaſtward, and were of opinion that they had been about the River *Obi*, that falleth out of *Tartary*, and they ſaid that the Land of *Tartary* from that place ſtretched North-eaſtward, whereby they thought they were not far from Cape *Tabin*, and ſo thinking they had diſcovered enough for that time, and it being too late in that Year to ſail further, they returned to *Weygats*, and meeting with *Barents*, and the other two Ships, they ſet ſail together on the 18th of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Texe* the 16th of *September*.

CHAP. XVI.

The ſecond Voyage of William Barents *into the North Seas,* 1595. *Written by* Geret de Veer.

1595. THIS Year the States of the *United Provinces* and Prince *Maurice* ſet forth ſeven Ships to ſail thro' the *Weygates* to *Cathaia* and *China*; ſix of them were laden with Merchandizes, and the ſeventh being a Pinnace, had Commiſſion when the other Ships were paſt about Cape *Tabin*, to return and bring news thereof.

July. On the ſecond of *July*, we ſailed from the *Texel*, and on the 17th of *Auguſt* ſaw great ſtore of Ice along the Coaſt of *Nova Zembla*.

On the 19th we entred *Weygates*, and as we went in, we caſt out the Lead, and had ſeven Fathom Water.

Auguſt. The 20th of *Auguſt* the height of the Sun being taken with the Croſs-ſtaff, we found it elevated above the *Horizon* 69 Deg. 20 Min. when it was S. W. and by S. being at the higheſt, or before it began to deſcend.

The 21ſt we went on Land with 54 Men, and being two Miles within the Land, we found many *Vel-werck*, *Traen*, and ſuch like Wares, and the Foot-ſteps of Men and Deer, as alſo many Images. In the mean time our Maſter ſent out a Boat to ſee if the *Tartarian* Sea was open, but it could not get into the Sea becauſe of the Ice, ſo they went over the Land to the Weſt Point, and there perceived that the Ice in the *Tartarian* Sea lay full upon the *Ruſſian* Coaſt, and in the Mouth of *Weygates*.

The 23d of *Auguſt* we found a *Lodgie* or Boat of *Pitzore*, ſowed together with Ropes, that had been Northward to ſeek for Sea-horſes Teeth, Trane, and Geeſe, which they fetched in their Boat to lade in certain Ships that were to come out of *Ruſſia* thro' *Weygates*, which Ships they ſaid were to ſail into the *Tartarian* Sea, by the River *Oby*, to a place called *Ugolita* in *Tartaria*, there to ſtay all Winter, as they uſed to do every Year, and told us that it would yet be nine or ten Weeks before it began to freeze in that place, and that when it once began to freeze, it would freeze ſo hard, that Men might go into *Tartary* upon the Ice, over the Sea, called by them *Mermere*.

The 24th in the Morning, betimes, we went on board of the *Lodgie* for further Information of the Sea on the Eaſt ſide of *Weygates*, and the like we did on the 25th, at which time they gave us eight fat Geeſe that lay in the bottom of their Boat: We deſired that one or two of them would go with us aboard our Ship, whereupon ſeven of them went willingly with us, and wondred much at the greatneſs and furniture of our Ship. When they had looked into every place, we ſet Fiſh, Butter and Cheeſe before them to eat, but they refuſed it, ſaying, that Day was a Faſting-Day with them; yet at laſt, when they ſaw ſome of our pickled Herrings, they eat them Heads, Tails, Skins, and Guts, and having eaten them, we gave them a ſmall Firkin of Herrings, for which they gave us great thanks, and ſaid, they knew not what friendſhip they could do us to requite our Courteſy. At Noon, we got up our Anchors and ſailed North-eaſt two Miles, but were forced back again by the great ſtore of Ice, and ſo came to our old Road, there to ſtay for a more convenient time.

On the laſt of *Auguſt William Barents* our Captain, ſailed to the South ſide of *Weygates*, and going on Shoar, our Men, being nine in number, went about a Mile into the Land, not thinking to find any Men there (becauſe they had been on Shore in the *Weygates* at other times, and ſaw none) and being miſty weather, they perceived about 20 Men, who were very near them before they knew it. Our Interpreter went alone towards them to ſpeak with them, which they perceiving, ſent one towards us, who coming almoſt to our Men, took an Arrow out of his Quiver, offering to ſhoot at him, wherewith our Interpreter called unto him in the *Ruſſian* Tongue, *Shoot not, we are Friends*; which the other hearing, caſt his Bow and Arrows to the Ground, and ſaid, *You are welcome*, and ſaluting each other, by bending their Heads towards the Ground after the *Ruſſian* manner, our Interpreter queſtioned him about the ſituation and ſtretching of the Sea Eaſtward of the Streight of *Weygates*: He anſwered, That when we ſhould paſs a Point of Land about five days ſailing from thence (pointing with his Hand towards the North-eaſt) that then we ſhould come to a great Sea (pointing towards the South-eaſt) ſaying that he knew it very well, becauſe one had been there, who was ſent thither by their King with certain Souldiers, whereof he had been Captain.

They land in the *Samoieds* Country.

They are for the moſt part low of Stature, with broad flat Faces, ſmall Eyes, ſhort Legs, their Knees ſtanding outward, and are very nimble: They are apparelled in Deer's Skins from head to foot, and wear long Hair, which they pleat and fold, letting it hang down their Backs.

Deſcription of the *Samoieds*.

Their Sleds ſtood always ready with one or two Deer in them, which will carry a Man or two ſwifter than our Horſes.

Swiftneſs of their Sleds.

One of our Men ſhot a Muſquet toward the Sea, wherewith they were in ſo great fear, that they ran and leapt like mad Men: We told them by our Interpreter, that we uſed our Pieces inſtead of Bows, and to convince them, one of our Men took a flat Stone, and ſet it upon a Hill a good diſtance from him, and with a Bullet ſtruck the Stone aſunder, whereat they wondred exceedingly.

After they were gone from us, one of them came riding to the Shoar, to fetch a rough hewed Image which our Men had taken off the Shoar and put into their Boat; as ſoon as he ſaw it in the Boat, he made us a ſign that we had not done well in taking it away; whereupon we gave it him again. Not far from thence we found hundreds of ſuch carved Images, having a little Hill inſtead of a Noſe, and two cuts in places of Eyes, and under the Noſe a cut in place of a Mouth. Before the Images we found great ſtore of Aſhes and Bones of Deer, whereby we ſuppoſed that they there offered unto them.

September. On the ſecond of *September* we ſet ſail, but by reaſon of the Ice, the Miſt, and the ſhifting of the Wind, we could hold no Courſe.

On the fourth we ſailed between the Firm Land and the *States Iſland*.

Two Men killed by a Bear.

On the ſixth ſome of our Men went aſhoar on the Firm Land, to ſeek for Stones which looked like Diamonds, and two of our Men lying together in one place, a great lean white Bear came ſtealing out, and caught one of them

them fast by the Neck, who not perceiving what it was, cried out and said, *Who is it that pulls me so by the Neck?* wherewith the other lifting up his Head to see who it was, cried out, and said, *Oh Mate, it is a Bear*, and therewith presently rose up and ran away.

The Bear at the first falling upon the Man, bit his Head asunder, and sucked out his Blood, wherewith the rest of the Men that were on the Land, being about 20, ran presently thither, either to save the Man, or else to drive the Bear from the dead Body, and having charged their pieces and bent their Pikes, set upon her, who was still devouring the Man, but she perceiving them to come towards her, fiercely ran at them, and getting another of them out from the Company, tore him in pieces, wherewith all the rest ran away.

We perceiving out of our Ship and Pinnace, that our Men ran to the Sea-side to save themselves, with all speed entred into our Boats, and rowed as fast as we could to the Shoar to relieve them; being come athoar, we beheld the cruel Spectacle of our two dead Men torn in pieces by the Bear, whereupon we encouraged our Men to go back again with us, and with Pieces, Cuttle-axes and half Pikes to set upon the Bear, but they would not all agree thereunto, saying, that our Men are already dead, and that we might get the Bear well enough, by taking her at some advantage, and not expose our selves to so open danger. The Bear was still devouring her Prey, not fearing the number of our Men, altho' they were thirty at least; whereupon the Master and Purser of *Barent*'s Ship, and the Pilot of the Pinnace, went forward, and when the Master and Pilot had shot three times and missed, the Purser advancing, shot the Bear into the Head between the Eyes, and yet she held the Man still fast by the Neck, and lifted up her Head with the Man in her Mouth, but beginning to stagger, the Purser and a *Scotch* Man drew out their Cuttle-axes, and struck at her so hard, that they broke them, and yet she would not leave the Man, till at last the Pilot went to them, and with all his might struck the Bear upon the Snout with his Piece, wherewith she fell to the Ground, making a great noise, and the Pilot leaping upon her, cut her Throat. The seventh of *September* we buried the Bodies of our Men in the *States* Island, and having flayed the Bear, carried the Skin to *Amsterdam*. They kill the Beast.

The 9th we sailed from the *States* Island, but the Ice came so thick upon us, that we could not get thro'.

On the 10th we sailed towards the *Waygates*, and sent two Boats into the *Tartarian* Sea, to certify us what store of Ice was abroad; and that Evening we anchored all together in *Waygates*.

On the 11th, we sailed into the *Tartarian* Sea, but met with so much Ice, that we returned the same day to *Waygates*.

The 14th, we hoised up our Anchor, thinking once again to try what we could do in the *Tartarian* Sea, but our Admiral being of another mind, lay still.

The 15th, the Wind driving in at the East end of *Waygates*, forced us to get up our Anchors, and sail out of the West end with all our Fleet, and make homewards again.

On the 19th of *September* we entred into *Wardhouse*, and upon the 18th of *November* arrived in the *Maes*.

CHAP. XVII.

The Third Voyage of William Barents *into the North-Seas*, 1596. *Written by* Gerat de Veer.

What hapned to them at Sea, before they built their House.

1596. THE *States General* of the *United Provinces*, upon the return of the said seven Ships from their Northern Voyage, with less benefit than was expected, resolved to send some Ships a third time, to see if they could bring the Voyage to a good end: And accordingly two Ships were made ready; in the one *Jacob Heemskerk Hendrickson* was Master and Factor, and *William Barents* chief Pilot; in the other *John Cornelison Riip* was Master and Factor. We departed from the *Vlie* the 13th of *May*, and on the 30th were in the Latitude of 69 Deg. 24 Min.

June. On the first of *June* we had no Night, and on the second, when the Sun was about S. S. E. we saw a strange sight in the Element; for on each side of the Sun there was another Sun, and two Rain-bows that passed clean thorow the three Suns, and then two Rain-bows more, the one compassing round about the Suns, and the other cross thorow the great Rundle, which Rundle stood with the uttermost Point, elevated above the *Horizon* 28 Deg. At noon we took the height of the Sun, and found it elevated above the *Horizon* 48 Deg. 43 Min. his Declination being 22 Deg. 17 Min. which added together, makes 71 Deg. for the height of the Pole.

Three Suns and four Rain-bows.

On the fifth, one of our Men walking on the Deck, cryed out that he saw Swans, which we that were under Deck hearing, came up, and perceived that it was Ice that came driving from the great heap; at midnight we sailed thro' it, the Sun then about one Degree above the Horizon in the North.

The sixth we entred into the Ice, which was so strong that we could not pass thro' it, so we sailed along by it, keeping our Course N. N. E.

The seventh we were in the Latitude of 74 Deg. and we sailed thro' the Ice as if we had past between two Lands; the further we sailed, the more and thicker Ice we found, and the Water as green as Grass.

The 8th we came to so thick a heap of Ice, that we could not sail thro' it.

Kerry-Island. The 9th, we found the Island that lies in 74 Deg. 30 Min. and as we guest, it was about five Miles long; here we found the Compass to vary 13 Deg.

The 12th we saw a white Bear, which we rowed after with our Boat, thinking to cast a Rope about her Neck, but when we came near her, she was so great, that we durst not do it, but rowed back again to our Ship to fetch our Arms and more Men, and so made to her again with Musquets, Halberts and Hatches, the other Ships Boat coming also to help us, we rowed to her and fought her two Hours, our Weapons doing her but little hurt: One of our Men struck her into the Back with an Ax, which stuck fast in her Back, and yet she swam away with it, but we rowing after her, did at last cleave her Head with an Ax, wherewith she died; we flaied her and found her Skin to be twelve Foot long: This done, we eat some of her Flesh, but did not well approve of it: We called this place *Bear Island*. Bears Skin 12 Foot long

The 13th we left the Island, and sailed North somewhat Easterly, and on the 14th we cast our Lead 113 Fathom deep, but found no Ground.

On the 15th in the Evening, we saw a great thing driving in the Sea, which we thought had been the Hull of a Ship, but passing along by it, we perceived it to be a dead Whale, that stunk horribly, and on it there sate a great number of Sea Mews. Dead Whale

The 16th we continued our Course N. by E. with misty weather.

The 17th and 18th, we sailed along by great store of Ice.

On the 19th we saw Land again, and taking the height of the Sun, we found that we were under 80 Deg. 11 Min. This Land was very great, and we sailed Westward along by it, till we were under 79 Deg. 30. Min. where we found a good Road, but could not get near the Land, the Wind being at N. E. the Bay reaches right North and South into the Sea.

The 21st we anchored in 18 Fathom, and saw a white Bear swimming towards our Ship; we rowed after her in our Boat, and crossing her in her way, drove her from the Land, and forced her to swim a Mile into the Sea, we following her with the most of our Men in three Boats, cutting and hewing her till most of our Arms were broken in pieces; she struck her Claws so hard into the

the Head of our Boat, that she left the print of them behind her, and had it been in the middle of the Boat, she had peradventure overset it; at last we killed her, and flayed her, her Skin was 13 Foot long. Then rowing toward the Land, we found a good Haven, and a great Creek or River, and upon an Island therein, we found many red Geese Eggs; the Geese were of a perfect red colour, such as come into *Holland* about *Weiringen*, and yearly taken there in great plenty, but till this time it was never known where they hatched their Eggs; so that some have written that they sit upon Trees in *Scotland*, that hang over the Water, and such Eggs as fall from them into the Water, become young Geese; but 'tis not to be wondred at, that no Man could tell where they breed their Eggs, because no Man that ever we heard of, had ever been under 80 Degrees.

Bear Skin 13 Foot long.

Red Geese seen.

Red Geese bred under 80 Degrees in Greenland.

The 23d, we weighed Anchor, and sailed N. W. but were soon stopt by the Ice, and so anchored in the same place again. In the Evening, the Sun at N. E. we took the height of it, and found it elevated above the *Horizon*, 13 Deg. 10 Min. his Declination being 23 Deg. 28 Min. which substracted, there rest 10 Deg. 18 Min. which substracted from 90, the Pole was elevated 79 Deg. 42 Min. We set sail again, and some of us went ashoar to observe the variation of the Needle; in the mean time a great white Bear swam to the Ship, and would have climbed up into it if we had not made a noise: We shot at her with a Piece, whereupon she left the Ship, and swam to land where our Men were, which we perceiving, sailed with our Ship towards the Land, and gave a great Shout, wherewith our Men were much abashed, thinking we had fallen on a Rock, the Bear also being frighted, swam off again from the Land, and left our Men, which made us glad, because they had no Arms with them: The Compass was found to vary 16 Deg.

Compass varies 16 Deg.

The 28th we met with a great number of Birds that flew against our Sails.

On the 30th we were in 75 Degrees.

July.

July the first, we saw *Bear* Island again; *Cornelison* and his Officers came aboard our Ship, to speak with us about altering our Course, but we being of a contrary Opinion, it was resolved that we should follow our Course, and he his, which was, he (according to his desire) should sail back to 80 Degrees again: for he was of opinion, that there he should find a Passage thro', on the East side of the Land that lay under 80 Degrees, and so we parted, they sailing Northward, and we Southward, because of the Ice.

They separate by consent.

The second we sailed Eastward, and so continued an Easterly Course, as the Ice would give us leave, unto the 13th, when taking the height of the Sun, we found our selves in 73 Deg. and were of opinion that we were near *Willoughby*'s Land.

On the 16th we saw a great Bear lying upon the Ice, that leaped into the Water when she saw us; we made towards her, which she perceiving, got upon the Ice again. This Bear upon the Ice made us suppose that we were not far from *Nova Zembla*, we cast our Lead, and had 100 Fathom.

The 17th we saw the Land of *Nova Zembla*, about *Lomsbay*, then altering our Course, we sailed N. E. by N. as the Land lies.

The 19 we came to the *Cross* Island, and could get no further by reason of the Ice: We anchored under the Island, and manning our Boat with eight Men, rowed to Land, and went to one of the Crosses, where resting a while, we went toward the next Cross, but coming near it, we espied two Bears by the other Cross, who rose up upon their hinder Feet to see us, having smelt us before, for they smell further than they see; they came towards us, wherewith we were in no small fear, having no Weapons about us: We retreated towards our Boat in all hast, still looking behind us to see if they followed us; but the Master stopt us, saying, he would thrust the Hake-staff he had in his Hand, into the Ribs of him that should first offer to run, and said, it was better for us to keep together, and see if we could make them afraid with hooping and hallowing; and so we went softly towards the Boat, glad that we had escaped their Claws.

On the 21st we were in the Latitude of 76 Deg. 15 Min. and found the variarion of the Compass to be * 26 Deg. We went ashoar with our Arms, and coming to the Cross, we found the Footsteps of two Bears, and perceived that they had followed us 100 Paces at least.

* Perhaps 16.

The 22d we set up another Cross, and made our Mark thereon, and lay before the *Cross* Island till the fourth of *August*.

The 30th at a North Sun, a Bear came so near our Ship, that we might hit her with a Stone, and we shot her in the Foot, wherewith she ran halting away. The same day at Noon we found the Variation to be 17 Degrees.

On the fifth of *August* we set sail, and on the sixth got about Point *Nassaw*, and sailed E. and E. by S. along the Land. *August.*

The 7th we sailed S. E. and S. E. by E. as the Land lies, and saw but little Ice, and then past by Trust Point, which we had much longed for. At Evening the Wind came to East with misty weather, so that we were forced to fasten our Ship to a piece of Ice which lay fast on the Ground in 36 Fathom Water, and it was 16 Fathom above Water.

Ice 52 Fathom thick.

The 8th and 9th, lying still fast to the great piece of Ice, it snowed hard, and was misty Weather, and when the Sun was South, we went upon the Hatches (for we alwa's kept watch) where, as the Master walked along the Ship, he heard a Beast snuff with his Nose, and looking over-board, saw a great Bear hard by the Ship, and was getting into our Boat, but we giving a shout, she was afraid and swam away, but presently came back again, and went behind a great piece of Ice, and climbing upon it, boldly came towards our Ship to enter into it, but we shot her into the Body, so that she ran away, yet could not see whether she went, by reason of the Snow falling so fast, but we supposed she lay behind some Hillock, whereof there were many upon the piece of Ice.

The 10th the Ice began mightily to break, and then we first perceived that the great piece of Ice whereunto we had fastned our Ship, lay on the Ground; for the rest of the Ice drove along by it, which put us in fear that we should be encompassed with it, and therefore used all the means we could to get thence. We sailed upon the broken Ice, and fastned our Ship with our Sheet Anchor upon another piece; and when we had supped, the said piece of Ice with once crack, burst into at least 400 pieces. We weighed our Cable and got off from it: It was ten Fathom under Water, and two Fathom above Water, and lay upon the Ground. We spied another great piece not far from us, that was as sharp above as if it had been a Tower; we rowed to it, and casting out our Lead, found that it lay 20 Fathom deep, fast on the Ground, and 12 Fathom above Water.

On the 15th we came to the Island of *Orange*, where we were inclosed with Ice, and in great danger of loosing our Ship; but with great labour we got to the Island, and while we were busy in turning to windward (the Wind being at S. E.) our noise awakned a Bear that lay there and slept, who coming towards the Ship, forced us to leave our Work, and to defend our selves. We shot her into the Body, and then pursuing her, struck her on the Head with a Hatchet, yet had much ado to kill her, because as often as we struck at her with the Hatchet, she duck'd under Water.

Bear killed.

The 16th, ten of us rowed to the firm Land of *Nova Zembla*, and when we had drawn up the Boat upon the Ice, we ascended a high Hill to see the situation of the Land, and found that it reached S. E. and S. S. E. and then again S. which we disliked, because it lay so much Southward; but when we saw open Water S. E. and E. S. E. we were comforted again, thinking we had accomplished our Voyage, and knew not how to certify *William Barents* thereof.

The 18th we prepared to set sail, but it was all in vain, for we had almost lost our Sheet Anchor and two new Ropes, and with much labour got to the place again from whence we came. The Stream ran with a mighty Current, and the Ice drave so strongly upon the Cables, that we feared we should loose all the Cable that was without the Ship, which was 200 Fathom, but God provided well for us, so that at last we got to the place again from whence we put out.

The 19th it was indifferent good weather, the Wind at S. W. the Ice still driving, we set sail and passed by Point *Desire*, whereby we were once again in good hope, and being gotten about the Point, we sailed S. E. to Seaward four Miles, but then entring into more Ice, we were constrained to return, and sail N. W. to the Land again.

The 21 we sailed a great way into the *Ice Haven*, and that Night anchored therein. The next day, the Stream going extream hard Eastward, we haled out and sailed again to the Island Point, and being misty weather, we fastned our Ship to a piece of Ice, and then went upon it, much wondring at the strangeness of the Ice; on the top it was full of Earth, and not like to other Ice, being of a perfect azure colour, like to the Sky, which caused great contention among us, some saying that it was Ice, others that it was frozen Land: It was close to the Ground

Earth on the top of azure Ice.

in

in 18 Fathom Water, ten Fathom above the Water; we found above 40 Eggs upon it. There we ſtaied all that Storm, the Wind at S. W. by W.

The 23d we ſailed again S. E. into the Sea, but preſently met with Ice again, which forced us to return to the *Ice Haven*.

The next day it blew hard N. N. W. and the Ice came mightily driving in, whereby we were encompaſſed with it, and the Wind riſing, the Ice drave harder upon us, ſo that the Rudder and our Boat were broken in pieces, we expecting nothing elſe, but that the Ship alſo would be cruſht in pieces with the Ice.

The 25th, the Weather began to be better, and we laboured much to free our ſelves from the Ice wherewith we were incloſed, but it was all in vain. We now deſpairing to perfect our intended Diſcovery, thought to ſail Southward about *Nova Zembla* to the Streight of *Weygates*, but coming to the *Stream Bay*, the Ice lay ſo faſt thereabouts, that we were forced to go back again.

The 26th, we determined to ſail back to Point *Deſire*, and ſo home again; but when we had paſt the *Ice Haven*, the Ice began to drive with ſuch force, that we were incloſed with it, and had loſt three of our Men who were upon the Ice to make way for the Ship, if they had not been nimble and caught hold as the Ship drave by them, whereby they eſcaped a miſerable death. The ſame Evening we got to the Weſt ſide of the *Ice Haven*, where we were forced in great Cold, Poverty, Miſery, and Grief, to ſtay all that Winter, the Wind being then E. N. E.

The 27th, the Ice drave round about the Ship, and yet it was good Weather; ſome of us went athoar, and the Wind beginning to blow at S. E. the Ice came in with great force, and drave the Ship up four Foot high before, and behind it ſeemed as if the Keel lay on the Ground; ſo that they in the Ship thinking ſhe would be overſet, put out the Boat to ſave their Lives, and withal hung out a Flag for a ſign to us to come aboard. When we beheld the Ship lifted up in that manner, we began to deſpair of ſaving her, but coming to her, we found her in better caſe that we expected.

The 28th, we got ſome of the Ice from it, and the Ship began to ſet upright again, but before ſhe was fully upright, as *William Barents* and the other Pilot went forward to ſee how the Ship lay, and how much ſhe was riſen, the Ship burſt out of the Ice with ſuch a noiſe, and ſo great a crack, that they verily thought they had been all caſt away.

The 29th, the Ship lying upright again, we uſed all the means we could with Iron Hooks and other Inſtruments to break the Flakes of Ice that lay heaped upon one another, but all in vain, ſo that we determined to commit our ſelves to the mercy of God, and to attend aid from him.

The 30, the Ice began to drive one upon the other with greater force than before, and bare againſt the Ship with a boiſterous S. W. Wind and a great Snow, ſo that all the whole Ship was born up and incloſed, whereby all that was about it and in it, began to crack, ſo that it ſeemed burſting in a hundred pieces, moſt dreadful to ſee and hear, and made all the Hair of our Heads to riſe upright with fear.

The 31ſt, the Ship was driven up four or five Foot high at the Head, and the Stern being lodged in a cleft of Ice, we thought the Rudder had been ſafe from the force of the flakes of Ice, but it proved otherwiſe, for it brake in pieces, Staff and all, and if the hinder part of the Ship had been in the driving Ice, as the fore part was, then all the Ship had been driven upon the Ice, or elſe had run on ground, whereof we were much afraid, and ſet out our Boats upon the Ice to ſave our ſelves, if need were; but within four Hours the Ice drave away of its ſelf, to our great comfort, becauſe the Ship was then afloat again, and thereupon made a new Rudder, and hung it out upon the Hooks, that if we ſhould be forced again upon the Ice, it might be freed from it.

The firſt of *September* being *Sunday*, while we were at *Septem.* at Prayers, the Ice began to gather again.

The ſecond it ſnowed hard with a N. E. Wind, and the Ship began to riſe higher upon the Ice, ſo that we thought good to put thirteen Barrels of Bread and two Hogſheads of Wine into our Scute, and to carry it aſhoar in that bad Weather, to ſuſtain our ſelves in time of need.

The third it blew hard at N. N. E. but ſnowed not ſo much.

On the fourth it cleared up, and we ſaw the Sun, but it was very cold, and the Wind being at N. E. we were forced to lie ſtill.

The fifth it was fair Sun-ſhine weather, and very calm; in the Evening the Ice incloſed upon us again, and the Ship began to lie on one ſide, and leak much, but by God's Grace, it became ſtaunch again. We then conſulted together and carried our old Sail, with Powder, Muskets, &c. aſhoar, to make a Tent about our Scute, and ſome Timber to mend it, that it might ſerve us in time of need.

The ſixth it was indifferent fair Weather, and the Wind Weſt, which gave us ſome hopes that the Ice would drive away, and that we might get thence again.

The ſeventh it was good Weather again, but we could perceive no opening of the Water, but lay hard incloſed with Ice.

Three of our Men went two Miles into the Land, and there found a River of ſweet Water, and great ſtore of Wood that had been driven thither, and the Footſteps of Deer, as they ſuppoſe, by being cloven footed. *River of freſh Water, ſtore of drift Wood.*

The eighth, it blew hard N. E. a direct contrary Wind to do us any good, and faſtned us more into the Ice.

The 9th we lay four Foot deep in Ice; in the Night two Bears came cloſe to our Ship, but we ſounding our Trumpet, and firing at them, they ran away.

The 11th, being calm weather, eight of us went aſhoar, every Man armed, to ſee if it were true what our Companions had ſaid, that there lay Wood about the River; becauſe we now began to deſpair of getting our Ship looſe from the Ice, and were therefore reſolved to build a Houſe upon the Land, to defend us from cold, and wild Beaſts, and ſo to commit our ſelves to the Tuition of the Almighty; and to that end we went further into the Land, to find out the moſt convenient place to raiſe our Houſe upon: We found certain Trees, Roots and all (as our Companions had told us) which had been driven upon the Shoar either from *Tartary*, *Muſcovy*, or elſe where, there being none growing in *Nova Zembla*. This Wood ſerved not only to build our Houſe, but alſo to burn during our long Winter, otherwiſe without doubt we had periſhed with extream cold. *They determin to winter there.*

The 12th it was calm weather, and our Men went unto the other ſide of the Land, to ſee if they could find any Wood nearer to us, but there was none.

The 13th, it was calm, but very miſty, ſo that we would not venture into the Land, becauſe we could not ſee the wild Bears, and yet they could ſmell us.

The 14th it was Sun-ſhine, but very cold, and then we went into the Land and laid the Wood on heaps that it might not be covered with Snow.

The 15th, in the Morning, as one of our Men kept watch, he ſaw three Bears; one of them lay ſtill behind a piece of Ice, the other two came cloſe to the Ship: There was a Tub full of Beef that ſtood upon the Ice at a diſtance from the Ship; one of the Bears went unto it, and putting in his Head to take out a piece, as ſhe was ſnatching at it, we ſhot her in the Head, that ſhe fell down dead and never ſtirred; the other Bear ſtood ſtill and looked upon her Fellow, and after a while ſmelt to her, and perceiving that ſhe was dead, ran away, but we followed her with Halberts and other Arms, whereupon ſhe turned towards us, and riſing up upon her hinder Feet, to ramp at us, one of our Men ſhot her into the Belly, ſo that ſhe fell upon her Fore-feet again, and roaring aloud, ran away. That Night it froze two Fingers thick in the ſalt Water, and was exceeding cold, the Wind at N. N. *Salt Water freezes two Fingers thick in one Night.*

The 16th the Sun ſhone, we fetched Wood upon Sleds we had made; the like we did on the 17th. We drew five and five in a Sled, and the other three helped to lift behind; and in that manner we drew Wood twice a day to the place where we intended to build our Houſe.

The 23d our Carpenter died, we buried him under the Sedges, in the cleft of a Hill; for we could not dig up the Earth by reaſon of the Froſt: That day we fetched Wood twice.

The 25th it was dark Weather, the Wind S. W. and the Ice began to open a little and drive away, but it continued not long: The ſame day we began to raiſe our Houſe.

The 26th we had a Weſt Wind and an open Sea, but our Ship lay faſt, to our great grief, but it was God's Will, to which we moſt patiently ſubmitted, and began to make up our Houſe; ſo fetched Wood to burn, the reſt performed the part of Carpenters. We were in all 16 Men (the Carpenter being dead) and of thoſe 16, there was ſtill one or other ſick.

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The 27th it blew hard at N. E. and froze so hard, that as we put a Nail into our Mouths (as Carpenters use to do) Ice would hang thereon as we took it out, and make the Blood follow. The same day an old Bear and a young one came towards us, as we were going all together to our House (for we durst not go alone) we thought to shoot at her, but she ran away. Altho' it was fair Sun-shiny weather, yet the Ice came forcibly driving in, and it was so extream cold, that we could hardly work, but extremity forced us to it.

The 28th was fair weather, and the Sun shone, the Wind West, and very calm, the Sea also was open, but our Ship lay fast in Ice, and stirred not.

The 29th, we saw three Bears between us and the House, an old one and two young ones; we notwithstanding went on, drawing our Goods from the Ship to the House, and got before them; looking behind us, we perceived they followed us, whereupon we hollowed as loud as we could, thinking they would have gone away, but they would not go out of their Path, but also got before us again; Then we and they that were in the House, gave a great shout, which made them run away.

River of fresh Water, store of drift Wood.

The 30th, the Wind easterly, it snowed so fast all that Night and the next Day, that our Men could fetch no Wood.

Ground so frozen that it cannot be thawed.

We made a great fire without the House to thaw the Ground, that we might lay the Earth about the House, to make it the warmer; but it was lost Labour, for the Earth was so hard, and frozen so deep, that we could not thaw it, and it would have cost us too much Wood, and therefore we left off that labour.

They determin to winter there.

What happened to them after their House was built.

October.

The first of *October* the Wind was stiff at N. E. and after Noon it blew a great storm at North, with such a drift of Snow, that we could hardly go in the Wind. The Snow drave so hard in our Faces, that we could scarce draw our Breaths, and could not see two Ships length from us.

The second, before Noon the Sun shone, still weather, the Wind shifted from North to South. We went on with our House, and placed upon it a May-pole made of frozen Snow.

The third, before Noon it was calm sun-shiny weather, but so cold, that it was hard to be endured; after Noon it blew hard at West, with so extream cold, that had it continued, we should have been forced to leave our Work.

The fourth, the Wind came to the North with much Snow; we brought our Anchor upon the Ice to lay the faster, and were not then above an Arrow shot from the Water, the Ice was so much driven away.

The fifth, it blew hard at N. W. and the Sea was very open, and without Ice, as far as we could discern; but we lay still frozen as we did before, and our Ship lay two or three Foot deep in the Ice, which was there three Fathom and a half deep. The same day we brake up the lower Deck of the fore part of our Ship, and with those Deals covered our House, making it slope overhead that the Water might run off.

Salt Water freezes two Fingers thick in one Night.

The sixth, a great Snow, and so cold, that we could hardly thrust our Heads out of the Door.

The seventh we caulk'd our House, and brake the Ground about it at the Foot thereof: This day the Wind shifted round the Compass.

The eighth, it blew so hard and snowed so fast, that we had been smothered if we had gone out into the Air; it was not possibly for any Man to have gone one Ship's length, tho' his Life had lain thereon.

The 9th, the Wind still continued North, and it snowed hard, so that all that day we were forced to stay in the Ship, the weather was so foul.

Hence it is probable that the Course of the Tides there comes from the North.

The 10th, the weather somewhat fairer, the Wind S. W. the Water flowed two Foot higher than ordinary, which we guessed to proceed from the former North Wind, which till then had blown. One of our Men going out of the Ship, chanced to meet a Bear, and was almost at him before he knew it, whereupon he presently ran back to the Ship and the Bear after him; but she coming to the place where before we had killed another Bear, and set her upright, and there left her to freeze, stood still, whereby our Man had time to get into the Ship. In the Evening we carried the greatest part of our Bread to the House.

The 11th, the Wind South, somewhat warm, we carried our Wine and Victuals on Land, and as we were hoising the Wine over-board, a Bear whom we had awakened with the noise we made, came towards our Ship; we had seen her lie there, but thought her to be a piece of Ice; as she came near to us, we shot at her, and she ran away.

The 12th it blew North, and half our Men kept in the House, being the first time that we lay in it, where we endured great cold, because our Cabbins were not made, and besides, we had not Cloaths enough, neither could we keep a Fire, because our Chimney was not yet made.

The 13th, the Wind was N. and N. W. three of us went aboard, and when we had laded a Sled with Beer, to carry it to our House, there arose such a storm, that we were forced to go into the Ship again, letting the Beer stand without upon the Sled. In the Ship we endured extream cold, having but few Cloths in it.

The 14th, as we came out of the Ship, we found the Barrel fast frozen at the Heads, and the Beer that purged out, froze as hard to the sides of the Barrel as if it had been glued on. In this thick Yeast that was unfrozen lay the strength of the Beer, so that it was too strong to drink alone. There was scarce any Beer left in the Barrel but what was frozen; this we melted and drank it mixt with the other, but it had neither strength nor taste. Beer melted.

The 15th, the Wind easterly, we made a place to set up our Door, and shovelled the Snow away.

The 18, we fetched our Bread out of the Scute, which we had drawn upon the Land, and the Wine also, which was then not much frozen, altho' it had lain six Weeks therein. The Sea was now so covered with Ice, that we could see no open Water.

Bear at the Ship.

The 19th, there being but two Men and a Boy in the Ship, a Bear sought to get into the Ship; the two Men shot at her, yet she ventured upon them, and put them in great fear; the two Men leapt into the Ballast, and the Boy ran up into the Fore-mast-top; in the mean time some of our Men shot at her with a Musquet, and then she ran away.

Barrels and Iron Hoops broken with the Frost.

The 20th, it was calm Sun-shine weather, and then again we saw the Sea open. We went aboard to fetch the rest of our Beer, where we found some of the Barrels frozen in pieces, and the Iron Hoops that were upon the *Foram* Barrels, were all frozen in pieces.

The 22d, a stiff Gale at N. E. with great Snow that we could not get out of doors.

The 23d, calm weather, we went aboard to see if the rest of our Men would come home to the House, but we feared it would blow hard again, and durst not stir with the sick Man, but let him lie still that Day, for he was very weak.

The 24th, the rest of our Men, being eight Persons, came to the House, and drew the sick Man upon a Sled; then with great labour and pain, we drew our Boat home to the House and turned the bottom upward, that we might use it hereafter, if God should save our Lives this Winter, and there being now nothing less to be expected than the opening of the Water, we put our Anchor into the Ship again, that it might not be covered over and lost in the Snow; for we always trusted in God, that he would deliver us in the Spring, one way or other. The Sun at the highest, began to be very low, and we used all the speed we could to fetch all things with Sleds out of our Ship into the House, not only Meat and Drink, but all other necessaries: The Wind at North.

Fight with Bears.

The 25th, when we had laden the last Sled, and stood ready to draw it to the House, our Master spied three Bears behind the Ship coming towards us, whereupon he cried out aloud, to scare them away; by good fortune there lay two Halberds upon the Sled, the Master took one and I the other, and resisted them as well as we could, but the rest of our Men went to save themselves in the Ship, and one of them fell into a cleft of Ice, which grieved us much, because we thought the Bears would have ran unto him and devoured him, but God defended him; for the Bears still made towards the Ship after the Men that run thither to save themselves: In the mean time we and the Man that fell into the Cleft, took our advantage, and got into the Ship on the other side, which the Bears perceiving, came fiercely towards us, who had no other Arms to defend our selves besides the two Halberds, which we feared would not be sufficient, and therefore gave them work to do, by throwing Billets and other things at them, and every time we threw, they ran after them as a Dog will do at a Stone cast at him. We sent a Man in the mean time under Hatches to strike fire, and another to fetch Pikes, but we could get no Fire; at last as they came fiercely upon us, we struck one of them with a Halberd upon the Snout, wherewith she gave back and went away; which the other two, that were not so big, perceiving, ran away; and we thanked

thanked God that we were so well delivered from them, and so drew our Sled quietly to our House, and informed our Companions what had hapned to us.

The 26th, the Wind at North, with indifferent fair Weather, we then saw open Water hard by the Land, but perceived the Ice to drive into the Sea towards the Ship.

The 27th it snowed so fast that we could not work without door: That day our Men killed a white Fox and flaied him, and when they had roasted him, eat him, his Flesh tasted like that of a Rabbet. The same day we set up our Dial and made the Clock strike; and we hung up a Lamp, wherein we used Bears Fat melted, instead of Oil.

The 29th, the Wind at N. E. we fetched Seggs from the Sea-side, and laid them upon the Sail that was spread upon our House, that it might be the closer and warmer; for the Deal's were not driven close together, and the foul weather would not permit us to do it.

November *November* the first, the Wind still continued N. E. we saw the Moon rise in the East when it began to be dark, and the Sun was no higher above the *Horizon* than we could well see it: Much Snow, and so extream cold, that we could not go out of the House.

Sun rises S S E. and sets S. S. W.

The second, the Wind W. by S. but in the Evening North with calm weather; we saw the Sun rise S. S. E. and went down S. S. W. but it was not full above the Earth, but passed in the *Horizon* along by the Earth. One of our Men killed a Fox with a Hatcher, which was flaied, roasted and eaten: Until the Sun began to decline, we saw no Foxes, and then the Bears left us.

The Wind N. W. with calm weather: The Sun rose S. by E. and somewhat more southerly, and went down S. by W. and somewhat more southerly, and then we could see nothing but the upper part of the Sun above the *Horizon*, and yet the Land where we were, was as high as the Mast of our Ship. We took the height of the Sun, then in the 11th Deg. and 48 Min. of *Scorpio*, his Declination being 15 Deg. 24 Min. on the South side of the Equinoctial Line.

They see the Sun no more after the 3d of *November*, *Stilo Novo*, or our *October* 24.

The fourth was calm weather, we saw the Sun no more: Our Chirurgion made a Bath in a Wine Pipe to bath us in, wherein we entred one after the other, and it did us much good. The Bears left us at the sitting of the Sun, and came not again before it rose, whereas the Foxes now came aboard, and we this day took one.

Moon continually seen in the Sun's absence.

The fifth the Wind was North, and then we saw open Water upon the Sea, but our Ship lay fast in the Ice, and when the Sun had left us, we saw the Moon continually, both Day and Night, and never went down when it was in the highest Degree.

The sixth we fetched a Sled of Fire-wood, but by reason of the Sun's absence, it was very dark weather.

The seventh, it was dark weather, and very still, the Wind West, we could hardly discern Day from Night. Our Clock stood still, and we not rising out of our Cabbins all that Day, unless to ease our selves, we were in doubt whether the light we saw, was the light of the Day or of the Moon; at last we found it to be the light of the Day, about twelve of the Clock at Noon.

The eighth was still weather, the Wind S. W. we fetched another Sled of Fire-wood, took a white Fox, and then we saw open Water in the Sea. The same Day we shared our Bread, each Man having four Pound and ten Ounces for his allowance in eight days: We had no need to share our Flesh and Fish, having more store thereof; but our Drink failed us, so that we shared that also: Our best Beer was for the most part without strength, and had no savour at all.

Beer made insipid by the Frost.

The ninth, the Wind at N. E. we had not much day light, but was altogether dark.

The 10th, the Wind N. W. calm weather, our Men went into the Ship to see how it lay, and found the Ballast covered with Water, which was frozen and could not be pumped out.

The 11th, we made a Net of Cable Yarn to catch Foxes, and that day caught one.

The 12th, the Wind at East with little light; this day we began to share our Wine, two Glasses a day to a Man, but our common Drink was Water made of melted Snow.

The 13th, was foul Weather and much Snow, the Wind at East.

The 14th was fair weather, with a clear Sky full of Stars, and an East Wind.

From the 15th to the 19th, dark and foul weather, the Wind Easterly.

The 20th, was fair still weather, the Wind Easterly, we washed our Sheets, and when we had washed and wrung them, they presently froze so stiff, that altho' we laid them by a great Fire, the side that lay next the fire thawed, but the other side was hard frozen, so that it was easier to tear them asunder, than to open them, and we were forced to put them into seething Water again to thaw them.

The 21st was indifferent weather, the Wind N. E. then we agreed that every Man should take his turn to cleave Wood, thereby to ease our Cook, who had work enough to do twice a day to dress meat, and to melt Snow for our Drink, but the Master and the Pilot were exempted.

The 22d, the Wind S. E. fair weather: we had now but 17 Cheeses, whereof one we did eat among us, and the rest were distributed to every Man one.

The 23d, we made Traps of thick Planks, whereon we laid Stones, and round about them placed pieces of Shards fast in the Ground, that they might not dig under them, and by that means got some Foxes.

The 24th was foul Weather, the Wind N. E. four of us not being very well, went into the Bath, and when we came out, our Chirurgeon gave us a Purgation, which did us much good, and this day we took four Foxes.

The 25th was clear weather, the Wind at West; this day we took two Foxes.

The 26th was foul weather, and a great storm at S. W. with much Snow, whereby we were so closed up in the House that we could not go out, but were forced to ease our selves within the House.

The 27th, fair weather, the Wind S. W. we made more Springes to catch Foxes, which served us for Meat, as if God had sent them purposely for us.

The 28th was foul stormy weather, and the Wind blew hard out of the North, and the Snow so closed up our Doors, that we were again shut up in our House.

The 29th, clear weather, the Wind Northerly, we got one of our Doors open, and found all our Traps and Springes covered with Snow, which we made clean and set them up again. The Foxes did not only serve us for Meat, but their Skins served us to make Caps to keep our Heads warm.

The 30th, the Wind West, clear weather, six of us well armed went to the Ship, and when we were under deck, we took a Fox alive in the Ship.

December The first of *December*, the Wind S. W. foul weather, and great store of Snow, whereby we were once again stopt up in the House, which smoak'd so much, that we could hardly keep a fire, and so were forced to lie all day in our Cabbins, but the Cook was necessitated to make fire to dress our Meat.

The second we were detained in the House by foul weather, and yet we could not sit by the fire because of the Smoak, but lay in our Cabbins, and heated Stones, which we put in our Cabins to warm our Feet, for both the Cold and the Smoak were insupportable.

The third, we had the like weather, and as we lay in our Cabins we could hear the Ice crack in the Sea, altho' it was at least half a Mile from us, making a huge noise, and we were of opinion that the great Hills of Ice we had seen in the Sea in the Summer, did now break one another, We making less fire for two or three days past than we used to do, by reason of the extream Smoak, it froze so hard within the House, that the Walls and Roof were frozen two Fingers thick with Ice, and so likewise in our Cabins, during those three days, we could not go out. We set up a Glass of twelve Hours, and when it was run out we set it up again, still watching it, lest we should miss our time; for our Clock was frozen and would not go, altho' we hung more weight on it than formerly.

Ice two Fingers thick in the House.

Clock frozen.

The fourth and fifth was fair weather, the Wind at N. E.

The sixth, it was foul weather again, with an Easterly Wind, and extream cold, almost not to be endured, whereupon we look'd pitifully upon each other, being in great fear, that if the cold should increase, it would kill us all; for whatsoever fire we made, it would not warm us, and our Sack was frozen very hard, so that when we were every Man to have his part, we were forced to melt it at the fire. We shared every second day about half a Pint for a Man; at other times we drank Water melted out of Snow.

Sack frozen.

The seventh continued foul weather, with a great storm at N. E. which brought extream cold along with it, so that we knew not what to do; one advised to burn some of the Sea-coal we had brought out of the Ship, which would cast a great heat and continue long: And so at Evening we made a great fire thereof, and to keep in the

the heat, we agreed to ſtop up all the Doors and the Chimney, and ſo went into our Cabbins to ſleep, where, when we had lain a great while talking together, we found our ſelves ill at eaſe, and ſome ſwounded and fainted away; whereupon ſome of us that were ſtrongeſt, ſtarted out of our Cabins, and firſt opening the Chimney, and then the Doors, he that opened the Door fell down into a ſwound upon the Snow, and was recovered by caſting Vinegar in his Face. As ſoon as the Doors were opened, we were all well again, and the Maſter gave every one of us a little Wine to comfort us.

The eighth was foul weather, the Wind Northerly, very ſharp and cold, but we durſt not lay on more Coals.

The ninth, was fair clear weather, the Sky full of Stars; then we ſet our Door wide open, which had been cloſed up with Snow.

The 10th was fair ſtar light, the Wind N. E. we took two Foxes, which were good Meat for us, becauſe our Victuals began to be ſcant.

The 11th was fair and clear, but very cold, our Shoes froze as hard as Horn upon our Feet, and were frozen white within, ſo that we could not wear them, but were forced to make great Pattins, the upper part of Sheps-skins, which we put on over three or four pair of Socks to keep our Feet warm.

The twelfth was fair clear weather, the Wind N. W. but extream cold, ſo that our Walls and Cabins were frozen a Finger thick, yea, and the Cloths on our Backs were white all over with froſt; and altho' ſome were of opinion that we ſhould lay more Coals on the Fire, and let the Chimney ſtand open, yet we durſt not do it fearing the like Danger we had eſcaped.

The 13th, clear weather, the Wind at Eaſt; we buſied our ſelves in preparing our Springes, and if we ſtaid too long without doors, there aroſe Bliſters upon our Faces and our Ears.

The 14th was fair, the Wind N. E. and the Sky full of Stars; we took the height of the right Shoulder of the *Rens*, when it was S. S. W. and ſomewhat more Weſterly, (and then it was at the higheſt in our Compaſs) and it was elevated above the Horizon 20 Deg. 28 Min. his Declination being 6 Deg. 18 Min. on the North ſide of the Line, which taken from the height, there reſts 14 Degrees, which ſubſtracted from 90, the height of the Pole was 76 Deg.

The 15th was fair, the Wind Eaſt; we ſaw the Moon riſe E. S. E. when it was 26 Days old, in the ſign of *Scorpio*: This day we took two Foxes.

The 16th was clear weather; we had now no more Wood in the Houſe, but round about our Houſe there lay ſome covered with Snow, which with great labour we digged out of the Snow, wherein we were forced to uſe great ſpeed, not being able to endure long without the Houſe, altho' we had double Apparel upon our Backs.

The 17th and 18, the Wind N. E. fair weather; ſeven of us went to the Ship to ſee how it lay; we found that in our 18 days abſence, the Water in the Ship was riſen about a Finger high, but was all Ice, for it froze as faſt as it came in.

Ice two Fingers thick in the Houſe.

The 19th, fair weather, the Wind South; we comforted each other, becauſe the Sun was then almoſt half over, and ready to come to us again, which we much longed for, it being very tedious to us to be ſo long without the Sun, and want the greateſt Bleſſing God gives to Man upon Earth, and that which rejoices every living thing.

Clock froze.

The 20th, there roſe a Storm in the S. W. with ſo great a Snow, that all the Houſe was incloſed with it.

The 21ſt, fair clear weather, the Wind N. E. we ſhovelled away the Snow from our Door, and made a Way to go out, but there fell ſo much Snow the next day, the Wind S. W. that our Door was ſtopt up again, and we were at the trouble of clearing it almoſt every day.

Sun in Capricorn the 23d of December. New-Style.

The 23d continued the ſame Wind and Weather, but we now hoped for better, the Sun being this day in the Tropick of *Capricorn*, the furtheſt diſtance Southward.

Seek frozen.

The 24th being fair, we opened our Door, and ſaw much open Water in the Sea; for altho' it was not day, yet we could ſee a great way. In the Evening it blew hard at N. E. with much Snow, ſo that the Paſſage we had made was ſtopt up again.

The 25th being *Chriſtmaſs-day*, was foul weather, the Wind N. W. we heard the Foxes run over our Houſe, which ſome of our Men fancied to be an ill ſign.

The 26th foul weather, the Wind N. W. and ſo cold, that we could not warm us, altho' we uſed all the means we could with great Fires, ſtore of Cloaths, hot Stones and Billets laid upon our Feet and Bodies as we lay in our Cabins; but notwithſtanding all this, in the Morning our Cabins were frozen, which made us behold one another with ſad countenances, but we comforted our ſelves again as well as we could, that the Sun was then as low as it could go, and was now coming to us again; altho' we found the Proverb true, that, *The Days begin to lengthen, the Cold begins to ſtrengthen.*

The 27th, the ſame Wind and Weather; we had not been out in three days together, nor durſt thruſt our Heads out of Doors, and within the Houſe it was ſo extreamly cold, that as we ſate before a great Fire, and ſeemed to burn on the fore ſide, we froze behind at our Backs, and were covered over with hoar Froſt.

The 28th, the Wind Weſt, foul weather, at Evening it began to clear, and one of our Men made a hole at one of our Doors, and went out to ſee how it was abroad, but found it ſo hard weather, that he ſtaid not long, and told us that it had ſnowed ſo much, that the Snow lay higher than our Houſe, and that if he had ſtaid out longer, his Ears had undoubtedly been frozen off.

The 29th was calm weather, and a pleaſant Air, the Wind being Southward; that day he whoſe turn it was, opened the Door, and making a Paſſage thro' the Snow, we went out of the Houſe upon Steps, as if it had been out of a Cellar, at leaſt ſeven or eight Steps high, each Step a Foot from the other; and then we cleanſed our Springes for the Foxes, having taken none of late.

The 30th was foul weather again, with a Storm at Weſt, and much Snow, ſo that all the pains we had taken in making Steps, was in vain.

The 31ſt continued foul weather, with a ſtorm at N. W. whereby we were faſt ſhut up in the Houſe, and it was ſo extream cold, that the Fire would ſcarce caſt any heat; for as we put our Feet to the Fire, we burnt our Hoſe before we could feel the heat; and if we had not ſooner ſmelt than felt them, we ſhould have burnt them ere we had known it.

After we had with great cold, danger, and divers Miſeries ended the Year 1596, we began the next Year in the ſame manner; for on the firſt of *January* we were incloſed in the Houſe by reaſon of the Snow, the Wind at Weſt. We then agreed to ſhare our Wine, to every Man a ſmall Meaſure full once in two Days. 1597. *January.*

The 2d, 3d, and 4th, it blew hard at Weſt, a great ſtorm with Snow and Froſt, ſo that we could not put our Heads out of the Doors, and altho' we had almoſt burnt all our Wood, yet we durſt not go out to fetch more, for there was no being without door; but ſeeking about, we found ſome pieces of Wood that lay over the Door, which we clove, and withal clove the Blocks whereon we uſed to beat our ſtock-Fiſh. The Wind ſhifted to S. W. and to know where the Wind blew, we thruſt a half Pike out of a Chimney, with a piece of Cloth or a Feather upon it, but it would be preſently froze as hard as a piece of Wood, and could not go about or ſtir with the Wind.

The 5th being pretty calm weather, we digged our Door open again, that we might go out, and carry out all the filth that had been made during our confinement: We fetch'd in as much Wood as was poſſible, fearing leſt we ſhould be ſhut up again; after much pains this day, we prayed our Maſter that we might be merry that Night, it being *Twelfth-Even*, and told him that we were content to ſpend ſome of the Wine that Night, which we had ſpared, which was our ſhare every ſecond day, and whereof for certain days paſt we had not drank; and ſo that Night we made merry, and drank to the three Kings of *Cullen*, and had two Pound of Meal, wherewith we made Pancakes with Oyl, and every Man a white Biſket, which we ſopt in Wine; we alſo made Tickets, and our Gunner was King of *Nova Zembla*, which is at leaſt 200 Miles long, and lies between two Seas. *Dutch Miles.*

The ſixth was fair weather, the Wind N.E. we fetched more Wood.

The ſeventh was foul again, the Wind N. W. with Snow, and very cold, which put us in great fear to be ſhut up in the Houſe again.

Day light appears.

The eighth the Wind was North, fair weather, and then day light began to appear, which put us in no little comfort.

The ninth was foul weather, the Wind N. W.

The 10th was fair, with a North Wind; then ſeven of us went to our Ship well armed, which we found in the ſame ſtate we left it in, and in it found the Foot-ſteps of many Bears, both great and ſmall; we went under hatches, and ſtriking Fire, lighted a Candle, and found the Water riſen a foot higher in the Ship.

The 11th and 12th fair weather, the Evening being very clear, and the Sky full of Stars, we found *Oculus Tauri* to be elevated above the *Horizon* 29 Deg. 54 Min. his Declination being 15 Deg. 54 Min. on the North ſide of the Line, which ſubſtracted from the height aforeſaid, there reſts 14 Deg. which ſubſtracted from 90, leaves 76 Deg. for the height of the Pole in that place.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th, fair weather, with the Wind Eaſterly.

On the 16th it came Northerly; we went now and then out of the Houſe to ſtretch our Limbs, and about Noon ſaw a certain redneſs in the Sky.

The cold abates. The next day, when we had a good fire, there fell down pieces of Ice from the Walls of our Houſe, and the Ice melted in our Cabins, and the Water drop'd down, which it would not do before, how great ſoever our fire was; but that Night it was cold again.

The 18th was clear weather, the Wind S. E. then we agreed to burn ſome of our Sea-coals, and not to ſtop up the Chimney, which we did, and found no harm thereby.

The 21ſt was fair, with a Weſt Wind, the Foxes now began to fail us, which was a ſign that the Bears would come again, as not long after we found to be true; for in the abſence of the Bears the Foxes came abroad, and upon the return of the Bears, the Foxes were ſeldom ſeen.

The 22d fair weather, the Wind at Weſt; we perceived that Day-light began to appear to us; but *William Barents* on the contrary, ſaid, that it was yet two Weeks too ſoon.

Sun appears again 7mn 24 New Style. The 24th, three of us went to the Sea-ſide on the South ſide of *Nova Zembla*, where, contrary to our expectation, we ſaw the edge of the Sun, and returned immediately to tell the joyful news to *William Barents* and the reſt of our Company; but *Barents* would not believe it, ſaying, it was yet 14 days too ſoon.

The 25th and 26th was miſty weather, ſo that we could not ſee any thing; but the 27th being clear weather, we ſaw the Sun in his full roundneſs above the *Horizon*, whereby it manifeſtly appeared that we had ſeen it on the 24th Day. This appearance of the Sun ſo ſoon, being contrary to the nature and roundneſs of Heaven and Earth, and to the Opinions of all learned Men, made ſome of us to imagine, that becauſe in a long time we had ſeen no day, we had over ſlept our ſelves; but that could not be, for we uſed our Clock till it was frozen, and after that made uſe of our Hour-glaſs of 12 hours long; and for our better aſſurance, we conſulted *Joſephus Schala's Ephemerides*, printed in *Venice*, for the Years of our Lord 1582, till the Year 1600, and we found therein, that upon the ſaid 24th of *January*, when the Sun firſt appeared unto us, that at *Venice* at one of the Clock in the Night time, the Moon and *Jupiter* were in conjunction, whereupon we ſought to know when the ſame Conjunction was over the Houſe where we then were, and found it to be with us on the ſame day in the Morning, when the Sun was at Eaſt; for we ſaw the two ſaid Planets approach each other until the Moon and *Jupiter* ſtood juſt over each other at ſix of the Clock in the Morning, at which time the Moon and *Jupiter* were found by our Compaſs to be in conjunction over our Houſe in the North and by Eaſt Point, and the South part of the Compaſs was S. S. W. and there we had it right South, the Moon being eight days old; whereby it appears, that the Sun and the Moon were eight Points different, and this was about ſix of the Clock in the Morning; ſo that it is plain that we were five Hours (each Hour being 15 Degrees) more Eaſt than *Venice*, and conſequently that we had not failed in our Accounts.

Difference of Longitude between *Venice* and the place where they winter'd.

Note, that altho' a Degree under the Line be 15 Miles, yet in the Latitude of 76 Deg. where we wintred, a Degree is but three Miles and two third parts.

The 25th dark and cloudy, ſo that the ſeeing the Sun the day before, was again doubted of.

The 26th was clear weather, but there hung a white Cloud in the *Horizon*, ſo that we could not ſee the Sun. That Night our ſick Man, who had lain ill a long time, died.

The 17th was fair weather, the Wind S. W. after reading ſome Chapters, and ſinging Pſalms, we buried our Man in a hole we had digged in the Snow ſeven Foot deep. This day we all ſaw the Sun in his full roundneſs a little above the *Horizon*, and then it was paſt doubt that we had ſeen him the 24th of *January*, which made us all glad, and we gave God hearty thanks for his favour in ſhewing that glorious light unto us again.

The 28th was fair weather, with a Weſt Wind, and went out to exerciſe our ſelves.

The 29 was foul weather, with a N. W. Wind, and ſo much Snow, that our Houſe was again cloſed up.

The 30th was dark weather, with an Eaſt Wind, we made a hole thro' the Door, and ſeeing what weather it was, had no deſire to go abroad.

The next day being calm weather, we went out, and ſaw the Sun ſhine clear; a Bear came towards our Houſe, but as ſoon as we ſhot at her, ſhe ran away.

The firſt and ſecond of *February* was boiſterous weather, with a great ſtorm at N. W. and much Snow, ſo that our Houſe was cloſed up again. *February.*

The third was fair weather, with an Eaſt Wind, but ſo miſty, that we could not ſee the Sun, which made us ſomewhat melancholy; we digged our Door open again, and fetched the Wood that lay without the Door, which with great labour we digged out of the Snow.

The fourth was foul weather with much Snow, the Wind at S. W. and being now cloſed up again, we took not ſo much pains as before, to dig open the Door, but when we had occaſion, climbed out of the Chimney, and went in again the ſame way.

The fifth and ſixth continued foul weather, with much Snow, the Wind Eaſt.

The ſeventh the ſame weather, with a S. W. Wind.

The 8th it began to be fair, and then we went out, and ſaw the Sun riſe S. S. E. and went down S. S. W. by the Compaſs that we made of Lead, and placed according to the Meridian of that place, but by our common Compaſs it differed two Points.

The 9th, 10th, and 11th were fair weather, the Wind Southerly, and we then began to feel ſome heat from the Sun. At night we heard ſome Foxes ſtirring, which ſince the Bears came abroad, we had not much ſeen.

The 12th was clear weather and very calm. While we were cleaning our Fox-traps, a great Bear came towards our Houſe, which made us all go in, and when ſhe came before our Door, we ſhot her, the Bullet paſſing thro' her Body, went out again at her Tail, and was as flat as a Counter; the Bear feeling the blow, leapt backward, and ran 20 or 30 Foot from the Houſe, and there lay down, whereupon we ran to her, and when ſhe ſaw us, reared up her Head as if ſhe would have done us ſome miſchief, but we truſted her not, having tried their ſtrength ſufficiently before, and therefore ſhot her twice into the Body again, wherewith ſhe died. We took at leaſt a hundred pound of Fat out of her Belly, which we melted and burnt in our Lamp; the Skin was nine Foot long and ſeven Foot broad. Bear killed. A hundred pound of Fat in a Bear's belly.

The 13th and 14th were fair clear weather, with a hard gale at Weſt.

The 15th was foul weather, with a great ſtorm at S.. W. and much Snow, whereby the Houſe was cloſed up again. In the Night the Foxes came to devour the Body of the dead Bear, which put us in fear that all the Bears thereabouts would come thither, and therefore we agreed, as ſoon as we could get out of the Houſe, to bury her deep under the Snow.

The 16th was foul weather, with much Snow, the Wind S. W. it being *Shrove-Tueſday*, we made our ſelves ſomewhat merry in our great grief and trouble, and every one of us drank a draught of Wine.

The 19th was foul weather, the Wind S. E. we took the height of the Sun, which in long time before we could not do, becauſe the *Horizon* was not clear, as alſo becauſe the Sun mounted not high enough to give as much ſhadow as was requiſite; we found the Sun at the higheſt, to be elevated three Deg. above the *Horizon*.

The 20th was foul weather, the Wind S. S. W. with much Snow, whereby we were again ſhut up in the Houſe.

The 22d, the Wind S. W. fair weather, eleven of us well armed went to fetch Wood; but returning back with it, we were ſo tired, that we thought we ſhould never be able to fetch any more, and ſo muſt have periſhed with cold. When we came near our Houſe we ſaw much open Water in the Sea, which in long time we had not ſeen, and put us in good hope that things would be better.

The 25th was foul weather again, and much Snow, with a North Wind, whereby we were again cloſed up in our Houſe.

The 28th was ſtill weather, with a S. W. Wind; then ten of us went and fetch'd another Sled full of Wood, with no leſs pain and labour than we did before, for one of our Companions could not help us, becauſe the firſt joint

of

of one of his great Toes was frozen off, and so he could do nothing.

March. The first and second of *March* fair weather, the Wind West, but very cold, and we were forced to spare our Wood, because it was so great labour for us to fetch it. In the day time we exercised our selves with running, going, and leaping, and gave hot Stones to them that lay in their Cabins: we found the Sun to be elevated 6 Deg. 48 Min. above the *Horizon*.

February. The third and fourth fair weather, with a West Wind; five of us went to our Ship, and found the Bears had made mad work there, and had opened the Cook's Cupboard, and dragged it out of the Ship.

Great danger. The seventh was foul weather, and much Wind, so that we were again shut up in our House, and they that would go out must climb up thro' the Chimney. We saw more open Water in the Sea and about the Land, whereby we were in fear that the Ship in that foul weather, and driving of the Ice, would be loose and drive away, while we were shut up in our House, and had no means to prevent it.

The 8th continued foul weather, and much Snow, a S. W. storm, whereby we could see no Ice in the North-east, which made us think, that North-east from us there was a great Sea.

The ninth we could see further from us, and perceive that the Water was open in the North-east, but not from us towards *Tartary*, for there we could see the Ice in the *Tartarian* Sea; so that we were of opinion that there it was not very wide, and when it was clear weather, we often thought we saw the Land S. and S. E. from our House.

The 11th was cold, but fair sun shiny weather, the Wind N. E. we found the Sun to be elevated 10 Deg. 19 Min.

The 12th was foul weather, the Wind N. E. and then the Ice which the S. W. Wind had driven out, came mightily driving in again; it was then as cold as it had been in any time in Winter.

Bear killed. The 15th and 16 was fair weather, the VVind North, we opened our Door to go out, but the Cold rather increased than diminished, and so continued till the 21st.

The 21st was fair weather, but very cold, the VVind North; the same day the Sun was in the Equinoctial, and at Noon we took the height of the Sun, and found it elevated 14 Degrees above the *Horizon*, which substracted from 90 (there being no declination) there rests 76 Deg. for the height of the Pole. VVe now made Shooes of Felt or Rug, our old Shooes being as hard as Horns.

The 23d was very foul weather, and most bitter cold, the VVind N. E. so that we were forced to make more fire, it being then as cold as ever it had been.

The same weather continued the 24th, with much Snow, and a North VVind, whereby we were once again shut up in our House, and then the Coals were of great use to us, which before, by reason of our bad using them we disliked.

The 26th was clear weather and calm, then we digged our selves out of the House again, and fetch'd another Sled of Wood, for the great cold had made us burn up all we had.

The 28th fair weather, the Wind S. W. whereby the Ice drave away very fast. Six of us went aboard the Ship to see how it lay, and found it as we left it.

April. The second of *April* was fair weather, the Wind N. E. the Sun was this day elevated 18 Deg. 40 Min.

Bear assaults the House. The sixth being foul weather, with a stiff N. W. Wind, there came a Bear to our House in the Night, and one of our Men levelling at her, the Piece mist fire, whereupon the Bear came boldly towards the House, and came down the Stairs close to the Door, and fought to break into the House, but our Master held the Door fast to; for being in great hast and fear, he could not bar it with a piece of Wood we used for that purpose; the Bear finding the Door shut, went back again, and returned within two Hours, and went round about and upon the top of the House, making such a roaring as was dreadful to hear, and at last got to the Chimney, and made such work there, that we thought she would have broken it down, and tore the sail that was made fast about it, in many pieces, with a great and fearful noise: We made no resistance, because it was night and we could not see her; at last she went away and left us.

The 14th, was fair clear weather, with a West Wind; we saw greater Hills of Ice round about the Ship, than ever we had seen before, which was a fearful thing to behold, and much to be wondred at, that the Ship was not smitten in pieces.

The 15th fair weather, the Wind North, seven of us went aboard our Ship, to see in what case it was, but found no alteration. As we came back, a great Bear came towards us, and then made away from us again. We went to the place from whence she came, to see her Den, where we found a great hole made in the Ice, about a Man's length in depth, the entry thereof being very narrow, and within wide, where we thrust in our Pikes to feel if there were any thing within it, and perceiving it was empty, one of our Men crept into it, but not too far, it being fearful to behold. Thence we went along by the Sea side, and there we saw, that in the end of *March* and beginning of *April*, the Ice was strangely risen and piled up one upon the other, as if there had been whole Towns made of Ice.

The 16th was foul weather, the Wind N. W. whereby the Ice began to break.

The 17th was fair clear weather, with a S. W. Wind, and then seven of us went to the Ship, and from thence seeing open water in the Sea, we went over the Ice-hills as well as we could, to the Water, having not been so near it in six or seven Months before.

The 18th, the Wind S. W. fair weather, the Sun was elevated 25 Deg. 10 Min. we fetc'd more Wood in a Sled. In the Night another Bear came upon our House, which we hearing, went all out with our Arms, and the Bear ran away.

The 28th fair weather, the Wind North, the Sun was elevated 28 Deg. 8 Min. above the *Horizon*.

The 29th and 30th, the Wind S. W. fair weather; this Night we saw the Sun in the North (when it was at the highest) just above the *Horizon*, and from that time saw the Sun both Night and Day.

CHAP. XVIII.

They depart in a Boat and Scute both open (that is, without Decks) and arrive at Cola, *318 Flemish Miles. Their many Dangers by the way.*

May. THE first of *May* we boiled the last Flesh we had, which we had spared a long time, and was still very good.

The second and third was foul weather, with a storm at S. W. whereby the Sea was almost clear of Ice, which made us begin to talk of getting thence, having kept house long enough there.

The fourth fair weather, the Wind S. W. five of us went to the Ship, and found it lying as fast in the Ice as ever; in the middle of *March* it was but 75 Paces from the open Water, and now it was 500 Paces from the Water, and inclosed with high Hills of Ice, which put us in no small fear how we should bring our Scute and Boat over those Hills into the Water, when we should leave that place.

The sixth was clear weather, with a great S. W. VVind, whereby we saw the Sea open both in the East and in the VVest, which made us rejoice.

The 7th the Wind *North*, and foul weather, with much Snow, whereby we were clos'd up again in our Houſe.

The 14th we fetch'd our laſt Sled of Fire-wood.

The 25th fair weather, the Wind at *Eaſt*; the Sun was elevated 34 d. 46 m.

The 26th the Wind came to N. E. and brought in the Ice again.

The 27th was foul weather, with a great N. E. *Wind*, which mightily drove in the Ice again, whereupon the Maſter, at the motion of the Company, order'd us to prepare to be gone.

The 29th, the Wind *Weſt*, fair weather, ten of us went to draw the Scute to the Houſe, to make it ready to ſail, but we were ſo weak that we were not able to do it; but the Maſter encouraging us, told us, *We muſt ſtrive to do more then we were able*, and that *if we could not get the Scute from thence, we muſt dwell there as Burghers of* Nova Zembla, *and make our Graves in that place.* While we were buſie at work, a great Bear came toward us, whereupon we retir'd into our Houſe, and ſtood to watch her in our three Doors, and one ſtood in the Chimney with a Muſquet. This Bear came on more boldly than ever any had done before, for ſhe came to the neareſt Step that went to one of our Doors, and the Man that ſtood in the Door ſaw her not, becauſe he look'd toward the other Door, but they that ſtood within ſaw her, and in great fear call'd to him, wherewith he turn'd about, and altho' he was in a maze, ſhot her thro' the Body, whereupon ſhe ran away. If the Piece had miſs'd fire, it had coſt him his Life, and it may be the Bear would have gotten into the Houſe. We ripp'd her open, and found a piece of a Buck with the Hair and Skin in her Belly.

A Bear aſſaults the Houſe.

Part of a Buck found in a Bear's Belly.

The 31ſt, fair weather, the Wind S. W. whereby the Ice drove away, and we wrought hard about our Boat to get it ready; and while we were at work there came another Bear (as if he had ſmelt that we would be gone and was deſirous to taſte a piece of ſome of us) and forc'd us to leave our Work and go into the Houſe: The Bear following us, we ſhot her, and ripping up her Belly, we dreſs'd the Liver and eat it, which taſted well enough, but made us all ſick, eſpecially three of our Company, who were ſo very ſick with it, that we verily thought we ſhould have loſt 'em, for all their Skins came off from Head to Foot, but they recover'd again.

June. The 3d of *June* we were pretty well recover'd, and having now wrought ſix days upon our Boat, we at laſt got it ready; and the next day eleven of us went to our Scute and drew it to the Ship, which ten of us had attempted before, and could not perform it. And it being a Herring Scute, made narrow behind, we ſaw'd it off behind, and made it a broad Stern, and built it ſomewhat higher, that it might better brook the Seas.

While ſome were thus employ'd, the reſt were buſie in the Houſe to make all other things ready for our Voyage, and drew two Sleds with Victuals and other things unto the Ship, which lay about half-way between the Houſe and the open Water, that we might have ſo much the ſhorter way to carry our Goods to the Water-ſide when we ſhould go away.

The 5th was foul weather, with much Hail and Snow, the Wind *Weſt*, which made an open Water: We could then do nothing without the Houſe, but within made all things ready, as Sails, Oars, Maſts, Rudder, &c.

The 6th was fair weather, the Wind N. E. but it ſhifting to S. W. there aroſe very foul weather, with Snow, Hail and Rain, and we could not be dry in our Houſe, there being nothing but a Sail over it, for we had taken off the Deals to mend our Boat and Scute.

The 10th we drew our Goods in Sleds to the Ship; the *Wine* that was left we put into ſmall Caſks, that we might divide it into both our Veſſels, and the eaſier hoiſt it in and out when we ſhould be enclos'd with Ice, as we expected.

The 11th was foul weather, and it blowing hard at N. N. W. we could do nothing all that day, and were in great fear leſt the Storm ſhould carry the Ice and the Ship both away together (which might well have come to paſs) for then we had been in greater miſery than ever, becauſe our Victuals and Goods were then all in the Ship.

The 12th, being fair Weather, we went with Hatchets, Halberts, Shovels, and other Inſtruments, to level the Knobs and Hills of Ice which lay in the way between our Scute and Boat and the Water-ſide: We wrought hard with our Hatchets and other Inſtruments, and in the mean time a great lean Bear came out of the Sea upon the Ice towards us, which we ſuppoſe came out of *Tartary*, becauſe we have ſeen ſome of them 20 or 30 miles within the Sea. We having but one Muſquet with us, which our Surgeon carried, I ran towards the Ship to fetch one or two, whereupon the Bear ran after me, and was likely to have overtaken me, but our Company ſeeing that, left their work and ran after her, which made the Bear leave me, and turn towards them; but being ſhot into the Body by the Surgeon, ſhe ran away, and was ſoon overtaken by us and kill'd outright, having ſmote her Teeth out of her Head while ſhe was yet living.

A Bear comes out of the Sea upon the Ice.

The 13th, being fair Weather and open Water, with a good *Weſt Wind*, the Maſter went to the Houſe and ſpake unto *William Barents*, who had been long ſick, telling him, that he thought it good (ſeeing it was a fit time) to go from thence, and ſo will'd the Company to drive the Boat and Scute down to the Water-ſide, and in the Name of God to begin our Voyage. Then *William Barents* wrote a Letter, which he put into the charge of a Muſquet and hung it up in the Chimney, ſetting forth how he came out of *Holland* to ſail to the Kingdom of *China*, and what had hapned to us in this place, with all our Croſſes, that if any Men ſhould chance to come thither, they might know what had hapned to us, and how we had been forc'd in our Extremity to build that Houſe, and to dwell ten months therein, and that now at laſt we adventur'd to Sea in two ſmall open Boats. The Maſter alſo wrote two Letters, to which moſt of us ſubſcrib'd, ſignifying how that we had ſtaid there upon the Land in great Trouble and Miſery, in hope that our Ship would be freed from the Ice, but that it fell out to the contrary, and the Time paſſing away, and our Victuals beginning to fail us, we were forc'd, for the ſaving our Lives, to leave the Ship and to ſail away in our open Boats, committing our ſelves to the protection of the Almighty. And ſo, having all things ready, we drew the Boat to the Water-ſide, and leaving a Man in it, went and fetch'd the Scute, and after that eleven Sleds with Goods and Victuals, which being put into the Sleds, we return'd to the Houſe and fetch'd *William Barents* and *Claes Adrianſon* (who had both been long ſick) upon Sleds to the place where our Scutes lay, and ſo entring into 'em, divided our ſelves equally, and put into each Boat a ſick Man, and ſo committing our ſelves to the Will and Mercy of God, with a *W. N. W. Wind* and an indifferent open *Water*, we ſet ſail and put to Sea.

They depart.

The 14th in the morning we put off from the Land of *Nova Zembla* and the faſt Ice adjoyning, and ſail'd E. N. E. all that day to the Iſlands point, which was five miles: But our beginning was not very good, being enclos'd again with Ice, which put us to no ſmall fear and trouble. Four of us went on Land, and kill'd many Birds with Stones upon the Cliffs.

The 16th we ſail'd again, and got to the Iſland of *Orange*, which is eight miles diſtant from the *Point* of *Deſire*; there we went on Land with two ſmall Barrels and a Kettle, to melt Snow and put the Water into the Barrels, and to ſeek for Birds and Eggs for our ſick Men. We put to Sea again, with a S. E. *Wind* and mizling *Weather*, and ſailing *Weſt* and W. by S. to the *Ice-point*, we faſtned our Scutes to a great piece of Ice; but the *Weather* grew worſe, ſo that we were again enclos'd with Ice, and forc'd to ſtay there.

The 17th the Ice came ſo faſt upon us, that it made our Hair ſtand upright upon our Heads, for we drove away ſo hard with the Ice, and were ſo ſore preſs'd between Flakes of Ice, that we thought verily the Scutes would burſt in a hundred pieces. In this Extremity the Maſter ſaid, That *if we could take hold with a Rope upon the faſt Ice, we might therewith draw the Scute up, and ſo get it out of the great drift of Ice.* I being the lighteſt man in the Company, undertook this hazardous ſervice, and creeping from one piece of driving Ice to another, by God's help got to the faſt Ice, where faſtning a Rope to a high Hillock, they in the Scute drew it to the faſt Ice, and firſt in all haſte we took out our ſick Men, and laid them upon the Ice, having firſt put Clothes and other things under 'em, and then took all our Goods out of the Scutes, and ſo drew them upon the Ice, whereby for that time we were deliver'd from that great danger.

Three Bears.

The 18th we repair'd our Scutes again, being much bruis'd and cruſh'd with the racking of the Ice, and were forc'd to drive all the Nails faſt again, and to piece many things about them, God ſending us Wood, wherewith we melted our Pitch, and did all other things neceſſary. Then ſome of us went upon the Land, with no ſmall danger between the Ice and the firm Land; we found four Birds, but could find no Eggs, which our ſick Men long'd for.

One Bear catches another in his Mouth.

The 19th was indifferent Weather, the Wind N. W. and W. S. W. but we were ſtill enclos'd with Ice, and ſaw

no

no opening, which made us think that there would be our laſt abode, and that we ſhould never get from thence.

W. Barents Chief Pilot dies. The 20th *Claes Adrianſon* and *William Barents* died; the Death of the laſt put us in no ſmall diſcomfort, as being the chief Guide and only Pilot, on whom we repos'd our ſelves next under God.

The 22d in the morning it blew a good gale out of the *S. E.* and the Sea was reaſonably open, but we were forc'd to draw our Scutes over a piece of Ice fifty paces long, and there put them into the Water, and then draw them up on other Ice at leaſt an hundred paces over, before we could bring them to a good place, where we might eaſily get out; and being gotten unto the open Water, committed our ſelves to God, with an indifferent gale at *S. S. E.* and ſail'd *W.* by *S.* till Noon, and then were enclos'd with Ice again, but not long after it open'd like a Sluice, and we paſs'd thro' it and ſail'd along by the Land, but were preſently enclos'd with Ice, which we us'd all the means we could to break, but all in vain. At laſt (God be prais'd) it open'd of it ſelf, and we got out, and ſail'd along by the Land *W.* by *S.* with a *South Wind.*

The 23d we got to the *Truſt-point*, which is diſtant from the *Ice-point* 25 miles, and then could go no further, becauſe the Ice lay ſo hard and cloſe together, and yet it was fair weather. We took the height of the Sun, and found our ſelves to be in the Latitude of 76 d. 30 m. Altho' it was fair Sunſhine weather, yet it was not ſo ſtrong as to melt the Snow, that we might have Water to drink, ſo that we ſet all our Tin Platters and other things full of Snow to melt, and put Snow in our Mouths to melt it down our Throats, but all was not enough, ſo that we were compel'd to endure great Thirſt.

The 24th of *June* it ſtill blew hard out of the *South*; we row'd here and there among the Ice, to ſee where we might beſt get out, but could find no opening. When the Sun came to the South we got into the Sea, for which we thank'd God moſt heartily, that he had ſent us an unexpected opening, and an *Eaſt Wind*, which carried us luſtily forward, ſo that we hop'd to get about *Point Naſſaw*, which we could then ſee about three miles diſtant.

The 26th it blew hard at *South*, and brake in pieces the Ice whereunto we were faſtned, whereby we were driven into the Sea, and in danger to be caſt away. We row'd as much as we could to get near the Land, and the Waves went ſo hollow, that we ſaw nothing but Death before our Eyes: But God help'd us once again, and contrary to our expectation ſent us a *N. W. Wind*, whereby we got to the faſt Ice again. It was then miſty weather, and we had loſt ſight of our other Scute, much fearing that they were drown'd. We ſail'd a mile along by the faſt Ice, and not finding her, we fir'd a Muſquet, which they anſwer'd with another; at laſt we got near them, and finding them faſtned in Ice, we went over the Ice, and help'd them to unlade their Scute, which with great labour we drew over the Ice into the open Water again. While we lay by each other we ſod ſome Bread and Water together, and eat it warm, which did us much good.

The 28th we laid all our Goods upon the Ice, and then drew the Scutes upon the Ice alſo, becauſe we were ſo hardly preſs'd on all ſides, and the Wind came out of the Sea upon the Land, that we fear'd our Scutes would be cruſh'd in pieces. We laid Sails over our

Three Bears. Scutes, and laid our ſelves down to reſt; and when the Sun was North three Bears came towards our Scutes, whereupon he that kept Watch cried, *Three Bears, Three Bears;* at which noiſe we leap'd out of our Boats with our Muſquets, that were laden with Hail-ſhot to ſhoot at Birds, and having no time to diſcharge them, ſhot at them therewith, which tho' it could not hurt 'em much, yet they ran away, and in the mean time gave us leiſure to lade our Muſquets with Bullets, and by that means we ſhot one of 'em dead, which the other two perceiving, ran away, and within two hours return'd again; but when they were almoſt at us, and heard us make a noiſe, they ran away.

One Bear eats another in his Mouth. The next day they came again to the place where the dead Bear lay, and one of them took the dead Bear in his Mouth, and went a great way with it over the rugged Ice, and then began to eat it; which we perceiving, ſhot a Muſquet at her, whereupon ſhe ran away. Then four of us went thither, and ſaw that in ſo ſhort a time ſhe had eaten almoſt half. We laid the dead Bear upon a high piece of Ice, that if the Bear came again, we might ſee to ſhoot at her from our Scute; and we four had enough to do to carry the half Bear between us, which ſhews the great ſtrength of that Bear which carried the whole in her Mouth as lightly as if it had been nothing.

The 1ſt of *July* was indifferent fair, with a *W. N. W. Wind*; in the morning a Bear came from the driving Ice towards us, and ſwam over the Water to the faſt Ice whereon we lay, but hearing us make a noiſe, ran away. *July.*

At a *S. E. Sun* the Ice came in ſo faſt upon us, that all the Ice whereon we lay brake and ran one piece upon another, whereby moſt of our Goods fell into the Water, but we with great diligence drew our Scutes further upon the Ice towards the Land, which when we had done, and went to fetch our Goods, we ran into greater danger than we had hitherto met with; for when we laid hold upon one parcel, the reſt ſunk down with the Ice, which would alſo many times break under our Feet, which made us almoſt to deſpair of ſafety.

One of the Scutes, wherein was a ſick man, was broken in many places, ſo that we gave it over for loſt, and beheld each other in pitiful manner, not knowing what to do, our Lives depending thereon; but God ſo order'd it that the pieces of Ice drave from each other, wherewith we ran to the Scute, and drew it unto us again, in ſuch caſe as it was, and laid it by the Boat upon the faſt Ice, where it was in more ſecurity.

This dangerous Labour laſted above ſeven hours, which made us extream weary, and was more dreadful to us than the dangers we had eſcap'd when *William Barents* died, and we loſt this day two Barrels of Bread, a Cheſt with Linnen Cloth, a dry Fat with Sailors Clothes, our Aſtronomical Ring, a Pack of Scarlet Cloth, ſome Cheeſes, a Rundlet of Oyl and a Rundlet of Wine, which laſt was bilg'd with the Ice, ſo that we could ſave none of it.

The 4th it was ſo fair clear weather, that from the time we were firſt in *Nova Zembla* we had not the like.

The 5th fair weather, the *Wind S. W.* the ſame day died *John Franſon* of *Harlem.*

The 7th fair weather, with ſome Rain, the *Wind W. S. W.* we went to the open Water, and there kill'd thirteen Birds, which we found upon a piece of driving Ice.

The 9th the Ice began to drive, whereby we got ope Water on the Land-ſide: Then the faſt Ice whereon we lay began to drive alſo, whereupon we went to fetch the Pack and the Cheſt that ſtood upon the Ice, to put them into the Scute, and then drew the Scutes at leaſt three hundred and forty paces to the Water, as weak as we were; and then we ſet ſail with an *Eaſt Wind*, but were ſoon forc'd to make to the faſt Ice again.

The 10th we took great pains to get thro' the Ice, and at laſt got thro' and row'd forth, until we happen'd to fall between two great flakes of Ice, that cloſ'd ſo that we could not get thro', but were forc'd to draw the Scutes upon them and unlade the Goods, and then to draw them over to the open Water on the other ſide. When we had done this, we muſt fetch the Goods alſo to the ſame place, being at leaſt an hundred paces, and when we were in open Water, we row'd forward as well as we could, and had not row'd long e're we fell between two great flakes that came driving one againſt the other, but by God's help and our ſpeedy rowing we got from between 'em before they cloſ'd up; and being thro', we had a hard *Weſt Wind* right in our Teeth, which conſtrain'd us to make toward the faſt Ice that lay by the ſhore.

The 11th in the morning, as we ſate faſt upon the Ice, a great Bear came out of the Water, running towards us, and when ſhe came within thirty paces of us we diſcharg'd three Muſquets at her, and kill'd her outright, ſo that ſhe ſtirr'd not a foot, and the Fat which came out of the wounds did ſwim upon the Water like Oyl: We meaſur'd her Body, and found it to be eight foot thick. *A Bear kill'd 8 foot long.*

Three of our Men went to an Iſland that lay before us, and being there, ſaw the *Croſs*-Iſland lying *Weſtward* from them, and went thither upon the Ice, to ſee if any *Ruſſian* had been there that Summer, but they could not perceive that any Man had been in it ſince we were there. They got ſeventy Eggs there, but knew not how to bring them to us; at laſt one of them put off his Breeches, and tying them faſt below, they carried them between two of 'em, and the third carried the Muſquet, and ſo came to us again after they had been 12 hours gone, which put us in no ſmall fear to think what was become of them. They told us, they had gone at leaſt ſix *Flemiſh* miles to and fro between both Iſlands, and many times up to the Knees in Water, which made us wonder how they could endure it, ſeeing we were all ſo weak. We were much comforted

with

with the Eggs they brought, ſo that we found ſome relief in our great miſery, and then ſhared our laſt VVine amongſt us, whereof every one had three Glaſſes.

The 12th and 13th, the VVind Eaſterly, ſeven of our Men went to the firm Land to ſeek certain Stones, and found ſome, tho' not of the beſt ſort.

The 14th fair weather, with a good South VVind, and then the Ice began to drive from the Land, whereby we were in good hope to have an open VVater, but the VVind turning VVeſterly, the Ice lay ſtill again. Three of our Men went to the next Iſland, and ſhot a *Berchey-ner*, which they gave amongſt us, for all our goods were common.

The 16th a Bear came to us from the firm Land, we could not diſcern it to be a Bear, becauſe it ſhewed ſo like the Snow, but at laſt when ſhe came near, we perceived her by her ſtirring, and ſhot and hit her, but ſhe ran away.

The next day five of our Men went again to the next Iſland, to ſee if there appeared any open VVater, and being half way thither, found the Bear which the Day before had been ſhot by us, lying behind a piece of Ice; as ſoon as ſhe heard them ſhe went away, but one of the Men following her with a Boat Hook, thruſt her into the Skin, wherewith the Bear roſe upon her hinder Feet, and as the Man thruſt at her again, ſhe ſtruck the Iron of the Boat Hook in pieces, wherewith the Man fell down upon his Buttocks, which our other two Men ſeeing, both of them ſhot her into the Body, and with that ſhe ran away, but the other Man went after her with his broken Staff, and ſtruck the Bear upon the Back, whereupon ſhe turned upon the Man three times one after the other, and then the other two came to her and ſhot her in the Body again, wherewith ſhe ſate down upon her Buttocks, and then they ſhot once again, wherewith ſhe fell down. All that day the VVind was N. E. cloſe weather.

The 18th in the Morning three of our Men went upon the higheſt part of the Land to ſee if there was any open VVater in the Sea, and returning to us, ſaid, that they had ſeen much open VVater, but it lay ſo far from the Land and the faſt Ice, that they feared we ſhould not be able to draw the Scutes ſo far; but neceſſity urging us, we were reſolved to try what we could do, and with indefatigable Pains ſurmounted all thoſe Difficulties, and ſetting ſail, we preſently fell among Ice again, and drew up our Scutes upon it.

The 19th, ſeven of our Men went to the *Croſs Iſland*, about a Mile from us, and being there ſaw great ſtore of open VVater in the VVeſt, wherewith they much rejoiced, and made what haſt they could to the Scutes, but before they came away, they got 100 Eggs. They told us they had ſeen open VVater in the Sea as far as they could diſcern, and were in good hopes this would be the laſt time we ſhould draw our Scutes over the Ice, whereupon we made ſpeed to dreſs our Eggs, and drawing our Scutes at leaſt 200 Paces over the Ice, got them into the VVater, and put to Sea with a good Gale at E. and E. N. E. and paſſing by *Croſs-Iſland*, ten Miles diſtant from Cape *Naſſaw*, the Ice left us, altho' we afterward ſaw ſome in the Sea, but it troubled us not, and ſo we held our courſe VV. by S. with a good Gale at E. N. E.

The 20th, at a S. E. Sun, we paſſed along by the *Black Point*, twelve Miles diſtant from *Croſs-Iſland*, and ſailing VV. S. VV. we ſaw the Admiral's Iſland at a VVeſt Sun, and paſt by it at a North Sun, diſtant from the *Black Point* eight Miles. In paſſing by it we ſaw about 200 Sea-horſes lying upon a flake of Ice, and we ſailing cloſe by them, drave them from thence, which was like to have coſt us dear; for they being of mighty force, ſwam round about our Scutes with a great noiſe, as if they would have devoured us, but we eſcaped from them by reaſon of our good gale of VVind, yet it was not wiſely done of us to diſturb them.

The 21ſt we paſt by Cape *Planeio*, lying VV. S. VV. eight Miles from the Admirals Iſland.

The 22d, having ſo good a gale of VVind, when we came to Cape *de Cant*, we went aſhoar to ſeek for Birds and Eggs, but finding none, we ſailed forwards, and ſaw a Clift that was full of Birds, and ſteering thither, we caſt Stones at them, and killed 22, and got 15 Eggs; we might have taken many more, but being unwilling to looſe that fair Wind, we ſailed along the Coaſt till we came to another Point, where we got 125 Birds, ſome of which we took with our Hands out of their Neſts, and killing ſome with Stones, they fell down into the Water. They had each of them but one Egg in their Neſts, and that lying upon the bare clift, without Straw or other thing under it, which ſeems ſtrange how they could breed their young ones in ſo great cold, but poſſibly they therefore ſit but upon one Egg, that the heat that is neceſſary in breeding ſo many, may be given wholly to one.

The 24th, fair weather, the Wind Northerly; we took the height of the Sun, and found our ſelves in the Latitude of 73 Deg. 10 Min.

The 27th we ſailed from Cape *de Cant*, along by *Coſtingſark*, to the *Crags Point*, 20 Miles, our Courſe S.S.E. the Wind N. W.

The 28th fair weather, the Wind N. E. we ſailed along the Coaſt of St. *Lawrence* Bay, where finding two *Ruſſian Lodges* or Ships, we were not a little comforted to think we were come to a place where we found Men, but we were ſomewhat fearful of them, becauſe they were ſo many, for we ſaw at leaſt 80 of them, and knew not what they were. As ſoon as we came near the Shoar, they left off their work and came towards us, but without Arms, and we alſo went on Land, as many as were well (for divers of us were very ill with a great ſcouring) and ſaluted each other in friendly manner, they after their faſhion, and we after ours; the Maſter and I, who had been there the Year before, knew ſome of them to be the ſame Men which had been aboard our Ship when we paſſed thro' the *Weygates*, and we perceived that they were greatly aſtoniſhed that we who at that time were ſo well furniſhed with a great Ship, well provided with all things neceſſary, ſhould now appear in that Country ſo poor and deſtitute, in a couple of ſmall Scutes: And amongſt them there were two, that in friendly manner clapt the Maſter and me upon the Shoulder, as remembring us ſince the laſt Voyage, and ask'd us for our *Crable*, meaning our Ship, and we ſhewed them by ſigns as well as we could, that we had loſt our Ship in the Ice, whereupon they ſaid, *Crable propal* (which we underſtood to be, *Have you loſt your Ship?*) and made anſwer, *Crable propal*. They ſeemed to be ſorry for our loſs, and made us ſigns, that when we were there before, they had drank Wine in our Ship, and asked us what we had now; wherewith one of our Men went to the Scute, and drew ſome Water, and gave them a taſt of it, but they ſhaked their Heads, ſaying, *No dobbre*, that is, *It is not good*. Then our Maſter went nearer to them and ſhewed them his Mouth, to let them underſtand that we were troubled with a looſeneſs in our Bellies, and to have their advice how to help it; but they thought he had, made a ſign that we were hungry, wherewith one of them went to their Lodging, and brought a round Rye Loaf weighing about eight Pounds, and ſome Fowls, which we accepted thankfully, and gave them in exchange half a dozen of *Muſchuit*. Then our Maſter led two of the chief of them into his Scute, and gave them ſome of the little Wine we had left, being almoſt a Gallon. We went to the place where they lay, and ſod ſome of our *Muſchuit* with water by their fire, that we might eat ſome warm thing down into our Bodies: and indeed we were much comforted to ſee the *Ruſſians*, having not ſeen any Man, ſince we departed from *John Corneliſon*, being 13 Months before.

The 29th, was fair weather, and the *Ruſſians* prepared to ſet ſail, and digged ſome Barrels of Train Oil out of the Sedges, which they had buried there, and put them into their Ships.

The 30th, the VVind blew a great ſtorm at N. VV. with much Rain, ſo that altho' we covered our Scutes with our Sails, yet we could not lie dry, which was an unaccuſtomed thing to us, who had felt no Rain in a long time before.

The 31ſt, we rowed from that Iſland to another, whereon there ſtood two Croſſes, hoping to find ſome Men there, but we found none. The VVind continued N. VV. and drave the Ice towards *Weygates*. VVe went aſhoar, and found great ſtore of *Leple* Leaves, which were of great uſe to us, many of us being then ſick, and moſt of us ſo troubled with a ſcouring in our Bodies, that we were thereby ſo weak that we could hardly row; but by eating theſe Leaves, we were preſently recovered to admiration, and gave God great thanks for that and many other his Mercies ſhewed unto us in this our dangerous Voyage. VVe eat them by handfulls, having heard in *Holland* of their great virtue, and found it to be much more than we expected. *Leple* Leaves or Scurvy-graſs cure their Scouring.

The firſt of *Auguſt* the VVind continued hard at N. VV. and the Ice, that for a while had driven towards *Weygates*, ſtaied and drave no more, but the Sea went very hollow, which made us remove our Scutes to the other ſide of the Iſland, and going aſhoar, found more *Leple* Leaves, whereby we ſo recovered our healths, that ſome of us could eat Biſket again, which before we could not do. *Auguſt.*

The

The second was dark misty weather, the Wind still blowing still N. W. and our Victuals were near spent, having nothing left but a little Bread and Water, and some of us a little Cheese.

The third, at a North Sun, the weather being somewhat better, we resolved to leave *Nova Zembla*, and so cross over to *Russia*, and so committing our selves to God, we set sail with a N. W. Wind, and sailed *S. S. W.* till the Sun was East, and then entred into Ice again, which put us in great fear, and about a S. W. Sun, got clear thereof, and entred into the large Sea, where we saw some Ice, and having sailed and rowed about 20 Miles, we entred into Ice again, and it was then very cold.

The fourth, at a South-east Sun, being gotten out of the Ice, we sailed forward with a N. W. Wind, holding our course Southerly, and at Noon saw the Coast of *Russia* before us, being very low Land, like a bare Strand that might be overflowed. We had sailed from the Point of *Nova Zembla* thither 30 Miles, and thence running along the Coast with an indifferent Gale, we saw another *Russian* Vessel, and when we came near them, they came all above Deck, and we cried unto them *Candinaes*, *Candinaes*, but they answered *Pitzora*, *Pitzora*, intimating that we were thereabouts, whereas we thought verily that we had been far more to the Westward, and not far from *Candinaes*, altho' we were three days sailing from it, as after we perceived. The cause of this Error in our course was, that we were deceived by our Compass, which standing upon a Chest bound with Iron, made us vary at least two Points, whereby we were not only much more southerly than we thought our Course had been, but also far more easterly.

The Compass varying on a Chest bound with Iron.

The 12th of *August* in the Morning being fair weather, we saw a *Russian Lodgie* come towards us, which we perceiving from the Strand where we lay with our Scutes, desired the Master that we might speak with them to get some Victuals of them. When we got to them, the Master went into the *Lodgie* to ask them how far we had to *Candinaes*; they held up five Fingers to us, but we knew not what they meant thereby, but we after perceived that their meaning was, that there stood five Crosses upon it, and they brought their Compass out, and shewed us that it lay N. W. from us, which reckoning also we had made by our Compass. When we saw we could have no better intelligence from them, the Master went further into their Ship, and pointed to a Barrel of Fish, making signs to know if they would sell it unto us, shewing them a piece of eight Rials; whereupon they gave us 102 Fishes, with some Cakes they had made of Meal, and about a South Sun we left them.

The 17th we saw a *Russian Lodgie* that came sailing out of the *White Sea*, to whom we rowed that we might have some instruction from him, and when we boarded him, he gave us a Loaf of Bread, and by signs shewed us that he had seen our Companions (who were separated from us in misty weather) pointing to the Scute, and holding up seven Fingers, thereby shewing that so many Men were in the other Scute, and that they had sold them Bread, Flesh, Fish, and other Victuals; and we saw a small Compass in their *Lodgie*, which we knew to be our Boatswains, and they acknowledged they bought it of him.

The 18th in the Morning we pulled up our Stone, which we used instead of an Anchor, and rowing along the Coast till Noon, we then saw the Point of *Candinaes*, with the five Crosses standing upon it, lying at the Mouth of the *White Sea*, which we were to cross, and had long desired to see. We past the Point at a N. W. Sun, and having a good N. E. Wind, set forward in the name of God, and all that Night and the next Day sailed with a good Wind, and so likewise the Night following; in the Morning we saw Land on the West side of the *White Sea*, which we knew must be the Coast of *Lapland*, for which we thanked God, who had helped us to sail over the *White Sea* in 30 Hours, it being 40 *Dutch* Miles at the least, our Course being West, with a N. E. Wind.

The 20th, we spied certain Crosses with Warders upon them, whereby we understood that it was a good Road, and so put into it, and being entred, we saw a great *Russian Lodgie* at anchor, whereunto we rowed, and then went ashoar to some Houses, where they shewed us great Friendship. In these little Houses we found 13 *Russians*, who every Morning went to fish in the Sea; they lived very poorly, eating nothing but Fish and Bread. When we were returning to our Scute in the Evening, they prayed the Master and me to stay with them in their Houses, which the Master thanked them for, but would not accept, and I alone staid with them all Night. Besides those 13 *Russians* there were two *Laplanders*, and three Women and one Child, who lived upon what the *Russians* gave them, as a piece of Fish, and the Fishes Heads which the *Russians* threw away, and they with great thankfulness took up; so that altho' we had little enough, yet in comparison of their povert, we thought our selves in a happy condition.

Laplanders miserable life.

The 21st we met our other Company, and shewed each other how we had sailed to and fro in great necessity and hunger, and yet they had endured more than us. We gave God thanks who had preserved us alive and brought us together again; and the next day we prayed the *Russian* Cook to bake a Sack of Meal for us, paying him for it, which he did, and our Master bought four Cods of the Fishermen, which we boiled, and while we were eating, the chief of the *Russians* came unto us, and perceiving we had not much Bread, fetched a Loaf and gave it to us; and altho' we desired them to sit down and eat with us, yet we could by no means perswade them to it, because it was a fasting day with them, and we had poured Butter and Fat to our Fish: And so superstitious they were in their Fasting, that we could not get them once to drink with us, because our Cup was somewhat greasy, neither would they lend us any of their Cups, lest they should be greased also.

The 24th, the Wind at East, we got to the seven Islands, where we found many Fishermen, of whom we enquired for *Cola* and *Kilduin*, and they made signs that they lay West from us. They cast a Cod into our Scute, for which we gave them great thanks, much wondring at their courtesy. Passing between the seven Islands and the Land, some Fishermen rowed to us and asked us where our *Crable* was; we answered with as much *Russian* as we had learned, *Crable pro pal*, that is, *Our Ship is lost*, which they understanding, said unto us, *Cool Brabonse Crable*, whereby we understood, that at *Cola* there were some *Netherland* Ships, but we did not much regard their News, because our design was to sail to *Wardhouse*, fearing lest the Emperour of *Russia* should stay us at *Cola*.

The 25th we had sight of *Kilduin*, where are five or six small Houses inhabited by *Laplanders*: We put in with the Land and asked of the *Laplanders* if that were *Kilduin*, who answered, that it was, and said, that at *Cola* there lay three *Brabants Crables*, whereof two were to sail from thence that day. Then we asked them if any of them would go with one of our Men by Land to *Cola*, promising to reward them well for their pains; but they excused themselves, saying, They could not go from thence, but they would bring us over the Hill, where we should find certain *Laplanders*, whom they thought would go with us; and so the Master and one of our Men going with them over the Hill, found some *Laplanders* there, of whom they got one to go with our Man, promising him two Rials of Eight for his pains. The *Laplander* took a Gun upon his Shoulder, and our Man a Boat-hook, and about Evening they set forward.

On the 29th we spied the *Laplander* coming alone, without our Man, whereat we wondred, but when he came unto us, he shewed us a Letter directed to our Master, which he opened before us, the Contents thereof being, *That the Writer of the Letter wondred much at our arrival in that place, and that long since he verily thought that we had been all cast away, being exceeding glad of our happy deliverance, and that he would presently come unto us with Victuals and all other Necessaries to succour us.* It was subscribed *John Cornelison Rip*. We wondred who this should be that shewed us such great friendship: for tho' it appeared by the Letter that he knew us well, yet we could not imagine (as it proved afterwards) that it was the same *John Cornelison*, who the Year before left us about *Bear Island*. We paid the *Laplander* his hire for his good news, and besides that, gave him Hose, Breeches, and other Furniture, so that he was apparelled like a *Hollander*. This *Laplander* walked well, for our Man said they were two Days and two Nights in going to *Cola*, and yet walked apace, whereas he was but one Day and a Night coming back to us; he brought us a Partridge which he had killed on the way.

The next day we saw a *Russian Soll* come rowing with *John Cornelison* and our Companion, who being landed, we received each other with great joy. He brought us a Barrel of Roswich Beer, Wine, *Aqua Vitæ*, Bread, Flesh, Bacon, Salmon, Sugar, and other things, which were a great relief to us, and we rejoyced together for our unexpected meeting; and at that time gave God great thanks for his mercy shewed to us.

The second of *September* in the Morning, we rowed up the River, and saw some Trees on the Bank side, which made us glad, as if we were come into a new World, for in all the time we had been out, we had not seen any Trees. In the Evening we got to *John Cornelison*'s Ship, and made merry with his Saylers who had

September

been

been in the Voyage with him the last Year. Then we rowed forward, and late in the Night got to *Cola*, and were all exceeding glad that God of his mercy had delivered us out of so many Dangers and Troubles, and brought us thither in safety.

Their Scute and Boat laid up for a Monument more deservedly then the *Argo*.

The 11th, by the consent of the *Russian* Governour, we brought our Scute and our Boat into the Merchants House to stand for a Memorial of our long, dangerous, and never before sailed Voyage, which (by God's help) was performed in those open Scutes, being almost 400 *Dutch* Miles.

The 18th we sailed from the River *Cola*, and on the first of *November* arrived at *Amsterdam*, in the same Cloaths we wore in *Nova Zembla*, with our Caps fur'd with white Fox Skins. The news thereof being spread abroad, it was also carried to the Prince's Court at the *Hague*, to which place we were brought by the Scout and two of the Burghers, and there in presence of Prince *Maurice*, divers Embassadors, and the Burghermasters, made a rehearsal of our long and dangerous Voyage.

We found by experience, that our greatest hindrance was the Ice about *Nova Zembla*, under 73, 74, 75, and 76 Degrees, which was more than we met with at Sea between both Lands, altho' we were then much more Northerly, which shews that it was not the nearness of the North Pole, but the Ice that came from the *Tartarian* Sea about *Nova Zembla*, that made us feel the greatest cold. And it is observable, that in *Greenland* under 80 Degrees, there is both Leaves and Grass, whereon Deer and such Beasts as feed on Leaves and Grass, do live; whereas on the contrary in *Nova Zembla*, there groweth neither Leaves nor Grass, nor are there any Beasts there, but such as eat Flesh, as Bears and Foxes, &c. altho' it lies four, five, and six Degrees more Southerly than *Greenland*: So likewise it is observed to be much hotter about the *Tropicks*, which are 23 Deg. and a half from the Line, than under the Line it self. Our Pilot *William Barents* died in this opinion, being fully perswaded that our intended Discovery had been perfected, if we had held a N. E. Course from the North Cape, which Course we could not hold from *Nova Zembla*, because we were then entred into the Ice.

The following Notes were written by William Barents, *the Pilot before mentioned.*

THE 24th of *August*, *New Stile*, 1595, we spake with the *Samoieds*, and asked them how the Land and Sea did lie to the Eastward of *Weygates*: They said, after five days journey going N. E. we should come to a great Sea towards the S. E. The Sea to the Eastward of *Weygates*, they said, was called *Marmora*, that is to say, *The calm Sea*, and the People of *Wardhouse* told us the same. I asked them if it was frozen over at any time of the Year: They said it was, and that sometimes they passed it with Sleds; and the same was affirmed by the *Russes* we met in a *Lodgie* or Bark the first of *September*, 1595, who told us that this Sea was sometimes so frozen, that the *Lodgies* or Barks going from *Pechora* to *Giellsidi*, are forced sometimes to winter there. This last place was won by the *Russes* from the *Tartars* three Years past.

As to the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, I could find none there, but with the Wind, so runs the Stream.

The third of *September* the Wind was S. W. and then I found the Water higher than with the Wind at N. or N. E. My Opinion is grounded on Experience, that if there be a Passage, it is small, or else the Sea could not rise with a Southerly Wind; and for the better Proof to know if there were a Flood and Ebb, on the ninth of *September* I went ashoar on the South end of the *States Island*, and laid a Stone on the brink of the Water, and went round about the Island to shoot a Hare, and when I returned, I found the Stone as I left it, and the Water neither higher nor lower, which proves that there is no Flood nor Ebb.

CHAP XIX.

The Voyages and Discoveries of Henry Hudson *towards the North Pole, set forth at the Charge of certain Merchants of* London.

1607. *May.* THE first of *May*, 1607, we departed from *Gravesend*, our Ship's Crew consisting of ten Men and a Boy, besides the Master, and on the 26th we were six Leagues to the Eastward of *Shotland*, in 60 Deg. 12 Min. We had 64 Fathoms at our sounding, black, ozy, sandy, with some yellow Shells. The Compass had no variation.

The 30th we were in 61 Deg. 11 Min. this day the Needle inclined 79 Deg. under the *Horizon*.

June. The 11th of *June* we saw six or seven Whales near our Ship: We steered N. N. W. and on the 13th saw Land on Head of us, with some Ice: We called the Head Land *Young's Cape*, and a very high Mount near it, like a round Castle, we called the *Mount of God's Mercy*: Our Sails and Shrouds were frozen. We lay a hull from the 15th to the 17th, and perceived a Current setting to the S. W.

The 18th and 19th we steered N. E. purposing to see whether the Land we descried the 13 day, were an Island or part of *Greenland*; but it being a thick Fog, with much Wind at South, we changed our Course, and steered N. N. E. hoping for an open Sea to fall with the body of * *Newland*.

* Now called *Greenland*.

The 20th at two in the Afternoon it cleared up, and we saw the Sun, which we had not seen since the second of this Month. We kept a North-easterly Course, meeting with many Fogs and Calms, and much Ice driving in the Sea, and on the 27th we descried *Greenland*. The Ice lay very thick along the Shoar, and having a fair Wind, we coasted it in a smooth Sea, and had no ground at 100 Fathoms four Leagues from the Shoar: We reckoned our selves to be in 78 Degrees, and not far from *Vogel Hook*: As we ran along the Shoar, we found no great cold: At eight at Night we shaped our Coast N. W. and at ten saw great store of Ice on head of us, whereupon we tacked and stood away S. S. E.

Note, that altho' we use the Word Night for distinction of time, yet the Sun was long before this, always above the Horizon, but we had not as yet seen him upon the Meridian North.

The 28th, it cleared up at 12 at Night, and we found our selves between the Land and the Ice, *Vogel Hook* bearing East of us.

The 29 and 30th were stormy, we lay a hull.

The first we stood N. E. for the Shoar, and were soon embayed with Ice; by our observation we were in 78 Deg. 42 Min. whereby we accounted our selves thwart of *The great Indraught*. In the Evening it cleared up, and we found our selves shot far into the Inlet, and had no ground at 100 Fathoms.

The second, the Wind N. E. and clear weather, the Ice to the Northward of us, and an open Sea to the Southward under our Lee.

The third and fourth our Shrouds and Sails were frozen.

The fifth much Wind at N. E. we lay a Hull, being then near the Mouth of the Inlet.

The sixth the Wind N. E. and the Sea grown, and very green; Latitude by Observation 77 Deg. 30 Min.

The seventh was clear, and we were encompassed with Ice, and were now entred again into a black Sea, which by proof we found to be an open Passage.

The eighth very foggy, we steered S. by E. we saw much drift Wood, and many Seals, and two Morses.

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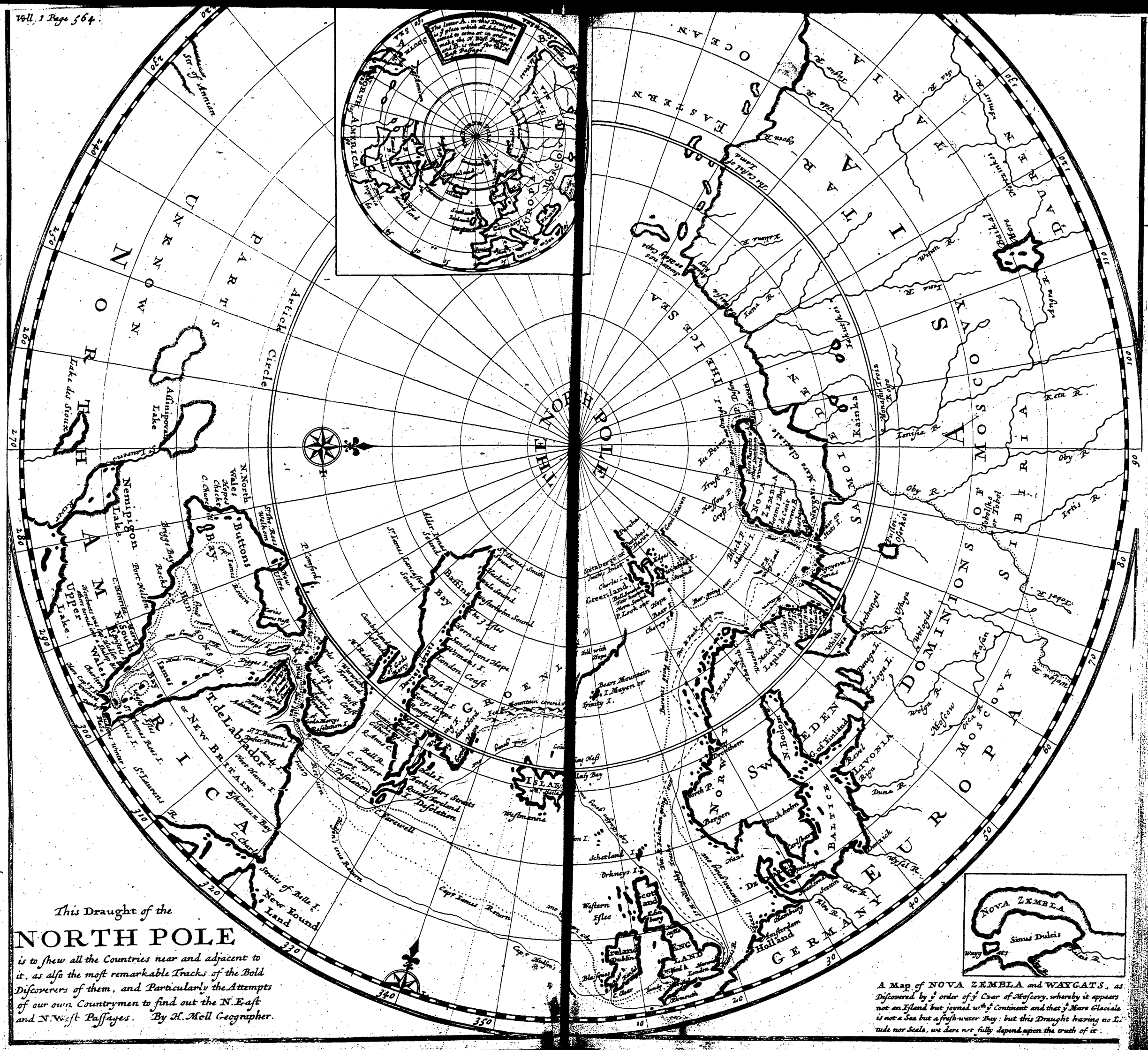

This Draught of the

NORTH POLE

is to shew all the Countries near and adjacent to it, as also the most remarkable Tracks of the Bold Discoverers of them, and Particularly the Attempts of our own Countrymen to find out the N. East and N. West Passages. By H. Moll Geographer.

A Map of NOVA ZEMBLA and WAYGATS, as Discovered by ye order of ye Czar of Moscovy, whereby it appears not an Island but joyned wth ye Continent and that ye Mare Glaciale is not a Sea but a fresh-water Bay: but this Draught having no Latitude nor Scale, we dare not fully depend upon the truth of it.

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The 9th and 10th little Wind, we were encompaſſed with Ice, and ſaw many Seals.

This was written by *John Playce*, one of the Ships Company; that which follows ſeems to be taken from Mr. *Hudſon*'s own Notes.

The 11th was clear weather, the Wind at S. S. W. we were got into a green Sea again, and ſaw many Whales. We had the Sun on the Meridian S. by W. his greateſt height was 37 Deg. 20 Min. by this obſervation we were in 79 Deg. 17 Min. we had a freſh Gale and a ſmooth Sea, by means whereof our Ship had outrun us. Many of my Company were ſick with eating of Bears Fleſh the day before, unſalted.

The 12th was foggy, the Wind at South; in the Morning our Shrouds were frozen; at Noon we reckoned our ſelves under 80 Deg. we ſteered N. and N. E. until we ſaw Ice a head of us, and then we caſt about to the S. E. At twelve this Night it cleared up, and we ſaw *Greenland* out of the top, bearing S. S. W. twelve Leagues from us.

The 13th, the Wind at S. by E. we ſtood N. E. by E. and were by obſervation in 80 Deg. 23 Min. we ſaw many Whales: This Morning being very clear, we could not ſee any Ice out of the top, but at three in the Afternoon we ſaw ſo much Ice a head of us, that we were forced to alter our Courſe as the Ice would give us leave.

The 14th, was calm with Fog; at nine a ſmall gale at Eaſt, we ſteered S. E. by E. and met with a green Sea again, which we found by experience to be freer from Ice, than the azure or blew Sea: At this time we had more Birds than uſually. At Noon, being a thick Fog, we found our ſelves near Land, bearing Eaſt of us, and running further, we found a Bay open to the Weſt and by North. The Northern ſide of this Bay's Mouth being high Land, is a ſmall Iſland, which we called *Collins Cape*, by the name of our Boatſwain, who firſt ſaw it. Here we ſaw many Whales, and one came under the Keel of our Ship, and made her heel, yet by God's mercy we had no harm: At a S. W. Sun a Flood ſet into the Bay from the N. W. by N. At the Mouth of this Bay we had 30 Fathom Water, and then 26, but further in we had no ground at 100 Fathom, and therefore judged it rather a Sound than a Bay: On the Southern ſide lie three or four ſmall Iſlands or Rocks. *John Colman* my Mate, and *William Collins* my Boatſwain, with two others, went aſhoar, where they found and brought aboard a pair of Moſes Teeth in the Jaw, alſo ſome Whales Bones, and about a dozen Deers Horns: they ſaw the footing of other ſorts of Beaſts; they ſaw alſo ſome Rot-geeſe, with much drift-Wood on the Shoar, and found a ſtream or two of freſh Water, with which they cooled their thirſt, it being hot on the Shoar. This Night proved clear, and we had the Sun on the Meridian, on the N. by E. part of the Compaſs: From the upper edge of the *Horizon* with the Croſs-ſtaff, we found his height 10 Deg. 40 Min. without allowing any thing for the Semidiameter of the Sun, or the diſtance of the end of the Staff from the Center in the Eye.

Sun 10 Deg. 40 Min. high at Midnight.

The 15th, clear weather, the Sun ſhining warm; *Collins* Cape bore of us S. E. and we could ſee the high Land of *Greenland* 20 Leagues from us to the N. E. By my account, the Northern part of this Land which now we ſaw, ſtretched into 81 Deg. All this day was clear weather, little Wind, and reaſonably warm. 81 Degrees.

The 16th, warm and clear weather at North; we were encompaſſed with Ice, and having now run toward the furtheſt part of the Land by us diſcovered, which for the moſt part trends N. E. and S. W. we could diſcern more Land joining to the ſame, ſtretching far North into 82 Degrees, and by the bowing or ſhewing of the Sky much further, which when I firſt ſaw, I hoped to find a free Sea between the Land and the Ice, and ſo to have compaſſed this Land by the North, but now finding it impoſſible by reaſon of the abundance of Ice to the Northwards of us, which joined to the Land, we bore up the Helm and returned; and this I can aſſure, that between 78 Deg. 30 Min. and 82 Deg. by this way there is no paſſage. We ſteered W. S. W. from *Collins* Cape, in 81 Deg. 30 Min. bearing N. E. from us. From this day to the 26th, we ſteered various Courſes, in which nothing hapned remarkable. They return. 81 Deg. 30 Min.

On the 27th, a thick Fog, calm, and the Sea very lofty; we heard the rut or noiſe of the Ice and Sea, which was the firſt Ice we heard or ſaw ſince we were at *Collins* Cape. The Sea heaving us toward the Ice, we endeavoured with our Boat to row our Ship further from the danger; but the Sea went ſo high, that it was to ſmall purpoſe, and we had here ended our Diſcovery if God had not given us a ſmall gale in our Diſtreſs. Here we found the want of a good Ship-boat, and alſo of half a dozen long Oars to row in our Ship. We found by the Icy Sky and our nearneſs to *Greenland*, that there is no Paſſage that way, which if there had been, I intended to return by the North of *Greenland* to *Davis* Streights, and ſo for *England*. Here having the benefit of a Weſterly Wind, which hapned ſeldom during this Voyage, we altered our Courſe and ſteered to the Eaſtward, and on the 28th found our ſelves in 76 Deg. 36 Min.

On the 29th we heard the rut of land to Windward, and I knew it to be ſo by the colour of the Sea. It was ſo thick a Fog, that we could hardly ſee a Cable's length from the Ship. We had ground at 25 Fathom, ſmall black pebble Stones; at the next ſounding 30 Fathoms, ſmall Stones like Beans; at the next caſt no ground at 60 Fathoms: We tacked and ſtood S. W. all this day an extream thick Fog.

The 30th it cleared up, and we ſaw part of *Greenland* bearing from us E. S. E. we then reckoned our ſelves to be in the Latitude of 76 Deg.

On the 31ſt, the Wind at E. S. E. and being like to prove much Wind, contrary to our purpoſe, the Fogs more thick and troubleſome than formerly, divers things neceſſary wanting, and our time well nigh ſpent to do further good this Year, I commanded to bear up for *England*, and ſteered away S. S. W. The next Morning at four we were thwart of *Cherry*-Iſland, being a very ragged Land on the Weſtern ſide, riſing like Haycocks.

On the 15 of *Auguſt* we put into the Iſles of *Fero*, in 62 Deg. and arrived in the *Thames* the 15th of *September*. *Auguſt*.

CHAP. XX.

The ſecond Voyage of Mr. Henry Hudſon *for finding a Paſſage to the* Eaſt-Indies *by the North-eaſt: Written by himſelf.*

1608. *April.* *May.* *April* the 22d, we ſet ſail from St. *Katherins*, and fell down to *Blackwall*, our whole number being 15 Perſons.

The 20th of *May* we were in Latitude of 64 Deg. 52 Min. the Needle then declined under the *Horizon* by the Inclinatory 81 Deg. and we had then a ſmooth Sea, whereby I am aſſured my Obſervation was good.

The 22d we reckoned our ſelves in 67 Deg. the Sea was ſmooth, the Needle declined 82 Deg.

The 27 we accounted our ſelves in 69 Deg. 40 Min. and the Needle inclined, being a ſmooth Sea, almoſt 84 Degrees.

The 29th we ſaw the Sun on the North Meridian 5 Deg. 35 Min. above the *Horizon*; Latitude by Obſervation 73 Deg. 13 Min.

The 3d of *June* we had ſight of the North Cape, bearing S. W. eight Leagues from us: Obſerving the Variation, I found it to the Weſtward 11 Deg. and having a ſmooth Sea, the Needle inclined under the *Horizon* 84 Deg. 40 Min. the neareſt I could find. *June*.

The 4th we ſaw the Sun on the North Meridian 5 Deg. 40 Min. high.

The 7th we had Snow for four Hours; I accounted that we were then in 74 Deg. 30 Min. here the

Needle inclined 86 Deg and the Sea vvas of a dark blevv colour.

The 9th, being in Latitude of 75 Deg. 29 Min. we entred into the first Ice we had seen this Voyage; we stood into it, hoping to get thro' it, and held a North-easterly course, looking for one piece of Ice, and bearing up for another, till we were got four or five Leagues within it, and found the Ice a head of us so firm and thick, that we were forced to return as we went in, and at last got free of it.

A Mermaid seen.

The 15th, one of our Company looking over-board, saw a Mermaid, and calling up some of the Company to see her, one more came up, and she was then come close to the Ship side, looking earnestly on the Men: Soon after a Sea came and overturned her. From the Navil upwards her Back and Breasts were like a Womans, her Body as big as one of us, her Skin very white, and long black Hair hanging down behind: In her going down they saw her Tail, like the Tail of a *Porpus*, and speckled like a Mackarel: Their Names that saw her were *Thomas Hills* and *Robert Rayner*.

On the 17th we were in Latitude of 74 Deg. 54 Min. clear weather: we had the Sun at lowest on the North and by East part of the Compass: Here we saw Whales, Porpoises, and the Sea full of Fowls.

On the 18th we had the Sun on the Meridian N. by E. half a Point Eastward, his height 8 Deg. 40 Min. We had Ice in sight to the Northward of us; and at this time I have some reason to think there was a Current setting to the Northward; the Course we held, and the Way we made between our Observations at Noon and Mid-night, made me suspect it the more.

The 12th, in the Latitude of 75 Deg. 22 Min. the Needle inclined under the Horizon 89 Degrees and a half.

The 20th we heard Bears roar on the Ice, and saw an incredible number of Seals upon it. We had the Sun on the Meridian N. by E. half a Point Easterly; his height was seven Deg. twenty Min.

The 21st clear and warm weather; our Latitude at Noon being 74 Deg. 9 Min. it appeared that we were haled to the Northward beyond expectation.

The 22d, having a smooth Sea, we found the Needle to incline 85 Degrees; we had then the Sun on the Meridian N. by E. half a Point Easterly; his height 7 Deg. 45 Min. which made the Latitude 74 Deg. 43 Min.

The 23d we had Snow, the Sun at the lowest was N. N. E. his height 7 Deg. 15 Min. the Poles height 74 Deg. 18 Min.

The 24th and 25th cool and clear, with some Snow: The Sun was on the Meridian on the S. W. by S. Point of the Compass ere it began to fall; Latitude 72 Deg. 52 Min. The Ice was to the Eastward of us, and our hope of a Passage was gone this way, by our nearness to *Nova Zembla*, and the abundance of Ice.

The 26th, we had the Sun on the Meridian on the S. E. by S. Point of the Compass, in Latitude of 72 Deg. 25 Min. and had sight of *Swart-Cliff* in *Nova Zembla*, bearing from us S. E. five Leagues off.

The 27th, we being but two Miles from the Shoar, and almost calm, I sent *Robert Ivet* my Mate, and *John Cook* my Boatswain on shoar, with four others, to fill two or three Casks with Water; they told me they saw Grass on the Shoar of the last Year, and young Grass come up amongst it a - - - - - long: That it was very hot on the Shoar, the Ground boggy, and that they saw the footing of many Bears, Deer and Foxes. There was a Cross standing on the Shoar, much drift Wood, and signs of Fires that had been made there. They brought aboard some VVales Fins, two Deers Horns, and the Dung of Deer, Moss, Flowers, and other things that did there grow. The Sun was on the Meridian on the N. N. E. h[illegible] a Point easterly before it began to fall; his height [illegible]4 Deg. 45 Min. Inclination 22 Deg. 33 Min. which makes the Latitude 72 Deg. 12 Min.

The 29th and 30th calm, hot weather, and a smooth Sea, the Needle did incline 84 Deg. we anchored near an Island in the Mouth of a River in 71 Deg. 15 Min. and saw 40 or 50 Morses sleeping on a little Rock; all my Company went ashoar, but my self and Boy, yet they killed but one, the rest escaping by being so near the VVater. At Mid-night our Anchor came home, and we tailed aground by the strength of the stream, but heaved off again without hurt.

The first of *July* I sent my Mate with four more to search a Sound or River in the bottom of the Bay, which sent out a great stream to the Northwards, against the Tide which came from thence. This stream was so strong, that it carried away the Ice or any thing else against the Flood, and it flows from the North three Hours and ebbs nine. VVe had the Sun on the Meridian on the S. by VV. Point, half a Point VVesterly, Lat 71 Deg. 24 Min. July.

The 2d our Company returned, with their Boat half laden with drift VVood, four dozen of Fowls, a great Deers Horn, and they saw ten white Deer in one Herd. They certified me that the great River or Sound, was two or three Leagues broad, and had no ground at 20 Fathoms, and that the stream did set strongly out of it, and was of the colour of the Sea, and very salt. I had great hopes of this Northerly River or Sound, and sent my Mate *Ivet* with five more in our Boat to search it, who went up six or seven Leagues, and sounded it from 20 to 23, and then to eight, six, and one Fathom, and lastly to four Foot. Being returned, we set sail to the S. VV. grieving that our labour was in vain, for had this Sound held as it made shew of, it might have yielded an excellent Passage to a more Easterly Sea. Generally, all the Land of *Nova Zembla* that we saw, was pleasant to the Eye, much high Land, with no Snow on it, looking in some places green, and Deer feeding thereon; it is no wonder that there is so much Ice in the Sea towards the Pole, there being so many Sounds and Rivers in *Nova Zembla*, *Greenland*, *Groenland*, *Tartary*, *Russia*, and *Lappia*, to engender it; from whence I am apt to think there can be no navigable Passage this way. This place upon *Nova Zembla* is not the same which the *Hollanders* call *Costing Serch*; it is broad, and like to yield a Passage at *Wergates*, and my hope was, that by the strong stream it would have cleared itself. But being now void of hopes of a N.E. Passage, I resolved to sail to the North-west, and to make trial of that place called *Lumbies* [illegible], and the furious Over-fall mentioned by Captain *Davis*; but meeting with contrary VVinds, and having spent more than half the time, before I had gone the fourth part of the way, I shaped my Course homeward, and arrived at *Gravesend* the 26th of *August*, 1608.

A third Voyage towards *Nova Zembla* was attempted by Mr. *Hudson* in the Year following, and written by his Mate *Robert Ivet*, wherein is set forth, that on the 21st of *May*, 1609, they had sight of the North Cape of *Finmark*, and after much trouble from Fogs, Ice, and contrary VVinds, they returned to the Isles of *Fero* in 62 Degrees, which he says are placed too far VVesterly in our Sea Charts. Thence they sailed to *Newfoundland*, Cape *Cod*, and *Virginia*, which being a Voyage well known, and nothing remarkable happening in it, I shall proceed to his last Voyage, where he was treacherously exposed by his Mate *Ivet*, and others of his Ships Company.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

A Journal of Mr. Hudſon's *laſt Voyage for the Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage: Written by* Abacuk Pricket.

1610. WE ſailed from St. *Katharins* the 17th of *April*, 1610, and on the 5th of *May* were at the Iſles of *Orkney*, and on the 11th fell with the Eaſtern part of *Iſland*: We ſaw Mount *Hecla* caſt out much fire, which was thought to be a ſign of foul weather approaching. We put into a Harbour, called by the *Engliſh Louſy Bay*, where we bathed our ſelves in a Bath on the Shoar, the Water whereof was ſo hot that it would ſcald a Fowl.

June. From hence, the firſt of *June*, we put to Sea for *Groenland*, which we raiſed on the fourth, the Land was very Mountainous, and covered with Snow, and there was ſo much Ice on the Coaſt, that we could not come near the Shoar. We ſteered on between the Weſt and North-weſt, until we raiſed the Iſland *Defolation*, and from thence ſhaped our Courſe N. W. the Wind being againſt us, or elſe we had gone more Northerly, and about the end of [illegible] ſed Land to the North of us. In our Courſe we met [illegible] great Iſlands of floating Ice, and ſaw one of them o[illegible] was a good warning for us not to come [illegible] continued our Courſe as the Ice did le[illegible] o inclo-ſed that we could go no [illegible] r was in deſpair, and (as he after[illegible] ght he ſhould never get out of it[illegible]; he therefore brought forth his Card, and ſhewed all the Company, that he was entred above 100 Leagues further than ever any *Engliſh* Man had done, and left it to their choice, whether they would proceed any further yea or nay: Whereupon ſome were of one mind, and ſome of another, ſome wiſhing themſelves at home, and ſome not caring where, ſo they were out of the Ice; but there were Words then ſpoken by ſome, which were remembred a great while after.

There was one who told the Maſter, that if he had 100 *l.* he would give 90 to be at home; to whom the Carpenter anſwered, that if he had 100 Pound, he would not give ten upon any ſuch condition, but ſhould think it as good Money as ever he had, and to bring it as well home by the leave of God. After many words, we went to work all Hands to get clear of the Ice, and after much labour and time ſpent, we got into open Water, and ſteering N. W. on the eight of *July* we raiſed Land to the S. W. covered with Snow, which our Maſter named *Deſire Provoketh*, lying in the Latitude of 60 Degrees. Here we heard the noiſe of a great Over-fall of a Tide that came out of the Land, and were now ſenſible that we had been embayed before; and we were now ſo well acquainted with the Ice, that in foggy or foul weather, we ſought out the broadeſt Iſland of Ice, and there anchoring, we went out and ſported upon the Ice, and filled Water that ſtood in Ponds upon the Ice, very ſweet and good. Being now in the Tide's way, the Ice was opened by being carried firſt one way and then another, whereas in Bays it is unmovable; and in that Bay where we had been ſo troubled with Ice, we ſaw many of thoſe Mountains of Ice aground in ſix or ſeven ſcore Fathom Water. We ſtill plied to the Weſtward as the Ice would give us leave, and fearing a ſtorm, we found an Harbour at the Weſt end of an Iſland, whereinto we went at a full Sea, over a Rock which had then two Fathom and a half Water upon it, and the next Morning was two Fathoms above Water. Our Maſter named it the *Iſland of God's Mercies*. The Water flows here better than four Fathoms, and the Flood comes from the North, flowing eight, the change day; Lat. 62 Deg. 9 Min.

Then plying to the S. W. we were on the 16th in the Latitude of 58 Deg. 50 Min. but found our ſelves embayed, and much perſter'd with Ice, whereupon we ſtood to the N. W. until we ſaw the Land, which our Maſter named *Hold with Hope*, and being gotten again into a clear Sea, our Maſter ſtood to the Weſt along by the South Shoar, and raiſed three Capes or Head-lands lying one beyond another, which he named *Cape Henry*, *Cape James*, and *Queen Anne's Foreland*; we alſo raiſed a high Hill, which our Maſter named Mount *Charles*. We paſſed on in ſight of the South Shoar, till we raiſed a fair Head-land (which our Maſter took to be part of the main North Land, but is an Iſland), and named it *Deep's Cape*; and the Land on the South ſide now falling away to the South, makes another Cape or Head-land, which our Maſter named *Wolſenham's Cape*. The Maſter ſent me and the Carpenter, with ſome others aſhoar near *Deeps Cape*; we there ſaw ſome Deer, 12 or 16 in a Herd, but could not come within ſhot of them; we found plenty of Sorrel and Scurvy-graſs, and ſaw ſome round Hills of Stone, like to Graſs-cocks, and when we came to them, I turned off the uppermoſt Stone, and found them hollow within, and full of Fowls hanged by their Necks. We went aboard and told the Maſter what we had ſeen; and what refreſhment might there be had, intreating him to ſtay a day or two in this place, but he was not pleaſed with the motion, nor could be perſwaded to ſtay. Then ſtanding Southward, we loſt ſight of the main Land, that we had all this while followed, and came into ſhallow Water, broken Ground and Rocks, and paſſed down ſo far northward, till we had Land on both ſides, and the Water ſhoaling apace, we came to an Anchor.

From hence we ſtood back again towards the North, and one day a Debate ariſing concerning our coming into this Bay, and how we ſhould get out again, our Maſter took occaſion to revive old matters, and to diſplace *Robert Ivet* his Mate, and the Boatſwain, for Words ſpoken in the firſt great Bay of Ice, and made *Robert Billet* his Mate, and *William Wilſon* our Boatſwain. We plied to and fro from the North to the South, and thence to the North again, till we came into Shoal Water, where we anchored in ſeven Fathom, and there lay eight days, in all which time we could not get one hour to weigh our Anchor; but the 8th day the Wind beginning to ceaſe, our Maſter would have the Anchor up, againſt the mind of all that knew what belonged thereunto. Well, ſo it went, and when we had brought it to a Peak, a Sea took her, and caſt us all off from the Capſton, and hurt many of us. Here we loſt our Anchor, and if the Carpenter had not been nimble, we had loſt our Cable too, but he fearing ſuch a matter, was ready with his Ax, and ſo cut it. *Diſcord.*

From hence we ſtood to the South, and then upon divers Courſes until we came to a Bay near the North ſhoar, where we anchored. While we lay there, we ſaw a Ledge of Rocks to the Southward, about a League long, which were covered at full Sea, for a ſtrong Tide ſets in here. At Mid-night we weighed, and ſtood to go out as we came in, and had not gone long, before the Carpenter told the Maſter, that if he kept that Courſe he would be upon the Rocks; the Maſter conceived that he was paſt them, when preſently we ran on them, and there ſtuck faſt twelve hours, but by the mercy of God we got off unhurt. *Strike on a Rock.*

We ſtood to the Eaſt, and anchored in a Bay; here the Maſter ſent me and the Carpenter in the Boat to ſeek a place to winter in, and it was time, the Nights being long and cold, and the Earth covered with Snow, having ſpent three Months to no purpoſe, and it being now the laſt day of *October*.

On the firſt of *Nov*[illegible] ce whereunto we brought our Ship[illegible]

On the 10th we [illegible] concerned us to take care of what [illegible] nd; that we might have wherewith to [illegible] until we ſhould come to the Capes where the Fowl bred, for there was all the hope we had of finding ſubſiſtance to bring us home. Our Maſter therefore propounded a reward to them that killed Beaſt, Fiſh, or Fowl. We were victualled for ſix Months in good p[illegible] ment, and of that which was good, and if our Maſter would have had more, he might have been ſupplied at home and in other places; and it is ſtrange that he did not prevent the Hunger we endured, which occaſioned the overthrow of himſelf and many other honeſt Men.

About the middle of *November* our Gunner *John Williams* died, and his Cloaths were ordered to be ſold at the Main-maſt to the higheſt Bidder, as is uſual.

The Gunner had a grey Cloth Gown, and *Henry Green* prayed the Maſter to befriend him ſo much as to let him have it, paying for it as another would give; the Maſter promiſed him he ſhould have it, and told others who deſired to buy it, that *Green* ſhould have it, and none elſe.

This *Green* was born in *Kent*, of good Parentage, but by his lewd life, had loſt the good will of all his Friends, and ſpent all he had. This young Man our Maſter kept in his Houſe at *London*, and would have him to Sea with him, becauſe he could write well. He was much in the Maſter's Favour, and was indeed a ſerviceable Man every way for manhood. When he was aſhoar at *Iſland*, he ſo beat our Surgeon, that we had much ado to get him aboard again; which Action of his ſet all the Company in a rage, and when I to'd the Maſter of it, he bid me let it alone, for (ſaid he) the Surgeon had a Tongue that would wrong the beſt Friend he had. But *Robert Ivet* the Maſter's Mate, being drunk, told the Carpenter a long tale, that the Maſter had brought in *Green*, to crack the credit of any one that ſhould diſpleaſe him; which words coming to the Maſters Ears, he would have gone back to *Iſland*, when he was 40 Leagues from it, to have ſent home *Ivet* in a Fiſherman; but was at laſt otherwiſe perſwaded, and the Breach made up.

Now out of ſeaſon, the Maſter called on the Carpenter to go in hand with an Houſe on ſhoar, which at the beginning our Maſter would not hear, when it might have been done. The Carpenter told him that the Snow and Froſt were ſuch, as he neither could, nor would go in hand with ſuch work, which when the Maſter heard, he ferreted him out of his Cabin, calling him by many foul names, and threatning to hang him. The Carpenter told him, that he knew what belonged to his place better than himſelf, and that he was no Houſe Carpenter; ſo this paſſed, and the Houſe was afterward made, but to no end.

It was an order amongſt us, that no Man ſhould go alone, but one with a Gun, and another with a Pike, and it happened ſo, that the next day after the clathing between the Maſter and Carpenter, the Carpenter going abroad, took his Piece and *Henry Green* with him. This ſo exaſperated the Maſter againſt *Henry Green*, that he ordered *Robert Billet* his Mate, to have the Gunners Gown, and it was delivered to him, which when *Henry Green* ſaw, he challenged the Maſter's Promiſe, but the Maſter railed on him with many diſgraceful Words, telling him, that all his Friends would not truſt him with 20 Shillings, and therefore why ſhould he? As for Wages he had none, nor none ſhould have, if he did not pleaſe him well. Yet, it was ſaid, the Maſter had promiſed him to make his Wages as good as any Mans in the Ship, and to procure him to be one of the Prince's Guard at our return. This ſo wrought upon *Green*, that from thenceforth he ſought all means to diſcredit the Maſter, and at laſt conſpired with others to thruſt him and other honeſt Men out of the Ship.

Green's conſpiracy.

It would be tedious to relate the Hardſhips we endured while we wintred in this place; the Cold was ſo extream, that it lamed moſt of our Company. But I muſt not forget God's great mercy to us in ſending us ſuch ſtore of white Partridges during the firſt three Months, that we killed above a hundred dozen, beſides others of ſundry ſorts. The Spring approaching, the Partridges left us, and were ſucceeded by other Fowl, as Swans, Geeſe, Ducks, and Teal, but hard to come by. They came from the South and flew to the North; but if they be taken ſhort by a Northerly Wind, then they fall and ſtay till the Wind ſerve them, and then fly to the Northward. As the Summer came on, theſe Fowls were gone, and few or none to be ſeen. Then we ſearched the Woods, Hills and Vallies for anything that might ſerve for Food, though [illegible] frogs (in the time of their engen[illegible]ads) were not ſpared, nor t[illegible]he Ground. But amongſt [illegible]egetables, *Thomas Woodhouſe* brought hom[illegible]Tree, full of a Turpentine ſubſtance; of this our Surgeon made a Decoction to drink, and applied the Buds hot to ſuch as were troubled with Aches in any part of their Bodies; and I muſt confeſs I received [illegible] and preſent eaſe of my pain.

Store of Partridges.

As ſoon as the Ice began to break out of the Bays, a Savage came to our Ship, being the firſt we had ſeen in all this time. Our Maſter entertained him well, promiſing to himſelf great Matters by his means, and therefore would have to his own uſe, all the Knives and Hatchets which every Man had, but received none, except from *John King*, the Carpenter, and my ſelf. To this Savage our Maſter gave a Knife, a Looking-glaſs and Buttons, who received them thankfully, and made ſigns, that after he had ſlept he would come again, as he did. When he came again, he drew after him a Sled, and upon it two Deer Skins, and two Beaver Skins; he laid the Knife upon one of the Beaver Skins, and his Glaſſes and Buttons upon the other, and ſo gave them to the Maſter, who received them, and the Savage took thoſe things the Maſter had given him, and put them into his Scrip. Then the Maſter ſhewed him an Hatchet, for which he would have given the Maſter one of his Deer Skins, but the Maſter would have them both, and ſo he had, but not willingly. After many ſigns of People to the North and to the South, and that after ſo many Sleeps he would come again, he went his way, but never came more.

The Sounds being now clear of Ice, ſo that our Boat could go from one place to another, *Wilſon*, *Green*, and five more, were ordered to go a fiſhing with our Net; they caught the firſt day five hundred Fiſhes as big as large Herrings, which put us all in good hopes to have our Wants ſupplied; but theſe were the moſt that ever they caught in one day, and many days they got not a quarter ſo many. In this time of their fiſhing, *Green*, *Wilſon*, and ſome others, plotted to take the Net, and the Shallop which the Carpenter had newly ſet up, and ſo to ſhift for themſelves; but the Shallop being ready, our Maſter would go in it himſelf to the South and South-weſt, to ſee if he could meet with People, for that way we could ſee the Woods burning; ſo taking with him as much Victuals as would ſerve for eight or nine days, he went toward the South, and ſet no time for his return, becauſe he was perſwaded if he could meet with People, he ſhould have Fleſh of the[illegible]id that good ſtore, but he returned w[illegible]he [illegible]t forth; for altho' he was ſo near the [illegible]r the Woods on Fire, yet could he [illegible]come to the ſpeech of them.

Being [illegible]made ſhe[illegible]all things for his return, and fi[illegible]to a mo[illegible]d out of the Bread-room, which [illegible]every Man's ſhare, and delivered [illegible]Bill of Return, willing them to have that to ſhew, if it ſhould pleaſe God they ſhould come home, and kept when he gave it to them. But to help us with ſome relief in this poor eſtate, our Boat went to work on *Friday* Morning and ſtaied till *Sunday* Noon, and brought fourſcore ſmall Fiſhes, a poor Relief for ſo many hungry Bellies. Then we weighed and ſtood out of our Wintring place, and anchored without in the Mouth of the Bay, where our Bread being gone, that ſtore of Cheeſe we had was to ſtop a gap, whereof there were five; at which time the Company grudged, becauſe by their reckoning there ſhould have been nine; but thoſe that were left were equally divided by the Maſter, altho' he was adviſed to the contrary, becauſe there were ſome who could not govern themſelves. I have known *Wilſon* the Boatſwain to eat his Fortnights Bread in one day, and was ſick for two or three Days afterwards; and *Henry Green* gave his Fortnights Bread to another to keep for him, and prayed him not to let him have any until next *Monday*, but he never let him reſt until he had it again, which was before *Wedneſday* Night. The reaſon of the Maſter's delivering the Cheeſe, was, becauſe they were not all of one goodneſs, and that they might ſee they had no wrong done them, but every Man ſhould have alike, the beſt and worſt together, which was three Pounds and a half for ſeven days.

We weighed and ſtood to the N. W. and on the 18 of *June* fell into the Ice, and lay there in ſight of Land; here the Maſter told *Nicholas Simmes*, that there would be a breaking up of Cheſts to ſearch for Bread, and willed him if he had any, to bring it to him, whereupon he delivered the Maſter 30 Cakes in a Bag. This Deed of the Maſter (if true) hath made me often to wonder, why he did not ſooner prevent the Hunger we now endured, but let it grow to that extremity, as to cauſe the overthrow of himſelf and many others.

Being thus in the Ice on *Saturday* 21 ſt of *June* at Night, *Wilſon* the Boatſwain and *Henry Green* came to me lying in my Cabin lame, and told me that they and their Aſſociates would ſhift the Company, and turn the Maſter and all the ſick Men into the Shallop, and let them ſhift for themſelves; for there was not 14 Days Victuals left for all the Company at that poor allowance we were at, and that there we lay, the Maſter not caring to go one way or other; and that they had not eaten any thing theſe three days, and were therefore reſolved either to mend or end, and what they had begun, they would go thro' with it, or dye. When I heard this, I told them I marvelled to hear ſuch things from them, conſidering that they were married Men, and had Wives and Children, and that for their ſakes they ſhould not commit ſo foul a Sin in the ſight of God and Man; for why ſhould they baniſh

them-

themſelves from their Native Country? *Henry Green* bid me hold my peace, for he knew the worſt, which was, to be hanged when he came home, and therefore of the two, he would rather be hanged at home, than ſtarved abroad, but for the good will they bare me, they would have me to ſtay in the Ship. I thanked them, and told them I came into her, not to forſake her, yet not to hurt my ſelf and others by any ſuch deed. *Henry Green* anſwered, that then I muſt take my fortune in the Shallop. If there be no remedy (ſaid I) the will of God be done.

Away went *Green* in a rage, ſwearing to cut his Throat that ſhould go about to diſturb them, and left *Wilſon* with me, with whom I had ſome diſcourſe, but could not prevail with him, for he was perſwaded that there was now no Remedy, but to go on while it was hot, leſt their party ſhould fail them, and the miſchief they intended to others, ſhould fall on themſelves. *Green* returned, and demanded of him what I ſaid; *Wilſon* anſwered, he is in his old Song, ſtill patient: Then I deſired *Green* to ſtay three days, in which time I would ſo deal with the Maſter, that all ſhould be well; when they would not yield to that, I deſired them to forbear but two days, nay, twelve Hours, but they replied, that there was no way but to do it out of hand. I then told them, that if they would ſtay till *Munday*, I would join with them to ſhare all the Victuals in the Ship, and would juſtify it when I came home; but this would not ſatisfy them; wherefore I told them, they had ſome worſe matter in hand than they made ſhew of, and that it was Blood and Revenge they ſought, or elſe they would not at ſuch a time of Night undertake ſuch a Deed: Whereupon *Green* took up my Bible that lay before me, and ſwore that he would do no Man harm, and what he did was for the good of the Voyage, and [illegible] elſe, and that all the reſt ſhould do the like; [illegible] did ſwear the ſame.

Green went away, and preſently came [illegible] who becauſe he was an ancient Man, I hoped to have found more moderate; but he was worſe than *Green*, and ſwore plainly that he would juſtify this Deed when he ſhould come home. After him came *John Thomas* and *Michael Perce*, Birds of a Feather, of whom I ſhall ſay no more, becauſe they are ſince dead. Laſtly came *Mater* and *Bennet*, of whom I demanded, if they were well adviſed what they had taken in hand: They anſwered, they were, and therefore came to take their Oaths.

Now, becauſe I am much condemned for this Oath, as one that plotted with them, and that by an Oath I ſhould bind them together to perform what they had begun, I thought good to ſet down to the view of all, how well their Deeds agreed with their Oath, which was this, *You ſhall ſwear truth to God, your Prince and Country; you ſhall do nothing but to the Glory of God, and the Good of the Action in hand, and harm to no Man.* This was the Oath without adding or diminiſhing: I expected more of their Companions, but there came no more. It was then dark, and they in a readineſs to put this Deed of Darkneſs in execution. I called to *Green* and *Wilſon*, and prayed them not to go in hand with it in the dark, but to ſtay till Morning: I hoped that every Man would go to his reſt, but wickedneſs ſleeps not; for *Green* kept the Maſter company all Night, and others were as watchful as he. *Green* brought me ſome Bread, which his Cabin-Mate gave him, and I then asked him, whom he would put out with the Maſter; he ſaid, the Carpenter, and *John King*, and the ſick Man. I ſaid, they would not do well to part with the Carpenter, becauſe they knew not what need they might have of him. The reaſon why they had no more regard for the Carpenter, was, becauſe he and *John King* were condemned for wrong done in the Victual; but the chief cauſe was, becauſe the Maſter loved him, and (diſplacing *Robert Biller* when we came from our wintring place) had made him his Mate, at which the Conſpirators did grudge, becauſe he could neither write nor read; and ſaid, that the Maſter and his ignorant Mate would carry the Ship whether the Maſter pleaſed, the Maſter forbidding any Man to keep account or reckoning, and having taken from all Men, whatſoever might ſerve for that purpoſe. At laſt I obtained of *Green* and *Wilſon* that the Carpenter ſhould ſtay in the Ship, by whoſe means I hoped that the Maſter and the poor ſick Man might be taken into the Ship again. This Night *John King* was late up, and they thought he had been with the Maſter, but he was with the Carpenter, who lay on the Poop, and coming down from him, was met by his Cabin-Mate *Robert Biller*, as if it had been by chance, and ſo they went to their Cabin together. It was not long ere it was day, then came *Bennet* the Cook for Water for the Kettle, *King* the Quarter-maſter roſe and went into the Hold to give him ſome, and when he was in, the Hatch was ſhut upon him (but who kept it down I know not) and *Bennet* returned upon the Deck.

In the mean time *Green* and another went to the Carpenter, and held him in talk, till the Maſter came out of his Cabin (which he ſoon did) then *John Thomas* and *Bennet* came before him, while *Wilſon* bound his Arms behind him. He asked them what they meant; they told him he ſhould know when he came into the Shallop. While this was doing, *Ivet* went to *John King* in the Hold, who was provided for him, having gotten a Sword, and had killed him if others had not come to help him. The Maſter called to the Carpenter, and told him that he was bound; but I heard no anſwer he made, *Arnold Ledlo* and *Michael Buce* were all this while railing at *Green* and his Companions, telling him that their Villany would ſhew it ſelf. Then was the Shallop haled up the Ships ſide, and the poor ſick and lame Men were called upon to come out of their Cabins into the Shallop. The Maſter called to me to ſpeak with him at the Hatch way. I came out as well as I could, and on my Knees beſought them for the love of God to remember themſelves, and to do as they would be done unto. They bid me keep my ſelf well, and get me into my Cabin, and would not ſuffer the Maſter to ſpeak with me; but as he went over the ſide, he called to me at the Horn which gave light into my Cabin, and told me that *Ivet* would overthrow us all; Nay, ſaid I, it is that Villain *Henry Green*.

The Carpenter, who was all this while at liberty, asked them if they would be hanged when they came home, and as for himſelf, he ſaid, he would not ſtay in the Ship unleſs they would force him: They bid him go then, for they would not ſtay him. I will (ſaid he) ſo I may have my Cheſt and all that is in it: They ſaid he ſhould, and preſently they put it into the Shallop. Then he came down to me to take his leave of me; I urged him to ſtay, which if he did, he might ſo work that all ſhould be well. He ſaid, he believed they would be glad to take them in again (being perſwaded by the Maſter that there was not one in all the Ship that could tell how to carry her home) but if we muſt part, ſaid he, (which we will not willingly do, for we will follow the Ship) he prayed me, if we came to the Capes before them, that I would leave ſome token that we had been there, near to the place where the Fowls breed, and he would do the like for us; and ſo with tears we parted. Now were the ſick Men driven out of their Cabins into the Shallop; but *John Thomas* having a kindneſs for *Francis Clements*, and *Bennet* for the Cooper, ſome high words paſſed between them and *Green*, who ſaid they ſhould go, and the other ſwore they ſhould not go, but ſuch as were in the Shallop ſhould return. When *Green* heard that, he was compelled to give place, and to put out *Arnold Ledlo* and *Michael Buce*, which with much ado was done.

Now were all the poor Men in the Shallop, whoſe name were, *Henry Hudſon*, *John Hudſon*, *Arnold Ledlo*, *Sidrach Faner*, *Philip Staff*, Carpenter, *Thomas Wydowſe*, *Adam Moor*, *Henry King*, *Michael Buce*. The Carpenter got of them a Peece, and Powder, and Shot, ſome Pikes, an Iron Pot, with ſome Meal and other things. They then ſtood out of the Ice, the Shallop being faſt to the Stern of the Ship, and as ſoon as they were out, they cut her Headfaſt from the Stern, and out with their Top-ſails, and ſtood towards the Sea in a clear Sea: Then taking in their Top-ſails, they righted their Helm, and lay under their Fore-ſail till they had ranſacked and ſerched all places in the Ship. In the Hold they found one of the Veſſels of Meal whole, and the other half ſpent, for we had but two; we found alſo two Firkins of Butter, 27 pieces of Pork, and half a Buſhel of Peaſe; in the Maſters Cabin we found [illegible] Cakes, a Peck of Meal, and about the quantity of [illegible] of Beer. Now the Shallop was come in ſight [illegible] upon they let fall the Main-ſail, and out with [illegible] ſails, as if they had fled from an Enemy.

Then I prayed them yet to remember themſelves; but *William Wilſon* (more than the reſt) would hear of no ſuch matter. Coming nigh the Eaſt Shoar, they caſt about and ſtood to the Weſt, and anchoring near an Iſland, ſet the Boat and Net aſhoar, to ſee if they could have a draught, but could not for Rocks and great Stones. Here they gathered good ſtore of that Weed which we called *Cockle-graſs* in our wintring place, and we lay there that Night and beſt part of next day, in all which time we ſaw not the Shallop, nor ever ſaw her after. *Henry Green* came to me and ſaid, that it was the Companies Will, that I ſhould come up into the Maſter's Cabin,

Cabin, and take charge of it. I told him it was more fit for *Robert Ivet*; he ſaid, he ſhould not come into it, nor meddle with the Maſter's Card or Journals: So I went up, and *Green* gave me the Key of the Maſter's Cheſt, ſaying, that he had laid the Maſter's beſt things together, which he would uſe himſelf when time ſhould ſerve; the Bread was alſo delivered to me by tale.

The Wind ſerving we ſtood to the North-eaſt, and this was *Robert Billets* courſe, contrary to *Ivet*, who would have gone to the North-weſt. We had a ſtout Gale of Wind in the Night, and ſtood afore it till we met with Ice, into which we ran till we could get no further: It lay ſo thick a head of us, and the Wind brought it after us aſtern, that we could not ſtir backward nor forward, but lay embayed 14 days in worſe Ice than we had hitherto met with; for tho' we had been where there was greater ſtore, yet it was not ſo broad upon the Water as this, ſome pieces of it being half a Mile or a Mile in compaſs. We had a deep Sea, and a Tide of Flood and Ebb, which ſet N. W. and S. E. At laſt, being clear of it, we continued our courſe in ſight of the Eaſtern ſhoar, till we raiſed four Iſlands which lay North and South, where anchoring between the two Northermoſt, we ſent our Boat aſhoar to ſee if they could find any thing, but there was nothing to be had but *Cockle-graſs*, whereof they brought ſtore aboard. Before we came to this place, I could well perceive that I was kept in the Ship againſt *Henry Green*'s mind, becauſe I favoured their Proceedings no better. He then began very ſubtilly to perſwade me to take upon me to ſearch for thoſe things which himſelf had ſtolen, and accuſed me of a matter no leſs than Treaſon amongſt us, that I had deceived the Company of 30 Cakes of Bread. They had now many Devices in their Heads, and began to talk among themſelves that *England* was no ſafe place for them, and *Green* ſwore that the Ship ſhould keep the Sea, and not put into any place, till he had his Majeſties Hand and Seal to ſhew for his ſafety; for *Henry Green* was now their Captain, and ſo called of them.

From theſe Iſlands we ſtood N. E. and raiſed thoſe Iſlands which Mr. *Hudſon* called *Rummies* Iſlands, between which and the ſhallow Ground to the Eaſt of them, he went down into the firſt great Bay. We kept the Eaſtern Shore in ſight, and coming thwart of the low Land, ran on a Rock that lay under water, and ſtruck but once, otherwiſe we had been made Inhabitants of that place. We continued our courſe, and raiſed land a head of us, which ſtretched out to the North; whereupon they ſaid, that *Billet* by his Northerly Courſe, had left the Capes to the South, and that it were beſt to ſeek down to the S. in time, for relief, before all was gone, for we had but ſmall ſtore left; but *Billet* would follow the Land to the North, ſaying, that he hoped in God to find ſomewhat to relieve us that way as ſoon as to the South. We ſtood to the Eaſt, leaving the main Land to the North, and anchored in a narrow Gut between two Iſlands. The Boat went aſhoar, but found nothing but *Cockle-graſs*, which was a great relief to us, for without it, we ſhould hardly have got to the Capes for want of Victuals.

The next day we weighed and doubled the Point of the North Land, which is high Land, and ſo continues to the Capes, lying North and South 25 or 30 Leagues. We ſtood to the North to find ſtore of thoſe Fowls that breed in the Capes: We raiſed the Capes with joy, but bearing in for them between the rocky Iſlands, we ran on a Rock that lay under water, and there ſtuck faſt eight or nine Hours. It was ebbing Water when we came on, calm and fair weather, and the Flood ſet us afloat: The Ebb came from the Eaſt and the Flood from the Weſt: we ſtood nearer to the Eaſtern Shore, and there anchored.

July. The next day, being the 27th of *July*, the Boat went to fetch ſome Fowl; they had a great way to row, and ſo could not reach to the place where the Fowl bred, but found ſtore of [illegible] the Rocks and Clifts, whereof they killed abou[illegible]wards Night returned. They had now brought [illegible] nearer to the Streights Mouth, and there anch[illegible] a Shelf of Ground in 18 or 20 Fathom Water, and when they had weighed anchor again, and ſtood nearer to the place where the Fowl bred, they could not find it again, nor no place like it; but were fain to turn to and fro in the Mouth of the Streight in danger of Rocks, becauſe they could not find Ground to let fall an Anchor in, the Water was ſo deep.

The 28th the Boat went to *Digge*'s Cape for Fowl, and made directly for that place where the Fowl bred; and being near, ſaw ſeven Boats come about the Eaſtern Point towards them. When the Savages ſaw our Boat, they cloſed together, and drew their leſſer Boats into the bigger, then rowed rowards our Boat, and made ſigns to the Weſt; our Men in the mean time made ready for all Aſſays. The Savages came to them, and by ſigns they grew familiar one with another, ſo as our Men took one of theirs into our Boat, and they took one of ours into their Boat. Then they carried our Man to a Cove where their Tents ſtood, toward the Weſt of the place where the Fowl bred. Our Boat went to the place where the Fowl bred, and our Men were deſirous to know how the Savages killed theirs: One of them ſhewed the manner how, which was thus; They take a long Pole with a Snare at the end, and putting it about the Necks of the Fowls, pluck them down. Our Men ſhewed the Savage the uſe of our Pieces, which at one ſhot would kill ſeven or eight. Our Boat's-Crew went to their Cove for our Man and to deliver theirs; when they came the Savages made great joy, with dancing, leaping, and ſtroaking their Breaſts; they offered divers things to our Men, who took only ſome Morſes Teeth in exchange for a Knife and two Glaſs Buttons; and having received our Man, they came aboard, much rejoicing at this chance, as if they had met with the moſt ſimple and kind People in the World.

The next day being the 29th of *July*, they weighed anchor, and ſtood as near to the place where the Fowl bred as they could, and becauſe I was lame, I was to go in the Boat, to carry ſuch things as I had in the great Cabin, under my care, of every thing ſomewhat; and ſo with more haſt than good ſpeed (and not without ſwearing) away we went, *Henry Green*, *William Wilſon*, *John Thomas*, *Michael Perſe*, *Andrew Moter*, and my ſelf. When we came near the Shoar, the People were on the Hills, dancing and leaping; we came to the Cove, where they had drawn up their Boats, and brought our Boat to the ſide of the Cove, cloſe to the Rocks. Aſhoar they went, leaving me in the Boat, which they faſtned to a great Stone [illegible] the Shoar. The People came, and every one [illegible]de ſhe[illegible]as in his Hand to barter; but *Green* ſwore the[illegible] a mou[illegible]ve nothing till he had Veniſon, for ſo they by [illegible]had promiſed him. As ſoon as our Men were landed, the Savages made ſigns to their Dogs, (whereof there were many like Mungrels, but as big as Hounds) and pointed to their Mountain and to the Sun, clapping their Hands, *Green*, *Thomas*, and *Wilſon* ſtood hard by the Boat's Head, *Perſe* and *Moter* were got upon the Rocks, gathering Sorrel; not one of them had any Weapon about him, not ſo much as a Stick, ſave *Henry Green* only, who had a piece of a Pike in his Hand; nor ſaw I any thing the Savages had wherewithal to hurt us. *Green* and *Wilſon* had Looking-Glaſſes, Jews-Trumps, and Bells, which they were ſhewing to the People, and while the Savages were ſtanding round about them, one of them came into the Boat's Head to me to ſhew me a Bottle: I made ſigns to him to get him aſhoar, but he made as tho' he had not underſtood me, whereupon I ſtood up and pointed him aſhoar; in the mean time another ſtole behind me to the Stern of the Boat, and as ſoon as I ſaw him aſhoar that was in the Head of the Boat, I ſate down again, when ſuddenly I ſaw the Leg and Foot of a Man by me, and caſting up my Head, ſaw a Savage with his Knife in his Hand, who ſtruck at my Breaſt over my Head; I caſting up my Right-arm to ſave my Breaſt, he wounded my Arm, and ſtruck me into the Body under my right Pap; he made a ſecond blow, which I met with my Left-hand, and then he wounded me in the Right-thigh, and had like to cut off the little Finger of my Left-hand; I got hold of the String of the Knife, and had wound it about my Left-hand, and he ſtriving with both his Hands to make an end of what he had begun, I found him but weak in the gripe (God enabling me) and getting hold of the Sleeve of his Left-arm, bore him from me; his left-ſide then lay bare to me, which when I ſaw, I held the String of the Knife faſt in my Left-hand, and having my Right-hand at liberty, I ſought for ſomewhat to ſtrike him (not remembring my Dagger at my ſide) but looking down I ſaw it, and therewith ſtruck him into the Body and the Throat. *Savages Treachery.*

While I was thus aſſaulted in the Boat, our Men were ſet upon on the Shoar, *John Thomas* and *William Wilſon* had their Bowels cut, and *Michael Perſe* and *Henry Green* being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the Boat together; *Andrew Moter* ſeeing what had happened, came running down the Rocks, and leaping into the Sea, ſwam to the Boat, hanging on the Stern thereof till *Michael Perſe* took him in, who manfully defended the Head of the Boat againſt the Savages that preſſed ſore upon us: I ſaw him ſtrike one of them with a Hatchet, that he lay ſprawling in the Sea; *Green* cried *Coragio*, and laid about him with his Truncheon; I called to them to clear the Boat, and *Andrew Moter* called to be taken in. The Savages then betook them to their Bows and Arrows, which they ſent among us, and ſlew *Henry Green* outright.

right; *Michael Perſe*, who had received many wounds, cleared the Boat, and put it from the Shoar, and helped *Andrew Moter* in. In turning of the Boat, I received a cruel wound in my Back with an Arrow. *Perſe* and *Moter* rowed the Boat away, which when the Savages ſaw, they ran to their Boats, and I feared they would have launched them to follow us, but they did not. Our Ship was all this while in the middle of the Chanel, and could not ſee us.

When they had rowed a good way from the Shoar, *Michael Perſe* fainted, and could row no more; then was *Andrew Moter* forced to ſtand in the Boat-head, and waft to the Ship, which at firſt ſaw us not, and when they did, they could not tell what to make of us; but in the end they ſtood for us, and ſo took us up. *Henry Green* was thrown out of the Boat into the Sea, and the reſt were put aboard, the Savage being yet alive, yet without ſenſe; but they died all there that day, *William Wilſon* ſweating and curſing in a moſt fearful manner; *Michael Perſe* only lived two days after, and then died. Thus you have heard the tragical end of *Henry Green* and his Mates, whom they called Captain, theſe four being the only luſty Men in all the Ship.

The poor number that were left, were to ply our Ship to and fro in the Mouth of the Streight, there being no place to anchor in near hand; beſides, they were to go in the Boat to kill Fowl to bring us home, which they did, altho' with great danger to us all; for if the Wind blew, there was an high Sea, and the Eddies of the Tides would carry the Ship ſo near the Rocks, as it frighted our Maſter *Robert Billet*, for ſo I will now call him. After they had with great labour killed about 200 Fowls on the South Cape, we ſtood to the Eaſt, but when we were ſix or ſeven Leagues from the Capes, the Wind came up at Eaſt, whereupon we ſto[illegible]k to the Capes again, and killed 100 Fowls m[illegible]re: [illegible]n the Wind coming at Weſt, we ſtood along the N[illegible] Shoar, till we fell into broken ground about the *Queen's Foreland*, and there anchored.

Thence we went to the Iſland of *God's Mercies*, and ſo to the Iſlands in the Mouth of the Streight, not ſeeing the Land till we were ready to run our Boats-ſpit againſt the Rocks in a Fog. As ſoon as it cleared a little, we ſaw our ſelves incloſed with rocky Iſlands, and could find no ground to anchor in. We ſtood to the Eaſt, and put our ſelves to hard allowance of half a Fowl a day, with the Pottage, having nothing now left of our old ſtores, but ſome Meal; we made trial of every thing that was eatable; we ſlaid our Fowls, for we could not pull them, and burning the Feathers, eat the Skins, nor was the Garbidge thrown away.

We continued our Courſe E. S. E. to raiſe the *Deſolations*, and thence to ſhape our Courſe for *Ireland*; but the Wind coming againſt us, we altered our Courſe, by the perſwaſion of *Robert Ivet*, who told us that we ſhould find great relief in *Newfound-land*, if our Country-men were there; and if they were gone before we came, we ſhould find great ſtore of Bread and Fiſh left aſhoar by them; ſo we ſtood to the S. W. to 57 Deg. when by the will of God the Wind came up at S. W. Then the Maſter asked me if he ſhould take the benefit of this Wind, and ſhape his Courſe for *Ireland*. I told him I thought it beſt to go where we knew Corn grew, and not to ſeek it where it was caſt away, and not to be found. So we ſtood towards *Ireland*, with proſperous Winds for many days together. Now was all our Meal ſpent, and our Fowl ruſty and dry; but, there being no remedy, we were content with the ſalt Broth for Dinner, and a half Fowl for Supper. Next went our Candles to wrack, and *Bennet* our Cook made a Meſs of Meat of the Bones of our Fowl, frying them with Candle-greaſe till they were criſp, and with Vinegar put to them, made a good Diſh of Meat. Our Vinegar was ſhared, and to every Man a Pound of Candles for a Week, as a great Dainty. *Robert Ivet* reckoned us to be within 60 or 70 Leagues of *Ireland*, when we had 200 thither. 'Tis probable our Courſe was ſomewhat the longer, by reaſon of our bad ſteerage, for our Men were ſo weak that they could not ſtand at the Helm, but were fain to ſit.

Then *Robert Ivet* died for meer want, and all our Men were in diſpair, ſaying, we were paſt *Ireland*, and our laſt Fowl were now in the Steep-tub. The Maſter was much grieved to ſee his Men in this condition, for ſome of them would ſit and ſee the Fore-ſail or Main-ſail fly up to the Tops, the Sheets being broken, and would neither help it themſelves, nor call to others for help. Now in this extremity it pleaſed God to give us ſight of Land, not far from the place our Maſter ſaid he would fall withal, which was the Bay of *Galloway*, whereas we fell to the Weſt of the *Derſes*, and ſo ſtood along by the Coaſt to the S. W. In the end there was a joyful cry, *A Sail a Sail*, towards which we ſtood, and called to him; his Bark was of *Fowy*, and was at anchor a fiſhing. This Man carried us into *Bere* Haven, where we ſtaied a few days, and dealt with the *Iriſh* to ſupply our Wants, but found no relief; for in this place there was neither Bread, Drink, nor Money; wherefore they adviſed us to deal with our Country-men, who were there a fiſhing, which we did, but found them ſo cold in kindneſs, that they would do nothing without preſent Money, whereof we had none in the Ship. At laſt one *John Weymouth*, Maſter of the Bark that brought us into this Harbour, furniſhed us with Money, and received our beſt Cable and Anchor in pawn for the ſame. With this Money our Maſter bought Bread, Beer, and Beef, of the Maſters of ſome Veſſels that were there fiſhing.

We agreed with ſome of our Country-men to give them 3 *l.* 10 *s.* a Man to bring our Ship to *Plimouth* or *Dartmouth*, and to give the Pilot 5 *l.* The Men would not go with us, unleſs *Weymouth* would paſs his Word for their Wages, which by the perſwaſion of one Captain *Taylor* (who was much our Friend) he did, and accepted of a Bill for our Cable and Anchor; and ſo from *Bere* Haven we came to *Plimouth*.

CHAP. XXII.

Foraſmuch as this Narrative of Pricket, *who returned with that Company which had ſo cruelly expoſed* Hudſon, *may be ſuſpected by ſome as not friendly to* Hudſon, *I have therefore added the Report of* Thomas Wydowſe, *one of the expoſed Company, who aſcribes the Occaſions of thoſe unhappy Diſcords to* Robert Ivet.

A Note found in the Deſk of *Thomas Wydowſe*, Student in the Mathematicks, being one of thoſe who was put into the Shallop.

THE 10th of *September*, 1610, after Dinner, Mr. *Hudſon*, our Maſter, called all the Company together, at the requeſt of *Robert Ivet*, that the Maſter might redreſs ſome Abuſes and Slanders (as he called them) raiſed againſt him, the ſaid *Ivet*, by ſome of the Company; and after a full hearing ſo many and great Abuſes, and mutinous Matters againſt the Maſter and the Action, were proved againſt *Ivet*, that there was danger to have ſuffered them longer, and it was fit time to puniſh and cut off further Occaſions of the like Mutinies.

It,

I. It was proved to his Face by *Bennet Mathew* our Trumpeter, that upon our firſt ſight of *Iſland*, he told the ſaid *Bennet*, he believed that in the Voyage there would be Manſlaughter, and that it would prove bloody to ſome.

II. At our coming from *Iſland*, in hearing of the Company, he did threaten to turn the Head of the Ship home from the Action; which Words were at that time by our Maſter wiſely paſt by, in hopes of amendment.

III. It was depoſed by *Philip Staff* our Carpenter, and *Arnold Lodle*, to his Face upon the Holy Bible, that he adviſed them to keep Swords in their Cabins, and Muſkets ready, for they ſhould be charged with Shot ere the Voyage were over.

IV. We being peſter'd in the Ice, he had uſed mutinous Words, tending to the diſcouragement and ſlander of the Action, which eaſily took effect in thoſe that were timerous; and had not the Maſter in time prevented it, might eaſily have overthrown the Voyage; and now lately being embayed in a deep Bay, which the Maſter had a deſire to ſee, for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, his Words tended altogether to put the Company into a mutiny, by telling them of wintring in cold, and jeſting at our Maſter's hope of ſeeing *Bantam* by *Candlemas*.

For theſe and divers other baſe Slanders againſt the Maſter, he was depoſed, and *Robert Billet*, who had behaved himſelf honeſtly, reſpecting the good of the Action, was made Maſter's Mate in his ſtead.

Alſo *Francis Clement* the Boatſwain, was at this time put from his office, and *William Wilſon*, a Man thought more fit, preferred to his place: This Man had baſely carried himſelf to our Maſter and to the Action.

Andrew Moter was appointed Boatſwain's Mate, and a Promiſe from the Maſter, that from this day *Ivet's* Wages ſhould remain to *Billet*, and the Boatſwain's overplus of Wages ſhould be equally divided between *Wilſon* and *John King*, one of the Quarter-maſters, as the Owners ſhould think fit.

The Maſter promiſed, that if the Offenders ſhould behave themſelves henceforth honeſtly, he would endeavour their Good, and forget Injuries.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Ten ſeveral Voyages of Captain Thomas Edge *and others to* Greenland (*called by the* Dutch Spitsbergen) *at the Charge of the worſhipful* Muſcovia *Company.*

1610. IN the Year 1610, the Company ſet out two Ships, viz. the *Lioneſs*, *Thomas Edge* Maſter, for *Cherie*-Iſland, called by the *Dutch Bear*-Iſland, in Latitude of 74 Degrees; and the *Amity* for a Northern diſcovery, whereof *Jonas Pool* was Maſter, who in the Month of *May* fell with a Land, and called it *Greenland*, which Land was diſcovered by Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in the Year 1553. This Ship continued on the Coaſt, diſcovering the Harbours and killing of Morſes, until the Month of *Auguſt*, and then returned for *England*, having gotten 12 Tuns of Goods and an Unicorn's Horn.

1611. In the Year 1611, the Company ſet forth two Ships for *Greenland*, the *Mary Margaret* 160 Tuns, *Thomas Edge* Maſter, and the *Elizabeth*, 60 Tuns, *Jonas Pool* Maſter. They departed from *Blackwal* the 20th of *April*, and arrived at the *Foreland* in *Greenland*, in Latitude of 79 Degrees, the 20th of *May* following. This being the firſt Year the Company ſet out for the killing of Whales in *Greenland*, they ſent aboard the Admiral ſix *Biſcainers*, expert in killing Whales, who on the 12th of *June* killed a ſmall Whale, yielding 12 Tuns of Oil, being the firſt Oil that ever was made in *Greenland*.

Two Shallops which they had ſet up, went to ſearch the Harbours for Whales, and the 25th of *June*, rowing into Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Bay, ſaw great ſtore of *Sea-horſes* or *Morſes*, and preſently rowing to the Ship, which was ſeven Leagues off, acquainted Captain *Edge* what they had found, who ordered the Maſter to take 50 Tuns of empty Casks into the Ship, and ſail into *Foul Sound*, the Captain in the mean time taking with him ſix Men, with Launces, went away in one of the Shallops, and coming to the Morſes, ſet on them, and killed 500, and left about 1000 alive.

The next day, the Ship being well mored at the place where the Morſes were killed, moſt of the Men belonging to the Ship went aſhoar to work and make Oil of the Morſes, and when they had wrought two or three days, a ſmall quantity of Ice came out of *Foul Sound*, and put the Ship from her Moring. The Maſter and ten Men being then aboard the Ship, let go the Sheet Anchor, which brought the Ship up to ride; but the Ice coming upon her again, brought her Anchor home, and run the Ship aſhoar, where by the Maſters weak judgment, ſhe was caſt away.

The Mary Margaret caſt away in Greenland.

The Ship thus loſt, without hope of recovery, the Commander *Thomas Edge* gave order, that all the Morſes that were alive aſhoar, ſhould be let go into the Sea, and ſo gave over making of Oil, and preſently haled aſhoar, his two Shallops, and three Boats, ſetting the Carpenters to trim them, and the Sailors to make Sails fit to ſerve them at Sea. Then dividing his Men into them equally, with as much Victuals as they could well carry, after Prayers ſaid altogether on the Land, they departed from the place where they loſt their Ship the 15 of *July*, with a Southerly Wind, being 50 Perſons, and after rowing 40 or 50 Leagues to the Southward, they loſt company of two of their Boats, which meeting with a *Hull* Ship, acquainted him with the loſs of the *London* Ship, and that ſhe had left on land, Goods worth 1500 *l.* ſo thoſe Men conducted the *Hull* Ship to *Foul Sound*, to take in the Companies Goods, and to kill *Morſes* for themſelves. The other three put from the Coaſt of *Greenland*, and ſet their Courſe for *Cherie*-Iſland, ſometimes ſailing, and ſometimes rowing, where arriving the 29th of *July*, in a great ſtorm at N. W. having been 14 days at Sea, with much difficulty they landed on the South ſide of the Iſland.

Being on Shoar, Captain *Edge* ſent three of his Sailors over land unto the North Road, three Miles diſtant, to ſee if the *Elizabeth* was there; they ſaw a Ship riding in the North Road, and being overjoyed, returned to the Captain to acquaint him with it, without ſtaying to ſpeak with any of the *Elizabeth*'s Company; but by good hap, the Maſter of the *Elizabeth*, who was then weighing Anchor to ſet ſail for *England*, eſpied Men on the Shoar, upon which he ſtaied, and ſent the Boat aſhoar to ſee what Men they were; and the *Elizabeth*'s Men coming aſhoar, and finding them to be the Men of the *Mary Margaret*, haſtened back to acquaint the Maſter, who immediately weighed anchor, and came to the South of the Iſland, and took in Captain *Edge* with his Company, who underſtanding what a poor Voyage the *Elizabeth* had made, gave order to the Maſter to ſail for *Greenland*, there to take in ſuch Goods as the ſaid Captain had left in *Foul Sound*. They departed from *Cherie*-Iſland the firſt of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Foul Sound* the 14th, where they found the Crew of the two Boats which had been ſeparated from them at Sea, and were all ſafe aboard the *Hull* Ship. The *Cargo* which the *Elizabeth* had brought from *Cherie*-Iſland, conſiſting of Sea-horſe-hides and Blubber, being little worth, Captain *Edge* ordered the Maſter to clear his Ship of it, and to take in the Oil and Whale-fins left aſhoar by the *Mary Margaret*'s Company, and the Maſter in unlading his Ship, brought her ſo light, that he overſet her. Both the *London* Ships thus loſt, Captain *Edge* agreed with the Maſter of the *Hull* Ship, to take in the Goods that were ſaved, and departing from *Greenland* the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, being 90 Men, arrived at *Hull* the ſixth of *September*, 1611.

The Elizabeth loſt in Greenland.

The

The Company set forth two Ships the next Year, the
1612. *Whale* 160 Tuns, and the *Sea-horse* 180 Tuns, under the command of *John Russel* and *Thomas Edge*, in which Voyage they killed 17 Whales and some Sea-horses, whereof they made 180 Tuns of Oil. This year a Ship of *Holland* was conducted to *Greenland* by one *Sallowes* an *English*-man, who had been for many Years employed by the *Muscovian* Company in the Northern Seas, and leaving his Country for debt, was entertained by the *Hollanders* as Pilot to *Greenland*; but the Companies two Ships meeting with the *Dutch* Ship, commanded them to depart, and to frequent those Parts no more. There was also a *Spanish* Ship arrived there, whereof one *Woodcock* was Pilot, who had formerly been employed by the Company, upon whose complaint he was imprisoned 16 Months at his return to *England*, for conducting the *Spanish* Ship thither: This Ship got her full lading in *Greenharbour*.

The next year the Company set out seven Ships, un-
1613. der command of *Benjamin Joseph* and *Thomas Edge*, who departed from *Gravesend* the 26th of *April*, and arrived in *Greenland* the 14th of *May*. The Company had now obtained the King's Patent under the Broad Seal of *England*, forbidding all Strangers and others, except such as were of the Company, to use the Coast of *Greenland*. The *English* met with 15 Sail of great Ships, two whereof were *Dutch*, the rest were *French*, *Spanish*, and four *English* Interlopers. The Companies Ships forced them all from the Coast, not suffering any of them to make a Voyage, and took some Goods from the two *Dutch* Ships, whereby they lost their own time of fishing, and returned home with two or three hundred Tuns dead Fraight. This Year was *Hope*-Island, and other Islands to the Eastward, discovered by the Company.

In the Year following, the Company set out 13 great
1614. Ships and two Pinnaces, under command of *Benjamin Joseph* and *Thomas Edge*, well appointed with all manner of Artillery. The *Hollanders* also set out 18 great Ships, whereof four were of the States Men of War, and being much stronger than the *English*, they staied and fished for the Whale by force, whereby the *English* returned half laden, and the *Dutch* made but a poor Voyage. This Year *Thomas Sherwin* and *William Baffin*, employed by the Company, in the Ship *Thomazen*, discovered to the Northwards, as far as 80 Deg. odd Min.

The next Year the Company set out two Ships and
1615. two Pinnaces, under the Command of *Benjamin Joseph* and *Thomas Edge*, who arriving on the Coast of *Greenland* the sixth of *June*, found it much pester'd with Ice, and being foggy weather, ran into it so far, that they were fast in it 14 days before they could clear themselves of it. The *Hollanders* also set out 14 Sail, whereof three were States Men of War, of great force: They killed Whales in *Horn Sound*, *Bell Sound*, and *Fair Haven*, whereby the *English* returned half laden. This Year also the King of *Denmark* sent three of his Men of War to *Greenland* (whereof one *Vaden* an *English*-man was Pilot) to demand Toll of the *English*, who meeting with Captain *Edge* at a Fore-land in 79 Deg. he refused to pay them any Toll, alledging that *Greenland* belonged to the King of *England*: These were the first *Danish* Ships that ever came to *Greenland*.

The Company now set out eight great Ships, and two
1616. Pinnaces, under the Command of *Thomas Edge*, who arrived in *Greenland* the fourth of *June*, and laded all their Ships with Oil, and what their Ships could not take in, they left behind them in the Country. One of the Pinnaces of 20 Tuns and 22 Men, discovered the East part of *Greenland*, as far as 78 Degrees, and killed a thousand Sea-horses on *Edge*'s Island, and brought their Teeth to *London*. This Year the Company had made 12 or 1300 Tuns of Oyl in *Greenland* by the 14th day of *August*, and was the first Year wherein all their Ships returned with full lading: They all arrived in the *Thames* in *September*. The *Hollanders* had this Year but four Ships in *Greenland*, and made but a poor Voyage.

The Company set out 14 Ships well manned, under
1617. the Command of Captain *Edge*, who departed from *Gravesend* the 24th of *April*, and arrived in *Greenland* the 28th of *May*, where meeting a *Dutch* Ship of 200 Tuns, he commanded the Master aboard, who told him there were ten sail of *Dutch* upon the Coast, and two Men of War. Captain *Edge* shewed him the King's Commission, and commanded him by virtue thereof to depart the Coast, willing him to acquaint the rest of his Countrymen with it; and further told him, that if he met with him, or other *Dutch* Ships hereafter, he would take from them what they had gotten; and having entertained him courteously, dismissed him without taking any thing from him. The *Dutch*-man promised to stay no longer than to meet with two of his Consorts, which he had lost the day before, and would then go directly for *Flushing*, and acquaint his Merchants that the *English* would not suffer him to stay upon the Coast of *Greenland*; but meeting with his Consorts, they agreed to go all together into *Horn Sound*, where they killed a few Whales, which they saved in Blubber. Captain *Edge* hearing of it, ordered his Vice-admiral to sail to *Horn Sound*, and put the Flemings from thence, and take what they had gotten, which he did accordingly; but the Goods he took from them being nothing but Blubber and Fins, were not worth 20 *l.* to the *English*, who had already killed as many Whales as would lade all their Ships. The *English* made this Year 1900 Tuns of Oyl, and all their Ships arrived safely in *August* and *September*. This Year the *Hull* Men (who always followed the Steps of the *Londoners*) set out a small Ship or two to the Eastward of *Greenland*, where the Company had discovered *Witches* Island, and many other Islands as far to the Northwards as 79 Degrees, and after a Year or two, the *Hull* Men gave out that they were the first Discoverers, which is false and untrue, as by Oath in the Admiralty doth appear: The *Dutch* likewise practice the same Course.

The *Zealanders* sending over to *England* for restitution
1618. of the Goods taken from them by the *English* the last Year, a Grant for a new Company, consisting of *English*, *Scots*, and *Zelanders*, was procured by Sir *John Cunningham*, and many of the Old Companies Servants were hired by the New, and much Shipping and Provisions agreed for; which Project, if it had taken effect, might have utterly ruined the Trade of the first Discoverers. To avoid this Inconvenience, it was agreed that the *Scot*'s Patent should be dissolved, and that the *East-India* Adventurers should join stock with the *Muscovian*, and become one joint Company for the Trade of *Greenland*: They set forth 13 Ships and two Pinnaces, under the command of the aforesaid Captain *Edge*, who arriving on the Coast the beginning of *June*, separated themselves to several Harbours, the most part being Ships of no force. Soon after, divers Ships of *Zealand* of great force, arrived in all the Harbours where the *English* were, with full purpose to drive them thence, and to revenge the Injury (as they termed it) done to them the last Year, by taking Goods out of the *Zealand* Ship, as also by dissolving the Scottish Patent, wherein many *Flemings* were interessed. And accordingly ten sail of *Zelanders* did set upon *William Heley*, Vice-admiral of the *English*, uttering many uncivil Speeches against his Majesty, and despising his Commission; alledging, that there was good Law in *Flanders* for what they did. The *English* defended themselves till most of their Men were killed or wounded; and being at last forced to submit, the *Zealanders* rifled their Ship, taking from them all their Goods and Artillery, and burning such Goods as were on the Shoar. The rest of the *English* Ships being far dispersed, could not join together, and were in all places overpowered by the *Flemings*, to the great loss and charge of the Company, most of their Ships returning home without any Goods.

This Year the *Muscovia* and *East-India* Companies set
1619. out nine Ships and two Pinnaces, under the command of Captain *Edge*, five of which went to the two Northermost Harbours, but were disappointed in their Expectation, by reason of divers *Holland* Ships, which were arrived there before them. Whereupon the Shallop with ten Men was sent from Captain *Heley* to acquaint Captain *Edge* with their ill success; which Shallop was cast away, and all the Men lost, to the great hindrance of the Voyage. The *Hollanders* this Year brought over great quantity of Whale Oil, and sold it at under rates, so that the Company were forced to keep theirs on their Hands twelve Months, and sell it afterwards at a very small price, and lost one Ship homeward bound near *Yarmouth*, all which did so much dishearten them, that they thought verily to adventure no more thither, their success the two years past, in which the *East-India* Company joined with them was so bad, that any that would buy their Provision, might enjoy the benefit of the Trade there. At which time the worthy and famous Merchant Adventurers, *Ralph Freeman*, *Benjamin Deicrow*, *George Stroud*, and Captain *Edge*, all Brethren of the *Muscovia* Company, pitying the downfall of so worthy a traffick, wherein so many poor Land-men yearly received great comfort, and many Mariners were bred, at their own charge compounded with the said Company, and took that Trade into their own Hands; and in the Year 1620 set out
1620. seven Ships under command of *William Goodlad* and *William Heley*, but by reason of *Flemings* and *Danes* in the Northermost Harbours, they returned half laden, with 700 Tuns of Oyl.

1621. The next Year, 1621, the Adventurers aforeſaid hired and ſet forth ſeven Ships for the Whale Voyage, and one for diſcovery towards the South-eaſt of *Greenland*, in which Voyage the *Flemings* and *Danes* being to the Northwards, had put the Whale by her Courſe, whereby they were out of hope of earning their Bread; yet it pleaſed God, that afterwards meeting with Whales in ſome Harbours, they brought home 1100 Tuns of Oil, to the great encouragement of the Adventurers, otherwiſe the Trade had been utterly overthrown.

1622. The Year following, 1622, the ſaid Adventurers ſet out nine Ships, one of the biggeſt of which, having in her 200 Tuns of Casks, Coppers, and divers Proviſions, was unfortunately caſt away againſt a piece of Ice, four Leagues from the Shoar, wherein 29 Men periſhed, and 23 remaining, were by the Providence of God, miraculouſly ſaved in a Shallop, after they had coaſted 30 Leagues to meet with ſome other Ships, and were three days in the Shallop, without Bread, Drink, or any manner of Suſtenance: Some of their Hands and Feet rotted off, and many died when they came aſhoar. The reſt of the Ships could not get their full lading, by reaſon of the *Flemings* and *Danes* being to the Northward; however, they met with ſome Whales, and returned home with 1300 Tuns of Oyl.

A Deſcription of *Greenland.*

The Nature of it is nothing like the Name, there being no place in the World, yet diſcovered, that is leſs green than it: Both the lower Lands and Mountains are covered with Snow till about the beginning of *June*. The Land is very Mountainous, bearing neither Tree nor Graſs, except ſuch as grows in the North of *England*, called *Heath* or *Ling*. This grows when the Snow melts, and the Ground begins to be uncovered, and the Deer feed on it in the Summer, and become very fat in a Month, but how they live in Winter, is not eaſy to be imagined; for the Ground being covered with Snow at the end of *May*, it is probable that there is no part bare in Winter, eſpecially while the Sun is totally depreſſed under the Horizon, viz. from the 18th of *October* to the 4th of *February*.

It is not inhabited, yet poſſibly Men might live there, carrying ſtore of Victuals, and all things neceſſary againſt the Cold, which muſt be vehement in Winter by reaſon of the Sun's continuing under the Horizon.

The Southermoſt part is in 76 Deg. 30 Min. called by the *Engliſh*, *Point look out*, who have diſcovered all the Weſt ſide as far as 80 Deg. odd Minutes, and on the Eaſt ſide as far as 78 Deg. and had diſcovered farther, if they had not been diſturbed by the *Dutch*.

Of the ſeveral ſorts of Whales, and manner of killing them.

A Whale of an ordinary ſize is about 65 Foot long, and 35 Foot thick, his Head is a third part of him, containing a very great Tongue, and there are about 250 Fins growing on each ſide of his upper Chop, which ſpread over his Tongue on both ſides of his Mouth: The longeſt are in the middle of his Mouth, ſhortning by degrees, from 10 or 11 Foot, to four Inches in length; his Eyes not much bigger than thoſe of an Ox; the fore-part of his Body almoſt round, growing narrower from his Belly towards his Tail, which is about 20 Foot broad, and of a tough ſolid ſubſtance, as are alſo his two ſwimming Fins. He appears often above Water, ſpouting eight or nine times before he goes down again, whereby he may be deſcried two or three Leagues off. Then the Whale-killers in two Shallops row towards him, but commonly he is gone down again before they come near him, and continues a good while before he riſes, ſo that ſometimes they row beyond him. In the mean time they endeavour to find his way under water, which they call his *Wake*, and as ſoon as he comes above Water, row towards him very reſolutely, and one ſtanding up in the Head of the Boat, darts his Harping Iron at him with both Hands, whereupon the Whale deſcending to the bottom, they veer out a Rope of 200 Fathom, which is faſtned to the Harping Iron, and lies coiled in the Boat. They let him have as much Rope as will reach to the bottom, and when they perceive him riſing, they hale in the Rope to get near him, and as ſoon as he appears above water, lance him near his Fins, and as low under water as they can, whereupon he friſks and ſtrikes with his Tail ſo forcibly, that oftentimes he ſplits a Shallop in pieces, and maims or kills ſome of the Men; *Swimming* is therefore very neceſſary in this buſineſs, and may ſave a Man's life when he hath loſt his Boat, and another is not near to help him.

The Whale thus wounded, ſpouts Blood, but before he dies, he will ſometimes draw the Shallop three or four Miles from the place, and as he is dying, turns his Belly upwards; then faſtening a Rope to his Tail, they tow him towards the Ship with his Tail forward: Then laying him croſs the Stern of the Ship, they get upon him, and cut the Fat (which we call Blubber) into ſquare pieces with a cutting Knife three or four Foot long; then to raze it from the Fleſh, there is a Crane or Capſton placed on the Poop of the Ship, from whence there deſcends a Rope, with a Hook to take hold on a piece of Blubber, and as the Men wind the Capſton, ſo the Cutter with his long Knife, looſens the Fat from the Fleſh, and when a piece is cut off, they let down the Blubber to float upon the water, making a hole in ſome part of it to put a Rope thro' it, and ſo proceed to cut off more, faſtening ten or twenty pieces together to be towed aſhoar at one time at the Stern of the Boat. The Blubber being thus brought to the Shoar, is drawn up by a Crane, or carried up by two Men on a Barrow unto a Stage, there to be cut into thin ſmall pieces about a Foot long; thence it is carried to the Choppers by two Boys, with two little Hand-hooks, taking in each Hand a piece, who put it into half-Tubs which ſtand behind the Choppers, who are at the ſide of a Boat raiſed of an equal height to the Furnace. The Boat being fitted with all things neceſſary for the Choppers they place the Chopping-blocks made of the Whale's Tail, and the Blubber is laid ready for them in ſmall pieces upon the Board whereon they ſtand: Then the Choppers take it up with Hooks, and laying it on the Blocks, chop it in thin pieces, and thence rake it into the Shallop; and thus do ſix or eight Men ſtand chopping on one ſide of the Boat, and the Furnaces and Coppers are placed and heated about two or three Yards diſtance on the other ſide of the Boat. Between the Boat and the Coppers is laid a broad thick Plank, on which ſtands a Hogſhead, containing as much as is put into the Copper for one boyling, and when the Tub is emptied, it is made to ſlide back to the Boat, and there filled again: When it is boiled enough, the ſmall pieces of Blubber, called *Fritters*, will look brown as if they were fried. Then are they taken out with Ladles, and put into a Barrow made cloſe to drain the Oyl, which ſtands over another Boat that is ſet on the back ſide of the Furnace, which Boat is always kept half full of Water, not only to cool the Oil before it run into the Cask, but alſo to cleanſe it from Droſs, which deſcends to the bottom of the Boat, from whence it runs 30 or 40 Yards in Troughs or Gutters, and ſo into Casks, which are towed aboard the Ship in Rafts.

As to the Fins, which grow as I ſaid in his upper Chop, they are ordered in this manner. While the Whale is floating at the Stern of the Ship, they cut off his Head, and tow it with a Boat as near the Shoar as it will come; but it will be a ground in 12 or 13 Foot Water; then at high Water they draw it near the Shoar, that Men at low Water may cut off the Blubber and Fins, which are drawn aſhoar by the Cranes, and the Fins being ſevered with Axes, are made clean, and packed up by 50 in a Bundle, and ſo ſhipped.

There are eight ſorts of Whales; The firſt is called the *Grand-Bay*, from a place in *New-found-land*, where they were firſt killed; he is black, with a ſmooth Skin, and white underneath the Chaps: This Whale yields about 100 Hogſheads of Oyl.

The ſecond is called *Sarda*, of the ſame colour, but ſomewhat leſs, and yields about 70 or 80 Hogſheads; he hath white things growing on his Back like to Barnacles.

The third is called *Trumpa*, as long as the firſt, but thicker forwards, grayer than the former, and but one Spout in his Head, whereas all the reſt have two. He hath Teeth about a Span long, and as thick as a Man's Wriſt, but no Fins; his Head is bigger than either of the former, and in it the *Sperma Ceti* is lodged in a Hole like a Well: He yields about 40 Hogſheads of Oil.

The fourth is called *Otta Sotta*, of the ſame colour with the *Trumpa*, his Fins all white, but not above half a Yard long; he is thicker than the *Trumpa*, but not ſo long, and yields the beſt Oil, but not above 30 Hogſheads.

The fifth is called *Gibarta*, of the ſame colour, and as big as the firſt, and hath a Fin half a Yard long on the top of his Back. His Fins are worth little, being not above half a Yard long, and yields about 12 Hogſheads of Oil, which comes out of his Back, his Belly yielding none at all.

The ſixth is called *Sedevi*, of a white colour, and bigger than any of the former: His Fins are not above a Foot long, and yields but little or no Oil.

The ſeventh called *Sedevi Negri*, is black, with a Bump on his Back: Altho' he be very big, he yields neither Oil, Fins, nor Teeth.

The eighth is called *Sewria*, as white as Snow, not bigger than a Wherry, has no Fins, and yields not above a Hogſhead or two of Oil, and is good Meat to be eaten.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

The First Voyage of Martin Frobisher *to the North-west,* Anno 1576. *Written by Mr.* Hall, *Master of the* Gabriel.

1576. WE departed from *Deptford* the 8th of *June*, in two Barks, *viz.* the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*, with a small Pinnace of ten Tun, and passing by the Court at *Greenwich*, her Majesty was pleased to bid us Farewel, by shaking her Hand at us out of the Window.

On the 11th of *July* we had sight of *Friseland*, bearing W. N. W. from us, rising like Pinnacles of Steeples, and all covered with Snow; Latitude 61 Deg. we had no Ground at 150 Fathom: The Captain endeavoured to get ashoar in his Boat, but was hindred by the Ice. Not far from hence the Pinnace was lost, wherein were four Men; and the *Michael* stood away privately, and returned home.

The 18th, I found the Sun to be elevated 52 Deg. and I judged the variation of the Compass to be two Points and a half to the Westward.

The 28th, upon clearing up of the Fog, we had sight of Land, which I supposed to be *Labrador*, but could not come near it for the Ice.

On the 11th of *August* we were in Latitude of 63 Deg. 8 Min. and this day we entred the Streight.

The 16th was calm, and without Ice, but in two Hours time it was frozen round about the Ship a quarter of an Inch thick; we were then at anchor in *Prior*'s Bay.

The 19th in the Morning, the Captain and I with eight Men rowed ashoar, to see if we could find any People; and going to the top of the Island, we saw seven Boats rowing towards us, whereupon we returned aboard, and sent our Boat with a white Cloth and five Men in her to see whether they rowed; they followed our Boat along the Shoar, till they saw our Ship, and then returned: Then I went ashoar, and giving to every one of them a Point made of Thread, one of them came aboard with me, where he did eat and drink, and then we carried him ashoar again; whereupon all the rest came aboard in their Boats, being 19 Persons, but we could not understand their Language. They are like the *Tartars*, with long black Hair, broad Faces, and flat Noses, of a tawny colour, the Men and Women clad in Seal Skins, of the same fashion, but the Women are known by blew streaks down their Checks and round their Eyes. Their Boats were made of Seals Skins, with a Keel of Wood within the Skin, flat bottom'd, and sharp at both ends.

The next day we weighed and went to the East side of the Island, where the Captain and I with four Men went ashoar, and there we saw their Houses, and the People spying us, came towards our Boat; whereupon we hastened to our Boat, and being in it and they ashoar, they called to us, and we rowed to them, and one of them came into our Boat, and we carried him aboard and gave him a Bell and a Knife. Then we ordered five of our Men to set him ashoar at a Rock, and not among the Company they came from; but their wilfulness was such, that they would go to them, and so were taken by the Savages, and our Boat lost. Five English taken by the Savages

The next Morning we stood near the Shoar, and shot off a Falconet, and sounded our Trumpet, but could hear nothing of our Men; so we plied out of this Sound, which we named *The five Men's Sound*, and anchoring all Night in 30 Fathom, the Snow in the Morning lay a Foot thick upon our Hatches. We then weigh'd and returned to the place where we lost our Men, where we saw 14 Boats, but could hear nothing of our Men. We enticed one of them in his Boat to our Ship's side with a Bell, and in giving it to him, we took him and his Boat, whereupon, finding himself in captivity, his Choler and Disdain were such, that he bit his Tongue in two within his Mouth; yet he died not thereof, but lived until he came to *England*, and then died of cold taken at Sea. Snow a Foot thick in August. One of the Savages taken.

The 26th we weighed to come homeward, and the first of *September* had sight of *Friesland*, eight Leagues distant, but could not come nearer to it for the Ice. *September*

The seventh we had a terrible Storm, and one of our Men was blown from our Wast into the Sea, but catching hold of the Fore-sheet, was pull'd into the Ship by the Captain.

On the 25 we had sight of *Orkney*, and anchored at *Harwich* the second of *October*.

After the Captain's arrival at *London*, it happened that one of the Adventurers Wives threw a piece of black Stone into the fire, which the Captain had brought home this Voyage, which being taken forth and quenched in Vinegar, glister'd like Gold; whereupon some Refiners in *London* making an Assay of it, reported that it held Gold, and that very richly for the quantity, and promised great matters from it, if any store could be found, offering themselves to adventure for the searching of those parts; and some secretly endeavoured to get a Lease from her Majesty, thereby to ingross the whole profit to themselves.

The hopes of more of the same Ore, kindled a great Opinion in the Hearts of many, to advance the Voyage again; whereupon preparation was made for a new Voyage against the Year following, and the Captain was directed by his Commission to search for a further discovery of the Passage, but especially for more of this Gold Ore.

CHAP. XXV.

The Second Voyage of Capt. Frobisher *to the North-west,* 1577.

1577. *May.* WE departed from *Blackwal* on *Sunday May* the 26th, in one of her Majesties Ships called the *Aid*, of 200 Tun and 100 Men, and two Barks, the *Gabriel* and the *Michael*, each about 30 Tun. In the first were 18 Men, commanded by Mr. *Fenton*, a Gentleman of the Earl of *Warwicks*; and in the last 16 Men, commanded by Mr. *York*, a Gentleman of the Lord Admirals; all victualled for six Months.

The next day we all received the Communion aboard the *Aid* from the Minister of *Gravesend*, and prepared our selves as good Christians and resolute Men for all Fortunes, and that Night fell down to the *Hope*.

The next day we came to *Harwich*, where we staid till *Friday* to take in Victuals; in which time came Letters from the Lords of the Council, straitly commanding our General not to exceed his Complement, which was 120, whereupon he discharged many proper Men, who with unwilling minds departed; he also dismissed all his condemned Men, which at first he thought might have been useful for some Purposes; and putting to Sea the last of *May*, we arrived at *Orkney* the 7th of *June*. *June*.

In ſtands in Latitude of 59 Deg. 30 Min. abounds with Poultry, Eggs, Fiſh, and Fowl; for their Bread they have Oaten Cakes, and Ewes Milk for Drink, and in ſome parts Ale. Their Houſes are poor and ſluttiſh, they burn Heath and Turf, there being no Wood.

On the 8th we ſet ſail, traverſing the Sea 26 Days without ſight of any Land, and met with much drift Wood, and whole Bodies of Trees.

July. On the fourth of *July* we came in ſight of the South part of *Friesland*, in Latitude of 60 Deg. 30 Min. we met with great Iſlands of Ice ten or twelve Leagues from Shoar, ſome of which were half a Mile or more in compaſs, and 30 or 40 Fathom above Water, and, as we ſuppoſe, faſt on Ground, the depth being about 80 Fathom. None of theſe Iſlands were ſalt to the taſt, which ſhews that they were not congealed of Sea-water, but muſt be produced by melted Snow from the Tops of Mountains, or by continual acceſs of freſh Rivers, which mingling with the Salt Water, may cauſe ſome part of it to freeze, ſo as to make it taſt brackiſh, but otherwiſe the main Sea freezeth not.

Ice in theſe freſh to the Taſt.

On the 16th we raiſed the Land, which our General the Year before had named the *Queen's Foreland*, at the entrance of *Frobiſher's* Streight, which at our coming ſeemed to be ſhut up with Ice, to our great diſcouragement; but the General with two ſmall Pinnaces, paſſed thro' the Streight to the Eaſt Shoar, (the reſt lying off at Sea) where ſome of the Natives ſhewed themſelves, leaping and dancing with great Shrikes and Cries; whereupon two of our Men went and met two of theirs, neither Party having Weapons; they would not come ſo near our Men as to take any thing from their Hands, but ours leaving a Knife or other thing upon the Ground, and then withdrawing, they came and took it up, leaving ſomething of theirs to countervail the ſame. The day being near ſpent, we retired to our Boats, which the People perceiving, with great Tokens of Affection, they earneſtly called us back again, and followed us almoſt to our Boats; whereupon the General taking the Maſter with him, went unarmed to meet two of them, who came down without Weapons, intending, if they could lay ſure hold upon them, forcibly to bring them aboard, and to diſmiſs one of them after courteous Reception, and beſtowing on him ſome Toys and Apparel, and to retain the other for an Interpreter. After ſome dumb Signs and mute Congratulations, they exchanged ſome things, and one of the Savages cut off the Tail of his Coat, and gave it to the General for a Preſent, who giving the Word to the Maſter, they ſuddenly laid hold on both the Savages, but the Ground being ſlippery, they loſt their hold, and their Prey eſcaping, ran away, and preſently recovered their Bows and Arrows, which they had hid not far from them behind the Rocks, and purſued our General and Maſter to the Boats, hurting the General in the Buttock with an Arrow. Our Souldiers who kept the Boat, came ſpeedily to their reſcue, and the Savages hearing the Report of one of our Muſkets, ran away, and our Men followed them. One *Nicholas Conger*, a good Foot-man, and not cumbred with any Arms, having only a Dagger at his Back, overtook one of them, and being a *Corniſh* Man and a good Wreſtler, ſhewed the Savage ſuch a *Corniſh* trick, as made his ſides ach againſt the Ground, and brought him back, but the other eſcaped.

A Savage taken.

On the 19th, the North-weſt and Weſt Winds having driven the Ice into the Sea, we entred the Straits, and found a Harbour on the Weſtern Shoar, which we named after our Maſter's Mate, *Jackman's Sound*. Upon a ſmall Iſland within this Sound, called *Smiths Iſland* (becauſe he firſt ſet up his Forge there) was found a Mine of Silver, but could not be gotten out of the Rocks without great labour. Here our Refiners made aſſay of the Ore, and found it to hold Gold in good quantity: Here we alſo found a great dead Fiſh like to a *Porpus*, about twelve Foot long, with a Horn of two Yards long growing out of his Snout; it is wreathed and ſtrait, and may be thought to be the Sea-Unicorn, and is now reſerved in her Majeſties Wardrobe.

The 23, the General with ſuch as could be ſpared from the Ships, being ſeventy Perſons, marched with Enſign diſplaied upon the Southern Land, part of the ſuppoſed Continent of *America*, and having travelled about five Miles toward the Tops of the Icy Mountains, we returned to our Ships without ſight of any People, or likelyhood of Habitation. Here divers of the Gentlemen deſired the General to permit 20 or 30 of them to march 30 or 40 Leagues into the Country; but he, conſidering his Inſtructions and the ſhort time he had, thought it better to ſeek for Ore to frait his Ships, and leave the further diſcovery to be accompliſhed hereafter; and therefore on the 26th departed to the Northern Land with the two Barks (the *Aid* ſtill riding in *Jackman's Sound*) where finding a very rich Mine, as it was ſuppoſed, and having got almoſt 20 Tun of Ore together, we were forced thence by the Ice which came driving in upon us, and for haſt left the Ore we had digged behind us. We went further up the Streights, and having ſailed five Leagues, we diſcovered a Bay, which being fenced on each ſide with ſmall Iſlands, did break the force of the Tides, and made it free from any In-draughts of Ice; here we anchored under a ſmall Iſland, which we named *Wa. wick*-Iſland: This is the faſtheſt place that we were at within the Streights, diſtant from *Queen's Foreland* 30 Leagues. Here we found good ſtore of the Ore, which in waſhing, held Gold to our thinking, plainly to be ſeen; whereupon it was thought better to load here than to ſeek further, and the General having ſet the Miners to work, ſent the *Michael* over to *Jackman's Sound* for the *Aid* and her whole Company to come to us.

From the Iſland we could diſcern the poor Dwellings of the People, which are commonly ſituated at the Foot of a Hill to ſhelter them from the cold Winds, with the Door always to the South: the Foundation is two Fathom under ground, with Holes like a Coney-berry, to viſit their Neighbours, and theſe places are under-trenched with Gutters, that the Water falling from the Hills above them, may ſlide away without annoying them: From the Ground upwards they build with Whales Bones for lack of Timber, which bending one over another, are handſomly compacted in the top together, and covered with Seals Skins: But it ſeemed to us by divers Circumſtances that they change their Habitations often, and are a diſperſed and wandring Nation, living in Hords and Troops like the *Tartars*.

Their Habitations deſcribed.

The laſt of *July* the *Michael* returned to us with the *Aid* from the Southern Land: Captain *York* reported, that coaſting along the Shoar, he eſpied two Tents of Seals Skins, and going with his Company aſhoar, entred into them, but the People were all fled. They found there raw and new killed Fleſh of unknown ſorts, with dead Carcaſes and Bones of Dogs, alſo a Doublet of Canvas after the *Engliſh* faſhion, a Shirt, a Girdle, and three Shooes of the Men we loſt the Year before, about 50 Leagues from this place, further within the Streights. The Captain left a Letter there, with Pen, Ink, and Paper, that our poor Captive Country-men might, if they were alive, be advertiſed of our being there, and return an Anſwer; He left alſo ſome Trifles, as Glaſſes, Bells, Knives, &c. not taking any thing of theirs except one Dog.

The next day being the firſt of *Auguſt*, all the Gentlemen and others that could be ſpared from the Ship, went aſhoar under the Conduct of Mr. *Philpot*, to try if by fair means they could allure the People to familiarity, or otherwiſe, to take ſome of them, and thereby attain to ſome knowledge of the Men that were loſt the Year before.

Auguſt.

At our return to the place where their Tents had been, we found they had removed them further into the Bay, that they might if they were driven from the Land, fly with their Boats into the Sea: We parting our ſelves into two Companies, and compaſſing a Mountain, came ſuddenly upon them by Land, who eſpying us, fled to their Boats, leaving moſt part of their Oars behind them, and rowed down the Bay, where our two Pinnaces meeting them, drave them aſhoar; but if they had had all their Oars, it had been in vain to chaſe them.

When they were landed, they fiercely aſſaulted our Men with their Bows and Arrows; we wounded three of them, who perceiving themſelves hurt, deſperately leapt from the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themſelves: The reſt fled into the Mountains, except one old Woman, and another with a Child, whom we took. The old Wretch, whom our Sailors ſuppoſed to be a Witch, had her Buſkins pull'd off to ſee if ſhe were cloven footed, and being very ugly and deformed, we let her go, the young Woman and Child we brought away.

Another Savage taken.

Having now got a Woman Captive to comfort our Man, we brought them together: They at firſt beheld each other very wiſtly for a good ſpace, without uttering a word, with great change of Colour and Countenance, as if the Grief and Diſdain of their Captivity had deprived them of their Speech: At laſt the Woman very ſuddenly, as tho' ſhe diſdained or regarded not the Man, turned away, and began to ſing as tho' ſhe minded another matter; but being again brought together, the Man with a ſtern and ſtaid countenance, began to tell a long ſolemn tale to the Woman, whereunto ſhe gave good attention, and did not interrupt him till he had finiſhed, and afterwards

wards being grown more familiar, they were turn'd together; but we could never perceive that they used as Man and Wife, tho' the Woman spared not to do all necessary things belonging to a good Housewife, as making clean their Cabin, killing, flaying, and dressing of Dogs for their Diet, and making him clean when he was Sea sick. They seemed to be very modest, for the Man would never shift himself until he had caused the Woman to depart out of his Cabin, and they were both very shy lest any of their Privy Parts should be discover'd by each other, or by any other Body.

On the third we left the Western shoar, supposed part of the Continent of *America*, and on the fourth came to our General at *Warwick*-Island, where he fraited the Ship and Barks with such Stone or supposed Gold-mineral, as he thought might countervail the Charges of both his Voyages to these Countries.

On the 6th, while we were all at work, we perceived many of the Natives upon the top of a Hill over against us, wafting a Flag, and making great Out-cries unto us; whereupon the General taking the Savage Captive with him, and setting the Woman where they might best perceive her in the highest place of the Island, went over to talk with them. Our Captive at the first encounter of his Friends, burst out into tears, and could not speak a word in a long time, but after a while, he discoursed at a distance with his Companions, and bestowed friendly upon them such Toys and Trifles as we had given him. Our General by signs required his five Men which they made Captives the last Year, and promised not only to release those which he had taken, but also to reward them with great Gifts. Our Savage made signs in answer from them, that our Men were yet living, and should be deliver'd to us, and made signs likewise to us that we should write Letters to them, but because it was late they departed without any Letter, altho' they called earnestly in hast for the same; and the next Morning early they called again for the Letter, which being delivered to them, they speedily departed, making signs with three Fingers and pointing to the Sun, that they would return in three days. The Letter was as follows.

Their Habitations described.

"IN the Name of God in whom we all believe, who (I trust) hath preserved your Bodies and Souls amongst these Infidels, I commend me unto you. I will be glad to seek by all means you can devise for your deliverance, either with force or with any Commodities within my Ships, which I will not spare for your sakes, or any thing else I can do for you. I have aboard of theirs, a Man, a Woman, and a Child, which I am contented to deliver for you; but the Man which I carried away from hence the last Year, is dead in *England*. Moreover, you may declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I will not leave a Man alive in their Country; and thus, if one of you can come to speak with me, they shall have either the Man, Woman or Child in pawn for you. And thus unto God, whom I trust you do serve, in hast I leave you, and to him we will daily pray for you. This *Tuesday* Morning, the seventh of *August*, 1577.

Yours to the uttermost of my Power,

Martin Frobisher.

On *Saturday* the 11th, the People shewed themselves again, and called unto us from a Hill over against us: The General, hoping for an Answer to his Letter, and hear of his Men, went over to them; no more than three appeared in sight, who by signs endeavoured to train our Boat about a Point of Land from sight of our Company; but we suspecting them, kept aloof, and yet set one of our Company ashoar, who took up a great Bladder which one of them had laid down, and leaving a Looking-glass in the place, returned to the Boat. In the mean time our Men upon the Island, who could better discern than those in the Boat, made a great out-cry to our Men in the Boat, because they saw many Savages creeping behind the Rocks towards our Men; whereupon the General returned without tidings of his Men.

Our Captive made signs to us that this Bladder was sent him to keep Water and Drink in, but we rather suspected it was given to him to help his escape by swimming; for he and the Woman sought often to make their escapes, having loosed our Boats from astern our Ships, and had prevailed if they had not been timely discover'd.

The 14th, our General with two small Boats, well appointed, went up a Bay, where he saw some of the Natives, who made great Out-cries, and with a Flag made of Bladders sowed together with the Guts and Sinews of Beasts, wafted us a main unto them, not shewing above three of their Company; but when we came near them, we could perceive a great multitude creeping behind the Rocks; whereupon we made signs to them, that if they would lay their Weapons aside, and come forth, we would deal friendly with them, altho' we perceived their intent; but for all the signs of Friendship we could make, they came still creeping towards us from behind the Rocks to get more advantage of us, as tho' we had no Eyes to see them. Their Spokes-man earnestly perswaded us with many fair shews, to come ashoar and eat and sleep, and clapping his bare Hands over his Head in token of Peace and Innocence, willed us to do the like; But the better to allure our hungry Stomachs, he brought us a piece of raw Flesh, which with our Boat-hook, we caught into our Boat. Then one of his Fellows came halting from behind the Rocks towards the Sea-side, and in such places where he seemed unable to pass, the other took him upon his Shoulders, and setting him down by the Water-side, went away and left him, hoping that one of us would venture ashoar, and not be afraid to make his part good with a lame Man; but the General suspecting their treachery, commanded a Souldier to fire at him, who sent him away a true and no feigned Cripple; whereupon the rest came out of their lurking holes to the Sea-side, and desperately maintained a Skirmish with their Bows, Arrows, Slings, and Darts, without fear of our Shot. They had belayed the Coast for us, and we saw above 100 of them, and had cause to suspect a greater number. All their Arrows and Darts fell short of us, so that we return'd to our Ship without harm.

Treachery of the Savages.

Our work being now finished, having laden almost 200 Tun of Ore, we prepared to return; and the 22d of *August* we plucked down our Tents, and making a Bonfire on top of the Island, we gave a Volly of Shot, and so departed aboard.

They return.

The 23d of *August* we set sail, the Wind at West, and the next day left the *Queen's Foreland* a-stern of us, and had Snow half a Foot deep on the Hatches.

The 29th the *Michael* lost company of us, and shaping her Course towards *Orkney*, arrived at *Yarmouth*.

The 30th the Master and Boatswain of the *Gabriel* were struck over-board by the force of the Wind and Surge of the Sea. The Master, who was a young Man and able Mariner, had been very pleasant all that Morning, and told his Captain that he dream'd that he was cast over-board, and that the Boatswain had him by the Hand, and could not save him; which came to pass accordingly, for the Boatswain held him by one Hand, having hold on a Rope with the other, until his strength failed, and the Master was drowned.

Master of the *Gabriel* drowned.

The first of *September* the storm was grown very great, and the *Gabriel* not able to bear sail to keep Company with us, our Ship being higher in the Poop whereon the Wind had more force to drive, went so fast away, that we lost sight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune at Sea.

September

On the 17th we arrived at *Padstow* in *Cornwal*, which being a bad Road, we put to Sea again, and anchored at *Milford* Haven, from whence our General writ to the Court, who order'd the Ship to *Bristol*, where the Ore was lodged in the Castle: Here we found the *Gabriel* arrived in safety. In this Voyage we lost but two Men; one blown over-board, as was mentioned, and one that died at Sea, who was sick when he came aboard, and was so desirous to go this Voyage, that he rather chose to die, than not to make one in this noble Adventure.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Third and last Voyage of Captain Frobisher *to the North-west,* Anno 1578.

1578. THE supposed Gold Ore brought home the last Voyage, made shew of great Riches and Profit, and the hope of passage to *Cathaia*, was greatly increased; so that her Majesty appointed special Commissioners, who upon sufficient trial and proof made of the Ore, and upon sundry Reasons and substantial Grounds being convinced of the probability of a Passage, advertised her Majesty that the Voyage was of importance, and worthy to be advanced again. Whereupon 15 Sail of good Ships were ordered to be got ready, whereof all were to return again with their Lading of Gold Ore at the end of Summer, except three Ships, which should be left for the use of Captain *Fenton*, Captain *Best*, and Captain *Philpot*, who were to tarry in the Country, with 40 Mariners, 30 Miners, and 30 Soldiers, in which last are included the Gentlemen, Refiners, Bakers, Carpenters, and other necessary Persons. They carried with them a strong House of Timber framed here, and to be set up there.

The Names of the Ships, with their Captains.

The *Aid*, Admiral,	Capt.	*Frobisher.*
The *Thomas Allen*, Vice-admiral,		*York.*
The *Judith*, Rear-admiral,		*Fenton.*
Anne Francis,		*Best.*
Hopewell,		*Carew.*
Bear,		*Philpot.*
Thomas of *Ipswich*,		*Tanfield.*
Emmanuel of *Exeter*,		*Courtney.*
Francis of *Fey*,		*Moyles.*
Moon,		*Upcot.*
Emmanuel of *Bridgwater*,		*Newton.*
Solomon of *Weymouth*,		*Randal.*
Bark, *Dennis*,		*Kendal.*
Gabriel,		*Harvey.*
Michael,		*Kinnersley.*

We departed from *Harwich* the 31st of *May*, and coasting the South part of *England*, we passed Cape *Clare* the sixth of *June*.

June. The 20th of *June*, at two in the Morning we descried *Friesland*, and sailing along the Coast, we spied one place pretty clear of Ice, where the General well accompanied went ashoar, and saw some Tents made of Skins, wherein they found, Flesh, Fish, Skins, and a Box of Nails. The General commanded his Men to take nothing away with them, only two white Dogs, for which he left Pins, Points, Knives, and other Trifles, and so returning aboard, we hoised Sail and continued our Course, and on the last of *June* met with many great Whales, one of which received such a blow from the *Solomon*, who came upon him with a full Stern, being under both her Courses and Bowsets, that the Ship stood still, and stirred neither forward nor backward: The Whale made a great and ugly noise, and cast up his Body and Tail, and so went under Water. Two days after, a great dead Whale was found floating on the Sea, which we supposed to be the same that the *Solomon* struck.

One of the Ships runs against a Whale.

July. The second we fell with the *Queen's Foreland*, where we met with so much Ice, that we thought it impossible to enter the Streight; some of the Fleet where they found the Ice open, ventured in, and whilst others were following them with full Sails, the Ice would close, and the Bark *Dennis* (wherein was part of our House which was to be erected for them that should stay all Winter) was so bruised, that she sunk in our sight, but we manned our Boats and saved the Men.

The Fleet in great distress.

This was a dreadful Spectacle, because the Storm which followed, threaten'd the like danger to us all; for having left much Ice behind us, thro' which we had passed, and finding more before us, thro' which it was not possible to pass, there arose a terrible Storm at S. E. which blowing from the main Sea directly upon the Streights Mouth, brought upon us all the Ice we had left behind us, and debarred us from getting Sea-room again: we took down our Top-masts, and hanged over-board pieces of old Cables, Beds, Planks of three Inches thick, which were cut asunder at the sides of our Ships, some of which were heaved up out of the Sea between Islands of Ice, near a Foot above their Water Mark, having their Knees and Timbers within board bowed and broken therewith. In this distress it pleased God to send us a favourable Wind the next day at W. N. W. which dispersed the Ice, and then the whole Fleet plyed off to Sea-ward, till the Sun should consume, or the Winds disperse the Ice that lay in the Streights Mouth.

The seventh we stood in again, and descried Land, which some, and those not the worst Mariners, judged to be the North Foreland, tho' others were of a contrary Opinion. The new fallen Snow does yearly so much alter the shape of the Land, that it takes away the Mariners Marks. Mr. *Hall* the chief Pilot declared publickly, that he had never seen the Coast before, and that he could not make it for any place of *Frobisher's* Streights.

The 10th, the weather still continuing thick and dark, some of the Fleet lost sight of the Admiral, and stood back again to Sea-ward; the rest following the General, passed 60 Leagues within the said doubtful and supposed Straits, having always a fair continent on their Star-board side, and an open Sea before them.

The General, altho' 'tis probable he was sensible of the Error, and that this was not the old Streights, yet he dissembled his Opinion, the better to induce the Fleet to follow him, he being then in great hopes of discovering a Passage this way; and some of the Company reported, that he hath since declared, that if it had not been for the charge and care he had of the Fleet and fraited Ships, he would and could have gone thro' to the South Sea, and dissolved the long doubt of a Passage to *Cathaia*.

The 26th there fell so much Snow that it lay half a Foot deep upon the Deck. Snow in June.

On the 31st we anchored in *Warwick*-Sound, in the entrance whereof, the *Aid* having a little before weighed her Anchor a Cock-bill, ran against an Island of Ice, which struck the Flook of the Anchor thro' the Ships Bow under Water, and caused so great a Leak, that they had much ado to preserve her from sinking.

At our Arrival here, we found the *Michael* and the *Gabriel*, who had been long missing, and whom we never expected to hear of again; for which we heartily praised God, and Mr. *Wolfall*, a learned Man, appointed by her Majesties Council to be our Minister, made a Godly Sermon, exhorting us to be thankful to God for our manifold deliverances in these dangerous places, and putting us in mind of the incertainty of Man's life, willed us to make our selves ready as resolute Men to accept thankfully whatsoever adventure his Divine Providence should appoint. This Man being well seated in his own Country in a good Benefice, well esteemed, having a virtuous Woman to his Wife, and very hopeful Children, refused not to undertake this painful Voyage, for the care he had to save Souls, and to reform those Infidels, if it were possible, to Christianity; and would have staid there the whole year if occasion had served, being in every necessary action as forward as the resolutest Man of us all: So that he may be called a true Pastor and Minister of God's Word, who for the good of his Flock, spared not to venture his own life.

Captain *Fenton* in the *Michael* arriving, as was said, ten days before us, spent his time in searching for Ore. He also discover'd ten Miles up into the Country, which was very barren, as all the rest that we have seen, nor did he see any likelyhood of Habitation. His Ship had been struck thro' and thro' on both sides, and his false Stern born quite away. When they found an Island of Ice bigger than the rest, they moored an Anchor upon it, and then rode under the Lee of it, to guard themselves from the danger of the lesser driving Ice. They met with one piece of Ice, which by measure was found to be 65 Fathom above Water. Ice 65 Fathom high.

The

August. The ninth of *August* the General called a Council to consider about erecting a House or Fort for those who were to inhabit there the whole Year; and it was found that only two sides of the House were arrived, and those not perfect and entire; for many pieces were broken in using them for Fenders when they were distressed in the Ice. Neither was there Drink and Fuel to serve 100 Men (the number appointed to inhabit there) the greatest store whereof was in those four Ships which were not yet arrived. Then Captain *Fenton* seeing the scarcity of the necessary things aforesaid, was contented, and offered to inhabit there with 60 Men. Whereupon the Carpenters and Masons were asked in what time they could erect a less House for that number, they required eight or nine Weeks, if there were Timber sufficient; whereas we had but 26 Days to tarry in that Country; it was therefore resolved in Council that no Habitation should be there this Year.

The 24th, the General with two Pinnaces well mann'd, went to try if he could encounter and apprehend any of the People, who often shewed themselves, sometimes with seven or eight Boats in a Company, as if they had designed to attack some of our People who were working at the Mines in no great numbers; wherefore we endeavour'd with our Pinnaces to encompass an Island they haunted, hoping to intercept some of them; but they kept such watch in the Mountains, that they conveyed themselves away before we could come near them.

The 26th, the *Anne Francis*, which with the other Ships had now joined us, was brought aground, and had eight great Leaks mended which she had received by the Rocks and Ice. They had struck upon a Rock, where they lay more than half dry until the next Flood, when by God's Providence, contrary to all expectation, they came afloat again, being forced all that time to under-set their Ship with their Main-yard. Mr. *Wolfall* after Sermon, celebrated the Communion upon the Land, as he had before done in several Ships, because our whole Company could never meet in one place.

The Fleet being now in good readiness, the General called the Captains and Gentlemen together, and told them that he intended not only by God's help to bring home his Ships laden with Ore, but also to make a further discovery of these parts. After long debate, it was judged impossible at this time for the Reasons following; First, It freezed so hard every Night, that if they should be kept in by contrary Winds, it was to be feared they should be shut up the whole Winter, to their utter destruction. Secondly, Drink was so scarce thro' all the Fleet, by reason of great leakage, that not only the Provision laid in for the Habitation was wasted, but also the Provision of each Ship was spent and lost. The cause of this Leakage was the great Timber and Sea-Coal, which lay so weighty upon the Barrels, that it brake, bruised and rotted the Hoops asunder.

On the last of *August* we left the Country, and that Night arose a furious tempest, which separated our Fleet, so that not any of us met together again until the 28th of *September*, which day we fell on the Coast of *England*, between *Sylley* and the *Lands-end*, and the rest of the Fleet arrived about the same time, some in one place and some in another. There died in this Voyage not above 40 Persons, which number is not great, considering how many Ships were in the Fleet, and the many Hardships we had endured.

CHAP. XXVII.

The first Voyage of Mr. John Davis *for discovery of the North-west Passage*, An. 1585: *Written by* John Janes.

1585. SOme Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, desirous to advance the Glory of God and the Good of their native Country, consulted together about a discovery of the North-west Passage, which having been heretofore attempted, but unhappily given over by reason of some unexpected Accidents, they resolved after good deliberation to become Adventurers, and accordingly did set forth two Barks, *viz.* the *Sun-shine* of 50 Tuns and 23 Men, *John Davis* Captain; and the *Moon-shine* 35 Tuns, 19 Men, *William Bruton* Captain.

June. We departed from *Dartmouth* the seventh of *June*, and were forced to put into *Falmouth* and *Scilly*, by reason of contrary Winds.

July. On the 28th we departed thence, and on the 20th of *July* discover'd Land covered with Snow, which appeared over the Fog like a white List in the Sky. The rouling of the Ice which reached from the Shoar a League off into the Sea, made a great noise: Our Captain named this place *The Land of Desolation*.

The 21st, the Wind being Northerly, we stood S. S. W. along the shoar, for we perceived that we were run into a very deep Bay, where we were almost compassed with Ice. The next day we hoised out our Boat, and rowed toward the Shoar, but when we came within a League of it, we met with so much Ice that we could not get to Land. We tried to get some Fish with our Lines, because we saw many *Seals* on the Coast, and Birds beating on the Water, but all was in vain. We had ground in 120 Fathom, the Water black and thick like a standing Pool. We saw much Wood floating upon the Coast, and the *Moon-shine* took up a Tree in the Sea 60 Foot long and 14 Handfulls about it, with the Root upon it.

The 25 we lost sight of this Land, and steered N. W. till the 29th, when we discovered Land in 64 Deg. 15 Min. bearing N. E. from us. Coming near the Coast we found many fair Sounds and great Inlets into the Land, whereby we judged it to be a great number of Islands standing together. We went ashoar on a small Island to seek for Water and Wood, and perceived there had been People, for we found a small Shoe, and pieces of Leather sowed with Sinews. Then we went upon another Island, and the Captain, Master and I being got upon the top of a high Rock, the People of the Country espying us, made a lamentable noise, which we thought at first had been the howling of Wolves; then I hollowed again, and they answered; at last, perceiving where they stood, some on the Shoar, and one rowing in a *Canoa*, we made a great noise, partly to allure them to us, and partly to warn our Company of them: Whereupon Mr. *Bruton* and others of the *Moon-shine*, hastned to our rescue, and brought with them our four Musicians to allure them to us if possible: Our Musicians plaied, and we danced, making many signs of Friendship. At last there came ten *Canoa's*, two of which came so near us that they talked with us. Their Pronunciation was very hollow, and their Speech such as we could not understand. One of them pointing to the Sun, smote his Breast so hard that we could hear the blow; this he did many times, till at last one of our Men, pointing to the Sun, struck his Breast in the same manner, whereupon one of them came ashoar, to whom we threw our Caps, Stockins, and Gloves, and such things as we had about us, playing with our Musick, and Dancing, till the Night coming on, we returned aboard.

The next Morning, the 30th of *July*, 37 *Canoa's* came rowing by our Ships, calling to us to come ashoar; we not making any great hast, one of them went up to the top of the Rock, where he leaped and danced, shewing us a Seals Skin: Whereupon we manned our Boats, and rowed to their *Canoas*, and having sworn by the Sun after their fashion, I shook Hands with one of them, and he kissed my Hand, and we became very familiar. They gave us whatsoever we asked of them, and were satisfied with whatsoever we gave them. We bought their Cloths from their Backs, which were all made of Seals Skins, or Birds Skins with the Feathers on them: We bought also five of their Canoa's, with some Oars and Darts. They are a tractable People, void of Craft or double Dealing, but seem to be Idolaters, and worship the Sun.

We found no fresh Water among these Islands, but only Snow Water, whereof we found great Pools. The Clifts

Cliffs were all of such Oar as Captain *Frobisher* brought from *Meta Incognita*. We found here Fir, Spruce, and Juniper, which whether it floated hither, or grew in some great Islands near this place, we know not, but we supposed it might grow thereabouts, because the People had great store of Darts and Oars, which they exchanged with us for small Trifles. When they perceived that we desired Skins and Furs, they made signs that they would go into the Country and bring them the next day; but the Wind coming fair, we departed on the first of *August*, and proceeded towards the North-west on our Discovery.

August. On the sixth we discovered Land in 66 Deg. 40 Min. clear of Ice; we anchored in a fair Road under a Mount, the Clifts whereof were as orient as Gold; we named it Mount *Raleigh*. As soon as we had anchored, we espied four white Bears at the Foot of the Mount; one of them we shot in the Neck, who after he had roared a little, took the Water, and we following him with our Boat, killed him with Boar-spears, and two more that Night: We found nothing in their Maws, but judged by their Dung that they fed upon Grass. The next day we went on Shoar to another Bear, who when we came near him, was fast asleep; my Piece missing fire, he looked up and laid down his Head again: Then I shot him in the Head, and we all ran upon him with Boar-spears, and thrust him into the Body, yet he grip'd away our Spears and went towards the Water, and swam to a Cove where we killed him: The breadth of his Fore-foot was 14 Inches.

The 8th we coasted along the Shoar, and on the 11th came to the Southerly Cape of this Land, which we named the *Cape of God's Mercy*, being the place of our first entrance for the discovery. We coasted the Shoar, and when the Fog brake up, we found our selves shot into a fair entrance or Passage, in some places 20 Leagues broad, and clear of Ice, which gave us great hope of a Passage. Having sailed N. W. 60 Leagues therein, we saw some Islands in the middle, whereupon we divided, one sailing on the North side and the other on the South side of them, the Wind at S. E. very foggy and foul Weather.

The 14th we went ashoar and found signs of People, for we saw Stones laid up together like a Wall and the Scull of a Man or Woman.

The 15th we heard Dogs howl, which we thinking to be Wolves, went on shore to kill them; the Dogs came very gently to our Boat, but we fearing they came to prey upon us, shot at them, and killed two; about the Neck of one was a Leathern Collar. There were 20 of them, like Mastives, with prick'd Ears, long bushy Tails, and a Bone in their Tizels. Then going further we found two Sleds like ours in *England*, one was made of Fir, Spruce, and Oaken Boards; the other all of Whale-bone: We saw here Ravens, Larks and Patridges.

The 17th we went ashoar, and in a kind of Oven made with Stones, we found a small *Canoa* of Wood, a piece of Wood like an Image, a Bird made of Bone, and other Trifles. The Coast was very barren, without Wood or Grass: The Rocks looked like Marble veined with divers Colours.

The Captain and Master consulted what was best to be done, and gave these Reasons for the probability of a Passage.

Reasons for the Probability of a Passage.

I. The Water being of one colour with the main Ocean, whereas we never came into any Bay, but the Water was altered very blackish.

II. We saw to the West of these Islands three or four Whales, which we judged to come from a Westerly Sea, because we saw no Whale to the Eastward.

III. As we were rowing into a very great Sound lying S. W. from whence these Whales came, on a sudden there came a violent counter-check of a Tide from the South-west against the Flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was maintain'd.

IV. In sailing 20 Leagues within the Mouth of this Entrance, we had sounding in 90 Fathoms, fair, grey, ozy Sand, and the farther we ran to the Westward, the deeper was the Water, so that hard aboard the Shoar among these Islands, we had no ground in 330 Fathoms.

Lastly, It did ebb and flow six or seven Fathom up and down, the Flood coming from divers parts, so as we could not perceive the chief maintenance thereof.

These things consider'd, it was resolved if the Weather brake up, to make further search.

The 20th the Wind came directly against us; and the 23d it came at S. E. very stormy and foul weather, and seeking for harbour, we fell into a fair Sound, and anchored in 25 Fathoms.

The 24th, the Wind coming fair, we directed our Course homeward, and on the 10th of *September* fell with the Land of *Desolation*, and that Night a storm arising, we lost sight of the *Moon-shine*, and on the 30th of *September* we came into *Dartmouth*, where the *Moon-shine* was arrived two Hours before.

Chap. XXVIII.

The second Voyage attempted by Mr. John Davis *for discovery of a North-west Passage,* Anno 1586: *Written by himself.*

1586. IN my first Voyage, not experienced in the Nature of those Climates, and having no direction by Chart, Globe, or any certain Relation, in what altitude that Passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly Course, and fell on the Coast of *Greenland*, 500 Leagues from the *Derses* W. N. W. Northerly, the Land very high and full of mighty Mountains, all covered with Snow no Wood, Grass, or Earth to be seen, and the Sea two Leagues from the shoar so full of Ice, that no Ship could come near the Land. Thence coasting the shoar towards the South, in the Latitude of 60 degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, and following it 50 or 60 Leagues, it failed, and lay directly North, which I still followed, and in 30 Leagues sailing upon the West side of this Coast, by me named *Desolation*, we were past all Ice, and saw many green and pleasant Islands bordering upon the shoar, but the hills on the main land were covered with snow. Then shaping our course W. N. W. we fell with another shoar in Latitude of 66 Deg. and found a passage 20 Leagues broad directly West into the same, which we entred 30 or 40 Leagues, and found it neither to widen nor straiten. But not knowing the length of it, and the year being far spent, we thought it our best course to return. And acquainting Secretary *Walsingham* and the rest of the Honourable and Worthipful Adventurers with our Proceedings, I was again appointed to search the bottom of this Strait. In this second attempt the Merchants of *Exeter*, and other places of the West, became Adventurers. And on the 7th of *May* 1586. I set out from *Dartmouth* with Four Sail, *viz.* the *Mermaid* of 120 Tuns, the *Sun-shine* of 60 Tuns, the *Moon-shine* of 35 Tuns, and a Pinnace of 13 Tuns, called the *North Star*.

Cross over a Grave.

We coasted the South side of *Ireland*, and on the 13th steered away N. W. till we came to the Latitude of 60 Deg. at which time I divided my Fleet, and ordered the *Sun-shine* and the *North Star* to seek a Passage Northward, between *Greenland* and *Island*, to the Latitude of 80 Deg. if Land did not hinder them.

How they handle Fire.

I departed from them the seventh of *June*, and on the 15th discovered Land in Latitude of 60 Deg. and in Longitude from the Meridian of *London* Westward, 47 Deg. The Ice lay in some places 10, in some 20, in some 50 Leagues off the Shoar, so that we were constrained to bear into 57 Deg. to double the same, and to get a free Sea, which thro' God's favourable Mercy we at length obtained.

The 29th, after many Storms, we again discovered Land in Longitude from the Meridian of *London* 58 Deg. 30 Min. and in Latitude 64 Deg. being East from us; into which since it pleased God by contrary Winds to force us, I thought fit to bear in with it, and to set up our Pinnace, which we had provided in the *Marmaid* to be

our

our Scout for this discovery, and so much the rather, because the Year before I had been in the same place, and found it very convenient for such a Purpose, being inhabited by a People of tractable conversation, and the Sea void of Ice.

The Ships being within the *Sounds*, we sent our Boats to search for shoal Water, where we might anchor, which in this place is very hard to find. The People of the Country espying them, came in their *Canoas* towards them with Shouts and Cries; but when they saw in the Boat some of our Company that were there the last Year, they rowed to the Boat, and taking hold on the Oar, hung about the Boat, expressing a great deal of joy, and making signs that they knew all those that had been with them the Year before. I went ashoar with others of the Company, and took with me 20 Knives: We had no sooner landed, but they leap'd out of their Canoa's and came running to us, and embraced us with many signs of hearty welcome: There were 18 of them, and I gave to each of them a Knife; they offered me Skins for a Reward, but I made signs that they were not sold, but freely given to them, and so dismissed them for that time, with signs that they should return after certain hours.

Reasons for the Probability of a Passage.

The next day with all possible speed the Pinnace was landed upon an Island, there to be finished, and while it was setting up, the People came continually unto us, sometimes 100 Canoa's at a time, bringing with them Seal Skins, Stags Skins, white Hares, Seals, Salmon-peal, small Cod, dry Caplin, with other Fish, and some Birds.

I sent one of the Boats to search one part of the Land, while I went to another part, with strict command that there should be no injury offered to any of the People, nor any Gun shot: They found Tents made of Seal Skins, wherein was store of dried Caplin, being a little Fish no bigger than a Pilchard, some Bags of Trane Oyl, many little Images cut in Wood, and Seal Skins in Tan-tubs, whereof they diminished nothing.

When they had passed ten Miles within the Snowy Mountains, they came to a plain Champion Country with Earth and Grass, like to our moory and waste Grounds in *England*. They went ten Leagues up into a River, which in the narrowest place was two Leagues broad, finding it still to continue, they knew not how far. But I with my Company took another River, which altho' at first it offered a large Inlet, yet it proved but a deep Bay, the end whereof I attained in four Hours, and there leaving the Boat well manned, went with the rest of my Company three or four Miles into the Country, but found nothing, nor saw any thing but Gripes, Ravens, and small Birds, as Larks and Linnets.

The third of *July* I manned my Boat, and went with 50 Canoa's attending upon me into another Sound, where the People by signs willed me to go, hoping to find their Habitation. At last they made signs that I should go into a warm place to sleep, at which place I went on shoar, and desired they would leap with our Men, which they agreed to, but ours did over-leap them. From Leaping they went to Wrestling; we found them strong and nimble, and to have skill in Wrestling, for they cast some of our Men that were good Wrestlers.

Cross over a Grave.

The fourth, the Master of the *Mermaid* went to certain Islands to store himself with Wood, where he found a Grave with divers buried in it, covered with Seal Skins only, and a Cross laid over them.

The People are of good stature, well proportioned, with small slender Hands and Feet, broad Visages, small Eyes, wide Mouths, the most part unbearded, great Lips, and close toothed: They are much given to bleed, and therefore stop their Noses with Deers Hair, or that of an Elan.

How they kindle Fire.

One of them kindled a Fire after this manner; He took a piece of Board wherein was a hole half thro', then he put into the Hole the End of a round Stick like a Bedstaff, wetting the End thereof in Trane, and (as your Turners do) with a piece of Leather, by the violent motion he speedily produced fire; this done, he made a fire with Turfs, into which, with many Words and strange Gestures, he put divers things, which we supposed to be a sacrifice: They desired me to go into the Smoak, and I willed them likewise to stand in the Smoak, which they would by no means do: I then thrust one of them into the Smoak, and commanded one of my Men to tread out the fire, and spurn it into the Sea, to shew them that we did contemn their Sorcery. They are very simple in their Conversation, but marvelously theevish, especially of Iron, which they have in great esteem: They cut away the *Moon-shine's* Boat from her Stern, they cut our Cables, and our Cloth where it lay to air, tho' we did carefully look unto it: They stole our Oars, a Caliver, a Boar-spear, a Sword, with divers other things, which so grieved the Company, that they desired me to dissolve this new Friendship, whereupon I ordered a Caliver to be shot among them, and immediately upon the same a Falcon, which strange noise did so amaze them, that they departed with all speed; but within ten Hours they returned, and intreated a Peace, which being granted, they brought us Seals Skins and Salmon-peal, but when they saw Iron, they could not forbear stealing, which when I perceived, I commanded that in no case they should be any more hardly used, but that our own People should be more vigilant to keep their things. They did eat all their Meat raw, they live most upon Fish, drink salt Water, and eat Grass and Ice with delight: They make fishing Nets of Whales Fins. 'Tis probable they have Wars with those on the main Land, many of them being sore wounded, which Wounds they received upon the main Land, as by signs they gave us to understand. We learned these following Words among them.

Nets made of Whale Fins.

Kesunyoh, Eat some.	*Mactuke*, Fish.
Madlycoyte, Musick.	*Sambah*, Below.
Aginyoh, Go fetch.	*Maconmeg*, Will you have this?
Tlinoute, I mean no harm.	*Cocah*, Go to him.
Ponameg, a Boat.	*Aba*, fallen down.
Paaotyck, an Oar.	*Icune*, come hither.
Asanock, a Dart.	*Awenny*, Yonder.
Sawygmeg, a Knife.	*Nuge*, No.
Uderah, a Nose.	*Tucktode*, a Fog.
Aoh, Iron.	*Lechicksah*, a Skin.
Blete, an Eye.	*Maccoah*, a Dart.
Unnicke, Give it.	*Sugnacoon*, a Coat.
Tuckloach, a Stag or Ellan.	*Gounah*, come down.
Panigmah, a Needle.	*Sasobneg*, a Bracelet.
Aob, the Sea.	*Tgnake*, a Tongue.
Mysacoah, wash it.	*Ataneg*, a Seal.
Lethicksaneg, a Seal Skin.	*Macuah*, a Beard.
Canyglow, Kiss me.	*Pignagogah*, a Thread.
Tgnere, my Son.	*Quoysa*, Give it to me.
Acu, Shot.	
Conah, Leap.	

The seventh of *July* I went ashoar in our new Pinnace, and with the most part of my Company went to the top of an high Mountain, hoping from thence to see into the Country, but the Mountains were so many and so mighty, that we could not see far, whereupon returning to the Pinnace, we saw a strange sight, which was, a mighty Whirlwind, continuing three Hours with little intermission, which taking up the Water in great quantity, furiously mounted it into the Air. The next Morning the Storm being over, we sailed into a mighty great River, directly into the Body of the Land, and found it to be no firm Land, but huge, wast and desert Islands, with mighty Sounds, and Inlets passing between Sea and Sea.

A strange Whirlwind

On the ninth we returned to our Ships, where our Mariners complained heavily against the People, that they had stolen an Anchor from us, had cut one of our Cables very dangerously, and spared not to sling Stones at us of half a Pound weight. The next day I went ashoar, and used them with much courtesy, and when I returned, they followed me in their Canoa's. I gave some of them Bracelets, and seven or eight of them came aboard, whom I used kindly, and let them depart. As soon as the Sun was set, they began to practice their deviliish nature, and with Slings threw Stones very fiercely into the *Moon-shine*, and knock'd down the Boat-swain, whereupon we pursued them with our Boats, and shot at them, but they rowed so swiftly that we could not reach them.

On the 11th, five of them came to make a new Truce; the Master acquainted me with their coming, and desired they might be kept Prisoners until we had the Anchor again; but when he saw the chief Ringleader and Master of Mischief was one of the five, he was then very urgent to have him seized, and so it was determined to take him. He came crying *Iliacut*, and striking his Breast, offered a pair of Gloves to sell, the Master offered him a Knife for them: So two of them came to us, one of them we dismissed, but the other was soon made Captive among us: Then we pointed to him and his Fellows for our Anchor, which being had, we made signs he should be set at liberty. About an Hour after, the Wind came fair, and we set sail, and brought him away with us: One of his Companions following our Ship in his *Canoa*, talked with him, and seemed to

They seize upon one of the Natives.

lament his condition, we ſtill uſing him well, and ſaying to him, *Iliaout*, i. e. *We mean no harm*: At laſt he aboard ſpake four or five Words to the other, and clapping both his Hands on his Face, the other did the like, and ſo parted: We judged the covering his Face and bowing down his Body, ſignified his death. After ſome time he became a pleaſant Companion among us; I gave him a new Suit of Frize of the *Engliſh* faſhion, of which he was very joyful: He trimmed up his Darts and all his fiſhing Tools, and would make Okam, and ſet his Hand to a Ropes end: He fed upon *Caplin* and dry *Newland* Fiſh.

The 17th, being in latitude of 63 Deg. 8 Min. we fell with a mighty mats of Ice, very high like Land, with Bays and Capes, and ſuppoſing it to be Land, we ſent our Pinnace to diſcover it, but at her return we were aſſured that it was only Ice, which cauſed great Admiration to us all, and the rather becauſe in this place we had very ſtickle and ſtrong Currents.

We coaſted this mighty maſs of Ice until the 30th, finding it a great Bar to our purpoſe. The Air was now ſo foggy and the Sea ſo peſter'd with Ice, that all hope of proceeding was baniſhed; for on the 24th our Shrouds, Ropes and Sails were ſo frozen and compaſſed with Ice, only by a groſs Fog, as ſeemed to me very ſtrange, who the laſt year found this Sea free and navigable, without Impediments.

Our Men thro' this extremity began to grow ſick and feeble, and withal hopeleſs of good ſucceſs; whereupon very orderly and diſcreetly they intreated me to regard our preſent ſtate, and withal adviſed me, that in conſcience I ought to reſpect the preſervation of my own life and theirs, and that I ſhould not thro' my over-boldneſs leave their Widows and Fatherleſs Children to give me bitter Curſes. This did move me to commiſerate their condition, yet conſidering the Importance of this Diſcovery if it could be accompliſhed, the great hope of a Paſſage, by what we had ſeen the laſt Voyage, and that there was yet a third way attempted, I thought it would turn to my diſcredit if the Action ſhould fail thro' my neglect, and therefore reſolved to proſecute it; and conſidering that the *Mermaid* by reaſon of her Burthen, was not ſo nimble and convenient for this Purpoſe as a ſmaller Bark, and was 100 *l.* a Month charge to the Adventurers, I determined to re-victual the *Moon-ſhine*, and proceed as God ſhould direct me. Whereupon I alter'd my Courſe to recover the next ſhoar where this might be performed, and the firſt of *Auguſt* diſcovered Land without Snow or Ice, in Latitude of 66 Deg. 33 Min. and in Longitude from the Meridian of *London*, 70 Deg.

Auguſt. The ſecond we anchored in a very good Road, where with all ſpeed we graved and re-victualled the *Moon-ſhine*; we found it here very hot, and were much troubled with *Muskito's*, which did ſting grievouſly. The People of the Country caught a Seal, and with Bladders faſt tied to him, ſent him to us with the Flood, ſo as he came right with our Ships, which we took as a friendly Preſent from them.

The 5th, I went on top of a Hill, and eſpying three *Canoa's* under a Rock, went to them, and found in them Skins, Darts, &c. whereof we diminiſhed nothing, but left upon every Boat a Silk Point, a Bullet of Lead, and a Pin. The next day the People came to us without fear, and bartered with us for Skins: Our Savage kept cloſe, and made ſhew that he would fain have another Companion.

Being thus provided, I departed the 12th of *Auguſt*, leaving the *Mermaid* at Anchor: Her Crew finding many Occaſions of Diſcontent, and being unwilling to proceed, here forſook me.

The Mermaid forſakes them and returns.

The 14th, ſailing Weſt 50 Leagues, we diſcovered Land in Lat. 66 Deg. 19 Min. and the next day we ſtood to the South, and on the 18th diſcovered a very fair Promontory North-weſt from us, in 65 Deg. having no Land on the South, which gave us great hopes of a Paſſage.

The 20th I went to the top of an high Hill, whence I perceived that this Land was all Iſlands; we coaſted this Land towards the South from 67 to 57 Deg.

The 28th, having great diſtruſt of the Weather, we arrived in a fair Harbour, and ſailed ten Leagues into the ſame, being two Leagues broad, with fair Woods on both ſides. Here we continued till the firſt of *September*, in which time we had two very great Storms. I went ſix Miles into the Country, and found the Woods were Fir, Pine-apple, Elder, Yew, Withy, and Birch: Here we ſaw a black Bear, and ſtore of Birds, as Pheaſants, Partridges, wild-Geeſe, Ducks, Black-Birds, Jayes, Thruſhes, and other ſmall Birds.

The firſt we ſet ſail, and coaſted the Shoar with fair weather. The fourth we anchored in a good Road among many Iſlands. Eight Leagues to the North of this place, we had ſtrong hopes of a Paſſage, by reaſon of a mighty Sea paſſing between two Lands Weſt. We greatly deſired to go into this Sea, but the Wind was directly againſt us. *Septemb.*

The ſixth we ſent five young Men aſhoar to an Iſland, to fetch ſome Fiſh, which we had left there covered all Night: The Savages who lurked in the Woods, ſuddenly aſſaulted our Men, which we perceiving, let ſlip our Cable, and under our Fore-ſail, bare into the Shoar, and diſcharged a double Muſket upon them twice; at the noiſe whereof they fled, having killed two of our Men with their Arrows, and grievouſly wounded two more, the other eſcaped by ſwimming, with an Arrow ſhot thro' his Arm. This Evening it pleaſed God further to increaſe our Sorrows, with a furious Storm at N. N. E. which laſted to the tenth: We unrigged our Ship, and intended to cut down our Maſts, the Cable of our Sheet Anchor brake, ſo that we expected to be driven aſhoar and become a Prey to the Canibals. Yet in this deep diſtreſs, God gave us ſuccour, and ſent us a fair Lee, ſo as we recovered our Anchor again, and new mored our Ship, where we ſaw that God had manifeſtly delivered us, for two Strands of our Cable were broken. *Two of the Engliſh ſlain by Savages.*

The 11th, the Wind coming fair at W. N. W. we departed with truſt in God's mercy, ſhaping our Courſe for *England*, and arrived in the Weſt Country the beginning of *October*, where the *Sun-ſhine* arrived few days before us. She had been at *Iſland*, and from thence to *Groenland*, and ſo to *Eſtoliland*, and thence to *Deſolation*, where ſhe trafficked with the People, ſtaying in the Country 20 days. They loſt ſight of the Pinnace, called the *North Star*, on the third of *September* in a very great ſtorm, and lay a hull to tarry for her all the next day, but ſaw her no more: The ſaid Pinnace never return'd home.

The Third Voyage attempted by Mr. John Davis, *for diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage*, Anno 1587.

IN my laſt Voyage, in Latitude of 54 Deg. 30 Min. on the third of *September* the Fiſh did ſwim ſo thick about our Bark, as is incredible; and altho' we were unprovided of Fiſhing Tackle, yet with a Hook made of a long Spike Nail, and faſtned to one of our Sounding-Lines, before the Bait was changed we took more than 40 great Cods, which divers Fiſher-men that were with me ſaid, were the largeſt and beſt fed Fiſh that ever they ſaw. This encouraged ſome of the Honourable and Worſhipful Adventurers to continue their Favour and Charge (tho' all the Weſt Country Merchants, and moſt of thoſe in *London* fell from the Action) and three Ships were appointed, *viz.* the *Elizabeth*, the *Sun-ſhine*, and the *Helene*, two of them for the Fiſhing, and one for the Diſcovery.

We departed from *Dartmouth* the 19th of *May*, and diſcovered Land on the 14th of *June*.

June. On the 16th we anchored among many low Iſlands which lay before the high Land; the People came to us, crying *Iliaout*, and ſhewing us Seals Skins.

On the 20th I left the two Ships to follow their Fiſhing, taking their faithful Promiſe not to depart until my return unto them, which ſhould be in the end of *Auguſt*; but they finiſhing their Voyage in 16 Days, preſently return'd for *England*, without regard of their Promiſe, whilſt I not diſtruſting any ſuch hard meaſure, proceeded on the Diſcovery.

On the 24th, in Latitude of 67 Deg. 40 Min. the Weather was very hot; thirty Savages came to us in their *Canoas*, 20 Leagues from the Land, intreating us to go aſhoar. I coaſted the Shoar of *Groenland* from the 21ſt to the 30th, having the Sea all open towards the Weſt, and the Land on the Star-board ſide Eaſt from me: The weather extreamly hot, and very calm: The Sun was five Degrees above the Horizon at midnight, Lat. 72 Deg. 12 Min. The Compaſs in this place varied 28 Deg. towards the Weſt.

July. The third of *July* we fell again with Ice, and on the ſixth put our Bark thorough it, ſeeing the Sea free on the Weſt ſide, and when we had ſailed five Leagues Weſt,

West, we fell with another mighty Bank of Ice, which we could not pass, and therefore returning again, we got clear on the eighth at midnight, and recovered the open Sea thro' God's favour, by giving us fair Winds and calm weather.

On the 15th, in Lat. 67 Deg. 45 Min. a great Current set us to the West six Points from our Course.

On the 19th, we had sight of Mount *Raleigh*.

On the 30th, we crossed over the Entrance of a great In-let or Passage, being 20 Leagues broad, and situate between 62 and 63 Deg. in which place we had eight or nine great Races, Currents, or Over-falls, like the Water under *London-bridge*, and bending their Course into the said Inlet.

The 31st, in Lat. 62 Deg. coming close by a Foreland, we fell into a mighty Race, where an Island of Ice was carried by the force of the Current as fast as our Bark could sail with all Sails bearing. This Cape, as it was the Southerly Limit of the Gulph, we passed over yesterday, so was it the North Promontory or Beginning of another great Inlet, which we passed over this Night, where we saw the Sea falling down toward the Inlet, with a mighty Over-fall, and circular Motions like Whirlpools, in the same manner as forcible Streams pass thro' the Arches of Bridges.

On the 13th of *August*, as we were seeking for our Ships that went to fish, being among many Islands, we struck on a Rock, and had a great Leak. The next day we stopped our Leak in a storm, and on the 15th being in Lat. 62 Deg. 12 Min. and not finding our Ships, nor (according to their Promise) any Mark, Token, or Beckon, which I willed them to set up, and they protested to do upon every Headland or Cape within 20 Leagues every way from their fishing place, and we having but little Wood in our Ship, and half a Hogshead of fresh Water, I shaped my Course for *England*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* the 15th of *September*. *August.*

CHAP. XXIX.

The Voyage of Sir Humphry Gilbert *in the Country of* Devon, *Knight, for discovery of Countries to the Northwards of the Cape of* Florida, Anno 1583: *Written by* Edward Haies, *Capt. of the* Hind.

1583. WHen first Sir *Humphry* had procured Letters Patents from her Majesty for inhabiting such places in *America* as were not in actual Possession of some Christian Prince, many Gentlemen of good esteem associated him in so laudable an Enterprise; but when Shipping was prepared, and Men ready upon the Coast to go aboard, some failed in performing their Contracts, and others deserted who promised to accompany him, so that he was forced to put to Sea with a few of his assured Friends, where meeting with Misfortunes, and loosing one of his Ships, he returned home.

Having thus buried a great deal of Money only in a preparation, and much impaired his Estate, yet his Mind was not daunted, but continuing his purpose, granted Assignments out of his Commission to divers Persons of mean ability to plant and fortify in the North Parts of *America*, about the River of *Canada*, from whence no great matter was expected, to whom if God should give good success, he thought it would much advance the Hopes of the South; but time passing away, and nothing done by his Assigns, he was necessitated to take a Voyage in Person to keep his Patent in force, which was to expire if he got not actual possession in six Years, and four Years were then elapsed.

After many Difficulties and cross Accidents, he set out five Ships, *viz.*

The *Delight*, 120 Tuns, Admiral, wherein he went in Person.

The *Bark Raleigh*, 200 Tuns, set forth by Mr. *Walter Raleigh*.

The *Golden Hind*, 40 Tuns.

The *Swallow*, 40 Tuns.

The *Squirril*, 10 Tuns, a small Frigat for searching Creeks and Harbours.

We were in all about 260 Men, among whom were Ship-wrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smiths, Refiners and Musicians. Our Fleet assembled at *Plimouth*, where it was resolved to put to Sea before our Provision and the Summer were too far spent. But a Doubt arose whether we should begin our Discovery from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

The first seemed without controversy to be the best, because we should have the Current with us, which sets Northwards from the Cape of *Florida*, and it being now *June*, we were not to spend time in Northerly Courses, where we should be surprized with Winter, but to hasten to the South, where the Winter would be milder and shorter than in the North.

On the other side it was alledged, that since our Victuals were diminished, and not sufficient for so long a Voyage and the wintering of so many Men, we ought to shape our Course most likely to minister supply, and that was, to take *Newfoundland* in our way, which is but 700 Leagues from our own Coast, where a multitude of Ships resorting yearly to fish, and tarrying until the end of *August*, we should be abundantly supplied with Necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare and freely impart to us. This done, we might proceed Southward and follow the Sun, until we arrived at places more temperate. Whereupon it was resolved to begin our Discovery Northwards, submitting to Necessity, which must be supplied; altho' we had just reason to fear the Currents from the Cape of *Florida* towards Cape *Briton* and Cape *Rase*, would be great Impediments to our further proceeding this Year, and compell us to winter in those cold Regions, subject to continual Fogs, thick Mists, and tempestuous weather.

On the 10th day of *June*, we sailed from *Plimouth*, and on the 13th the Vice-admiral signified unto us, that the Captain and many of the Men were fallen sick and about midnight they forsook us, altho' we had the Wind at East, fair and good: I could never understand the reason. It was afterwards reported, that they were infected with some contagious distemper, and arrived greatly distressed at *Plimouth*. I am confident no cost was spared by Mr. *Raleigh*, their Owners, in setting forth; therefore I leave it unto God.

By this time we were in 48 Deg. of Latitude, not a little grieved at the loss of the most puissant Ship in our fleet, after whose departure the *Golden Hind* removed her Flag from the Mizen to the Fore-top.

From the 15th of *June* to the 28th, we never had a fair day, without Fog or Rain, and contrary Winds, most part at W. N. W. whereby we were driven Southward to 41 Deg.

At this time of the Year, the Winds about *Newfoundland* are commonly within two Points of the West, either to the North or South, which makes the Course thither to be long and tedious after *June*, which in *March*, *April*, and *May*, hath been performed from *England* in less than 22 Days. We had the Wind so scant, that our traverse was great, running to almost 41 Deg. South, and then to 51 Deg. North: We were also so pester'd with Fogs and Misty, that we lost Company of the *Swallow* and *Squirrel*.

About 50 Leagues on this side *Newfoundland*, we passed the Bank, which is a high Ground or Mountain under Water, beginning in 52 or 53 Deg. Northwards, and extending to 42 Deg. Southward. Its breadth is in some places more, in some less; we found it about 10 Leagues over where we passed. There is seldom less than 25 or 30 Fathom Water upon it, but we had no Ground on either side, with almost 200 Fathom of Line. While the *The Bank of Newfoundland.*

Fiſhing Seaſon laſts, a Man may know without ſounding when he is upon the Bank, by the incredible number of Sea-fowls hovering over it, to prey upon the Offal's of Fiſh thrown out by Fiſhermen, and floating on the Sea. The *Portugueze* and *French* have a mighty trade of fiſhing on this Bank.

On the 30th of *July* we had ſight of Land, which we could not well diſcern by reaſon of the great Fog upon the Coaſt. We followed the Coaſt to the Southward until we came to the Bay of *Conception*, where we met again with the *Swallow*, and wondred to find all her Men in other Apparel. They hapned to meet with a *French* Veſſel homeward bound, and therefore deſired the Captain to give them leave to go aboard the ſaid Veſſel to borrow ſuch Proviſion as might be ſpared. Leave given, with ſtrict charge to deal favourably, they entred, and rifled her of Tackle, Sails, Cables, and rob'd the Men of their Cloaths, winding Cords about their Heads to make them diſcover what they had hidden. As they were returning in their Boat, the over-ſet by the Ships ſide, and ſome of them were drowned, the reſt were ſaved: and delivered ſafely aboard the *Swallow* by thoſe poor Creatures whom they had ſo barbarouſly uſed. They had alſo newly taken a *French* Veſſel laden with Wines, and another with Salt, both which we ſet at liberty, and taking the *Swallow* with us, we held on our Courſe Southerly until we came to the Harbour of St. *John's*, where we found the *Squirril* at Anchor: There were then of all Nations within the Harbour 36 Sail. The Maſters of the *Engliſh* Ships came aboard to know the cauſe of our Arrival there; the General ſhewed his Commiſſion to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries for the Crown of *England*, and advancement of Chriſtian Religion, requiring their lawful aid for repairing his Fleet, and ſupply of ſome Neceſſaries ſo far as might conveniently be afforded him, out of that and other Harbours adjoining. in recompence whereof he offe to gratify them with any Favour and Priviledge they ſhould demand, which they could not expect to obtain hereafter upon ſuch reaſonable Terms. The Maſters promiſed to uſe their beſt endeavour to ſatisfy his reaſonable requeſt, and departed.

Every Ship of our Fleet was order'd to deliver to the Maſters of Ships in the Harbour, a Note of all their Wants, and Commiſſioners were appointed, part of our own Company and part of theirs to go into the adjoining Harbours, and levy our Proviſion, who were to tax all Ships as well *Engliſh* as Strangers, at an eaſy rate to ſupply us; the *Portugals* above other Nations, did moſt willingly and liberally contribute.

On the fifth of *Auguſt* the General had his Tent ſet up, and being well accompanied, ſummoned the Merchants and Maſters, both *Engliſh* and Strangers, to be preſent at his taking poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, before whom was openly read and interpreted his Commiſſion, by virtue whereof he took poſſeſſion of the ſaid Harbour of St. *John's*, and 200 Leagues every way, and (after the cuſtom of *England*) had a Rod and Turf of the ſame Soil delivered to him in token of poſſeſſion of the ſame, for him, his Heirs, and Aſſigns for ever; and ſignified unto all Men that from that time forward, they ſhould take the ſame Land as a Territory appertaining to the Queen of *England*, and that all Perſons coming thither hereafter to inhabit or traffick, ſhould be governed by ſuch Laws as he ſhould ordain, which ſhould be agreeable (as near as conveniently might be) to the Laws of *England*; and for a beginning, declared three Laws to be in force immediately. Firſt, For Religion, which in publick Exerciſe, ſhould be according to the Church of *England*. Secondly, For maintenance of her Majeſties Right and Poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, againſt which, if any thing were attempted, the Party offending to be executed as in caſe of high Treaſon. Thirdly, If any Perſon ſhould utter Words to the diſhonour of her Majeſty, he ſhould looſe his Ears, and (if a Merchant or Maſter of a Ship) to have his Ship and Goods confiſcate.

After Publication, Obedience was promiſed as well by Strangers as *Engliſh*, praying for continuance of this new Government. The Arms of *England* alſo were engraven in Lead and fixed on a Pillar of Wood; and the General granted in fee farm divers parcels of Land by the Water-ſide, whereby the Owners were for the future aſſured of a convenient place to dreſs and dry their Fiſh in, whereof before they were prevented by them that came firſt into the Harbour, for which they covenanted to pay a certain yearly Rent to Sir *Humphry* and his Aſſigns.

We had with us one *Daniel* a *Saxon*, well skilled in Minerals, who brought a parcel of Ore to the General, and proteſted that if Silver were the thing which might ſatisfy him and his Followers, there it was, and adviſed him to ſeek no farther, offering to engage his life upon it, which (he ſaid) was as dear to him as the Crown of *England* to her Majeſty.

I was not ſatisfied with this confident Aſſertion of the Refiner, but took occaſion to ask the General's opinion therein: He anſwered, *Content your ſelf, I have ſeen enough, and were I only to ſatisfy my own private humour, I would no further, but the Promiſe I made my Friends to diſcover the South Countries within Compaſs, now near expired, does alone induce me to go further; and as to the Ore, I have ſent it aboard, and would have no talk made of it while we are in harbour, where ſo many* Portugals, Biſcains, *and* French-*men are: When we are at Sea, proof ſhall be made, and if it anſwer our Expectations, we may the ſooner return again.*

While ſome of us were occupied in providing neceſſaries for our Voyage, others were watching for an opportunity when the Captains lay aſhoar, to ſteal away with our Ships by night; others got away in a Ship laden with Fiſh, which they ſeized in an adjoining Harbour, and ſet the poor Men aſhoar; many hid themſelves in the Woods, watching an opportunity to return home by ſuch ſhipping as daily departed from the Coaſt; ſome were ſick of Fluxes, and licenced by the General to return, and many dead; ſo that upon a review we found our Company ſo diminiſhed, that we wanted Men to furniſh our Ships; wherefore the General thought good to leave the *Swallow* with ſuch proviſion as could be ſpared, to carry home the ſick People.

Our Ships being now ready, *viz.* the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, wherein was the General, we departed from St. *Johns* the 20th of *Auguſt*. which we found by exact Obſervation to be in 47 Deg. 40 Min. and the next day were at Cape *Race*, 25 Leagues S. S. W. from St. *Johns*, it is a low Land, in Latitude 46 Deg. 25 Min. Thence we ſhaped our courſe for the Iſle of *Sabion*, lying about 25 Leagues to Seaward of Cape *Briton*, upon intelligence given us by a *Portugueſe* at St. *Johns*, who told us that he was there 30 Years paſt, when the *Portugals* left in the ſame Iſland both Neat and Swine to breed, which were ſince exceedingly multiplied. This ſeemed happy tidings to us, to have ſuch ſtore of Cattle in an Iſland ſo near the place we intended to plant upon, from whence we might be ſupplied with Victuals for the preſent and the future.

From Cape *Race* to Cape *Briton* is 87 Leagues, in which Navigation, we ſpent eight days with indifferent good Winds, and never had ſight of Land, being hindred by the Current; at laſt we fell among ſuch Flats that it was a wonder any Ship eſcaped.

I ſhall ſet down the beſt Reckonings that were kept by expert Men the Maſter and Mate of the *Hind*, in our Courſe from Cape *Race* towards Cape *Briton* and the Iſland of *Sablon*.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt	14 Leagues.	
23.	W. by S.	25	
24.	W. N. W.	25	
25.	W. N. W.	9	
26.	S. S. W.	10	
27.	S. W.	12	
28.	S. S. W.	10	
Auguſt 29.	W. N. W.	12	Here we loſt the (*Delight.*
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The Maſter's Mate's Reckoning.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt	14 Leagues.	
23.	N.W.by W.	9	
24.	S. W. by S.	5	
25.	W. by S.	40	
26.	W. by N.	7	
27.	S. W.	3	
28.	S. W.	9	
	S. W.	7	
	W. S. W.	7	
29.	N.W.by W.	20	Here we loſt the *Delight.*
		121	

On the 17th of *Auguſt* we had 35 Fathom, white Sand, Lat. 44 Deg.

The 28th, the Wind came South, and we followed the *Delight*, who bare with the Land all that Night, contrary to the mind of the Maſter of the *Hind*, who could not perſwade them to hold other Courſe, they alledging they could not make the Ship work better, nor to lie otherways.

The

The Evening was fair and pleasant, tho' not without token of Storms approaching: They in the *Delight* sounded their Trumpets, and winded their Cornets. The next day being the 29th of *August*, the Wind blew vehemently at S. by E. with Rain and thick Mists, that
The Delight lost. we could not see a Cable's length before us, and finding our selves encompassed with Flats and Sands, we made signs to the *Delight* to cast about to Seaward, but they kept so ill a Watch, that they knew not the danger before they felt it, and striking upon a Breach, her Stern was soon beaten in pieces; whereupon the General in the *Squirrel* and we in the *Hind* cast about to Seaward, it not being in our power to give them any succour, the Sea going mightily high, yet all that day and part of the next, we beat up and down as near the Wreck as was possible, looking out to see if perhaps any of them had saved themselves in Boats, or upon Rafters, or other ways. There perished in her near 100 Men, among whom was a learned *Hungarian* born in *Buda*, who out of Piety and Zeal to good Attempts, adventured in this Action, intending to record in the *Latin* Tongue such things as should happen in this Voyage worthy of remembrance. Here also perished our *Saxon* Refiner and Discoverer of inestimable Riches, as many of us were fully perswaded; also Captain *Maurice Brown*, a virtuous, honest and discreet Gentleman.

As God would have it, the day before was very calm, and a Souldier having killed a Fowl with his Piece, desired the Boat might be hoised out to fetch it, which was granted, and was not hoised in again that Night, and when the Ship was cast away, the Boat was astern, being
Miraculous Deliverance. in burthen about a Tun and a half; there was left in the Boat one Oar, and nothing else. Some of the Company that could swim, recovered the Boat, and haled as many Men out of the Water as they could, but especially watched for the Captain or the Master, the first of which they could never see, but got hold of the Master, and when 16 were in the Boat, they cut off the Rope, and committed themselves to God's mercy, destitute of Food, and not a drop of fresh Water, but were forced to drink their own Urine, without any other sustenance for six days together.

After this heavy chance, we in the *Hind* and *Squirrel* continued beating up and down, expecting when the weather would clear up, that we might bear in with the Land. The *Squirrel*'s Company being pinched with short allowance and want of Cloaths, besought the General to return for *England* before all perished; whereupon moved with compassion towards his poor Men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of means to perform the Action, he resolved to return, and calling the Captain and Master of the *Hind*, he gave them many Reasons inforcing his unexpected return, withal protesting himself satisfied with what he had seen and known already, reiterating these Words, *Be content, we have seen enough, and take no care of Expence past; if God send us safe home, I will set you forth royally the next Spring, therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the Elements.* So upon the 31st of *August* in the
They return. Afternoon we changed our Course and returned for *England*, at which very instant, just as we were winding about, there passed between us towards the Land, a very
A Sea Monster. Lion to our thinking, in Shape, Hair, and Colour, with his whole Body in sight except the Legs; he turned his Head to and fro, shewing his long Teeth and glaring Eyes, and coming right against the *Hind*, he roared much like a Lion. The General took it for a good *Omen*, rejoicing that he was to war against such an Enemy, if it were the Devil.

The second of *September* we passed in sight of Cape *Race*; the General came aboard the *Hind*, which was our last meeting. He much lamented the loss of his great Ship, and of his Books and Notes, and something else for which he was out of measure grieved, which I could not draw from him, but I guess it to be the Ore which *Daniel* the *Saxon* brought to him in *Newfoundland*, the remembrance whereof touched him so deep, that he at the same time beat his Boy in a great rage, because when he was formerly sent aboard the *Delight* to fetch some things, this, being the chief, was forgotten and left behind; after which time he never had an opportunity of sending again.

The General at our first setting out, had no good opinion of these Northern Parts, and was willing to grant Assignments to such as required them, whereas now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any Grants, especially of St. *John's*, which some *English* Merchants made suit for, offering to employ their Money and Travel upon the same; yet neither by their own Suit, nor of others of his Company, whom he was willing to pleasure, could it be obtained.

Also speaking of his Resolution to reattempt this Voyage the next Spring, he assigned the South part to the Captain and Master of the *Hind*, and reserved the North to himself, affirming that this Voyage had won his Heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northern Man altogether. And when we asked him what Means he had at his arrival in *England*, to compass the Charges of such an Expedition, he determining upon two Fleets, one for the North, and another for the South: Leave that to me (he replied) I will ask a Penny of no Man; I will bring good Tidings to her Majest, who will be so gracious to lend me 10000*l.* willing us therefore to be of good cheer, for he thanked God, he said, with all his Heart for what he had seen, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seek any further. These last Words he would often repeat with great fervency, being very confident and setled in belief of inestimable good by this Voyage; but the greater number of his Followers were of a contrary opinion.

The Captain, Master, and others of the *Hind*, endeavoured to perswade him to sail in her, and not to venture in the *Squirrel*, which was over-charged with Nettings and small Artillery, more for shew than safety, being too cumberson for so small a Boat, and was afterward the occasion of her loss; but his answer was, I will not forsake my little Company, with whom I have passed so many Storms and Perils. When we saw we could not divert him from his Resolution, we supplied him with Provision out of the *Hind*, and setting him aboard the *Squirrel*, committed him to God's protection, we being then more than 300 Leagues on our way home.

When we came into the Latitude of 50 Deg. we met with very foul weather, the Seas breaking short and high like Pyramids, so that those aboard us who had used the Sea all their life-time, never saw more terrible Seas. We had also upon our Main-yard, an Apparition of a little Fire by Night, which Seamen call a *Corpusant*, or *Castor* and *Pollux*, and is usually seen in great Sorms. We had only one, which is commonly believed to be a sign of more tempest to come. *Castor* and *Pollux.*

On *Munday* the 6th of *September*, in the Afternoon the *Squirrel* was near cast away, oppressed by Waves, yet at that time recovered, and shewed signs of Joy. The General sitting abaft with a Book in his Hand, cried out unto us in the *Hind*, as oft as we approached within hearing, *We are as near to Heaven by Sea as by Land*, Reitering the same Speech, well beseeming a resolute Soldier of *Jesus Christ*.

The same Night about twelve a clock, the *Squirrel* being a head of us, suddenly her Lights were out, and our Watch cried out, the General was cast away, which proved too true. Yet we still looked out all that Night, and ever after till our arrival in *England*. After much bad weather, we arrived in *Falmouth* the 22d of *September*, 1583. *Sir Humphry Gilbert drowned.*

A Relation of Richard Clark, *Master of the* Delight, *written to vindicate himself from the fault of casting away the Ship, imputed to his Oversight.*

DEparting from St. *Johns* Harbour the 20th of *August* unto Cape *Raze*, from thence we directed our Course to the Isle of *Sablon*, but when we came within 20 Leagues of it, the General came up in his Frigat, and demanded of me what course was best to keep; I said that W. S. W. was best, because the Wind was at South and Night at hand, and unknown Sands lay off a great way from the Land. The General commanded me to go W. N. W. I told him that the Isle of *Sablon* was W. N. W. and but 15 Leagues off, and that he should be upon the Island before day if he went that course. The General said my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her Majesties Name, and as I would shew my self in her Country, to follow him that Night. I fearing his threatnings, because he represented her Majesties Person, obeyed his command, and about seven in the Morning

ing the Ship ſtruck aground and was caſtaway. Sixteen of us got into the Boat, which was ſo little, and ſo crouded with Men, that we expected every moment to be ſwallowed by the Sea. When we had remained in this condition two Days and two Nights, and ſaw that it pleaſed God that our Boat ſtill lived in the Sea, and might bring ſome of us to Land, if not over-charged: One *Headly* a Souldier made a motion that all but my ſelf ſhould caſt Lots, and thoſe four which had the ſhorteſt Lots, ſhould be thrown over-board; but I refuſed, and adviſed to abide God's pleaſure, who was able to ſave all as well as a few. He then asked me if my remembrance was good; I replied, I gave God praiſe it was good, and that I knew how far I was from the Land, where I hoped we ſhould come within two or three Days, and to put them in comfort, told them it was but 60 Leagues, altho' it were 70. Thus we continued the third and fourth day, without any ſuſtenance, but Weeds that ſwam on the Sea, and ſalt Water to drink. The fifth day *Headly* died, and one more; then we all deſired to die, being pinched with hunger, and the weather ſo foul, that in all theſe five days we ſaw the Sun but once, and the Stars but one Night. Thus we remained the ſixth day, and the Company were very importunate, and doubted they ſhould never come to Land; I comforted them as well as I could, and promiſed they ſhould come to land the next day, or elſe they ſhould caſt me over-board; and accordingly the ſeventh day at eleven we had ſight of the South part of *Newfoundland*, and at three came athoar. All theſe ſeven days the Wind kept at South; had it ſhifted we had never got to Land (having but one Oar) and the Wind came up at North within half an Hour after our arrival. We were ſo weak that one could ſcarce help another out of the Boat, yet with much ado, being all come athoar, we kneeled down and praiſed God that he had dealt ſo mercifully with us. Then the ſtrongeſt helpt the reſt to freſh Brook, where we ſatisfied our ſelves with Water and Berries very well. We made a little Houſe with Boughs, where we reſted that Night: In the Morning I diſperſed the Company three and three to ſeek every way for Food, appointing them to meet all again at Noon. They found great ſtore of Peaſe, as good as we have in *England*, wherewith having refreſhed our ſelves three days, and made new Oars, we rowed along the Shoar five days, and when we were hungry, went athoar and gathered Peaſe and Berries. At laſt we hapned on a Ship of *St. John de Luz*, which brought us to *Biſcay*; the Maſter was our Friend, or elſe we had been put to death; for when the Viſitors came aboard, as is the cuſtom in *Spain*, they demanding what we were, he ſaid we were poor Fiſher-men, who had loſt our Ship in *Newfoundland*, and ſo they enquired no more. As ſoon as Night was come, he put us on Land, bidding us ſhift for our ſelves; we had not above ten or twelve Miles into *France*, which we walked that Night, and were then out of danger, and ſhortly after came into *England* toward the end of the Year 1583.

An Account of Sir Humphry Gilbert's *Voyage to* Newfoundland: *Written by* Stephanus Parmenus Budeus.

To the Reverend Mr. *Richard Hakluyt*, Maſter of Arts and Philoſophy at *Chriſt* Church in *Oxford*.

My Friend and Brother,

I had not purpoſed to write to you, when the Promiſe of your Letters came to my mind; you had thoughts of following us your ſelf in *June* laſt, and therefore I deſired Doctor *Humphry* to acquaint you how it was with me; But that not ſatisfying you, I ſhall repeat the ſame, having no leiſure at this time to multiply words.

On the 11th of *June*, we did at laſt ſet ſail from *Plimouth* in good earneſt, our Fleet conſiſting of five Ships, the greateſt of which the * Admiral's Brother had lent us, withdrew her ſelf from us the third day, we know not upon what occaſion; the reſt of us kept company till the 23d of *July*, at which time the great Miſts intercepting our ſight, we were diſperſed. Our Ship being alone, we deſcried Land the firſt of *Auguſt*, about the Latitude of 50 Deg. after we had run beyond the Latitude of 41 Deg. in hope of Southerly Winds, which did not blow at that time, as uſually.

* Mr. Rawleigh.

The Iſland is by the *Engliſh* called *Pengwin*, becauſe of the multitude of Birds of the ſame name; but we ſaw no Birds, nor came near the Land, the Wind being fair for our deſigned Port, where, by the goodneſs of God, and to our great Joy, we arrived in two hours. The place is ſituate in *Newfoundland*, between 47 and 48 Deg. call'd St. *Johns*. The Ship's Company aboard the Admiral, were ſomewhat ſickly, by reaſon of the multitude of Men and ſmalneſs of the Ship, and two of them were dead of a Flux, of the reſt we have good hope. Of our Ship's Company (for I am ſhipp'd aboard *Maurice Brown*, a gallant young Gentleman) two were caſually drowned, the reſt are in ſafety, and ſtrong, and as for my own part, I was never more healthy. We arrived here the third of *Auguſt*, and on the fifth the Admiral took poſſeſſion of the Country, for himſelf and the Kingdom of *England*, ordaining and publiſhing certain Laws concerning Religion, and Obedience to the Queen of *England*. At preſent our Fare is ſomewhat better and daintier than it was before; and Experience having taught us what contrary Winds we have met with, and what we may yet feel, we ſhall take order that nothing be wanting. We found in this place about 20 *Portugal* and *Spaniſh* Ships, beſides *Engliſh*, who being inferiour to us in Power, muſt not let us ſuffer by Hunger. The *Engliſh*, altho' they were ſtrong enough, and ſafe from our Force, yet ſeeing our Authority under the Queen's Letters Patents, they ſhewed us all manner of Duty and Humanity.

The Country and Manners of the People remain next to be ſpoken of: But what ſhall I ſay; my *Hakluyt*, when I ſee nothing but a vaſt Wilderneſs? Of Fiſh here is an incredible plenty; from whence ariſes great profit to the Undertakers: The Hook ſcarce reaches the bottom, before ſome goodly Fiſh is taken. The whole Land is full of Hills and Woods: The Trees are for the moſt part of Pines, whereof ſome are decayed, and others ſpringing up. Many of the old being fallen down, ſtop the way, and hinder the ſight of Travellers, that they cannot go forward. The Graſs and Herbs are long and tall, little differing from ours. Nature it ſelf ſeems to endeavour the Production of Corn; for I found ſome Blades and Ears in a manner bearded, ſo that by manuring and ſowing, they might eaſily be made fit for the uſe of man. The Buſhes and Strawberries ſpringing up in the Woods, caſt a pleaſant odour. Bears do ſometimes appear about the Fiſhermens Cottages, and are three killed, but they ſeem by their Skins to be white, and are leſs than ours. Whether there be any People in the Country is uncertain; I could never meet with any Man that had ſeen any, and indeed how is it poſſible he ſhould, when the Country is impaſſible. For the ſame reaſon it is unknown whether the Mountains contain any Metals, altho' the colour of them ſeems to promiſe ſome Mines in them. We moved the Admiral to fire the Woods, that we might march and view the Country; which Motion did not diſpleaſe him, had it not been for fear of great inconvenience that might enſue; for it was reported and confirmed by very credible Perſons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the Fiſh never came near the place in ſeven Years after, by reaſon of the Water being made bitter by the Turpentine and Roſin of the Trees, which ran into the Rivers. The Weather is now ſo hot, that unleſs the Fiſh which is laid out to be dried in the Sun, be every day turned, it will be parched and ſpoiled. How cold it is in Winter, the great Mountains of Ice in the midſt of the Sea, have taught us. Some of our Company report, that in *May* they have been incloſed with Ice 16 days together, ſome of which Iſlands of Ice were 60 Fathoms high, and when the ſides next the Sun were melted, it would ſo alter the ballance of them, that the bottom part would riſe upward, to the great Peril of thoſe that were near them. The Air upon the Land is indifferently clear, but at Sea towards the Eaſt are nothing but perpetual Miſts; and in the Sea about the Bank (40 Leagues diſtant from ſhoar) there is no day without Rain.

When we have ſupplied our Neceſſity in this place, we purpoſe by the help of God to paſs towards the South, with ſo much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of thoſe Countries we intend to diſcover: So much to our preſent condition.

Now I deſire to know ſomewhat of your Affairs, but I fear in vain, and chiefly I deſire to know how my Patron Mr. *Henry Umpton* bears my abſence. My Obedience and Duty ſhall always be ready towards him as long

as I live; and I hope this our Voyage will answer his Expectations. It remains that you believe me to be ſtill yours, and ſo yours as no Man more. The Son of God bleſs all our Labours, ſo far as that you alſo may partake of them. Adieu moſt friendly, moſt ſweet and moſt virtuous *Haklayt*, from St. *John's-Port* in *Newfoundland*, the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1583.

Yours, *Stephen Parmenius* of *Buda*.

CHAP. XXX.

An Extract of divers Voyages attempted by English *Navigators, at the Charge of the* Muſcovia *Company, for Diſcoveries towards the North Pole.*

The Voyage of Mr George Weymouth

1602. *Anno* 1602, the *Muſcovia* Company did ſet forth two Fly-boats, of 70 and 60 Tuns, victualled for a Year and a half, to diſcover the North-weſt Paſſage, under the command of Mr. *George Weymouth*, who departing from *Redclif* the ſecond of *May*, met with ſo much Ice, Froſt and Fog in the middle of *July*, in Lat. 68, 53, that his Men being diſcouraged, would proceed no further, alledging this reaſon, That if it were granted, they might winter between 60 and 70 Degrees of Latitude, with ſafety of their Lives and Veſſels, yet it would be in *May* next before they could unmore them and launch them into the Sea again; and therefore if the Merchants would proceed in the diſcovery of theſe North-weſt Parts of *America*, their Ships might be in the ſaid Latitudes from *England* by the firſt of *May*, and ſo be better furniſhed with Men and Victuals to proceed in the Action: Whereupon they ſhaped their Courſe for *England*, and arrived at *Dartmouth* the fifth of *September*.

The Voyage of Mr. John Knight.

1606. *Anno* 1606, the ſaid Company did ſet out a Bark of 40 Tuns, for diſcovery of a Northweſt Paſſage, under the command of Mr. *John Knight*, who departing from *Graveſend* the 18th of *April*, deſcried *America* on the 19th of *June*, Lat. 56 Deg. 48 Min.

The 24th it blew a Storm at North, and ſo much Ice came in, that their Rudder was driven from their Stern; ſo that they were forced to hale into a Cove, to ſave their Cloaths, Furniture and Victuals, and when the Ship was a-ground, worked hard in getting the Water out of her, ſtopping her Leaks, and ſaving as much Bread as they could, whilſt others were buſied in building a Shallop.

The 26th, in the Morning the Maſter, his Mate, and four more took the Boat, carrying with them four Piſtols, three Muſkets, five Swords and two half-Pikes, to go over to a great Iſland, not above a Mile from the Ship, to ſearch for a better place to mend their Ship. When they were gone to the other ſide, the Maſter, his Mate and two more went on ſhoar, leaving two Men in the Boat, with one Muſket, one Sword, and a half Pike, to keep it, who ſtaied in the Boat from ten in the Morning till eleven at Night, but could hear no news of them after they went up the Hill. Then the Trumpeter ſounded two or three times, and the other diſcharged his Muſket as often, and ſo returned to the Company on the other ſide, who ſeeing no more than two, enquired for the Maſter and the reſt, and were anſwered, that they could tell no news of them after their departure out of the Boat, but that they ſaw them go up the top of the Iſland. Which report ſtruck them all with great fear, conſidering the extremity they were in, wanting their Maſter and three of their beſt Men, and their Ship lay ſunk, ſo that they had nothing to truſt to but their Shallop, which was not half finiſhed. They lay aſhoar that Night in a Tent between two Rocks, keeping a good watch, and hoping that if the Maſter and his Company ſhould travel, ſo far that they could not come again before Night, they would fire a Muſket, and our People might hear them.

Mr. Knight with three more taken by the Savages.

The next day it was reſolved that ſeven of them ſhould go over in the Boat, with Muſkets, Swords, and Targets, to try if they could ſee or hear of the Maſter and his Company, whom they feared were ſurpriſed by Savages, or devoured by wild Beaſts; but when they came to the Sea ſide, they could not get over for Ice, and ſo returned to the Ship, to ſave what things they could that day.

The next day being fair weather, they got all things out of the Ship, and made her clean in hold, keeping her as light as they could, that ſhe might not beat and bruiſe her Hull, becauſe ſhe lay upon hard Rocks. At nine at Night it began to rain, and continued all Night, and about one, the Boatſwain and Steward being upon the watch, the Steward went aboard to pump, leaving the Boatſwain at watch about a Muſket ſhot from the Tent. While he was pumping, many of the Country People came over the Rocks towards the place where the Boatſwain was, who when they ſaw him, ſhot their Arrows at him, running towards him as faſt as they could; whereupon he diſcharged his Muſket at them, and fled to the Tent. The Steward hearing the Muſket go off, came out of the Ship, and perceiving the Savages to run towards the Shallop, cried out to thoſe that were aſleep in the Tent, to haſten to the reſcue of the Boatſwain and Shallop. They made what haſt they could, but before they could get to the Shallop, the Savages were got into it; whereupon they ſent two of their Men back to the Tent, and the reſt, being eight Men and a great Dog, advanced towards them, the Dog formoſt, and diſcharging three or four Muſkets at them as they ſtood in the Shallop, they held up their Hands, calling to one another, and then ran away toward their Boats. They were about 50 little People, tawny, thin Beards and flat Noſes. Their Boats were very large, and as they were rowing away they ſtuck faſt in the Ice, which the *Engliſh* perceiving, went as near as they could, and made about a dozen ſhot at them before they could get clear, which made them to cry out bitterly.

The Savages aſſault our Men in the Night.

Deſcription of the Savages.

The 29th was ſpent in getting ſuch things aboard as they could, leſt the Savages ſhould return in a greater number and beſet them. Then all hands went to work with Axes and Pickaxes, to break the Ice and make way for the Ship, and the next Night they got her out, and with Oars rowed her away among the broken Ice, with little hopes of recovering their Country, ſhe being very leaky, and no Rudder to ſteer her. This labour continued till the third of *July*, when faſtening the Ship to an Iſland of Ice, they went to work in ſtowing their things to make her ſtiff, there being no Ballaſt in her. The Carpenter made what ſhift he could to hang the Rudder: They broke the Maſter's Cheſt, and with the Iron Bands of it, made faſt two Pickaxes for two Pintels; ſo as that Night they hanged the Rudder, having but two Pintels and a Cable thro' the middle of it, to keep it to with two Tacks.

Pintels are Iron Pins faſtned to the Rudder to hang it to the Sternpoſt.

The next day they diſcovered a great Leak cloſe abaft their fore-Foot, where the Keel was ſplintered in two or three places, and the Sea came running in ſo faſt, that it was not poſſible to keep her free with both Pumps, and they could not come to ſtop it, becauſe it was under the Timbers; whereupon they baſted their main Bonnet with Occum, and put it over-board right againſt the Leak, which

which eaſed them 4 or 500 ſtrokes in an hour. It was then reſolved to ſhape their courſe towards *Newfoundland*, hoping to meet with ſome *Engliſh* or *French*, and on the 24th of *July* they ſpied about a dozen Shallops, who were fiſhing two Leagues from them, who conducted them to the Bay of *Fogo*, where they continued till the 22d of *Auguſt* in repairing their Ship and refreſhing themſelves; and then putting to Sea, arrived at *Dartmouth* the 20th of *September*, 1606, from whence they wrote to the Owners at *London*, of the loſs of the Maſter and his three Companions, and of the doleful ſucceſs of the Voyage.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Voyages of Mr. Jonas Pool.

1609. I Weighed from *Blackwall* the firſt of *March*, 1609, in a Ship called the *Amity*, of 70 Tuns, having 14 Men and one Boy. On the 23d of *May* I was within three Leagues of Cape *Cold* in *Greenland*, in 78 Deg. 43 Min. I am fully perſwaded that a Paſſage may be as ſoon attained this way by the Pole, as any other way whatſoever, by reaſon of the great heat of the Sun in this Climate; and I obſerved the Ice here to be nothing ſo big as I have ſeen in 73 Deg.

The firſt of *June* we ſaw near 100 Morſes ſleeping upon a little rocky Iſland, as we went towards them, we eſpied ſome Deer, whereof we killed four, but when we came to the Rock, the Ice that the *Morſes* lay on was hollow and ſloping, and while we were killing them, it broke, and Ice and Morſes ſlid into the Sea together, carrying one of our Men with it, who was much bruiſed, not only by the weight of dead Morſes and Ice, but by the Morſes that were alive, who ſtruck at him in the Water. We ſaw great ſtore of Deer in this Country, which have neither Buſh nor Trees to ſhelter them from the nipping cold of Winter, of whom we killed 37, beſides the four before-mentioned, moſt of them two or three Inches thick of fat on the Haunches. There is alſo great ſtore of Fowl in this Country, of which we killed ſome, and we alſo killed above 20 Bears.

41 Deer killed.

I found the Air here to be temperate, and not near ſo cold as I found at *Cherie*-Iſland, in five ſeveral Voyages, altho' the Iſland be five Degrees more ſoutherly.

The 23d, at a North Sun I was near *Black-point*, which hath many ſunken Rocks on the Southermoſt end of it, therefore you muſt come no nearer than 25 Fathoms.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* I ſtood for *England*, and arrived at *London* the 21ſt, bleſſed be God, for ever and ever.

The Second Voyage of Jonas Pool, *for the diſcovery of* Greenland, *and towards the Weſt of it: Set forth by the* Muſcovia *Company*, Anno Dom. 1611.

1611. WE ſailed from *Blackwall* the 11th of *April*, with four Ships, *viz.* the *Mary Margaret* of 150 Tuns, 49 Men and Boys; the *Elizabeth* (whereof I *Jonas Pool* was Maſter) of 60 Tuns, 18 Men and Boys; the *Amity*, 70 Tuns, 24 Men and Boys; the *Reſolution*, 16 Men and Boys. The *Mary Margaret* was appointed to kill Whales, for which purpoſe ſhe had ſix Men of St. *John de Luz*, with all things fitting for that purpoſe: The *Elizabeth* was ordered to keep her company as far as *Greenland*, and thence to ſearch thoſe Seas for a Paſſage towards the Pole: The *Reſolution* was bound to S. *Nicholas*, in hope to make two Voyages thither this Year; but before we were as far as the Latitude of 65, we were all ſeparated by foul weather. The *Elizabeth* was ſtoked, that the Water that was in her could not come to the Pump, but lay upon the Ballaſt, whereby we could bear no ſail to keep the *Mary Margaret* company.

I came to *Cherie*-Iſland the 13th of *May*, where I ſtaid till the 16th of *June*, in which time we ſet up our Shallop, and ranged ſome part of the Coaſt. We had a Storm at South, which ſunk our Shallop, and I ſaw the Ice lie cloſe to the Land in 80 Deg. wherefore perceiving it impoſſible to paſs that way, and there running very ſtrong Tides, in which it is dangerous dealing with the Ice, I ſtood to the ſouthwards along the ſaid Ice, to ſee if I could find the Sea open that way, and ſo get to the weſtward of it; but I found it to lie S. S. W. and ran along it about 120 Leagues, at which time I ſuppoſed my ſelf near *Hold with Hope* in *Groenland*. I ran near 40 Leagues to the Weſtward of the Eaſtermoſt part of the ſaid Land, as it is laid down, and by my account was to the Southward of it, near the Latitude of 74 Degrees, where I ſaw many Whales by the ſides of the Ice. We commonly ſounded every Watch, but had no ground at 200 Fathoms.

80 Degrees.

The 27th of *June*, the Wind coming to the North, I ſtood for *Cherie*-Iſland, where I arrived the 29th, and ſaw about 300 Morſes on Land, but a ſtorm coming, they went all into the Sea.

The 12th of *July*, we killed above 200, and laded the Ship with their Fat, Hides, and Teeth.

On the 25th at Night, I went aſhoar, and met with ſome of the *Mary Margaret*'s Men, who told me that their Ship was caſt away in *Greenland*, and that Captain *Edge*, with Mr. *Bennet* the Maſter, and others, to the number of 30 Perſons, were arrived on the South ſide of the Iſland in three Boats. I took them in, and at Night ſet ſail for *Greenland*, where I anchored near the *Mary Margaret* on the third of *Auguſt*, and found there a Ship of *Hull*, whereof one *Marmaduke* was Maſter, who had killed above 130 Morſes, which Mr. *Edge* left on Land when he came from thence in the Boats aforeſaid, and we intended to kill at our arrival. As ſoon as the Ship was moored, we got out our Blubber, and ſent it aſhoar to be made into Oyl, and followed our work till the 17th, at which time having Oyl by the Ships ſide, we put out all the Blubber which was in Hold, ſave two Tuns and a half, not doubting but the Ship had Ballaſt enough in her, there being 12 Tun of Hides (which were the chief cauſe of the loſe of the Ship) and nine Tun of Oyl, and ſeven Tun of Ballaſt, beſides half a Tun of Stones, a Hogſhead and a Barrel of Teeth, in all about 29 Tuns, which to any Man's judgment had been ſufficient to ſhift a Bark of 60 Tuns; but as the laſt *But* went out of her, the Ship began to heel, and withal a great many Men went to leeward, there being above 40 aboard; whereupon the Hides in the Hold ſlid to leeward, and brought her altogether down, and then every Man ſhifted to ſave his life: I being then far from the Hatches, could not get up ſo ſoon as others did. I ſaw death before mine Eyes two ways; if I ſtaid in Hold I was ſure to be drowned, and if I went up the Hatches, I muſt run the hazard of being killed; for down at the Hatches there fell Hogſheads of Beer, and divers weighty things, the leaſt of which was ſufficient to break a Man's Bones, and in attempting to get up, I was beaten down twice and hurt; but it was not the will of God to take my life from me then, but to pluck me from the very Jaws of Death, and by ſwimming and crawling, I got into the Sea clear of the Ship, where a Boat took me up, and bleſſed be God no Man periſhed in this dangerous Accident. We being all got into three Boats, went to the *Hull* Ship, where we found but ſmall comfort, *Marmaduke* telling us plainly we ſhould not come aboard his Ship, and cauſed Pikes and Launches to be brought to keep us out. Then Mr. *Edge* and others deſired him to let me come aboard, and with much ado I got aboard with many Wounds and Bruiſes.

Mary Margaret loſt.

The Elizabeth loſt.

In this our great diſtreſs, the Maſter of the *Hull* Ship ſaid he would try if he could recover our Ship; but he deferred the time a whole week, till ſhe was full of Oze, ſo that when we came to weigh her, both her Cables burſt, and ſo we ſorrowfully left her, without hope of recovery. Then we went aboard the *Hull* Ship, which God

The Merchants Men and Friends that return in the Hull Ship.

God had prepared for our Succour, where our Merchants agreeing for the Frait, we got the Goods aboard, *viz.* about 21 Tun of Oyl, a Barrel of Bears Oyl, about ten Tun of Whale-Fins, and five Hogsheads of Morses Teeth.

The 19th of *August* we directed our Course for *England*, and arrived at *Hull* the 8th of *September*.

At our first coming to *Greenland*, the Mountains and Vallies, except some few places, were covered with Snow; but before we came away, the tops of the Hills as well as the Vallies, appeared green with Moss, and some little quantity of Grass. This Country and the adjacent Seas, are subject to thick misty weather, especially when the Sun with his forcible heat melts the Ice and Snow, whose Vapours obscure the Light of the Sun, that there is but small difference between the Day and Night.

We found many fat Deer, which we killed with our Pieces and Dogs: There are also many white Bears, and white, gray, and dun Foxes. We saw abundance of Fowl, as Culvidines, Sea-pidgeons, white Patridges, wild Geese, Willocks, and one we called an *Allen*, which would beat the smaller Birds when they had got any thing, till they cast up what they had eaten, which he laying hold of, devoured; and so with little Meat in their Gorges, and few Feathers on their Backs, leaves them to get more. There is store of fresh Water in every Valley, proceeding from melted Snow, and plenty of drift Wood, but not a Bush or Tree as far as we have discovered.

No Tree or Bush in Greenland.

The 3d Voyage of Jonas Pool *to* Greenland, *who was basely murthered betwixt* Ratclif *and* London, *after his return from this Voyage; set forth by the* Muscovia *Company*, A.D. 1612.

1612. WE sailed from *Blackwall* the seventh of *April* with two Ships, the *Whale* and the *Sea-horse*, and the third of *May* arrived at *Cherie*-Island, where we found a Ship of *Holland*, in which one *Allen Sallows* an *English*-man was Pilot. The next day *Sallows* went aboard our Admiral, and Master *Russel* sent for Mr. *Edge*, Mr. *Arthington*, Mr. *Mason*, and my self, where we consulted about detaining him and bringing him to *England*, but in the end he was let go.

The 5th we weighed and stood to the Westward.

The 8th we saw the *Hollander* standing with us, and at ten at Night came to us, whereupon the Admiral sent his Shallop aboard him, commanding him to be gone out of our Company, and at a North Sun he stood away from us.

The 20th, we spoke with our Consort, who told us they had almost split their Ship with a piece of Ice which broke nine of their Timbers, so that they had five Foot Water in Hold.

The first of *June* we stood into *Fowl Sound*, where we spake with *Thomas Marmaduke* of *Hull*, in a Ship called the *Hopewell*, who, as we were afterwards informed, discovered as far as 82 Degrees, two Degrees beyond *Hakluyt*'s head-Land. We had in our two Ships six *Biscainers*, expert in killing the Whale; and on the 27th as we rode in harbour, we saw six Whales close by the Ships side, and within an hour, so many that we could not count them: Some ran against our Cables, some against the Ship, and one against the Rudder; one lay under the Beak-head, and slept there a long time: Our Carpenter having then hung a Stage over the Water to lay his Tools on, we durst not disturb the Whale, for fear he should over-throw the Stage, and drown all the Tools: In the end he went away, and carried the Ship's Head round, his Tail being foul of the Cable.

82 Degrees.

Many Whales.

We killed 17 Whales and some Morses, of which we made 180 Tuns of Oyl, with which having fraited our two Ships, we returned for *England*.

CHAP. XXXII.

A Voyage to Greenland, *with six Ships and a Pinnace, set forth by the* Muscovia *Company, under the Command of* Benjamin Joseph *and* Thomas Edge, Anno Dom. 1613: *Written by Mr.* William Baffin.

1613. WE departed from *Queenborough* the 13th of *May*, with six good Ships, the *Tigre*, the *Matthew*, the *Gamaliel*, the *Desire*, the *Annule*, and the *Richard* and *Bernard*; the *John* and *Francis* was shortly to follow.

The 21st we had sight of the Coast of *Norway*, in Lat. 61 Deg. 30 Min. the Variation at *Scoutnes* was 8 Deg. East.

The 23d, we were in Lat. 65 Deg. 45 Min. the Needle declined under the *Horizon* 63 Deg. 30 Min. by the Instrument which declined 54 Deg. at *London*.

Greenland attained in 18 Days.

The 30th we descried *Greenland* in 76 Deg. 55 Min. near *Horn Sound*; the Compass varied 13 Deg. West.

June the second, at five in the Morning, our Admiral sent his Shallop to a small Pink that lay under the Shoar, to command their Master and Pilot to come aboard, which they did. The Master told us that he was consorted with another Ship that was his Admiral, commanded by one *Fop* of *Dunkirk*, now upon the Coast: We kept the Master and Pilot aboard of us, and sending some of our Men aboard of her, brought her under our lee; and then we sent their Master aboard again, charging them to follow us. In the Afternoon we took their Shallop, wherein were two *English*-men and one *Scot*.

The fourth, in the Morning was the first Whale killed; we had no Night since the 23d of *May*.

On the sixth we met with four Ships in *Poopy* Bay, two of them being *Hollanders*, one a *Rocheller*, and the other of *Burdeaux*. The Masters of the *Hollanders* came aboard the Admiral, and produced a Commission from *Grave Maurice* to fish in this Country, but when they saw our King's Commission granted to the *Muscovia* Company, they told the *Admiral* they would depart the Coast, he giving them a Certificate to shew to their Adventurers, that they had been there, and had made their Port, and that we would not permit them to fish. We anchored close by the *Burdeaux* Ship, wherein *Allen Sallowes* was Pilot, being ready to fight if they refused to come aboard us; so we sent our Shallop, and the Master and Surgeon came aboard, who could speak *English*. At first they denied that *Sallowes* was aboard them, but being hardly urged, they confessed that he and one *Fisher* an *English*-man were aboard, who were both presently sent for.

On the 8th, the Master of the *Burdeaux* Ship, being about 200 Tun, agreed to give the Admiral half the Whales he should kill, that he might stay and fish on the Coast. The Master of the *Rochel* Ship promised to depart the Coast; Lat. 78 Deg. 24, Variation 15 Deg. 21 West.

The 10th we set up a Cross of Wood, and nailed the King's Arms upon it, upon a Point of Land called *Low-ness*

The 13th, we spied six Ships at anchor in a small Bay, one of them was Captain *Fop* the *Dunkirker*, four of them were *Biscains*, and the sixth was a Ship of *Amsterdam*, wherein was one *Bonner*, Master and Pilot, and above 20 *English*-men more. All the *Biscains* came aboard of us as soon as we were at anchor, but *Bonner* refused to come, being sent for by our Admiral, who thereupon commanded our Gunner to fire at him; he thinking to get from us, cut his Cable and set sail, but we shot him thro' three or four times, and then he came aboard. Our Admiral kept the Ship for the use of the *Muscovia* Company, and charged the *Biscains* to depart as soon as they had filled fresh Water, which they said they wanted. I observed the Latitude by a Quadrant of four Foot Semidiameter, and found it to be 76 Deg. 55 Min. the Declination of the Needle under the *Horizon* was 76 Deg. 30 Min. pointing to the Northwards, but pointing to the Southwards it was 80 Deg. Variation was 12 Deg. 14 Min. West from the true Meridian, but from our common sailing Compass 17 Deg. because the Compass is touched five Degrees and a half to the Eastward, and the Variation is to the Westward.

Declination 67 Deg. 30 Min Variation 12 Deg. 14 Min.

The 20th we had news that the *John* and *Francis* was come two days ago, and had killed 23 Whales. We anchored in *Green*-Harbour, where a S. W. Moon makes full Sea.

July the 10th, our Admiral went ashoar and killed four Deer; the next day we perceived five Ships in *Bell-Sound*, and came to an Anchor by them with our three Ships, the *Tigre*, the *Matthew*, and the *Richard* and *Bernard*, having made all things ready to fight. These five Ships were the two *Hollanders* which we found the 6th of *June* in *Posty*-Bay, a great Ship of *Biscay* of 700 Tun, a small Pink of *Amsterdam*, and a small Ship of *Rochel*. This great Ship of *Biscay* which we expected would have fought with us, sent their Master aboard our Admiral, and submitted; but the two Ships of *Amsterdam* would gladly have fought with us, if the *Biscain* would have assisted them.

The 15th we came to the Ships in *Green*-Harbour, where we found they had killed 18 Whales; four of these Ships were *French*, which had killed eight Whales for the Company, according to agreement with our Admiral, which was, that they should kill eight for us, and what they could kill more, should be for themselves.

The 14th of *August* we weighed Anchor to go homeward, and entred the *Thames* the sixth of *September*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Extract of two Voyages for discovery of Seas, Lands and Islands, to the Northwards; set forth at the Charge of the Muscovia *Company.* Anno Dom. 1614, 1615; *Written by* Robert Fotherby.

ON the fourth of *May* I departed from *Lee* Road, in company of ten Ships more and two Pinnaces, all bound for *Greenland*, under the command of * Captain *Benjamin Joseph*.

* Afterwards slain in a fight with a *Portugal* Carrick.

The 25th, in Lat. 75 Deg. we met with straggling Ice; we plied thro' it till the 21th, and being then in sight of Land, were all so inclosed with Ice, that we could not go forward or backward.

On the second of *June* we attained an open Sea, where leaving the rest to pursue their Voyage, I proceeded to *Fair Foreland*, and thence to the Northward, hoping to find the Shoar free from Ice; but it fell out contrary to my expectation; for when we came to the Lat. of 79 Deg. 34. we saw much Ice betwixt us and *Hakluit's Head-land*, so that not being able to pass further, we anchored in *Maudlin* Sound, which we found open.

On the 10th of *June* we departed thence, and coasted to the Northward till we were past *Hakluit's Headland*, but then we saw the Ice lie before us, that it was not possible to pass further that way.

We came to an anchor in *Cross-road*, and set up our Shallop which we had brought from *England* in pieces; and while Mr. *Bessin* went in her to the Northwards, I went in the other Shallop into *Maudlin Sound*, there to set up the King's Arms. I caused a Cross to be set up, and the King's Arms to be nailed thereon, under which I nailed a piece of Sheet Lead, with the *Muscovy* Companies Mark, Day of the Month, and Year of our Lord. Then cutting up a piece of Earth, carried it aboard, and in the hearing of the Men, said to this effect.

"I take this piece of Earth as a sign of lawful Possession of this Country of *King James's Newland*, and of this particular place, which I name *Trinity Harbour*, taken on behalf of the Company of Merchants, called the Merchants of New Trades and Discoveries, for the use of our Soveraign Lord *James*, by the Grace of God, King of great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, whose Royal Arms are here set up, to the end that all People who shall here arrive, may take notice of his Majesties Right and Title to this Country, and to every part thereof. God save King *James*.

On the 23d Mr. *Baffin* returned in the Shallop from the Northwards; he said he had been at Cape *Barren*, three or four Leagues from *Hakluit's Head-land*, but could not pass further for Ice which lay close to the Shoar.

On the 27th I went again in the Shallop to the Northward; we rowed to Cape *Barren*, and a League beyond. In the mean time it began to snow, and grew to be a great storm at W. N. W. which continued from *Munday* Night till *Friday* Morning, during all which time we had been but eleven Leagues from our Ship, yet we went as far as we could have gone, had the weather been never so fair.

On *Friday* Morning we returned to our Ship in *Fair-haven*, where we tarried till the sixth of *July*, and then sailing thence to make trial if we could get to the Westward of the Ice, and so proceed to the Northward. We had sent away the other Shallop the day before, provided with 20 days Bread, to coast along the Shoar, and set up the King's Arms at places convenient, hoping thereby to prevent the *Hollanders*, who had two Ships now in *Fair-haven*, set forth for a Discovery, and ready to take possession of such Harbours as they should find.

We sailed Westwards from *Fair-haven* seven Leagues, and then met with a main Bank of Ice. The Sea appeared open to the Northwards as far as we could see, so we plied that way seven or eight Leagues, and then the Ice lay so thick on every side that we could proceed no further. Then standing into the Shoar, we met with Mr. *Baffin* in the other Shallop, who told us the Shoar to the Eastward was much pester'd with Ice, and the weather being now clear, Mr. *Sherwin*, Mr. *Baffin*, and I, resolved to go upon some high Mountain, from whence we might see what likelyhood there was of further proceeding: Accordingly we mounted a very high Hill, from whence we saw the Sea covered with Ice every way, except to the Eastwards, and thought we saw open Water beyond the Ice, which put us in hope we should e're long get a Passage with our Shallops along the Shoar, if we could not pass with our Ship. We then returned aboard our Ship, and plied towards *Fair-haven*, where we arrived the 12th, between which time and the 15th of *August* we made several Attempts with both our Shallops to the Northwards, but were always forced back by Ice, Snow and stormy Weather. The Snow lying an Inch thick on the Water, did hinder our Shallops way, and our Men began to fear, that if it should now freeze as it did one Night since

ſince we came out, we ſhould be here frozen up, and it now beginning to blow much Wind, and the Sea running high, we paſſed over *Broad-bay*, to *Point Welcome*, where I had ſet up a Croſs above a Month ago, and nailed a Sixpence thereon with the King's Arms; and whilſt I was gone up a Mountain to look into the Sea, our Men finding the Sixpence taken from the Croſs, and another Poſt ſet by it, with the Arms of Prince *Maurice* thereon, they pulled it down, and I cauſed the King's Arms caſt in Lead to be nailed upon the Croſs. From thence we proceeded to our Ship, and the 19th of *Auguſt* came aboard of her in *Fair-haven*.

A Whale lay ſick 14 days.

The 22d the Maſter of the *Gamaliel* came to deſire help to haul up a Whale, which had been ſunk 14 days in 120 Fathom Water, or elſe to pull the Warp and Harping Iron out of her, for now it was time to take her or forſake her. We manned our Long-boat, and coming to the place where the Whale was ſunk, as ſoon as we began to hale, ſhe preſently roſe, bolting ſuddenly up with a thundring crack, made with the burſting of her Body; and notwithſtanding ſhe had lain ſo long, yet had ſhe all her Fins faſt.

The 27th we ſailed from *Fair-haven*, and made another Attempt towards the N. E. till we could paſs no further for Ice. We then ſtood homeward, and on the 10th of *September* we ſaw a light upon the Fore-bonnet, which the Sailers call a *Corpo Santo*; it appeared like the Flame of a Candle, and (as Seamen obſerve) always preſages a Storm. It continued very foul Weather all that day, and was ſo vehement the Night following, that the Sea oft-times over-raked our Ship.

A Corpo Santo ſeen.

The fourth of *October* the Ship came to *Wapping*, with the whole number of Men ſhe carried forth, being 26, all in good health.

Mr. Fotherby's *Second Voyage*, Anno Dom. 1615.

I departed from *Harwich* the 12th of *May*, in company of eight Ships bound for *Greenland*; I arrived in *Fair-haven* the 19th of *June*, from whence I ſailed to the Northwards the third of *July*, but meeting with Ice in Lat. 79 Deg. 50 Min. I anchored in *Croſs-road*, and departing thence on the 17th, I proceeded towards the S. W. till I was 200 Leagues from *Greenland*, in Lat. 71 Deg. and am verily perſwaded we were not then far from Land, altho' we could not ſee it by reaſon of thick foggy weather, but the Wind coming up at S. W. and blowing hard, I took the benefit of it to return to the N. E. again, and came to an Iſland, which I named Sir *Thomas Smiths Iſland*, about ten Leagues long, high Land, at the North end whereof is a Mountain of a wonderful height, covered with Snow, which I called *Mount Hakluyt*: It lies in 71 Deg. where the Needle varies eight Deg. Weſt. The Land is rocky and barren, worſe than I have ſeen in *Greenland* under 80 Deg. here being no Graſs but Moſs, and where I firſt landed upon low Ground, all the Stones were like to a Smith's Cinders in colour and ſhape, and the Sand is generally mixed with a Corn like Amber. The Beaches are ſtored with drift Wood, and many Stones like Pumice, which will ſwim on the Water. I ſaw many traces of Foxes and Bears, but not any ſign of Deer or other living Creatures, and few Fowl.

The Wind coming up N. E. ſo that I could not proceed that way, I reſolved on another Courſe, which was this, Having peruſed *Hudſon*'s Journal, wherein he had ſight of certain Land, which he named *Hold with Hope*, I found that by his own reckoning it ſhould not be more than 190 Leagues diſtant from *Greenland*, and in Lat. 72 Deg. 30 Min. or thereabouts; therefore ſeeing I could not proceed to the Northwards, I purpoſed to go to the S. W. to have a ſight of this Land, and diſcover it, if Wind and Weather would permit: So I ſtood away S. W. and W. S. W. till I had run 130 Leagues, and was by account in Lat. 72 Deg. 30 Min. where having the Wind contrary to proceed Weſtward, I ſtood Eaſtward till I had run 30 Leagues, in which I ſhould have ſeen this Land, if credit might be given to *Hudſon*'s Journal, but I ſaw not any, and it being now the 28th of *Auguſt*, and the Wind at North, I directed my Courſe for *England*, and on the 8th of *September* had ſight of the Coaſt of *Yorkſhire*.

Abſtract of a Letter from Mr. Fotherby *to Captain* Edge, *written in* Croſs-road *this Voyage, the* 15*th of* July, 1615.

SIR,

WHen I came in hither, here were three Ships and a Pinnace of the King of *Denmark*'s; the Admiral came to an anchor cloſe by me, and ſent to intreat me to come aboard of him; I went aboard and was courteouſly entertained by him. He aſked me by what right the *Engliſh* Merchants did reſort and fiſh in this place: I told him by the King of *England*'s Right, who had granted a Patent to the *Muſcovy* Company of Merchants, whereby he authoriſes them, and forbids all others to frequent theſe places. Then he intreated me to go with him to the two *Engliſh* Ships in Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Bay. I told him it would be loſs of time to me, becauſe I had ſome buſineſs here to do at preſent, and muſt then go to Sea again and proſecute my diſcovery. He ſaid that he would have me go with him to be witneſs to what paſſed betwixt him and you, for he had Matters of importance to acquaint you withal, which concerned our King and theirs, and therefore intreated me preſently to weigh and ſet ſail, for I muſt needs go with him. I replied again, that it would be a great loſs of time to me, and I knew not how to anſwer it; but he told me peremptorily that I muſt go with him; ſo ſeeing no remedy, I order'd the Maſter to weigh, and the *Daniſh* Admiral weighing, kept me aboard of him, but afterwards meeting with the two Captains that came from you, he returned and anchored again in *Croſs-road*. I had very courteous entertainment from the Admiral, Vice admiral and Captain *Killingham*, but the laſt ſeemed to go away diſcontented from aboard my Ship, becauſe I refuſed to give him a young *Morſe* I have aboard, and told me as he went off, that he would ſhoot down my Flag; and ſoon after there came a ſhot from the Admiral, which flew over us, and I expected another, but preſently there came a Man aboard from the Admiral, to ſee if any of your Men in the Shallop would go with them into the Bay, and he ſwore unto me that the Shot was made to call their Boat aboard, becauſe they were ready to weigh. As far as I can perceive, their purpoſe is to ſee what Grant the King of *England* hath made unto the Company, for they pretend that the Right of this Land belongs neither to the *Engliſh* nor *Hollanders*, but to the King of *Denmark*. Thus with my hearty Commendations, *&c.*

Abſtract of a Letter from William Heley.

SIR,

YOU may pleaſe to underſtand, that thro' God's Bleſſing, our Voyage is performed in all the Harbours in the Country this Year, with a greater overplus than our Ships will carry; ſo that in ſome places we muſt leave good ſtore of Oyl and Blubber behind for the next Year. We are all ready to ſet ſail, being full laden; only I deſire to ſee the Coaſt clear of Interlopers, whereby our Proviſions may be left in ſecurity. We took in *Horn-Sound* a Ship of *Fuſhing*, called the *Noah's Ark*, having out of him 200 Hogſhead of Blubber, with two Whales and a half to cut up, a great Copper, and divers other Proviſions, and ſent him away ballaſted with Stones. There were two more of them who were gone laden with Blubber before we could get thither, having intelligence of our coming. There were alſo two *Danes*, who made 100 and odd Tuns of Oyl, and left the Country the ſixth of *Auguſt*. The ſmall Ship *Elk* is returned from the S. E. having made a further diſcovery, and killed about 800 Morſes, and laden the Teeth, and 30 Tun of Hides; the reſt of his Lading is Oyl. The Whales killed this Year in the Country are about 150; and the Oyl will be about 1800 and odd Tuns, beſides the Blubber left for want of Caſk.

Portnick the 12th of *Auguſt*, 1617.

A Letter from Mr. Salmon *in Sir* Thomas Smith's *Bay, the 24th of* June, 1618, *to Mr.* Sherwin *in* Bell-Sound.

SIR,

'A Northerly Storm has brought in so much Ice upon 'us, that we have been inclosed eight days; there 'went such a Sea in the Ice, beating our Ships for 24 'Hours, that I thought they had been spoiled; the Ice 'brake two of our Anchors. Here are five *Flemings*, 'which have 14 and 16 Pieces of Ordnance in a Ship, 'and they do man out 18 Shallops; so that with theirs 'and ours, here are 30 Shallops in the Bay, too many for 'us to make a Voyage; they have at least 1500 Tuns of 'shipping. We have reasonable good quarter with 'them, for we are merry aboard of them, and they of 'us. They have good store of Sack, and are very kind 'to us, profering us any thing that we want. The Com-'pany must take another course next year, if they mean 'to make any benefit of this Country; they must send 'better Ships, and beat these Knaves out of it; for, as 'far as I can understand by them, they intend to conti-'nue the Trade. They have every one of them *Grave 'Maurice*'s Commission under his own Hand and Seal. 'We have killed 13 Whales, but they yielded but little, 'because the Ice much hindred us at our work: We are 'all well, *&c.*

Abstract of a Letter written to Mr. Heley, *from* Fair-haven, *the 12th of* July, 1618.

SIR,

'I Am very sorry to understand of the Annoyances by 'the *Flemings*, both with you and at other places; 'we have been so pester'd with Ice these 20 days, that 'we have not been able to put to Sea above twice with 'our Shallops, and could do no good by reason of foul 'Weather and Fogs, nor have seen any more than one 'Whale in all that time, which after she was killed, gave 'us much trouble, and we were forced at last to leave her 'in the Ice, where the Bears made a Prey of her, and I 'fear will spoil her before she can be recovered. All the 'Sea to the Northwards of *Hakluit's Head-land*, and 'both Eastward and Westward there is pack'd so full of 'Ice, that I fear it will over-throw our Voyage; so wish-'ing you health. *&c.*

A Letter to Mr. Heley *from* Bell-Sound, *the 16th of* June, 1619.

SIR,

'I Am forced to write in tears unto you for the loss of our 'Men, by the most uncouth accident, that ever be-'fel unto poor Men. The 13th of *June* last, we were 'put ashoar in the *Ice-Bay*, our Shallops being not aboard; 'but as soon as we heard of it, we made what haste we 'could, and haling our Shallops upon the Ice, went a-'board our Ship. By that time we had been there an 'Hour, using what means we could to get her out, a 'main piece of Cliff fell, being the fearfullest sight that 'ever I beheld, and expected nothing else but death to 'us all; but tho' we were past all hope of Life, yet God 'of his great mercy and providence delivered us, that 'we were not then appointed to die. The Ice was so 'great, and fell down from such a height, that it carried 'away our Fore-mast, brake our Main-mast, sprung 'our Boulsprit, and made the Ship fetch such a Carreer, 'that she heaved a Piece of Ordnance over-board from 'under our Half-deck, hove me over-board, and yet I 'thank God I was not hurt, altho' others were spoiled 'and killed close by me. My Mate, and *Nicholas Green*, 'and *Allin* the Butcher, are killed, and many more hurt, 'who I hope will recover by the help of God, and the 'Means of a good Surgeon. I take my leave, *&c.*

A Ship Disaster

In the Year 1622, *nine Ships were employed, of which one for Discovery: Their disastrous Success I have spoken of before. The last Fleet,* Anno 1623, *was set forth by the former Adventurers, under the Command of Captain* William Goodlard, William Heley *being Vice-admiral; of the Success whereof you may read the Letter following.*

Fair-Haven, *the 24th of* July.

Mr. *Heley*,

'WE arrived here with both our Ships in safety on the 'third Instant, and by the eighth had killed 13 'Whales, and on the 15th two more, which being all 'boiled but the Heads, will hardly make past 80 Tuns, 'which is a very small quantity.

'As touching our Order for the *Flemings*, we went 'Yesterday aboard them, supposing that we should have 'found the *Danes* there, but they are not yet arrived. 'The *Flemings* are five Sails; the *Admiral* 500 Tuns, the 'Vice-admiral of the same burden, the other three 200 'Tun apiece; they have 24 Shallops belonging to their 'five Ships: They told us they expected one or two 'Ships more every day. After some time, we had con-'ference with the Admiral, concerning the Order given 'us, and told him that the time granted them to fish was 'expired, and thereupon his Majesty had granted to our 'Principals a Commission under the Broad Seal of *Eng-'land*, for the depressing of any Interloper or *Fleming* 'whatsoever, that we should meet upon this Coast; yet 'notwithstanding it pleased our Principals to appoint us 'to go aboard them, and in a loving manner to inform 'them thereof, which if they would condescend unto, 'and desist from Fishing, they should manifest themselves 'Friends to our Principals, if otherwise, they would 'cause them to compel them by force, who had rather 'perswade by love. Unto which he answered, That he 'heard of no such Matter in *Holland*, and if there were, 'it should have been certified by Writing. We replied, 'That Sir *Nowell Carroon* their Agent was not ignorant of 'it, who ought to have given information. He said, he 'had a Commission from the Prince of *Orange*, for the 'making of his Voyage upon this Coast, which was 'procured by his Merchants for his defence; and this 'was all that could be gotten from him by Words.

'On the 23d we killed three Whales more; and thus 'we doubt not by degrees to accomplish our Voyage.

I am yours, *&c.*

A Letter from Captain Goodlard *in* Bell-Sound, *the 8th of* July, 1623.

Mr. *Heley*,

'TO certify you of our Proceedings, we have killed 'here in *Bell-Sound* 33 Whales, and lost many 'more by Irons broken, yet I hope we shall have suffici-'ent to fill our Ships. We have boiled 180 Tuns, of 'which 160 are aboard our Ship, and make account 60 'Tuns more will fill our Hold. Our Whales here prove 'very watrish and lean, which maketh bad Oyl, and 'hindreth us much in boiling. They have killed at *Fair-'haven* 18 Whales, which prove very small, yielding 'but 120 Tuns. There are in that Harbour five 'Flemings, well fortified, some of them of 500 Tuns, and 'two more expected every day, which I fear will much 'hinder our Ships in their fishing this year, and in my 'judgment not to be removed from hence; for they 'having a Commission from the States to fish upon this 'Coast, were our whole Fleet there, and could put them 'away, yet would they fly to one of our Southern Har-'bours, and so should we spend our time in following 'them, and thereby loose our Voyage. There were two 'French Ships of St. *John de Luz* at *Fair-haven*, which 'were put away by the *Flemings* and our Ships, and 'tis 'thought are gone for the Cape.

'With

Poor Goodlad drowned.

'With a heavy heart I write you the lamentable Accident which happened here the 28th of *June*. Our Shallops being all out in chase, and my self asleep, my Brother *Peter* having a Shallop lying by his Ships side, and espying a Whale going into the *Ice-Bay*, followed him and struck him, and his Rope being new, ran out with kinks, which overthrew his Shallop, where he lost his life, with my Boy *Bredcake*, being, as we think, carried away with the end of the Rope. Never any loss went so near my heart, *&c.*

Extract of a Letter from William Baffin, *who had been twice employed by the* Muscovia *Company, for discovery of a Passage to the North-west.*

To the Right Worshipful *John Wostenholm* Esq; *&c.*

SIR,

'HAving coasted all or near all the Circumference of *Davis*'s Streights, we found it to be no other than a great Bay, and no hopes of a Passage; however Mr. *Davis* was not to be blamed for his Report, the Sea being open, and of an unsearchable depth as far as *Hope Sanderson*, which is in 72 Deg. 12 Min. only the Tides keep no certain course, nor rise but a small height, as eight or nine Foot, and the Flood comes from the Southward; and in all the Bay beyond that place, the Tide is small and not much to be regarded, yet by reason of Snow melting on the Land, the Ebb is stronger than the Flood, by means whereof, and the Winds holding Northerly the fore part of the Year, the great Isles of Ice are set to the Southward, some into *Hudson*'s Strait, and others towards *Newfoundland*; for in all the Channel where the Sea is open, are many of them driving up and down, and till this year not well known where they were bred.

'In the next place I shall acquaint you what profit may be made by this Voyage, if it shall be again attempted. In this Bay are great numbers of those Whales, called by the *Biscainers* the *Grand Bay Whales*; for we being but one day in *Whale-Sound* (so called for the many Whales we there saw sleeping on the Water) might have struck more than would have made three Ships a saving Voyage, had we been provided with Men and other things necessary.

'But here some may object and ask, why we searched that Coast no better? To this I answer, That the Weather was so exceeding foul, we could not; for when we anchored in *Wostenholm-sound*, our Ship presently drove with two Anchors a head, so that we were forced to stand forth with a low sail. The next day in *Whale-Sound* we lost an Anchor and Cable, and could fetch the place no more; and if we had found a good Harbour, yet having but our Ship's Boat, we durst not send her far from the Ship, having but 17 Men, and some of them very weak. But the chief cause we spent so little time in seeking a Harbour, was our great desire to perform the discovery, having the Sea open in all that part, and a continual probability of a Passage; but when we had coasted the Land so far to the Southward, that hope of Passage was none, then the Year being too far spent, and many of our Men very weak, we hoped that some Ships would be sent next Year to kill Whales, which might better do it than we.

'Having thus briefly set down what hope there is of making a profitable Voyage, it is not unfit you should know what hindrance may happen to the same. The chiefest and greatest cause is, that some years by reason of the Ice lying between 72 Deg. and a half, and 76 Deg. the Ships cannot come into those places till toward the midst of *July*, so that want of time to stay in the Country may be some hindrance; yet they may tarry till the last of *August*, in which space good store of Oyl may be made, and what cannot be made into Oyl, may be brought home in Blubber. Another hindrance may be, because the bottom of the Sounds will not be so soon clear of Ice as might be wished, whereby a Whale may sometimes be lost, yet I am perswaded they will be all clear before the 20th of *July*. Furthermore, there being little Wood to be expected hereabouts, Coals must be brought from *England*.

'And now altho' we have not performed what we desired (that is, to have found a Passage) yet I hope you will think that we have not spent our time in vain, considering how much Ice we passed, and the difficulty of sailing upon a Traverse so near the Pole, and above all the wonderful variation of the Compass in this Bay, increasing and decreasing so suddenly and swiftly, that in Sir *Thomas Smith*'s *Sound* in 78 Deg. by divers good Observations, I found it varied above five Points or 56 Deg. to the Westward, so that a N. E. by E. is true North, a thing incredible, and matchless in all the World besides. In fine, whatever my Labours are or shall be, I esteem them too little to express my thankful mind for your many Favours, *&c.*

Compass varied 56 Deg. to the Westward.

William Baffin.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The strange and dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James, *in his intended Discovery of a North-west Passage into the South Sea,* 1631.

1631. THE worshipful Company of Merchant Adventurers of the City of *Bristol*, understanding that our Soveraign Lord *Charles* the first, had an earnest desire to be certified whether there were any Passage or not, by the North-west into the South Sea, did fit and set forth a choice, well-conditioned, strong Ship, called the *Henrietta Maria*, of the burthen of 70 Tuns, victualled for 18 Months.

I was ever of opinion that this Action might be better effected by one Ship than two, because in those Icy Seas so much subject to Fogs and Storms, they might be easily separated; and a place of meeting in Discoveries cannot surely, or without much hindrance be appointed; wherefore I resolved to have but one Ship, the Ship-boat, and a Shallop.

A great Ship (as by former experience I had found) was unfit to be forced thro' the Ice, I therefore made choice of a Ship of the burthen aforesaid, which the Carpenters made as strong and serviceable as possibly in their understanding they could.

The Baker, Brewer, Butcher, and others, undertake their Offices upon their Credits, knowing it to be a geral business, and their utter undoing if they failed in performance; but truly they proved themselves Masters in their Arts, and have my praise for their honest care, wherein consisted a great part of the performance of the Voyage.

The number of Men thought convenient to manage this business was 22, whereof 19 were choice able Men, two Younkers, and my self; voluntary Loiterers I disclaimed, and published I would have none but approved able Seamen, and unmarried. The whole Company were strangers to me and each other, but privately recommended to me by worthy Merchants, for their Ability and Fidelity. I was sought to by divers that had formerly been in places of the chiefest command in this Action, and others also that had used the Nothern Icy Seas; but I utterly refused them all, and would by no means have any with me that had been in the like Voyage or Adventures, for some private Reasons, unnecessary here to be related. Thus keeping the Power in my own Hands, I had all the Men to acknowledge immediate dependance upon my self alone,

alone, both for directing the Navigation, and disposing all other things whatsoever.

May. On the second of *May*, 1631, accompanied with divers Merchants of the City of *Bristol*, Adventurers in this Action, I went aboard, where the Reverend Mr. *Palmer* preached a Sermon, exhorting us to continue brotherly love amongst us, and to be bold to profess the true Christian Religion wherever we should happen to come. After they had received such entertainment as I could afford them, they returned to *Bristol*, and the next day, after Prayers for a prosperous Voyage, we stood down the Channel of *Severn*, with little Wind, and got to the Westward of *Lundy*, when the Wind coming against us, we anchored in *Lundy*-road, where we remained until the eighth, and then setting sail, we were forced to put into *Milford* Haven, where we remained till the 17th, whence with the first fair Wind, we proceeded and doubled Cape *Clare* in *Ireland*. Here I ordered a W. N. W. Course to be kept as near as the Wind would give leave.

June. The fourth of *June* being very thick foul weather, we made the Land of *Greenland*, and the next day at two in the Morning, were encompassed with Ice, and endeavouring to clear our selves of it, were the more engaged, because we could not see far about us, and we struck many fearful blows against it. At last we fastned to a very great piece (it blowing a Storm) and wrought all day and night to keep off the Ice, in which labour we brake all our Poles.

The sixth, at two in the Morning we were beset with many extraordinary great pieces of Ice, that came upon us, as it were with wilful violence, and doubtless had crushed us to pieces, if we had not let fall some Sail, which the Ship presently felt. In escaping that danger we ran against another great piece, that we doubted whether our Ship had not been staved to pieces, but pumping, we found she made no Water. The former pieces of Ice had crushed our Shallop all to pieces, wherefore I ordered our Long-boat to be had up from betwixt the Decks, and put over-board, by help whereof we recovered our broken Shallop, and had her up on the Decks, intending to rebuild her. All this day it blew a storm, and in the Evening we were inclosed with pieces of Ice as high as our Poop, and some of the sharp blew corners of them did reach quite under us. All these great pieces (we being near the outward part of the Ice) did heave and set, and so beat us, that it was wonderful how the Ship could endure one blow of it; but it was God's only preservation of us, to whom be all Honour and Glory. In this extremity we let fall all the Sail we could, and the Ship forced her self thro' it, tho' so tossed and beaten, as I think never Ship was. When we were clear, we tried the Pumps, and found her stanch, upon which we went instantly to Prayer, and to praise God for his merciful deliverance.

The 7th, 8th, and 9th, we endeavour'd to double Cape *Farewell*, lying W. N. W. from the *Blasques* in *Ireland*, and in Latitude of 59 Deg. the distance about 410 Leagues. The variation of the Compass 30 Leagues to the Westward of *Ireland*, in Latitude 52 Deg. 30 Min. is about three Deg. to the Eastward. When we were about 310 Leagues W. N. W. from the *Blasques*, in Latitude of 57 Deg. the Compass varied nine Deg. to the Westward. About 40 Leagues to the Eastward of Cape *Farewell*, in Lat. 59 Deg. 15 Min. the Variation was about 14 Deg. 45 Min. In this Course I observed whether any Current did set to the N. E. as some have written there did, and that as well in calm weather as otherwise, but I could not perceive any. The Winds we found variable, and the Sea of an unsearchable depth; we saw no Whales or other Fish. The weather for the most part was foggy and misty, and Wets as bad as rain.

The 10th was very foul weather, and a high grown Sea, altho' we had Ice not far from us, and some pieces as high as our Top-mast-head. Our Long-boat, which was towed at stern (because we were building our Shallop on our Decks) broke away, and put us to some trouble to recover her again; at last we got her into the Ship, tho' very much bruised, and two Men were sore hurt and like to be lost in getting her in. At eight in the Evening we were shot up as high as Cape *Desolation*, in Lat. 60 Deg. and the Land from Cape *Farewell* to it, trends N. W. the distance about 40 Leagues. From Cape *Desolation* to the South end of the Island of *Resolution*, is about 140 Leagues, the Course West half a Point North. About 12 Leagues to the Westward of Cape *Desolation*, the Variation is 16 Deg. 00 Min. In this Course we were much tormented with Ice, many pieces higher than our Main-top-mast-head; we saw many *Grampasses*. The weather was for the most part a stinking Fog, and the Sea very black, which I conceive to be occasioned by the Fog.

The 17th, at Night we heard the rut of the Shoar, as we thought, making an hollow and hideous noise, like an Over-fall of Water. We stood off from it till break of day, and at four in the Morning found it to be a rut against a Bank of Ice that lay on the Shoar, and saw the Land above the Fog, which we knew to be the Island of *Resolution*. This Night all our Rigging and Sails were frozen. Here runs a quick Tide into the Streight, but the Ebb is as strong as the Flood. The Fog was of such a piercing nature, that it spoiled all our Compasses, and made them so heavy that they would not traverse; wherefore I advise those that shall travel this way hereafter, to provide Compasses of *Muscovia* Glass, or some other matter that will endure the moisture of the weather. As the Fog cleared up, we could see the entrance of the Streight, which was all full of Ice close thronged together. Endeavouring to go forward, we were fast inclosed in it, and so drove to and again with it, finding no ground at 230 Fathom four Leagues from the Shoar.

Sails frozen in *June*.

Compasses spoiled with Fogs.

No Ground at 230 Fathom.

The 20th we got about the Southern Point of the Island, and the Wind coming up at West, drove both us and the Ice upon the Shoar. When we were driven within two Leagues of the Shoar, we came among the strangest whirlings of the Sea that possibly can be conceived. There were divers great pieces of Ice aground in 40 Fathom water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Island amongst these Isles of Ice, made such a distraction, that we were carried round, sometimes close by the Rocks, sometimes so near those high pieces of Ice, that we feared they would fall upon us. With our Kedger and Grapnels we made fast two great pieces of Ice to our sides, that drew nine or ten Fathom, that so they might be aground before us if we should be driven ashoar. Our Boat being now finished, I sent her to find some place of security, but she was presently inclosed, and forced to hale up on the Ice, or else she had been crushed in pieces. They ran her over the Ice from piece to piece, and in the mean time with the whirling and encountring of the Ice, the two pieces broke away from our sides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels. Then we made signs to the Boat to make all the haste they could to us, and we made some sail, and got to that piece of Ice which had our Grapnel on it, and recovered it again. By this time our Boat was come, and we put a fresh Crew into her, and sent them to fetch our Kedger, with much danger both of Boat and Men. The Ship in the mean time was driven so near the Shoar, that we could see the Rocks under us and about us. We went over Rocks that had but 12 or 13 Foot Water on them, and then let fall an Anchor, which had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that by good fortune she ran against a great piece of Ice that was aground. This rush brake the main Knee of her Beak-head, and tore away four of our main Shrouds. We had but 15 Fathom Water, being also in the Tides way, where all the Ice would drive upon us. Not seeing our Boat, wherein was the third part of our Company, we feared she had been crushed in pieces, but at last we saw her come about a Point amongst the Rocks, having recovered our Kedge Anchor, which made us joyful. With all speed we laid out Hawsers to the Rocks, and every one worked to the best of his strength to warp her out of this dangerous place to the Rocks side, where we had three Fathom Water, and were under the shelter of a great piece of Ice which was aground, and kept off the Ice that otherwise would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well all the Ebb, but when the Flood came, we were assaulted with pieces of Ice that made us almost despair. At full Sea our great piece of Ice, which was our Buckler, was afloat, and do what we could, got away from us, and left us in most eminent danger, by reason of the Ice that drave in upon us; but as soon as the Ebb was made, this great piece of Ice came aground again, and shelter'd us. We wrought hard all Night in shifting our Cables and Hawsers, and fastning them aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better pass under them. It snowed hard all day and night, and blew a Storm at West, which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working against the violence of the Ice, the Hook of our Kedge Anchor, two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawsers were broken, and our Shallop again very much bruised.

Ice aground in 40 Fathom.

Snow in *June*.

The 21st the Harbour was choak'd with Ice, but when the Ebb was made, it did move. Some great pieces came aground, which alter'd the Course of the other Ice, and put us on the Rock. Here, notwithstanding all our utmost endeavours, she setled upon a sharp Rock, about a Yard abaft the Main-mast, and as the Water ebbed away

The Ship strikes on a Rock.

way, she hung after the Head, and heel'd to the Offing. We fastned Cables and Hawsers aloft to her Mast and so to the Rocks, straining them taut with our Tackles; but as the Water ebbed away, she sunk still, and at last was so turned over, that we could not stand in her. Having now done all to the best of our understanding (tho' to little purpose) we went all to prayers upon a piece of Ice, beseeching God to be merciful unto us. The Ship was so turned over, that the Portals of the Fore-castle was in the Water, and we looked every minute when she would overset; indeed at one time the Cables gave way, and she sunk down half a Foot at that slip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and the Water rose apace, and the Ship withal; whereupon we all on our Knees praised God for his mercy in so miraculous a deliverance.

A great Deliverance.

As soon as she was freed from this Rock, we wrought hard to get her further off. All the Flood we were pretty quiet from the Ice, but when the Ebb was made, all the Ice came driving again upon us, and put us to great extremity. We got as many pieces betwixt us and the Rocks as we could, to defend us from them. There came a great piece upon our Quarter, which was above 300 of my Paces about, but it came aground, as did divers great pieces besides, which was the cause of the Harbour's being quite choak'd up this tide, so that a Man might walk over it from side to side. When it was three quarters Ebb, those great pieces that came aground, began to break with a most terrible noise, which put us in great fear that those about us would break us all to pieces, but God preserved us.

The 22d, in the Morning the Water ebbed lower by two foot than the last Tide it had done, whereby we saw God's Mercies apparent in our late Extremity. That Flood we had some respit, but after full Sea, our Hopes ebbed too. The great piece that was by us so stop'd the Channel, that the Ice came all driving upon us, so that now undoubtedly we thought we should loose our Ship. To work we went, with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any thing proper for such a purpose, to break the Corners of the Ice, and make way for it to drive from us. It pleased God to give good success to our Labours, and we made way for some, and fended off the rest. This day I went ashoar, and set up a great Beacon with Stones upon the highest place of the Island, and putting a Cross upon it, named it the *Harbour of God's Providence*. In the Evening the Harbour was fuller of Ice than ever it had been since our coming, and the Ship lay as it were in a Bed of Ice.

The 23d, the Ice with the Ebb drove all out, except one extraordinary great piece, which coming aground not far from us, setled it self in such a manner, that we much feared it; but there came no more great Ice after it, otherwise we must have expected as great danger as at any time before. I went ashoar upon the Eastern side to see if I could find any place freer from danger than this unfortunate place, where amongst the Rocks I found a likely place. From the top of the Hill where I was, I could see the Ship, and it being then almost low Water, the foresaid piece of Ice brake with a terrible noise into four pieces, which made me fear it had spoiled the Ship, it being full half mast high. I made what haste I could to be satisfied, where I found all well, God be thanked, and presently sent away the Boat to sound the way to a Cove that I had found. At her return we unmoored the Ship, and warp'd away from this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from it when it brake all to pieces, and we had surely born it company, had not God been merciful to us. When we had brought the Ship to the Cove, we made fast to the Rocks, and I went ashoar again to see what I could discover. I found it all broken rocky Grounds, without Tree, Herb, or Grass upon it. I saw some Ponds of Water which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the Fowl. I found not any footing of Deer or Bears in the Snow, but saw one or two Foxes. We found where the Savages had been, but it was long since: They had made Hearths, and left some Fire-brands about them, with some Heads and Bones of Foxes, and some Whale-bones. I cannot conceive to what purpose they should come thither, there being little or no Wood, and no Fish at all, tho' we daily endeavour'd to take some, but it may be, the Season was not yet come. The Fire-brand had been cut with some Hatchet or other Instrument of Iron. From the top of the Hills we could see the Islands on the South Shoar, called Sir *Thomas Buttons Isles*, 14 or 15 Leagues distant. It flows here seven a Clock and a half upon the change day, and the Tide highed at most three Fathom: The Flood comes from the Eastward, and thither it returns.

The 24th in the Morning there sprung up a fair gale of Wind at East. After prayers we set sail, steering between great pieces of Ice that were aground in 40 Fathom, and twice as high as our Top-mast-head. We endeavouring to gain the North Shoar, kept our selves within a League of the Island of *Resolution*, where we had some clear Water to sail thro', whereas the Ice was very thick in the Offing. By 12 we were fast inclosed, and notwithstanding it blew very hard at East, yet we could make no way thro' it, and the hard Corners of the Ice did grate us with that violence, that I verily thought it would have grated the Planks from the Ships sides. Thus we continued in torment till the 26th day, driving to and again in the Ice, not being able to see an Acre of Sea from the Top-mast-head. I caused the Men to lay out some Fishing Lines, but to no purpose, for I could not perceive the Baits had been touched. The Nights were very cold, so that our Rigging was frozen, and fresh Ponds of Water stood upon the Ice above half an Inch thick.

Ice twice as high as Top-mast-head.

The 27th, a small Gale at S. E. and the Ice did somewhat open; hereupon we let fall our Fore-sail, and forced the Ship thro' it. In the Evening the Wind came contrary at W. N. W. and blowing hard, we fastned to a great piece till the 29th.

I am satisfied by many Experiments I have made, that here is no Current; namely, by taking Marks on the Land, and noting our Drift to and again, with the Ebb and Flood for many days together, and as well in calm weather as otherwise. By all which, I found exactly that the Tide was no stronger there than between *England* and *France*.

From this 29th to the 5th of *July*, we sailed thro' the Ice with variable Winds and Fogs, and saw *Salisbury*-Island, and soon after Prince *Charles* Cape. The Sea to the N. N. W. pester'd with Ice, which grieved me very much, because having determined to prosecute the discovery to the North-westward, I now saw it was not possible this Year; wherefore I order'd to steer away W. S. W. in which Course we struck more fearful blows against the Ice than we had ever yet done. This was the first day that we went to half allowance of Bread on Flesh Days. In the Evening we anchored, and I sent the Boat ashoar to try the Tides. They brought me word that whilst the Boat was ashoar, it flowed three Foot, and we found by the Ship and the Ice, that the Water at that time came from the W. S. W. and that the highest Tides (so far as they could perceive) had not highed above two Fathom. They found that Savages had been there, but saw no Tracks of any Beasts besides Foxes.

July.

Next Morning being the 17th, the Shoar being pretty clear of Ice, we stood along it S. and S. by W. ten Leagues, and then the Wind coming contrary, we anchor'd, and I went ashoar to be resolved of the Tide, and found whilst I was ashoar that it did flow two Foot, and at that time the Flood came from the S. W. by W. I doubted it was an half Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. It flows on the Change Day about eleven a clock.

The 18th we steered away West; being come as we thought, into an open Sea, but our Joy was soon quailled; for by ten at Night we heard the rut of the Ice. We stood along it, hoping to weather it to the Southward, till we became so blinded with Fog, and so encompassed with Ice, that we could go no further.

Thus we continued till the 21st, in Lat. 60 Deg. 33 Min. and then looking what damage our Ship had received, we perceived, that below the Plate of Iron which was before her Cut-water, she was all bruised and broken, the two Knees she had before to strengthen her, spoiled and torn, and many other Defects, which we could not by any means come to mend: Notwithstanding all which, and the extraordinary thick Fog, that we could not see a Pistol shot about us, we proceeded with the hazard of all till the 27th, being the first time we had clear Weather to look about us. The Water now began to shoal, for whereas the depth was ordinarily 120 Fathom, it was now but 80.

The 28th and 29th, we were so fast inclosed with Ice, that notwithstanding we had put aboard all the Sail we had, and that it blew a very hard gale of Wind, the Ship stirred no more than if she had been in a dry Dock. We all went boldly out upon the Ice to recreate our selves, letting her stand still under all her Sails. It was large flat Ice, the worst to deal with that we had yet found: I measured some pieces, which were 1000 of my Paces long. This was the first day our Men began to murmur, thinking it impossible to get either forwards or backwards. I comforted and encouraged them the best I could; and to put away these Cogitations, we drank a health to his Majesty on the Ice, not one Man in the Ship,

Ship, and she still under all her Sails. I must ingenuously confess, that their murmuring was not without cause. And doubting that we should be frozen up in the Sea, I order'd Fire to be made but once a day, the better to prolong our Fewel whatsoever should happen. We put out our Hooks to try to catch some Fish, but to no purpose; for there is not any in this Bay.

August. From the first to the 11th was thick foggy weather. On the third we saw a little open Water to the N. W. and felt a swelling Sea from the West, which assured us there was an open Sea to the Westward.

On the 11th we saw the Land; it is from *Digs* Island to this Western Land, about 160 Leagues. The Tides do set in the middle of the Bay East and West (as we have often tried by our Lead aground) but nearer the Shoars, as they are forced by the Land. I am of opinion, that in the Ocean or in large Bays, the Tides do naturally set East and West, and that this therefore gives little hopes of a Passage. The greatest depth in the Bay is 110 Fathom, and so shoalding as you approach to Land. We coasted this little Bay, which is about 18 Leagues deep, and had 8 and 6 Fathom Water, and in the bottom of it we were in two Fathom and a half, and saw the Firm-land almost round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward, within sight of the Breach of the Shoar, keeping the Lead continually going, and in the Night anchored with our Kedger, but in weighing of it, we lost it, having no more aboard us.

The 12th, we were in Lat. 58 Deg. 46 Min. two Leagues from the Shoar. The variation about 17 Degrees.

They strike on a Rock with full Sails.

The 13th, Afternoon, being somewhat hazy, we saw some Breaches a head of us; our depth was nine or ten Fathom, and luffing to clear our selves of them, we suddenly struck upon the Rocks, the Ship then under our two Top-sails, Fore-sail, and Sprit-sail, with a fresh Gale of Wind. In this fearful Accident, we struck all our Sails amain, and it pleased God to send two or three good swelling Seas, which heaved us over the Rocks into three Fathom, where chopping to an Anchor, we essaied the Pumps, and found she made no Water, altho' she had three such terrible blows, that we thought her Mast would have shiver'd to pieces, and that she had been assuredly bulged. We hoised out the Boat to find a Way out of this perilous place; she was no sooner gone, but there rose a Fog, so that we were fain to spend some Powder, that she might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd something, or else it had been doubtful whether she could ever have recovered us again. After she had been absent two Hours, she brought us word that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us, but that she had found a Way where there was not less than two Fathom and a half, and that afterwards the Water did deepen. We presently weighed and followed the Boat, and past over two Ledges of Rocks, whereon was scarce 14 Foot Water, which we saw the next day dry above Water, whereby I know it flows here two Fathom at least.

The 15th, in the Evening our Cable galled off, by reason of which perilous and sudden Accident, in which we had not time to put a Buoy to it, we lost our Anchor, and were driven into four Fathom Water before we could set our Sails, and it growing dark, we anchored again, and rode a good streis all Night.

The 16th, in the Morning a fresh gale at North, we set sail, and by nine a clock it grew to be a very storm. The next day at Noon, Lat. 57 Deg. 15 Min. we reckoned our selves six or seven Leagues to the Southward of Port *Nelson*: Here the colour of the Water changed, and was of a puddlish and sandy red colour. We could not see the Land from Top-mast-head, and Night coming on, we stood off again.

On the 20th we saw the Land, being a very low flat Land, which I named *The New Principality of South Wales*, and drank a health in the best Liquor we had, to Prince *Charles*, whom God preserve. We stood along it till the Evening, and then anchored: The Tide did set N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. There went a chopping short Sea, and the Ship did labour exceedingly, leaping in Sprit-sail-yard, Fore-castle and all. At nine at Night it was very dark, and blew hard: We perceived by the Lead that the Ship did drive, wherefore bringing the Cable to Capston to heave in our Cable, (for we thought we had lost our Anchor) the Anchor hitch'd again, and upon the chopping of the Sea, threw the Men from the Capston. A small Rope in the dark had gotten foul about the Cable, and about the Master's Leg too, but with help of God, he cleared himself, tho' not without sore bruising. The two Mates were hurt, one in the Head, the other in the Arm. One of our lustiest Men had such a blow on the Breast with a Bar, that he lay sprawling for Life; another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly escaped; the rest were flung, and sore bruised. But our Gunner, an honest diligent Man, had his Leg caught between the Cable and Capston, which wrung off his Foot, and tore all the Flesh from his Leg, crushed the Bone to pieces, and sorely bruised his whole Body: In which miserable condition he remained crying, till we had recovered our Memories and Strengths to clear him. Whilst we were putting him and the rest down to the Chirurgion, the Ship drove into Shoal Water, which put us all in fear; but it pleased God the Anchor held again, and we rode it out all Night. By midnight the Chirurgion had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the gartering place, and dresst the others that were hurt and bruised, after which, we comforted each other as well as we could.

Many Men hurt by the Cable.

The Gunner's Leg lost.

The 22d, we weighed and stood into deep Water, and proceeded along the Shoar till the 27th, when we anchore in five Fathom. I sent off the Boat well mann'd and arm'd, with order in writing what they were to do, and a charge to return again before Sun-set. When Evening came, we had no news of our Boat; we shot and made false fires, but had no answer, which much perplexed us, doubting some disaster had befaln her, and in her we should loose all: We aboard were not able to weigh our Anchor nor sail the Ship. At last we saw a Fire on the Shoar, which made us the more doubtful, because they did not answer our Shot nor false Fires with the like: We thought also that it had been the Savages, who now triumphed in their Conquest. At last they returned all safe, and excused themselves, in that upon their coming ashoar, it ebbed so suddenly, that a Bank of Sand that lay without them, was presently dry, and they could not come away till that was covered again. They reported that they found great store of drift Wood on the Shoar, and that there was Wood growing on the Land: That they saw the Tracks of Deer and Bears, good store of Fowl (whereof they kill'd some) but no sign of People: That it flowed very near three Fathoms, as appeared by the Shoar: That it was low water at four a clock: That it flowed half Tide, and that the Flood came from the N. W.

The 29th, in the Morning as it cleared, we saw a Ship three or four Leagues to Leeward of us, and bearing up with her, found her to be his Majesties Ship, Captain *Fox* Commander. We saluted each other according to the manner of the Sea, and the next Morning he with his Friends came aboard me, and were entertained in the best manner I could, with such fresh Meat as I had gotten from the Shoar. I made known to him all the Dangers of this Coast, as far as I had been. He told me that he had been in Port *Nelson*, and had made but a cursory discovery hitherto, and that he had not been on Land, nor had many times seen the Land. In the Evening, after I had given his Men some Tobacco and other things which they wanted, he departed aboard his Ship, and next Morning stood away S. S. W. since which time I never saw him, and we stood in for the Shoar, and proceeded in sight of it. This Month of *August* ended with Snow and Hail, and the Weather as cold as at any time I have felt in *England*.

They meet with Capt. *Fox*.

September the first, we coasted along the Shoar, and on the second had a violent Storm. *September*

On the third we descried a Head-land, which we named Cape *Henrietta Maria*, in Lat. 55 Deg. 5 Min. It is distant from Port *Nelson* about 130 Leagues: The Variation taken by Amplitude is about 16 Degrees: A most shoal and perilous Coast, in which there is not one Harbour to be found. In the Afternoon we had a tearing Storm at North, which continued till midnight with extream violence.

The fourth, in the Morning the Storm brake up, and we stood in again, sounding continually. At Noon we saw the Land treading S. by E. and the Tides did set along it with a quick motion. In the Evening there came a great rowling Sea from the N. N. E. and by eight a clock it blew very hard at S. E. and by reason of the encounter of the Wind and the great Sea, the Sea was all in a breach, and to make up a perfect Tempest, it did so lighten, snow, rain, and blow all the Night long, that I was never in the like. We skip'd many Seas, but one most dangerous, which raked us fore and aft, that I verily thought it had sunk the Ship. The Ship did labour most terribly in this destraction of Wind and Waves, and we had much ado to keep all things fast in the Hold and betwixt Decks.

The fifth, in the Morning the Wind shifted S. W. but continued its fury. In the Afternoon it shifted again to the N. W. and there shewed its utmost malice, with that

that bearing violence, that neither I, nor any that were with me, ever saw the Sea in such a terrible breach. Our Ship did so labour with taking it in on both sides, and at both ends, that we were in most miserable distress in this unknown place. At eight at Night it brake up, and we had some quietness, none of us having slept a wink in 30 Hours before. If this storm had continued Easterly as it was at first, without God's goodness we had all perished.

The sixth, the Wind being at S. W. we could do no good to the Westward; we spent the time therefore in trimming our Ship; we brought our Coals and other things towards the Stern to lighten her before; others did pick our Bread, much whereof was wet, for do what we could, we shipp'd abundance of Water, which ran into the Hold and Bread-room; we overlooked our Tacks and Shoots, with other Riggings of Stress, because henceforward we were to look for no other but winter weather. This Evening our Boatswain, a painful Man, who had laboured extreamly these two or three days, was very sick, swounding away three or four times, so that we verily thought he would presently have died.

We stood off and on in thick foggy weather, amongst Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, until the 11th, when I went athoar on an Island to search for Scurvy-grass, Sorrel, or some Herb or other to refresh our sick People, but finding none, I returned aboard, and sent many of our sick Men to another part of the Island to see if they themselves could fortunately find any relief for their Griefs: In the Evening they returned comfortless. I could not perceive that the Tide flowed above two Foot. There was much drift Wood on the Shoar, and some of it drove up very high on the North side of the Island, whereby I judged that the Storms were very great at North in the Winter.

The 12th, in the Morning it began to blow hard, and the Ship began to drive, it being soft ozy Ground; we heaved in our Anchor, and sailed under two Courses, and whilst most were busy in heaving out of Top-sails, some that should have had special care of the Ship, ran her athoar upon the Rocks, out of meer carelesness, in not looking out nor heaving the Lead, after they had seen the Land all night long, and might even then have seen it, if they had not been blinded with self-conceit, and been enviously opposite in Opinions. The first blow struck me out of a dead sleep, and as I was running out of my Cabin, I thought I had been wakned to provide my self for another World.

The Ship takes a-ground the Rocks.

After I had controuled my Passion, and check'd some bad counsel that was given me, to revenge my self upon those that had committed this Error, I first order'd all our Sails to be hailed a back-staies, but that did no good, but made her beat the harder. Whereupon we struck all our Sails a-main, and furled them up close, tearing down our Stern to bring the Cable thro' the Cabin to Capston, and so laid out an Anchor to heave her a-stern. I caused all the Water in the Hold to be staved, and set some to pump it out again, and did intend to do the like with our Beer. Others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was soon and readily done. We quoiled out our Cables into our Long-boat; all this while the Ship beating so fearfully, that we saw some of the Sheating swim by us. Then we stood as many as could to the Capston, and heaved with such a good will, that the Cable broke, and we lost our Anchor, whereupon with all speed we put out another. We could not yet perceive whether she did leak or no, by reason we were employed in pumping out the Water which we had bulged in the Hold, tho' we much doubted she had received her Death's Wound. Wherefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, six Muskets, with some Match and Tinder-box, Fish-hooks and Lines, Pitch and Okam, and to be brief, whatever could be thought on in such extremity.

All this we sent ashoar to prolong a miserable life for a few days: we were five Hours thus beating, in which time she struck above 100 blows, insomuch that we thought every stroke had been the last that it was possible she could have endured. We could not perceive the Water in all this time to flow any thing at all; at last it pleased God that she beat over all the Rocks, but not knowing whether she were stanch, all hands went to pumping till we made the Pump suck, and then we saw how much Water she made in one Glass. We found her to be very leaky, so went to Prayer, and gave God thanks that it was no worse, and fitting all things again, got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening it began to blow very hard, which if it had done whilst we were on the Rocks, we had lost our Ship without any redemption. With much ado we weighed our Anchor and let her drive to the Eastward, amongst the broken Grounds and Rocks, the Boat going before to advise. At last we came amongst Breaches, and the Boat made signs to us that there was no going further: amongst the Rocks therefore we again came to an Anchor, and we rode all Night. I observed, that when the Wind was at South, it flowed very little or no Water at all, so that we could not bring our Ship aground to look to her, and we did pump almost continually.

The 13th we weighed and stood to the Westward, but in that Course was all broken Grounds, Shoals and Stinken Rocks. Then we shaped our Course to the Northward, and after some consultation, I resolved to get about this Land, and go down to the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*, and see if I could discover a way into the River of *Canada*, and if I failed of that, then to winter on the main Land, where more comfort may be expected than among Rocks or Islands. When it was Night we stood under our Fore-sail, the Lead still going. The Water shoaled upon us to ten Fathom, and it began to blow hard. We tacked about, and it deepned to twelve and fourteen Fathom, but by and by it shoaled again to eight Fathom; then tacking again, it suddenly shoaled to six and five Fathom; so we struck our Sails amain, and chop'd to an Anchor, resolving to ride it out for life and death. We rode all Night a great stress, so that our Bits did rise, and we thought they would have torn to pieces.

The 14th, at break of day we were joyful Men, in looking about, descried an Island two Leagues off, and this was the Shoal that lay about it. We got up our Anchor, and stood to clear our selves of this Shoal. In the Evening it begun to blow a storm not sail-worthy, and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we did now tow at Stern, being moored with two Halsters, was sunk, and did spin by her Moorings, with her Keel up twenty times in an Hour. This made our Ship to hull very broad, so that the Sea did continually overrake us, yet we endured it, thinking to recover her. The Storm continued with violence all Night, with some rain in the Morning, and very thick weather. The Water shoaled apace, with such an overgrown Sea withal, that a sail was not to be endured; and what was worse, there was no trusting to an Anchor; now therefore we began to prepare our selves to make a good end of a miserable tormented Life. About Noon it clearing up, we saw two Islands under our Lee, and bearing up to them, saw an opening betwixt them, and endeavour'd to get in before Night; for there was no hope of us if we continued at Sea that Night; therefore come Life, come Death, we must run this hazard. We found it to be a good Sound where we rode safely all Night, but before we got into this good place, our Shallop moored with two Halsers, broke away, and we lost her to our great grief. We had now none left but the Ship-boat, and she much torn and bruised. Here we remained till the 19th, in all which time it did nothing but snow and blow extreamly, so that we durst not put our Boat over-board.

The 19th, we weighed and stood to the Southward, and anchored under another Island, on which I went ashoar, and named it *The Earl of Bristol's Island*. I wandred up and down, but could not perceive there had been any People on it; nor was there any Fish, Fowl or Herb. The Tides highed about six Foot, the Winds being Northerly: The Flood comes from the North, and it flows half Tide: It was full Sea this day at one a clock. Here seeing the Winds continue Northerly, that we could not get about to go into *Hudson's Bay*, we thought it best to look out for a wintring place; some advised to go for Port *Nelson*, because we were certain there was a Cove where we might bring in our Ship. I liked not that Counsel, because it is a perilous place, and it might be so long ere we could get thither, that we might be debar'd by the Ice; besides, it being so cold in this Latitude, that our Rigging was frozen every Night, and that some Mornings we shovel'd the Snow half a Foot thick off our Decks, I thought it would be far worse in the other place, and thereupon resolved to stand again to the Southward, there to look for some little Creek or Cove for our Ship.

The 21st, we weighed and stood to the Southward; in the Evening the Wind increased, and blew hard: We took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the Southward, heaving the Lead every Glass. Our depth when we took in our Sails was 30 Fathom, and increased to 45, which was a great comfort to us in the dark. At midnight it suddenly decreased, and as fast as the Lead could be heaved, it shoaled to 20 Fathom, wherefore we

chop'd to an Anchor, and trimmed our Ship Aft, to mount on the Sea, and fitted all things to ride it out: There was no need to bid our Men watch. We rode it out well all Night, altho' the Sea went very lofty, and that it blowed very hard.

The 22d, in the Morning we saw an Island a League off under our Lee, all being Shoals and Breaches betwixt us and it. At Noon, with the help of the Windward Tide, we attempted to have up our Anchor, altho' the Sea still went very lofty. Joining all our Strengths, God be thanked, we got it up; but before we could set our Sails, were driven into nine Fathom; whereupon we endeavouring to double a Point, and get under the Lee of the Island, the Water shoaled to seven, six, and five Fathom, but when we were about, it deepned again, and we anchored in a very good place, and it was well for us that we did, for the Wind increased to a very storm. Last Night and this Morning it snowed and hailed, and was very cold. I went ashoar to look for some Creek or Cove to have in our Ship, for she was very leaky, and the Company were sickly and weak with much pumping and extream labour. I ascended the top of a Hill, but could not see what I looked for: I named it Sir *Thomas Roe's Island*. At Noon we weighed, seeing an Island that bare S. S. E. of us, four Leagues off; but as we came near it, it suddenly shoaled to six, five and four Fathom; wherefore we struck our Sails amain, and chop'd to an Anchor, but it was very foul ground, and we had but three Fathom at her Stern. Holding it not safe to stay longer here, we setled every thing in order for the Ship to fall the right way. We had up our Anchor, and stood over again for Sir *Thomas Roe's Island*, which by Night we brought in the Wind of us two Leagues off, and did well shelter us.

The 24th, in the Morning it threatned a Storm, whereupon we weighed with the Windward Tide to get nearer under the Island. It was very thick foggy weather, and as we stood to the N. E. we came to very uncertain depths; at one cast twenty Fathoms, the next seven, then to five, eight, and three, and coming upon the other tack, we were worse than we were before. It pleased God we got clear of them, and endeavour'd to get under the Lee of the Island; but not being able to effect it, we were forced to anchor in 35 Fathom two Leagues off the Shoar. All this Night it snowed and hail'd, and was very cold.

The 25th we weighed, and as we tacked to and again, the Wind shifted so in our Teeth, that it put us within a quarter of a Mile of the very shoar, where we chop'd to an Anchor, and rode it out for life and death. Such Miseries we endured amongst these Shoals and broken Ground. Our Sheet Anchor was down twice or thrice a day; and this continued till the last of *September*, which we thought would have put an end to our Miseries, there being nothing but Rocks, Shoals, Overfalls, and Breaches round about us.

October. The first of *October* was indifferent fair, and our Boat sounded a Channel to help us out of this perilous place. She returned in two Hours, telling us she had been a way where there was not less than twelve Fathom. We presently weighed, but found it otherwise, the Water shoaling to six Fathom; but there was no remedy, we must go forward. It pleased God so to direct us, that we got thro' it, sometimes twenty Fathom, then on a sudden seven, six and five, so we struck all our Sails amain, and chop'd to an Anchor, where we rode till midnight for life and death, it blowing a mercileſs gale of Wind, and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a Breach; the Ground was foul also, so that we doubted our Cable every Minuit.

The second, in the Morning was little Wind; we sent the Boat to sound; which returning in two Hours, told us they had found a place of some safety to ride in, and had been in no less water than 5 Fathom. We weighed, and found our Cable galled in two places, which had soon failed us if the foul weather had continued. We stood the same way the Boat directed us, and anchoring in 18 Fathom, I went ashoar on an Island to the Southward of us, which I named the *Earl of Danby's Island*. From the highest place in it, I could see it all broken Grounds and Shoals to the Southwards, and rather worse than better than that which we had been in. I found that People had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. Towards Evening it began to blow hard, wherefore we made towards the Ship, and rowing for Life to recover her, we put to Leeward of her; but they in the Ship putting forth a Buoy and a Warp, we got hold of it and haled up to her. It blowed a violent gale all night, with snow and Hail.

The third, the wind dull'd, and weighing, we stood further into the Bay, into four Fathom and a half water. I went presently ashoar to see what comfort I could find on this Island, being the same we did after winter upon. I found the Tracks of Deer, and saw some Fowl; but that which I rejoiced at most was, that I saw an Opening into the Land like a River; we made to it with all speed, but found it barred, and not two Foot water at full Sea on the Bar, and yet within an excellent fine Harbour, having four Fathom water.

The fourth, it snowed and blew very hard; I and four more went four or five Miles up into the Country, but could find no relief for our sick Men, besides a few Berries. When we had wearied our selves in the troublesome Woods, we returned aboard with no good News. It continued foul weather till the 6th, when we stood nearer to the Shoar and moored our Ship.

The 7th, it snowed all day, and blew a storm withal; it froze so, that all the Bows of the Ship, with the Beakhead, were all Ice, and the Cable was as big as a Man's Middle. The Bows of the Boat were frozen half a Foot thick, so that we were fain to hew and beat it off. The Sun shining very clear, we tore the Top-sails out of the Tops, which were hard frozen in them, and set them hang a sunning all day, in a very lump, the Sun not having Power to thaw them. Seeing now the Winter to come so extreamly upon us, and fearing that we should not be able to go to and again with the Boat, we rowed ashoar with much difficulty, and filled the Boat with Wood, and sent the Carpenter and others to cut Wood, we having but little aboard. It was miserably cold already aboard the Ship, every thing freezing in the Hold and by the fire-side; and since we could now no longer make use of our Sails, we began to fear that here we must stay and Winter. When we had brought as much Wood aboard as we could conveniently stow, and enough as I thought would have lasted two or three Months, the sick Men desired that some little House or Hovel might be built ashoar, whereby they might be shelter'd, and recover their healths. I took the Carpenter and others, and choosing out a place, they went immediately to work upon it. In the mean time I with some others wander'd up and down in the Wood to see if we could discover any signs of Savages, that so we might the better provide for our safeties against them: We found no appearance that there was any on this Island or near it. The Snow by this time was half Leg high, and stalking thro' it, we returned comfortless to our Companions, who had wrought hard upon our House. They in the Ship took down our Top-sails, and making a great fire upon the Heath in the Hatch way, thawed them and folded them up, and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had any good weather, they might bring them again to Yard: In the Evening we return'd aboard.

They build a House.

The 12th, we took our Main-sail from the Yard, and carried it ashoar to cover our House, having first thawed it by a great fire. By Night they had cover'd it, and had almost hedged it about, and the six Builders desired to lie in it that Night, which I granted, having first furnished them with Muskets and other Arms, and charging them to keep good watch all Night. They had also two Greyhounds, a Dog and a Bitch, which I had brought from *England*, to kill us some Deer if we should see any.

The 13th, our House was ready, and our six Builders desired they might travel up into the Country to see what they could discover.

The 14th, early, being fitted with Munition, and order'd to keep together (but especially to seek out some Creek or Cove for our Ship) they departed. We aboard took down our two Top-masts and their Rigging, intending if we should remove, to make use of our Fore-sail and Mizen.

They kill Deer.

The 15th, in the Evening our Hunter returned very weary, and brought with him a small lean dear in four Quarters, which made us all rejoice, hoping we should have more of them. They reported that they had wandred above twenty Miles, and had brought this Deer above twelve Miles, and had seen nine or ten more: That last Night they had a very cold lodging in the Woods, and so it appear'd, for they all looked as if they were almost starved, nor could they recover themselves in three or four days after. They saw no signs of People or wild Beasts, nor any place for Harbour.

The 17th, my Lieutenant and five more desired they might try their Fortunes in travelling about the Island; but they had worse luck than the others, and returned comfortless and disabled with cold; but what was worse than all, they lost one of their Company, *John Barton* our Gunner's Mate, who being very weary, rather than go about, would go over a Pond a quarter of a Mile

The Gunner's Mate lost.

over,

over, where when he was in the very middle, the Ice brake and closed upon him, and they never saw him more. Being now certain that there were no Savages upon the Island, nor on the Main neither as far as we could discover, and the cold being now so extream, that they could not come to us if there were any; we comforted and refreshed our selves by sleeping the more securely, and changed our Garrison every Week.

From the 15th to the 29th it did for the most part snow and blow so hard, that we could seldom get ashoar with the Boat, without wading in the thick congeal'd Water, and carrying one another.

November The first, I reckoned with the Steward concerning our Victuals, the third part of our time being this day out.

The third, the Boat endeavour'd to get ashoar, but could not set thro' the congeal'd Water. The next day they found a place to get ashoar, and carried Beer to our Men ashoar in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the House in one Night. The Icy Beer being thawed in a Kettle, was not good, and they brake the Ice of the Ponds to come at Water to drink. This Pond-water had a loathsome smell with it, so that fearing it might be infectious, I caused a Well to be sunk near the House, where we had very good Water, flattering our selves that it tasted like Milk.

The 10th, having store of Boards for such purpose, I order'd the Carpenter to make a little Boat, which we might carry, if occasion were, over the Ice, and make use of her where there was Water. At Noon I found the Latitude to be 52 Degrees.

The 12th, our House took fire, but we soon quenched it; we were fain to keep an extraordinary fire Night and Day, and if our House and Clothing had been burnt, we had been in a miserable condition. I lay ashoar till the 17th, all which time our Miseries did encrease. It snowed and freezed extreamly, and the Ship looked like a piece of Ice resembling a Ship; Our Cables froze in the Hawse, wonderful to behold. I got aboard, where I spent the long Nights with tormenting Cogitations, and in the day time I could not see any hopes of saving the Ship: This I was sure of, that it was impossible to endure these Extremities long. Every day the Men must beat the Ice off the Cables, while some within board with the Carpenter's long Calking Iron, digged the Ice out of the Hawses; in which work the Water did so benum them, that they could hardly get into the Ship without being heaved in with a Rope.

The 19th, our Gunner, who as you may remember had his Leg cut off, grew very weak, desiring that for the little time he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether, which I order'd he should do.

The Gunner dies.

The 22d, in the Morning he died; an honest and a strong hearted Man. He had a close boarded Cabin in the Gun-room, and as many Cloaths on him as was convenient, with a Pan of Coals continually in his Cabin; notwithstanding which, his Plaister would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head. We put him into the Sea at a good distance from the Ship.

Sack frozen.

The 23d, the Ice increased extreamly: In the Evening after the Watch was set, a great piece came athwart our Hawse, and four more followed after it, the least of them a quarter of a Mile broad, which in the dark did much astonish us, thinking it would have carried us out of the Harbour. It being newly congealed, and not above two Inches thick, we brake thro' it, the Cable and Anchor enduring an incredible stress, sometimes stopping the whole Ice. We fired three Musquets, signifying to our Men ashoar that we were in distress; who answered us again, but could not help us. By ten a clock it was all passed, nevertheless we watched carefully, and the weather was warmer than we had felt it any time this Month: In the Morning I sent for our Men aboard. Many pieces of Ice drove by the Ship, tho' not so large as the former, yet much thicker: One of them came foul of the Cable and made the Ship drive. As soon as we were clear of it we got up our Anchor, and now I resolved to bring the Ship aground, for no Cables nor Anchors could hold her. The reasons why I brought her no sooner aground were, 1st, It was all stony ground, some Stones lying dry three or four Foot above Water, so that we had reason to suspect that it was the like all about us. Secondly, it ordinarily flowed but two Foot and a half, and if she should bed deep in the Sands, we could never come to dig her out again, because she would not be dry by four or five Foot. Thirdly, It was a loose Sand, which might rise with the Surf, or so mount about her, that all our weak Powers would not be able to heave it away the next Spring time. Fourthly, We doubted the Tides would not high so much in the Summer as they now did. Fifthly, We could not bring her out of the Tide's way, which run somewhat quick here, and the Ice might drive and mount upon her, and so over-set her, or tear her, and carry away Planks and Iron Work, so that we should have nothing left to set up a Pinnace. Sixthly, If it blowed a Storm at N. W. or thereabouts, the Water would flow ten Foot and upwards, and that Wind being off the Shoar, would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary Surf about the Shoal Easter Point, which was occasioned by a deep Over-fall. Moreover, she would beat extreamly, and if she should be put up by the Sea or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we should never heave her off again.

They bring the Ship aground.

For these Reasons we endured all extremity, still hopping for some good and fortunate accident; but we now saw all our provident Designs become foolishness, and that we had spent a great deal of labour in vain. The Wind was now South, which blew upon the Shoar, and made the lowest Tides. We brought the Ship into twelve Foot Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in shoal Water to draw her aland at command. Our hope also was, that some Stones to the Westward of us would send off some of the Ice. We then being about a Mile from the Shoar, about ten a clock in a dark Night, the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchor came home. She drove about two Cables length, and the Wind blowing on the Shoar, she came aground at two a clock, and stopp'd much Ice, yet she lay well all Night, and we took some rest.

The 25th, the Wind shifted Easterly, and put abundance of Ice upon us. When the Flood was made, I caused our two Top-sails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and hoising them up with Ropes in all hast, forced the Ship ashoar, when she had not half a Cables length to drive on the rocky Shoals. In the Evening we brake away thro' the Ice, and put an Anchor to shoarward in five Foot water, to keep her to the Shoar if possible. Here Sir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my mind, who without doubt was driven out of his Harbour in this manner, and so starved at Sea; but God was more merciful to us. At nine at Night the Wind came up at N. W. and blew a Storm: This Wind was off the Shoar, and blew away all the Ice from about us, long before we were afloat. There came in a great rowling Sea withal, accompanied with a great Surf on the Shoar; and now were we left on the Ground to the mercy of the Sea. By ten she began to rowl in her Dock, and soon after began to beat against the Ground. As many as could stood at the Capston, others at the Pumps, thinking every fifth or sixth blow would have staved her to pieces: We heaved to the utmost of our Strengths, to keep her as near the Ground as we could. By reason of this Wind, it flowed very much Water, and we drew her up so high, that upon second thoughts we doubted if ever we should get her off again. She continued thus beating till two a clock next Morning, and then setled again; whereupon we went to sleep to restore nature, expecting the next Tide to be tormented again.

The next Morning our Ship did not float: After Prayers I called a consultation of the Master, my Lieutenant, Mates, Carpenter, and Boatswain, to whom I said, that since we were now put to our last shifts, they should tell me what they thought of it; namely, Whether it were not best to carry all our Provision ashoar, and when the Wind should come Northerly, to draw her farther off and sink her. After many reasonings, they allowed of my purpose, and so I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it; and so we fell to getting up our Provisions; first our Bread, whereof we landed this day two dry Fats, with a Hogshead of Beef. In the Evening the Wind came up at N. E. and choaked the Bay with Ice.

The 27th, the Bay was still full of Ice, and I hoped would so continue, that we might not be put to sink our Ship. This day we could land nothing.

The 28th, at break of day three of our Men went ashoar over the Ice, unknown to me, and the Wind coming up at West, drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shoar. I made the Carpenter to fit a place against all sudden Extremities, because with the first Northerly Wind I meant to effect our last project. In the Run of her, he cut away the Seeling and the Plank to the Sheathing, four or five Inches square, four Foot high from the Keel, that so it might be boared out in an instant. We brought the remainder of our Bread out of the Bread-room into the great Cabin, and all our Pouder, setting our light dry things betwixt Decks.

The 29th, at five in the Morning the Wind came up at W. N. W. and began to blow very hard: It was ordi-

nary for the Wind to ſhift W. by N. round about. I order'd the Cooper to go down into the Hold and look to all our Caſks; thoſe that were full, to maul in the Bungs of them; thoſe that were empty, to get up, or if they could not be gotten up, to ſtave them. Then I order'd all our Cables to be quoiled upon our lower Tire, and to lay on our ſpare Anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep them down from riſing. By ſeven a Clock it blew a ſtorm at N. W. our bitter Enemy: The Ship was already bedded about two Foot in the Sand, and whilſt it was flowing water, ſhe muſt beat; yet we had been ſo ferreted by her laſt beating, that I reſolved to ſink her right down, rather than run that hazard. By nine a clock ſhe began to rowl in her Dock, with an extraordinary great Sea; and this was the fatal Hour that put us all to our wits end; wherefore I went down in Hold with the Carpenter, and taking his Auger, bored a hole in the Ship, and let in the Water; then with all ſpeed we began to cut out other places, and to bore thorow, but every place was full of Nails. By ten the lower Tire was covered with Water, and ſhe beat in her Dock more and more, ſo that we could not ſtand to do any thing in her; nor would ſhe ſink ſo faſt as we would have her, but continued beating double blows a-baft and before, that it was wonderful how ſhe could endure it a quarter of an Hour. By twelve a clock her lower Tire roſe, and did ſo counterbeat on the inſide, that it beat the Bulk-heads of the Bread-room and Powder-room all to pieces; and when it came betwixt Decks, the Cheſts fled widely about, and the Water did flaſh and fly wonderfully, ſo that we expected every minuit when the Ship would open and break to pieces. At one a Clock ſhe beat off her Rudder, and that was gone we knew not which way. Thus ſhe continued beating till three a clock, and then the Sea came upon the upper Deck, and ſoon after ſhe began to ſettle. We were forced to ſink the moſt part of our Bedding and Cloaths, and the Chirurgion's Cheſt. Our Men that were aſhoar ſtood looking upon us, almoſt dead with cold and ſorrow, to ſee our miſeries and their own. Dark Night came on, and I order'd the Boat to be haled up, and commanding my loving Companions to enter, I went laſt out of the Ship.

They ſink the Ship.

We were 17 poor Souls in the Boat, and thought we were now leapt out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire. The Ebb was made, which we thought would certainly have carried us away into the Sea; we thereupon double manned four Oars, and with the help of God got to the Shoar, haling up the Boat after us. The Water was thick congealed with Snow, notwithſtanding which, there went a great ſwelling Sea. Being arrived upon the Land, we were ſo frozen all over, Faces, Hair and Apparel, that we could not know each other by our Habits or Voices.

The Winds ſince we came hither have been very variable and unconſtant, and till within this Fortnight the Southerly Wind was the coldeſt. The reaſon I conceive to be, becauſe it blowed from the main Land which was all covered with Snow, whereas the North Winds came out of the Bay which was hitherto open.

A N. W. a N. W. by N. and a N. N. W. Wind, if it blew a Storm, would riſe the Tides extreamly; and in ſhort, from the W. N. W. to N. N. E. the Tides would riſe in proportion as they blew from the middle Point. The Wind being on the oppoſite Points, if it blew, it would flow very little at all; the harder it blowed, the leſs water it flowed. The Tides do ordinarily high about three Foot, but when forced by the foreſaid Winds, upward of ten Foot. I could perceive no difference betwixt Neap and Spring Tides: It flows half Tide, that is, the Flood comes from the Northwards, and thither returns again two Hours before it be high water, as is commonly ſeen in Bays and Inlets.

The Wintering.

After we had haled up the Boat, we went along the Beach ſide in the dark towards our Houſe, where we made a good fire, and with it and Bread and Water, we thawed and comforted our ſelves. We then beginning to reaſon with one another concerning our Ship, I required every one to ſpeak his mind freely: The Carpenter was of opinion that ſhe was foundred, and would never be ſerviceable again; he alledged, that ſhe had ſo beaten, that it was not poſſible but that all her Joints were looſe, and Seams open; and by reaſon it flowed ſo little Water, and no Creek nor Cove near, wherein to bring her aground, he could not deviſe how he might come to mend it; moreover, her Rudder was loſt, and he had no Iron to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up ſo high upon the Sands, that they thought we ſhould never have her off again, and that they were aſſured ſhe was already dock'd three Foot. Others, that ſhe lay in the Tide's way, and that the Ice might tear her to pieces off the Ground: Beſides which, we could not now get two of our Anchors from under the Ice, which would be of a great thickneſs by the Spring, and when it breaks, would break our Anchors to pieces, and then (ſuppoſing we ſhould get off the Ship, and that ſhe proved ſound alſo) we ſhould have no Anchors to bring us home. I comforted them the beſt I could with words to this effect; Country-men and faithful Companions, be not diſmaied for any of theſe Diſaſters, but let us put our whole truſt in God; it is he that gives and he that takes away; he throws down with one Hand, and raiſes up with another; his Will be done: If it be our fortune to end our days here, we are as near Heaven as in *England*; and we are much bound to Almighty God for giving us ſo large a time of repentance, who as it were daily calls upon us, to prepare our ſelves for a better life in Heaven. I make no doubt but he will be merciful to us, both here on Earth, and in his bleſſed Kingdom. He doth not in the mean time deny, but that we may uſe all honeſt means to ſave and prolong our natural Lives; and in my judgment we are not yet ſo far paſt hope of returning into our native Country, but that I ſee a fair way by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship to be founder'd (which God forbid, I hope the beſt) yet have thoſe of our own and other Nations, when they have been put to theſe extremities, out of the Wrack of their loſt Ship built a Pinnace, and return'd to their Friends again. If it be objected that they have hapned into better Climates, both for temperate Air and pacifick and open Seas, and provided with all of abundance of freſh Victuals; yet there is nothing too hard for couragious minds, which hitherto you have ſhewn, and I doubt not will ſtill do to the utmoſt.

They all proteſted to work to the beſt of their ſtrength, and that they would refuſe nothing that I ſhould order them to do, to the utmoſt hazard of their Lives. I thanked them all, and to the Carpenter for his encouragement, I promiſed ſo much Plate preſently as ſhould be worth ten Pounds Sterling; and if ſo be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give her to him freely, and 50 Pounds in Money over and above; and would moreover gratify all them that I ſhould ſee painful and induſtrious.

Thus we reſoved to build a new Pinnace with the Timber we ſhould get upon the Iſland, that ſo in the Spring, if we found the Ship not ſerviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's Planks; and ſo for this Night we ſetled our ſelves cloſe about the fire, and took ſome reſt till day light.

The firſt thing we were to do, was to get our Cloaths and Proviſion aſhoar: The Maſter and his Company were to get things out of the Hold; the Cookſwain and his Gang to bring things aſhoar; my ſelf with the reſt, to carry it half a Mile thro' the Snow, to the place where we intended to build a Store-houſe; as for the heavier things, we purpoſed to lay them on the Beach. In the Afternoon the Wind was at S. S. W. and the Water ebbed ſo low, that we launched our Boat, and rowed thro' the congealed Water, thinking we might get ſomething out of our Hold. It froze very hard, and I ſtood on the Shoar with a troubled mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea, and then we had been all loſt Men; but by God's aſſiſtance they got ſafely to the Ship, and made a fire there, to ſignify their arrival aboard. They fell preſently to work, and got ſome things out of the Hold upon the Decks, but Night coming on, they durſt not adventure to come aſhoar, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabin almoſt ſtarved.

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

The ſecond was mild weather, and ſome of the Men going over the Ice, fell in, and very hardly recover'd, ſo that this day we could land nothing. In the Evening the Wind came up at Weſt, and the Ice did break and drive out of the Bay, that we feared it would have ſpoiled the Ship.

The third, divers great pieces of Ice came thwart the Ship, and ſhe ſtopp'd them, yet not ſo, that we could go over them. We found a way for the Boat, but when ſhe was loaden, ſhe drew four Foot water, and could not come within a flight ſhot of the Shoar; ſo that the

the Men were forced to wade thro' the thick congealed Water, and carry all things upon their Backs. As they waded thro', they seemed like walking pieces of Ice, most lamentable to behold. There being now small hope that the Boat should go to and again any more, they cut away as much Ice from her as they could, and pick'd it with Hand-spikes out of her, and endeavour'd to hoise her into the Ship, but use what means they could, she was so heavy, that they could not hoise her in, but were fain to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship's side.

The 4th, being Sunday, we rested, and performed Christian Duties.

The 5th and 6th were extream cold, and we made Bags of our store Shirts, and in them carried our loose Bread over the Ice ashoar upon our Backs. We also digged our Cloaths and new Sails with Hand-spikes of Iron out of the Ice, and carrying them ashoar, dried them by a great fire.

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

The 8th and 9th it snowed much, yet we continued our Labour in carrying and rowling things ashoar. In the Evening the water raised the Ice very high, and brake two thaughts of our Boat, and brake in the side of her, but for that time we could not help it.

The 10th, our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel and a Stern for our Pinnace: The rest wrought about our Provisions till the 13th day, which was spent in digging our Boat out of the Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel, and dig the Ice out of her, and then we got her up on the Ice. The cold increased extreamly, so that by the 19th we could get no more things out of our Hold, but were forced to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other things, which were all firmly frozen in her.

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

The 23d, we endeavour'd to have our Boat ashoar, running her over our Oars, but by ten a clock there came such a thick Fog, that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over and hasten to the Shoar, which we had much ado to find; at last we all met at the House the most miserably frozen that can be conceiv'd: The Cold had raised Blisters upon some as big as Walnuts: Our Well was now frozen, so that dig as deep as we could, we can come by no Water: Melted Snow-water is unwholsome, either to drink or to dress our Victuals; it made us so short breath'd, that we were scarce able to speak. All our Sack, Vineger, Oil, and every thing else that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a piece of Wood, and we must cut it with a Hatchet. Our House was all frozen on the inside, and it froze hard within a yard of the Fire-side. When I landed first upon this Island, I found a Spring under a Hill's side, and caused some Trees to be cut for Marks to know the place again: It was about three quarters of a Mile from our House, and I sent three of our Men who had been formerly with me, who wading thro' the Snow, at last found the place, and shoveling away the Snow, made way to the very head of it. They found it spring very strongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was very joyful. This Spring continued all the Year, and did not freeze so much, but that we could break the Ice and come to it. We laboured very hard these three or four days in bringing Wood to the House, which was very troublesome thro the deep Snow.

We then setled our Bedding and Provision, in order to keep *Christmas-day* holy, which we solemnized in the joyfullest manner we could: so likewise did we St. *John's day*, upon which we named the Wood we wintered in, *Winter's Forrest*, in memory of that honourable Knight Sir *John Winter*. And now instead of a *Christmas* Tale, I will here describe the House we lived in, with those adjoining.

When I first resolved to build a House, I chose the warmest and most convenient place near the Ship. It was amongst a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South Bank, about a flight Shot from the Sea side. True it is, that we could not dig into the Ground to make us a Hole or Cave in the Earth (which had been the best way) because in two Foot digging we found water, and therefore that Project failed. It was a fine white Sand, so that we could by no means make up a mud Wall. As for Stones, there were none near us, and if there had, they were all now covered with Snow.

The House was about twenty Foot square, as much as our Main-course would well cover: First we drove strong Stakes into the Earth, which we watled with Boughs as thick as might be, beating them down very close: This our first work was six Foot on both sides, but at the ends almost up to the very top, where we left two Holes for the light to come in, and let out the Smoak: At both ends we stuck up three rows of thick Butt Trees, as close as possibly might be: Then at a distance from the House we cut down Trees, proportioning them into lengths of six Foot, with which we made a Pile on both sides six Foot thick, and as many high: We left a little low Door to creep into, and a Portal before it, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it: We then fastned a rough Tree over all, upon which we laid our Rafters, and our Main-course over them, reaching down to the Ground on either side; and so much for the Outsitle. On the Inside we fastned our Bonner-sails round about; then we drove in Stakes and made Bed stead Frames, which Bedsteads were double, one under another, the lowermost being a Foot from the Ground: These we first filled with Boughs, then laid on some spare Sails, and then our Bedding and Cloaths: We made a Hearth or Causy in the middle of the House, laying some Boards round about it to stand upon, that the cold damp should not strike up into us; with our waste Cloaths we made us Canopies and Curtains. Our second House was not past twenty Foot distant, and made much after the same manner, but less, and covered with our Fore-course. It had no Piles on the South side, but instead of them we piled up all our Chests on the Inside, and indeed the reflex of the heat of the Fire against them, did make it warmer than the Mansion House. In this House we dresst our Victuals, and the inferior Crew did refresh themselves all day in it. A third House, which was our Store-house, we built twenty Paces off from this, for fear of firing. This House was only a rough Tree fastned aloft, with Rafters laid from it to the Ground, and covered over with our new suit of Sails. On the Inside we had laid small Trees, and covered them over with Boughs, whereon we laid our Bread and Fish, about two Foot from the Ground, the better to preserve them: The distance from our House to the Ship was about a Mile. Long before *Christmas* our Mansion-house was covered with Snow, almost to the very Roof, but our Store-house all over, by reason we made no fire in it. We made Paths in the Snow about the length of ten Steps, and one of them was our best Gallery for the sick Men, and for my own ordinary walking.

The 6th, I observed the Latitude to be 51 Deg. 52 Min. *January* this difference is because here is a great refraction.

The 21st, I observed the Sun to rise like an Oval, twice as long as it was broad, and as it got up higher, it recovered its roundness.

The 26th, I observed when the Eastern Edge of the Moon did touch the Planet *Mars*, the *Lions Heart* was then in the East Quarter 21 Deg. 45 Min. above the *Horizon*; but this was not done with that exactness as I have done other Observations.

The 30th and 31st, there appear'd in the beginning of the Night more Stars than ever I had before seen by two thirds. I could see the Cloud in *Cancer* full of small Stars, and all the *Via Lactea* nothing but small Stars, and a great many amongst the *Pleiades*. The Wind for the most part of this Month hath been Northerly and very cold. We employed our selves for the most part in fetching Wood, and working upon our Pinnace. In the beginning of this Month the Sea was all firmly frozen over, so that we could see no Water any way. I shall here deliver my opinion how all this Ice comes to be engendred.

The Land that encircles this great Bay (which is full of Islands and dry Sands) is for the most part low and flat, and hath flat Shoals adjoining to it, half a mile or a Mile, that are dry at low water. Now, as I have said, it flows half Tide, that is, from whence the Flood comes, the water thither returns two hours before it be high water or full Sea. It seldom rains after the middle of *September*, but snows, and that Snow will not melt on the Land or Sands. At low water when it snows, the Sands are covered over with it, which the half Tide officiously carries twice in 24 Hours into the great Bay, which is the common *Rendevous* of it. Every low water are the Sands left clear, to gather more to the encrease of it. Thus daily gathering in this manner till the end of *October*, it by that time brings the Sea to such coldness, that as it snows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in flakes, and as Winter comes on, will freeze on the Surface two or three Inches or more in a Night, which being carried with the half Tide, soon meets with some Obstacle, and then crumples and runs upon it self, that in a few Hours it will be five or six Foot thick: The half Tide still flowing, carries it to fast away, that by *December* it is multiplied extreamly; and thus by this storing of it up, the cold predominates in the Sea (which also

furnishes

furniſhes the Springs in the low flat Lands) and cools it like it ſelf. Our Men found it much colder to wade thro' the Water in the beginning of *June*, when the Sea was full of Ice, than in *December* when it was increaſing. Our Well alſo, which yielded Water in *December*, had none in *July*.

The Ground frozen ten Foot deep.

The Ground at ten Foot deep was frozen, and yet I am not of opinion that the Bay freezes all over; for the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we perceived the Ice to riſe ſomething in the Bay.

February.

The Cold was extream this Month, and many of our Men complained, ſome of ſore Mouths, all their Teeth looſe, their Gums ſwoln with black rotten Fleſh, which muſt every day be cut away; others of pain in their Heads and Breaſts; ſome of weakneſs in their Backs; others of aches in their Thighs and Knees, and ſwellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company under the Chirurgion's hand; and yet they muſt work daily, and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber, altho' they had no Shooes to put on. Their Shooes upon their firſt coming to the fire out of the Snow, were ſo burnt and ſcorched, that they would not come upon their Feet, and our ſtore Shooes were all ſunk in the Ship. Our Carpenter alſo was now fal'n ſick, to our great diſcomfort.

I practiſed ſome obſervations by the riſing and ſetting of the Sun, calculating the times of his riſing and ſetting by very true running Glaſſes. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithſtanding that we ſtill kept them by the Fire-ſide in a Cheſt wrap'd in Cloths, yet they were ſo frozen that they could not go. My Obſervations by theſe Glaſſes I compared with the Stars coming to the *Meridian*. By this means I found the Sun to riſe twenty Minutes before it ſhould, and in the Evening to remain above the *Horizon* twenty Minutes longer than it ſhould do, and this by reaſon of the Refraction.

Clock frozen by the Fire's ſide.

When we went upon the Ice to our Ship, the cold was ſometimes ſo extream, that it would freeze the Hair of our Eye-lids, ſo that we could not ſee; and I verily believe it would have ſtifled a Man in a few Hours. The Cold alſo in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any part of our Fleſh that was bare, but was not ſo mortifying as the other. Our Houſe on the Outſide was covered two third parts with Snow, and on the Inſide hung with Iceſickles. The Cloaths on our Beds would be covered with hoar froſt, tho' not far from the Fire. The Cooks Tubs wherein he water'd his Meat, ſtanding about a yard from the fire, and which he did all day ply with melted Snow water, would in the Night time while he ſlept but one watch, be firm frozen to the bottom; ſo that he was forced to water his Meat in a Braſs Kettle cloſe to the fire; and I have many times felt by putting my hand into it, the ſide next the fire to be warm, while the other ſide was an Inch frozen. The Chirurgions Syrups and other Liquids, altho' he had hung them as conveniently as he could to preſerve them, yet they were all frozen. Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in ſmall Caſks in the Houſe was all firmly frozen. It is further remarkable, that in the beginning of *June* the Sea was not broken up, and that the Ground was then frozen, as we found by experience in burying our Men, in ſetting up the King's Standard towards the latter end of *June*, and by our Well at our coming away in the beginning of *July*, altho' at the ſame time it was very hot weather.

Ground frozen in *June*.

March.

The firſt of this month being St. *David's-day*, we kept Holy-day, and prayed for his Highneſs *Charles* Prince of *Wales*.

The 15th, one of our Men thought he had ſeen a Deer, and he with two or three Men deſired if they might go and try if they could kill him; but they returned at Night ſo diſabled with cold which had raiſed bliſters as big as Walnuts on the Soals of their Feet, and on their Legs, that they were not well in a Fortnight after.

The 26th, three more deſired that they alſo might go and try their fortunes; but they returned more diſabled than the former, and almoſt ſtifled with cold. This Evening the Moon roſe in a very long Oval along the *Horizon*.

By the laſt of this Month the Carpenter had ſet up 17 Ground-Timbers, and 34 Staddles, and made what progreſs he could, tho' he was ſo weak that he was led to his labour.

All this Month was very cold, the Wind about N. W. the Snow as deep as it hath been all this Winter, but whereas it may be objected, You were in a Wood, and therefore might make fire enough to keep you from the cold: To this I anſwer, It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South Bank too, or elſe we had all ſtarved: But I muſt tell you withal, how difficult it was to have Wood in a Wood; and firſt ſhall make a muſter of the Tools we had: The Carpenter in his Cheſt had two Axes indeed, but one of them was ſpoiled in cutting down Wood to pile about our Houſe before *Chriſtmas*; we had but two whole Hatchets when we came firſt aſhoar, which in a few days were broken two Inches below the Sockets; I called for three of the Coopers Hatchets; the Carpenter's Ax, and the Cooper's beſt Hatchet I locked up, and order'd the other two Hatchets to be new helved, and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets to be put into a cleft piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Rope-yarn as faſt as might be, which was repaired every day; and theſe were all the cutting Tools we had before *Chriſtmas*. The Carpenter in *February* had out his beſt Ax, and one of the Company in his abſence, by indiſcreet handling of it, brake that to, two Inches below the Socket; whereupon I order'd the Carpenter ſhould have one of the Coopers Hatchets, they that look'd for Timber in the Woods the other; and they that cut down Wood to burn, were to have the two pieces.

Objection.

Thoſe that were appointed to look for crooked Timber, did ſtalk and wade (ſometimes on all four) thro' the Snow, and when they ſaw a Tree likely to fit the Mould, they muſt heave away the Snow to ſee if it would fit the Mould; if not, they muſt ſeek further: If it did fit the Mould, they made a fire to it to thaw it, otherwiſe it could not be cut: Then they cut it down, and fitted it to the length of the Mould, and dragged it a Mile thro' the Snow.

April.

The firſt of this Month being *Eaſter-day*, we kept holy; this day and the two following days were extream cold; and now ſitting all about the Fire, we reaſoned together about our preſent condition: We had five Men (whereof the Carpenter was one) not able to do any thing; the Boatſwain and many other were very infirm; and of all the reſt, we had but five that could eat of their ordinary allowance. The time and ſeaſon of the Year came forward apace, and yet the cold did very little mitigate. Our Pinnace was in an indifferent forwardneſs, but the Carpenter grew worſe and worſe. The Ship (as we then thought) lay full of ſolid Ice, which was weight enough to open the Seams of any new and ſound Veſſel, eſpecially of one that had lain ſo long upon the Ground as ſhe had done. After much arguing, I reſolved upon this Courſe, that with the firſt warm weather we would begin to clear the Ship: In the next place, we looked to thoſe Tools we had to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron Bars (the reſt being ſunk in the Ship) and one of them was broken to. We fitted thoſe Bars, and four broken Shovels, wherewith we intended (as after we did) to dig the Ice out of her, and lay it upon a heap upon the Lar-board-bow, and to ſink down the Ice ſo faſt to the Ground, that it might be a *Barricado* to us when the Ice ſhould break up, which we feared would tear us all to pieces.

The 6th was the deepeſt Snow we had all this Year: It was moiſter and greater than any we had before; for formerly it was as dry as duſt, and as ſmall as Sand, and would drive like duſt with the Wind. The weather continued with this extremity until the 15th, at which time our Spring was harder frozen than it had been all the Year before.

Their Spring more frozen in *April* than before.

The 16th was the moſt comfortable ſunſhiny day that came this Year. I put ſome to clear off the Snow from the upper Decks of the Ship, and to dry the great Cabin, by making fire in it. Others I put to dig down thro' the Ice to come by our Anchor that was in Shoal water, which the next day we got up and carried aboard.

The 18th, I put them to dig down thro' the Ice near the place where we thought our Rudder might be; they digged down and came to water, but could not find it. We feared it might be ſanded, or that the Ice might have carried it away the laſt year. If we could not recover it by digging before the Ice ſhould break up, there would be little hope of it.

The 19th, we continued our mining work aboard the Ship, and in the Evening ſupped aſhoar. The Maſter and two others deſired that they might lie aboard, which I condeſcended to; for indeed they had lain very diſcommodiouſly all the Winter, and with ſick Bedfellows, as I my ſelf had done, every one in that caſe taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing the miſerable groanes and lamentations of the ſick Men, who endured (poor Souls) intolerable torments.

The 21ſt, we had laboured ſo hard in digging out the Ice in the Ship, that we ſaw a Caſk, and could perceive there was ſome water in the Hold. This we knew could not be thawed water, becauſe it did ſtill freeze Night and day.

On

On the 23, we came to pierce the fore-mentioned Cask, and found it full of very good Beer, which did much rejoice us all, especially the sick men, notwithstanding it did tast a little of bulge Water. By this we at that time thought that the holes we had cut to sink the Ship were frozen, and that this Water had stood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th, we went betimes in the Morning to work, but found that the Water was risen above the Ice, where we had left work, about two foot, by reason the Wind had blown very hard at North the Night before. In the Morning the Wind came to South, and blowing hard, we expected a lower Veer of Water: I thereupon put them to work on the outside of the Ship, that we might come to the lower hole which we had cut in the Sternshoots. With much labour by Night we digged down thro' the Ice to it, and found it unfrozen (as it had been all the Winter) and to our great comforts we found that on the inside the Water was ebbed even with the hole, and that on the outside it was ebbed a Foot lower. Hereupon I caused a board to be nailed on it, as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other way. We had digged to the other two Holes on the inside, and found them frozen: Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship founder'd, we might resolve of some course to save or prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice was broken up; for as for our Boat, it was too little, and bulged besides. Our Carpenter was by this time past hope, and consequently we had little hope of our Pinnace. But what was worst of all, we had not four Men able to travel thro' the Snow; in such miserable condition we were at present.

The 25th, we satisfied our longing; for the Wind coming Northerly, the Water rose by the Ship side (where we had digged down) a Foot and more above the Hold, and yet did not rise within board. This did so encourage us, that we fell very lustily to digging, and heaving the Ice out of the Ship. I put the Cook and some others to thaw the Pumps, who by continual pouring hot Water into them, by the 27th in the Morning had cleared one of them, which we found would deliver water very sufficiently, and having cleared two Foot water, we then left off, to have a second trial. Continuing thus to dig the Ice, on the 28th we had cleared our other Pump, which we also found to deliver water very well: We found likewise that the Water did not rise in the Hold.

The 29th, it rained all day long, a sure sign that Winter was broke up.

The 30th, we were betimes aboard at our work; this day and the next were very cold, with Snow and Hail, which pinched our sick Men more than any time this year. We returned late to our House, and it being *May* Even, made a good fire, and chose Ladies, and did ceremoniously wear their Names in our Caps, endeavouring to revive our selves by any means: And because you hear us in this merry humour, I shall next make known to you what good cheer we kept at *Christmas* and *Easter*, and how we had dieted our selves all the Winter.

At our coming from *England*, we were stored with all sorts of Sea Provision, as Beef, Pork, Fish, &c. but now having little hope of refreshing, we order'd it in this manner.

The Beef which was to serve on Sunday Night for Supper, our Cook did boil on *Saturday* Night in a Kettle full of Water, with a quart of Oatmeal, about an Hour; then taking out the Beef, he boiled the rest till it came to half the quantity, and this we called Porridge, which we did eat with Bread as hot as we could, and after it, had our Ordinary of Fish. On *Sunday* at dinner we had Pork and Pease, and at Night the former boiled Beef made more Pottage. In this manner our *Tuesday*'s Beef was boiled on *Munday* Nights, and the *Thursday*'s upon *Wednesday* Nights; and thus all the Week except *Friday* Night, we had something warm in our Bellies for Supper, which certainly did us a great deal of good. But soon after *Christmas* many of us fell sick, and having sore Mouths, could eat neither Beef, Pork, Fish nor Pottage; their diet was only this: They would pound Bread or Oatmeal in a Mortar to Meal, then fry it with a little Oyl, and so eat it: Some would boil Pease to a soft Past, and feed as well as they could upon that: For the most part of the Winter, Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter we took not above a dozen Foxes, many of which had been dead in the Traps two or three days, and when the Blood was setled, were unwholsome: But when we took one alive that had not been long in the Trap, we boiled him, and made Broth for the weakest of the sick Men, who eat the Flesh also after it was well boiled: Some white Partridges we killed, but not worth the mentioning.

Some of our sick Men were so weak, that they could not turn themselves in their Beds; others were almost cripled with Aches; the rest had sore Mouths: Our Surgeon was up betimes every Morning, and whilst he picked their Teeth and cut away the dead Flesh from their Gums, they bathed their own Thighs, Knees, and Legs: The manner whereof was this; There was no Tree, Bud, or Herb, but we made trial of it, which being first boiled in a Kettle, and poured into small Tubs and Basons, they put it under them, and covering themselves with Cloths, the grieved parts were so mollified thereby, that tho' they could scarce stand when they rose out of their Beds, yet within half an hour they would be able to go (and must go) thro' the Snow to the Wood, and to the Ship. By Night they would be as bad again, and then they must be again bathed, anointed, and have their Mouths dresst before they went to bed. And with this Diet, and in this manner we went thro' our Miseries.

I ever feared that we should be weakest in the Spring, and therefore had reserved a Tun of *Alicant* Wine unto this time: Of this, by putting seven parts of Water to one of Wine, we made some weak Beaverage, which was little better than Water, the Wine being frozen, having lost its virtue. The sicker sort had a pint of *Alicant* a day by it self, and a little Dram of such poor *Aqua Vitæ* as we had, every Morning next their Hearts. And thus we made the best use of what we had, according to the Seasons.

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

The second, it did snow and blow, and was so cold, that we kept in the House all day. This unexpected cold at this time of the Year, did so vex our sick Men, that they grew worse and worse; we could not now take them out of their Beds but they would swound, and we had much ado to fetch life into them.

The third, those that were able went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. The Snow was now melted in many places upon the Land, and stood in plashes, and now there came some Cranes and Geese to it.

The fourth, whilst the rest wrought aboard, I and the Surgeon went with a couple of pieces to see if we could kill any of these Fowl for our sick men; but never did I see such wild Fowl; they would not endure to see any thing move, wherefore I returned in two Hours, not being able to endure stalking thro' the Snow and wet Plashes.

The sixth *John Warden*, our chief Mate, died, whom we buried in the Evening in the most Christian manner we could, upon the top of a bare Hill of Sand. The weather continued very cold, freezing so hard in a Night, that it would bear a Man. The chief Mate dies.

By the 9th, we were come to, and got up our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and found our four Buts of Beer, and one of Cider, which God had preserved for us. It had lain under water all the Winter, yet we could not perceive that it was any thing the worse; God make us ever thankful for the comfort it gave us.

The 13th, it snowed and blowed so cold, that we could not stir out of the House; yet the Snow vanisheth away apace upon the Land.

The 11th, we were aboard betimes, to heave out Ice. By the 12th at Night we had cleared all the Ice out of the Hold, and found likewise our stere Shooes, which had lain soaking in water all the Winter; but we dried them by the fire, and fitted our selves with them. We struck again our Cables into the Hold, and there stowed a But of Wine also, which had been all the Winter on the upper Deck, and continued as yet firmly frozen. We fitted the Ship also, making her ready to sink her again when the Ice should break up. We could hitherto find no defect in her, and therefore hoped that she was stanch. The Carpenter nevertheless did earnestly argue to the contrary, alledging, that now she had lain on the Ground in her Dock, and that the Ice had filled her Defects, which for the present kept out the Water, but when she should come to labour in the Sea, then doubtless she would open; and indeed we could now see quite thro' her Seams betwixt Wind and Water. But that which troubled us most was the loss of our Rudder; and that she now lay in the very strength of the Tide, which whenever the Ice should drive, might tear her to pieces; but we still hoped the best.

The 13th, being the Sabbath-day, we solemnly gave God thanks for those Hopes and Comforts we daily had. The Weather by day was pretty warm, but it did freeze by Night. We could now see some bare patches of Land.

The

The 14th, the Boatswain and others fought the rest of our Rigging athoar, which was much spoiled by pecking it out of the Ice, and then fitted and served it. I set the Cooper to fit our Cask, my intent being to pass some Cables under the Ship, and so to buoy her up with these Cask, if we could not otherwise get her off. Some I order'd to go and see if they could kill some wild Fowl for our sick Men, who now grew worse and worse. We had no shot but what we made of the Aprons of our Guns, and some old old Pewter that I had; for the Carpenter's Sheer-Lead we durst not use.

The 15th, I manured a little patch of Ground that was bare of Snow, and sowed it with Pease, hoping to have some of the Herbs of them shortly to eat; for as yet we can find no green thing to comfort us.

The Carpenter dies. The 18th, our Carpenter *William Cole* died, a Man generally bemoaned by us all, as much for his innate goodness as for the present necessity we had for a Man of his profession. He had endured a long sickness with much patience, and made a very godly end. In the Evening we buried him by Mr. *Warden*, accompanied with as many as could go; for three more of our principal Men, lay then expecting a good hour. Before his extream weakness, he had made the Pinnace ready to be boulted and trenail'd, and to be joined together to receive the Plank; so that we were not so discouraged by his death, but that we hoped of our selves to finish her, if the Ship proved unserviceable.

The Pinnace described. This our Pinnace was 27 Foot by the Keel, 10 Foot by the Beam, and five Foot in the Hold: She had 17 Ground-timbers, 34 principal Staddles, and eight short Staddles: He had contrived her with a round Stern, to save labour, and indeed she was a well proportioned Vessel: Her burthen was 12 or 14 Tun.

In the Evening, the Master after Burial returning aboard Ship, and looking about her, discovered some part of our Gunner under the Gun-room-ports. This Man we had committed to the Sea, at a good distance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near six Months before.

The Gunner found. The 19th, I sent Men to dig him out, he was fast in the Ice, his Head downward, and his Heel upward, for he had but one Leg, and the Plaister was yet at his Wound. In the Afternoon they had digged him clear out, and he was as free from noisomness as when we committed him to the Sea, the Ice, Water, and Time having wrought this only alteration on him, that his Flesh would slip up and down upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand: In the Evening we buried him by the others. The Snow was by this time pretty well wasted in the Woods, and we having a high Tree on the highest place of the Island, which we called our *Watch-tree*, from the top of it could see into the Sea, but saw no appearance of breaking up yet.

The 20th, being *Whitsunday*, we sadly solemnized: The next day was the warmest sunshine day that came this year: I sent two a fowling, and my self, the Master, Surgeon, and one more, with our Pieces and Dogs, went into the Woods, and wandring eight Miles from the House, returned comfortless, not finding an Herb or Leaf that was eatable: Our Fowlers had as bad success. The Snow in the Woods was partly wasted away, and the Ponds were almost unthawed, but the Sea appeared all firm frozen.

Snow exhaled by the Sun, and not melted. The Snow doth not melt here with the Sun or Rain, and so make Land-floods as in *England*, but is exhaled up by the Sun, and suck'd full of holes like Honey-combs, so that the Sand whereon it lies, will not be at all wetted. We observed also, that let it rain never so much, we had no Land-floods after it.

The 22d, we went aboard the Ship, and found that she had made so much Water, that it was now risen above the Ballast, which made us doubt again of her soundness; we fell to pumping, and pump'd her quite dry. We had now sometimes such hot glooms, that we could not endure the Sun, and yet in the Night it would freeze very hard. This unnaturalness of the Season tormented our men, that they now grew worse and worse daily.

The 23d, our Boatswain, a painful man, having been long sick, which he had heartily resisted, was taken with such a pain in one of his Thighs, that we verily thought he would presently have died: He kept his Bed all day in great extremity; and it was a Maxim among us, that if any one kept his Bed two days, he could rise no more; this made every man strive to keep up for life.

The 24th, was a very warm sunshine day, and the Ice did consume by the Shoar's side, and crack'd all over the Bay with a fearful noise. In the Afternoon we perceived the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship, whereupon I went with all speed to the Master, ordering him to beat out the hole, and sink the Ship, as likewise to look for the Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he presently performed, and a happy Fellow pecking betwixt the Ice, struck upon it, and crying that he had found it, the rest came, and got it upon the Ice, and so into the Ship. In the meantime with the little drift the Ice had, it began to rise and mount into high heaps, against the Shoars and Rocks, and also against the heap of Ice which was our *Barricado*. We were forced to cut away 20 Fathom of Cable, which was frozen in the Ice. After an hour the Ice setled again, not having any vent outwards. This was a joyfull day to us all, and we gave God thanks for the hopes we had of it. They find their Rudder.

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

The 26th, I took the Chirurgion with me, and went to that Bay where *John Barton* was lost last year, but could find no sign of him; and having wandred in the Woods, we returned without any relief.

The 28th, it was pretty clear betwixt the Ship and Shoar, and I hoped the Ice would no more dangerously oppress us, wherefore I caused the lower hole to be firmly stopp'd, the Water then remaining three Foot above the Ballast.

The 29th, being Prince *Charles* his Birth-day, we kept Holyday, and displayed our Colours aboard and ashoar, and named our Habitation *Charles Town*, by contraction *Charleton*, and the Island *Charlton Island*.

The 30th, we launched our Boat, and had intercourse betwixt the Ship and Shoar by Boat, which was news to us.

The last of this Month, we found on the Beach some Vetches appearing out of the Ground, which I caused to be picked up and boiled for our sick Men. This day we had fitted all our Rigging and Sails, and it being a very hot day, we dried and new made all our Fish in the Sun, and aired all our other Provisions. There was not a Man of us at present able to eat of our salt Provisions, but my self and the Master of my Ship. It may be here remembred, that all this Winter we had not been troubled with any Rheums or phlegmatick Diseases. All this Month the Wind was variable, but for the most part Northerly.

June. *June*, the four first days it did snow, hail, and blow very hard, and was so cold, that the Ponds of Water did freeze over, and the Water in our Cans did freeze in the very house; our Cloaths also that had been washed and hung out to dry, did not thaw all day.

They heave the Ship from the place where she lay sunk at the Water. The fifth, it continued blowing very hard in the broad side of the Ship, which did make her to swag and wallow in her Dock, and much shake her, altho' she was sunk; the Ice withal did drive against her, and give her many fearful blows. I resolved to endeavour to hang the Rudder, and when God sent us water (notwithstanding the abundance of Ice that was yet about us) to have her further off. In the Afternoon we underrun our small Cable to our Anchor, which lay astern in deep water, and with some difficulty got it up. This Cable had lain slack under Foot, and under the Ice all the Winter, and we could not have a clear slatch from Ice to get it up before now; we found it not a jot the worse. I put some to make Cole-rakes, that they might go into the water and rake a hole in the Sands to let down our Rudder.

The 6th, we went about to hang it, and our young lustiest Men took turns to go into the water and rake away the Sand, but they were not able to endure the cold of it half a quarter of an hour, it was so mortifying, and would make them swound away. We brought it to the Stern Post, but were then fain to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we plugged up the upper holes within board, and pump'd out the water again.

Danger escaped. The 7th, we wrought something about our Rudder, but were forced again to give over, and to put our Cables over board, with Messengers to them, the Anchors lying to that pass, that we might keep her right in her Dock, when we should bring her light.

By the 8th at Night, we had pump'd all the water out of her, and she would float in her Dock at high water, tho' she was still dock'd in the Sands almost four Foot. This made us consider what was best to be done: I resolved to heave out all the Ballast, because the bottom of her being so soaked all the Winter, I hoped was so heavy as to bear her. If we could not get her off that way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Masts, and so with our Cask to buoy her off.

The 9th, we hoisted out our Beer and Cider, and made a raft of it, fastening it to our Shoar Anchor.

The

The Beer and Cider ſunk preſently to the Ground; which was not ſtrange to us, becauſe any Wood or Pipe-ſtaves that had lain under the Ice all the Winter, would ſink down as ſoon as it was heaved over-board: This day we heaved out ten Tun of Ballaſt. And here I muſt remember God's goodneſs to us in ſending the aforeſaid green Vetches; for now our ſick Men that could not ſtir theſe three Months, were able to walk about the Houſe, and it was wonderful to ſee how ſoon they were recovered. Twice a day we gathered the Herb or Leaf of theſe Vetches, as they firſt appeared out of the Ground, then waſhed and boiled them, and ſo with Oyl and Vinegar that had been frozen, did eat them. It was an excellent ſuſtenance of refreſhing; moſt part of us did eat nothing elſe: We alſo bruiſed them, and mixed the Juice with our Drink, and did eat them raw with our Bread.

The ſick Men recover by eating Vetches.

The 11th, being very warm weather, we did hang our Rudder: The Tides now very much deceived us, for a Northerly Wind would raiſe the Water but very little, which made us doubt of getting off our Ship.

The 14th, we heaved out all the Ballaſt, and carried all our Yards and other weighty things aſhoar, ſo that the Ship was now as light as poſſibly could be.

The 15th, I went to our *Watch-tree*, but the Sea (for any thing I could perceive to the contrary) was ſtill firmly frozen, and the Bay we were in, all full of Ice, having no way to vent it.

The 16th was wondrous hot, with ſome thunder and lightning, ſo that our Men went into the Ponds athoar to ſwim and cool themſelves; yet was the Water very cold ſtill. Here lately appeared divers ſorts of Flies, as Butter-flies, Butchers-flies, Horſe-flies, and ſuch an infinite abundance of blood thirſty *Muskito's*, that we were more tormented with them, than ever we were with the cold weather: Theſe (I think) lie dead in the old rotten Wood all Winter, and in Summer revive again. Here be likewiſe infinite Companies of Ants, and alſo Frogs in the Ponds, but we durſt not eat them, they looked ſo ſpeckled like Toads. By this time there were neither Bears, Foxes nor Fowl to be ſeen, they are all gone.

Sorts of Flies and Muskito's.

The 17th, the Wind came Northerly, and we expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes, put out our ſmall Cable aſtern out of the Gun-room-port, but the Morning Tide we had not water by a Foot. In the Evening I had laid Marks by Stones, and obſerving the Water to flow apace, I made ſigns for the Boat to come aſhoar, and taking with me aboard all that were able to do any thing, altho' at high water ſhe wanted ſomething to riſe out of her Dock, yet we heaved with ſuch a good will, that we heaved her thro' the Sand into a Foot and a half deep Water; further than ſo, we durſt not yet bring her, becauſe the Ice was all thick about us. After we had moored her, we went all to Prayers, and gave God thanks for giving us our Ship again.

They heave the Ship from the place where ſhe lay ſunk at the Water.

The 18th, ſome filled freſh water, others piled Stones on heaps, which were carried aboard in the Boat. We firmly ſtopped the two upper holes, and fitted convenient places to make others if occaſion were.

The 19th, we were betimes at work; theſe two days our Ship did not float, and it was a happy hour when we got her off, for we never had ſuch a high Tide all the time we were here. I went up to our *Watch-tree*, and this was the firſt time I ſaw open water: This put us in ſome comfort that the Sea would ſhortly break up, which we knew muſt be to the Northwards, being certain there was above 200 Leagues of Sea that way.

The 20th, the Wind at N. N. W. the Tide roſe ſo high, that our Ship floated, and we drew her off into a foot and a half deeper Water: Thus we did it by little and little, becauſe the Ice was ſtill very thick about us.

The 22d, there drove much Ice about us and within us, and brought home our Stern Anchor. At high water we heaved our Ship further off, that ſhe might lie afloat at low water.

The next low water we ſounded all about our Ship, and found it very foul ground: We diſcovered Stones three foot high above the Ground, two of which were within a Ship's breadth of the Ship, whereby manifeſtly appeared God's mercy to us; for if when we forced her athoar, ſhe had ſtruck one blow againſt thoſe Stones, it had bulged her. Many ſuch Dangers were in this Bay, which we now firſt perceived by the grounding and riſing of the Ice againſt them. In the Evening we towed off the Ship to the place where ſhe rode laſt Year, and there moored her.

Danger eſcaped.

The 23d, we laboured in fetching our Proviſions aboard, being forced to wade a flight ſhot to carry them to the Boat; and whereas I had formerly cut down a very high Tree, and made a Croſs of it, I now faſtned to the upper part of it, the Pictures of the King and Queen drawn to the life, and ſo cloſely wrapped in double Lead, that no weather could hurt them. Betwixt them I affixed his Majeſties Royal Title, *viz.* Charles *the* I. *King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *as alſo of* Newfoundland, *and of theſe Territories, and to the Weſtward as far as* Nova Albion, *and to the Northward to the Latitude of* 80 *Degrees*, &c.

On the outſide of the Lead I faſtened a Shilling and a Sixpence of his Majeſties Coin, under that we faſtened the King's Arms fairly cut in Lead, and under that the Arms of the City of *Briſtol*; and this being *Midſummer-day*, we raiſed it on the top of a bare Hill where we had buried our Men.

The Wind continuing Southerly, and blowing hard, put all the Ice upon us, ſo that the Ship now rode amongſt it in ſuch apparent danger, that I thought verily we ſhould have loſt her: We laboured Flood and Ebb with Poles and Oars, but it was God that preſerved us; for it was paſt any Man's underſtanding how the Ship could endure it, or we by our Labour ſave her. In the Night the Wind ſhifted to the Weſtward, and blew the Ice from us, whereby we had ſome reſt.

The 25th, we fetch'd the reſt of our Proviſions aboard, and began to rig the Ship. At ten at Night, when it was ſomewhat dark, I took a Lance in my Hand, and one with me a Muſket and ſome Fire, and went to our *Watch-tree* to make a fire on the moſt eminent place of the Iſland, to ſee if it would be anſwered: Such Fires I had formerly made, to try if there were any Savages on the Main, or the Iſlands about us. Had there been any, my purpoſe was to have gone to them, to get intelligence of ſome Chriſtians, or ſome Ocean-Sea thereabouts. When I came to the Tree I laid down my Lance, and ſo did my Conſort his Muſket, and while I climbed up to the top of the Tree, I ordered him to put fire to ſome low Tree thereabouts. He unadviſedly put fire to ſome Trees that were to windward, ſo that they and all the reſt being very dry, took fire like Flax, and the Wind blowing it towards me, I haſtened down the Tree, but before I was half way down, the fire took in the bottom of it, and blazed ſo fiercely upwards, that I was forced to leap off the Tree, and with much ado eſcaped burning: The Moſs on the Ground was as dry as Flax, and would run like a Train along the Earth: The Muſket and Lance were both burnt. My Conſort at laſt came to me, and was joyful to ſee me, for he thought verily I had been burnt; and thus we returned together, leaving the fire increaſing, and ſtill burning moſt furiouſly. At break of day I went again to the Hills, from whence I ſaw it ſtill burning moſt vehemently both to the Weſtward and Northward, but could ſee no anſwer of it. Leaving one upon the Hills to watch it, I came home immediately, and made them take down our new ſuit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea ſide, ready to be caſt in if occaſion were. About Noon the Wind ſhifted Northerly, and our Centinel came running home, bringing us Word that the Fire did follow hard at his Heels like a Train of Powder: It was no need to bid us take down and carry all away to the Sea-ſide. The Fire came towards us with a moſt terrible rattling noiſe, bearing a full Mile in breadth, and by that time we had uncovered our Houſes, and laid hand on our laſt things, the Fire had ſeized our Town, and in a thrice burnt it down to the Ground: We loſt nothing of any value in it, having brought all away into a place of ſecurity. Our Dogs in this combuſtion would ſit down on their Tails and howl, and then run into the Sea on the Shoals, and there ſtay. This Night we lay all together aboard Ship, and gave God thanks that had ſhipp'd us in her again.

The Carman narrowly eſcapes burning.

Their Houſes burnt.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard in getting our things aboard, and in fetching drift Wood, our Tools being ſo ſpoiled that we could cut none: I had cauſed our Pinnace to be ſawed in pieces, wherewith we ſtowed our Caſk, and intended to burn it at low waters, and ſuch other times as we could not work in carrying things aboard.

The 30th, we brought our Sails to Yard, labouring hard to finiſh our buſineſs with the Week and the Month, that we might the better ſolemnize the Sabbath aſhoar to morrow, and ſo take leave of our wintering Iſland.

The Bays were now clear of Ice, for it was all gone to the Northwards. The manner of its breaking up was thus; Firſt you muſt know that it doth not freeze naturally above ſix Foot, as we found by experience in digging to our Anchors; the reſt is by accident, ſuch as that Ice here which is ſix Fathom thick. When the heat increaſes in *May*, it thaws firſt on the Shoals by the Shoar-ſide, and then the courſes of the Tides do ſo ſhake the main Ice that it cracks and breaks, and having thus got room for motion, one piece of it runs upon another, until it

The Sea does not freeze naturally above ſix Foot.

come to a vaſt thickneſs. The Seaſon in this ſandy Country is moſt unnatural, for in the day time it will be ſo hot as not to be endured in the Sun, and in the Night again it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and Tubs in and about our Houſe; and all this towards the end of *June*.

The *Muskito's* upon our coming away were moſt intolerable; we tore an old Enſign in pieces, and made Bags to put our Heads in, yet notwithſtanding they would find ways and means to ſting us, and were more tormenting to us than all the cold we had endured.

July. *July* the firſt, being Sunday, we adorned our Ship the beſt we could, our Enſign on the Poop, and the King's Colours on the Main-top. I had provided a ſhort Narrative of all the Paſſages of our Voyage to this day, in what ſtate we were at preſent, and how I intended to proſecute the Diſcovery both to the Weſtward and the Southward, concluding with a requeſt to any noble minded Traveller that ſhould take it down, that if we ſhould periſh in the Action, then to make our Endeavours known to our ſoveraign Lord the King; and thus with our Arms, Drum and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went aſhoar, and firſt march'd up to our eminent Croſs, adjoining to which we had buried our dead Fellows, where we read Morning Prayer, and then walked up and down till Dinner time. After Dinner we walked to the higheſt Hills to ſee which way the Fire had waſted; we deſcried that it had conſumed to the Weſtward 16 Miles at leaſt, and the whole breadth of the Iſland; it could not come near our Croſs and Dead, being upon a bare ſandy Hill. After Evening Prayer, as I walked along the Beach, I found an Herb reſembling Scurvy-graſs, which we boiled with our Meat at Supper: It was excellently good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we all went to ſeek and gather more of it, and got about two Buſhels, which much refreſhed us; and now the Sun was ſet, and the Boat come aſhoar for us, whereupon we aſſembled and went up to take the laſt view of our dead, where leaning upon mine Arm on one of their Tombs, I utter'd theſe Lines, which tho' perchance they may procure laughter in the wiſer ſort (which I ſhall be glad of) they yet moved my young and tender hearted Companions at that time with ſome Compaſſion.

The Fire had conſumed 16 Miles.

I were unkind unleſs that I did ſhed,
Before I part, ſome Tears upon our Dead:
And when my Eyes be dry, I will not ceaſe
In heart to pray, their Bones may reſt in peace:
Their better parts (good Souls) I know were given,
With an intent they ſhould return to Heaven:
Their Lives they ſpent to the laſt drop of Blood,
Seeking God's glory, and their Countries good.
And as a valiant Souldier rather dies,
Than yields his Courage to his Enemies;
And ſtops their way with his hew'd Fleſh, when Death
Hath quite depriv'd him of his Strength and Breath;
So have they ſpent themſelves; and here they lie,
A famous Mark of our Diſcovery.
We that ſurvive, perchance may end our Days,
In ſome Employment meriting no praiſe,
And in a Dung-hill rot; when no Man names
The memory of us, but to our ſhames.
They have outliv'd this fear, and their brave ends
Will ever be an honour to their Friends.
Why drop you ſo mine Eyes? Nay rather pow'r
My ſad departure in a ſolemn Show'r.
The Winter's Cold that lately froze our Blood,
Now were it ſo extream, might do this good,
As make theſe Tears bright Pearls, which I would lay
Tomb'd ſafely with you till Doom's fatal Day.
That in this ſolitary place, where none
Will ever come to breath a ſigh or groan,
Some remnant might be extant, of the true
And faithful love, I ever tendred you.
Oh! reſt in peace, dear Friends, and let it be
No pride to ſay the ſometime part of me.
What pain and anguiſh doth afflict the Head,
The Heart and Stomach, when the Limbs are dead.
So griev'd, I kiſs your Graves, and vow to die,
A Foſter-Father to your memory.

Farewel.

They leave their winter-ing Iſland.

We then took Boat and departed: The Iſland was very full of Spruce and Juniper Trees, but the biggeſt Tree I ſaw was but a Foot and a half over. At our firſt coming we ſaw ſome Deer, and kill'd one, but never any ſince. We ſaw many Foxes all the Winter, and kill'd ſome dozens of them, but they went all away in *May*; we ſaw but few Bears, and kill'd none. In *May* there came ſome Fowls, as Ducks and Geeſe, of which we kill'd very few: We ſaw ſome white Patridges, but in ſmall numbers, nor had we any Shot to ſhoot at them. Fiſh we could never ſee in the Sea, nor no Bones of Fiſh on the Shoar-ſide: we ſaw indeed a few Cockle-ſhels, but nothing in them.

No Fiſh in this Bay.

Our Diſcovery, and coming home.

July, 1632, *Munday* the 2d, we ſtowed and fitted our Ship, and weighed our Anchors, and when the laſt was a trip, went to prayers, beſeeching God to continue his mercy to us, and rendering him thanks for having thus reſtored us. We found no defect in our Ship; had abundance of ſuch Proviſions as we brought out of *England*; were in indifferent health, and gathered ſtrength daily. The Wind at N. W. we ſet ſail, and ſtood over to *Danly* Iſland to take in more Wood. I went aſhoar in the Boat, becauſe ſome of the Company told me they ſaw ſome Stakes the laſt year driven into the Ground: I went to the place, and found two Stakes driven about a Foot and a half into the Ground, and Fire-brands by them; I pull'd up the Stakes, which were about the bigneſs of my Arm, and cut ſharp at the ends with a Hatchet, or ſome good Iron Tool: They were diſtant about a Stones throw from the Water-ſide. I cannot conceive to what purpoſe they ſhould be there ſet, unleſs it were for ſome Marks for Boats. In the Evening we returned with a Boat's lading of Wood.

The third, at break of day we weighed, and with our Lead ſounding for a Channel among theſe perilous Shoals, and were many times in five and four Fathom. We ſtood away Weſt, and by Noon ſaw all Ice to the Northward of us, endeavouring therefore to compaſs the Weſtern Point of *Charleton* Iſland, and ſo ſeek to the Southwards, we found it all Shoals, Rocks and Breaches. By four we ſaw the Weſtern Land, all full of Ice, whereupon we ſtood along it to the Northward.

The 4th was calm, but ſo thick a Fog, that we could not ſee a Piſtol-ſhot from us. The next day we weighed, but Ice being all about us, we knew not which way to turn us; and thus we continued peſtered and tormented with Ice and Fogs till the 22d. We ſtruck ſuch blows againſt the Ice, that the Fore part of the Ship would crack again, and make our Cook and others run up amazed, thinking the Ship had been beaten all to pieces; and twenty times in a day the Men would run down into the Hold to ſee if ſhe were bulged.

Sometimes when we had made her faſt in the Night to a great piece of Ice, we ſhould have ſuch violent ſtorms, that our faſtening would break, and then the Storm would beat us from piece to piece moſt fearfully: Sometimes we were incloſed with Ice as high as our Poop; this was made, as I formerly obſerved, by one piece running upon another, which made it draw eight or ten Fathom Water. Sometimes the lowermoſt would riſe from underneath, and ſtrike us under the Bulge with pieces of ſix or eight Tun, that many times we have pump'd clear Water for an Hour together, before we could make the Pump ſuck. Among theſe hourly Dangers, I over-heard the Men murmur and ſay, that they were happy that I had buried, and that if they had a thouſand Pounds, they would give it, ſo they lay fairly by them; for we (ſaid they) are deſtined to ſtarve upon a piece of Ice. I was forced to endure all with patience, and to comfort them again when I had them in a better humour.

The 22d, after a ſtormy Night, we ſaw Cape *Henrietta Maria*, and hoiſting out our Boat, took our Arms and Dogs, and went aſhoar: We erected a Croſs upon the moſt eminent place, and faſtened the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of *Briſtol* to it; and then ſeeking about, we ſaw about a dozen Deer, very goodly Beaſts; we ſtole towards them with the beſt ſkill we had, and then put our Dogs on them, but the Deer ran away from them at pleaſure. We tired the Dogs, and wearied ourſelves to no purpoſe, neither could we come to ſhoot at them. We took half a dozen young Geeſe, by wading to them in the Pools, and ſo returned to our Boat, vexed that we had found a place where there was Refreſhment, and could get none of it. Whereas therefore we had kept our Dogs with a great deal of inconvenience, aboard the Ship all the Winter, and had pardoned them many Miſdemeanors (for they would ſteal our Meat out of the Steeping-tubs) in hopes they might hereafter do us ſome ſervice, and ſeeing they now did not, and that there was no hope they could hereafter, I left them aſhoar: They were a Dog and a Bitch, Buck Dogs of a very good Race. I ſaw no ſign of any Savages, nor found

They ſay ſome Deer.

found any Herbs or other refreshment here. In the Evening returning aboard, we made sail, hoping for an open Sea to the N. W. and sailing amongst shatter'd Ice till the 30th, it will be needless to relate every particular day's Passage, which was much alike to us. Our Ship was now become very leaky, so that we must pump every half watch. Here I called a Consultation, and we were all of the same opinion, that it was impossible to get to the Northwards or the Eastwards, by reason of the Ice; wherefore I resolved to stand to the Westward, and caused the Ship to be fitted, and places convenient again prepared to sink her the second time, if we should be put to extremities.

August. The 5th, we were in Latitude of 55 Deg. 30 Min. The Cape bearing S. E. by E. some 12 Leagues off, and this is all we have gotten since the 22d of *July*. It blew a violent gale of Wind all Night at W. N. W. and about Midnight our Hawser by which we had made fast to a piece of Ice, broke, and we lost 14 Fathom of it. We beat all Night most fearfully, being tost from piece to piece, because in the dark we durst not venture our Men to go forth on the Ice for fear of loosing them. The Storm continued all the 6th, and drove us again with the Ice almost to the Cape.

The 7th, was the most comfortable day we had since we came out of our wintring place: our Leak stop'd of its own accord.

The 8th, we anchored in eight Fathom, the main Ice two Miles to windward of us. The Wind increasing about Midnight, the Ship did drive, and was quickly in five Fathom, whereupon we let fall our Sheet-Anchor, and both held her. But that which troubled us most was, that we expected every Minute when the main Ice would come upon us, and then we must be put ashoar.

The 9th, I caused all our empty Cask to be filled with Water, and the Ship to be left unpump'd, and the places looked to that we had prepared to sink her, we being at present in as apparent danger, as any time this Voyage. It was all foul rocky Ground, and if we made fast to a piece of Ice, then as soon as it came aground upon these Rocks, it would break all to pieces, and betray us to our destruction. At Noon the point of a Rand of Ice came foul of us, and we perceiving open Water beyond it, drop'd an Anchor, thinking to ride and break thro' it; thrusting therefore and fending with our Poles, at last a great piece came thwart our Hawse, and the Ship fell upon it so violently, that I expected every blow she would beat out her Bows; at length she drove with it, so that I thought the Cable had been broken: We brought it to Capston, and found that our Sheet-Anchor was broken in the middle of the Shank: We set our Sails, and a dark Night coming on, we made fast to the biggest piece we could find. If any Man ask, why we kept so near the Shoar in this continual danger? I answer, Because the Ice was so thick in the Offing, that we could make no way thro' it.

On the 15th, we had a most violent Storm, which did break the Ice into pieces as big as a Boat of three or four Tuns, and gave us many a heavy blow in the dark Night: And thus we continued for the space of six Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death. When we were two days together fastned to a piece of Ice, we used to set Marks on it to see how it did consume, but could not in that time perceive any diminution by the sinking of it or otherwise; Nevertheless I think it is ruined with Storms, or consumed with heat some Years, or else the Bay would be choaked with Ice. I have in *July* and the beginning of *August*, taken some of the Ice into the Ship, and cutting it two Foot square, put it into the Boat, where the Sun did shine on it with a very strong reflex about it, and notwithstanding the warmth of the Ship (for we kept a good fire) and all our Breathings and Motions, it would not be melted in eight or ten days.

The 24th, we had a violent Storm at S. S. E. so that we took in our Fore-sail, and let her drive N. W. The Storm continued all the next day in its utmost malice, and did so perplex us, that there were but few that did sleep or eat a bit these 24 hours.

The 26th, by two in the Morning we were suddenly come in amongst the Ice. When day appeared, we could from Top-mast-head see the Ice to the N. N. W. the N. W. and so round about by the South to the East: It was all flat sound Ice in main Rands, and the Sea as smooth as a Well amongst it. This struck us all into a Dump, whereupon I called a Consultation of my Associates, *viz.* the Lieutenant, Master, his Mate, the Chirurgion, and Boatswain, requiring them to advise and counsel me how to prosecute our business to effect. They went together and seasoned among themselves, and then brought me their Opinion in writing under their Hands, *viz.*

The Officers Reasons for their return.

Our Advice is, that you repair homeward, from this present 26th, and that for these Reasons: First, Because the Nights are long, and so extream cold withal, that we can hardly handle our Sails and Rigging. Secondly, The times are now subject to stormy and gusty weather, as witness the present Season, it having continued a storm ever since the 24th, and is yet no weather to discover in. Thirdly, We doubt whether *Hudson's Straits* will be so clear of Ice as to be passable, Winter coming on apace. Fourthly, we must have a set of fair weather to pass the Strait, which we may stay for a long time, if we neglect the first Opportunity. Fifthly, Because our Ship is very leaky, so that in foul weather we are forced to pump every Glass; and we know her to be so sorely bruised with Rocks and blows of the Ice, that she is no more to be adventur'd amongst it; and besides all this, our Men grow very weak and sickly with extream labour. Sixthly, The Season of the Year is so far spent, that we can expect no other weather than we have had, *viz.* Snow and Fog, freezing our Rigging, and making every thing so slippery, that a Man can scarce stand; and all this with the Wind Southerly, which if it should come to the Northward, then we are to expect far worse. Seventhly and lastly, That the Ice lies all in thick Rands, in the very way we should go; and therefore we conclude as aforesaid, that there is no possibility of proceeding further; wherefore we here counsel you to return homeward, hoping that God will give us a favourable Passage, and return us home safe to our native Country, if we take time, and not tempt him too far by our wilfulness.

Indeed most of these Reasons were in view, and I knew not how to oppose them, nor any reason could I give how we might proceed further; wherefore, with a sorrowful Heart God knows, I consented that the Helm should be born up, and a Course shaped for *England*, well hoping that his Majesty would graciously censure my Endeavours, and pardon my return; and altho' we have not discover'd populous Kingdoms, and taken special notice of their Magnificence, Power, and Policies, brought Samples home of their Riches and Commodities, pried into the Misteries of their Traffick, nor made any great fight against the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet I wish our Willingness in these desert parts, may be acceptable to our Readers. When we bore up the Helm, we were in Lat. 65, 30, at least, N. W. by N. from *Nottingham*-Island.

The 27th, we were thwart of Cape *Charles*; it snowed much last Night, and was very cold, so that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land covered with Snow; and having formerly spoken of the much Snow in these parts, it will not be amiss to consider the Reasons of it. When I was upon *Charlton*-Island in *June*, I did in the Nights (and some of them' following the hottest days) observe whether there fell any Dew or no, but could never perceive any, and indeed from Moss and Sand little was to be expected; nor of what was exhaled from the snowy Ice and cold Sea, could there probably be returned but the like again.

The Causes of the abundance of Snow in these parts.

The last of the Month we were in the Narrow of the Streight, which is about 15 Leagues over, the South shoar much pester'd with Ice.

September the third, we saw the South end of the Island *Resolution*; the Wind coming Easterly, we felt another Sea out of the Ocean, and the Ship laboured with another motion than she had done, with any Sea that came from the Westward. *September*

On the 8th, we were got clear out of the Streights, but were now come into such a tumbling Sea, that the Ship did so labour and roll, that we thought she would have rolled her Masts by the Board. This made her so leaky, that we were forced to pump every Glass, and her Seams did so open aloft, that we lay all wet in her.

This was the last day we saw any Ice, and the Wind now favouring us, we made all the hast we could homeward. As we came along, I perfected my Observations concerning the feasibleness of the Action intended, which was to find a Passage into the South Sea, and here offer it to the judicious Reader.

What hath been long ago fabled by some *Portugals*, that came this way out of the South Sea, I leave to be confuted by their own vanity. These Hopes have from time to time stirred up the more active Spirits of our Kingdom to research that meerly imaginary Passage. For my part, I give no credit to them at all, their Discourses being absurd, and the Plats (by which some have

practifed to deceive the World) are meer Falsities, making Sea where there is main Land, and Land where is nothing but Sea.

Most certain it is, that by the only industry of our own Nation, the Northern Parts of *America* have been discover'd to the Latitude of 80 Deg. and upwards, and they have brought this supposed Passage to this pass, as to be certain that it must be to the Northwards of 60 Deg. of Latitude; a cold Climate, pester'd with Ice and other Incommodities, which the *Spaniards* Dispositions and their weak Ships can hardly long endure. And withal it is known, that the Entrance of *Hudson's* Streight is but 15 Leagues broad, in the middle not so much; and between *Salisbury*-Island and the Main is but eight Leagues; then proceeding to the Northwards, it is but 15 Leagues from Main to Main. This in length is about 140 Leagues, infinitely pester'd with Ice until *August*, and some Years not passable then: Yea, I believe the Streight is never clear of Ice thorowly.

Now most probable it is, that there is no Passage, and that for these Reasons following.

Reasons against a Passage.

I. There is a constant Tide of Flood and Ebb setting into *Hudson's* Streight: The Flood still coming from the Eastward, which, as it proceeds, alters his time of full Sea, according to the distance; this also entring into Bays and broken Grounds, becomes distracted, and reverses with half Tides.

II. Here is no small Fish, as Cod, &c. and very few great ones, which are rarely to be seen: Nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-horses, or other great Fish to be found on the Shoar, nor any drift Wood.

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

IV. The Ice seeks its way to the Eastward, and so drives out at *Hudson's* Streight, which I have often observed, being ashoar upon the Island *Resolution*, and driving amongst the Ice in the Streights.

Now admit there was a Passage, yet it is known to be narrow, and pester'd with Ice for 140 Leagues, as hath been said; comparing therefore some Observations taken at *Bantam*, *Gilolo*, and *Firando* in *Japan*, and the distance between *Japan*, and the Western part of *California*, with the Observations taken at *Charlton*-Island, the distance between the Meridians of Cape *Charles* and the Western part of *California*, will be found to be about 500 Leagues, in the Latitude of 66 Degrees, where the Meridians incline very much together.

To this may be added, that near about Cape *Charles*, the Variation is 29 Deg. to the West, which makes it probable that there is much Land that way; and this Streight (if any be) must be very long, and you have no time to pass it but in *August* and *September*, when the Nights are long, and the weather so cold, that it will not be indurable.

Add to this, that neither can any great Ships which are fit for carrying Merchandise, endure the Ice without extraordinary danger. Moreover, 1000 Leagues is sooner and with more safety sailed to the Southward, and about the Cape of *Good Hope*, where the Winds are constant, than 100 in these Seas, where you must daily run the hazard of loosing Ship and Lives; neither is comfort for the Sick or refreshment for your Men, to be had in these Parts.

Towards the latter end of *August* and in *September*, the weather grows tempestuous, and the Winds incline to be Westerly, that there will be but small hope of performing your Voyage this way.

But let us by way of imagination, inlarge this supposed Streight in its breadth, and free it of Ice, yet what advantage in speedy performance will be gotten by this Passage if the Winds be withal consider'd? To *Japan*, *China*, and the Northern Parts of *Asia*, it may be the nearer cut; but to the *East-Indies*, and other parts where we have the greatest commerce, the other way is as near.

What benefit of Trade might have been obtained in those Northern Parts of *Asia* (if our Discovery had succeeded)? I will not presume to speak of believing there is a great difference between those parts and the Northern parts of *America*, but am sure there is none in any place where I have been all this Voyage.

The 22d of *October* we arrived in the Road of *Bristol*, having been hindered and cross'd with contrary tempestuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour and haled dry aground, it was there found that all her Cut-water and Stem were torn and beaten away, as also 14 Foot of her Keel, much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruised, and many Timbers crack'd within board; under the Bulge a sharp Rock had cut thro' the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and an half into a Timber that it met withal. Many other Defects there were besides, so that it is miraculous how this Vessel could bring us home again. We went all to Church, and gave God thanks for preserving us amidst so many dangers. I very well know that what I have written, will never discourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this so long tried Action to perfection; to whose Designs I wish a happy success. Now altho' I have spent some Years of my ripest age, in procuring vain intelligence from foreign Nations, and have travelled to divers Honourable and Learned Persons of this Kingdom for their Instructions; have bought up whatever I could find in print or manuscript, and what Plat or Paper soever conducing to this business, that possibly I could procure, and have spent above 200 *l.* of my own Money; yet I repent not, but take a great deal of comfort and joy, that I am able to give a reasonable Account of those parts of the World, which heretofore I was not so well satisfied in.

CHAP. XXXV.

An Account of a Voyage made towards the South Terra-incognita; *taken from the Journal of Captain* Abel Johnson Tasman, *who not only discovered a New Passage by Sea to the South of* Nova Hollandria, Vandiemen's *Land*, &c. *and sailed round a vast Tract of Land and Sea, but also made very useful Observations concerning the Variation of the Magnetical Needle in Parts of the World, almost* Antipodas *to us, with several other curious Remarks concerning those Places and its Inhatants: Published in* Low-Dutch *by* Dirk Rembrantse, *and since done into* English *from Dr.* Hook's *Collections.*

An. 1642. *Aug.* 14. *Septem.* 5. HE set sail from *Batavia*, with the *Heemskirk* Yatche, and a Fly-boat called the *Seahane*, and came to an anchor at *Mauritius* Isle, at 20 Deg. S. Lat. and 83 Deg. 48 Min. Longit. They found this Isle 50 *Dutch* Miles more to the East than their Computation allow'd, which make 3 Deg. 33 Min. Longit. They steer'd thence to the South till 40 or 41 Deg. having N. W. variation 23, 24, and 25 Deg. till the 22d of *October*, where they bore away E. by S. till the 29th of *October*, *Oct.* 8.

1643. *October*, to 45 Deg. 47 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 89 Deg. 44 Min. Variation N. W. 26 Deg. 45 Min.

Nov. 6. They were at 49 Deg. 4 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 114 Deg. 56, Variation N. W. 26 Deg. with misty windy weather, and a hollow Sea, Wind S. W. and S. they came to 44 Deg. 3 Min. South Lat. Longit. 140 Deg. 32 Min. Variation N. W. 18 Deg. 30 Min. which decreased apace; for on the 21st, being then at the Long. of 158 Deg. the Variation was only 4 Deg. The next day the Compass would not stand upon any one of the eight Points, which made them guess that some Mines of Loadstone must be thereabouts. They were at 42 Deg. 25 Min. South Lat. and their middle Longit. of 163 Deg. 50 Min. About ten Miles distant from them to the E. by N. they discovered Land, which they called *Anthony Van Diemen's Land*: Here they found the Compass to stand in the Longit. of 163 Deg. 50 Min. Being much pestered with Tempests, they stood away S. by E. along the Coast to 44 Deg. South Lat. where the Land runs away E. and afterwards N. E. and N.

Nov. 15. *Nov.* 22. *Nov.* 24. *Van Diemen's Land.*

Dec. 1. They came to an Anchor in Longit. of 167 Deg. 55 Min. and Lat. 43 Deg. 10 Min. in a Bay, unto which they gave the Name of *Frederick Hendricus Bay*. They fancied they heard the noise of some Men, but saw none: The Musick they heard was like that of a *Jew*'s Trumpet, and at no great distance. They saw here Trees of two Fathom and a half in circumference, and 60 or 68 Foot high, below the Branches: The Bark of them was cut with Flint in form of Steps, for the Natives to climb up these Trees, to take the Birds Nests: These Steps being near five Foot asunder, seem'd to intimate, that they are either beyond the ordinary size of other Men, or have a peculiar way of climbing up by these Steps. They also saw the Footsteps of *Tigers*, and some other wild Beasts, some Gum of the Trees, and Gum Lac of the Ground: The Ebb and Flood was only three Foot here; the Trees were not incumbred with Bushes and Water-wood: And tho' they could not get sight of the Natives, they discovered the Smoak of their Fires in several places; so they only set up a Pole with the Company's Mark, and a Prince's Flag fastned to it: The Variation was here three Deg. N. E.

Frederick Hendrick's Bay.

Dec. 5. They left *Van Diemen's Land* at 41 Deg. 34 Min. South Lat. and 169 Deg. Longit. running to the East to the Longit. of 195 Deg. to find the Islands of *Solomon*: They were at 42 Deg. 37 Min. South Lat. Longit. 136 Deg. 29 Min. Variation N. E. 5 Deg. the hollow Waves from the S. W. shew'd us that no Land was to be expected on that side. They descried high and hilly Land, call'd in the Charts now, *New Zealand*, at 42 Deg. 10 Min. South Lat. Longit. 188 Deg. 28 Min. Variation N. E. 7 Deg. 30 Min. they sail'd along the Coast N. E. as the Maps direct, till they came to an Anchor in a Bay at 40 Deg. 50 Min. South Lat. Longit. 191 Deg. 41 Min. Variation N. E. 9 Deg.

Dec. 9. *Dec.* 12. *Dec.* 13. *New Zealand.*

Dec. 18. 1642. The Natives of this Country were gross of Body, betwixt a yellow and brown Complexion, with a harsh Voice, and black Hair, ty'd upon the Crown of the Head like the *Japoneses*, and near as long and thick, upon which they wear a large white Feather: Their Cloaths were of Mats and Callicoe, but the upper part of their Bodies naked. They play'd upon a kind of a *Moorish* Trumpet, we answer'd them with ours.

Dec. 19. The Inhabitants of *Murtherers Bay.* These Antipodes began not to be so mistrustful as before, but came in good Numbers to truck with our People; The Commander beginning to fear the safety of his People, sent seven of his Men in a Boat, to advertise the rest not to trust these *Barbarians*; and his foresight proved too true, for some of them going too far from the Yacht, unarm'd, were set upon by the Natives, and four of them kill'd, the rest saving themselves by swimming. They call'd this *Murtherers Bay* (as it is mark'd in the Maps) and would have revenged the death of their Companions, had they not been prevented by the High Sea. They went in to the East, but found themselves surrounded with Land, which appear'd very fruitful, but the bad Weather and Wind made it very difficult for them to get out.

Dec. 24. The Wind not permitting them to go North, and being uncertain whether they should find a Passage to the North, and the Flood coming from S. E. they returned into the Bay, but the Wind turning more favourable, they steer'd North, somewhat to the West. They came to the N. W. Cape of this Land, at 34 Deg. 35 Min. South Lat. Longit. 191 Deg. 9 Min. Variation N. E. 8 Deg. 40 Min. the hollow Waves out of the N. E. shew'd that there must be a great Sea in the N. E. Here they saw an Isle, which they call'd *The three Kings Isle*; as they came near the Shoar to refresh themselves, they saw at some distance upon the Hills, 30 or 40 Men, very tall, arm'd with Clubs, who call'd to them with a harsh Voice, they perceived them to make very large steps. In turning about the Land, they saw but few more Men, and little cultivated Ground, but met with a fresh water River, where they intended to get some fresh Water, but being prevented by an unlucky Accident, they resolved to proceed an East Course to the Longit. of 220 Deg. then N. to the South Lat. of 17 Deg. and so West to the *Cocos* and *Hornese* Isles, first discovered by *William Scouse*; for they had met with nothing at *Van Diemen's Land*, and never touched the Shoar at *New Zealand*.

Dec. 26. *Jan.* 4. 1643. *The three Kings Isle.*

1643.

They came to 30 Deg. 25 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 192 Deg. 10 Min. Variation N. E. 9 Deg. great Waves from S. E. At 30 Deg. 5 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 195 Deg. 27 Min. Variation 9 ½ Deg. N. E. they had hollow Waves from the S. E. and S. W. and came at 26 Deg. 29 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 166 Deg. 32 Min. Variation N. E. 8 Deg. They saw a high, steep and barren Isle, two or three Miles in compass, at 22 Deg. 35 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 204 Deg. 15 Min. Variation N. E. 7 ½ Deg. The S. E. and S. S. E. Winds hindred them from approaching nearer to it: They called it *Pilsterts-Isle*, from the great multitude of those Fowls. The next day they got sight of two other Islands; they came to the Northermost of these Islands, being also the biggest and highest, they call'd it *Amstelldam*, and another *Middleburgh*. On the first they found store of Hogs, Hens, Fruits; the Natives appeared very harmless, without any Weapons, but were somewhat addicted to Theft. Here is but a slender Current, the Ebb runs N. E. and the Flood S. W. The S. W. Moon makes high Water when it flows above seven or eight Foot; the Wind continually S. E. and S. S. E. fresh water was very hard to be gotten here.

Jan. 8. *Jan.* 12. *Jan.* 16. *Jan.* 19. *Jan.* 21. The Isle of *Amsteldam.*

After having pass'd in sight of several small Islands, they came to the Isle call'd *Rotterdam* (as you see it mark'd in the Charts). The Natives were the same as the former; they found the *Cocoe* Trees planted in vast numbers and very good order, and Gardens and Orchards well regulated and planted with all sorts of Fruit-trees, most commonly in a right Line, affording an agreeable sight and smell. After they left this Isle, they saw several others mentioned in the Chart, with a design to steer to the North till 17 Deg. S. Lat. and then W. with a S. E. and E. S. E. Wind, for fear of missing the *Traytors* and *Hornese* Island. They were got in among 18 or 20 Isles, environ'd with Rocks and Shoals, these Islands are in the Maps called Prince *William's Islands*, and *Heemskirk's Shoals*. They had very hard Rains at 15 Deg. 29 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 199 Deg. 31 Min. it blew hard from N. E. and N. N. E. and the weather hazy, making them fear to fall to the South of *Nova Guinea*, on unknown Coasts, they resolved to go N. or N. N. W. to 4, 5, or 6 Deg. S. Lat. and then W. to *Nova Guinea*. Till now they had been always pester'd with Rain and Storms, but this being a calm day, they hailed the *Seahene*, and found their Accounts to agree at 16 Deg. 30 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 193 Deg. 35 Min. Dark rainy weather at 13 Deg. 45 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 193 Deg. 35 Min. the Wind variable, and the Sea coming out of all Quarters. The Wind constantly at N. W. not one day without rain in 21, at 9 Deg. 48 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 193 Deg. 43 Min. variable Wind and Weather at 9 Deg. 11 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 192 Deg. 6 Min. Variation N. E. 10 Deg. weather and wind the same, at 7 Deg. 46 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 190 Deg. 47 Min. They came to the S. Lat. of 10 Deg. 12 Min. Longit. 186 Deg. 14 Min. Variation N. E. 8 Deg. 45 Min. They were at 15 Deg. 15 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 181 Deg. 16 Min. Variation N. E. 9 Deg. the weather began to grow better. They got sight of Land four Miles West from them, Wind E. at 5 Deg. 2 Min S. Lat. Longit. 178 Deg. 52 Min. This proved some Islands, 20 in number, call'd in the Charts, *Onthony Java*, 90 Miles distant from the Coast of *Nova Guinea*. They came up with the Isle of *Mark*, discovered by *William Scouten* and *John de Mair*, 14 or 15 in all, at 4 Deg. 35 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 175 Deg. 10 Min. Variation 9 Deg. 30 Min. The Natives were Savages, having their black Hair ty'd up like those of *Murtherers Bay* in *New Zealand*.

Jan. 25. The Isle of *Rotterdam.* *Feb.* 6. *Feb.* 8. *Feb.* 14. *Feb.* 20. *Feb.* 26. *Mar.* 2. *Mar.* 8. *Mar.* 14. *Mar.* 20. *Mar.* 22. *Mar.* 25.

They pass'd by the *Green* Isle, and the 30th St. *John's Isle*: They reached the Coast of *Nova Guinea*, at the Cape call'd by the *Spaniards Cabo S. Maria*, at 4 Deg. 30 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 171 Deg. 2 Min. Variation 8 Deg. 45 Min. They sail'd along the Coast which lies N. W. to *Anthony Caen's Isle*, *Gardners Isle*, and *Fishers Island*, to the Cape call'd *Steruyshook*, where the Land falls away S. and S. E. which they followed, and went South till they should discover the Land, or find a Passage to the South.

Mar. 27. *April* 1.

They

1643. They were surprised with a sudden Earthquake, which so shook the Ship, that they thought she had struck against *April* 12. a Rock, but could find no Ground by sounding at 3 Deg. 45 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 167 Deg. 00 Min. Variation N. E. 10 Deg. They were then within the *Streights-hook*. *April* 14. standing into the Bay of *Good Hope*: They saw the Land from the E.N.E. into the South. and so on to the S.S.W. at 5. Deg. 27 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 166 Deg. 57 Min. Variation N. E. 9 Deg. 15 Min. they were in hopes of finding a Passage between both, but perceiving it to be all one continued Tract of Land into the West, they turn'd their Course W. along the Coast, with much Calms.

April 20. By Night, passing by the *Burning Isle*, they saw a great *The Burning Isle.* Fire issue from the top of the Hill; at 5 Deg. 4 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 164, 27 Min. Variation N. E. 8 Deg. 30 Min. (*Scouten* mentions this Island) they pass'd betwixt it and the Main, and saw many Fires towards the middle of a high Hill near the Shoar, which made them conjecture that this Island was well inhabited. All along the Coast of *Guinea* they were often becalmed, and saw much drift Wood, as small Trees, Bamboes, *&c.* carried thither by the Currents of the Rivers. The 21st, they pass'd the *Burning Mountain*, sailing along the Shoar W. N. W.

April 27. They being at 2 Deg. 10 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 156, 47 Min. thought to have seen the Isle of *Moa*, but found *The Isle of Jama.* themselves near *Jama*, another Isle more E. than *Moa*; here they provided themselves with *Coco-nuts*, and several other Necessaries. The Natives were very black, but docile, being able to repeat every word they heard us say; their Pronunciation must be difficult, because they use the Letter *R* frequently two or three times in one word. 1643. They came to *Moa*, where by contrary Winds, they were detained till *May* the 6th, which gave them opportunity to truck near 6000 *Coco-nuts*, 100 Bundles of *Pysangbs*, and other Refreshments. One of our Ship's Company happening to be shot with an Arrow by one of the Inhabitants (whether on purpose or by accident we knew not) the Ship was order'd nearer the Land, which so frightned the Natives, that they brought him who shot the Arrow to us, to be disposed of as we should think fit, and were very tractable ever after; some of our People would take pieces of Iron Hoops, fit them into Wooden Hafts, make them a little bright and sharp, and so sell them for Knives. Perhaps they had not forgot what befel them in 1616, with *Scouten* and *Le Maire*, who on account of some treacherous Dealing with them, frightned these poor Wretches with their Cannon Bullets, into a complaisant Temper. *April* 23. *The Isle of Moa.*

They passed on the North side of *William Scouten's Isle*, *May* 12. being well inhabited, and 18 or 19 Miles in length, at 0 Deg. 54 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 153 Deg. 17 Min. Variation N. E. 6 Deg. 30 Min.

They had passed the *Cape of Good Hope*, and come from *May* 18. the West end of *Nova Guinea*, a broken Point of Land, at 0 Deg. 26 Min. S. Lat. Longit. 147 Deg. 55 Min. Variation N. E. 5 Deg. 30 Min. They were much pester'd with Calms and variable Winds, and Rains.

Hence they sailed to the North side of *Seram*: They *May* 27. went on thro' the Streights to the North of *Boure* or *Bouton*, and arrived the 15th of *June* at *Batavia*, at 6 Deg. 12 Min. S. Lat. and Longit. 127 Deg. 18 Min. having spent ten Months in this Voyage.

CHAP. XXXVI.

An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of the N. E. Passage to China *and* Japan, *in his Majesties Ships, the* Speedwel *and* Prosperous Pink, *in the Year* 1676, *where is shewed the Probability of that Passage, before the Attempt, with divers useful Observations made in that Voyage, by Captain* John Wood.

1676. MY Intention being to give you the Reasons that induced me to the undertaking of this Voyage, and its Event, it would be superfluous to enter upon a Relation of all such as have attempted the N. E. Passage to *China* and *Japan*, (being also recorded in *Hackluit* and *Purchass*) yet it may not be amiss to shew wherein these failed in the said Voyages.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, 1553. The first that ever attempted this Passage was Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who set sail with three Ships to the N. Cape of *Finmark*, and thence to the Lat. of 72, where he supposed he saw Land, which according to my Opinion, was only a Fog-Bank, because in my return near the same place, (where the Maps put this Land) I could discern none; he was forced by Tempests in *Wygena*, a Harbour of *Lapland*, where he was frozen to death with his whole Ships Company.

Stephen Burrough, 1556. The second Attempt was made by Captain *Stephen Burrough*, who after he had pass'd the North Cape, sail'd more East, and discover'd the Streight of *Weygats*, or that Streight which runneth betwixt *Nova Zembla* and the *Samoyedes*, where he entred, and believing that *Sinus* to the East of the Streights to be an open Sea, he return'd with an opinion of having found a Passage that way to *China* and *Japan*.

Captain Pett and Jackman, 1580. This gave encouragement to the third Attempt, made by Capt. *Arthur Pett* and *Charles Jackman*, who being sent to follow the Tract of *Burroughs*, pass'd thro' the Streights of *Weygats* into the Sea to the East, but met with such vast quantities of Ice and such tempestuous weather, that with great hazard and difficulty, they were forced to return, but loosing one another in a Storm, *Pett* was never heard of since; since which time that Design being look'd upon as impracticable, was laid aside in *England*, but not long after pursued by the *Dutch*.

William Barrens sail'd out of *Holland* for the Streights of *Weygats*, where being entered, he met with the same Obstacles, *viz.* the Ice, that others had done, but found the Water not brackish but fresh; an Experiment none of the rest had made before him. He return'd, but being resolved to venture a second Attempt for a Passage to the North of *Nova Zembla*, he sail'd to the Coast of *Nova Zembla*, at 73 Deg. Lat. where meeting with much Ice, he coasted the Shoar to 76 Deg. Lat. where he was forced ashoar by the Ice, and his Ship broken to pieces: They were forced to winter there, and after they had endured the greatest extremity of Cold, they got in two Boats to *Cola* in *Lapland*, but before their arrival there, Mr. *Barrens* died. 1676. *Will. Barrens*, 1606. 1777.

After these, Mr. *Henry Hudson* an *English-man*, * attempted the same Passage once more, but being discouraged by the Fate of *Barrens*, did not venture very far. The Design of this Passage lay for many Years after dormant, till within these two Years, by some novile Accidents, the Opinion of the N. E. Passage was revived, and something relating thereunto printed in the Transactions of our Royal Society. I will now proceed to give you the Reasons which indnced me to the Belief of a Probability of this Passage, and of the Undertaking of this Voyage. *Mr. Hudson*, 1612. * But of these and all others you have an Account before.

The 1st Reason was grounded on the Opinion of Capt. *Barrens*, which was, That there was a distance of 200 Leagues betwixt *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland*, and that the Ice on both sides did not reach above 20 Leagues from the Shoar; that if he had steer'd N. E. from the North Cape, to the mid-way betwixt these two Shoars, he should have found an open Sea, whereas his keeping too near to the Shoar of *Nova Zembla*, was the over- *Reasons for the Probability of this Passage.*

throw

1676. throw of his Design: He intended to have undertaken another Voyage upon this Supposition.

The 2d, was a Letter sent from *Holland*, and published in the *Transactions* of the *Royal Society*, which assures us, that by a peculiar Survey of *Nova Zembla*, by the *Czar* of *Muscovy*'s order, they had found it adjoining to the Continent of the *Great Tartars*, and that to the North of it there was an open Sea.

The 3d, was a Diary printed in *Holland*, of a Voyage made from *Batavia* to *Japan*, in which they were cast upon *Corea*, a *Demi* Isle of *China*, and made Slaves by the Natives. The Author of this Journal, after 16 Years slavery, made his escape to *Japan*, where among other things he observed, that on the Coast of *Corea* did at sundry times drive Whales with *English* and *Dutch* Harpon-Irons in them, which if to be credited, is a very strong Argument for a Passage that way.

My 4th Reason was founded upon what I heard Mr. *Joseph Moxon* say, who being in *Holland* 20 Years ago, heard a *Dutch* Sea-man say, (which he believed to be truth) that he had been under the Pole, and found it as warm there as at *Amsteldam* in Summer.

The 5th Reason was furnished me by Capt. *Goulden*, who having made 30 Voyages to *Greenland*, made the following Relation to his Majesty, *viz.* That being 20 Years ago in company of two *Dutch* Ships, to the East of *Edge*'s Isle, and there being but few Whales to be seen there, the two *Hollanders* left him in order to go more North among the Ice; they returned to their former Station in 14 days time, and told him, that they had been at the Lat. of 89 (within 1 Deg. of the Pole) where they met with no Ice, but an open Sea, and that the Sea run as hollow there as in the Bay of *Biscay*: Mr. *Wood* being somewhat incredulous, they shewed him four Journals kept in the two Ships, which testified the same, and agreed within 4 Min. of one another.

The 6th Argument I had from the before-mentioned Capt. *Goulden*, who told me that all the drift Wood they found in *Greenland*, was eaten to the very Heart with the Sea-worm, which if granted, must come from a hot Country; for as we are convinced by experience that this Worm bites in no cold Country, it must needs come from *Jedzo*, *Japan*, or some Country thereabouts.

The 7th and last Reason was another Relation printed in the Transactions of the *Royal Society*, of two Ships that had lately attempted this Passage, and sailed 300 Leagues to the East of *Nova Zembla*; but the Prosecution of their Voyage was stopp'd by a Difference arosen betwixt the Undertakers and the *East-India* Company, who being the most powerful, suppress it, as contrary to their Interest.

These seven Arguments (if taken for matter of Fact) were sufficient to induce me into an Opinion of a North Passage of *Nova Zembla* to *China* and *Japan*, besides which, I had some collateral Reasons founded in Nature, which confirm'd me in the same, provided there were no Land or Ice in the way to hinder it.

The first Argument for the N. E. Passage.

The first Argument was, that near the North Pole, it might be in Summer as warm as under the *Arrick* or *Antartick* Circle, or at least warmer than with us in Winter; for under the Pole, the Sun being in *June* 23 Deg. high, and that without any Depression towards the *Horizon*, but always continuing at the same height, must illuminate that part of the *Hemisphere*, with more Heat than with us in Winter, when the Sun is not above 15 Deg. at the highest on the Meridian, and but eight hours above the Horizon; or, that in all likelyhood you might meet with as much warmth, as in any place near either of the two Polar Circles; for the Sun having a declination there towards the *Horizon*, the *Atmosphere* has as much Interval to cool, as it has time to heat, which under the Pole continues without intermission. What confirm'd me in this Opinion was, That I had heard several *Greenland* Navigators affirm, that the nearer they went to the North on that Coast, they meet with more green Herbs and Grass, than they do to the South, and also with more Deer.

The second Argument.

The second was, That as I fear'd most the foggy weather, I hoped it would not blow hard at the same time, it being a general Observation in all other Climates, that the Wind disperses the Fogs; so that either you might lie by, or else have the Opportunity of looking about you.

The third Argument.

The third was, The Solution of a Doubt I had been certainly convinced of before, *viz.* That the Pole of the World and of the Magnet are so far different, that you might safely pass under the Pole of the World, if not prevented by Land or Ice; with this Proviso however, that you must know where the Magnetick Pole is, to allow the Variation that will happen there, whereas according to the common received Opinion, that the Pole of the World and of the Magnet are the same, the Septentrional Declination of the Needle of the Compass would quite be lost near the Pole. 1676.

These being the Reasons and Arguments that imprinted into my mind the Probability of this Passage. The following Deducements prevailed upon me to undertake this Voyage. (1) The Honour of my King, and the Interest of the Nation. (2) Want of Employment at home, the Aversion I had to an idle life, and the Approbation I met with from many Eminent Persons in *London*. (3) The Desire I had to be satisfied concerning the Nature of a certain Hypothesis I had framed of the Motion of the two Magnetical Poles (for two such there be) and by the Observations of most all that have writ upon that Subject, with my own Observation and Experiments in many places of the Terrestrial Globe; I say, I having found out very near their Motion, and thereby the Inclination of the Magnetical Needle, under the Horizon, in all Latitude and Longitude, and Variation of the Compass in any part of this World, without the Assistance of any other Luminary, it prompted my Inclination to be fully satisfied in this matter, which as it could not be done without coming so near the Pole as was supposed, this was the most prevailing Argument to me to go on in this Design.

Thus being resolved on this Voyage, I made a Polar Draught, wherein I traced all those that had attempted the N. E. Passage; this I presented to his Majesty and Royal Highness, with the before-mentioned Reasons, together with the Advantages which were likely to attend the Nation by the discovery of this Passage; as the vending of our Woollen Manufactory on the Coast of the *Grand Tartary*, which now they have from *Muscovy*, with vast charge: The performing this Voyage to *Japan* in six Weeks, which now is not performed but in nine Months, with great hazard, by reason of the many Sands and Shoals betwixt *Bantam* and *Japan*, and the perpetual fear these Ships are in from the *Dutch*, who destroy us if they can; and that the Voyage being so short, the King might send some Men of War to *Japan* to force them to trade, which cannot be done now for want of Provisions, and for the Distempers that attend Ships with so many Men aboard in so long a Voyage, and hot a Climate. His Majesty and his Royal Highness, after mature deliberation with some Merchants and Sea-men used to sail to the North, order'd the *Speedwel* to be mann'd and victualled, but as the many Accidents that attend a single Ship in such Voyages, makes the Enterprize very hazardous, it was thought fit by the eight following honourable Persons, to buy a Pink called the *Prosperous*, burthen 120 Tuns, and to fit the same for Sea with Men, Ammunition, Provisions, and such Commodities as were likely to turn to the best Account on the Coast of *Tartary* and *Japan*. The eight Persons at whose Charge the Vessel was set out, were, His Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, the Honourable *John* Lord *Barklet*, Sir *Joseph Williamson*, Sir *John Banks*, Mr. *Samuel Peeps*, Capt. *Herbert*, Mr. *Dupey*, and Mr. *Hoopgood*. The *Speedwel* being extraordinary well strengthened and sheathed, and both the Ships as well fitted for a discovery as ever any Ships were, with 16 Months Provision for each Ship, 68 Men and Boys in the *Speedwel*, and 18 Men in the *Prosperous*, we were now ready to go to Sea with the first opportunity. Two Ships equipp'd for the discovery of the N. E. Passage.

A Journal in his Majesties Ship the Speedwel, *Captain* John Wood *Commander, bound for the Discovery of a Passage to the* East-Indies, *by the N. E. about* Nova Zembla, *and* Tartary, *and so to* Japan, 1676.

WE set sail from the *Buoy* of the *Noar*, with S. W. Wind, in company of the *Prosperous*, Captain *Fawes* Commander, bound upon the same Discovery with us. At eight at Night the *Naze* Land bore W. N. 2-bout six Leagues, we steer'd N. E. and N. N. E. They begin the Voyage. *Sunday May* 28.

A brisk Gale at S. W. and W. S. W. with Rain; Course *per* Compass betwixt the N. E. and N. distance sailed by the Log. 73 Miles, true Course producted since last Night eight a Clock, to this Day twelve, N. 28 Deg. *Munday May* 29.

1676. Deg. E. difference of 68 Miles, and departure E. from the *Naze* Land, 36 Miles Lat. by Judgment, as in the Margent.

Tuesday May 30. From Yesterday at twelve till this day at twelve, the Wind variable from S. W. to S. E. cloudy weather, with a fresh Gale, Course *per* Compass N. N. W. and N. W. by N. distance sail'd by the Log. 95 Miles, true Course is N. 28 Deg. W. distance of Lat. 83 Miles, departure W. 45 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment, Merid. distance W. 9 Miles.

Wednesday May 31. From Yesterday at twelve till to day at twelve, variable Winds, with calm rainy weather, Courses *per* Traverse, true Course protracted, with all Impediments allow'd, is N. 43 Deg. W. 60 Miles, difference of Lat. 42 Miles, departure W. 40 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 54 Deg. 13 Min. Lat. by a good Observation at Noon, 55 Deg. 30 Min. the Land betwixt *Newcastle* and *Berwick*, bore then W. 8 or 9 Leagues, Meridian distance Current from the bearing of the Land, and the Lat. is 88 Miles, 50 Fathom Water; we saw two Ships to the S without Colours.

Thursday June 1. From Yesterday at twelve till to day at twelve, a fresh Gale from W. by S. to the S. W. Course *per* Compass between N. and N. W. distance sail'd by the Log. 76 Miles, true Course protracted is N. 16 Deg. W. Lat. by a good Observation, 56 Deg. 41 Min. departure W. 21 Miles. At noon we came up with a *Scotch* Fisherman, of whom having bought some Fish, we steer'd with a stiff Gale N. about 7 or 8 Leagues from the Land between *Montrose* and *Edinburrough*; we continued the Course N. by E. till eight a clock.

Friday June 2. From *June* the first at twelve, till the second at twelve, variable Winds, but fair weather, Course *per* Compass N. distance sail'd by the Log. 117 Miles, but by a good Observation 120 Miles, Lat. 58 Deg. 41 Min. Wind W.S.W. and S. W. At two a clock a storm, Wind N.W. with Rain.

Saturday June 3. From Yesterday at twelve till to day at twelve, true Course protracted Leeward way, and all Impediments allow'd, is N. ½ E. 24 Miles, Lat. by a good Observation, is 59 Deg. 23 Min. Meridian distance from the *Naze* Land 100 Miles; at Noon we saw the small Island of *Forit* to the South of *Shetland*, bearing four Leagues W. N. W. little Wind in the Afternoon. *N. B.* We found the Ship more to the West than we expected, occasioned by a Variation of 6 or 7 Deg. E.

Sunday June 4. Little Wind in the Morning, and Calms till twelve, when it beginning to blow hard from W. N. W. we ply to Windward, and turning into *Brace*-Sound, anchored at nine Fathom, opposite to the Town of *Lerwick*, where you see the Ruins of a Fort, erected during the late War with *Holland*, but since demolished.

Lerwick.

Saturday June 10. We staied here till this day at seven, when we weigh'd anchor, Wind at S. W. and with the assistance of a Pilot, sail'd thro' the North end of *Brace*-Sound, three Fathom water at the shalloweſt place. The next day at four in the Morning, *Scau* bore W. by N. 6 Leagues, a fresh Gale at S. W. hazy weather. From four in the Morning till 11 at Midnight, Course N. N. E. distance sail'd by the Log. 38 Miles, true Course allow'd from the bearing of the Land, is N. E. 41 Miles, difference of Lat. 30 Miles, Lat. by Judgment 61 Deg. 26 Min. Meridian distance from *Shetland*, 30 Miles East. From Yesterday at twelve at Noon to this day at twelve, a strong Wind at S. W. W. S. W. and W. and W. N. W. Course *per* Compass N. N. E. distance sail'd by the Log. 147 Miles, difference of Lat. 135 Miles, departure E. 56 Miles, Lat. by Judgment 63 Deg. 42 Min. Meridian distance East 86 Miles, cloudy Weather, little wind at Noon.

Brace-sound.

Tuesday June 13. From the 12th at Noon till to day at Noon, little but variable Wind, with Calms from N. W. to N. N. E. we ply to the Windward. True Course protracted, all Impediments allow'd, is N. N. E. 23 Miles, difference of Lat. 21 Miles, N. departure E. 8 Miles, Lat. by Judgment 64 Deg. 3 Min. Meridian distance 94 Miles, Lat. by a good Observation 64 Deg. 3 Min.

Wednesday June 14. From the 13th at Noon till to day at twelve, variable Winds, with Rain, Course *per* Traverse, between the N. E. and the N. distance sail'd by the Log. 92 Miles; true Course protracted, all Impediments allow'd, is N. 18 Deg. difference of Lat. 81 Miles, departure E. 30 Miles, Meridian distance 142 Miles.

Thursday June 15. From the 14th at Noon till this day at twelve, variable winds and calms W. S. W. Course *per* Compass N. N. E. distance sail'd by the Log. 67 Miles, true Course protracted, with allowance, is N. 22½ Deg. E. difference of Lat. 62 Miles, departure E. 26 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 66 Deg. 26 Min. Meridian distance 150 Miles East.

1676. From Yesterday at twelve till this day at Noon, a fresh Gale at W. N. W. and W. S. W. with Rains; Course *per* Compass N. N. E. and N. E. by N. distance sail'd *per* Log. 126 Miles, true Course protracted is N. 30 Deg. E. difference of Lat. 108 Miles, departure E. 63 Min. Lat. *per* Judgment 68 Deg. 14 Min. Meridian distance 223 Miles. *Friday June 16.*

From Yesterday at Noon till to day at twelve, a fresh Gale at W. N. W. and W. with Rain, Course *per* Compass N. E. distance sail'd by the Log. 127 Miles, difference of Lat. 90 Miles, departure E. 90 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 69 Deg. 48 Min. Meridian distance 303 Miles, but by a good Observation at Noon, Lat. 69 Deg. 53 Min. difference of Lat. between the dead Account and Observation is 9 Miles, imputed to a West Variation, which is found by an *Azimuth* 7 Deg. Meridian distance corrected, is 300 Miles, the weather fair. *Saturday June 17.*

From Yesterday at twelve, till to day at Noon, fair weather, wind W. N. W. and W. S. W. Course *per* Compass N. E. by E. distance sail'd by the Log. 83 Miles, true Course protracted, and Variation allow'd, is E. 33 Deg. N. difference of Lat. 47 Miles by Observation, departure 66 Miles, Lat. by a good Observation 70 Deg. 30 Min. Meridian distance 307 Miles E. we saw many Whales. *Sunday June 18.*

From the 18th at Noon till this day at twelve, a fresh Gale at W. by S. rainy weather, at seven in the Fore-noon we saw many Sea-fowls and Jubarteſſes, at ten we spied the Land, being some Islands 20 Leagues to the West of the North Cape; true Course allow'd for Variation is N. N. E. distance sail'd *per* Log. 135 Miles, difference of Lat. 50 Miles, departure E. 30 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 71 Deg. 20 Min. Meridian distance 497 Miles. At Noon the Isle *Sanden* bore S. by E. 8 or 9 Leagues off this Isle, is a high craggy Land, with some Snow upon it. *Monday June 19.*

From the 19th at Noon to this day at twelve, Course *per* Compass betwixt the E. N. E. and N. E. distance sail'd *per* Log. 128 Miles, true Course allow'd for the Variation, is North, 43 Deg. East, difference of Lat. 91 Miles, departure 88 Miles, E. Lat. *per* Judgment 72 Deg. 51 Min. Meridian distance 585 Miles. From Yesterday Noon till twelve this day, the first twelve hours a fresh Gale at S. W. but the last twelve hours a strong Wind with small Rain; saw many Sea-fowls. *Tuesday June 20.*

From the 20th till this day at Noon, a still Gale, with small Rains, Course *per* Compass N. E. distance sail'd *per* Log. 35 Miles, true Course allow'd by Variation, is N. 40 Deg. E. difference of Lat. 103 Miles, departure E. 86 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 34 Min. Meridian distance 671 Miles, cloudy weather; saw many Sea-fowls. *Wednesday June 21.*

From the 21st to this day at Noon, Course *per* Compass N. E. distance sail'd *per* Log. 116 Miles, true Course alter'd by Variation and Leeward way, is N. 43 Deg. E. difference of Lat. 85 Miles, departure E. 79 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 75 Deg. 59 Min. Meridian distance 750 Miles, E. Wind, at N. W. weather variable, but very cold. At Noon we saw Ice a head about a League off, we sail'd close to it, and found it to lie E. S. E. and W. N. W. we bore away E. S. E. along the Ice, in the Afternoon very cold snowy weather. *Thursday June 22.*

From the 22d till this day at twelve, steering along the Ice, we found it to have many Openings, which we sail'd into, and found them to be Bays; our true Course sail'd along the Ice, the Variation allow'd, was E. 14 Deg. S. 77 Min. Lat. *per* Judgment 75 Deg. 41 Min. difference of Lat. 19 Min. departure 74 Miles, Meridian distance 842 Miles, Wind N. N. W. At Noon we had 158 Fathom soft green Oar: The Current set S. S. E. we found it very smooth to the Leeward of the Ice, and some pieces of Ice driving a Mile from the Main of the Body of the Ice, representing the Shapes of Trees, Beasts, Fishes, and Fowls. The main Body of the Ice was low, but craggy, many pieces lying together and a top of each other: In some places we saw Hillocks of a blue Colour, but the rest of the Ice was white like Snow; we saw also some drift-wood among the Ice: The Ice melted, affords good fresh Water. *Friday June 23.*

From the 23d till this day at Noon, little Wind at N. by W. we steer'd close along the Ice, sailing into every Opening, but could find no Passage thro, neither could we see over the Ice from our Top-mast-head: True Course protracted as we sailed along the Ice, is E. 34 Deg. S. difference of Lat. 24 Min. S. departure E. 34 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment, 75 Deg. 18 Min. but by a good Observation at Noon, the Lat. 74 Deg. 50 Min. the difference between the Dead Lat. and the Observed Lat. is 28 Min. which difference is caused by the Current setting S. S. E. At Noon we had 128 Fathom water, *Saturday June 24.*

Water, the Current ſtill S. S. E. fair weather, with little Wind, ſmall Fogs, not laſting above half an hour at a time, Meridian diſtance 858 Miles.

Sunday June 25. From Yeſterday to this day at twelve, Calms and foggy weather, ſo we durſt not venture in the Ice; true Courſe protracted is E. 30 Deg. S. difference of Lat. 13 Miles, S. departure E. 19 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 37 Min. Meridian diſtance 877 Miles Eaſt, Wind variable from the N. W. to the W. S. W. At one in the Afternoon the Fog broke, and we had freezing weather.

Monday June 26. Since Yeſterday till this day at Noon, little Wind from N. W. to N. Courſe *per* Compaſs, between W. S. W. and N. E. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 67 Miles, difference of Lat. 7 Miles, N. departure E. 58 Miles, true Courſe protracted is E. 7 Deg. N. Lat. *per* Judgment is 74 Deg. 40 Min. Meridian diſtance 935 Miles. About Noon, ſtanding in cloſe with the Ice, we thought we ſaw ſome Sea-horſes or Morſes, our Boat's Crew diſcover'd two of them, and ſhot at them, but tho' they were much wounded, they got under the Ice. Theſe 24 Hours the Ice bore away E. 70 Fathom green Oar at Night. At nine a clock we ſaw Land, the North part of it bearing Eaſt, and the South part S. E. high Land, covered with Snow, 15 Leagues diſtant we had 125 Fathom.

Tueſday June 27. From the 26th to this day Noon, little wind from N. W. to N. by E. with Calms; we kept cloſe to the Ice, and found it join to the Land of *Nova Zembla*: True Courſe protracted is E. by N. 30 Miles, difference of Lat. 16 Miles, departure E. 29 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 46 Min. Meridian diſtance 964 Miles; at Noon 83 Fathom water ſix Leagues from the Shoar, the Ice five Leagues from the Shoar; we killed a young Sea-horſe or Morſe upon the Ice, and ſaw many more, but without the reach of our Fowling-pieces, for theſe Creatures lie always at the brink of the Ice, and take the Sea in an inſtant. We had 80 Fathom green Oar, the Water being ſmooth, we could diſcern the Ground very plain; Meridian diſtance from the Ship to the Land 15 Miles, which maketh Meridian diſtance from the ----- Land to this place 980 Miles.

Wedneſday June 28. Calm weather, wind N. to W. true Courſe protracted W. N. W. 10 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 46 Min. Meridian diſtance 970 Miles. In the Afternoon we came cloſe to the Ice, and found it adjoining to the Continent, ſtood off again at Night.

Thurſday June 29. Rainy weather, with little wind, we ſtood away from the Ice, true Courſe allow'd is S. 27 Deg. W. 20 Miles, difference of Lat. 16 Miles, departure eight Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 40 Min. Meridian diſtance 964 Miles. At Noon the wind W. and W. by S. foggy weather, we ſtood away S. from the Ice. At eleven at Night the *Proſperous Pink* fired a Gun, and bearing down upon us, cry'd out, Ice on the Weather Bow; we clap'd the Helm hard a weather, veered out the main Sheet; to ware the Ship, but before the Ship could ware, and bring to upon the other Tack, ſhe ſtruck on a Ledge of Rocks that lay under water.

The Speedwell ſtrikes upon the Rocks. From Noon till eleven at Night, foggy weather, wind N. W. to the W. by S. and S. by W. cloſe haul'd; the *Proſperous Pink*, as I told you, ſeeing the Sea break on the Weather-bow, cry'd out it was Ice, ſo we preſently bore up round to bring to upon the other Tack, but our Ship not wearing round, run and ſtuck faſt againſt a ledge of Rocks; but Captain *Flawes* Ship wearing rounder, got clear; we gave notice of our Diſtreſs by firing ſeveral Guns, and uſed all poſſible means to get off by throwing over-board our Proviſions, *&c.* for the Water did ebb, and the Ship ſued above three Foot, but the Flood brought a great Sea with it, ſo that the Ship making water more than we could pump, we cut our Maſts by the board, and ſent our Yacht aſhoar to look for a landing place; word being brought, after their return, that there was landing, we got ready our Bread and Carpenters Tools, to make uſe of to rebuild our Long-boat, in caſe Captain *Flawes* ſhould not come near us. At Noon we got all our Men aſhoar, except two who were drown'd in the Pinnace, the Sea breaking into her juſt as ſhe put off from the Ship ſide, with all the Bread, Powder and Proviſions, which was loſt; ſo having nothing left but the Long-boat, which could not carry above 30 Men out of 70. By this time the Ship being fill'd up to the upper Deck, we could ſave only two Bags of Bread with a few pieces of Pork and a little Cheeſe; this, with what other Neceſſaries we had ſaved, we carried upon a Hill, where the firſt thing we met with was a prodigious large white Bear, at which we ſhot, but ſhe got away: We made up a kind of a Tent with ſome Canvas we had ſaved, which we faſtned to our Oars and Spars, and made a kind of Fence or Trench round it; but being very wet and without firing, we ſuffered much by the Extremity of Cold.

Friday June 30. Foggy weather, with a great Sea, our Ship ſplit upon the Rocks, and much wreck coming aſhoar, we got Oars, Spars, and Deals ſufficient to make us Tents and for Fuel; our greateſt grief was, that the weather continuing foggy, we could not expect Captain *Flawes*; wind W. N. W.

Saturday July 1. Wind N. W. a freſh Gale, the Ship broke to pieces, much wreck, and Proviſions was caſt aſhoar which we ſaved, *viz.* two Caſks of Flower, ſome Brandy, a Butt of Beer, and a Caſk of Oil.

The Ship ſplit againſt the Rock.

Sunday July 2. Weſt Wind, and foggy weather; we ſaved more Flower, Butter, and ſome Beef and Pork; our Gunner was ſeized upon by a great white Bear, but by the aſſiſtance of ſome of our Men, was ſaved, and the Bear kill'd; ſhe was very fat and good meat.

Saturday July 8. Wind W. N. W. but being a foggy day, we deſpair'd of ſeeing Captain *Flawes*; we then began to conſider of our miſerable ſtate, the Long-boat not being able to carry above 30 Men, with a Deck built on her, and her Waſt raiſed; we intended to lengthen her twelve Foot, in order to carry our whole Company, but what with the want of Materials and the little Confidence we had in our Carpenter, this was laid aſide, for fear ſhe ſhould not be lengthened: It was propoſed to travel by land towards *Weygats*, in hopes of meeting with ſome *Ruſſian*, but ſoon after, to our unſpeakable joy, we eſpied Captain *Flawes*; we made immediately a great Fire, which he perceiving, ſent in his Boat to help off our Men; we broke off the new work we had begun in our Long-boat, and about Noon got all aboard Captain *Flawes*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Journal aboard the Proſperous, *Captain* William Flawes *Commander, from* Nova Zembla *to* England, 1676.

1676. *Sunday July 9.* FRom yeſterday twelve at Night till this day at Noon, variable wind and rainy weather; we ſtood off to the Weſt; true Courſe protracted with allowance for Variation, is Weſt 8 Deg. S. difference of Lat. 8 Miles, departure 67 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 42 Min. Meridian diſtance from Point *Stateru*, the Weſtermoſt Land of *Nova Zembla*, and the laſt we ſaw, 67 Miles; cold weather

Munday July 10. From the ninth at Noon till this day at twelve, variable Winds; from the S. W. by W. to the W. and ſo to the N. and N. N. E. with ſmall rain and cold weather; true Courſe protracted is Weſt 35 Miles, variation allowed 12 Deg. W. Meridian diſtance 102 Miles, a high Sea from the Weſt.

Tueſday July 11. Variable Winds from N. N. E. to N. W. Courſe *per* Compaſs W. by S. diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 102 Miles, true Courſe allowed for Variation, is W. 68 ¼ S. diſtance of Lat. 34 Miles, departure 96 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 6 Min. Meridian diſtance 198 Miles, cloudy and cold weather.

Wedneſday July 12. From yeſterday at twelve till this day at Noon, little but variable Winds with Fogs and ſmall Rains, diſtance ſail'd *per* Log. 27 Miles, between the W. by N. and W. by S. true Courſe allow'd with all Impediments, is Weſt: At Noon Lat. by Obſervation 73 Deg. 34 Min. which is 34 Miles more N. than expected; the Variation, as I ſuppoſe, did come from the Lat. we de-

parted from on *Nova Zembla*; Meridian distance corrected, is 222 Miles West, calm and fair weather about Noon.

Thursday July 13. From yesterday till this day at Noon, variable Wind, from W. to S. S. W. we ply to the West close haul'd; Course *per* Compass between S. S. W. and W. N. W. true Course protracted all Impediments allow'd, is W. by N. ¼ N. 69 Miles, difference of Lat. 17 Miles, departure 59 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 51 Min. Meridian distance 279 Miles, cold and cloudy weather.

Friday July 14 From yesterday Noon till twelve to day, variable Winds from S. S. W. to W. N. W. we ply to the West, sometimes on one Tack and sometimes on the other; true Course protracted all Impediments allow'd, is W. S. W. ½ S. difference of Lat. 9 Miles South, departure West 20 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 35 Min. Meridian distance 299 Miles.

Saturday July 15. Strong Winds with gusts from the N. W. to the W. we ply to the Westward, sometimes to the South; distance sail'd *per* Log 70 Miles; true Course protracted is S. W. 33 Deg. 45 Min. difference of Lat. 52 Miles, departure 34 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 72 Deg. 43 Min. Meridian distance 333 Miles.

Sunday July 16. From the 15th at Noon till this day at twelve, wind at W. S. W. and W. by S. true Course protracted Leeward way and variation allow'd, is N. by W. ¼ W. 31 Miles, difference of Lat. 30 Miles, departure W. 7 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 13 Min. Meridian distance 340 Miles, rainy weather.

Monday July 17. Little wind from W. by N. to the W. with Rains and Fogs, we ply to the West close upon a wind, true Course protracted all Impediments allow'd, is W. by S. ¼ W. distance of Lat. 3 Miles, departure 23 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 10 Min. Meridian distance 360 Miles, at eleven in the Forenoon foggy weather, wind at S. S. E.

Tuesday July 18 From yesterday at 12 till to day at Noon, the winds from the S. to W. S. W. we ply to the West, close haul'd between W. and N. W. distance sail'd *per* Log. 87 Miles; true Course protracted is W. by N. ¼ N. 8 Miles, distance of Lat. 18 Miles, departure 77 Miles. Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 28 Min. Meridian distance 437 Miles, foggy weather.

Wednesday July 19 Thick Fogs, wind S. W. and S. S. W. Course *per* Compass W. N. W. and W. close haul'd; distance sail'd *per* Log. 74 Miles, true Course, Variation and Leeward way allow'd, is W. N. W. ¼ N. 70 Miles; difference of Lat. 32 Miles, departure 60 Miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. Meridian distance 497 Miles, much Wind at Night.

Thursday July 20 Much Wind and Fogs from W. S. W. and S. W. we ply close upon a wind N. W. by W. and W. N. W. distance sail'd *per* Log. 65 Miles; true Course, Variation and Leeway allow'd, is N. N. W. ¼ W. distance of Lat. 55 miles, departure 33 miles. Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 55 Min. Meridian distance 530 Miles.

Friday July 21 From the 20th at Noon till this day at twelve, wind S. W. to the W. Course *per* Compass S. by W. upon one Tack, and W. N. W. on the other, close haul'd; distance sail'd *per* Log. 61 miles, true Course protracted, all Impediments allow'd, is S. by W. ½ W. 48 Miles, distance of Lat. 45 miles, departure 16 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 74 Deg. 12 Min. cold and foggy weather, clears up about Noon

Saturday July 22. From yesterday till this day morning at four, wind at S. W. by W. and W. with Fogs, Course W. by N. and N. N. W. 46 miles, we saw many Willocks and other Sea-fowls, which made me judge we were near the *Cherry-Island*, we found 60 Fathom rough Sand, we tack'd and stood off S. S. E. and S. E. by E. nine miles, till Noon, at which time we found 78 Fathom; Lat. by Judgment at four in the Morning 74 Deg. 26 Min. Meridian distance 589 miles, when according to my reckoning I was 13 Leagues West from *Cherry-Island*, according to the Meridian distance I made from the Cape to *Nova Zembla*, and from thence back here; Lat. at Noon *per* Judgment, 74 Deg. 20 Min. Meridian distance 582 miles.

Sunday July 23. Foggy weather and variable winds from S. S. E. to W. N. W. Course *per* Compass between S. W. and W. distance sail'd *per* Log. 91 miles, true Course protracted is S. W. by S. 87 Miles, difference of Lat. 76 miles, departure 43 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 73 Deg. 8 Min. Meridian distance 625; no ground at Noon at 160 Fathoms.

Monday July 24. Little winds but variable, true Course allow'd is S. S. W. ½ W. 22 miles, distance of Lat. 18 miles, departure 11 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 72 Deg. 50 Min. Meridian distance 636 miles.

Tuesday July 25. From the 24th at Noon till this day at twelve, variable and brisk winds from the N. by W. to the E. with Fogs, Course between W. S. W. and W. distance sail'd *per* Log. 88 miles, true Course allow'd for 9 Deg. Variation, is S. W. ½ W. distance of Lat. 54 Miles, departure 69 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 71 Deg. 56 Min. Meridian distance 705 miles.

Foggy weather, with variable winds from E. by N. to S. distance sail'd *per* Log. 73 miles, Course *per* Compass between S. W. by W. and W. N. W. true Course protracted is W. ½ S. distance of Lat. 7 Miles, departure 67 miles. *Wednesday July 26.*

The wind from S. to S. W. with Fogs, distance sail'd *per* Log. 687 Miles, true Course allow'd W. ¼ S. difference of Lat. 7 Miles, departure 62 Miles West. *Thursday July 27.*

From the 27th at Noon till this day at twelve, wind from S. S. W. to S. E. Course *per* Compass between W. by N. and S. by W. close upon a wind; distance sail'd *per* Log. 85 Miles, true Course protracted is S. W. by W. ½ 80 Miles, distance of Lat. 46 Miles, S. departure 64 Miles W. thick Fogs and small Rains. *Friday July 28.*

From Yesterday at Noon till this day at twelve, strong S. and S. W. winds, true Course allow'd is W. 15 Miles. *Saturday July 29.*

From the 29th Noon till this day at twelve, variable winds from S. E. to S. and so to N. W. at eight in the Morning much wind at N. W. with sudden Gusts; true Course protracted, all Impediments allow'd, is S. S. W. 66 Miles, distence of Lat. 60 Miles, departure 25 Miles. *Sunday July 30.*

Much wind at N. W. with rain, Course *per* Compass S. W. by S. and S. W. distance sail'd *per* Log. 104 Miles, true Course allow'd for Leeward way and Variation, S. by W. ½ W. difference of Lat. 103 Miles, departure 11 Miles, Lat. *per* dead Account 68 Deg. 13 Min. but by Observation 68 Deg. 00 Min. departure corrected accordingly 15 miles, Meridian distance 953 Miles. *Munday July 31.*

The wind variable from N.W. to S.W. by W. distance sail'd *per* Log. 80 Miles, we ply to the windward; true course protracted, Variation and Leeward way allow'd, distance VV. S. VV. difference of Lat. 72 Miles, departure 51 Miles, rainy and foggy weather. *Tuesday August 1.*

From the first Noon till this day at twelve, wind S. by VV. and S. VV. with thick Fogs, Course *per* Compass between VV. by S. and VV. N. W. distance sail'd *per* Log. 51 Miles, true Course allow'd VV. by N. difference of Lat. 12 Miles, departure 49 miles, Lat. *per* Judgment 67 Deg. 50 Min. but by a good Observation Lat. 67, 55 Min. at Noon. *Wednesday Aug. 2*

VVind VV. and S. S. VV. with Fogs and Rains, Course *per* Traverse; we ply to windward; true Course protracted is S. S. VV. distance of Lat. 21 miles, departure 10 miles, much wind at S. at Night. *Thursday Aug. 3.*

From eight at Night till to day at Noon, a storm from the S. and S. S. VV. true Course, drift and all Impediments allow'd, is N. VV. by N. ¾ VV. difference of Lat. 18 miles, departure 16 miles, little wind at Noon. *Friday Aug. 4*

VVind from VV. by S. to N. VV. with a cold storm; true Course allow'd is S. by E. difference of Lat. 75 miles, departure 15 miles; little wind in the Afternoon. *Saturday Aug. 5.*

VVind from VV. N. VV. to VV. S. VV. true Course allow'd S. ¼ E. distance of Lat. 67 miles, departure 8 Miles, wind at S. and S. VV. *Sunday Aug. 6.*

Sometimes stormy and sometimes calms; true Course allowed *per* Judgment VV. N. VV. ¼ N. 53 miles, difference of Lat. 22 miles,, departure W. 47 miles; the wind turn'd W. N. W. at noon, and at eight a Storm at N. W. *Munday Aug. 7*

From Yesterday eight at Night till to day at Noon, a storm from N. W. Course *per* Compass S. S. W. distance sail'd by the Log. 116 Miles, true Course allow'd, is S. distance of Lat. 107 miles, departure W. 5 miles. *Tuesday Aug. 8*

At three in the Morning we saw many Willocks and other Sea-fowls, and at five the Land E. S. E. of us, high Lands, being the Isles of *Fero*; Lat. at Noon by a good Observation 61 Deg. 45 Min. the westermost of these Isles bore then East eight Leagues from us; distance sail'd from the 8th at Noon till this day at twelve, 120 miles, true Course allow'd S. by W. ¼ W. distance of Lat. 116 Miles, departure 26 Miles, Lat. by Judgment 62 Deg. 4 Min. distance between the dead Lat. and the observed Lat. 20 Miles, so that the Ship is 20 Miles more South, and consequently more West, Meridian distance 1129 Miles, by correction 1136; we gave chase to a small Vessel, but she got away. *Wednesday Aug. 9* The Isles of *Fero*.

A brisk Gale at N. W. Course between the S. and E. S. E. to get clear of the Illands, distance sail'd by the Log. 102 Miles, true Course protracted, is S. E. by E. ¼ S. distance of Lat. 58 miles,, departure 76 Miles, we spoke with the before-mention'd Ship, which proved a *Thursday Aug. 10.*

Lynmans,

Friday Aug. 11 *Lymmano.* Wind at N. N. W. Course *per* Compass S. E. by E. distance sail'd by the Log. 83. Miles. At Noon the Isle of *Foule* bore N. E. by E. three Leagues off; the wind turn'd South.

Saturday Aug. 12. The *Orkney* Isles. Variable wind with great gusts. At Noon the *Orkney* Islands bore West four Leagues: those of the *Orkney* Isles we saw, are low, but the *Fair-Isle* we discover'd at the same time, was high Land, six Leagues off. The Tide of Flood sets very strong betwixt the *Orkney* and *Fair-Isles.* *Carnes.* At eight at Night *Carnes* bore about eight Leagues off W. by S. we turned away S. E. the wind at W. S. W. it blew a storm.

Sunday Aug. 13. From last Night at eight, till this day four in the Afternoon, it blew very hard; wind from W. by S. to W. N. W. We made her good by Judgment 58 Deg. 16 Min. Departure from *Carnes* 47 miles E. we saw many Fitterals about the Ship; less wind at Night.

Munday Aug. 14. From Yesterday Noon to this day at twelve, a fresh Gale, Course *per* Compass S. Lat. by a good Observation 56 Deg. 38 Min.

Tuesday Aug. 15. Little wind at W. N. W. Course *per* Compass S. Distance sail'd by the Log. 53 miles; fair weather, at Noon wind at S. we stood in for the Land, and spake with two Fishing-boats under *English* Colours, but were *Dutch*; at six at Night we got in with the Land, two Leagues North of *Tinmouth* Castle, we tack'd and stood off, the wind South. The wind continued S. to the S. S. E. At Noon *Tinmouth* Castle S. W. two Leagues off. we ply to the South. *Tinmouth Castle.*

Wednesday Aug. 16. Wind at W. S. W. pretty high at Noon, we stand along the Shoar to the S. at two a clock *Flambrough-head*, West about two Miles. Wind at W. S. W. at Noon, we came to an Anchor a League to the North of *Cromer*, the Tide being spent. At six the next Morning we weighed with the Tide, and turning up *Yarmouth*-Roads, came to an anchor just against the Town; at eight at Night we turn'd up above the Peer, and anchor'd again; the Tide being spent, wind S. W.

Thursday Aug. 17. *Friday Aug. 18.* *Saturday Aug. 19.* *Yarmouth.*

Sunday Aug. 20. *Southwold Bay.* At eight next Morning weighed with the Flood, and turned up windward; we anchored at four in the Afternoon with ebb Tide in *Southwole* Bay, at eight Fathom water, the Church bearing N. N. W. a fresh Gale from S. S. W. to S. S. E. At eight at Night we left the Bay with the Flood, and turned up *Alborough* Road, where we came to an anchor. At nine in the Morning we weighed with the Tide of Flood, with a fresh Gale at W. S. W. and turn'd into the *Sleeway*, where we anchored at five in the Evening at nine Fathom water, the *Naze* Land bearing W. by N. At four a clock we turn'd windward with the Flood, wind at W. S. W. At five anchor'd upon the Tide of Ebb, two Miles below the middle ground; at Noon we weighed with the Flood, and turn'd to windward, wind at W. by S. at six we anchored below the Shoar. At four in the Morning we weigh'd anchor, and turn'd up a Mile above the *Buoy* of the *Noar*, wind at W. N. W. we anchored upon the Ebb; about eight a clock, and weighing anchor again at one, wind at W. N. W. turned up the River. *Munday Aug. 21.* *Alborough Road.* *Tuesday Aug. 22.* *Wednesday Aug. 23.* Return to the Buoy of the Noar.

After the Journal, I will give you my Thoughts of the said Voyage, and a true Relation of our Miscarriage, with some Observations I made during the Voyage.

My first Error was, to follow the Opinion of *William Barrans*, *viz.* to steer from the North Cape directly N. E. and so to fall in the middle-way betwixt *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland*: Accordingly having made the Land to the West of the North Cape, I steer'd the 19th of *June* N. E. by the Compass, which was not so much by the true Course, because of the West Variation. The 22d of *June* we discover'd the main Body of Ice, at the Lat. of 76 Deg. 60 Leagues East of *Greenland*. At first, I supposed it to have been the Ice that is adjoining to *Greenland*, and consequently, that, if I did steer more to the East, I should meet with an open Sea; so I went along close by the Ice E. S. E. and W. N. W. Every league, less or more, we met with a Point of Ice, but when we came round, we could see no Ice to the North; so standing in N. E. an hour at a time, we still saw more Ice a head; so we were forced to continue coasting the Ice, sometimes in hopes of an open Sea, and sometimes quite disheartened with seeing more Ice, till we were past all hopes of having sight of *Nova Zembla*, and the Ice adjoining to it. This convinced me of the Error of Mr. *William Barrens*, and of the Falsity of the *Dutch* Relations, as well as of those of our own Country-men: for it is now my Opinion, that if there is no Land to the North of 80 Deg. of Lat. the Sea is all frozen and always will be so: for I could not get beyond the 76 Deg. and yet found it frozen without intermission, and, it is very probable, that the same Ice we saw on the main Body of it, and had been conveyed ten Deg. to the South, would have required some Ages to thaw it; and the loose Ice we saw about the Edges of the main Busk, was scarce a Foot thick above the Surface of the water, whereas the rest of the Cake was 18 Foot under water. This made me conjecture, that all these vast Mountains of Ice, must be of necessity reaching from the Shoar into the Sea, which I was confirm'd in by the shallowness along the Ice in the mid-way between the two Lands, being no more than 70 Fathom; a sign that there is Land to the North, and that *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland* are the same Continent; for, if there were a Passage, there would also be a Current, of which I could perceive hardly any, and what little there was run E. S. E. along the Ice, being only a small Tide that riseth about eight Foot. *Nova Zembla* and *Greenland* the same Continent.

The 29th of *June* was the fatal day to our Ship, which proving exceeding foggy, the wind strong at West, and we believing the Westermost Land of *Nova Zembla* bore E. S. E. of us, Captain *Flawes* fired a Gun, and call'd there was Ice a head: I no sooner looked, but perceiv'd it to be a Rock: I did all I could to get clear, but in vain, for she struck against the Rock; but Captain *Flawes* having a rounder Ship, escaped, by God's singular Providence, and stood off to Sea: we used all possible means to save her, but as it blew very hard, and our Anchors could do us no service, we were reduced to the utmost despair. About five hours, to our great amazement, we saw Land close under our stern; (the Fogs being then dispersed) so we got out our Boats, and the Pinnace was sent ashoar to see whether there were any landing; they returned with this doleful news, That the roughness of the Sea, and the snowy Cliffs ashoar, made it impossible for us to land: we had then recourse to Prayers, to recommend our Souls to God Almighty, as seeing no hopes of relief. After Prayers the weather proved somewhat clearer, when looking over the Stern, I discover'd a small Beach, where I thought we might possibly land: I sent the Pinnace thither, but they durst not land; but the Boat with about twenty Men, got safe ashoar, and then were follow'd by the Pinnace: some of them returned with both the Boats, and I order'd them to put into the Pinnace two Barrels of Powder, some small Arms, Mony, Provisions and my Papers; which was no sooner done, but the was over-set by a high Sea, but the Men were all saved by the Long-boat, except one who was drown'd: They would needs compel me and my Secretary to quit the Ship, which we did at last, and afterwards sent the Boat back to fetch the rest, who were all brought ashoar except one, who having not recovered himself since the over-setting of the Pinnace, was forced to be left behind. We made Tents of some Canvas and our Oars, and raised the Long-boat two Foot, and made a Deck to keep out the Sea, intending with her to sail or row to *Russia*; but as she could not carry above 30 Men, this occasioned no small Discontent among us, every one challenging the same right with the others: All I could do in this Exigency, was, to let the Brandy-bottle go round, which kept them always fox'd, till the eighth of *July* (the ninth day after we had been ashoar) Captain *Flawes* came so seasonably to our relief.

Nova Zembla, i. e. *New Land* in the *Russian* Language, is unknown hitherto whether it be an Isle, or adjoining to the Continent of *Great Tartary*: It is most always covered with Snow; the Ground Boggy, upon whose Superficies grows a kind of Moss, which beareth a small blew Flower. About two Foot under the Superficies of the Ground, is an entire firm body of Ice: In other Climates the Snow melts soonest near the Sea-side; but here the snowy Cliffs are continually seen near the Shoar, in some places as high as the *Fore-lands* in *Kent*. At some distance from the Sea side, we found the tops of some Mountains without Snow: we found the Track of Bears, large Deer, and Foxes: we saw a little Creature not unlike a Coney, but no bigger than a Rat, and some small Birds like Larks. Abundance of small Rivulets run from the Hills into the Sea, near which you see abundance of black Marble with white Veins; but upon the Hills nothing but Slate-stone. Unto the Point where we lost our Ship, I gave the name of *Speedill*; unto the High Hills that of *King Charles's Snow-Hills*; and to the next Point to the South, being the West Point of *Nova Zembla*, the name of *James's Foreland*: the North Point I call'd *York Point*. Point *Speedill* lies at 74 Deg. 30 Min. North Lat. and in Longitude East from *London*, 63 Deg. 00 Min. The Variation of the Compass is 13 Deg. West; it is full Sea at S. W. Moon. The Tide rises directly eight Foot, and sets directly upon the Shoar, a certain sign that there is no Passage to the North. The Sea Water near the Ice and Shoar, is much salter than A Description of *Nova Zembla*.

any I ever tasted before, and much heavier, but so clear and transparent, that at 80 Fathom (or 480 Foot) Water, I could plainly see the Shells at the bottom. Had I succeeded in this Voyage, I would have given you a more exact Account of every thing, which I am now forced to supersede, by reason of the loss of my Papers in the Pinnace: But my Experiments of the Magnet, I intend to publish in a peculiar Treatise.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Brief Discourse of a Passage by the North-Pole to Japan, China, *&c. pleaded by three Experiments. And Answers to all Objections that can be urged against a Passage that way; By* Joseph Moxon, *Fellow of the* Royal Society.

This was one of the Truths induced Captain *Wood* to undertake his Voyage.

AMong the many Essays that have been made to find a neer Passage to *Japan*, *China*, &c. the most probable and likely hath as yet (in my Opinion) been over-seen, or at least not attempted; and therefore I shall hereby communicate my Conceptions to publick Approbation or Censure. It is, that a Passage may very probably be about the *North-Pole*; and the Reason inducing me to conceive so, is, That we have no Certainty from all the Discoveries that have been made of any Land lying within eight Degrees about the Pole; but on the contrary, that I have credibly been informed by a Steer-man of a *Dutch Greenland* Ship, that there is a free and open Sea under the very Pole, and somewhat beyond it: and I for my own part give credit to his Relation, and do conceive that any sober ingenious Man would do the like, did he know in what an honest manner, and by what an un-interessed Accident I happened to hear it; for thus it was: Being about 22 Years ago in *Amsterdam*, I went into a Drinking-house to drink a Cup of Beer for my Thirst, and sitting by the publick Fire, among several People, there happened a Sea-man to come in, who seeing a Friend of his there, who he knew went in the *Greenland* Voyage, wondred to see him, because it was not yet time for the *Greenland* Fleet to come home, and ask'd him what Accident brought him home so soon; his Friend (who was the Steer-man aforesaid, in a *Greenland* Ship that Summer) told him, that their Ship went not out to fish that Summer, but only to take in the Lading of the whole Fleet, to bring it to an early Market, &c. But, said he, before the Fleet had caught Fish enough to lade us, we, by order of the *Greenland*-Company, sailed unto the *North-Pole*, and came back again. Whereupon (his Relation being *Novel* to me) I entred into discourse with him, and seem'd to question the Truth of what he said: but he did ensure me it was true, and that the Ship was then in *Amsterdam*, and many of the Sea-men belonging to her to justify the truth of it; and told me moreover, that they had sailed two Degrees beyond the Pole. I ask'd him, if they found no Land or Illands about the Pole? He told me No, there was a free and open Sea: I ask'd him if they did not meet with a great deal of Ice? He told me No, they saw no Ice: I ask'd him what Weather they had there? He told me fine warm Weather, such as was at *Amsterdam* in the Summer time, and as hot. I should have ask'd him more Questions, but that he was ingaged in discourse with his Friend, and I could not in modesty interrupt them longer. But I believe the Steer-man spoke matter of Fact and Truth, for he seem'd a plain honest and unaffectatious Person, and one who could have no design upon me.

But though I believe this story, yet methinks I hear many object against it, and are apt to urge three seeming Reasons to prove it false, or at least some Particulars of his Relation. And first, That it cannot be warm under the Pole, because that about *Greenland*, and many other parts less Northerly, the Sea is so full of great Bodies of Ice, that Ships can hardly sail for it. Secondly, Or if warm, yet not so warm as at *Amsterdam* in the Summer time, because the farther Northerly, the colder Weather. Thirdly, Or if they were under the *Pole*, that they could not tell how to come back, but that they might as well go farther from, as return nearer to home; because the *Needle* pointing always *North*, they must needs loose themselves in the *North-Pole*, where it must indifferently respect all Points of the Horizon alike.

One Answer may serve to the first and second Objection; That it cannot be warm under the *North-Pole*, &c, if we consult the Experience of Travellers and Navigators; we are told, that between the *Tropicks*, nay, under the *Equinoctial*, is generally as moderate weather as here in *England* in Summer-time. Why may it not then be as warm under the Pole, as here or at *Amsterdam* in the Summer time? The small height the Sun hath there, can be no Exception; for then we having the Sun in its Summer Solstice in lesser Altitude than between the Tropicks, it must needs be much colder here, which is contradicted. But one Reason why it is as warm here as between the Tropicks, is, because between the Tropicks, the Sun remains scarce above 12 hours of 24 above the Horizon to warm it, when as here it remains almost 17 hours of 24 above the Horizon, and therefore leaves a greater impression of heat upon it; and the farther Northward we go, the longer it remains above the Horizon, and less under the Horizon every 24 hours, till we come within the Arctick Circle, where the Sun remains for half a year together, *viz.* all the Summer above the Horizon, and never sets: And therefore tho' his Beams are not so perpendicular, yet they must needs cause a great degree of heat upon the Horizon.

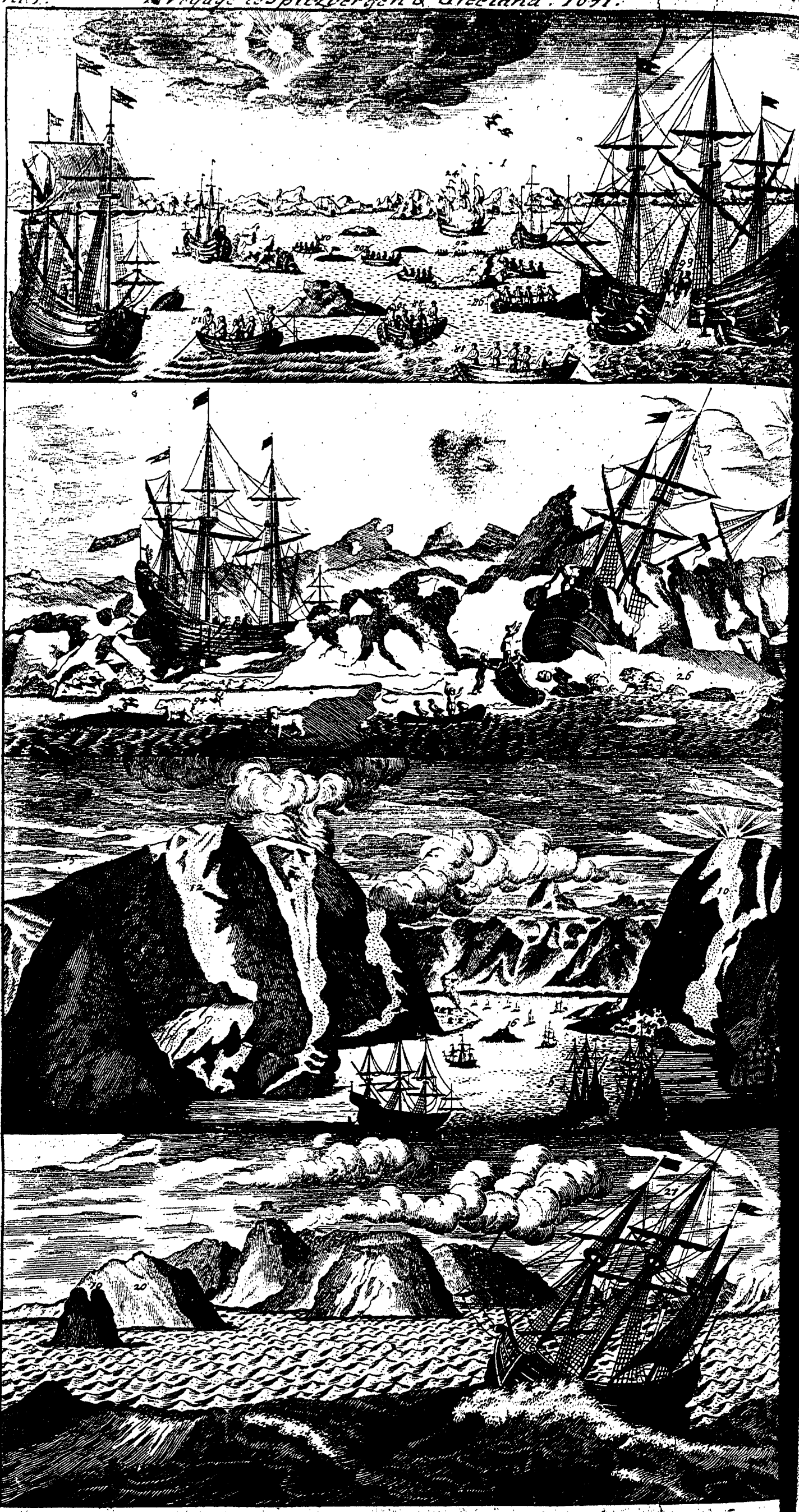
And if it be argued that it is so cold about *Greenland*, &c. and the Seas so full of Ice, that Ships can hardly sail for it; yet cannot that Argument prove that it is so about the *Pole*: because the Ice is made about shoars of Land, but never in open Sea, and comes there only by strength of Currents, or high Winds, which do indeed carry it some small distance from the shoar. But as this Relator said, there is under the *Pole* a free and open Sea, &c. and consequently void of Ice, in Summer time at least. Besides, Experience tells us, that all Land-briezes are colder than those that come from Sea, and therefore it may be cold about *Greenland*, because of the Land, and yet warm under the *Pole*, where the Sea is open, &c.

The third Objection is, that if they were under the *Pole*, they could not tell how to come back, because of the indifferency the *Needle* should bear to every point of the *Horizon*.

I examined not my Relator upon this Argument, tho' when I was parted from him, I was sorry I did not. But it is easy to apprehend how to guide a Ship, either forward or backward by an Observation of the Sun, a little before you enter the *Pole*; for by finding in or near what Meridian it is, or upon what part of the Ship it bears, whether on Head or Stern, or Star-board or Larboard, you may measure Time near enough with a Glass, to know several days after, in or near what Meridian the Sun is at any known or estimate time, and consequently know how to proceed forewards, or come back with your Ship: or if the Moon have *North* Latitude, you may do the same by the Moon. But if the *Pole* were Traded, in short time it might be found by Variation of the *Needle*, for there is doubtless Variation in it, and in all the Meridians about it, several Variations.

Thus far it appears there is a free and open Sea in Summer-time (at least) about the *North-Pole*. But I shall add another Relation of *James Ben*, whose Father lived about five Years ago in Crown-Court in *Russel-street* in *Covent-Garden*, and himself now lives in *Wapping*. This Mr. *Ben* sailed to *Japan* with the *Dutch*, as a Carpenter of the Ship, and he told me that that Year, *viz.* 1668. he was newly come home from *Japan*: I ask'd him how long they were under-way home from thence? He told me, he could not well tell, because when they set out from *Japan*, the Captain commanded the Steer-

man



man to sail due North, and they do sail from thence about 400 *Dutch* Miles, which is almost 4 Degrees due North. I ask'd him whether they met with no Land or Islands, as I had done before the *Dutch Greenland* Steerman: He told me No, they saw no Land, but that there was a free and open Sea so far as they sailed, nor any sign of Land appeared. I ask'd him why they sailed so far Northward? He told me he could not tell, only the Captain commanded it, &c. But I suppose the *East-India* Company commanded the Captain, either to make a Discovery of Land to encrease Trade, or to satisfy themselves with the Knowledge of an open Sea, that when they saw Reason, they might expedite their Voyages between *Holland* and those Parts that way. I was thus inquisitive with him, because ever since I heard the former Relation of the *Greenland* Steer-man, I harped at a Passage through or about the *North Pole* to *Japan*, *China*, &c. and by these two discoveries, it appears very probable that there is so, and that it is passable in Summer-time.

I come to a third Relation, not only of the Probability, but of the Certainty of a Passage found by the *Russians* this last Year, as it came to the Hands of the Secretary of the *Royal Society* from *Amsterdam*, by a Correspondent of his; which in *Transact.* Numb. 101. runs in these words.

A Letter, and Map, not long since sent to the Publisher, by an Experienced Person residing at Amsterdam, *containing a true Description of* Nova Zembla, *together with an Intimation of the Advantage of its Shape and Position.*

'SIR,

'I Herewith send you what I have received out 'of *Muscovy*, which is a New Map of *Nova* 'Zembla and *Weigats*; as it hath been discover'd 'by the express order of the *Czar*, and drawn 'by a Painter, called *Panelapoetski*, who sent it 'me from *Mosco* as a Present, by which it ap'pears, That *Nova Zembla* is not an Island, as 'hitherto it hath been believed to be; and that 'the *Mare Glaciale* is not a Sea, but a *Sinus* or 'Bay; the Waters whereof are sweet, which is 'the same with what the *Tartars* do also assure 'us, who have tasted those Waters in the very 'midst of the *Sinus*. The *Samojeds* as well as the 'Tartars, do unanimously affirm, that passing on 'the Back of *Nova Zembla*, at a considerable di'stance from the Shoar, Navigators may well pass 'as far as *Japan*. And 'tis a great fault in the '*English* and *Dutch*, that seeing to get to *Japan* 'on the South side of *Nova Zembla*, they have 'almost always passed the *Weigats*. The Let'ter O in the great River *Oby*, marks the place 'of a Cataract or fall of Water; the Letter K 'denotes the conjunction of *Zembla* with the Con'tinent. The River marked L, runs towards *Chi'na*, called *Kitaie*, which is not every where 'navigable, by reason of the Rocks and other 'Inconveniencies that obstruct the passing of Ves'sels. *Weigats* it self is very difficult to pass, 'because of the great quantity of Ice continual'ly falling into it out of the River *Obey*, where'by that straight Passage is stopp'd up. The *Sama'jeds* go every year a fishing upon the said sweet 'Sea, and that on *Nova Zembla*'s side. This 'Map of *Nova Zembla* is here omitted, because here 'is set forth a Map of all the Lands neerest about the 'North-Pole.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The first Part of the Voyage to Spitzbergen *and* Greenland, *containing an Account of the Voyage thither, and of the Weather; from* April *the* 15*th, to* August *the* 21*st,* 1671.

The Voyage from the Elbe to Spitzbergen.

WE set sail from the *Elbe*, wind N. E. in the Ship call'd the *Jonas in the Whale*, *Peter Peterson* of *Friesland* Master.

The 27th, at 71 Deg. we had cold weather, wind N. E. by E. we discover'd the Isle of *John Mayen*, S. W. by W. ten Miles off.

The 29th foggy weather, we came to the Ice and sail'd back again, as you may see in the Plate, A. The 30th foggy and snowy weather, wind North.

May 3. Snow and Hail, wind N. W. by W. the Sun set no more after this day.

May 4. Cold but sun-shiny weather, wind N. W. we saw abundance of *Seals*. See No (1).

May 5. Moderate weather, wind N. W. by N. we saw many Ships sailing about the Ice, which ask'd one another how many Whales they had caught: they would answer by signs with their Hats; and if they had their full Freight, they hung out the Great Flag; so that if any would send a Message, he might deliver it to them, as you see in the Plate, A. by A.

May 7. Snow with rain. In the Afternoon we discover'd *Spitzbergen*, the South Point of the North Foreland, appearing like a dark Cloud full of white Streaks.

May 9. The same weather, wind S. W. by W. In the Afternoon we mistook a Finfish for a Whale. From the 25th of *April* till this day, we had not taken the Sun's Altitude, which we found 70 Deg. 3 Min.

May 12. Stormy cold weather, wind North, with excessive Frost.

May 14. Fine Sunshiny weather, wind N. W. at 75 Deg. 22 Min. Here the Sea is smooth, even after a Storm, if the wind blows from the Ice; but if from the Sea, it is very rough: we saw a Whale but could not catch her.

May 19. A calm sun-shiny day, wind North; we killed two *Seals* or *Sea-dogs*, and saw a vast number of them on the Ice.

May 20. It was very calm but cold, wind North; the longer we sail'd the bigger Ice we met with. We sail'd deeper into the Ice in the Forenoon with another *Hamburger* Ship, call'd the *Lepeler*, and eight *Dutch-men*, and saw about 30 Ships in all lying in a Harbour of Ice, as you may see at No (1). *May* 21.

Fair and calm weather, wind S. W. we saw a Whale when the Sun was in the East, which we brought to the Ship, and found him spent with swimming, having a *Harpoon-Iron* stuck in his Flesh, which stunk vehemently, and the Birds call'd *Mallemucks*, i. e. *Foolish Gnats* (a kind of Sea Guls) fed upon it alive. We fill'd 70 Barrels with the Fat, but the Steam inflamed our Eyes. See No (2). The same Night *Cornelius Seamen* lost his Ship in the Ice, call'd the *West Ice* by the Seamen, because it extends to the West. See No (3) *May* 30.

A very severe frost; we saw the Moon look as pale in the Night time, as it looks by us in a clear day. *June* 2.

Wind N.E. by N. we came very near to a Whale; but just as the Harpooner was ready to fling the Harpoon, he got under the water, holding up his Head, and so sunk like a Stone. See No (4). *June* 4.

A foggy and snowy day; we saw many Seals or Sea-dogs, and kill'd 15 of them. *June* 8.

A cold stormy day, and sun-shiny Night, but one must be very nice to distinguish betwixt day and night. *June* 12.

In the Afternoon foggy and windy weather at 77 Deg. the Ice East towards *Spitzbergen*: see No (5) The same Night we saw above 20 Whales swimming towards the Ice; we got our second Fish, which being wounded with Lances, bled so vehemently, that the Sea was tinged red; we brought him aboard when the Sun was at North; for you must know that the Sun is our Clock at *Spitzbergen*. *June* 13.

A cold, windy, foggy Night; we arrived at *Spitzbergen*; first we came to the *Foreland*, thence to the seven *Ice Hills*, and so to the *Hamburghers* Harbour, *Magdalens*, *Englishmen* and *Danes*, and into the South Bay; we *June* 14.

were

were followed by three *Hamburgers* and four *Dutch* Ships; as you see at No (6). In our Voyage thither, we saw no Ice till we came to *Spitzbergen*, because the wind had blown it another way; we fill'd 65 *Kardels* with the Fat of the befor-mentioned Whale. We saw another the same night, and flung three Harpoons into him; but ther breaking out, we lost him. We saw also two Morses or Sea-horses upon the Ice; we covered the hole thro' which they were come out, and so kill'd them; we saw also many White-fish.

June 22 Fair weather, near the *Reben-field* (*Deer-field*) we saw six Whales, and got one of them. In the Night the Sun did shine very bright.

July 1 We saw two Whales ready to couple; we kill'd the Female, but the first overturned one of our Boats. The same Morning another Whale appear'd near the wide Harbour, but a *Dutch* Ship took him.

July 2 It was sun-shine and pretty warm all day and night long; we caught another Male Whale, and being in hast, cut the Fat off and flung it into the Fore-castle.

July 3 We saw more Whales than in all our Voyage, and got the

July 5 sixth Whale: we struck another before the *Weigat*, but he got loose again. About Noon, wind South, we got a seventh Fish, we sail'd a little thence to the *Mushle Harbour*, where we anchored.

July 8 The wind turning N. W. with snow and rain, the Ice came so hard upon us, that we were glad to leave of our

July 9 Anchors behind; we got the eighth Whale, wherewith we fill'd 54 *Kardels*.

July 12 We sail'd with three Boats into the Ice before *Weigats*, and took an old white Bear with two young ones; they would swim in the water like Fish; we saw also abundance of *Sea-horses*, and kill'd ten of them, and the rest beat so fiercely against our Boats, that they beat several holes in their sides: We might have got Sea-horses enough, but were afraid of loosing our Ship, by going too far into the Ice; whenever they happen to loose their Shins, they discharge a Cannon from the Ship, or sound the Trumpet or Hautboys.

July 13 Wind N. E. by E. the Ice coming apace, we sail'd from the S. E. Land to the W. and had enough to do to get thro' by the North side from the *Bear-haven*; we sail'd to the *Deer-field*, and thence to the *Vogelsong* (*Birds Song*) as you see at No (7). We turned to the East *July* 14 with a N. E. wind, in Compani of 12 Ships more. It was a Fog, mix'd with Sun-shine, with a Rain-bow of white and pale yellow'd, curiously mix'd.

A windy, cold, and foggy day, wind N. W. we *July* 15 saw many Ships beset in the Ice in the *Deer* or *Mushle Bay*. We kept along the Shoar, and at Night entered the South Harbour, mark'd with No (8). The same Night we fetch'd water from the Shoar near the *Cookery* of *Harlingen*, out of a hole, mark'd with N. (9).

We saw the Moon in the Morning, and the 18th be- *July* 16 ing becalm'd, we rowed with a Boat into the *Danish* Harbour, to gather some Herbs among the Rocks. We *July* 19 had fair weather, and stormy at Night, which continued the 20th, wind S. W. The 21st it rained all day long.

July 22d, we sail'd out of *S. Haven*, the Sun N. E. Our Return from *Spitzbergen* to the *Elbe*. we saw abundance of *Fin-fishes*, it being a foggy day, and sun shiny at Night.

The 24th the Sun did shine so warm, as to melt the Tar of our Ship before *Magdalens Bay*.

The 25th foggy weather and cold, wind S. W. we came to the *Forelands*.

We turned from the *Forelands* to the West, the Sun at *July* 28 S. E. and sail'd S. W. and by W. towards the Sea; afterwards we changed our Course S. and stood S. E. we sail'd along the Shoar S. E. by S. The South side *July* 29, of the *Foreland* being eight Leagues N. E. from us: then 30 we sail'd S. W. by S. the wind cold at N. W. we saw 31. abundance of *Fin-fishes*, but no more Whales.

A windy day, wind at S. E. we took the Meridian *Aug.* 9 height of the Sun at 66 Deg. 47 Min. and sail'd S. W. all along the North shoar of the Country.

A stormy and rainy Morning, wind at N. W. but a *Aug.* 13 clear Moon and star-light at Night. In the Morning we saw the North side of *Hitland*, and sailing South after the rain, kept our Course betwixt *Hitland* and *Fairfole*, first S. W. afterwards S. VV. by S. and then S.

A fair warm day; we saw *Hilgeland*, (the *Holy Isle*) *Aug.* 20 S. E. of us, and sailing S. E. took in a Pilot, and came the 29th at anchor by the first *Buoy* in the *Elbe*; (call'd the *Red Buoy*) In the Afternoon we sail'd to *Kacks Haven*, where we anchored in a rainy and stormy Night.

CHAP. XL.

A Voyage to Spitzbergen; *Part* II. *Containing a Description of* Spitzbergen.

Of the External Appearance of *Spitzbergen*.

THE lowermost Parts of these Countries call'd *Spitzbergen*, i. e. *Peaked Hills*, are situate under 76 Deg. 30 Min. we sail'd to 80 Deg. beyond which no Ship ventured that year; it being unknown to this day how far this Country extends to the North, tho' by reason of the firmness of the Ice, it seems as if there were Land not far behind it: Those Countries are enclosed with high Hills, or perhaps the whole Country is the same, because one sees many Hills behind one another: However at the *Mushle Haven* we found the Country somewhat more level; and the further you come to the East, the Ground groweth lower, and you don't see the Hills so high over one another as before; the Ground is all stony.

How the Beasts came thither.

The Beasts that are seen here, I suppose to come in the Spring over the Ice, whilst it stands firm, and to go back again when the long Nights begin. Of the Birds we shall say more anon.

June 18 At our arrival at the *Foreland* of *Spitzbergen*, the Foot of these Mountains appear'd like fire at a distance (the tops being covered with Fogs) the Snow marbled in various shapes, made a glorious Refract. in the Air; this fiery appearance is look'd upon as the Forerunner of a Storm.

The Ice and Rivers.

You meet with more or less Ice on these Coasts, according as the winds blow, as if it be East, from *Nova Zembla*; if N. VV. from *Greenland* and the Isle of *John Mayen*: sometimes the Coast is surrounded with Ice all the Summer; which when it is set a floating in too great a quantity, the Ships make to the Harbours, Bays, or Rivers; these last have no fresh water, nor did I ever meet with a Spring here: The Rise of some of these Rivers is known, but of others not, by reason of the vast quantity of Ice and many Rocks underneath the water, but discover'd by a violent breaking and foaming of the Sea.

You will find the Names of the Havens (as far as I Havens. have seen) in the Map of *Spitzbergen*; the best and safest among them are the *Safe-Harbour*, and the *South* and *North Bay*; the rest lying for the most part either open to the Sea, or are infested with too much Ice and Rocks. In the South or North Bay I have often seen 10, 20, and 30 Ships at anchor, as you may see at No (10) and (11).

Most of the Birds are seen here on or near the Land, especially when they are hatching their Eggs; their Nests are not made up with far-fetch'd things.

Most of the Herbs that grow here, are such as are Herbs. fit for the curing of the Diseases incident to this Climate; they grow most where the water runs from the Hills (and where the North and East winds least affect them) which always carries a kind of Mos along with it, which is animented by the Dung of the Birds. Near the *Low Lands* of *Spitzbergen*, we saw vast numbers of Sea-horses, but scarce any Seals.

At the Foot of the Mountains stand Ice Hills, reaching Ice Mountains. to the Tops of the rocky Mountain; the Cliffs are fill'd with Snow: These Mountains make a strange appearance of Trees, Branches, Leaves, &c. at a distance. There are seven of these snow Mountains betwixt the Rocks, of a fine blew colour, with a great many Cracks and Caves in them, hollowed out by the running down of the snow water; they are encreased continually by the melted Snow and Rain that falls from the Rocks, so, that they may be discover'd a great way at Sea, and as you sail under them, a Ship with its Masts is no more to be compared to them, than a small House to a lofty Steeple:

Steeple: The Snow appear'd dark from the ſhade of the Skies, and about the middle ſome foggy Clouds appear'd.

The rocky Mountains. The true Rocks appear of a fiery Colour, but could ſcarce ſee the tops of them, by reaſon of the Clouds; ſome of them are one entire Stone from the top to the bottom, repreſenting in ſhape a decay'd Wall; they have a ſweet ſmell, like our Fields in the Spring, after Rains; ſee No (17) The Stones of theſe Rocks are full of white, red, and yellow Veins like Marble; upon any alteration of the weather, the Stones ſweat, which together with the Rains, tinges the Snow red. At the Foot of the high Rocks lye looſe Rocks, with Caves and Coles of a grey colour, with black Veins gliſtening like Silver Oar. On theſe grow divers ſorts of Herbs, and Moſs in two Months, *viz.* in *June* and *July*. The Birds build their Neſts in the Cracks of the Mountains, tho' they ſeek for their Food in the water; ſome live upon the carrion of Fiſhes, others upon ſmall Fiſhes and Shrimps; as the white Bears here do upon the dead Carcaſſes of the Whales or Men; the Foxes upon Birds and their Eggs; and the Deer upon Herbs and Moſs. Moſt of the high Rocks reach in a cloudy day half ways up into the Clouds: ſee No (13)

Their Situation. We went one Night arm'd with Guns and Lances (for fear of the Bears) upon one of theſe Rocks which look'd black, near the *Engliſh* Haven, which was of ſuch a height, that we could ſcarce diſcern the Long-boats below in the Harbour. The Mountains I took particular notice of here, are ſituated thus; The higheſt extend from the *Fore-land* to the *Muſhle-haven*; after the *Fore-land* follow ſeven Ice Mountains, placed between the

And of the Harbours. rocky Mountains: Theſe laſt are not ſo peaked on the top here, as the two foremoſt Rocks at *Magdalen's-Haven*; then cometh the Haven of the *Hamburghers*, *Magdalen*, the *Engliſh*, the *Daniſh* Harbour, and at laſt the *South-haven*.

Magdalen Harbour. *Magdalen* Harbour is encloſed with Rocks in form of a Semi-Circle; on each ſide cloſe to one another, ſtand two high hollow Mountains, with Points and Cracks on the tops like Battlements. In the Valley ſtands an Ice Hill, reaching in ſhape of a Tree with Branches, as high as the top of the Mountain it ſelf.

The South Haven. In the *South-haven* the Ships ride alſo betwixt the Mountains; on the left as you ſail into it, you ſee a Hill call'd the *Beehive* (from its ſhape) mark'd with No (14) Adjoining to this is a huge high Mountain, call'd the *Devils Hook* or *Corner*, and is ſeldom ſeen without thick Fogs, which when the wind blows, darken the Harbour like Smoak: On the very top of it are three white Hills covered with Snow, two of them ſtanding cloſe to one another; you ſee them marked with No (15). Juſt in the middle of this Harbour lies an Iſle marked with No (16) called the *Dead-man's Iſle*, becauſe here they bury their dead Men in Coffins, and afterwards lay great heaps of Stones upon them, notwithſtanding which, the white Bears will ſometimes dig them up; for it is obſervable, that dead Carcaſſes will remain entire here, without the leaſt ſigns of Putrefaction, for ten years and longer. There are ſeveral more Iſlands in this Harbour, which by one general name are call'd the *Birds Iſles*, from the great quantity of the Eggs of Mountain-Ducks and *Kirmews* found there.

Schmerenburgh. The next is call'd *Schmerenburgh*, where formerly the *Dutch* uſed to boil their Train-oyl; ſome of them were left there once for all the Winter, but all periſh'd: ſee No (17). There were yet remaining ſeveral Houſes like a ſmall Village; and over againſt *Schmerenburgh* likewiſe divers other Houſes, with Chambers and Warehouſes low built at the Foot of a high Mountain; as alſo a Kettle, with Smiths Thongs, and ſome other Inſtruments belonging to it; this they call the *Cookery* of

The Cookery of Harlem. *Harlem*. The place where they bury their dead, was made of ſomething like Earth, and laid level on purpoſe. The adjacent River is what they call the *South Harbour*, where they refit their Ships, where in the Valleys betwixt the Mountains, and in the Clifts of the Ice Hills, they gather vaſt quantities of freſh water from the Snow and Rain. The Shoar is here not very high, but the water deep, and at that time without any Ice; whence I conjecture, that it had been no very hard winter; for tho' the Ice melts much ſooner in ſalt than in freſh water, yet could not the thick Ice have been melted quite away ſo ſoon. We obſerved alſo the Snow to melt at the ſame time on the Mountains and in the Valleys, tho' the former are much colder than it is below, contrary to

Dec. 1672. what I took notice of ſince on the Coaſt of *Spain*, when a N. W. Wind producing very ſevere Rains in the bottom, the adjacent Mountains were on the tops covered with Snow.

The North Harbour. In the *North Harbour* you ſee a high Mountain, flat at top, call'd the *Birds Song*, becauſe the Birds make a hideous noiſe here; mark'd with No (18) More Iſlands are ſet down in the Map, as the *Clifted Rock*, &c.

Deer-field. The *Rochen-field*, or *Deer-field*, is a low Ground, compoſed, as I was told, of Slates ſet edge ways, and covered with Moſs. Behind lies a Ridge of flattiſh Mountains, and near it runs up a River into the Country, call'd from its ſhape, the *Half-moon-Bay*: On the other ſide are many more Mountains quite flat on the top, with great Cracks fill'd with Snow.

Lice Bay. Next you come to *Liefde Bay*, which has two Hills ſtanding together, like at *Magdalens Bay*; they are both not unlike one another. Hence we came to the Lower Ground behind the *Muſhle-Harbour*, where

Muſh'e Harbour. the Graſs reached above our Anckles.

The Weihegat. The *Weihegat*, or the *Streights of Hindelopen*, is ſo call'd from the *Weihen*, i. e. *Blowing hard*, becauſe a ſtrong S. W. wind blows continually out of it. The Land on the *Bear-Haven* is covered with red Stones. Behind the *Weihegat* lies the *South-weſt Land*, which

The South-Weſt Land. is very low, yet has ſome ſmall Hills. The ſeven Iſlands we could not ſee; for no Ship went further, nor do at any time, as far as I could learn; nor dare they venture ſo far to the Eaſt every year. The beſt fiſhing betwixt the Iſle of *John Mayen* and *Spitzbergen*, is in *May* and *June*; but in *July* and *Auguſt*; they go Eaſt beyond *Spitzbergen*; at the latter end, we obſerved many Whales ſwimming to the *Weihegat*. Whether this Haven paſſes thro' the Country or not, is unknown as yet; but this is a different Harbour from the famous *Streights of Weihegats*.

Of the Sea.

The Waves of the Sea here, ſwell by degrees ſlowly, with the continuance of the Wind, till they riſe as high as Mountains, and then breaking themſelves, daſh and foam over the Ship, eſpecially when they are ſhort; but when they move before the wind, they follow one another with a ſucceſſive motion: (ſee K in the Cut D.) For, when the wind changes, the

Motion of the Waves. Waves croſs one another, and toſs the Ship, that ſhe is hardly able to live. In a Tempeſt the Froth of the Sea drives like Snow or Duſt upon the Land. Near the Shoar I found the water neither ſo clear nor ſo ſalt as near the Ice; perhaps, by reaſon of the ſhallow bottom.

How they regulate their ſailing. They regulate their manner of ſailing according to the Degrees of the Wind: In a freſh Gale they uſe all their Sails; in a ſtorm the two lowermoſt only. The firſt Sail is call'd the *Fock* or *Fore-ſail*, the middlemoſt *Schumfer* or *Main-ſail*, and the third the *Baſan* or *Mizen-ſail*: In a hard ſtorm they furl the *Fore-ſail*, and make uſe only of the other two; and in a very ſevere Tempeſt, half furl'd up.

In and after a Tempeſt, the Ship is often viſited by Black-birds, Starlings, and other ſmall Birds, which having loſt their way, ſeek for a Refuge in the Ships; but we ſaw no *Lumbs* or other water-Fowl. When great Fiſhes, ſuch as Whales, *&c.* appear in great

Forerunners of a ſtorm. numbers, leaping about the Ship, it preſages a ſtorm; ſome call it playing, but I am apt to imagine this violent motion, rather proceeds from ſome pain or other they are afflicted with againſt bad weather. When the Stars appear at Sea, not only of a larger ſize, but alſo more in number than uſual, it prognoſticates great Fogs after the changing of the Froſt, which is followed by tempeſtuous weather. When the Sea ſhines bright, (the Sea-men call it *Burning*) in a dark Night, it is the Forerunner of a South or Weſt wind.

The Sea betwixt *Spitzbergen* and *Hitland*. Thus much of the *North Sea*; now of that betwixt *Spitzbergen* and *Hitland*, near which we found the Stream running with a rapid motion to the North, and the Waves of this Sea run longer, like in the *Spaniſh Sea* beyond the Channel of *England* and *France*: They riſe as high as Mountains, tho' there be little wind, and run as far as you can well diſcern them, which is followed commonly by a hard Gale. In a ſtorm they rowl after the ſame manner, but with curling and foaming. They are a great deal larger than thoſe of the *North-Sea*, but don't daſh ſo often over the Ship: The Waves of the *North Sea* are ſoon laid after a ſtorm, but theſe continue turbulent for three days; and, tho' it be calm, quove the Ship ſo violently, as to create the Sea-ſickneſs or Vomiting, which by ſome is attributed to the Sea-water, tho' I conceive it to be the effect of the exceſſive agitation

The Sea-Diſtemper. of our Bodies, which cauſes an averſion to eating, giddineſs in the Head, inclination to vomiting, and

Coſtiveneſs

costiveness in the Body, with a high tinged Urine. The best Remedies against it, are the Aromaticks, such as Cinnamon, Cloves, Ginger, Nutmegs, &c. chaw'd in the Mouth: To eat and drink plentifully, not to sleep too much, but keep in the Air, and look into the Wind.

There is almost as great a difference in the Swiftness and Motion of Ships, as there is in Horses: A Ship swims near a Foot higher at Sea than in fresh water, with the same burthen.

How far you may see at Sea.

You may discern a Ship three or three and a half *German* Leagues in a calm Sea: At a League and a half's distance you see half the Ship only; at two Leagues you discover no more than the uppermost Mast; and at three Leagues only the Flag. But Land and Mountains are discover'd at a much greater distance at Sea: We saw *Spitzbergen* twelve *German* Leagues off, like a black Cloud full of white streaks; as you see it mark'd at No (19, 20, 21). Near the Ice of this Sea (where there is no depth for anchoring) the Sea-water is very clear, which changes its colour according to the colour of the Skies. We found by our driving, that among the Ice the Stream did run to the South, tho' at *Mussle-haven* it ran North. For the rest, all the Account that can be given of the ebbing and flowing here, is, That after stormy weather, the water is higher near the Land than otherwise: For, were there any continual ebbing and flowing, the Eggs of the Birds would be spoil'd upon the Isles.

Of the Ice.

In *April* and *May*, the West Ice being broken, drives in the Sea betwixt the Isle of *John Mayen* to *Spitzbergen*. See at No (24). The Ice of *Spitzbergen* is neither so smooth, transparent, nor cutting, as that of our Country, but much harder, and looks like Loaf-sugar. Where the Ice is fix'd upon the Sea, there appears a snow white brightness in the Air, occasioned by the Reflection of the Snow; but where there are only small Ice-fields, you perceive nothing of that brightness. By the dashing of the Sea against the Ice-fields (which are a great deal deeper above than under water) many Figures, as Steeples, Tables, Chappels, &c. are occasioned upon the Surface of them; and this is of a pure blue Vitriol like Colour, whereas that part under water is something paler. The Ships are forced to sail among these lesser Ice-fields till they are stop'd by the great ones; for the catching of a Whale being not unlike hunting, they must look for them every where; it often happening that one Ship catches more than they are able to carry, whereas another at half a Leagues distance can't see one.

How they go in search of the Whales.

Every Master of the Ship is left at his own liberty, however, to go into the Ice, or not, as he sees occasion, for tho' in the Spring, the Whales are in great numbers among the West Ice, yet it being very foggy, dark, and stormy in that season, and great numbers of small Ice-fields swimming up and down the Sea, they are in great danger of loosing the Ship; and the deeper they sail in among the Ice, the greater Ice-fields they meet with; especially about the West, where there are larger Ice-fields than about *Spitzbergen*, quite white at the top, covered with Snow; as you may see No (25 and 26). We saw the Prints of the Bears footing, and of the Foxes near the edges of the Ice-fields; and were not a little surprized to find the Waves pretty smooth betwixt the Ice-fields, tho in stormy weather. The greatest danger there, is, from the different bigness of the Ice-fields, which swimming accordingly, one faster than the other, crowd upon one another, and break the Ship betwixt them, as you see in the Plate B, marked at A. This the Sea-men endeavour to prevent by Ice-hooks, tho' sometimes to little purpose; the worst is, that the danger is the same in still and tempestuous weather; because the Ice drives as well with the stream as the wind, as either of them is the most prevalent. The dead Carcass of a Whale is look'd upon as a good defence, to preserve the Ship if tied to the sides of it; and some make use of the Tails and Fins of this Creature, in the same manner, and for the same purpose, with good success.

The striking together of the vast Ice Hills at Sea, make a most dreadful noise; and I have observed, that the Ice towards the bottom is very spongy, and consequently melts there in the Summer Season; without which, it must before now have reached the bottom of the Sea, tho' never so deep. They have a way of fastning their Ships (when among the Ice) to the greatest Ice-fields, by the means of great Ice-hooks fastned to strong Cables: But this is not always without danger; for by the strong motion of the Sea, these Ice-fields, tho' never so big, break, and grinding against one another, break the Ship to pieces.

It was in the Month of *April*, when we came to the 71 Deg. where we met with the first Ice, but durst not venture in it, being too early in the Year. We afterwards, *viz.* in *May*, sail'd to 77 Deg. 24 Min. into the Ice to the South, where then are the most Whales, which running to the East afterwards, we commonly follow them to *Spitzbergen*. Near to the Land the Ice-fields are not so big, as deeper at Sea; because as the Ice can't give way there, they grind and break against one another. Besides, that from the Ice-mountains upon the Shoar, sometimes rowl into the Sea great pieces of Ice, which are more compact than the rest; and sometimes resemble various shapes, as Houses, Churches, Steeples, Pillars, Tables with Pillars underneath. (See at N° 27) Near unto *Mussle-haven*, such a great piece of Ice drove near our Ship, which reached so deep under water, that it took up our Anchor, which lay 15 Fathoms deep. The Ice, as far as it is above water, tastes like other Ice, but under the water, salt like Sea-water. When we came first to *Spitzbergen*, the Ice near *Rehenfeld* stood yet firm, but in a few days after, was put in motion by the wind. We found at that time, that the Ice reach'd from the other side of *Spitzbergen*, and the Ships sail'd betwixt the Land and the Ice, like in a River; but as soon as the Ice is drove thither, the Ships must seek for refuge into the Harbour, till the wind has blown the Ice thence. I did not see many Sea-dogs, but abundance of Sea-horses, Birds, and Fowl on this Ice. We sail'd in sight of the *Seven Isles*, but could go no further.

Some Observations of the Ice.

Of the Air.

They told us, that in *April* and *May*, the hardest Frosts happen about 71 Deg. in those Parts; which is the reason that they don't send their Ships so early now as they did formerly. After the third of *May* the Sun sets no more; for being then at 71 Deg. we could see as well by night as by day. The weather is very changeable here in these two Months; and if the wind changes, the most serene Air soon becomes foggy; and when the Hills appear fiery, it is from Fogs, which soon spread themselves over the Sea.

The Air was very bright and clear, yet excessive cold: The other three Months *June*, *July*, and *August*, were very calm. As to the degrees of Cold, the same depend in a great measure on the Winds: For, when the North and East wind blow hard, it freezes so excessively, that you are scarce able to keep your self alive; whereas the South and West winds, if somewhat constant, produce Snow, sometimes Rains, and moderate Cold. The other winds differ or change by the Clouds; for nothing is more common here, than, that whilst the wind is S. W. and by S. in one place, at two or three Miles distance, it is quite contrary. Skilful Harponiers commend those years for Whale-catching, which have the fewest foggy and cloudy days. However there are no such serene Skies with marbled Clouds to be seen at *Spitzbergen*, as with us in the Summer Season, but many dark and cloudy ones. I never observed any Thunder-Clouds, nor ever heard of any. The Air always appears white over the Ice, whence we conjecture where the firm or fix'd Ice stands. We found the Sun Beams so hot before *Weihegats* in *July*, that it melted the Tar between the Seams of the Ship.

May 15.

There is no remarkable difference of Cold betwixt night and day; but it is not the same with the Light, which in the Night-time appears to those that observe it attentively, only like a very bright Moon-light; so that you may look with the same ease into the Body of the Sun, as you do upon the Moon, the only thing by which you may distinguish Night from the day, there being no increase of cold or changing of the Compass as far as we went. The second of *August*, in our Voyage homewards, we first observed the Sun to set.

As for the Meteors generated in the Air, here I took notice of a *Rime*, which fell down like small needles of Snow, and covered the Sea, like as if it were sprinkled with dust: As these Needles encreased, they lay cross one another, and appear'd like a Cobweb: As they are form'd by the cold Air, so they encrease sometimes to that degree, that the Sea is cover'd with them, like with a Skin or thin Ice, which has no brackish taste. It happens in clear Sun-shine, and very cold weather, and falls down invisibly like our Dew: If it be a cloudy day, you can't perceive it; but if you look to a shady place when the Sun shines, it sparkles like Diamonds, but never sticks to your Cloaths to wet them.

Meteors generated in the Air.

We observe something like these small Needles in the *Rime* of our Country, which being a kind of small Snow, visible both in the Shade and Sun, falls from the Trees like Dust. In the falling Needles of the North, you see

Some Observations of the Sea.

May 15.

Meteors generated in the Air.

28 31 34 37

29 32 35 38

30 33 36 39

40 41

42 43 44 45 46

47 48 49 50

51 52 53 54 55

56 57 58 59 60 61

62 63 64 65 66

67 68 69 70

ſee the Bow like the Rain-bow, of two colours, white and a pale yellow; occaſioned by the Reflection in the dark ſhades of the Clouds.

The Sea-bow. There is another *Phenomenon* (in theſe parts) in the Air, call'd the *Sea-bow*, which is never ſeen but in a bright day, in the Atmoſphere of the Sea-water, which being blown up by the winds, appears like a Fog: It is commonly ſeen before the Ship, and ſometimes behind to the Leeward, over againſt the Sun, in the place where the ſhadow of the Sail falleth: It appears of divers Colours, like the Rain-bows in the Skies.

A Parelion or Weather-gall. In the Clouds near the Sun, alſo ſometimes appears a Light like a *Parelion* or Mock-Sun, call'd *The Weather-gall* by the Sea-men: This appears in the ſhady dark Clouds in the inferiour Region of the Air, where the Sun is repreſented as in a Looking-glaſs: For the Sun having changed the Water-drops into Vapours or Fogs, the Sun repreſents it ſelf thus, and produces theſe Colours diſtinctly, viz. *Blew*, *Yellow*, and *Red*, the three chief Colours of the Bow. I took particular notice of this Phenomenon at *Spitzbergen*, which I found to move about with the Sun both by day and night, and appear'd much bigger in the Morning, Night and Evening, than in the Day-time.

Whirl-winds. Whirl-winds are unknown in this cold Climate, except that ſomething like them proceeds ſometimes from the recoiling of the Winds betwixt the high Mountains. It is further obſervable, that the Sea, and other Waters near *Spitzbergen*, ſend forth certain Vapours, when the cold encreaſes, which turning into Rain or Snow, ſmell like Fogs or ſteaming water. But, if you perceive theſe Vapours to riſe with very little intermiſſion in a Sun-ſhiny day, without any wind, the cold weather is going to remit: But when the Air is full of theſe Vapours, they diſperſe the Clouds, and continue a great while with a conſtant wind. Theſe Vapours in the Air ſtick to our Cloaths and Hair like ſweat.

Theſe ſmall vaporous Drops are the ſame out of which the Snow is generated: Firſt you ſee a ſmall drop no bigger than a ſingle Sand, mark'd with N° (28) this being encreaſed by the ſame Fog, becomes a ſix-corner'd Plate, tranſparent as Glaſs, the Fog ſticking like drops to the ſix corners, as N° 29. Then freezing, it ſplits aſunder, and produces the Figure of a Star, like N° (30) which being in time parted one from the other, you ſee a Star with ſix Points, as at N° (31) but ſome wet drops hang ſtill on theſe Points, till at length it is brought by the Froſt to the form of a perfect Star, with ſerrated Points on the ſides, like *Ferne*, as you ſee at N° (32) This is the Formation of the ſnowy Star, which falls in the ſevereſt Froſts, but at laſt looſes its Points, as you ſee at N° (33). Concerning the different ſorts of Snow, that mark'd with N° (34) repreſents the Snow as it falls when it is tolerably cold only, with rain, when it falls like unto ſmall Roſes, Needles, and ſmall Corns. When the cold abates, the Snow falls like Stars, with Points like Ferne-leaves, as in N° (35). If it ſnoweth much, with Fog, it appears as in N° (36). If in exceſſive cold and windy weather, as in N° (37). If the weather be very cold without wind, the Snow falls like Stars, but in cluſters, as being not ſeparated by the wind; like N° (38). In ſtormy and cloudy weather, wind at N. W. there fell a kind of Hail, round and oblong, but full of prickles, and of the ſame bigneſs as mark'd at N° (39). There are divers other ſorts of ſtarry Snows, and ſome of the ſhape of a Heart, but all generated after the before-mentioned manner, by the Eaſt and North winds: But the needly Snow is produced by the Weſt and South winds. I have further obſerved, that when it is exceſſive cold, the North wind generates both ſtarry and other ſorts of Snows, as well in theſe Countries as about *Spitzbergen*.

Different ſorts of Snow and its generation.

CHAP. XLI.

A Voyage to Spitzbergen; *Part* III.

Of the Plants of Spitzbergen.

THE Figures of the following Plants were for the moſt part drawn to the life upon the place, whilſt yet freſh, and of their natural ſize, except the *Rock-plant*, with one Leaf, and the Plant like *Horſe-tail*, which were too big to be inſerted thus: Many ſmall Herbs which I had no time to delienate, I intend to preſent to the World hereafter, when I have made my ſecond Voyage: I omitted alſo the *White-poppy* (the whole Plant being a ſpan long) and the *Red-Sorrel*; of which kind I ſaw one at *Bremen*, at the *Dutch* Gardener's, being of the ſame ſize with that of *Spitzbergen*, but the Leaves of the *Northern Sorrel* were red.

All the Herbs and Moſſes grow here upon the Grit of the Rocks, where the water runs down from the tops, and chiefly on that ſide of the Mountains, where the Eaſt and North winds can't reach them. The Birds dung alſo contributes much to their growth. They come to perfection in a ſhort time; for when we arrived at *Spitzbergen* in *June*, they were ſcarce green, and in *July* moſt of them were in flower, and ſome half their Seeds ripe; whence you may gueſs at the length of the Summer. I will begin this Deſcription of the Plants with thoſe that put forth their Leaves only at and about the Roots, having few or no Leaves on the Stalks: Then thoſe that have pairs of Leaves on their Stalks, or oppoſite ones; afterwards thoſe with three Leaves, and laſtly the imperfect Plants.

Of a Plant with Aloe-*Leaves.*

It is a Herb with thick, prickly and dark green Leaves, like thoſe of the *Aloes*, a brown naked Stalk, half a Finger long, on which hang round Heads of fleſh colour'd Flowers in bunches, ſcarce diſcernable by the Eye, one Flower cloſe above another. See N° (40). One Plant produces ſometimes two Stalks, yet each of them has two Flowers. The Root conſiſts of ſmall Fibers: The Seed I could not delienate for want of time. We ſaw great plenty of it the 17th of *July*, in a running water behind the *Cookery of Harlem*. I know not whether this be of the kind mentioned by *Caſpar Bauhin*, under the Name of *Limonium Maritimum*, which he ſays has round ſmall and thick Leaves like *Houſeleek*, between which come forth ſmall Stalks, with pale red Flowers; but his Root is long, red, and parted at top, whereas ours is not red, and conſiſts of many Fibres.

In *Prodromo* to his *Amphitheat.* L. 5. C. 15.

Of ſmall Houſeleek.

This Plant has indented Leaves like thoſe of our Daſies, but are more juicy and thicker, like thoſe of our *Leſſer Houſeleek*: They grow about the Root, and betwixt them a ſmall Stalk of a Finger long, round and hairy, without Leaves, except where it emits another Stalk, at which place it has one Leaf. The Flowers come forth in ſcaley heads (like the Flower of *Stœchas*) are of a brown colour, with eight pointed Leaves, and as many ſmall Chives within, like the Flowers of *Wall-pepper* or *Stone-Crop*: The Seed was not ripe as yet. The Root is thick and ſtrait, with many thick Fibres iſſuing from the ſides of it. It may be call'd the *Small crenated Houſeleek*, with ſcaly heads. We found it the 18th of *July* in the *Daniſh* Harbour: See N° (41).

Of Crowsfoot, *four kinds.*

Some of theſe Plants are repreſented at N° 42, 43, 44 and 45. Theſe four Plants are all *Crowsfeet*, diſtinguiſh'd only by their Leaves.

The first and fourth kind

The first and fourth at N° (42 and 43) are very like one another in respect of their Leaves; of which they have both two sorts, the undermost broad, and not much cut; the uppermost smaller and deeper carved: Their chief difference is, that the first grows not so high with many Leaves out of one Root; but the fourth produces one long stalk with one single Leaf. This last has yellow Flowers, but I don't remember whether the first had the same. The Flowers of the fourth hath five Leaves, broader at the ends than at the bottom, and grow out of a rough *Perianthium* or Cup, that is split into five also. The Flowers of the first have six small Leaves; the Seed Vessels are like one another.

The Roots are very different, for the first hath many small Fibres, whereas the fourth has a thick and long Root, with small tender Fibres: The Leaves of the first burn the Tongue like our *Persicaria* or *Flea-bane*, yet not quite so strong; but those of the fourth don't burn so much. I found them both in the *Danish* Harbour, the first in great quantities: they bear Flowers in *July*.

The second kind.

The second has different Leaves from the two before-mentioned; for, tho' the lowermost agree with those of the first, yet are they not so big, and those that grow above the lowermost, are deeper cut in two places; so that the first part of the Leaf stands out before not unlike a Tongue; but the two sides are only a little indented. See N° (44). There is also a difference in the Leaves of this Plant, those nearest to the Flower being smaller and deeper cut, and burn the Tongue. The Flower, tho' very small, yet has six, and sometimes seven Leaves. The Seed Vessel is like the two former, only less: The Root like that of the first, only with more Fibres: The Stalk is also surrounded with a thick Sheath, like that of the fourth. I found it growing near the first in the *Danish* Harbour *July* the 16th.

The third kind.

The third is the least of all, with many Leaves, but much lesser, and not so deep cut, tho' with four Incisions: I did not perceive any difference betwixt the lowermost and uppermost Leaves: It is mark'd with number (45). The Flower has five white leaves; the Seed Vessel I could not yet see: Its Roots are small Fibres. I found it in the *South-haven* the 16th of *July*: The Leaves are thick and juicy, and burn the Tongue.

In the same place I saw another little Plant, like to these, except that the Leaves were not so juicy, and the Flowers of a Purple Colour: I took no Draught of it.

Of Scurvy-grass.

This *Scurvy-grass* produces many Leaves from one Root, spreading upon the Ground. Out of the middle of them sprouts forth the Stalk, much lower than in our Country, with a few Leaves underneath the Sprouts. The Flowers have four white Leaves, many growing on the same Stalk, one above the other, and as one fades, another succeeds in its room: The Seed comes forth in a longish Box, whereas ours is produced in a round one. It has a thick, streight and white Root, with some small Fibres below. I found a great quantity of it on the Rocks in the *South*, *English*, and *Danish* Harbours, where they were not much exposed to the East and North Winds. It seeds in *July*, and its Leaves have but little sharpness at *Spitzbergen*; so that we did eat it with Sallad, which we could not do with ours. See N° (46). My Figure is like that of (a) *Matthiolus*. (a) L. 3. c. 35. of his *Germ.* Herb.

Of an Herb like Stone-Crop.

This Plant is without question a kind of *Stone-Crop*, tho' its Leaves are rough or rather hairy, not so thick nor juicy, nor biting like ours. Before it comes into the Flower, it appears like that of the *Esula*; but when full blown, it has a Purple Flower, with five, six, and sometimes nine Leaves: I did not tell the *Stamina* of the Flower, or ever saw the Seeds: The Root is very small. We found this Plant on the Low Lands at the *English-harbour*, and among the Mosses, *June* the 26. It is mark'd with N° (47).

Of a Snake-weed.

This is a kind of a small *Snake-weed*, not frequently found at *Spitzbergen*: The undermost Leaves, tho' bigger than the rest, are not above the breadth of a Man's Nail, growing singly on the Stalk, but not above three of them, besides the lowermost: The nearer the Flower, the smaller they are: Not far from the Edges, they have many little Spots answering to the Points of the Leaves, wherein the Veins terminate: The Leaves are somewhat wrinkled at the Brims. The Root brings forth sometimes a single and sometimes a double Stalk, the By-stalk being never so tall as the Head-stalk.

The Flower grows in a close Spike, with many flesh-colour'd Flowers, but so small, that I neglected to tell the Leaves: The Seeds were not ripe. The twisted Root sufficiently shews it self to be of the *Bistorta* kind; it is about the thickness of a little Finger, with small Fibres, brown without and flesh-colour'd within, and of an astringent taste. We found this Plant in the *Danish*-harbour. My Figure agrees with that given by *Camerarius* (b). It is mark'd with N° (48). (b) L. 4. c. 3. in *Matthiol.*

Of a Plant like unto Mouse-ear.

This Plant has rough Leaves like *Mouse-ear*, by pairs, but smooth-edged: The Stalks are smooth at their first sprouting forth, but afterwards turn rough as far as the uppermost Leaves grow, and are roundish at the bottom. At the Extremity of the Stalk, comes forth a white Flower out of its *Perianthium*: I did not count the Leaves nor observed the Seeds; but the Root is round and small, with slender Fibres: It appears like the hairy or rough *Alsine*, of the third or fourth kind of *Dodoneus*, (c) but that the Leaves of his are cut, and these are not. I found it in the *South-harbour*, *July* the 17th: See N° (49). (c) L. 5. c. 10. of his first Lat. Herb.

Of an Herb like the Periwinkle.

This Plant has roundish Leaves by Pairs on Stalks, creeping upon the Ground: The Leaves are not unlike those of the *Periwinkle*, except that they are something more round, and the largest of them bent inward before: The Stalk is knotty and woody.

The Flower seems at first as if wrap'd up like a Leaf, but afterwards discovers it self growing out betwixt the Leaves on the same Stalk: I had not the opportunity of observing the colour and shape of the Flowers (they being not well blown) nor to gather the Seed. The Root is long, slender, round, woody and knotty, with small branched Fibres at the bottom: We saw it in the *South-bay* behind the *Cookery of Harlem* the 19th of *June*, and *July* the 17th. I am not able to determine whether it be the *Pyrola minima* described by *Clusius*, (d) or the *Pseudochamæ humus* of the *Hortus Eichstetensis*, mentioned by the same *Clusius*, (e) under the name of *Aoronymos Coluteâ fl.* and by *Camerarius*, under the name of *Anonymos Pervincâ fol.* See N° (50). (d) L. 5. c. 10. *Plant. exot.* (e) Ac c. 72.

Of an Herb like the Strawberry.

This Plant has three cut-Leaves at the Extremity of the Stalks, like the *Strawberry*; the Flower is also like it, sometimes with four, but generally with five Leaves: The Stalks are round and rough, and so are the Leaves. On the Stalks you see two Leaves opposite to one another, of a different Figure and Bigness; one resembling a Hand, the other a Finger. The Flower is yellow, composed of roundish Leaves, but I did not take notice of how many. The Root is round and thick, with small Fibres, a little scaly at the top: Its taste is astringent like *Tormentil*. In all the Herbals I found none more like it than that call'd by *Lobelius*, (a) *Fragaria Sylvestris minime Vesca sive Sterilis*; tho' the Leaves of ours are cut deeper, and the Flower of his is whiter. See N° (51). (a) L. 17. c. 70. in his *Icon danish Herbal.*

Of the Rock-Plant.

This is the same Plant call'd *Wier* by the *Dutch*, and *Fucus* in *Latin*. The Stalk is broad and flat like a Leaf, out of which sprout many Leaves no less broad, like Twigs out of a Tree: At the top of the Stalks grow sometimes five, sometimes seven yellow longuish Leaves (as the Herb is also) transparent like Glew. Close to these you see other longuish Leaves, hollow, and, as it were, blown up with wind, with many lesser Bladders round about, close to one another: Whether these contain any Seed or not,

not, I am not able to conjecture; but the Leaves have nothing but wind in them: For when I preſs'd them together, they gave a little bounce.

If we may credit the Sea-men, the ſmall Sea-ſnails are progenerated out of the Seeds of this Plant, but whether it be ſo or not, I will not determine; perhaps it may be after the ſame manner, as we ſee on the Leaves in our Country, Bladders fill'd with the Seeds of Caterpillars; but this is only gueſs. The Root grows out of the Rocks (whence it has got its name) with ſome Fibres, and is ſometimes round. I found it in great plenty in the *South-Bay* near the *Cookery of Harlem*; in the *Muſhle-haven* at *Spitzbergen*; and afterwards at *Cales* in *Spain*.

After it is dried, it is of a dark-brown Colour, but gives again as ſoon as the South or Weſt wind blows; but when the Wind turns Eaſt or North, it becomes dry and ſtiff again.

The only Figure reſembling this, which I have met with, is in the *Iſerduniſh Herbal*, (b) under the Name of *Alga Marina Platycecros poroſa*; but this is more ſpongy and white. See N° (52).

(b) L. 3. c. 50.

The *Greatrockplant*. The Leaves of the *Greatrockplant*, reſemble in ſhape a Man's Tongue, curled on both ſides, but plain before: Thro' the middle of it run two black ſtroaks to the Stalk; and on the out-ſide of them many black Specks, within the black Nerves, on each ſide, to the middlemoſt plain Stroke. The Plant is curled, except in the middle, where it is ſmooth quite to the Stalk; and at the beginning of the Leaf next to the Stalk, are two white Veins or Nerves reaching to the middle of the Leaf, bending towards one another in ſuch a manner, that, if they were quite cloſed, they would make a perfect oval. The Leaf of it is above ſix Foot long, and yellow: The Stalk is of the ſame colour, much longer, round and ſmooth, thick near the Root, and ſmells like Muſhels. The Root has many Branches, ſubdivided into others, which ſtick cloſe to the Rocks under water: It grows ſometimes many Fathoms deep in the Sea. We often uſed to pull up a great quantity of it with our Anchors, and together with it a certain hairy Plant growing near the former, reſembling a Horſe's Tail, with ſome ſmall knobs like nitty Hair, or ſuch as are ſplit at the ends. The whole Plant was browner than the other, the Roots being entangled with it. We found ſome red Worms wrap'd up in this laſt, not unlike Caterpillars, with many Legs. See theſe at N° (53). This Plant being like the *Dodder*, it may be call'd *Water* or *Rock-Silk*: It reſembles moſt the Draught given by (a) *Anthony Donat*, of a certain Herb growing about *Venice*, call'd *Muſcus argenteus Marinus ſimilis Plumæ*; but this is not white, but yellow, or rather brown. Both theſe Plants we found in great quantities in the *South-harbour*, *July* 20th, and 21ſt.

Rock-ſilk.

(a) L. 2.

The *Engliſh-harbour* produces another ſort of a *Sea-graſs*, which I call'd *Sea-graſs*: It grows likewiſe under water, and is above eight Foot long, with yellow Leaves (like Glew) three Fingers broad; tranſparent, and terminating in a blunt point: They grow from the Root round about it, ſmooth-edg'd at the top, without prickles, but plain and even. See N° (54).

Sea-Sea-graſs.

CHAP. XLII.

The Voyage to Spitzbergen, *Part* IV.

Of the Animals of Spitzbergen.

THE Animals of *Spitzbergen* are either ſuch as have two, or four Legs; beſides which, they have certain Creatures living only in the Water, without Legs, inſtead whereof, they have Fins jointed like Legs underneath the Skin; yet ſome are amphibious Creatures, and have either two or four Legs. We will begin with the Birds, whereof the moſt live in the Water, and few upon the Land or Ice.

Of Birds with divided Feet.

The *Snite.* I obſerved here but one Land-bird, *viz.* the *Snite*, call'd alſo the *Strand-runner* (as keeping near the *Strand*) is no bigger than a *Lark*, with a thin narrow-corner'd Bill; are ſo broad and roundiſh, with croſs notches like thoſe of our Snites, which are alſo larger than the Snites of *Spitzbergen*, but otherwiſe like one another both in ſhape and colour. The Bill both above and below is four ſquare, about two Inches long, and of a brownish colour: The Head is round, and no thicker than the Neck. They have three divided Claws before, and a ſhort one behind, with ſhort Legs. They are of the colour of a Lark, but ſhew like a Duck's Neck in Sunſhiny weather. Their Food is Worms and Shrimps. We ſhot ſeveral of them in *South-harbour* near the *Cookery of Harlem*; they did not taſte in the leaſt after Fiſh. See Tab. K. N° (55).

The *Snow-bird*. The *Snow-bird* is of the bigneſs of a *Sparrow*, and the ſhape of a *Linnet*, as alſo of the ſame colour. Its Bill is ſhort, and pointed; the Head no thicker than the Neck: The Legs are alſo like the Linnet's, with three divided Fore-claws, and long crooked Nails; the hinder Claw ſomething ſhorter, with a long-bended Spur: The Legs are ſhort, and of a grey colour. Their Backs and Wings are grey; but from the Head down over the Belly to the Tail, they are as white as Snow: The young ones are grey all over. They uſed to come into our Ship in whole Flocks, near the Iſle of *Jolm Mayen*, and were ſo tame, that you might take them with your Hands. They are only ſeen upon the Ice, whence they are call'd *Snow-birds*. We kept ſome of them in a Cage, but they ſoon died. Thoſe we eat were very lean, but of no ill taſte. See N° (56).

The *Ice-bird*. I got ſight of a moſt curious *Ice-bird* in the *Engliſh-harbour*, of the bigneſs of a ſmall Pigeon, and ſhining like Gold; but being afraid we ſhould ſpoil his curious Feathers by ſhooting it ſo near at hand, it eſcaped us, and ſo I could not delineate it, this being the only I ſaw of the kind.

Of the Broad-footed Birds.

Of theſe there are divers ſorts at *Spitzbergen*; ſome with pointed, other with thick and broad Bills. Among the thick-bill'd ones, ſome have them parted as the *Mallemucken* (or *Fooliſh Gnats*); others undivided, as the *Parrets* (as they call them). Another difference is in the Heels of theſe Birds; for ſome of them have Heels, as the *Mountain-duck*, *Kirmew*, and *Mallemucken*: Others have none, as the *Burgermaſter*, *Rathſher*, *Struntjayer*, *Kutyegehf*, *Parret*, *Lumbe*, *Pigeon*, and the *Red-goeſe*. No Water ſticks to the Feathers of theſe Birds, no more than to the Swans and other Water-fowl. Some are alſo Birds of Prey, others not. There is alſo a great difference in their flying: the *Pigeon* flies like a *Partridge*; the *Lumbe* and *Red-gooſe* like a *Swallow*; the *Mallemucken*, *Rathſher*, and *Struntjayer*, like the *Mews*; and the *Burgermaſter* like the *Stork*.

Birds of prey. The Birds of Prey are, the *Burgermaſter*, *Rathſher*, *Struntjayer*, *Kutyeghef*, and *Mallemucken*; and their Fleſh is different accordingly: The Fleſh of the Birds of Prey is ſcarce eatable, unleſs you hang them up for ſome days by their Legs, that the Air may conſume the Train-oil; without which, it would make you vomit.

The *Pigeons*, *Parrets*, *Red-geeſe*, and *Ducks*, are pretty fleſhy, and the *Rotjes*, *Kirmews*, and young *Lumbs*, eat tolerably well, boil'd or fry'd, provided the Fat be taken away, which otherwiſe would turn your Stomach. All theſe Birds, except the *Stuntjayer*, *Kirmew*, and *Mountain-duck*, build their Neſts upon the Rocks, tho' ſome higher than others. About the latter end of *June* and the beginning of *July* (their hatching-time) they flock together in ſuch vaſt numbers, that when they fly

up, they darken the Sky like a Cloud: But the *Kirmews* *Mountain-ducks*, and the *Struntjayers*, make their Nests in the low Grounds of the little Isles, where we used to take up vast quantities of Eggs.

How they build their Nests.

The *Mountain-duck* builds his Nest of the Feathers of his own Belly, mix'd with some Moss: But these Feathers are not the *Edder Down*, brought us from *Island*; for these are taken from a large Bird call'd *Edder*, a Pound of which, when cleansed from the Moss, is sold at a Crown *per* Pound: But the Down of these Northern *Mountain-ducks*, the Sea-men used to be put into their Pillows and Straw-sacks, which might be worth considerably, if they were well cleansed. The *Kirmews* as well as the *Rotjas*, lay their Eggs among the Moss: The Nests of the other Birds being too high among the Rocks, we could not come at them. All these Birds fly directly to their own Nests, let it be never so dark. As to the Names of the Birds, I have inserted them, just as the Sea-men have given them formerly. Some of these Birds, as *Lumbs*, *Struntjayers*, *Mallemucken*, *Kirmews*, and the *Mews* call'd *Kutjegelf*, I have also seen on the Coast of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as also in the *Spanish-Sea*, and the two last even upon the *Elbe*, the River of *Hamburgh*.

The *Ratsher*.

The *Ratsher* (or Alderman) is a thin-bill'd Bird, with three Claws, being so call'd from his stately and handsome aspect, but is less than the Bird call'd the *Burgermaster*.

This Bird has a sharp and thin Bill, and three Claws join'd by a black Skin, without any Spur or Claw behind: Its Legs are short and black, and so are the Eyes. It is so white, that you may even distinguish it beyond the Snow: Its Tail is indifferently long, and very broad, like a Lady's Fan: It cries lower than the little *Kirmew*, and spreads its Wings and Tail in flying, like the *Struntjayer* or *Crow*. It does not much care to swim in the water as the other Birds do here, tho' it is very fond of Fish. I have seen them feed upon the Sea-horses dung upon the Ice, upon whose Body they will rest, whilst alive. They fly alone, except when they flock together in great numbers about a Prey. I did delineate them at *Spitzbergen*, *July* the 10th, and they were so tame, that instead of shooting, we could have knock'd them down with our Guns, N° (56).

The *Pigeon*.

The *Pigeon*, or rather *Pigeon-diver*, is a beautiful Bird, of the bigness of a Duck, with a thin sharp-pointed Bill, about two Inches long, red and hollow within, the upper Bill being a little crooked at the end. It has a short Tail, and short red Legs, with three red Toes, and crooked Claws. Some of these Birds are black all over, but some about the Wings and in the middle, are py'd with black, and are altogether white underneath the Wings. Their Tongue is red and hollow, and they cry like young Pigeons, whence they have got their name, they having nothing else like them: In their Crops I found Shrimps and small Land-stones. Their flight is not very high, at most like the Partridges, and generally by Pares, or else alone: They can keep a considerable time under water, especially if they are pursued or shot. Their Flesh is not ill to eat, if fry'd in Butter, after the Fat is taken away. I shot the first on the Ice, *May* the 23d, and afterwards at *Spitzbergen*, where they are more frequent. See N° (58).

The *Lumb*.

The *Lumb* resembles in its Bill the *Diving-pigeon*, except that it is more crooked and stronger. Its Feet are black, with three Toes, and as many black Claws; the Legs are also black and short. Its cry is almost like a Raven, bigger than the *Diving-pigeon*, about the size of a midling Duck: I was told that they feed also upon small fresh River-fish. The old ones carry their young ones from the Rocks to the Water, where they teach them to swim; and are so fond of them, that they will swim constantly about them, and defend them against the Insults of the *Burgermasters*. They are not easy to be shot; for so soon as they see fire, they get away, or under water. They fly together in Flocks, with pointed Wings like Swallows, and of a swift motion. The young *Lumbs* are not easily distinguish'd from the old ones, unless you take exact notice of their Bills, the upperpart whereof turns beside the undermost part, at the Point, and the undermost beside the uppermost: This is commonly done in the 15th, 16th, or 20th year of their age. The old ones are very fleshy, but dry and tough, and therefore scarce eatable, unless you boil them well, and after you have taken away the Fat, fry them in Butter. I saw thousands of them on the South and West sides of the Mountains (where the Herbs grow) near the *Danish-harbour*; but did not meet with so many near *St. Magdelens-haven*, where I drew my Figure, *July* the 25th. I met with some of them afterwards in the *Spanish-Sea*, and the North Sea near *Helgigeland*. See N° (59).

The Mew call'd Kutjegelf.

This is a kind of handsome *Mew*, call'd *Kutjegelf*, from its cry: Its Bill is bent something like that of the *Burgermaster*, with a small knob on the undermost part of the Bill. His black Eyes are surrounded with a red circle, like the *Burgermaster*; his three Claws are join'd with a black Skin: The Legs are of the same colour, and short, the Tail long and broad like a Fan. He is as white as Snow on the Belly, but grey on the Back and Wings, the Points whereof are black. His bigness is the same as other *Mews*, but somewhat less than the *Struntjayer*. His Food is the Fat of the Whales, which the Seamen tie to their Hooks for a bait, and so catch not only these, but most other Birds of Prey: he never dives, but flies with small Wings: He is hunted by the *Struntjayer* (or *Dunghunter*) till he dungs, which the *Struntjayer* eats: I have been frequently an Eye-witness of this: This which I delineated, was taken at the *South-haven*. I took notice, that this Bird, as well as all the others in those parts, swim upon the Water, holding up their Heads against the Wind, let it blow never so hard: This they do, that their Feathers may not be opened and entangled, and consequently they faulter in their flight. This Bird has but little meat upon him: I have seen some of them both in the *Spanish* and in the *North-Sea*, but somewhat different from these. See N° (60).

The Burgermaster.

The *Burgermaster* (or Major) has got its name from its bigness (being almost equal to a Stork) before all the other Birds of *Spitzbergen*. He has a crooked, thick, narrow, and yellow Bill, the undermost somewhat knobby at the Extremity, more than the *Kutjegelf*, with long Nostrils, and a red Circle about his Eyes: His Legs are not quite so long as the Stork's, and grey, as are his three Claws: He has a broad and white Tail like a Fan: The Wings and Back are of a plain colour; the first tip'd with white, and so is the whole Body. They build their Nests high among the Cliffs of the Rocks, beyond any body's reach, but will flock in great numbers to a dead Whale to feed upon his Fat, where we used to shoot them. His cry is like the Raven's, and his flight like a Stork; he feeds upon young *Lumbs* and the Fat of Whales, as also the *Sea-horse*'s dung. He commonly flies alone, except when they meet at their Prey: They love to rest on the water, but seldom dive. The *Mallemucken* (whilst they are feeding upon the dead Whale) lie quietly down before the *Burgermaster*, rather than to leave their Meal, who bites them in the Neck, which they don't regard, by reason of the thickness of their Skin; we shot one *July* the 10th, before the *Weibegat*. You see him at N° (61).

The Rotges.

The *Rotges* is a diving Bird, with a crooked, short, thick, and black Bill, short Legs of the same colour, and three Claws and black Nails, join'd by a black Skin. Some are pied with black on their Wings, like the *Diving Pigeon*; their Feathers are like Hair on a thick Skin, and their Tails very short: For the rest, they resemble both in shape and flight the *Swallows*, and fly in flocks; they walk wabbling from one side to another, and cry, *Rotter*, *ter*, *ter*, *ter*, *ter*, first high, and lower by degrees, whence they have got their name. As they have a shrill Voice, so they make a most hideous noise, tho' most of the other Birds of *Spitzbergen* are not inferiour to them, except that they cry lower. The *Rotges* are somewhat bigger than Starlings; build for the most part their Nests in the Cliffs of the Rocks, and some on the Mountains among the Moss. Their Food is a certain grey Worm like Craw-fish (delineated hereafter) as also red Shrimps or Prawns. The first we got *May* the 29th, on the Ice, and afterwards many more at *Spitzbergen*. They afford very good Food, and the best, next to the *Strand-runner*, being both fleshy and fat; we eat them boil'd and roasted. See N° (62).

The Struntjager.

The *Struntjager* (*Dung-hunter*) has a thick black Bill, somewhat crooked, and blunt before. His Legs are not very long, and his three Claws join'd with a black Skin. The Tail is like a Fan, with one Feather standing out before the rest: The top of his Head is black, and so are his Eyes: About his Neck he is adorn'd with a dark-yellow Ring, his Wings and Back brown, but underneath the belly white. He is something larger than the *Kutjegelf*, whom he hunts in the Air, flying sometimes above, sometimes below her, till she casts her Dung, which he catches before it falls into the Water, (whence he has got his Name) and, as I suppose, serves him instead of drink, his ordinary Food being the Fat of the Whale. His Nest he builds not very high, and walks upright like the *Burgermaster* and *Ratsher*: His Flesh is no-

no more eatable than that of the other Birds of Prey: He cries *I. Ja*, or *Je han*, with a ſhril Voice. I ſhot him *July* the 11th, near the *Deer-haven* (or *Rehenfeld*) at *Spitzbergen*, and ſaw another of them on the back of *Scotland*, being otherwiſe a rare Bird, that commonly flies alone, not unlike a Crow, but his Wings are more pointed at the end. See N° (63).

The *Diving-Parret.* This Bird, commonly call'd the *Parret*, having a peculiar Bill, among all the other web-footed Birds, has got the name of a *Parret*, tho' his Bill is not like that of a true *Parret*, being broad, and full of ſmall ſtreaks of divers colours, *viz.* red, white, and the broad part black: Both the upper and undermoſt are pointed; the uppermoſt Arch red, with a thin bended Hook on the upper-Bills; the undermoſt Arch is yellowiſh, which towards the end downwards, is cut off ſloping: Both the upper and under part is three Fingers broad, and three long: On the upper Bill he has four arched and oblong pitted holes, and as many on the lower, tho' the furthermoſt is not quite ſo plain: Theſe holes on both Bills, make together a Half-Moon, as do the elevated parts betwixt them: For, by theſe holes are as many raiſed parts, the uppermoſt being as broad as the three furthermoſt ones, together; and has underneath on each ſide, an oblong hole, which doubtleſs are the Noſtrils; but the undermoſt on the under-Bill, is about a Straw's breadth broader; the upper broad part is blackiſh, and ſometimes blew.

On this broad part of the upper-Bill, that is thus raiſed, is towards the Eye an oblong piece of a white *Cartilage* full of holes, whereon you ſee towards the inner part of the Mouth a certain Nerve, which reaching to the under part, there ends, and gives motion to the opening and ſhutting of the Bill. His Legs are ſhort and red, with three Claws join'd with a red Skin, and three ſtrong Nails: He has a wabbling Gate. The Eyes are ſurrounded with a red Circle, above which, ſtands upright a little Horn, and underneath the Eyes is another ſmall oblong black horn croſt over: The Head is black as far as to the Horn, but the Cheeks white, with a black Ring about the Neck: The Back and Wings are of the ſame colour, but the Belly white. They fly either ſingly or by Pairs, with pointed Wings like *Limbs*. They can keep a great while under water, and feed upon Shrimps, ſmall Fiſh, Worms, Sea-ſpiders, and Star-fiſh. This Bird is fleſhier than the *Diving-pigeon*, which affords very good Food: I never ſaw any of them among the Ice. This, whereof I have given you the Draught, I ſhot at *Schmerenbergh*, near *Spitzbergen*, *June* the 20th, and got ſeveral more afterwards. See N° (64).

Of the Web-footed Birds with four Claws.

We will now proceed to the web-footed Birds with four Claws, of which I met with three ſorts about *Spitzbergen*, viz. the *Mountain-duck*, the *Kirmew*, and *Mallemucken*.

The *Mountain-duck.* The *Mountain-duck* is rather a wild Gooſe than a kind of a Duck, being of the bigneſs of a middle-ſized Gooſe, and like her about the Bill: It is a beautiful Bird, with fine ſpotted Feathers; For the reſt, they dive under water as our Ducks do: The Drake is pied with black and white, but the Duck of the colour of our Partridges; and the Tail bobb'd like that of an ordinary Duck: The hindermoſt Claw is ſhort and broad, with a ſhort Nail: I found nothing in their Gizzards but Sand-ſtones: They fly in Flocks, and if they eſpy any Body, ſtretch out their Necks. Their Neſts they make of the Feathers of their Bellies mix'd with Moſs, upon the low Iſlands.

We found two, three and four Eggs in a Neſt, ſome whereof were rotten, but the reſt afforded good Food, being pale-green, ſomething bigger than our Duck-eggs: The Fleſh of theſe Birds is excellently good, if you throw away the Fat, which taſtes like Oil. That which I have delineated here, we ſhot in the *South-haven* at *Spitzbergen*, *June* the 18th. See N° (65).

The *Kirmew.* The *Kirmew* has a thin ſharp-pointed Bill, as red as Blood: Its long Wings and Feathers in the Tail, makes it ſhew very big; tho' without them it is no bigger than a Sparrow. It has pointed Wings, and a Tail longer than a Swallow: It is call'd the *Kirmew* from its Crys, which is *Kir, Kir*: Both the Claws and Skin that join them, are as red as Blood, and the Nails on the four Claws black, the hindermoſt being the leaſt. The Legs are alſo red, and ſhort; the top of the Head black, but the ſides white, the reſt of the Body of an Aſh-colour: The Wings and Tail white underneath, and one ſide of the Feathers of the Wings black. Theſe different Colours, together with the red Legs, Feet, and Bill, render this Bird very beautiful to the Eye: Its Feathers are hairy; it flies moſt ſingly, unleſs it be near their Neſts, whither they flock in vaſt numbers; theſe are made of Moſs. Both the Neſts and Eggs are of an Aſh colour, but the laſt have black Specks, and are of the bigneſs of a Pigeon's Egg; I ate ſome of them, and they taſted like Lap-wings Eggs: The Yolk is very red, and the White blewiſh; they are ſharp pointed at one end. It is a kind of a Hawk, that feeds upon ſmall grey Worms and Shrimps. I did not taſte its Fleſh, becauſe we got but one, which was ſhot quite to pieces: The Feathers of theſe Birds at *Spitzbergen*, are much finer than thoſe of our Country, which are grey. That delineated here, was ſhot *June* the 20th, at the *Birds-ſong* near *Spitzbergen*. See N° 66.

The *Mallemucke* has a Bill ſeverally divided: The uppermoſt has ſmall longiſh Noſtrils next to the Head; and underneath them grows out as it was a new Bill, riſing up crooked, and into a ſharp point. The under part of the Bill is compos'd of four pieces, two whereof meet in a point downwards, exactly with the point of the upper Bill; the other two gape upwards. The Claws and Skin betwixt them is grey, as well as the hindermoſt, which is ſmaller than the reſt: The Tail is broad, and the Wings longiſh like the *Kirmew*. Some are grey all over, ſome only on the Back and Wings, but the Head and Belly white. It flies like a *Great Mew*; it does not much care for diving, flies ſingly, has but ſmall Wings, and wabbles a good while before it can raiſe it ſelf from the Ground. As they feed upon the Fat of the Whale, ſo they follow him in great numbers, eſpecially after he is wounded, where they follow the Track of the Blood in the Water, by which means the Whale is often diſcover'd. The *Mallemucke.*

It has got the name of *Mallemucke* from its ſuffering it ſelf to be kill'd without ſtirring; for *Mall* ſignifies as much as fooliſh or ſilly, and *Mucke* a Gnat: It is a very devouring Bird, and will eat till it can ſtand no longer: It is the firſt and moſt common Bird you ſee in *Greenland*; their cry, is, at a diſtance like the Frogs: It has the leaſt Meat of any Bird of Prey I ever ſaw; and what it has of it, is very tough and ſtrong; ſo that if they are to be eaten, you muſt hang them up for ſometime by their Legs; and afterwards lay them in freſh water before you fry them. It builds its Neſt high into the Mountains, but not ſo high as the *Burgermaſter*. They are frequently ſeen all over in the *North-Sea*: This was delineated among the Ice *June* the firſt. See N° (67).

Of ſome other Birds not delineated here.

Beſides theſe before-mentioned Birds, I ſaw a certain kind of Geeſe, call'd *Red Geeſe*, with long Legs, and flying in Flocks: Theſe are alſo frequently ſeen in *Ruſſia*, *Norway*, and *Jutland*.

I ſaw another handſome Bird (call'd *John of Ghent*) of the bigneſs of a Stork, and of the ſame ſhape: It is a kind of a Hawk, pied white and black, very ſharp-ſighted: The Brains of this Bird are highly valued in theſe Northern Parts, but for what, I am not able to tell. They are ſeen every where in the *North-Sea*, eſpecially where they catch Herrings: I have alſo ſeen them in the *Spaniſh Sea*. Theſe as well as all the other Birds of *Spitzbergen*, come hither at certain times, abide here as long as the Sun ſhines, and afterwards return in great flocks whence they came before: They reſt both in the Water and upon the Land; but which way thoſe Birds that have divided Claws, perform their Voyage over Sea (as the *Rathſher*, the *Snite*, the *Snow-bird*) I am not able to tell.

Of the Four-Leg'd Creatures.

The Deer of *Spitzbergen* is not unlike a Hart, with cloven Feet, and Horns not unlike unto an Elke, and of a greyiſh Colour like our Deer: It has three or four Branches on each ſide about two Inches broad, and a Foot long, with long Ears and a ſhort Tail: They run away at the firſt ſight of a Man, but as ſoon as you ſtop, they ſtand alſo, and then you muſt fire at them: They are every where about *Spitzbergen*, but eſpecially near the Harbour, call'd the *Rehenfeld* (or *Deer-field*) and upon the Fore-land of *Muſhle-haven*. Their Meat is very good Food, but at our firſt arrival they were The Deer.

very

very lean, which makes me imagine that they remain here all the Winter long. See N° (68).

The Fox. There is but little difference betwixt the Foxes of our Country and those of *Spitzbergen*, except that the last have a black Head and a white Body: They live upon Birds and Eggs. They will not go into the Water, tho' never so straitly pursued. See N° (69).

The White Bear. The Bears of *Spitzbergen* are of a quite different shape from those of our Country, being more like Dogs, with a long Head and Neck, and the barking of Dogs; besides, that they are not so bulky, and much swifter than other Bears. They dress their Skins at *Spitzbergen* in the following manner: They heat Saw-dust, and tread the Skins in it, which sucking up the Fat, renders the Skin dry: They have long and soft Hair. The Nose and Mouth is black; the Fat of their Feet is a good Remedy against Rhumatick Pains, and a good Sudoritick, and eases Women in travel.

Their Flesh is whitish like that of Sheep, but I did not care to taste it. Their Milk is also very white and fat; and they have a Head so thick and firm, that tho' we struck some of them with Cudgels, enough to knock down a Bullock, yet they did not matter it, and we were forced to kill them with our Launces. They swim from one Ice-field to another, and will dive for a considerable time: Sometimes they are also seen upon the Land. The young ones are distinguish'd from the old ones, by nothing but their Teeth, which in the first are hollow within, where those of the old ones are solid and close. These Teeth burnt to powder, and given inwardly, dissolves the coagulated Blood. The young ones keep generally so close to the old ones, that they would rather be kill'd than leave them. Their Food is the Carcasses of Whales or Men, the last of which they will dig out of their Burying places: They will also run often at a living Man, if they think they can master him: They eat also Birds and Eggs. That represented at N° (70), we caught *July* the 13. How the Foxes and Bears live in the Winter-time, I am not able to tell.

The Sea-dog or Seals. The *Seale* (call'd the *Sea-dog*, and *Rubie* by the *Germans*) is an amphibious Creature, with five Claws on its Feet, join'd together with a thick Skin, like a Goose: The Head is not unlike that of a Dog, with crop'd Ears; tho' some have rounder, longer, and leaner Heads than others. About the Mouth it has something like a Beard, and Hair on the Nose and Eye-lids, but seldom above four: It has hollow, large and bright Eyes: The Skin is cover'd with a short Hair of divers colours, with yellow, red, grey, black and white spots, like a Tyger: Its Teeth resemble those of Dogs, and are so sharp, that they can bite thro' a Stick of the thickness of a Man's Arm: The Claws are also very sharp, black, and long, but the Tail is but slender. The old ones bark like hoarse Dogs, but the young ones mew like Cats: They are all lamish behind; notwithstanding which, they make shift to climb up on the Ice, where they love to repose themselves and sleep, when the Sun shines; especially on the Western shoar, where we saw enough to have served for loading several Ships: And there are many Instances, that for want of Whales, some Ships have made their loading with them. The worst is, that they are very troublesome to flea, and are seldom very fat at the time when the Ships arrive on this Coast.

It is a general rule, that where the *Sea-dogs* are seen in great numbers, but few Whales appear; because the first devour all the small Fish, Worms, &c. before them. Those we opened had nothing but whitish Worms of a Finger's length in their Stomacks.

How they are taken. When we have a mind to take them, we get upon one of the Ice-fields, where they lie, and making a great noise, so astonish them, that they pull up their Necks as long as Grey-hounds, and in the fright, gives us an opportunity to strike them with Poles and Half-pikes upon their Noses, till they are half dead. Some of them recover themselves, and bite at the Men, running after very swiftly, notwithstanding their lameness; for they move like the Eel to the Water, where they hide themselves by diving, and leaving a yellow Dung behind them, which they squirt at those that pursue them, (as the Hern does) and stink abominably.

We took one of their young ones alive, but were forced to kill it, because it would not eat. The biggest are from five to eight Foot long: That which you see delineated here, was eight Foot long: The Fat lies three or four Inches thick betwixt the Skin and Flesh: The Fat affords the best Train-Oil, and the Flesh is very black: It is very full of Blood, the Lungs, Liver, and Heart are excessive large: These we lay in Water, and afterwards boil them, but they taste very rank. It has also abundance of small Guts, without any Fat within: The Parts destined for Generation, consist of one Bone, of a Span long, like that of a Dog; some were scarce a Finger long, but all covered with Sinews. The Crystal of their Eyes is not much bigger than a good Pea, sometimes white, sometimes of a yellowish or red colour: If you have a mind to keep them, you must let them dry by degrees, and so lay them in a Linnen Rag, in a moist place, else they will crack to pieces. They are accounted very fierce whilst they are coupling, when no body dares to approach them upon the Ice, but they kill them out of their Long-boat: They are so tenacious of Life, that one of eight Foot long, after it had received prodigious blows on its Head and Nose, nay, after it was flead, and part of the Fat taken off, it took hold with its Teeth, of a short Pike, so that we were forced to run a Launce thro' its Heart and Liver, whence issued forth as much Blood as if it had been from an Ox. At another time I run one of these Creatures thro' with my Sword upon the Ice, in several places, notwithstanding which, it got away from me into the Water. See N° (71).

The Sea-horse or Morse. The *Sea-horses* are near of the same shape as the *Seals*, with five Claws both on their fore- and hinder-feet, but somewhat shorter Nails; but their bulk is much larger, being of the size of a Bullock: Their Heads are also rounder and thicker than those of the Seals. Their Skin, especially about the Neck, is very thick, and covered with a short reddish or grey Hair, and sometimes of a Mouse Colour. About their Joints you see certain streaks or small Pleats, like the Lines in a Man's Hand. They have two large Teeth in their upper-Jaw-bone, of one, two, and more Foot long, extending below their under Lips: those of the young ones are not so big. Their two great Teeth.

Some of the old ones have only one, perhaps because they have lost one in fighting, or by chance; for I observed some of them hollow and rotten; whereas otherwise they are close, firm, and heavy, (the Root only excepted) and then they are valued beyond Ivory, being both whiter and deerer; and are used to make Knive-hafts Bones of: In *Jutland* they make Buttons out of their lesser Teeth for their Cloaths. Their Mouth is broad like that of an Ox; have several Bristles both above and underneath, hollow within of the bigness of a Straw; of these the Seamen twist Rings against the Cramp. Above the uppermost Bristles they have two Semicircular Nostrils, out of which they spout Water like unto a Whale, but with less noise and force. The Eyes are at a considerable distance above the Nostrils, of a red colour all over, like Blood, with Eye-lids like other four leg'd Beasts. Their Ears stand above, but very near to the Eye-lids, and are not unlike those of the *Seals*. Their Tongue is no less than a Neat's Tongue, and if eaten soon after it is boil'd, eats tolerably well; but if kept two or three days, turns rank: As they have a very thick Neck, they generally turn their Eyes about instead of their Head. Their Flesh is like Hogs Flesh, but affords no considerable quantity of Fat: Sometimes we did eat the Heart and Liver for want of better food.

Their Yards. Their Yards are of a hard Bone, about two foot long, thick at the bottom, and less towards the end, somewhat bent in the middle: The side towards the Belly is flat, but the exteriour side round, and covered all over with Sinews: These they also use to make Knife Hafts of. I judge that they feed Food. both upon Herbs and Fishes; the first I conclude from their Dung, which is like Horse-dung; and for the other, they are often seen to play with the Whales Skins upon the Water, after they have been thrown away: The Bird call'd the *Bungermaster*, eats the Sea-horse Dung. They are most seen about *Spitzbergen*, lie upon the Ice about the 12th of *July*, like the *Seals*, and roar most dreadfully; and will dive under water like the Seals: They will sleep both upon the Ice and the Surface of the Water, so, that we sometimes mistook them for dead ones.

Their fierceness. They are very fierce Creatures, and will not leave one another till the last gasp, when attack'd by the Sea-men, some dive under the Water, and with their Teeth cut holes in the Long-boat, whilst the rest endeavour to get into it, by erecting themselves with half the Body out of the Water. One of our Harponiers

poniers had been likely to have been drawn into the Water, had not the Waſt-band of his Breeches, in which one of theſe Creatures had faſtened his Tuſks, broke. They don't give over as long as any of them are alive; and, if by reaſon of their vaſt multitude, the Boat is forced to fly, they purſue it till they quite looſe ſight of it: This happened to us *July* the 12th.

How they are taken.

When they lie upon the Ice in great numbers, the Sea-men hear them roar, and ſo make towards them with the Boat; as ſoon as the Sea-horſe ſee them approach, the firſt gives warning to the next, by ſtriking him with his Tooth, and ſo it goes on ſucceſſively, till they all take the alarm, and then they riſe, roar and look terribly, make up to the brink of the Ice-field, and throw themſelves into the Sea with ſuch fierceneſs, that, unleſs they keep off aloof in the Boat, till moſt of them are jump'd into the Water, they will leap into the Boat and over-ſet her. Their chiefeſt ſtrength lies in their Heads and Necks, their Skin thereabouts being thicker and more ſolid than that of an Elk. The Harponier commonly takes the opportunity of ſtriking or darting the Harpoon-Iron at a Sea-horſe, when he is throwing himſelf from the Ice into the Sea, or is diving with his Head under Water, his Skin being then extended, whereas, whilſt he lies aſleep, it is looſe and wrinkled, and the Harpoon will not ſo eaſily enter the Skin. After he is ſtruck with the Harpoon, he runs on for ſome time, till he is tired, when the Sea-men by drawing the Line, bring him to the Boat, where he bites, and makes all imaginable reſiſtance, till he is fully diſpatch'd with Lances. After the Sea-horſe is kill'd, they take only the Head into the Ship, they being taken only for the Head's ſake, tho' ſcarce one in a hundred has two very good Teeth, ſome being only ſmall, others having but one, and many more none at all.

The Sea-horſe or Morſe.

The Harpoon.

The Harpon, and Launce or Javelin for a Sea-horſe, are not above a Span and a half long, and an Inch thick, but the wooden Staff thereof is ſix Foot long. The Harpoon for the Whale is not ſtrong enough to pierce the Skin of this Creature. We ſaw once ſo vaſt a multitude of them lying upon an Ice-field, that the weight of them had preſs'd down the Ice even with the Surface of the Water; but after they had thrown themſelves off into the Sea, it was riſen ſo high above the Sea, that we could ſcarce get upon it out of our Boat. I had it from creditable Hands, ſuch as uſed the *Greenland*-Trade, that at a certain time, when they could meet with no Whales, they rowed with their Boat to the *Muſs Iſle*, where meeting with vaſt multitudes of Sea-horſes, they kill'd a great many of them, but their number encreaſing faſter than they could kill them, they made a kind of Fence of the dead Sea-horſes laid upon one another, leaving only a place of the bigneſs of a Gate, for the reſt to come in one after another; and by this Stratagem kill'd a ſufficient number to make a good Voyage of it: For ſome Years theſe Teeth were much deerer than now. The Figure of this Beaſt is delineated at N° (72).

Their two great Teeth.

Of the Teſtaceous Fiſhes.

Of Teſtaceous Fiſh, we met only with two ſorts, viz. *Crawfiſh* and the *Starfiſh*: Of the firſt we obſerved four different ſorts, *viz.* the *Sea-Spider*, (as the *French* call it) the *Red Prawn*, the *Small Prawn* or *Shrimp*, and the *Whale-Louſe*.

The *Sea-Crawfiſh* or *Sea-Spider*, has ſix Feet and two Claws, but no Tail, being in ſhape not unlike a Lobſter, of a dark-brown Colour, prickly on the Back, and hairy all over the Body. I have ſeen ſome of them in my Voyage to *Spain*, (which I intend to publiſh in time) but they differ from thoſe of *Spitzbergen* in their bigneſs and head, thoſe Northern ones having Heads like Lobſters, whereas the other reſemble with Head and Tail, the ſhape of a Lute. I did not taſte thoſe of *Spitzbergen*, neither had I time to delineate them, tho' we caught ſome *June* the 19th, in the *Engliſh Harbour*. Afterwards paſſing thro' the North-Sea, not far from *England*, we bought a large *Tarbut* from a *Hilge-land* Fiſher-man, which had in its Stomach one of thoſe *Crawfiſhes*, of two ſpans long.

The *Sea-Spider*.

The *Garrels* or *Prawns*.

There is ſcarce any difference betwixt our *Prawns* and thoſe of *Spitzbergen*, except that theſe laſt are red before they are boil'd. The Head is broad, conſiſting of two parts, with divers Horns: The Eyes ſtand out at the end of the Head, like thoſe of the Crawfiſhes: The Scale of the Back is fitted to the Body like a Back-piece of Armour, a little bended behind the Head, in the Neck; and behind it is a Prickle. After that, follow ſix Plates, with as many black Spots at the Brims, lying exactly round, one upon another: The Tail is compoſed of five Parts, which when expanded, are not unlike a Bird's Tail. This *Shrimp* or *Prawn* has two Claws before, reſembling at the Extremities, the Phangs of a Tooth-drawer, and 18 Legs, the ſhorteſt being next to the Claws: The firſt eight Legs conſiſt of four Joints each, the uppermoſt being the longeſt, and the undermoſt the ſhorteſt, and not hairy: Among the ten hindermoſt Legs, the furthermoſt are the longeſt, and the uppermoſt Joint thicker and ſhorter than the lowermoſt; they have but two Joints, the Feet whereof are a little bent, and hairy: And the hindermoſt and undermoſt Joints come out two Shoots, but on the reſt but one. We ſaw them about the bigneſs as they are delineated here; they afford Food for the Birds.

We met alſo in this Voyage, with another ſort of *Shrimps*, with Heads like our Flies, and two Horns on the fore part of the Head: Their Scales were like thoſe of the *Hog-lice*, with a round Back, broad downwards, and twelve Legs: They have three Legs on each ſide of the foremoſt Scales, and after you have told four Scales more, you will find three Legs more on each ſide. They are of the bigneſs as you ſee them delineated at Tab. N° (73), and are the beſt Food of the Birds in thoſe parts. I ſaw them in vaſt multitudes in the *Daniſh Harbour*, underneath the Stones in the Water; and *July* the eighth, in the *Muſſle Haven*: I obſerved them alſo in the Seed of the Whales, that ſwam upon the Water.

Of the leſſer *Prawn*.

The Whale-louſe is a Teſtaceous Animal, having no reſemblance to our Lice, except in the Head, which has four Horns, two ſhort ones ſtanding out before, with two Knobs like Kettle-drum-ſticks; and two bended Horns very ſharp before: Its Scales are as hard as thoſe of the Shrimps. It has two Eyes, but only one Noſtril; and the Neck is covered only with a Skin like that betwixt the Scales of a Lobſter. The Back is covered with ſix Plates, the foremoſt of which is like a Weaver's Shuttle; and the Feet belonging to it ſhaped like a Scythe; toothed like a Saw on the inſide, and ſharp pointed at the Extremities. On each ſide of the ſecond and third Plate, are four Legs on each ſide, which ſerve inſtead of Oars, with a ſhort Joint below, wherein theſe Oars are moved: When they feed upon the *Whales*, they lay them croſs one another upon their Backs: The ſix hindermoſt Legs were like thoſe of the Crawfiſh: Each Leg has three Joints, the foremoſt being crooked like a Half Moon, and ſo ſharp pointed, that they ſtick ſo cloſe to the Whales Skin, as not to be removed alive thence by any art, unleſs you cut a piece of the Skin of the Whale out with them: The Tail is very ſhort. They commonly fix betwixt the Whales Fins, on his *Genitalia*, on the Lips, and ſuch other parts of the Body where he cannot eaſily rub them off; and ſo bite him moſt vehemently. Theſe Lice are not found on all the Whales, and (as I was credibly informed) more in warm than cold weather. The Figure you ſee at N° (74), I delineated at the *Muſſle-Harbour*.

The *Whale-Louſe*.

Of *Star-fiſhes*, I obſerved no more than two ſorts in this Voyage.

The *Star-fiſh*.

The firſt hath five Points like Legs, being of a far different ſhape from thoſe I have ſeen in the *North-Spaniſh* and *Mediterranean Seas*. It is of a dark-red colour: On the upper ſide, or plain of its Body, it has five double rows of pointed Knobs, and between each of theſe double rows, another ſingle row of the ſame Knobs; which fifteen rows, make together a Star of five outward bended points. For the reſt, it appears like the Back of a Spider; but on the other ſide, it has in the middle a five-corner'd plain Star, which being its Mouth, it opens and draws it together like a Purſe: This is ſurrounded with little black ſpecks in rows, making the ſhape of a Star; and about the middle Star, (or the Mouth) is one broader, reſembling the Flower of the Crowsfoot. From the middle Star proceed five Legs, without Knobs at the beginning, but afterwards,

The firſt ſort.

wards, just behind the Flower-like Star, begin to have some on both sides to their Extremities. These Knobs are softish like the Skin of an Egg: Its Legs are scaly, three Inches long, broader at the beginning where they have Knobs, and growing narrower towards the end. Betwixt the Scales on both sides the Knobs, come out commonly three or four together like Warts: These Knobs when it swims, are spread as the Birds do their Feathers when they are going to fly. See N° (75).

The second sort. We saw here another sort of fine Star-fish, which from its resemblance to the Branches of Coral, ought rather to be call'd the Coral-fish, being of a bright red Colour: The Body has ten corners; and on the upper side a Star, with as many Rays; each of these are broad at the end, but narrower where they meet, like a Pigeon's Tail, and feel rough. The under part of the Body is very curious, having in the middle a Star or Mouth, with six Points: All about it, it is soft to the place where the Legs begin; and betwixt the beginning of these Legs are soft Concavities. The Legs begin where they are largest, having in the middle a kind of hollowness like a Gutter, which feels soft: On the Brim they are covered with Scales, lying one over another: Underneath the Scales are twisted, and have in the middle forwards, small black Streaks, and are jointed like the Plates of the Crawfish. Besides, where the Legs proceed from the Body, they spread themselves into double Twigs, hollow in the middle, as far as to the place, where they are seperated into divers other Branches, growing slenderer by degrees towards the Extremities: The undermost small Branches are scaly all round, but not twisted, and sharp pointed like the Spiders Feet, whence some Sea-men have given them the name of Sea-Spiders. In swimming they draw their Legs together, but can't live long out of the Water, and their Body breaks to pieces soon after they are dead. When they are a dying, they bend their Legs towards the Mouth. I got one of both sorts *July* the fifth, before the *Vetbegat*, where they stuck alive to our Harpoon Line: I had one of the last sort afterwards, of a span long from the end of one Foot to the other, but that represented at N° (76), was less: The biggest are always the handsomest. *Rondeletius* (a) has delineated one of the same kind, but as his is black, and without Plates, it can't be the same Species.

(a) Lib. de pisc.

Of the Finned Fishes.

Some Finned Fishes I also met withal in this Voyage; some whereof propagate by shooting of their Row, others by bringing forth their young ones alive. We will begin with the first kind, and among them with the Mackril.

The *Mackrel.* This Fish is in shape like a Herring, but with a large Fin on his Back, and a small one a little below it; something lower is another broad one, but not so large as the first; and still lower you see five small ones more of the same bigness, and at an equal distance from one another, besides a very little one near the Tail; so that on his Back he has two great Fins and seven little ones. On each side near unto the Fins, is another Fin, and another like the former on each side underneath the Belly: And towards the Tail, one more of the same bigness with the third on the Back. Below this are five more of an equal bigness, and below these still a less one; so that those of the lower part of the Belly, are equal to those of the lower part of the Back. On the Cover of his Gills, and under the Eyes, are a great many small holes. This Fish has most glorious Colours when alive; for the uppermost part of his Back is blew, and somewhat lower greenish, and the Belly white as Silver, as are also his Fins: Besides, that from his Back down the sides, run down certain black marbled Streaks; his Eyes are also black: This I am now describing to you, was catch'd in the North-Sea. In the Year 1673, *June* the 27th, we catch'd some of them near the Isle of *Kilda* on the back of *Scotland*, which were half blind: For, in the Winter, when they run far to the North, a Skin grows over their Eyes, which falls off again in the Summer: In the Summer Season I have seen them also on the *Spanish* Coast. We used to catch them with a Line and Hook, baited with a piece of red Cloth, or a piece of Herring.

Is sometimes blind.

The *Dragon-fish.* The *Dragon-fish* has two Fins on his Back, the foremost composed of Strings two Inches high above the Back; the hindmost is not quite so broad, but extends a great way along the Back, but without Strings. Instead of Gills he has two holes in the Neck, on each side of which, are two short Fins, and under these a broad one on each side: Underneath the Belly is a long narrow Fin reaching to the Tail. His Head is longish and bony, with a rising Nose, and a Tail of an Inch broad. The whole Body is long, round and thin, in shape not unlike a young Hay or Shark, of a bright Silver colour. They are taken betwixt *Spitzbergen* and the *Bears-Isle*: Our Cook got one by chance near *Hitland*, in drawing up his Bucket out of the Water, with some other Fishes of the length of a Joint of of a Finger, in shape not unlike our Herrings. The Sea-men say there are divers other sorts of such Fish in the deep holes betwixt the Mountains, near the *South-haven*.

The *Dolphin.* The Dolphins are seen in great numbers jumping at Sea before a Storm: Their Heads are like that of the *Place*, and the Mouth full of small sharp Teeth. On the middle of the Back is a Fin, hollowed out towards the Tail like a Half Moon; and two more Fins on the Belly, like those of the Whale: All these Fins are bony, join'd together with a thin Skin, fleshy all over, and covered with a thick Skin. The Tail is broad, like that of a Whale, but not cut in, and crooked like a Sickle: The Eyes are small and round. They are black, except on the Belly, where they are white, and five or six Foot long. I did not think fit to delineate it, the same being so frequently done before by others.

The Butskopf, or Flounder's Head. The *Butskopf*'s Head is blunt at the Extremity; its Beak of an equal bigness all along, whereas the Dolphins is thick, behind, and pointed at the end. The Fins are very like those of the Dolphin, but his Tail more like the Whale's; and he has one Spout-hole above the Neck: Some of them are sixteen, eighteen, and twenty Foot long. Their Head and Back is brown, but the Belly white; they will follow the Ship for a great while (contrary to what most other Fish do) and swim against the Wind as well as the Whales, Finfish, Dolphins, &c. You see these sort of Fish sometimes rumbling in the Sea, which, tho' by some called playing, I believe to proceed from a certain pain they are subject to at that time, it having been observed, that the same ceases as soon as the East Wind changes to another Corner. We saw another sort of *Butskopf*, with quite blunt Heads, and a large Fin standing up three times higher than the others: They were of the same bulk, but something more inclining to a dark-brown. They were neither Swordfish, nor what we call Tumblers, such as are often seen between the *Hilgeland*, and the River *Elbe*.

The Whitefish. This is a sort of Whitefish, different from ours, being of the size of a large *Butskopf*, not unlike a Whale, without Fins on his Back, but two on his Belly, as I was told, by those that have caught them. His Tail is also like the *Whale*'s, and he has an Hoffel on his Head, like that Animal, and a spout-hole near the Neck: Its Colour is pale-yellow. When the Sea-men see plenty of them, they presage themselves good success in catching of *Whales*, because they live upon the same Food. I saw a vast multitude of them *June* the 19th.

The Unicorn. I had not the good fortune to meet with the sight of the Fish call'd the *Unicorn* in this Voyage; tho' sometimes they appear in good numbers. I was told that he has no Fin on his Back, but has a *Spout-hole* on the Neck, which does not agree with the Cuts I have seen of them. They swim in Shoals, holding their Teeth out of the Water: In shape they are not unlike the *Seals*; but the undermost Fins and the Tail resemble the *Whale*'s. Some are black, others dappled grey, but white on the Belly: They are sixteen, eighteen, or twenty Foot long, and swim with such swiftness, as not to be caught without much difficulty.

The Sawfish. The *Sawfish* or *Swordfish*, has got its name from a broad Bone fix'd to its Nose, with many bony-pointed-pegs or Teeth on both sides, like a Saw or Comb. On its Back are two Fins; the furthermost like the *Butskopf*'s; the hindermost has towards the Tail, a hollowness like a Sickle. Underneath the Belly are four Fins, two on each side; those towards the Head are the broadest and longest; but the lowermost, which

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The *Butcher,*
or Flounder's
Head.

The *Whitefish.*

The *Unicorn.*

The *Sword-*
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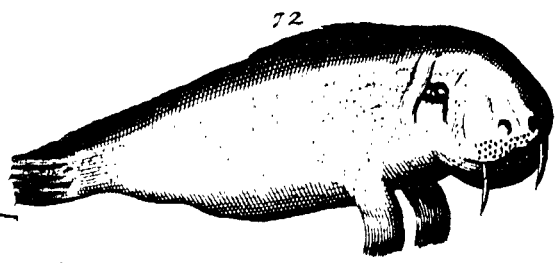

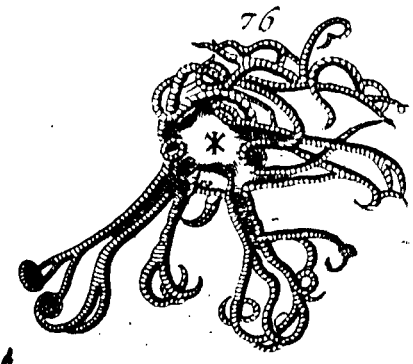

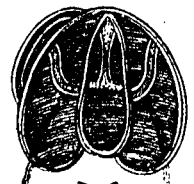

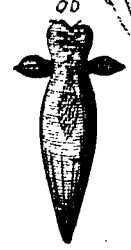

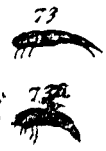

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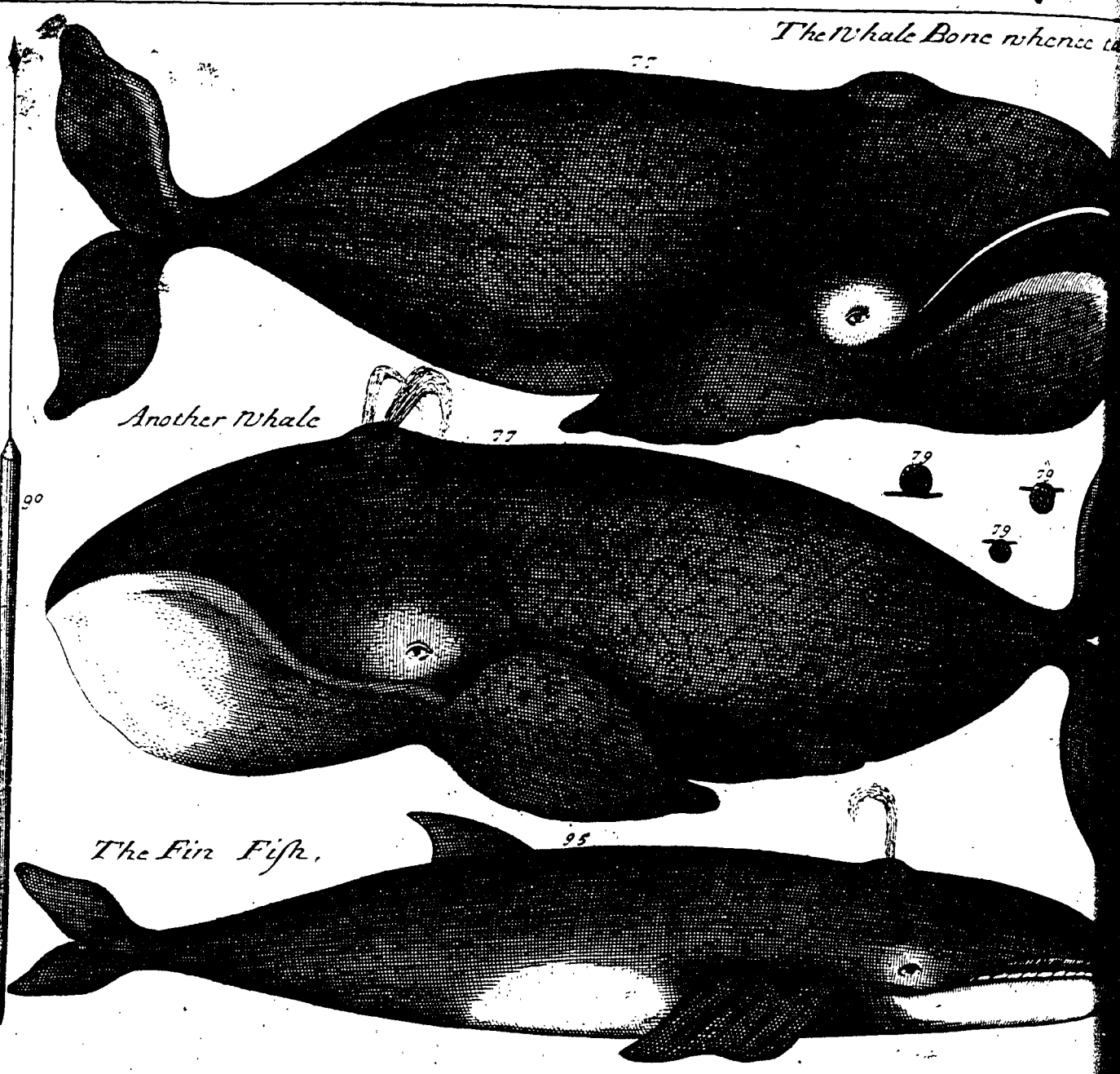
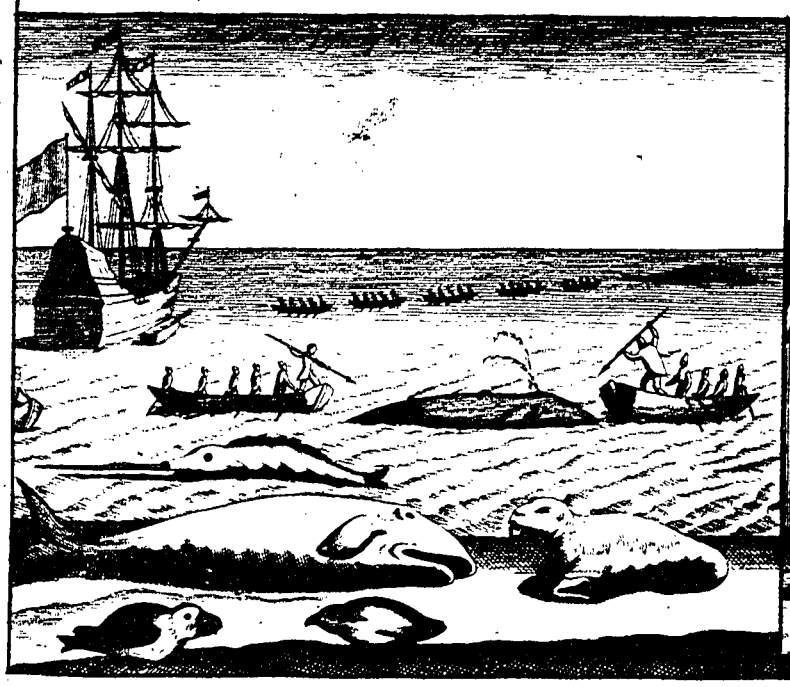




The Habits of the Greenlanders

which ſtand directly oppoſite to the uppermoſt Fins of the Back, are both ſhorter and narrower. The Tail is not cut or divided, but reſembles a piece of board, on which the Diers ſtretch their Stockings, being pointed behind and underneath, and thinner towards the lower Fin of the Back: Its Shape from the Head to the Tail reſembles a Man's Arm ſtretch'd out naked: The Noſtrils are longiſh; the Eyes ſtand high out of the Head, with a Mouth directly underneath them. They are from two to twenty Foot long.

Their Enemy. This Fiſh is a profeſs'd Enemy of the *Whale*: they get about him in great numbers, and don't ceaſe to aſſault him till they have kill'd him, and then eat his Tongue only, leaving the reſt to the Seamen, who take up the *Whale*; which, if they ſhould do before, they fright away the *Sword-fiſh*.

The Shark or Huy. Of the *Shark* or *Huy* there are divers ſorts: Thoſe we ſaw had two Fins on the Back, the foremoſt whereof is like to the uppermoſt of the *Butſ*'s Head; but the lowermoſt of an equal breadth all over, but hollowed out like a Sickle: Underneath the Belly are ſix Fins; The two foremoſt are the longeſt, of the ſhape of a Tongue; the two middlemoſt a little broader than thoſe near the Tail, and of the ſame ſhape; and the two laſt by the Tail, of an equal breadth from the top to bottom, but a little ſhorter than the middle ones. One half part of the Tail is like that of the *Swordfiſh*, but ſplit below; and the other part reſembles in ſhape the Leaf of a *Lilly*. They have long Noſes and Mouths like the *Swordfiſh*, full of very ſharp Teeth, three upper and three under rows, one by the other: The Eyes are longuiſh and very clear, ſtanding out more before than behind. They have five Gills on each ſide like the *Swordfiſh*: Their Skin is hard, thick, and rough, inclining to a grey: They are long, round, and thin; thickeſt towards the Head, and from one to three Fathom in Length. They are very voracious, and will not only bite great pieces out of the Whale, but alſo devour a Man if they can lay hold of him, being very eager after Man's Fleſh. The Fleſh of their Back, if hung up for three or four days in the Air, and afterwards boil'd or roaſted, eats tolerably well. In *Spain* they ſell theſe Fiſh for good Meat, but the little ones are the beſt. When they have a mind to catch them, the Sea-men faſten a large Iron Hook to a ſtrong Iron Chain, and having baited it with a piece of Fleſh, let it hang down into the Sea, and ſo catch this greedy Fiſh.

The Whale.

The [illegible] brought home by our Ships from [illegible] differs from other Whales both in his Fins and Mouth: [illegible] and Teeth has in lieu thereof, certain long, [illegible] and hairy Flakes, jagged like Halier from the Finfiſh: Alſo in his Fins: for, whereas the Shiffbut [illegible] Fin on his Back, the *Whale* has [illegible] ly two behind his Eyes, covered with [illegible] Skin, but delicately marbled with Veins both yellow and white, as you ſee the Veins in ſome Woods. When theſe Fins are cut up, you diſcover underneath the thick Skin, certain Bones reſembling a Man's Hand, with expanded Fingers, and between them ſtiff Sinews, out of which you may cut pieces of the bigneſs of a Man's Hand, which if ſqueezed together, and thrown againſt the Ground, will rebound very high, like the Balls made of the Sinews of Sturgeon, and ſome other Creatures. The *Whale* having no other Fins, theſe ſerve him inſtead of Oars.

His Tail lies Horizontal, like that of the *Finfiſh*, *Butskopf*, &c. and is three, three and a half, and four Fathoms broad.

His Head. The Head makes up a third part of the whole Fiſh; tho' ſome have bigger Heads than others. Some Hairs grow on the upper and under Lips, which are quite plain, bended almoſt like an S. and enter the Eyes before the two Fins. Upon the uppermoſt Lip are black, or rather dark-brown Streaks, as crooked as the Lips: Theſe are both ſmooth, and quite black, round like the quarter of a Circle: when ever they draw them together, they lock into one another: Nay, on the under Lip is a certain Concavity, unto which the upper Lip is ſo exactly adapted, as a Sheath is to the Knife. I am of opinion, that thro' this he draws in the Water, which he afterwards blows out again.

Within, on the uppermoſt Lip, lies the *Whale-bone*, of a brown, black, and yellow Colour, with ſtreaks of different colours, like the Bones of the *Finfiſh*. The *Whale-bones* of the young ones are blew or blewiſh. In one of the Cuts you ſee the *Whale-bone*, N° (77); but in the other Cut you don't ſee it, his Mouth being ſhut up. The *Whale-bone* within the Mouth is all hairy, like Horſe-hair (as you ſee alſo in the *Finfiſhes*) and hanging down on both ſides all about his Tongue. In ſome *Whales* the *Whale-bone* is bended like a Cimetar; in others like unto a Half Moon. The ſmalleſt *Whale-bone* is before in the Mouth, and behind towards the Throat; the longeſt and biggeſt in the middle, being ſometimes of two or three Men's length, whereby you may gueſs at the Bulk of the whole Fiſh. The *Whale-bone* lies in a flat row one piece by the other, ſomewhat bended and towards the Lips like a Half-Moon. On each ſide are 250 Pieces, which makes 500 in all, beſides the ſmall *Whale-bone* which grows underneath the Root, where the other *Whale-bone* is broadeſt, moſt of which is not cut out, as being very narrow where the two Lips meet. This ſmall *Whal-bone* does not grow bigger, but is of an equal bigneſs from one end to the other. The great *Whale-bone* is broadeſt at the top, where it is join'd to the upper Lip, over-grown with white and hard Sinews near the Root; ſo that betwixt two pieces of *Whale-bone* you may put in your Hand. Theſe Sinews look like boil'd *Sea-cats* or *Blackfiſh* (call'd *Carcala la Mer* by the *Spaniards*) ſmell pleaſantly enough whilſt freſh, but ſtink horribly when rotten; they are not tough, and of no ill taſte. The *Whale-bone* is underneath narrow and pointed, and covered with Hairs, but without hollow like a Gutter, and jointed over one another like the Plates of *Carp-fiſh*, or Tiles of a Houſe. I am of opinion that theſe Hairs might be employed, as the *Spaniards* do with the wild *Sempervive Aloes* (call'd by them *Savila*) which they dreſs like Flax or Hemp, and make Packthreads and Stuffs out of them.

The *Whale-bone*.

Where and how it grows.

His Mouth and Tongue. The bottom of the Mouth of the *Whale* is generally white, and ſo is the Tongue, but edged with black ſpots: It is very large, and ty'd cloſe to the undermoſt Chap. Its Subſtance is a ſoft ſpongy Fat, which being very ſoft, and conſequently very difficult to cut, is commonly thrown away, tho' otherwiſe it would afford ſix or ſeven Barrels of Train Oil. On his Head he has a Bump or Knob before the Eyes and Fins: On the top of it is on each ſide a Spout-hole, directly oppoſite to one another, bended like an S, thro' which he blows the Water with ſuch violence (like the Wind in a Cave) that you may hear it at a League's diſtance; but when he is wounded, he forces it out with ſuch a fierceneſs, that it roars like the Wind in a Tempeſt. Behind this Knob his Head is ſomething more bended in, [illegible] of the *Finfiſh*; neither is it round at the top, but ſtraight, and ſloping down to the under Lip, [illegible] broader than the *Whale* in any part of his Body, ſave before and behind it is ſomewhat narrower. In ſhort, the whole Fiſh reſembles in ſhape a [illegible] Lafte, if you look upon it from be-

His Eyes and Ears. [illegible] and between the Knob and the Fins, are not much bigger than thoſe of an Ox, with Eye-lids and Hair like Men's Eyes. The Cryſtal of the Eyes (which does not exceed the bigneſs of a Pea) is clear, white and tranſparent, and yellowiſh [illegible]. Their Eyes are placed as low as the Extremity of the upper Lip. Some ſhew certain bones, which they ſay lie very deep in the Whale's Head, and pretend they are his Ears. Concerning theſe, I can affirm nothing, but this is certain, that when the Whale ſpouts out the Water, he can't hear, and therefore is eaſieſt to be ſtruck then.

Their colour. Moſt of them are red on the Back and Belly; the Mane of them are white underneath the Belly, and ſome alſo coal black: Others are marbled on the Back and Tail. Among the black ones, ſome approach to the colour of a Tench. One of our Harponiers told me, He caught once a Whale at *Spitzbergen*, that was white all over. Half white ones I have ſeen ſeveral, and among the reſt, once a beautiful Female, marbled all over with black and yellow; but they looſe the beauty of their Colours when the Skin is dry'd by the Sun, or otherwiſe. They are as ſlippery as an Eel, but their Fleſh being very ſoft, you may ſtand upon them ſecure

enough: The outward Skin is as thin as Parchment, full of large Pores, which is eaſily pull'd off after the Whale has over-heated himſelf; or the Skin is otherwiſe dry'd by the Sun, but ſmells ſtrong of Train Oil.

Their Members of Generation. The Yard of the Whale is a ſtrong Sinew, of ſix, ſeven, or eight Foot long, according to the bigneſs of the Animal: Where it is fixed, it has a double Skin, lying juſt like a Knife in a Sheath. The Members of Generation in the Female, are abſolutely like thoſe of the four-leg'd Beaſts; only that on the ſides thereof ſtand out two Breaſts with Nipples, like thoſe of our Cows: Theſe Breaſts are ſometimes white, ſometimes ſpeckled with black and white ſpots. They are not very large, if they have no young ones; of which 'tis ſaid, they have never any more than two at a time. How long they go with them, is very difficult to be determin'd, tho' ſome allot them the ſame time as to a Cow; but without the leaſt certainty, I was credibly inform'd, that when they couple together, they ſtand upright, cloſe to one another; with their Heads out of the Water.

Breaſts.

Their Sperm The Sperm of the *Whale* before it cools, is white and viſcid, ſo that you may draw it like Sealing-wax or Glew, and ſmells like Wheat boil'd in Water; but afterwards it turns to a Muſk Colour, ſmells rank, and little red Worms grow in it, like unto the grey ones delineated at N° (78). Tab. P. mark'd with C. I try'd ſeveral ways to preſerve it, and to make it like the *Sperma Ceti* of the Drugſters, but in vain. I dry'd it in the Sun; but after the thin ſlime was evaporated, it look'd like the *Fila Mercurii*, but ſomewhat thicker and heavier. Some I boil'd in Sea-water, which after it was evaporated, left nothing but ſome Sea-ſalt, and a muſty brown Slime. The third Experiment I made by boiling it in freſh Water, and afterwards in Sea-water, but the longer I kept it the more it ſtunk, and turn'd quite hard. The fourth Parcel I laid in Sea-water, with an intention to carry it to *Hambourgh* but it diſſolved by degrees, and ſtunk ſo vehemently, that I was forced to throw it away: This Sperm ſwims in abundance upon the Surface of the Water, eſpecially in calm weather, as does alſo that of the Sea-horſes and Seals.

Divers Experiments of

Where the Yard begins, it is four ſquare, conſiſting of many ſtrong Sinews, which if dry'd, are as tranſparent as Fiſh-glew, and ſerve the Sea-men to twiſt Whips of.

Their Bones. Their Bones are as hard as thoſe of the four-legg'd Beaſts, but very porous; ſo that when they are dry'd and the Marrow is conſumed, they will hold a great deal of Water. Two ſuch large Bones ſuſtain the under-Lip, lying one againſt the other, both making the Figure of a Half Moon, but one alone the Figure of a quarter of the Moon. I ſaw ſome of them lying near the Shoar, at *Spitzbergen*, of twenty Foot long, very white, and calcined by the Sun: for before they are dry'd, they ſtink filthily, by reaſon of the marrow they contain.

Fleſh. Their Fleſh is hard like Bull's meat, interſperſed with many Sinews, and as all the Fat lies between the Skin and the Fleſh, ſo it is very dry and lean when boil'd; and ſoon turns black and ill-favored. The tendereſt and beſt part is be[illegible] eatable enough; and the *French* [illegible] every day, when they are in [illegible]

Their Fat. The Fat is about [illegible] on the Back and Belly, and ſometimes [illegible] on the under Lips two Foot thick, the [illegible] are fatter than others. The Fat is interlac'd with ſmall Nerves, which contain the Oil, the other ſtrong Sinews terminate moſt near the Extremity of the Tail, which ſerves this great Fiſh for a Rudder, as his Fins do inſtead of Oars, wherewith he ſwims with incredible ſwiftneſs, leaving a Track in the Sea like a great Ship under ſail.

The Whales of the *North-Cape* (or ſuch as are caught betwixt *Spitzbergen* and *Norway*) being not ſo big, afford not above ten, twenty, or thirty Cardels of Fat; whereas the middle-ſized ones of *Spitzbergen* yield ſeventy, eighty, or ninty, and are betwixt fifty and ſixty Foot long. Our biggeſt was 53 Foot long, and fill'd us 70 Cardels. *Peter Peterſon* of *Frieſland* told me, he had once taken a dead Whale, the Fat whereof fill'd 130 Cardels; tho' he was not much longer than ours: whence I infer, that they don't grow much longer, but only in thickneſs or fatneſs.

The Fat is, beſides the thin outward Skin, covered with another about an Inch thick, of the ſame colour as the outward Skin of the Fiſh: It is neither ſtiff nor tough, but brittle when dry'd, and conſequently of no great uſe. The Guts of the Whale are of a Fleſh colour, containing, beſides much Wind, a yellow dung.

Their Food. The Food of the Whales is ſuppoſed to be the ſmall Snails, mentioned in another place (See N° 79). I was told of a Whale taken near *Hitland*, that had above a Barrel of Herrings in his Belly. For the reſt, the Whale ſeems to be no couragious Fiſh conſidering his vaſt bulk; for he runs away under Water at the ſight of the Ship, and hurts no body, unleſs forced thereunto by neceſſity. After he is ſtruck with the Harpoon, he will ſwim away faſter than a Bird can fly, and draw ſome thouſands of Fathoms of Rope-line after him.

In the Spring the Whales have their Station to the Weſt of *Spitzbergen*, near *Old Greenland* and the Iſle of *John Mayen*; afterwards they go to *Spitzbergen*. As ſoon as the *Finfiſh* appear, you ſee no more Whales, probably they go to other places. I ſaw *Finfiſhes* in the *Spaniſh*-Sea in 1671 in *December*, and in 1672 in *January*; and in 1673 in the Streights of *Gibraltar* in *March*, and alſo in the *Mediterranean*. The Whales ſeem alſo to be ſubject to certain Diſtempers: An ancient Harponier aſſured me, that he once caught a Whale, the Skin whereof (eſpecially near the Tail) hung as looſe as Rags; he afforded but little Fat, which was white, and as empty as a Honey-Comb. They are much tormented with Lice: the Draught of which, ſee N° (74). The Wounds given them by the Harpoonin the Fat, heal up again, as may be ſeen by the white Scars that appear in many Whales that are caught afterwards.

How they catch the Whale.

If they meet with many *Seals* (which devour the Food of the Whales) they promiſe themſelves not many Whales; as on the other hand if they ſee good ſtore of *White-fiſh* and ſmall Sea-Snails, delineated at N° (79), they look upon them as the Forerunners of many *Whales*, which they take in the following manner. As ſoon as they ſee or hear a Whale ſpout, they call out *Fall, Fall*, when every one haſtens to the Long-boat he belongs to (ſix or ſeven to a Boat) and ſo they row towards the *Whale*: When they are come near him, the Harponier, who ſits always before in the Boat, with the Harpoon-Iron near him, ſtrikes the *Whale* with the firſt opportunity, (a) who perceiving himſelf [illegible] means with incredible ſwiftneſs [illegible] the Rope after him with [illegible] he would certainly pull it into the bottom, if they did not give him Rope [illegible] The Rope [illegible] to the Harpoon-Iron [illegible] the Forerunner, about ſix or ſeven Fathoms long, [illegible] Inch thick, made of the ſoft-eſt and moſt pliable Hemp. Then the Line-furniſher (b) faſtens the Ropes (lying betwixt the Seats of the Benches) of ſeveral thouſand Fathoms long: These are thicker and ſtronger than the Forerunner, made of tough Hemp, and tarr'd over. They muſt be very careful that the Lines be not entangled, or that they run not out on the ſide of the Long-boat, but juſt before (call'd the *Stave*) without which, they would be over-ſet. To prevent the Rope and Wood from catching Fire by the violent motion, the Harponier wets the Wood continually with a wet Mop. The other Men in the Long-boat, take alſo care of the Ropes, both at letting out and taking in again: The Steer-man ſtands behind in the Long-boat, ſteering it with an Oar, as occaſion requires: (c) The Harponier endeavours to dart the Harpoon as near as he can behind the Spout-hole, or the Privy Parts, which ſooner enfeebles the Whale, than if he hits him in the Belly; and if he ſtrikes him upon the Head, he does him but little hurt; becauſe the Fat being but thin upon the Bones, the Harpoon eaſily breaks out, and the Whale gets away.

(a) See N° (80).
(b) See (81).
(c) See N° (82).

The Harpoon-Iron. The Harpoon is ſhaped like an Arrow before (See in Tab. Q. at F.) with two Beards ſharp at the Edge, but broad back'd like a Hatchet, elſe it could tear out. The Iron Handle is thicker behind than before, and hollow, wherein is fix'd the Stick (d). Before this hollow part, the Forerunner is faſtened (e). The beſt Harpoons are made of fine Steel, but not much

(d) See N° (83).
(e) See N° (84).

much hardened, else they would snap, and many Whales (one whereof is worth two hundred Pounds) be lost. The wooden Stick is fastened within the Iron Funnel with Packthread wound all about the Iron. Somewhat higher, about two Spans off, is a Hole made thro' the Stick, where the Forerunner is fastened to it (e). After the Whale is struck with the Harpoon, the other Long-boats run out before, and take notice which way the Line stands, and sometimes pull (f) whether the Whale still draws with all his strength, or grows feeble, and that the Line begins to hang loose; then they begin to pull in the Rope again, which the Line-furnisher takes care to lay round one row upon another, that, if the Whale should draw again, it may be ready without being entangled (h). If the Whale runs upon a level, they must not give him too much Rope, for fear he should wind it about some Rock, and so tear out the Harpoon. When they come near the Whale again, they kill him with Lances; the longer the Whale lies dead in the Water, the higher he swims above it; some a Foot high, others to the middle.

(e) See N°. (89)

(f) See N°. (90)

(g) See N°. (91)

If the wounded Whale gets among the Ice Sheets, where the Boats can't follow him, the Harponier at the Head of the Long-Boat, tries whether the Line be stiff, and if he fears the Whale will draw the Boat under water, he takes the Chopping Knife (i) and after having drawn the Rope in as much as they can, he chops it off; so that sometimes they loose thus the Lines of many hundred Fathoms length, and the Whale escapes their Hands (k); and, if timely care be not taken, the Long-boat is dashed and split against the Ice. When they are wounded, they spout out Water and Blood, that it roars like a Cannon, and tinges the Sea; but this Noise abates by degrees, as they become feeble. They blow out at the same time a certain fattish substance, which swims upon the Sea; and as this affords the most delicious Food to the *Mallemucken*, so they follow the Whale by thousands (a). If one Harpoon breaks out, the Long boats of another Ship dart in theirs, and often carry off the Whale: If two Harpoons belonging to several Ships strike the Whale at the same time, they divide the Fish equally (b). The Steersman must be careful to observe how the Whale turns and winds, that they may cry *row on*, or *strike*, i. e. row near to the Whale, or keep off, that the Harponier may reach him with his Launce. This Launce has a wooden Handle of two Fathom long, pointed before like a long Pike, with a tough Steel, (c) of near a Fathom long, wherewith after they have made a great hole in the Body of the Whale, they poke into it every way, as they do when they poke Eels (d). And, if one remains sticking in his Body, they take another, every Boat having five, six, or seven of these Launces.

(i) See N°. (92)

(k) See Tab. A at (87).

(l) See N°. (93)

(a) See N°. (94)

(b) See N°. (95)

The Lances.

(c) See N°. (96)

(d) See N°. (97)

How they manage the dead Whale.

After the Whale is kill'd, they cut off the Tail, which lying cross the Boat, hinders it in its Course: Before the Tail they fasten a piece of Rope, and at the other end, at the Stern of the last Sloop, four or five (e) of them thus fastened, rowing one behind, the other to the Ship. When they have brought the Whale to the great Ship, they fasten that part where the Tail is cut off, to the fore part, and the Head about the middle towards the Stern, near the great Shrowds of the Main-mast, on the Larboard side (for seldom any Whale reaches further) The Larboard is that side of the Ship at the Right-hand as you go from the Poop to the Stern, as that side on your Right-hand, when you go from the Stern to the Fore-part, is call'd the Star-board. They frequently climb up the Masts to see whether they can see a Whale, for the first Discoverer has a Ducat for his Pains.

(e) See N°. (98)

The dead Whale being thus fastened to the Ship, two Sloops on the other side of the Whale, are haul'd by a Man by means of a Hook, to the Ship; in these stand two Harponiers, who cut off the Fat, for which they have a Reward of four or five Rix-dollars. The first piece they cut from behind the Head by the Eyes, being larger and wider than all the rest they cut. This they call the *Kenter-piece*, and reaches from the Water to the Cradle (or the round Circle about the Middle-mast) by which you may guess at the bulk of a Whale. A strong and thick Rope is drawn thro' a hole in this *Kenter-piece*, whereby the Whale is born out of the Water, being fastened to the Cradle; whence you may guess at the Toughness of this Fat (f). Then they cut another piece near this, which is also haulled up to the Ship, and there cut into less pieces of a Foot square (g). The Knives of the two Men that cut the square pieces, as well as of those that cut the Fat from the Whale, are with the Hafts about six Foot long: The more they have cut off of the Fat, the more they lift up the Whale with their Pullies, that they may come the easier at the rest; which is also the Reason they often stand upon Nails fastened into the Body of the Whale. Two Men stand in the Ship with large Hooks five Foot long, wherewith they hold up the great piece of Fat, till it is cut into square pieces, which are received by another Man standing hard by, by means of a short Hook, and laid upon a Dressing-board, where they are cut by others into less pieces: These stand upon the Starboard-side, (a). The Fat of some Whales is white, of some yellow, and of others red. The White is full of little Sinews, and yields not so much Oil as the yellow, which looks like Butter, and is the best. The red comes from dead Whales: The small or minced Fat is thrown into a kind of a Gutter, with a kind of Bag at the end, reaching down into the Ship, whence the Fat runs into a wooden Vessel, and is afterwards put up in Cardels (as they call them) and so is kept till they try it up into Train-Oil. After the Fat is cut off from one side of the Whale, before they turn him, they cut out the Whale-bone in one entire piece, and afterward that of the other side in the same manner, either of which is so heavy, that the whole Ship's Crew has enough to do to pull it up, by means of a certain Crane made like a Beam of a Pair of Scales, with two sharp Points on each end, which being fixed in the Whale-bone, they draw it up with Ropes. The dead Carcasses of the Whales, after their Fat is cut off, are thrown into the Sea, and serve for Food to the Birds of Prey, but especially to the *White-bears*, who at that time (I suppose by reason of their feeding upon Carrion) shed their Hair and turn yellow; so that their Skins are of little value, (b).

(f) See N°. (99)

(g) See N°. (100)

(a) See N°. (93).

(b) See N°. (101)

(c) See N°. (94)

How they try the Train-Oil from the Fat.

Formerly the *Dutch* used to try out their Train-Oil at *Spitzbergen*, at the *Cookery of Harlem* (of which before). The *French*-men generally try it up in their Ships, which having occasioned the burning of several Ships, our Country-men have since pitch'd upon another way, *viz.* to put up the Fat into Vessels, wherein it ferments like Beer, and the greatest part turns Train-Oil in them. At *Hamburgh* they put the Fat out of the Vessels into a large wooden Tub, whence it is emptied in a great Copper set in Brick-work and flattish like a Frying-pan, containing a hundred and twenty, a hundred and thirty, and often a hundred and forty Gallons. After it has boil'd for some-time, it is taken out of the Copper with small Kettles, and put into a Sieve, that the liquid part may run into a great Tub, underneath the Sieve, and half-fill'd with Water to cool the Train-Oil, and to separate the unclean and dirty part from the clear Train-Oil, which swims upon the Water, the rest setling on the bottom. This great Tub has a Spout or Tap almost at the top, by which the Train-Oil is let out into another Tub, also half fill'd with Water, wherein it is more cooled, and rendered clearer than before: Another Tap in this Tub conveys the clear Train-Oil into a Vatt in the Ware-house, whereout they fill it into the Train-Oil Barrels, which hold thirty two Gallons a-piece, but a Cardel holds sixty four. Some use but two Tubs, and try a brown Train-Oil, the second time out of the Greaves; others fling them away after the first trying.

The Finfish.

The *Finfish* is much of the same length of the Whale, tho' the last has three times his bulk: The first is distinguish'd by the Fin on his Back near the Tail, and his fierce spouting out of the Water, beyond what the Whale does: His Knob on the Head is also split in length at his Blowing-hole, and

his Back is not ſo much bended. His Lips are browniſh, and like a twiſted Rope; and on the uppermoſt hangs the Whale-bone, like in the Whale. Some ſay he can't open his Mouth, but that is a Fable. Betwixt the Whale-bone is all hairy; the new-grown Whale-bone is blew, but the other dark-brown, with yellow Streaks. He is not ſo black as ſome of the Whales, but rather of the colour of a Tench. As he is not ſo fat as the Whale, and more dangerous to be catch'd, the Sea-men ſcarce think him worth their Labour.

The Train-Oil of the Whale is uſed by the Frize-makers, Curriers, Cloath-workers, and Soap-boilers; but the greateſt part is uſed in Lamps. The *Greenland* Ships carry from thirty to forty Tun, according to their bigneſs, and have either five or ſix Sloops belonging to them: Their burthen is from four hundred to a thouſand Cardels of Fat. When they go out in the Long-boats or Sloops, there remain only aboard the Ship, the Steers-man, the Barber, the Chyrurgeon, the Cooper, and a Boy; the Maſter goes along with the reſt. Each Ship has ſixty Lances, ſix Sea-horſe Lances, forty Harpoons, nineteen long Harpoons, wherewith they ſtrike the Whale under Water, ſix ſmall Sea-horſe Harpoons, thirty Lines or Ropes of eighty or ninty Fathoms each. Beſides Fevers and Impoſtumes, the Scurvy is the moſt general Diſtemper in this Voyage; but ſuch as are active and uſe continual exerciſe, are not much afflicted with it.

The Rotz-fiſh *and* Sea-Qualm.

The *Rotz-fiſh* (or *Slime-fiſh*) is nothing but a tranſparent ſlime I have ſeen divers kinds of them; ſome whereof have ſomething reſembling Fins, like that which I call the *Sea-May-Flie*: Others reſemble the flat Snails, except that in lieu of Fins they have Stalks not unlike Feathers. I obſerved beſides theſe, four other ſorts very different from the former, being only a thick coagulated Scum of the Sea: The Seamen call them *Sea-Qualms*, and others *Sea-Nettles* (after the *Latin*) becauſe they burn like Nettles. All the filth of the Sea ſtick to them, juſt as a Burr does unto Cloath.

The Sea-May-Flie.

The *Sea-May-Flies* are alſo tranſparent, and will diſſolve in your Hand like the *Sea-Nettles*: They have two Fins near the Neck, not unlike thoſe of the Whale: they are broad and thick in the middle, and pointed at both ends; for the reſt, their Bodies reſemble our *May-flies*, except that the Body is thicker all along, and pointed at the end. The Head is broad and round, and ſplit in the middle, with Horns of a Straw's breadth only: Before on the Head are two rows of ſix ſmall Knobs (three in a row); whether theſe be the Eyes, I will not determine: The Mouth is ſplit alſo, whence downwards you ſee yellow and blackiſh Guts thro' the Skin, by reaſon of its tranſparency: The out-ſide of the Fiſh is of the Colour of the White of an Egg, and he moves in the Sea like a *Sea-nettle*. I ſuppoſe he affords Food to the *Lumbs*, *Pigeon-divers*, &c. becauſe they are moſt ſeen where theſe Sea-inſects are found. The ſame you ſee delineated at N° (96) according to their bigneſs, we found the 20th of *June* in the *South-bay* at *Spitzbergen*.

The Snail-ſlime-fiſh.

The *Snail-ſlime-fiſh* is flat, and turn'd like a Snail, ſuch as we find the Shells of ſometimes upon the Land; for the reſt, it is tranſparent like the *Sea-nettle*. Out of its utmoſt part come two brown hairy Stalks, wherewith it moves like the *Sea-nettle*. They ſwim in prodigious numbers in the Sea, and are by ſome ſuppoſed to afford Food to the Whales; but as they are ſcarce nouriſhing enough to produce ſo much Fat, I conjecture that the *Lumbs* and ſuch like Birds feed upon them. They reſemble a Spider at a diſtance, but for the reſt, have not the leaſt affinity to them. We ſaw many of them *June* the 20th, in the *South-bay* at *Spitzbergen*, but never any among the Ice.

The Hat-ſlime-fiſh.

The *Hat-ſlime-fiſh*, or *Salk-ſlime-fiſh* (ſo call'd from its ſhape) is like a Toad-ſtool, with a round and thick Stalk reaching up into the middle of the Head, which is a blew Button, or knob of double the thickneſs of the Stalk; like a Woman's Straw-hat. From the Stalk downwards it grows round and thick again, yet much leſs than the Head. They will get under Water and come up again, juſt as a Stick forced under Water, rebounds up again. I got ſeveral in the *North-Sea*, between *Hilgeland* and the *Elbe*; as alſo at *Kuck's-Haven* within the Mouth of the *Elbe*. Some told me that they come up that River as far as *Freyburg*.

The Roſe *like* Slime-fiſh.

The *Roſe like* ſhaped a *Slime-fiſh*, is round in Circumference, but a little indented between his double Streaks or Rays, of which there are ſixteen ſpringing out ſingly from the middle of the Body, but ſubdivide themſelves afterwards into two Branches; they are red-brown, and have their Riſe from the Circumference of a ſmall Circle in the middle of the Body: At the Extremities of theſe Rays, near the outward Circumference, are thirty two ſpots: The Body is white and tranſparent, which it draws together and extends again at pleaſure: It is hollow within, which I ſuppoſe to be the Belly, becauſe I found two or three Shrimps in this Concavity. Round about it hang down ſeven ſmall brown Threads like ſpun Silk: The whole extent of its Body was about a Span in length, and might weigh about half a Pound; the Threads were of the ſame length. We got ſome of theſe near *Hitland*; for theſe three firſt ſorts of *Sea-Qualms* are almoſt infinite in the *North-Sea*, but are not ſo numerous about *Spitzbergen*: They ſwim upon the Water in calm Weather, but go to the bottom in a Storm.

The Slime-fiſh *like a Cap.*

July the eighth, near the *Muſſle-haven* at *Spitzbergen*, we ſaw in a calm Day two ſorts of *Slime-fiſh*, one whereof was ſix-corner'd, the other with eight Corners: The firſt had ſix Purple ſtreaks, with blew Brims; betwixt which, the Body was diſtinguiſh'd into ſix Ribs, like a Pumpion. From the middle of the Body did hang down two Threads of ſmall Hairs, red and rough, ſhaped like the Letter V. I did not find them to move in ſwimming: Within the Body were other broader Streaks of a Purple Colour, with light-blew Edges: They repreſented like the Letter W. The whole Body was milk-white, not ſo tranſparent as that of the next following, about as big again, as you ſee it delineated at N° (97): It weigh'd two Ounces: It did not burn my Hand, but diſſolved in it like a Slime: Its ſhape is like a Cap with Corners.

The Slime-fiſh *like a Fountain.*

The laſt *Slime-fiſh* is very remarkable: At the top it has a roundiſh hole like a Gooſe-quill (which I ſuppoſe to be the Mouth) terminating into a Cavity like a *Funnel*: From this hole ariſe four Streaks, two and two exactly oppoſite to one another, two of which are cut tranſverſeway, the other two not: The laſt are about half the breadth of a Straw, and the firſt (which reſemble the Back-bones of a Snake) full as broad as a Straw: From the middle of the Funnel proceed four other Streaks, like the Back-bones of a Snake, but come down lower than the former, and make up eight in all: As we turn'd and look'd upon them, they repreſented to us all the Colours of the Rain-bow, and like a Fountain with eight Spouts, whence ſome have given it the Name of the *Fountain-fiſh*. From the end of the Funnel within the Body, ariſes ſomething like a Cloud, divided into Branches, which I ſuppoſe to be the Entrails. At the Extremities of the before-mentioned outward Streaks, the Body firſt bends a little inward, and afterwards turns off round, and has many ſmall Streaks. It was of the ſame bigneſs as you ſee it repreſented at N° (98): It weigh'd about four Ounces, and was white all over: It did not burn ones Skin, but diſſolved into Slime. Some

others

others of these *Sea-Nettles* I saw since in the *Spaniſh-Sea*, of a purple, blew, yellow, and white colour, and weigh'd several Pounds: They burnt so vehemently, that they raiſed Bliſters, and even Inflamations, of which I reſerve the Draught and Deſcription for another Opportunity.

CHAP. XLIII.

A Supplement to Captain Wood's *and* Marten's *North-East Voyage, containing their Navigations and Obſervations to the North-West of* Greenland, *and other Northern Regions.*

Cherry and other Iſlands.

Northern Islands.

Greenland is by our Navigators ſuppoſed to be a great number of Iſlands very near one another, or elſe a broken Land: It has been diſcover'd on the Weſt ſide to eighty two Degrees. The North Point they call'd *Point Purchas*, where they found many Iſles, unto which they have given no Names, except ſix or eight Harbours. On the Eaſt ſide they never went beyond ſeventy eight Degrees, being diſturbed by the *Dutch*.

The Hope-Iland.

Here are ſome Iſlands, as the *Hope-Iſland*, diſcovered in 1613, which perhaps is the ſame the *Dutch* call *Willoughby's Land*, or *John Mayen's Iſle*; tho' it has no great reſemblance to either, being a ſmall Iſland, lying North-East and South-weſt; whereas the Country near which Sir *Hugh Willoughby* ſail'd ſo many Days about, muſt be a large Country, lying North to South.

Edge's Iſle and Wyche's Iſle.

Edge's Iſle owes its diſcovery to Captain *Thomas Edge*, as *Wyches Iſle* owes its name to a Gentleman of that name, and was diſcover'd in 1617. By the Relation given by *Ostrear* the *Norwegian*, to *Alfred* King of *England*, where he ſays that the Morſes were hunted for their Teeth, it appears that Whale and Morſe-fiſhing was uſed above 800 years ago.

Cherry Iſle.

The time of the firſt diſcovery of *Cherry-Iſle* is unknown, but not the Year when it received its name (in 1603) from Sir *Francis Cherry*, who ſet out a Ship thither, which found ſome Lead and a Morſe's Tooth there; but could not ſtay by reaſon of the advanced Seaſon. But in 1604, another Ship was ſent *April* the fifteenth, from *London*, which arriving at *Cola* in *Lapland May* the firſt, ſtaid there till *July* the firſt, and *July* the eighth came to an anchor on the S. S. E. ſide of *Cherry-Iſle*; but being prevented from landing by the rapidneſs of the ſtream, they were forced to go round about the Iſle, where one of them landing, kill'd with his Gun as many Fowl as loaded their Boat; for the reſt, they ſaw no other Beaſts but Foxes: This Port

Morſe-fiſhing

was at 74 Degrees 45 Minutes. *July* the tenth, they came to an anchor in another Bay at eight Fathoms, where coming aſhoar, they ſaw a vaſt number of *Morſes*, and ſhot at them ſeveral times with three Guns; but tho' they lay huddling together like Hogs, they could not kill above fifteen out of a thouſand; but before the thirteenth kill'd a hundred more, and only kept their Teeth. In 1605 the ſame Ship and Perſons arrived there a ſecond time, *July* the ſecond, and going aſhoar *July* the ſixth, kill'd abundance of Morſes, having now found the way to diſpatch them with Lances. They alſo brought away about thirty Tun of a Lead Oar, found near *Mount-miſery*. In 1606 they went once more and landed *July* the third, at 74 Degrees 55 Minutes; they ſtaid till the Shoar was cleared of the Ice (for the Morſes will not come aſhoar before) where at once they ſlew betwixt ſeven and eight hundred Morſes, with their Teeth fill'd three Hogſheads, and made twenty two Tuns of Oil of their Fat. In 1608, it was ſo hot, that the Pitch of the Ship was melted; in ſeven hours they kill'd nine hundred Morſes; they fill'd two Hogsheads with their Teeth, and made thirty one Tuns of Oil: They alſo took alive two young Morſes, a Male and Female; the Female died at Sea, but the Male lived ten Weeks in *England*. In 1610, two other Ships were ſent thither, who after they had kill'd many Bears, Fowl, and Seals, took poſſeſſion of the Iſle for the *Muſcovia* Company *June* the fifteenth. In *Gull-Iſland* they diſcover'd three Lead Mines, and a Coal Mine on the North ſide of it. Three more Ships came to fiſh at *Cherry-Iſland*; they kill'd five hundred Morſes at one time, and at another time three hundred more. The Deſcription of the Morſe or Sea-horſe, ſee in the Voyage to *Spitzbergen*. Some ſuppoſe *Cherry-Iſland* to be the ſame with what the *Dutch* call *John Mayen's Iſle*, tho' erroneouſly; for the Northernmoſt Point of that lies at 71 Degrees 23 Minutes; whereas this (according to the Calculation of the *Dutch*) is at 74 Degrees 55 Minutes. Beſides, *Cherry-Iſland* is round, and not frequented by Whales. This our Men travell'd on Foot from North to South, which can't be done in *Mayens Iſle*, neither do they make any mention of the *Bears Mountain*. *Hope-Iſland* is indeed a long Iſle, like *Mayens Iſland*, but lies more to the North.

John Mayen's Iſle.

John Mayen's Iſle, has got its Name (as the *Dutch* pretend) from its firſt Diſcoverer; the *Engliſh* generally miſtake it for the *Hope-Iſland*: It extends from S. W. to N. E. being very narrow in the middle. Formerly this Iſle was much frequented by the Whale-fiſhers in the Summer-Seaſon, but ſince theſe Animals are gone further to the North, thoſe Fiſher-men have been forced to follow them to *Greenland*. In the Spring the Weſt Shoar is pretty free from Ice; but the North-ſide, where it runs out with a ſharp Point into the Sea, behind the *Beerenburgh*, i. e. *Mountain of Bears*, the Ice continues all the Year long for ten Miles diſtance from the Shoar; which is the reaſon the Mariners take all imaginable care to make the Weſt Shoar; and, if by chance they come to the Eaſt ſide, they are forced to fetch a Compaſs about to the North of the Iſle, where they are in no ſmall danger from the ſtormy Whirlwinds that come from the *Bears Mountain*, but alſo of the floating Ice; for the Sea here flows from S. to N. and ebbs from N. to S. At the North end of the Iſland is the *Bears Mountain* (ſo call'd from the vaſt number of Bears ſeen there) the bottom whereof reaches from the Eaſt to the Weſt Shoar; but on the North ſide is ſome level Ground betwixt it and the Ocean. It is inacceſſible, by reaſon of its ſteepneſs, and of ſo prodigious a height, as to be ſeen 30 Leagues at Sea. The Sea-Coaſt is diſtinguiſh'd thus: (1), The *Nordſhoeck*, or North Point, jetting out to the North. (2), The *Weſthoeck*, or the Eaſt Point *Tsbergh*, mark'd 1, 2, 3, are three Mountains of Ice, or rather of Snow, which are fall'n from the top of the *Bears Mountain*. (3), The *Zuydoeſthoeck*, or S. E. Point, whence the Shoar extends from E. to W. towards a little Iſle, and thence winds to W. and S. (4), *Kleyn-Sand-bay*, or *Little-Sand-bay*, *Egerland*, i. e. *Egg-land*, ſo call'd from certain adjacent Rocks full of Birds: Within a Muſquet ſhot from the Shoar, there is 60 Fathom Water, but a little further off, no bottom to be found. (5), *Groote-hout-bay*, i. e. the *Great-wood-bay*, from the vaſt pieces of rotten Timber found there: Here being the narroweſt part of the Iſland, you may from ſome Mountains be heard on both ſides of the Shoar. (6), *Kleyn-Hout-bay*, or *Little-wood-bay*. (7).

The

The *English-bay*, besides several others not worth mentioning.

Greenland and its situation.

Greenland, or *Groenland* (formerly *Engroenland*) lies according to the Account of the *Islanders*, extended in form of a Half-Moon to the North of their Isle, at about four days sailing distance; tho' it seems not to ly so far to the East, but rather to the North of *America*. Its extent from *Cape Farewel* on the South, at 60 Deg. 30 Min. to the North, is unknown. To the East and West it is encompassed by two great Oceans, but to what Degrees of Longitude, is not discover'd hitherto, except that Mr. *Fotherby* found it 71 Degrees near the Coast of *Greenland*, and the South of it above 200 Leagues.

Its discovery.

Its Discovery is owing to a certain *Norwegian* Gentleman, call'd *Erix Rotsop*, i. e. *Red-head*, who having committed a Murther in *Island*, fled to these parts, and having pass'd the Winter in a small Island, in the Spring went over to the Continent, which, from its Green Valleys, he call'd *Greenland*. Afterwards having obtained his Pardon from *Olaus Trugger*, King of *Norway*, a Colony was settled there, and the Country divided into the East and West District, and two Cities were built, *viz. Garde* and *Albe*, the last whereof was the Vice-roy's Residence, sent thither from *Norway*, had a Cathedral Church, dedicated to St. *Anthony*, and an Episcopal See.

However, what the *Norwegians* were possess'd of, was inconsiderable in respect of the whole: The *Norwegians* themselves acknowledge a certain potent Nation there, call'd *Skelingers*, that inhabited the inland part of the Country; and ever since 1349 (for what reason is unknown) scarce any true Intelligence has been had of this part of *Greenland*. The King of *Denmark* sent a Fleet that way in 1389, to endeavour the Recovery thereof, but being cast away, this Design was laid aside afterwards, till King *Christian* IV. attempted the same again. 'Tis true, in 1406, the Archbishop of *Drontheim* in *Norway*, sent a Bishop thither named *Andrew*, but he was never heard of afterwards.

Some Latter Discoveries by the English.

The search after a N. E. Passage to *China*, having proved abortive, the *English* began to look for the same on these Coasts to the N. W.

Sir Martin Frobisher's Voyages.

The first that attempted that Passage was *Martin Frobisher*, in 1576: He came with two Barks to 62 Deg. where finding a great Inlet (which he call'd *Frobisher's Straits*) he sail'd 60 Leagues into it, with main Land on both sides, where he found some Oar like Gold, but proved only Black Lead. The next year they discovered a Silver Mine, but it lay too deep to be dug. They also melted some Gold (but in small quantity) out of certain Stones they found in *Smith's Isle*, on that Coast, and saw a dead Fish twelve Foot long, not unlike a *Purpoise*, with a Horn six Foot long (commonly call'd the Unicorn's Horn) growing out of the Snout, which is still kept at *Windsor*. In 1571, he took possession of part of this Country for Queen *Elizabeth*, unto which he gave the Name of *Meta incognita*.

Sir Humphry Gilbert and *Mr. Davis's Voyages.*

In 1583, Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, being sent upon the same Design, came to the River of St. *Lawrence*, took possession of the Country, and settled a Fishery there. In 1585, Mr. *John Davis* being employ'd upon the same Account, with two Barks, he came to the *Greenland* Shoar, and call'd it the *Land of Desolation*: afterwards he sail'd to *Gilbert's Sound*, at 64 Deg. 15 Min. where he found some of the same Oar *Frobisher* brought into *England*, and some *Lapis Specularis*. Thence they sail'd to Mount *Raleigh*, *Tortness Sound*, &c. at 66 Deg. 46 Min. but saw nothing but Shrubs. He made another Voyage in 1586, to the same place, where they truck'd some Copper Oar, and black and red Copper with the Natives. Thence they went further to the West. In 1587, he made a third Voyage as far as 72 Deg. 12 Min. the Compass varying to 82 Deg. West: The Country he call'd *London-Coast*: He found an open Sea, and 40 Leagues betwixt Land and Land: He gave it the name of *Davis's Streights*.

Mr. Hudson.

In 1610, Mr. *Hudson* sail'd 100 Leagues further that way, than any had done before; and gave Names to several places, as *Desire provokes*, the Isle of *God's Mercy*, Prince *Henry's Cape*, King *James's Cape*, Queen *Ann's Cape*, &c. The Ice and mutiny among his Ship's Crew, prevented his going further.

James Hall.

In 1612, *James Hall*, and with him *William Baffin*, returned into *England*, having discover'd *Cockin's Land*, at 65 Deg. 20 Min. differing in Longit. from *London*, 60. Deg. 30 Min. West. They try'd the Mine at *Cunningham* River, dug before by the *Danes*, but found it not worth working. They saw fine Rocks whiter than Alabaster, and abundance of *Angelica*: *James Hall* was kill'd by a Native.

Mr. Baffin.

In 1615, Mr. *Baffin* sail'd again to those Parts, and found *Fair-point* to differ in Longitude from *London* 74 Deg. 5 Min. West. They found *Davis's Streights* to be only a Bay. In 1616, he went once more, and sail'd to Sir *Thomas Smith's Sound*, at 78 Deg. Lat. Variation of the Compass 56 Deg. West; the greatest that is known any where. Since that time no Attempts of the N. W. Passage were made by the *English*, till Capain *Thomas James* went upon the same Design in 1631.

Capt James.

He was much pestered with Ice in the N. W. Seas in *June* and *July*: He sail'd from *Cape Farewell* by the Isle of *Resolution* to *Mills*, *Nottingham*, and *Mansfield* Illands, whence taking his Course to the West, cross a great Bay near Port *Nelson*, he call'd the Land *New South-Wales*. He afterwards moved all up and down these Seas, giving certain Names to his new Discoveries; As Cape *Hamietta Maria*, Lord *Weston's* Isle, the Earl of *Bristol's* Isle, Sir *Thomas Roe's* Isle, the Earl of *Danby's* Isle, and *Charleton's* Isle: In this last he wintered, at 52 Deg. 03. Min. Lat. and return'd in 1632, having made many Discoveries, beyond *Hudson*, *Baffin*, &c.

Of all these you have the Particulars before.

Charleton's Isle.

Charleton's Isle (according to Captain *James's* Account) as well as all the rest, and the main Land it self, is a light white Sand, covered with a white Moss, and full of Shrubs, and many Trees, such as Spruce, Firs, and Juniper, as also good store of Scurvy-grass, which boil'd, served for a good refreshment, as well as a sort of Vetches that grew there in great plenty. Of Beasts, they saw some Deer, a few Bears, and many Foxes: Ducks and Geese in abundance in *May*, as also white Partridges: No Fish nor Fish-bones, except a few Cockle-shells. In *June* and *July*, the Days were excessive hot, and the Frosts in the Night so sharp, that the Ponds had Ice of an Inch thick. They were much pester'd with *Muskitoes*, Flies, Butter-flies, Horse-flies, Ants, and Frogs, and found the Winter as severe here, as in any Place lying 30 Deg. more to the North.

Discovery made by the Danes.

In 1605, the King of *Denmark* sent two Ships and a Pinnace, under the Command of Captain *Cunningham*, a *Scot*, and *Godske Lindenaw*: The last arrived in some part of *Greenland*, whence he brought two of the Natives into *Denmark*: The other two Ships sail'd from *Cape Farewell* to *Frobisher's Streights*, whence they also carried away three of the Natives, and certain Stones they found in a place call'd *Cunningham's Ford*, a hundred Pound weight of which, yielded 26 Ounces of Silver.

Cunningham.

In 1606, *Godske Lindenaw* sail'd with four Ships and a Pinnace, thither, and carried off five of the Natives.

Lindenaw's.

In 1607, *James Hall* (formerly head Pilot to *Lindenaw*) was sent upon the same Design, but his Ships Crew mutinying, was forced to return to *Denmark*.

Some time after the King of *Denmark* sent two Ships more, with *Norwegian* and *Island* Mariners, under the Command of *Christian Richardson*, a Native of *Holstein*, but they returned before they got sight of the *Greenland* Shoar.

In 1619, *John Munk* was sent thither with two Ships: coming to Cape *Farewell* at 60 Deg. 30 Min. they met with such sudden change of weather, that one day all their Tackle was frozen, so that they could not handle it; and the next day they were forced to work in their Shirts, by reason of the excessive heats. The South part of *Hudson's Bay* he call'd *The New Sea*; and that towards *Greenland*, *Christian's Sea*: He wintered at 63 Deg. 20 Min. which he call'd *Munk's Winter-Haven*, and the Country *New Denmark*. They endured a great deal of misery there: so that of 62 Persons there were scarce enough left to bring home the Pinnace.

and Munk's Voyage.

Greenlanders in Denmark.

The *Greenlanders* brought into *Denmark*, were by the King's Orders well entertain'd, with Milk, Butter, Cheese, Flesh, and Fish; these they would eat raw, but no Bread, nor Wine or Brandy, but drunk Train-Oil. But they turn'd so melancholly (out of desire to their native Country) that they could not be brought either to learn the *Danish* Language, nor the Principles of Christian Religion; three of them were sent in 1606, with some *Danish* Ships, to their native Country, but two dy'd by the way, and the third was brought back, they not daring to land, for fear of the Natives. Afterwards some of them endeavour'd to make their escape in their little Boats, but being retrieved, dy'd for grief: Two others living at *Koldingen*, the Governour employ'd them in Pearl-fishing in the Winter, so that the cold kill'd one of them, and the other dy'd of Melancholly, as did all the rest.

The

The nature of the Country.

The Country is generally Mountainous, covered all the Year with Snow, but more in the South than in the North Parts: Wood there is scarce any, except a few Bushes, and fewer Herbs. Their chief subsistance is upon fishing; for they know nothing of sowing and planting, tho the Soil betwixt the Mountains be fertile enough. The North Parts remain undiscover'd: those on the South side consist of divers Islands, which questionless occasion these various and strong Currents, miscall'd Whirlpools by *Your Booty*. The Country seems to be healthful enough; but it has been observed, that the Veneral Disease grows worse, and becomes incurable.

Beasts.

Of Beasts, none have been found in this Country of late, but Bears, Foxes, (many of them white) Rain-deer, and Dogs; of these last they have two sorts, the biggest they use for their Sleds: They say, that the Pizzles of these Foxes and Dogs are of Bone.

Fishes and Fowls.

The Sea affords them Whales, Seals, and Unicorns, (besides other fish) the last of which are valued only for their Horns or Teeth, which grow in the Snout: It is strong, and difficult to be taken, unless cast athoar by the Tide, or entangled among the Weeds. Of Fowls this Country affords great plenty and variety, which the Natives catch with Springs and Snares ingeniously contrived, chiefly for their Skin and Feathers sake, which being thick, they dress, and make Garments of them, like Furs, wearing the Feathers outward in the Summer-time, and inward in the Winter: Two or three of our Men have kill'd with their Guns 1500 of them in one day. They saw also many *Bass-geese* here, such as breed in the *Bass*, a famous Rocky Island near *Edinburgh*.

The North Light.

In those Parts appears in the North, about the time of the *New Moon*, a certain Pillar or Beam of Fire, which darting its Rays every way, moves from place to place, and not only enlightens *Greenland*, but also *Island* and *Norway*, and sometimes more distant Countries, leaving a Mist behind it, nor does it cease till 'tis obscurated by the Sun-beams. This Country is questionless inhabited by divers Nations, different in their Manners, Habit, and Language: Those brought home by *James Hall*, were very different from those carried thence by *Lindenaw*. The ancient *Norwegians* possess'd only a small part of it, several Nations inhabiting there at the same time. Our late Discoverers found a Country at 66 Deg. 50 Min. which the Natives call'd *Scecanunga*, govern'd by a great King stiled *Cachico*.

The Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants are, generally speaking, of a ripe Olive Colour (some also black) of a mean Stature, with black Hairs, flat Noses, and thick Lips. Their Women stain their Faces with blew and black Streaks. They are active, or rather nimble, and strong, rather desperate than courageous, thievish, treacherous and revengeful; for they would steal before the Mariners Faces, and kill them, after they had been well entertain'd by them; but are very affectionate to one another, and their Country. They delight much in Musick, and would keep time well enough with their Voice, Hands and Feet. Their Divine Worship seems to be directed to the Sun; tho' *John Munk*, and some others, did also find Images of Devils, Horns, Claws, Cloven-feet, &c. as also some Altars, with many Deer, Fox, and Dogs Bones upon them. They seem'd also to be addicted to enchantments.

Their Houses or Caves.

In the Winter they come from the Sea-shoar to the Valleys, where they have their little Villages, consisting of Caves, round like an Oven, made close to one another, at the Foot of a Mountain: their Doors are to the South, and they draw off the Water that falls from the Hills by Trenches. Before the Doors they have a kind of Porch neatly made of the Ribs of Whales, and covered with Seals Skins. One part of the Floor is higher than the rest; This they strow with Moss to sleep upon. In the Summer or Fishing-time they live in Tents, covered with Skins. The things most valued among them, are Knives, Needles, Looking-glasses, &c. for which they will truck their Bows, Arrows, Boats, nay, even their Cloaths, but never their Wives and Children.

Cloaths.

Their Cloaths are either of Birds Skins, mentioned before; or of the Seals, which they use most in fishing, as being not so apt to wet thro': they sow them very strong together, with Sinews of Beasts, and Needles made of Fish-bones.

Boats.

But the greatest Art they shew in the Structure of their Boats or Canoes: These are made of Whale-bone of an Inch thick, and broad, reaching in a long row from Prow to Poop, strongly sow'd together with Sinews, and covered with Seals Skins: They are from 10 to 20 Foot long, and two broad, sharp at both ends like a Weaver's Shuttle. In the middle only are certain Ribs to keep the Sides asunder, and to make the hole wherein the Rower sits, being about the bigness of the middle of a Man, made in the Deck of the Boat of the same Materials: In this he sits stretching out his Feet forward into the Cavity, and stopping the Remnants of the hole with his upper Garment, so that together with the Frocks being closely ty'd to his wrists, and his Caponet on his Collar, he is proof against taking the least wet, tho' the Boat should overturn. These Boats they manage with one Oar, about six Foot long, with a Paddle of six Inches broad at each end: This they use with so much dexterity and activity, that one of our Boats with ten Oars can't out-row them. They have also larger Boats of 30 or 40 Foot long, with ten and more Seats for Rowers. These they use for carriage of their Tents, Utensils, and Fishes they have caught.

Fishing.

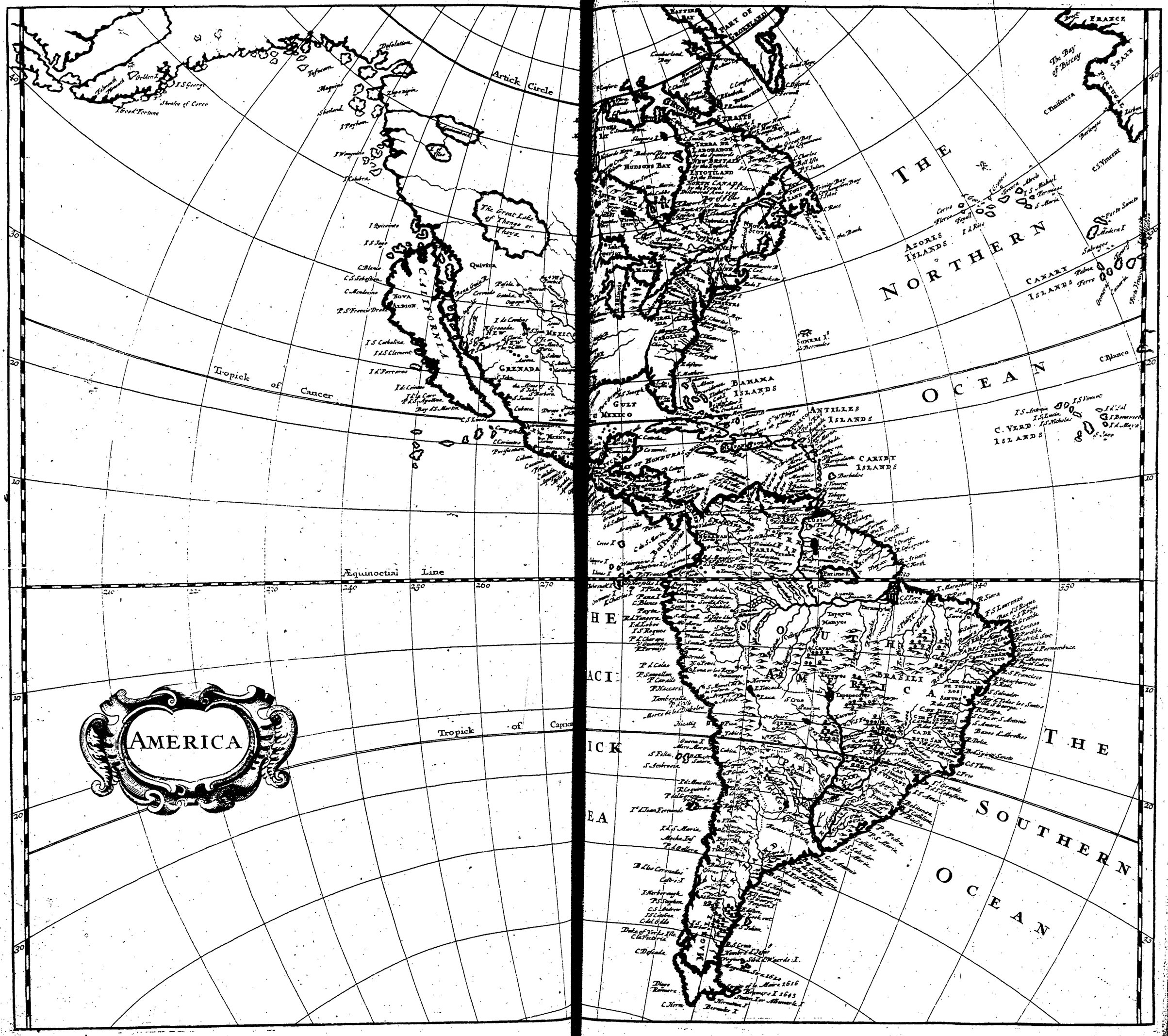
They fish commonly with long and strong barbed Darts, at the other end whereof, they fasten Bladders, with an intention to make the Fish after he is struck, to spend himself with strugling to get under water.

Freezland or Frizeland.

Friseland lies 60 Deg. more West than any part of *Europe*, a ragged Mountainous Country, covered with Snow, and scarce accessible by reason of the Ice. The first Discovery of it is ascrib'd to *Nicholus* and *Anthony Zani*, two *Venetian* Gentlemen Shipwrack'd there, who describe the Inhabitants as a Civil, Christian, and potent Nation, under the Government of one *Zichmus*, of which *Hackluit* has left us a *Romantick* Story: For those of the Inhabitants, which some of our Mariners (touching accidentally there) saw, were in Features, manner of living, and all other Respects, like the other *Greenlanders*; and many of them were of Opinion, that it belonged to the Continent of *Greenland*. They found very good fishing upon the Coast, and in their Soundings brought up a sort of pale Coral, and some small Stones transparent like Crystal: They call'd it *West England*, and one of the highest Mountains *Charing-Cross*.

ENGLISH

Dresden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MEXICO
Quivira
The Great Lake of Thango or Thoya
HUDSONS BAY
NORTH CANADA
NOVA SCOTIA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
GULF of MEXICO
ANTILLES ISLANDS
CARIBY ISLANDS
AZORES ISLANDS
CANARY ISLANDS
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ENGLISH VOYAGES
TO
The *East*, *West*, and *South* Parts
OF
AMERICA,
WITH
Their Land and Sea-Fights and Victories over the
SPANIARDS:
ALSO
The many ſtrange and dangerous Adventures of
ENGLISHMEN amongſt the AMERICANS.

LIB. V.

CHAP. I.

An Account of the ſeveral Voyages undertaken and perform'd by the Right Honourable George *Earl of* Cumberland, *in perſon, and at his own Charge, or by his Direction. Collected out of the Journals and Relations of ſeveral credible perſons, who bore a part in thoſe Expeditions.*

The Earl's First Voyage.

1586. THE Fleet ſet out by this Noble Earl, for his firſt Voyage, conſiſted of three Ships and a Pinnace; the *Red Dragon* (Admiral) of 260 Tun and 130 Men, commanded by Captain *Robert Widrington*; the *Bark-Clifford*, (Vice-Admiral) of 130 Tun and 70 Men, Capt. *Chriſtopher Liſter* Commander (the ſame who was taken Priſoner at the famous Battel of *Alcazar* in *Barbary*, in which three Kings were kill'd); the *Roe* (Rear-Admiral) commanded by Capt. *Hawes*, and the *Dorothy* Pinnace, formerly belonging to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*.

Jan. A. D. 1586. Sept. Setting ſail from *Graveſend*, and directing their Courſe toward the *South* Seas, they fell with the Coaſt of *Barbary*, haling in with the Road of *Santa Cruz*, after which they anchor'd in *Rio del Oro*.

Rio del Oro. Nov. Searching up the River, they found it fourteen or fifteen leagues up as broad as at the mouth, which was ſome two leagues over. From hence they ſail'd to *Sierra Leona*, where they made no long ſtay, but having refreſh'd, went on for the Coaſt of *America*.

They fell in with the deſir'd Shore in 30 gr. 40' S. L. and had calm temperate Weather. A little ſhort of the *Rio del Plate* they had the fortune to take a ſmall *Portugueſe* Ship (tho' her Lading was only Negroes) from which they had an account of five Towns (each of ſeventy Houſholds or more) that were ſeated upon that River; *Buenos Aores*, 50 leagues up the River, the reſt 40 or 50 leagues more above each other, of which *Tuccaman* the uppermoſt was 230 leagues from the entrance: This laſt place afforded ſtore of Corn, Cattle and Fruits, but neither Gold nor Silver, and conſequently no temptation to a Viſit there. 1586. Jan. Towns on the *Rio del Plate*.

They had the ſame Adventure very quickly repeated with another *Portugueſe* Ship, the only Riches of which (beſides *Slaves* and a few *Friers*, a ſort of Luggage which they had no mind to be cumber'd with) were Beads and Pictures, and other ſpiritual Trinkets, to the value of a thouſand Ducats; that is, they coſt ſo much, tho' not worth ſo much to the (leſs ſuperſtitious) Devotion of our *Engliſhmen*. This Furniture was deſign'd for a new Monaſtery, and was actually carrying thither at that time, when it unhappily fell into the hands of People that ſo little underſtood the true Worth and Excellency of it. A Prize of Beads and Pictures.

After a Conſult had, they ſail'd from theſe parts to the Coaſt of *Braſile*, with which they fell in about 16 gr. Lat. and water'd firſt in the Road of *Camana*, and afterwards came to an anchor before the Town of *Baya*: Here they found a Fleet of *Portugal*, conſiſting of eight or nine Ships, four of the beſt of which they quickly forc'd the *Portugueſe* to relinquiſh, and tow'd them forth in ſpite of all the thunder of great and ſmall ſhot from the ſhore and the reſt of the Ships. They landed too, and got Relief from the ſhore, tho' the *Indian* and *Portugal* Troops were drawn up to oppoſe 'em. The leaſt of all the Prizes was 130 Tun, tho' the moſt they got by taking of them was ſome great Guns, and forty or fifty Buts of Wine.

Another *Portugueſe* Ship of 120 Tun, a little after this (tho threwdly againſt her will) ſupplied them with a good ſtock of Meal and Sugar: And with theſe little Adventures did the Voyage ſoon come to a cloſe, for they never purſued it ſo far as the *South Sea*, the principal reaſon of which ſeems to be the uneaſineſs of ſome of the Company, their wearineſs of the Sea, and earneſt deſire to ſee their native Country again. And this they did after ſome loſſes of a Ship, Men, and Goods by Fire; all the reſt of the Fleet put in ſafely at *Plymouth* Harbour.

A.D. 1587. Arrives in Ireland.

The Portugueſe ſight Ships, and fire the Admiral.

A Prize of Sugar and Meal taken

Sail for England, Sept.

The Earl's Second Voyage.

AMongſt the many of the *Engliſh* Nobility that put themſelves on board Her Majeſties Fleet upon the approach of the *Spaniſh* Armada, the Earl of *Cumberland* was one, and one of the moſt forward and reſolute; and 'twas his good ſervice done there that gave occaſion to this ſecond Voyage: The Queen was ſo well pleas'd with what he had perform'd, that ſhe ſign'd him a Commiſſion to go forth again, and purſue his intended Voyage to the *Southern* parts, and for his greater honour and encouragement lent him one of her own Royal Fleet (the *Golden Lyon*) for his Admiral. This Ship the Earl victual'd and furniſh'd at his own charge, and ſet out attended with a conſiderable number of our *Engliſh* Gentlemen; but the Succeſs was not at all anſwerable to the Preparations, neither did the Earl this time put his Project in execution: The blame is laid principally at the Door of the Winds and Weather, which, after a great loſs of time, at laſt wholly diſabled them from purſuing their Voyage any further; neither were they any other ways recompenc'd for their Coſt and Trouble, than by one ſingle Prize, a Ship laden with Merchandize for *Spain*, which they took in the narrow Seas and ſent home.

The Commiſſion bore date *Octob.* 4 A. D. 1586

His Third Voyage.

BUt the Earl, who was not to be hector'd out of his Reſolution and Deſign by noiſie *Winds* and *Storms*, procur'd Leave of Her Majeſty to make a third Attempt; and beſides that, he obtain'd alſo a Ship of the Royal Navy call'd *The Victory*; this, together with two ſmall ones more and a Carvel, compos'd the Fleet for the third Voyage: *The Victory* (Admiral) was commanded under his Lordſhip by Capt. *Lyſle*; the *Megg*, by Capt. *Will. Monſon*, Vice-Admiral; the *Margaret*, by Capt. *Edward Careleſs*, Rear-Admiral, and the Carvel by Capt. *Pigeon*; the whole was furniſh'd with four hundred Mariners and Soldiers, and all at his Lordſhip's own expence.

June, A.D. 1589 They ſet ſail from *Plymouth*, and within a few days met with ſome *French Ships* laden with Fiſh from *Newfoundland*, two of which (together with the *Margaret*, which could not bear the Sea) were ſent for *England*.

French and *Dutch* Ships taken. Their next Encounter was with a Fleet of *Dutch*, who exchang'd ſome few Shot with them, and then yielded both themſelves and all their Effects on board into their hands: This Action being over, they ſail'd for the *Azores*.

Auguſt. Being within view of St. *Michael*, they put out *Spaniſh* Colours, the better to facilitate the execution of the Plot which was form'd againſt the Ships in the Road; there were four of 'em in all, and his Lordſhip reſolv'd that very night to cut their Cables and bring them all off, which he accordingly perform'd before the *Spaniards* were any way ſenſible of their danger. But tho' they were thus ſurpriz'd that they leap'd a good number of them into the Sea, and by that means with a great deal of noiſe and outcry alarm'd the Town, and put them into a poſture of defence, they made ſeveral random ſhots at the Earl's Boat in the dark, but they all miſs'd him, and he carried off his Prize. They were laden chiefly with Wines and Oyl; but another which the Pinnace took had, beſides thirty Tun of *Madera* Wines, good ſtore of Woollen Cloth, Silk and Taffata's. 1589.

Notice being given that the *Spaniſh* Carracks were at *Terceir*, (a good Booty, and worth looking after) they came up into the Road of *Fyall*, where they found indeed a parcel of Ships at anchor, but the main Prize was gone ſome days before. It was a ſtrange thing to ſee here at how ill and poor a rate theſe *Spaniſh* Ships defended themſelves, and how eaſily they ſuffer'd themſelves to be made a Prey of: A few *Engliſh* Boats attack'd a Veſſel of 250 Tun, and became Maſters of her; nay, tho' ſhe was ſupported by the great Guns of the Caſtle, which play'd upon the Boats all the time as well as her own, yet ſhe could not preſerve her liberty, but was carried away with a deal of Triumph. The ſame Boats alſo went afterwards into the Road, under the very Noſes of the *Spaniards*, and brought out a parcel of ſmall Ships come from *Guinney*, laden with Elephants Teeth, Grain, Cochinelo's, and Goatſkins, the moſt of which were ſent away for *England*.

Spaniſh Ships taken by the *Engliſh* Boats.

His Lordſhip having miſs'd the Carracks, reſolv'd upon another Prize, which was the Town of *Fyall* it ſelf, and here the *Engliſh* were put to very little coſt and trouble for the getting this into their hands, for the *Spaniards* all ran away, both out of the Town and Fort too; they did not ſtand to make any diſpute or oppoſition, but let them come quietly and take poſſeſſion. The Religious Houſes and Churches were ranſom'd at 2000 Ducats, which being honeſtly paid, the Guard that was ſet upon them to preſerve them from damage as honeſtly quitted them again; beſides this, they took out of the Fort fifty eight pieces of Iron Ordnance. But they had the ill luck to miſs the rich *Spaniſh Weſt-India* Fleet, which they had juſt a ſight of as 'twas putting into *Angra* Haven at *Terceira*, a ſure and a ſafe ſhelter; ſo well guarded with a Fort and Caſtle, that they were not to be attempted at that time.

Town of *Fyall* taken.

After this they ſail'd to St. *Michael's*, and thence to St. *Mary's*, where they took a Prize or two laden with Sugar from *Braſile*, theſe were ſent home for *England* with the *Megg*, while the Earl with the reſt held their Courſe for *Spain*. In the way they took two Prizes more, one of which was one of the *Weſt-India* Fleet that had been before put into the Harbour of *Angra*; ſhe was a Ship of 400 Tun, and beſides Sugars, Cochinele, and other Commodities, had ſome ſtore of Silver too.

Sends Diſtreſs'd at Sea.

Now they made the beſt of their way home, and Capt. *Lyſle* was diſpatch'd beforehand with the rich *Indian* Prize, but he was wreck'd upon the Coaſt of *Cornwall*, and all the Company drown'd, except five or ſix. The Earl himſelf, with his Company, endur'd Miſeries far worſe than drowning, in a long and tedious want of freſh Water; their ſtock being ſpent, they came to Vinegar, and of that the allowance was but three ſpoonfuls a day to a man; there was nothing elſe remaining to quench their Thirſts but this, except the drops of Rain and Hail that fell from Heaven, and which they greedily catch'd in Napkins and Sheets ſpread out for that purpoſe; ſome there were that (not able to bear ſo extream a Drought) went to the great Ocean for relief, and drank themſelves to death with ſalt Water.

In all theſe Extremities the Earl maintain'd his own equal Temper and good preſence of Mind, tho' he avoided no part of the Diſtreſs that others endur'd, but ſhar'd throughout the whole of it equally with the pooreſt Seaman. However, at laſt all theſe Difficulties were overcome, an *Engliſh Ship* brought him a ſeaſonable Relief, which laſted till he came to *Ireland*, and there a good Refreſhment prepar'd them all for a more comfortable Voyage to *England*.

His Fourth Voyage, A. D. 1591.

THE Fleet fitted out for this Voyage conſiſted of five Ships; the *Garland*, Admiral, (one of Her Majeſties) of 600 Tun; the *Sampſon*, Vice-Admiral, (a Ship of the Earl's) of 260 Tun; the *Golden Noble*, Rear-Admiral; the *Allegarta*, and a Pinnace call'd the *Diſcovery*.

The Adventures of this Voyage were ſo unfortunate, that it was at an end very quickly after it had a beginning; in ſhort, it gives us an account of no memorable Tranſaction either by Sea or Land; we only hear of the taking of two rich *Spaniſh* Ships, which were alſo ſoon after retaken by them, and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Priſoners into the bargain.

Theſe

1591. These Misfortunes oblig'd the Earl to a speedy return for *England*, where he quickly began to make preparation for more lucky Adventures.

His Fifth Voyage, A. D. 1592.

IN the next Voyage his Lordship made use of none of Her Majesties Ships, as he had done before, but hir'd of the Merchants a substantial Ship call'd the *Tyger*, of 600 Tun, which together with the *Sampson* and the *Golden Noble*, and two small Ships more, were all that went out at this time.

The Earl returns for *London*, and substitutes Capt. *Norton*.

He intended to have commanded himself in person this Expedition, but being so cross'd with Winds that three months Provisions were spent in Harbours before they could get to the Westward of *Plymouth*, his Lordship having hereby lost the main Design of his going, (which was the taking of the outward-bound *Spanish* Carracks) he transferr'd the chief command to Captain *Norton*, with Instructions to go for the *Azores*.

Before they reach'd those Islands, one Ship of the Fleet was oblig'd to return home, to deliver in a good *Portuguese* Prize which she had taken; the rest water'd and refresh'd at the *Azores*, and putting out to Sea again, they got sight of the *Santa Cruze*, a rich *Portugal* Carrack, which, as soon as she had sight of them, made all the haste imaginable for Port *Augra* in *Tercera*; but in her flight she was met by another *English* Ship, which lay in ambuscade before, and now popp'd out just cross her way: In this distress, to avoid the *English* behind and the *English* on one side, she was forc'd to alter her first course, and endeavour to recover the Road of *Lagwna*, on the South end of *Flores*. A Storm so distress'd our Ships that they could not come up to her that night, and consequently occasion'd their loss of her and all the valuable Effects on board her, for by the next day the *Portuguese* had landed as much of the Goods as was possible, and (to prevent her falling into the Enemy's hands) set her on fire; but they were so cunning, notwithstanding their haste, as to load all the great Ordnance of her, so that when the Fire came at 'em, they went off without the help of a Gunner: This was good sport to the *Portuguese*, but it did no great harm neither to the *English*. However, our Men, who with good reason concluded that the Prey, which was not to be taken on the Water, was to be found ashore if they landed quickly, did so, tho' with prodigious difficulties, and made themselves Masters both of a good part of that and the Town likewise, which was by that time entirely forsaken of the Inhabitants.

Chase the *Santa Cruze*, a Carrack.

The Carrack fired.

Town taken.

The *Madre de Dios* taken

But there was another great Carrack, call'd the *Madre de Dios*, yet reserv'd for them, which after a month or two's expectation and attendance fell into their hands. This Vessel being large, well furnish'd with Men, and richly laden, cost them some pains and trouble before they could perfectly conquer her; both *Portuguese* and *English* fought like Dragons, the one to defend, the other to obtain so great Riches: The *English* were like to be blown up too after the dispute was over, being upon the hunt after Plunder, every man with his lighted Candle in his hand, for a Cabbin (in which a vast quantity of Powder was laid up) was set on fire, and if it had not been presently extinguish'd by the great Industry and Courage of Capt. *Norton*, it had reach'd the dreadful heap and carried away both the Plunder and Plunderers together into the Air.

After all was secur'd and in their own hands, there was no small contention about dividing the Spoil, for there were several other Ships in consort with them in this action, and all pretended to a share; but then these Ships being most of them Her Majesties too, the Pretensions were the stronger, and the Claim more undeniable.

Division of the Booty.

The Earl of *Cumberland's* Part (in proportion to his Charges) must needs have been very considerable, perhaps a million or two, but then because he did not act in person, and his Commission had not provided for the case of his return, therefore the matter was determin'd so, that he should stand to the Queen's Mercy and Bounty; so his Lordship came off with about 36000 *l.* and this not as a just Share, but free Gift and Favour; but how much he got by this Expedition is easie to be counted by them that know the Charge of setting out and maintaining a Fleet.

1593.

His Sixth Voyage, A. D. 1593.

THE Ships that went out now were, the *Golden Lyon*, Admiral; the *Bonadventure*, Vice-Admiral; the *Anthony*, of 120 Tun; the *Pilgrim*, of 100; and besides these, the *Charlton* and the *Discovery*.

His Lordship, who commanded in person this time, having taken two *French* Ships of very great value, was quickly call'd upon by an Armada of the *Spaniards* to stand upon his guard, and look to his own Fleet; for it must be noted, that the *French* and *Spaniards* being then united in a League together, as their Ships were treated both alike by ours wherever they met 'em, so they were mutually concern'd in each other's Losses, and accordingly endeavour'd to revenge 'em. This Armada lay about *Flores*, but the Earl, who knew their number and force to be vastly superiour to his, kept out of their way, his Designs being no otherwise for fighting than as fighting was a means either to preserve himself or take Prizes from the Enemy. But a desperate Fit of Sickness forc'd his Lordship to return home, while the *Anthony*, the *Pilgrim*, and the *Discovery* prosecuted their Voyage to the *West-Indies*; they shap'd their Course for the *Antilles*, and fell in with the Isle of St. *Lucia*, where they refresh'd a few days, and concluded upon seizing the Pearl-Fisheries of *Margarita*.

Two French Ships.

Earl returns.

These Fisheries contain about six or seven small Villages, which they go to by turns, so that as the Trade fails in one place, they remove immediately to another; but the Pearls are always, for security sake, carried every month to the Town of *Margarita*, which lies three leagues from the Water-side. Our Men kept out of sight all day long, for fear of discovery, but at night landed and march'd to two of the Fisheries, which were both empty, so that they had e'en lost their labour if a *Spaniard* had not come thither by chance in a Boat, but seizing him, they made him their Guide to the other Fishery, where the Trade was driving at that instant: The two Captains march'd by land with 28 Men, and the Boats follow'd them upon the Water; and tho' this Army was so very small, yet they did not scruple to divide themselves into three several bodies, in order to make three several attacks at once. The *Spaniards* at first thought the Governour had put a trick upon 'em, and given a false Alarm to try their readiness and courage, but quickly finding there was no jesting in the business, but all was in good earnest, they ran away in good earnest too, and shelter'd themselves in the Woods. The *English* took about 2000 *l.* worth of Pearl, besides some other Pillage, and so breaking all the *Spaniards* Weapons they found there, march'd off without disturbance to some place of repose for that night; in the morning they went on board the Fishing-boats, to eat the Oysters the *Spaniards* had taken the night before, the Pearl in which (no doubt) paid them well for the trouble of opening.

Fisheries of *Margarita*.

Pillag'd by the *English*.

After this Expedition they made away to their own Ships again, and then sail'd up to the Town it self, demanding Redemption-money of the *Spaniards* for their Houses and Boats, which otherwise they threatned immediately to fire; so the business was soon made up, and they compounded for 2000 Ducats in Pearl.

The Town ransom'd.

These Losses were irrecoverable, and all the kindness the *Spaniards* could now do themselves was to prevent the like for the future, for which purpose they sent about Intelligence from one place to another, giving notice of the *English*, and warning all the Inhabitants to be in a posture ready to receive 'em when they came.

Spaniards give notice.

This News went so fast about, and alarm'd the People to that degree, that ours were mightily frustrated in their Designs upon several other places: Thus at *Cumana* they found 'em upon their guard, and coasting along *Terra Firma*, at *Rio del Aache* the *Spaniards* were not only in expectation of them, but had upon that score sent away all their best Goods to the Mountains. Being therefore disappointed in this manner, they sail'd to *Hispaniola*, Cape *Tuberone*, St. *Nicholas* Bay, Fort St. *Plat*, &c. and from thence to *Mona*, and so to the Isle *Savona*.

This Island is very low, and destitute of all Springs of Water, but towards the Sea 'tis all a very fine small Sand; this serves instead of a Filtre to the Sea-Water, for by passing thro' it all the Salt is strein'd off and left behind, and the Water comes forth upon the surface a clear and well-tasted Fluid.

Savona Isle.

Not above twenty paces from the Wash of the Sea they dig holes in the Sand, and fixing therein a Hogshead (the Head of which is knock'd out) the Water thus transform'd rises up into it, and that in quantities so con-

1593. siderable too, that it may be ſaid, tho' that Iſland has no Spring or Fountain, yet it does not want good Water.

The River of Socko. From hence they ſail'd to the River of *Socko*, about five leagues Eaſtward of S. *Domingo*; and having ſail'd a matter of four leagues up the River, they ſurpriz'd one night ſome of the *Spaniards* great Farm-houſes, for the ranſom of which they had good ſtore of Beeves, *Caſſavi* and other Fruits.

Farm-houſes. Theſe Houſes are places where the poor Slaves keep the great Men's Cattle, make their *Caſſavi* Bread, dreſs their Ginger and Fruits, and do all the Offices of Husbandry. It's obſerv'd, that no Beef, tho' ever ſo good, will keep in theſe parts above 24 hours, unleſs it be firſt ſalted and then dried in the Sun. They cut it into Sides, like Bacon, leaving nothing of a Bone in it, nor any piece of Fleſh thicker than a Man's Hand; it muſt be firſt ſearch'd with a Knife, then rubb'd over with Salt, and having remain'd ſo twelve hours, it muſt be expos'd to the Sun, and then four hot days drying will preſerve it ſufficiently. Our *Engliſh* laid ſeveral of theſe rich Farms under Contribution, as they did alſo a great Sugar-place upon the River *Marracana*.

Way of preſerving their Beef.

From theſe parts they ſail'd to St. *Domingo*, *Jamaica*, and *Cuba*, at either of which places little or nothing was perform'd. At *Cuba* they parted, the *Pilgrim* going from thence directly for *England*, and the *Anthony* and the Frigate to the Bay of *Honduras*: Theſe two had the luck to meet with ſeven *Spaniſh* Ships in the Road of *Porto Cavallo*, the leaſt of which was 180 Tun; they fought with them a day and a night, the reſult of which was, that the *Spaniards* quitted their Ships, (which were now grown too hot to hold them) and in their Boats got to the ſhore: By the Admiral's order alſo the Rudders were carried aſhore, that if they were taken they might not ſail away with 'em; ſo that 'twas neceſſary either that the *Spaniards* ſhould redeem 'em, or the *Engliſh* burn 'em; and they refuſing to do the former, our Men did the latter to all of 'em except the Admiral, which they brought home laden with the beſt Goods pick'd out of all the reſt. They threw all the Ordnance overboard, (two or three Braſs Guns only excepted) in hopes ſome *Engliſh* might be the better for 'em afterwards. Tho' this Action took them up ſome time, yet they made ſhift to get home the next day after the *Pilgrim*'s arrival.

Spaniſh Ships burnt.

The {Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth} Voyage, A. D. {1594, 1595, 1596.}

THE Accounts of theſe Voyages being very ſhort, and the Adventures related in them likewiſe of no very great importance, we ſhall throw them all together into one general Account, in which the Reader ſhall find whatſoever material paſſages they contain.

The Fleet of the ſeventh Voyage conſiſted of the *Royal Exchange*, (Admiral) of 250 Tun, commanded by Capt. *George Cave*; the *Mayflower*, of 250, (Vice-Admiral) commanded by Capt. *William Anthony*; the *Sampſon*, (Rear-Admiral) by Capt. *Nicholas Dainton*; and beſides theſe, a Carvel and a Pinnace.

The great Action perform'd at this time was, their fight with, and almoſt ruining of, the beſt Carracks belonging to the King of *Spain*; the one was of 2000, and the other of 1500 Tun burthen, and the former not a little weighty neither in Pearl, Jewels, Silks, Druggs, and the like: Had they taken this Prize, they might have gone home contented, without looking after any other, but the Attempt did not ſucceed ſo far as that came to; the *Spaniards* indeed loſt their Treaſure, but the *Engliſh* did not get it; the Ship was conquer'd, but the Victors could not lead her away in triumph, in that they ſet her on fire, and brought her to the laſt extremity, while the deſperate Defendants threw themſelves and their Treaſure overboard; ſome of the chief ſtript themſelves of their rich Chains and Jewels, and as naked as ever they were born, adventur'd to ſwim towards the *Engliſh* Ships for Quarter, but of all them there were but two Men of Quality, which were brought into *England*, and afterwards ranſom'd: And the truth on't is, they did not take the right courſe to have favour ſhew'd 'em, for in order to that they ſhould have ſwam with ſome of their Pearl and Jewels at leaſt about 'em, the Seamen would have been careful of ſuch precious Lives, and have ſeen that they ſhould not have gone to the bottom, if there had been any way poſſible to keep them above water. The whole number thus loſt and deſtroy'd amounted to eleven hundred Men, abating the two only before mention'd; our loſs (beſides ſome common Soldiers) was, the Vice-Admiral kill'd outright, and the Admiral himſelf mortally wounded.

Carrick fir'd.

Diſtreſs of the Spaniards.

1596. *Numbers loſt.*

In the three following Voyages the chief Ships employ'd by the Earl of *Cumberland* were, the *Scourge*, of 900 Tun, newly built by himſelf; the *Aſcenſion*, of 300; and the *Dread-nothing*, a Ship of the Queens. Here was no Prize taken worth the mentioning, except a *Spaniſh* Ship laden with Sugars, and three *Dutch* Ships with Wheat, Copper and other matters for the King of *Spain*'s ſervice alſo. Some Encounters there were with the *Spaniſh* Ships too, but ſuch as ended in not much leſs loſs and diſadvantage to us than to them.

The Eleventh Voyage, A. D. 1596. March.

THIS Voyage is the moſt conſiderable of any we find perform'd by the Earl, whether we conſider the Contents and Tranſactions of it, or the number of the Ships that compos'd his Fleet; there went out at this time in all no leſs than twenty ſail, ſeveral of which were his Lordſhip's own Ships, and the reſt furniſh'd chiefly at his charge: There was beſides a noble train of Commanders and other Gentlemen, the principal of whom (next to the Earl, who commanded in perſon) was Sir *John Barkley*, his Lieutenant-General; as for the reſt, we ſhall not trouble the Reader with the particular Names either of Men or Ships, unleſs ſome extraordinary Action in which they ſignaliz'd themſelves, lay us under an obligation of ſo doing.

They had not been at Sea long before they had an account of five Carracks that were ſpeedily to ſet ſail, and thoſe ſo very rich, that none ever went to the *Indies* richer than they; but theſe were not all neither, for twenty five Ships for *Braſile* were alſo in company with them. Our Fleet had no ſooner conſulted upon this matter, and caſt in what order they would lie, and how they would attack and fight the *Spaniards*, but comes another ungrateful Story that knocks all theſe great Deſigns and Preparations in the head, and diſcharges them from any farther trouble of conſulting about that affair; for the *Spaniards* had notice of the Earl's being abroad with a good Fleet, nay, more than that, ſome of their Spies had ſeen it, and were ſure on't; for the firſt Report having given them the alarm, they diſpatch'd Carvels of Advice every where up and down, who never left ſearching till they had found what they look'd for.

And now the Earl was not to expect the Carracks out at Sea, but rather to find 'em lock'd up in ſome ſure Port, where 'twould be next to impoſſible for him to attempt them; and this was the caſe, for (to put all out of doubt by ocular demonſtration, as the *Spaniards* did) he himſelf ſaw 'em riding in the Bay of *Wiers*, within the command of the Caſtle of St. *Julian*, which had above a hundred pieces of Ordnance to bid an Adverſary welcome that ſhould be bold enough to come thither to receive it; beſides, the Wind being ever ſcant for coming out of the Bay again, (if a man did venture in) and for the moſt part hanging much Northerly too, it would be impoſſible in coming out to avoid ſailing cloſe by their Platforms. This was the reaſon that the Earl ſpent no longer time in attending upon the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts, but ſet ſail with his whole Fleet immediately for the *South Cape*.

Having made the *Canaries*, they came up to the Iſland *Lancerota*, (one of the ſix great ones) and anchor'd in the Road which bears E. S. E. of the Iſland. Here notice was given, both by *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, of a certain Marqueſs who commanded both in this and the next Iſland *Forleventura*, to whom it would be worth while to make a viſit; he was prodigiouſly rich, and Lorded it in theſe Iſlands like an abſolute Soveraign. The Earl himſelf was ſick, but five or ſix hundred good Soldiers (appointed for this ſervice) were landed, under the command of Sir *J. Barkley*.

They met with no other diſturbance as they march'd along than what the Natives gave 'em ſometimes, out of their lurking holes and other places of advantage; if any ſtraggled from the reſt of the Company, thoſe fly Mountaineers would be ſure to aſſault them with their Launces, but then there was no purſuing of them to any purpoſe, for they would run like Bucks, and a man might as ſoon hope to overtake one as the other.

The

1596. Enter the Town.

The Town was at least ten miles from the place of their landing, so that the People had time to run away by that time they came, and it seems enough too to carry away every thing that was in it but the Houses, for they left nothing else, except a little Cheese and some Wine: This Wine was extraordinary good, and the Soldiers (who found it so) were extraordinarily drunk, to that degree, that had an Enemy been ready to have taken the advantage of the Debauch, the best part of 'em might have been knock'd in the head before they were sober again; but the *Spaniards* (who did not leave that Wine for a Decoy) were far enough out of the way, the *English* had time enough to recover their Wits, and go look somewhere else for Plunder; the rich Marquess was the Prize they chiefly aim'd at, but there was no doubt but he was sensible of their design, and would not sit still at home to be catch'd; and accordingly the Party that was sent to his Castle upon that score had not the pleasure of seeing his Lordship, he was not to be spoken with there at that time; and it seems all his Guards and Servants were of the same mind too, for tho' there were near two hundred of them, yet as soon as ever our Men were in sight they all ran away without speaking a word or firing a Gun.

Marquess got away.

But the more effectually to discover the Bravery of these Guards, and the noble Temper of their Hearts, or at least to shew what good reason they had to run away, we must know that the Castle was built of strong square Stone, flank'd and fortified most advantageously, and defended with no small number of Brass Guns; besides this, there were abundance of great Stones laid about in places of advantage, to knock out the Brains of the Assailants, and the Entrance was rais'd so high above the level of the Ground, that 'twas impossible for a man ever to get in without the help of a very long Ladder. The most experienc'd Commanders that saw it declar'd it as their Opinion, That twenty Men might with ease have maintain'd it against five hundred, only by shutting their Door and pulling in the Ladder.

The Castle, its strength.

Now 'tis very apparent that these men had a prudent laudable care of their Lives in deserting a place of so much danger and so expos'd as this: As for those that think any thing to the prejudice of their Reputation and Courage, one may ask them whether they understand the Sin of a man's being accessary to his own End.

Description of the Town.

The Town consisted of something more than a hundred Houses, very rudely built, for the most part of one story, their Roofs flat and sloaping to throw off the Rain; they were cover'd with Canes and Straw laid upon a few Rafters, and over all a Stratum of Mudd or Dirt, which being hardned by the Sun, was Showre proof.

There was but one Church in it, and that old and tatter'd; it was all one undivided Room, without any thing of a Chancel, or place distinguish'd from the rest, only an Altar with its Appurtenances stood at one end. There were no Seats for the People, except the Stone Benches that went along the sides; but to make amends for that, there was this piece of Curiosity observable in the Building, that it had just as many Windows as Doors, for Doors and Windows were all one, and the Light and the People both came in the same way. Of all the Edifices of note, the Friers Convent was prettiest and most convenient; it had fine Gardens and Waters about it, and was every way much superiour even to the Marquess's Castle it self.

The People. Their Arms.

The Inhabitants of the Island are a strong able-bodied People, very tall, and for swiftness in running not much short of the wild Beasts themselves. Their Arms are only Launces and Stones; when a man presents a Gun at them, just as the Cock is pull'd they fall flat upon the Ground, and when they have heard the report they start up again, and first throw their Stones, then their Launces, and so run away. Their Sense is as dull as their Complexion, and their Religion as bad as either; our Men report they found abundance of Pope's Bulls and Pardons in their Houses, which is enough to prove 'em to be both ignorant and superstitious.

The Island. Produsts.

The Island it self is something oblong, stretching it self out to the N. E. and S. W. 'Tis rather bigger than the *Isle of Wight*, and is parted in two by a ridge of Mountains, as *Italy* is by the *Apennines*. These Hills are barren, affording nothing but bare Food to the Sheep and Goats that live upon 'em; but the Valleys are something better, for tho' they appear sandy and dry, yet they yield extream good Wheat and Barley.

The principal Beasts here are Sheep, Goats, and Asses, some Kine, a few Camels, but fewest Horses, and those of no great size.

They have two Harvests in a Year, one before the middle of *April*, and another about *Michaelmas*. And this is in short an account of the most remarkable matters relating to this Island and People.

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Our People having here had no great success, went to enquire after it somewhere else; and the Design being fix'd (for many good Reasons) for *Dominica*, they set sail thitherwards.

High Hills.

In this passage they observ'd (coming very near the shore) the high Hills about *Santa Cruz*, one of which (they tell us) has the fame of mounting higher into the Air than that celebrated one of the *Azores*; the top of it was then cover'd with Snow, when at the bottom the heat was as violent as 'tis in *England* at *Midsummer*. The Isle (tho' to the Sea a very high Land) was full of fruitful Plains and Vineyards, out of which the King of *Spain* draws every Year 28000 Butts of rich Sack, as 'tis commonly reported: But 'tis pretty sure, that tho' it be not so fine a champion Country as the *Grand Canarie*, yet it is richer in some respects, of which this is no small Proof, that the King seems to be more choice of this than the other, maintaining a far greater Force to defend this than that.

St. Cruz.

After they had pass'd the Tropick, and had the Sun over their Heads, (which they discover'd by the loss of their *Meridian Shadows*) they were persecuted with gusts of noisom stinking Rain, which fell for a long time together; it brought a stench of Sulphur along with it, which was extreamly offensive to the whole Fleet, but especially to them that were in the Cabins, as for the rest upon the Decks, they escap'd much better: The farther they went from the Sun, the less they had of these ill-scented Rains; they had, 'tis true, wet enough afterwards, but they had it without that hogo of Brimstone which pierc'd their Noses before; and indeed this was all the hurt it did 'em, it bred no Distempers amongst 'em, nor made any man sick, tho' there might have been reason enough to expect some ill consequences of that kind to have broke out in the Fleet.

Stinking Rains.

Indians glad to receive the English.

When they were come pretty near the shore of *Dominica*, abundance of the *Indians* came out in their Canoes to see what they were. These People were at first suspicious of their being *French* or *Spaniards*, but being assur'd they were *English*, presently came on board them and offer'd Pines, Plantans, Potatoes, and other of their Country Commodities, for any Trifles they would exchange for such things. They were most of 'em strong well-proportion'd Men, sharp and sensible in their dealings, their Bodies painted over with red, which they were mighty careful to keep on; 'twas for this reason that all their Canoes had Skreens against the Rain, some made of Wicker, others only of broad Leaves; they were afraid of having their Paint wash'd off, and therefore they took care to defend themselves in this manner:

Canoes and Oars.

Those Canoes are commonly of the breadth of one Tree, and some of 'em long enough for eight or nine Men to sit in a row. Their Oars are made in the form of a Battledore, except only that their Palms are much longer than they are broad, growing into a sharp point with a rising in the midst of 'em for a good way; the Shanks of them are every where equally big, and have a cross Stick at top almost like a Crutch.

A fine Bay. A Hot Bath.

At the N. W. side of the Island there's a delicate Bay, large enough to receive a very mighty Fleet; and hard by a Rivers-side is a Hot Bath, which discharges it self into that River, as the River does it self (within a Stone's cast) into the Sea. This Bath is as hot as the *Cross* or *King's Bath* in the City of that Name in our own Country, and 'tis as useful too it seems to sick Persons, for here all the diseas'd of the Fleet found their Remedy.

A Woody Country.

This Island of *Dominica* lies North-west; and South-east 'tis bless'd with a fat rich Soil, comparable to the best Garden-mould in *England*; towards the Sea 'tis vastly mountainous, and those Mountains so full of Trees that they are like a Wall of Defence to the Country: The Valleys too are very woody, insomuch that 'tis a wonder how they do to find a Passage thro' them; but 'tis not improbable that the Natives leave these Outskirts of their Country thus wild and rude on purpose for their own security.

The King.

One of the Captains went up a River with a small Guard to one of the Towns of these *Indians*; this Town, as little as 'twas, had a King in it, and him dress'd some-thing better too than the most part of their wild Majesties can be presum'd to be; he had a fine Robe of crimson Taffata on, a *Spanish* Rapier in his Hand, and the Effigies of a Lyon in Brass hanging upon his Breast. As for his Queen and the Noblemens Wives, they saw none of them, but his Daughters he commanded into the Room, in Compliment to the Captain, and to dance with the *English* Gentlemen after Dinner was taken away. The other Women that appear'd were perfectly naked, and

1596. and seemingly very much asham'd of being so; their Modesty told 'em they ought not to appear so before Men, and especially Strangers, and such as they saw very well cloth'd too, and therefore they were very busie to hide as much of themselves as was possible, when they came into the presence.

Customs of the Country.

The Custom of this Country allows of *Polygamy*, but punishes *Adultery* with a severe Death; a Man must here have a great care how he enters into any sort of dalliance with his Neighbour's Wife, for they are very jealous, and that Fire seldom is quench'd but by the Blood of him that kindled it. Tho' they have no Clothes, yet they are very fond of having them, and seem to set a great value upon 'em, and therefore won't stick to exchange any of their Commodities for an old Wastcoat, a Cap, or a pair of Gloves. The Maids in this Country are not suffer'd to wear Garters till they are married, and then upon the Wedding-night they have a pair put on, ty'd exceeding hard and strait; whatever the reason of this be, 'tis certain that neither Maids nor Wives do want Garters to keep their Stockings from falling down about their Heels. Men and Women wear their Hair of the same length, and cut in the same fashion, and they bore their Ears and Lips alike. They have one common place for eating, where (all the Men at least) dine together; the King himself sits in the same Room with the rest, only at the best end of it, and accompanied with three or four of the most considerable Persons among them. Their Meats are the fine Fruits of the Country, their Bread *Cassavi*, their Drink *Water*, or sometimes made of the *Cassavi*, but they make a better still of their *Pines*, and the best of all of *Potatoes*, which is reserv'd only for the King's Cup.

Desire to learn the English Tongue.

These People express'd a mighty desire to learn the *English* Tongue, and in order to get as many Words as they could, they would point to all the parts of their Bodies in order, and repeat the Names of the several parts in their own Language, and so make signs to have it told in *English*, and when this was once done, they would never rest till they had the Word that was told them perfectly, or at least perfectly right in their own apprehension. One of their greatest Errours was, in making Dissyllables of Monosyllables, thus, for *Chin* they would say *Chin-ne*, for *Lip*, *Lip-pe*, and the like.

Virgin Islands.

His Lordship with the Fleet set sail from *Dominica* for the *Virgin Islands*. These are a knot of little Islands wholly uninhabited, sandy, barren, and craggy; amongst them there is one call'd *The Bird Island*, and that from the incredible numbers of Birds found there: There needs no Snares nor other Artifices to take 'em, for a Man may catch with his Hands alone almost enough to serve a whole Fleet.

Bird Island.

Dangerous Passage thro' the Virgin Islands.

Here the Earl having landed and muster'd all his Men, declar'd in a full Assembly his design of going to *Porto Rico*; and as there were two ways of going thither, either thro' these *Virgin Islands*, or thro' the *Passages*, so they concluded rather to take the latter Course than the former, as being both the more safe and the better known by the Seamen, tho' at the same time the other is much the nearer, and some of the Fleet had also gone it before with Sir *Francis Drake*; but (as was said) this was the more dangerous way of the two, and his Lordship chose rather to be the first that took *Porto Rico* than the second that pass'd the *Virgins*.

Being come without any trouble or danger to the desired place, (the Island of *Porto Rico*) they landed near a thousand Men, and march'd towards the Town, not less ignorant of the right way than they were desirous to find it: They pass'd over horrid Cliffs and Rocks, having only a Negro for their Guide, who, if he understood the right way, was yet so terribly frightned that he had not Sence enough left to tell 'em.

Difficulties the English met with in their march.

Between the Cliffs, on which they were drawn up, and the Island on which the Town stood, was a little Arm of the Sea not exceeding a Gunshot in breadth; here the *Spaniards* fired upon 'em from a Fort hard by, tho' without doing any mischief, but if they had they must have endur'd it, for there was no getting over, the Boats having not yet found any landing place thereabouts. At last, after a world of toil, they discover'd a Passage by which the two Islands communicated with one another, but 'twas a narrow hobbling Cawsey, which lead to a Drawbridge, and that Bridge was pull'd up; on the other Bank too there was a strong Barricado, and a little beyond that a Fort with great Guns. The Cawsey was made so rugged for the purpose by the Enemies that our Men chose rather to wade in the Water than to go there upon dry Ground. Several Pieces of Ordnance and good store of Musqueteers scour'd that passage too, so that it may safely be said the Work was hot, and the Attempt arduous and difficult. 1596.

The Assault.

Notwithstanding this the Soldiers press'd on, coming up to the very Gate of the Barricado, and with their Bills and Hatchets began to hew it; at the Ports and Coopholes too they were at the push of Pike with the *Spaniards*, and when they had broke their own, they supplied themselves with others which they wrested out of the Enemies hands; but the Tide came in so fast, that if they fought before up to the Knees in Water, now they did up to the middle; and besides, the Day-light advanc'd as fast as the Tide, and had the *Spaniards* had the advantage of that all the time of the Engagement, 'twould have cost the *English* much more Blood than it did; but it was Night, and so they shot by guess, and not by aim, which was very well for the Troops that came to make this bold assault.

English draw off.

These things, together with the Soldiers weariness under the burden of the hard service, made 'em retire: As for the Earl, he was carried off before extreamly ill, having fallen into the Sea off from the Cawsey, where (by the weight and incumbrance of his Armour) he was very near drowning. But the next attack was follow'd with better success, and indeed because the Design was better laid and more politickly carried on; for while a Party of Musquetteers was employ'd to beat the Enemy from their Ordnance on one side, another of Shot and Pikes was set ashore on the other side between the Fort and the Town; and the former play'd their parts so well, that the latter had a fair opportunity of landing without disturbance: The issue of this was, that the *Spaniards*, after a brisk resistance, were oblig'd to quit their Fort, and leave it to be possess'd by the *English*.

Earl's danger.

First Fort taken.

Now their way was clear to the Town of *Porto Rico* it self, and a woody narrow passage it was, fit for Ambuscades and to be guarded by such as don't care to fight in the open Field, but there were no *Spaniards* there to dispute their march; neither was there any room for a Dispute when they came to the Town it self, for all the military Men had quitted it, and left only Women and feeble Old-age or (which is as bad) sick and wounded to keep possession. The Refuge the Soldiers had betaken themselves to was a strong Fort to the Seaward, call'd *Fort Mora*; this was now all their Hope and Confidence, and here they resolv'd to defend themselves with the utmost Constancy and Vigour: 'Tis very likely they intended to do so, but Famine and great Guns together (especially when both are very importunate) do often make Men change their Minds in these cases; and so 'twas here, for by that time the Ordnance had so prepar'd the Walls that the Sun began to shine thro' them, and the Soldiers Bellies (for want of Victuals) were grown troublesom and clamorous, they had quite lost those stiff Resolutions of maintaining the Fort to the last extremity, and were become tractable and ready to yield. First they accepted of a Truce, then a Parley, next they propos'd their own Terms, and lastly submitted to those offer'd 'em by the *English*; the sum of 'em was, *That upon condition of a speedy Surrender, all their Lives should be spar'd, the Officers and Soldiers should carry off their portable Arms, and the Earl should provide them a passage from the Island.* Accordingly the Governour and all his Company (to the number of four hundred) came out, and deliver'd the Keys to his Lordship, who immediately went in and erected his own Colours and Sir *John Barkley's* upon the two Points of the Fort.

Town deserted.

Fort Mora surrenders.

This Fort to the Seaward was exceeding strong, and furnish'd with very brave Ordnance, and those mounted as advantageously as could be desir'd; it's impossible that any Ship should pass that Point to the Sea, if the Fort don't grant her passage; and then riding without the Harbour is very dangerous too, so that it had all the command upon the Sea imaginable. Besides this, in the West and by South part of the Town there was a very strong Castle, full of all sorts of Ammunition; and between this and Fort *Mora* another hardy Fortification, that coasts along the Sea, and beats the Harbour; so that considering all things, it may well be admir'd how a place of such strength as *Porto Rico* was, fell so easily into the hands of the *English*. They lost two Men, and no more, but one would have expected that the Guns of two or three Forts should have made a larger Bill of Mortality for that Action.

The strength of *Porto Rico*.

City describ'd.

The Town of *Porto Rico* is fair and well built, having several large handsom Streets, and Houses built after the *Spanish* manner, strong and neat, and of two stories only; 'tis larger than all *Portsmouth* within the Fortifications, and to the sight much more agreeable. It has a fine Monastery and Cathedral, that might be said to be handsom (tho' not like ours in *England*) were it not for the disgraceful

1596. graceful Windows, which are of Canvaſs inſtead of Glaſs; but indeed there is not a bit of Glaſs in all the City, and therefore wherever there ſhould be Windows they have either little wooden Doors or this Canvaſs *Medium*, which is ſomething the more tranſparent and pervious of the two; the only difference is, that the former, when ſhut, make dark night in a Houſe, and the others a ſort of a *Crepuſculum*, which is melancholy enough of conſcience, tho' better too than midnight darkneſs.

Breezes. The violent heats at this place are very happily qualified by a fine cool breeze, that begins at eight in the morning, and blows on till four or five in the Afternoon; from ſix till the breeze riſes 'tis ſultry hot, and from the time it ends till midnight is the worſt of all the 24 hours.

Serenas. 'Tis reckon'd dangerous and unhealthy being abroad at any of theſe ſeaſons, becauſe of the *Serena's* (a ſort of malignant Dews) that fall and often do miſchief to them that are wet by 'em; they are call'd *Serena's*, becauſe they always fall when the air is calm and ſtill, and without any diſturbance from the breezes.

The Situation of *Porto Rico* is very delightful, for it ſtands upon the brow of an eaſie Hill, and is encompaſs'd very near on three parts by the Sea. The Soil is light and ſandy; the Climate, tho' hot, is otherwiſe reputed healthy (at leaſt to the Natives of it); 'tis true, the Experience of our *Engliſh* did pretty conſiderably confute the pretended Character of its healthineſs, (as we ſhall afterwards ſee) but they were Strangers, and not us'd to the Climate; thoſe that always breath'd that Air were ſtrong and vigorous at the years that Nature ordinarily begins to droop and die away.

Deſcription of the little Iſland where on the City ſtands. All the reſt of the little Iſland upon which the City ſtands (which is at leaſt half a league in length) is alſo a very pleaſant fertile ſpot; 'tis ſo full of green, that one may term it one entire Wood; the Trees complain of the want of artful care and dreſſing, yet 'tis hard to find any that languiſh ſo far under the neglect, as to withhold its meaſure of Fruit. In theſe Woods a Botaniſt might walk with pleaſure, and ſee great Varieties before him; Oxen and other Animals may be turn'd in here, and will come forth as fat as Butter to their Owners. But notwithſtanding, there are ſome pieces of Ground that are enclos'd and carefully dreſt, rais'd into Hillocks like our Hop-gardens, and every one of thoſe laden with ſome Fruit or other of the Country.

The beſt Limons and Oranges that can be ſeen almoſt, grow without any manner of coſt or attendance; and then in and about the Town are great ſtore of Cocao-Nuts, which, beſides their excellent Fruit, are an Ornament and a delightful Shade to it.

In this little Iſland there's not any River or Spring of Water, but every Houſe in the City has a large Well, (and ſome two) and theſe are fill'd by the Rain, which is both frequent and plentiful in thoſe parts.

Commodities. The moſt eminent and known Commodities are *Ginger*, *Suga*, and *Hides*; 'tis certain that there are Gold

Gold Mines. Mines too, but they are neglected, the Treaſure is kept faſt lock'd up in the bowels of the Earth, and none attempts to dig open thoſe Coffers: The *Spaniards* muſt needs know a very good reaſon for this, ſince there's no queſtion to be made but the Gold of this Country is as amiable and charming a thing as that which comes from the rich Mines of *Peru*: They don't uſe to deſpiſe this Metal at ſuch a rate, and their not attempting to get it here, is a certain proof that 'tis either becauſe they cannot or dare not.

Now we muſt paſs over from this little Iſland where

Main Iſland. the City ſtands, to the great and main Iſland of *Porto Rico*, and make our Obſervations there alſo.

This Iſland lies Eaſt and Weſt, its figure oblong, the length about thirty ſix leagues, and the breadth twenty, and almoſt every where the ſame. At the Weſt end the two Corners do jut out ſo far as to make a goodly Bay betwixt 'em, into which a large River would diſcharge it ſelf, but cannot, being hinder'd by the Sand which the Sea throws up in the mouth of the River.

The Rivers. The moſt remarkable Rivers are *Toa* and *Baiamond*, both which run into the City-Harbour; the former is much the bigger, and falls more with the Weſt of the City, the latter with the South-weſt part of the ſame. *Toa* riſes out of a Mountain call'd *Guiamo*, on the South ſide of the main Iſland, and about fifteen or ſixteen leagues from the Town to the Eaſtward; from this Mountain it runs Northward in one great ſtream to the Mountain *Carous*, and there it parts it ſelf into two Rivers, the one of which runs to *Luiſa*, a Town ſix leagues to the Eaſtward of *Porto Rico*, and the other (as before ſaid) to *Porto Rico* it ſelf, where it mingles with the ſalt Water in the Harbour. *Baiamond* has its riſe betwixt the diviſion of the two ſtreams of *Toa*, from whence running a ſort of a North-eaſterly courſe, it carries it ſelf to *Porto Rico* Harbour. Beſides theſe, there are Rivers and 1596. Rivulets, Springs and Fountains, without name or number, only this is to be obſerv'd, that moſt of thoſe that run Northerly have the names of the Towns and Villages that are ſituated by 'em; for beſides *Cuama* River, that riſes in the County of *Cuama* and runs into the South Sea, and beſides that on which St. *Jacomo* (otherwiſe call'd *Salamanca*) is ſituated, towards the Weſt end of the Iſland near Cape *Roxo*; beſides theſe, I ſay, all the others of any note run to the Leeward of the Iſland, and fall into the Northern Sea: As, firſt and next to *Porto Rico* to the Weſtward you have the River (and Town) of *Sabuco*, next to it *Guiamo*, then the *Reiba*, betwixt which and the *Languada* is another River whoſe name our Relaters could not tell: This River *Languada* (which alſo gives name to the Weſtern end of the Iſland, where Sir *Francis Drake* water'd) is next to the Bay choak'd with Sand, of which mention was made before. In this ſame Bay, at the North-weſt point, is the River *Gawaraba*, which the violence of the Sea has made unfit for Navigation; ſo that the paſſage to St *Domingo* and other Leeward parts of the *Weſt-Indies* is moſt commonly from the *Languada*, that is when the People of that Weſtern end of the Iſland have any buſineſs that way.

Gold to be found in the Rivers of Porto Rico. Now all theſe Rivers in general are very rich in Gold, and a man may ordinarily find it there as ſoon as he looks for it; and therefore one of the *Spaniards* plainly told the Earl of *Cumberland*, that he could not thruſt a Spade into any of thoſe Rivers, but he would fetch out Gold; and Experience put the truth of this Report out of doubt, for when a parcel of the Gravel was taken up, after waſhing away the Sand and Duſt, there were Gold-grains left behind, and a good quantity too in proportion to the Gravel.

The Soil. The Soil of this Iſland is a fat black Mould, and at two foot deep you have a Stratum of reddiſh Clay, which is an infallible mark by which our *Engliſh* Graſiers know their battle and feeding Grounds. The Graſs and Herbage is every where exceeding rank and high, wanting only good ſtore of Mouths to overcome that luxuriancy, and reduce it to that degree of fineneſs moſt commended with us in *England*.

The Iſland has all over a pleaſant variety of Plains, Valleys, and Hills, amongſt which latter there is a very high one call'd the *Lequido*, which (they ſay) is enrich'd with Gold Mines: Moſt of 'em indeed have the ſame character with the Rivers, namely, to yield this noble Metal; a happy Country for a covetous Man, who may here, either by Land or Water, meet with the ſatisfaction of his deſires.

Beſides the large Plains upon which the Flocks and Herds do roam about, (with ſuch an uncontroul'd liberty that they do almoſt grow wild) there's abundance of fine champion Ground taken up with their *Stanjes* and *Ingenio's*, that is, their Ginger and Sugar Plantations.

Ingenio's and Stanjes. The *Ingenio's* are commonly upon ſome River, or near ſome marſhy waterith places, becauſe the Sugar-canes proſper beſt in a Ground of that nature; and not only for that reaſon, but alſo becauſe they have occaſion for Water for the uſe of their Mills, tho' in many of their Mills they uſe no force for the turning of 'em, but only that of Men and Horſes. The *Stanjes* are generally in the more inward parts of the Country, and yet they deſire a convenient nearneſs to ſome River or other, upon account of the more eaſie tranſportation of the Ginger to *Porto Rico*, from whence they diſpatch that and other Commodities for foreign Countries.

Animals. Amongſt the Animals ſerviceable to human life which this Iſland affords, there is of none ſo mighty a plenty as of Beeves; the numbers of them are almoſt incredible, and 'tis affirm'd for a truth by the Natives, that one rich Beeves, great plenty of 'em *Spaniard* alone, for his ſhare, could ſhew 12000 head of this ſort of Cattle. This was in the Weſterly parts of the Iſland too, which are reckon'd far unfitter for feeding than the Eaſterly; and if the worſt and pooreſt Ground be able to produce and maintain at that rate, what then is the richeſt able to do? Upon this ſcore 'tis alſo ſaid that they value the Hides of theſe Creatures far more than the Meat it ſelf, and therefore they won't be angry with any man that kills for his own neceſſity, provided he has but ſo much honeſty as to bring the Hides home to the right owner: The Hides indeed are one of the grand Commodities of the Iſland, and conſidering that they have ſuch vaſt numbers of Cattle, and alſo that they are ſo very large and fair as they are, 'tis eaſie to imagin that they make good ſound profit this way. The very Kine themſelves are (as to all their dimenſions) comparable to our *Engliſh* Oxen.

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1596. But the Horſes of this Country are as much worſe than ours as their Beeves are better; they have neither the graceful aſpect, the noble ſtature, nor the eaſie motion of ours; they are all a parcel of dull heavy trotters, fit only for thoſe vulgar hackney uſes to which they are generally put.

Horſes.

Sheep and Goats. The Sheep and Goats are not very numerous, tho' there are Flocks of the one and Herds of the other ſort to be ſeen up and down; 'tis not that the Iſland does not afford 'em a ſufficient maintenance, but there is another reaſon, particularly relating to the Sheep, why there are ſo few of them; the buſineſs is, that there are vaſt troops of wild Dogs that live in the Woods, and when their Livelihood fails 'em there, they ſally out upon the Flocks of Sheep, and ſupply their wants that way. What they generally live upon are, the Crabs that are found in thoſe Woods in great numbers, and have their Holes or Berries there as Coneys have: Some of thoſe Crabs are black, and very ugly to look on, others of a much brighter colour, and theſe they ſay are good meat enough, tho the Dogs make no diſtinction between black and white, but devour all they light on.

*And then when Crabs grow ſcarce, or they weary of that ſort of Food, they go a Mutton-hunting, as was ſaid before; and thus between the Woods and the Plains they make a ſhift to pick up a Live'lihood. As for the Goats, they live more ſecure and quiet than the Sheep; they keep upon the Cliffs of the Rocks and the tops of high Hills, far enough out of the way of theſe ravenous Currs.

They tell us further, that when the City of *Porto Rico* was deſerted by the *Spaniards* all the Dogs of that place quitted it too, and might be ſeen going in whole droves together into the Woods in the day-time; perhaps they expected no mercy at the hands of their new Maſters, and that thoſe that had driven away their old ones would certainly give them no Meat, and ſo took this courſe to provide for themſelves in the Woods, where they were ſure not to ſtarve as long as the generation of Crabs laſted; and by this means they would grow wild and ravenous too by degrees, loſe all the breeding and civil qualities of the Town, and conform themſelves to the rude manners of the reſt of their Kindred that were planted there before.

The Iſland abounds alſo with excellent Hogs, the Pork made of which is ſaid to be as fine and ſweet as any in the World. Hares and Coneys there ſeem to be but few of, but to make up for that Defect, the abundance of Poultry, as Cocks, Hens, Guinney-hens, Turkies, &c. may very reaſonably be alledg'd. Pigeons are in few places ſo good and ſo plentiful as here; and not to mention other places, there are two or three little Iſles juſt by *Porto Rico*, near the mouth of the River *Toa*, where a Boat may go in a Morning or an Evening and take preſently nine, ten, or twelve dozen.

Fowl.

Parats and Paraketo's are here (both for numbers and the little account that is made of 'em) as Crows and Jackdaws are in *England*, a man may ſee 'em in whole flocks together, and 'tis only ſome very extraordinary one that happens to be valued at a higher rate than one of thoſe very vulgar Birds before mention'd is with us.

The Province is ſomething larger to deſcribe the Vegetable Productions of the Iſland than the Animals of it: Potatoes are very common amongſt them; their Pines are in ſhape like a Pine-apple, but not at all in taſte, nor to the Hand that feels 'em, for that which encloſes it is ſo ſoft that it may eaſily be ſqueez'd to pieces. The Fruit is very apt to mellow, and conſequently will not keep long; 'tis of a very delicious taſte, and muſt be eaten moderately; ſome of 'em are at leaſt a quarter of a yard long, and proportionably thick; the Vegetable that bears it is ſomething like an Artichoke.

Fruits.

Pines.

Mammels. The *Mammeis* are a Fruit of a dark-ruſſet colour, the Rind of it very thick, which being pull'd off, diſcover a yellow well-taſted Pulp ſomething like a Carrot, but much better; within this there lie two or three great, rugged, ill-ſhap'd Stones, which whether they have Kernels in 'em or no, is not told us.

Guiavas. The *Guiavas* are as big as a Peach, and in the outſide not much unlike, but within vaſtly different, and more like a Gooſeberry, only the Seeds of this Pulp are not ſo green as thoſe of the Gooſeberry, but inclining rather to a red.

Papaies. The *Papaies* are a Fruit like an Apple, but of a wateriſh unpleaſing taſte.

Plums. Their black and white *Plums* have much bigger Stones and much leſs Meat than ours in *England*, but they have a good Medicinal Quality attending 'em, which is to help the *Flux*, and this alſo the *Guiavas* and *Papaies* have in common with them.

The *wild Grapes* are as big as a good Muſquet Bullet, but they have ſo large a Stone, that the eatable part is very inconſiderable; but this is as improperly call'd a *Stone* as the Fruit it ſelf is call'd a *Grape*, for as the latter has little reaſon to be call'd ſo, except only upon the account of its growing in cluſters as Grapes do (and many other Fruits beſides them) ſo the former deſerves the name of a *Stone*, more for its lying encloſ'd with the meat of the Fruit than its hardneſs, denſity, or any other ſuch reſemblance. On the other hand 'tis ſo ſoft, that it may be ſqueez'd together with one's Finger without difficulty; and within it lies a Kernel of a bitteriſh unpleaſant taſte, whereas the Cortex it ſelf is of a very good and grateful one.

1596. Wild Grapes.

There's no need of deſcribing their *Plantans*, *Cocao's*, and *Palmeto's*, which are known well enough from the deſcriptions given of theſe Fruits and their reſpective Trees, in the accounts of other Countries.

Plantans, Cocao's, Palmeto's.

Beſides theſe, the Iſland yields *Figgs*, *Pomegranates*, *Muſkmelons*, *Pomecitrons*, *Limes* and *Oranges* in vaſt plenty; the *Oranges* are extreamly fair, and well-taſted, but the *Pomecitrons* grow to that bigneſs, that to report 'em as great as ſome have ſaid 'em to be, would perhaps be to expoſe them and their Teſtimony to Cenſure.

They have *Pepper* alſo amongſt 'em, much hotter and ſtronger than the black Pepper commonly us'd with us; 'tis ſmall, and betwixt a *white* and *yellow* colour, encloſ'd in a little Bag, which is ſometimes very round, and ſometimes ſhoots out long and picked. If one ſurveys any of theſe Trees, one may ſee the pleaſing variety of *Buds*, *green* and *ripe Fruit*, and many times *Seed*, all at the ſame time.

Pepper.

The Vegetables that ſerve the Inhabitants with Materials for the main Staff of Life (their Bread) are the *Caſſavie*, *Maiz*, and *Rice*. *Caſſavie* is the Root of a ſmall Tree ſomething like an overgrown *Hyſſop-buſh*, only the Leaves of the *Caſſavie* are not ſo broad, tho' they ſtand much thicker and cloſer together. This Root is very full of Juice, which muſt be carefully preſt out before the remaining part is fit to make Bread; the *Spaniards* generally eſteem it a ſort of Poyſon, tho' the Experience of ſome of our *Engliſhmen* (who miſtaking thoſe Roots for *Potatoes*, eat 'em without any ſuch preparation, and that without any ill conſequences) be a ſufficient refutation of that Opinion. The *Caſſavie* Bread is extream white, they don't knead it into Loaves, but roul it out into Cakes of a moderate thickneſs.

Caſſavie, of which they make Bread.

The Bread made of the *Maiz* is much finer than the former, and commonly us'd by the better ſort of People. Of this Grain there are two ſorts, a ſmaller, not unlike *Rice* in bigneſs and taſte, and the greater ſort, very like the *Guincy Wheat*; it grows upon a knotted Stalk with large ſcatter'd Leaves like a Reed, riſing up a fathom and a half in height, and at the very top ſhoots out the Grain.

Maiz.

Rice.

The Iſland would bear (without queſtion) other ſorts of Grain, if the Inhabitants would be at the trouble of Tillage and Sowing; nay, one of the rich *Spaniards* did make the Experiment, and had a noble Crop; but they won't take care for Bread themſelves, when Nature has taken that care for 'em, and furniſh'd 'em with Materials ready to their hands.

As for the Drinks they uſe, they are but of two ſorts beſides common Water, and theſe only or chiefly us'd by the *Spaniards* too, the former of which is made of Moloſſes and Spices together, and the latter (which the beſt People drink) of high Spices alone. All the Wines they have are brought from other Countries, for out of ſome point of Policy or other they are not ſuffer'd to plant or dreſs Vineyards themſelves.

Amongſt all the reſt of the Vegetables of this Country, the *Senſitive Plant* is not to be forgotten: 'Tis a very low contemptible thing to look upon, very near creeps upon the ground, and ſeldom lifts up it ſelf above the height of a hand from it: The *Phænomenon* (of a ſtrange contraction, and ſhrinking up it ſelf) which this Plant preſents to the Eye of him that touches it, is known well enough; we need only ſay farther of it, that 'tis a very common one in the Iſland of *Porto Rico*, ſince the Plant it ſelf grows in ſo many places as it does.

Senſitive Plant.

Having thus run over the Deſcription of this place, we muſt return back to our *Engliſh*, whom we ſaw in the ſecure and quiet poſſeſſion of it, and whoſe Affairs we are yet a little farther to enquire into.

The Earl of *Cumberland* had fully determin'd to keep this Iſland and City of *Porto Rico* in his hands, which he had ſo fortunately taken, for he look'd on it as the main Key of the *Indies*, and that which would let him into all the Treaſures of that rich part of the World: And this

Deſign

Design did not only please his Lordship himself, but was highly agreeable also to all the *English* there under his command, insomuch that those look'd upon themselves to be very signally favour'd whose Names were enroll'd in the List of them that were appointed to stay: But a new and unexpected Scene appearing, quite broke all these measures; for a violent Flux carried off so many of our Men, that the number left could not be sufficient both for manning the Fleet home and keeping the place too. They came ashore at first above a thousand in number, but now they were so reduc'd by this Distemper, that they could hardly reckon half so many; and then the Discouragement was so great, that those that should stay behind could look upon themselves no other than as Sacrifices to the same furious Distemper, that had swept away so many of their Companions. Upon all these accounts the Earl resolv'd not to stay here, but yet was willing to bring the *Spaniards* (if possible) to some Terms for the ransom of their Island and City before he went: And this they made several Pretensions to do, and came to some Treaties about it, but in fine they appear'd to deal very coldly and indifferently in the matter, and to have some other treacherous Designs on foot.

Sickness at *Porto Rico.*

The Earl finding this, and having also some other Game in his Eye, (the pursuit after which would not suffer him to lose any more time) set sail himself from *Porto*, leaving Sir *John Barkley* there, as well with the better half of the Fleet as full Power and Commission to do all things in his absence. How long this latter Person staid after the Earl was gone, is not certain; as also neither what conclusion was made of that Affair between the *Spaniards* and them; but this is certain, that after a most prodigious Storm, (in which both the Fleets were very near overwhelm'd) Sir *John*'s Ships came up with the Earl's at the Island of *Flores*.

The Earl departs.

This fierce Storm had been preceded by a Calm every whit as wonderful; it continued without intermission for the space of thirteen days, and the Air violently hot and sultry all the while: But that which was most considerable was, that all the time of this Calm the Sea ran monstrously high, and during the whole Voyage they had not seen greater Seas rais'd by a boisterous Wind, than now they saw without any Wind at all.

Strange Calm and Storm.

From Island *Flores* (without any remarkable Adventure) they proceeded in their Voyage for *England*.

And this is the last of the Voyages perform'd by this Honourable Person, at least that we have an account of. He was a man of admirable Abilities both in Civil and Military Affairs; he knew how to fight, and, as well how to govern, and had Virtues capable of rendring him equally illustrious both in War and Peace. He was so excellent a Person, that it can hardly be said what was wanting *in* him; but yet there was a very considerable thing wanting *to* him, namely, a steady gale of good Fortune: Had his Successes been answerable to his Merit and Abilities, or but in some tolerable proportion to his fair Projects and Contrivances, his Character had been glorious to a degree that not many of our own Nation have exceeded. But this must be said of him (tho' without the least imputation of blame imaginable) that for the most part his Designs were better laid than executed; he had not the good Luck he had a just Title to, nor did he come off in his Enterprizes so well rewarded as he deserv'd to be: Considering the vast Expences he was at in building, hiring, and furnishing of Ships, perhaps his Voyages did not encrease his Estate; and 'tis observable particularly, that the Booty brought off from this *Porto Rico* Expedition was only some quantities of Hides, Ginger and Sugar, eighty pieces of Ordnance, and about a thousand Ducatoons-worth of Pearl, which was a Prize that accidentally came into their hands.

CHAP. II.

The Relation of the Adventures of Peter Carder, *his Dangers at Sea, and Difficulties at Land upon the Continent of* America, *as well amongst the Savages as* Spaniards.

The Author one of Sir Fra. Drake's Company.

THIS Person was one of those who went along with Sir *Francis Drake*, in his so celebrated Voyage round the World; he did not finish that Voyage with him, being separated from the rest of the Company by an Accident, which gave occasion to these his following Adventures.

'Twas about or pretty near the *Magellanick Straits* that our Author, with seven more, were commanded by Admiral *Drake* to attend (in a small Pinnace) the return of one of the Ships which was gone out of sight of the rest; and 'twas in this expectation that bad Weather, coming suddenly upon them, drove 'em so uncertainly about, that they quite lost the opportunity of recovering their Ship again: They were certainly very ill provided for such a Disaster, for besides that they had no Nautical Furniture, no Instrument, Chart nor Compass to guide themselves by, they had not Provisions for above one day, and that term of time expir'd, they must be sure to pinch if some better luck did not bring 'em to a place where they might be supplied. However, after they had beat thus about for a matter of two days, they happily recover'd the Shore, where they reliev'd themselves with Muscles, Oysters and Crabs, and some wild Roots in the Woods.

Lose their Ship.

Come to the *Magellanick Straits.*

When they had staid here a while, they return'd back to the *Magellanick Straits*, where they staid long enough also to lay in a small stock of Eatables and fresh Water, and then sail'd away to *Pengwin Island*, to furnish themselves with some of those Fowl which the Island affords so plentifully, and from whence it has its Name.

Port *Julian.*

Island of *Seals.*

From thence they shap'd their Course for Port S. *Julian*, and then coasting the Land some hundreds of leagues beyond the River of *Plate*, they found an Island three leagues from the Main very full of Seals; of these they took a good number, and found the young ones roasted a very grateful meat.

Having pass'd over the River of *Plate* to the North side, they put into a small River, and landing six of their Men, they went up into the Woods, while the other two staid behind to look to the Boat.

The Natives assault and wound 'em.

These Men thus traversing the Woods for Victuals, had the hard fortune to light upon sixty or seventy of the Natives, who, as soon as they saw 'em, sent their Arrows very fiercely amongst 'em, wounded all the six very grievously, carried off four Prisoners, and pursu'd the other two to the Pinnace, from whence, by the help of the others that remain'd there, they were with difficulty repel'd; but, in short, they left such effects of their Fury behind 'em, that of the four Survivers two died of their Wounds, and only *Carder* with one more was left to go thro' the remaining course of their Misfortunes.

The misery of the two Englishmen.

They were now in this desolate state upon a little Island some three leagues off from the place where these Miseries first came upon 'em, and that which added no small aggravation to all the rest was, that now they lost their Pinnace too, which the foul Weather dash'd upon the Rocks, so that they look'd upon themselves as Prisoners here without hope of redemption. They liv'd two months in this place, feeding only upon small Eels and Crabs which they got out of the Sand, and a sort of Fruit resembling an Orange, growing upon a very high Tree with a Leaf something like an Aspen-leaf. As for Water they could find none, after a diligent search thro' the whole Island, so that they were forc'd to drink their own Urine, which they chose rather than the other sort of salt Water, which the neighbouring Ocean would plentifully have supplied them with.

Such Extremities as these being not longer to be endur'd, their Invention (sharpned by the urging violence of 'em) set it self on work to find means of deliverance; and here being miserably streightned for want of Tools and Materials too, they could accomplish nothing farther than the making of a sorry thing that was to serve them for a Boat, and might be call'd so upon the account of its design'd use, tho' not for any other resemblances; 'twas a Plank of about ten foot long, which the Sea had some

1596. way or other brought up to 'em; to this they bound some other pieces of Wood with Withes and Branches of Trees, and having furnish'd it with a little stock of Provision, and two long Poles instead of Oars, they invok'd the assistance of Providence and put out to Sea. It was but three leagues between the little Island where they were and the main Land, but with this pitiful Tackling they made so little way, and row'd so badly, that it was three days and two nights before they reach'd it.

They get to the Main. The first Comfort they met with upon their coming ashore was a Rivulet of very sweet and pleasant Water; this was the Entertainment they had so long desir'd and so miserably wanted in the desolate Island, and therefore having it thus luckily presented to 'em at first dash, their Appetites were violently excited by it: *Carder*, tho' he was as thirsty as the other, yet govern'd his Appetite with Prudence and drank moderately, at the same time advising his Companion to do the like, but he, spurr'd on by his raging Thirst, neglected that good Counsel, and drank so excessively, that within half an hour after he gave his Friend the extream trouble of seeing him die before his face. Now *Carder* had nothing to do but to bury him, and shift for himself in this lonely circumstance as well as he could: 'Twas a comfort to him that he had some Arms with him, which notwithstanding were no more than a Sword and a Target, and thus accoutred he march'd along the shore towards *Brasile*.

One dies.

The other meets the Indians. He had gone no long Journey before he met a troop of Savages arm'd with *Bows* and *Arrows*, and a sort of *Tribors* instead of *Drums*; they went dancing before him about a Musquet-shot off, and then stopt and hung up a piece of Cotton Network upon a Stick about seven foot high, after which they danc'd on to the same distance as before. When *Carder* came up to this mark, he took it in his hands and look'd upon it, and so hung it in its place again; and then it was that the *Indians* (who all this time carefully observ'd his motions) beckon'd and call'd him to advance up to 'em: With what heart the poor man did this, may easily be imagin'd; however, they receiv'd him in a much more friendly manner than he expected, and having taken him into their company, they continued dancing along till they came to the place where they intended to repose for that night: This was by the side of a River; here they fastned their Hanging-beds to the Trees, and made Fires, as well for security from wild Beasts as from the cold Damps and Vapours of the Night; after this they brought out the Provision, and having given the *Englishman* a portion with them, they left him to his rest.

They use him kindly.

The next morning they bestirr'd themselves very early, and having taken down their Beds from the Trees and pack'd them up, they began to march, and continued it that day for twenty miles, which brought 'em to their desir'd Journeys-end, the Town where the King then resided.

Their Town, and his Entertainment there. This Town consisted but of four Houses, and yet contain'd very near four thousand People; the truth on't is, every House was as big as a little Parish, being four-square, and every side two Bow-shot in length; they were built all of small Trees, and cover'd down to the ground with Palm-leaves; there were thirty or forty Doors on every one of the sides, by which all the several Families that inhabited them had their own peculiar ways of going in and out. Into this Wood of a Town was our *English man* brought, and presented to the mighty Prince of the same, who was pleas'd to entertain him after so civil and hospitable a manner, that he had no small cause to be surpriz'd at it: The very next day after his arrival the King sent some of his Men abroad to fetch in all the varieties of Provision that the neighbouring Country afforded, which were Fish, (both Sea and Fresh-water) several sorts of Fowl, Beasts, Roots, and Fruits, and of all this he lent him enough, both for his own occasions and also to pleasure some of the rest of the *Indians*, in whose friendship he got no small Interest by this means. Thus he liv'd amongst 'em void of all fear and apprehension of any danger, their kind and free way of treating him perfectly taking away all thoughts of that kind.

Having been some months in the Country, he got pretty good skill in their Language, and thereby was capable of informing himself better in their Manners and Customs than by Observation alone he could have done.

Their Manners and Customs. The Religion of this People seem'd mostly to consist in some sort of Devotion they paid to the Moon, and that especially when she was new; then they abounded in all sorts of expressions of Joy and Triumph, they leap'd, they danc'd and clapt their Hands, and with all the Raptures imaginable welcom'd the new Light. Their King is allow'd to have as many Wives as he will, but the Subjects must be contented with one, except those that are men of courage and Bravery in the Wars, for to such as these two Wives are indulg'd, one to go to the Wars with them, and the other to stay at home to govern the House and Children: This is a good way enough to encourage the Men to be valiant, for as 'tis a comfortable thing to have a good Companion abroad, so 'tis an ease to a man's mind to have a trusty Overseer to manage his Affairs in the mean time at home. 1596.

The only Arms they us'd when our Author first came amongst 'em were *Bows* and *Arrows*, but he added two sorts of Weapons more to their military furniture, (which they never us'd before) and these were Clubs and Targets; the latter he taught 'em how to make of the Bark of a certain Tree, which was strong and stubborn enough to yield 'em a good defence in that capacity. He supplied the place of a General too amongst 'em, lead them out to War, and brought them home victorious, and their Success was in a great measure owing to the Discipline he had introduc'd amongst 'em, and the care he had taken to furnish 'em with such Weapons both for offence and defence, as 'twas to be presum'd their Enemies had not.

He had not been above half a year with 'em before he was put upon this sort of Service, and the People they fought against were entirely routed, and driven out of their Town into the Woods: As for the Soldiers, they gloried in the Plunder of Tobacco and Cotton-beds which the vanquish'd left behind 'em; and the King feasted himself upon the murdered Carcasses, which were broil'd for his own special entertainment. In this practice indeed their savage and barbarous Nature sufficiently appears; they devour human Flesh with an infinite greediness and pleasure, yea, there's hardly any that goes down with 'em so heartily and sweetly as that of their Enemies, and therefore never any Prisoner falls into their hands (if he be worth eating or fit to be so) but he is sacrific'd afterwards without fail; and there's nothing can secure a Man from this fate but some very foul Distemper, which should make him a Poyson to those that were to eat him. In this case the Kings-Evil or the Pox might perhaps be a little protection to a Man, for the strong Stomach of a Savage, it may be, would turn at such a Dish as that; but howsoever a diseas'd or a raw-bon'd Enemy might come off, 'tis certain a plump well-fed one is look'd upon by them with the same Eye that a fat Ox is by a Butcher.

Eating human flesh.

Our Author himself saw this Experiment made several times while he was with them, and that not only upon some of their Prisoners of War, but some *Portuguese* too that accidentally fell into their hands. Their way is to fasten the miserable Sacrifice to a Stake, and then the whole Company dances some time about him, and in the intervals they drink a certain strong Liquor of their own slovenly preparation; after this Ceremony, one of them with a huge massy Club beats out the Wretch's Brains, and then they cut him out into pieces and broil him, and are very merry at the eating of him.

Execution of their Captives.

That Liquor just now mention'd is made by their Women, from a certain Root, in this manner: They first boil it, and then chew it substantially in their Mouths for some time, after which they spit it out into a long Trough and pour Water upon it, and let it lie working there (like Ale) for two or three days, then they take it out and put it into broadmouth'd earthen Jarrs, and so let it stand for use. This Liquor has it seems a considerable strength with it, and they have no inconsiderable love for it, for what between the one and the other, they are very often (both Men and Women) as drunk as Apes with it: But drunk and sottish as they are, they are not to be tax'd with Covetousness, they have no passion at all for Gold and Silver, nor do they feel any of those pains and disquietments that attend the Fever of avaricious Desires in other Minds; to be rich amongst them is to lie soft and easie, upon good Cotton Beds, and to have plenty of Tobacco and strong Drink; in these Enjoyments they possess all the Pleasure they have any notion or conception of, and believe themselves so happy in 'em, that they seek for nothing farther; a very cheap and easie Felicity indeed, that requires nothing else to make it up but good Drink and Tobacco, both which things since their own Country yields 'em, they are in a hopeful way never to be miserable.

Their Liquor.

Contempt of Riches.

These People take a mighty deal of care to make their Valour in War known to others about 'em, and perhaps it costs 'em almost as much to do so as it did to exert at first those acts of Courage which they are so sollicitous about publishing, for there's not a Man they kill in Battel but they make so many holes in their own Faces upon that

Signs of Valour. that score; they begin first with the under Lip, then to the Cheeks, next to the Eyebrows, and lastly to their Ears; all these are perforated in proportion to the number of Men they have kill'd, so that the most horrid and deform'd fellow amongst them is easily known to be the most valiant.

Commodity and product. The great Commodities of this Country are *Brasile-wood*, *Tobacco*, red *Pepper*, and *Cotton-wool*. The Woods abound with *Apes*, *Monkys*, *Armadilloes*, *Hogs* without Tails, and as big as ours; and for *Birds*, the chief are *Parrats*, *Parakeetoes*, *Doves* and *Ostriches*.

He takes his leave of the Indians. Our Author having now staid a considerable time amongst these People, and being pretty well establish'd in the King's Favour and good Opinion, ventur'd to address him for his Liberty: And tho' it might have been reasonably thought that a man so useful and acceptable as he would be very difficultly parted with, yet the King granted his request, and order'd him a Convoy and Provision for his Journey. He travel'd for the space of nine or ten weeks under the Conduct of these *Indians*, who brought him honestly and safely at last to a *Portugal* Town call'd *Bahia Defodes los Santtes*; but here he was like to fall into worse dangers than any he had been in amongst the *Indians*, so much more kind and compassionate were these *Christians* than the *Savages*, for the Governour very quickly told him his Doom, which was, to be kept in Prison there till he was sent into *Portugal*, to spend the rest of his life in the intolerable Slavery of the Galleys. This direful Sentence had infallibly been executed, had it not been for a certain *Portugal* Merchant of that Town, a particular lover of the *English* Nation, and a Person very ready at all times to assist any of them in distress.

Kindly entertain'd by a Portugese. *Carder* being directed to go to this Man at his first coming to Town, found him as kind and good as he was reported to be; he took the forlorn *Englishman* into his protection, entertain'd him at his House, and did all good Offices for him with the Governour; and when all came to all, that he was thrown into Prison, by this Person's Bounty and careful Attendance he was preserv'd from those Miseries which Prisoners (and those Adversaries too) are very frequently expos'd to. At last he was brought to a second hearing before the Governour, the result of which was, That he should be entrusted to the keeping of his *Portugal* Friend till the King of *Portugal*'s Pleasure was known concerning him. It was above a year before any Answer came from *Lisbon* about that matter, but it was then order'd, That the Prisoner should be sure to be forth-coming till a Ship came over to transport him into *Portugal*.

Danger of being sent Prisoner into Portugal. In expectation of this direful Fate he pass'd two years more, spending that time in the oversight of his Friend's Affairs, looking after his Negroes in the Sugar and Ginger Plantations, seeing them cut his *Brasile*-wood, gather the Pepper and the Cotton-wool: At last there came News, that the Ship which was to carry him to his so much fear'd Bondage would arrive in a little time; and now his Friend told him, that he could not possibly protect him if he staid in the Country till the Ship was actually come, so therefore counsel'd him to endeavour his escape in the mean time.

His escape and arrival in England. This good Advice *Carder* put in speedy practise, marching off in a Boat with four Negroes only, under the pretence of going a fishing; the place he got to was *Pernambucca*, where he also obtain'd a happy passage for *England*. After he came home, the fame of his Adventures brought him to *Whitehall*, and introduc'd him into the Queen's presence, who was pleas'd to hear him tell all his Story, and at the conclusion to give him a Reward. He had spent between nine and ten years in these Peregrinations thro' the Western World, having (abating the Kindness of one single Person) met with as bad treatment amongst the Christian *Portugese*, as he did with good amongst the much more Christian *Savages*.

CHAP. III.

The last and most disastrous Voyage of that famous Navigator Mr. Tho. Candish, *extracted out of his own Letter directed to Sir* Tristram Gorges *his Executor.*

1591. Admiral Candish's Fleet. THE Fleet which Admiral *Candish* set out this Expedition consisted of five sail, the *Leicester* Gallion Admiral, the *Roebuck* Vice-Admiral, the *Desire*, the *Dainty*, and the *Black Pinnace*. We must follow them out a great way to Sea before we meet with any thing in their Adventures worth rehearsing.

They made it twenty days from the Coast of *Portugal* till they had sight of the *Canaries*, and having gain'd that, they sail'd away directly towards the Line: Under the Great Calm. *Equinoctial* they lay twenty seven days driving to and fro without a breath of Wind, in which time most of their Men fell sick of the *Scurvy*, the violent heat of the Sun, together with the nocturnal Damps and Vapours, not a little contributing to the bringing this troublesom Malady upon 'em.

After so long a Calm under the Line, a fair North-West Wind began to blow upon 'em, and this serv'd 'em so well, that in twenty days sail they had sight of Land on the Coast of *Brasile*; they knew it must be here that the Land appear'd, tho' ignorant of what particular Part or Quarter of *Brasile* it was; but however, a certain Accident gave them information whereabout they were, for coming near the shore they took a Ship, the Pilot whereof Cape Frio. told them, that they were then at *Cape Frio*, which is twelve leagues from the River of *Jenero*, and thirty from *Santos*, the place which they purpos'd to attempt the taking of. They took nothing in this Vessel worth notice but a Frier, hid very close in a Tub of Meal: This Divine, when he was pull'd out, to be sure made a very pretty figure: in the night he might have pass'd for a Ghost in a Winding-sheet, but a little exercising of his Back with a good Oaken Cudgel would soon have driven away the Ghostlike form, and return'd that of the Frier again.

Ilha Grande. Their new Pilot soon directed them to *Ilha Grande*, which is twelve leagues from *Santos*, and here they refresh'd themselves with Potatoes, and divers other good sort of Roots, such as the place afforded: They met with some few Hogs and Hens too, but as that sort of Provision was very scarce, so they were as quarrelsom and ready to fall together by the ears about it, whenever they got any of it. The plain truth on't is, the Disorders committed at this place were sad Presages of those great Misfortunes that afterwards attended the Voyage; the Soldiers were like so many *Jews* and *Turks* to each other, all shifting for themselves, distrusting their Fellows, and not caring what became of the Publick, so they could but have their own private satisfactions; he that got a good bit went away into some hole or corner of a Wood to make sure on't by himself; neither was there any thing The ill Temper of the Soldiers, and Differences amongst 'em. to be gotten from those that had to spare, except it were by downright force, or fraud, or equal exchange; such horrible sharking was there amongst 'em, that some poor fellows who could not scramble so well as the rest were like to be starv'd, and forc'd to wander in the Woods to get wild Roots to satisfie Nature withal.

A certain company of these Vagabonds had one day better fortune than they expected, for as they were beating about for some Provision in the Woods, they met with a parcel of their Mates that were boxing each other very furiously; the business was, that they had got a wild Hog, which having kill'd and divided into Shares, they could not agree who should have the largest, and so went to try it out that way: But in the mean time, while these fellows were at Loggerheads, the other Party coming in slily, stole away a quarter of the Hog, and went and made merry with it by themselves in another part of the Wood: These happy Thieves afterwards got good store of Roots, and coming home the next day to the Lodgings of some of their Company, they found 'em dressing a parcel of young Whelps for Dinner; they had not so much Pork the day before, but a piece of a young

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Puppey would go down well enough now, and therefore joyning their stock of Roots to the aforemention'd excellent Dish, they were admitted upon that score to dine with 'em.

At this sort of a rate they liv'd at *Ilha Grande*, till the Admiral thought fit to give them some Diversion, by making an attempt upon the Town of *Santos*.

The *Portuguese* Pilot having inform'd them 'twas a very weak place, they concluded that their Long-boat and Shallop only, furnish'd with a hundred Men, would be sufficient for this purpose; and when the time came that the Boats were to be mann'd, they were all so eager of going upon the score of the Plunder they hoped to get, that now as hot a Dispute arose about this point, as did before about dividing of the Hog; the conclusion of the business was, that they began to throw one another overboard as fast as was possible, every man endeavour'd to rid the Boat of him that was next him, so that while all pretended to go, 'twas very likely that no body at all would be left to do so. The Admiral was forc'd to appease this Tumult himself, and by fresh Orders to put the matter out of dispute.

Soldiers eager for ...

Town of Santos seiz'd.

The Party that went out upon this Service very happily executed the Design that was laid, they landed at the very time that the *Portuguese* were at Church in the middle of high Mass, and having thus surpriz'd 'em at their Devotion, they found no great matter of resistance, they easily got the Swords of those People that had any, and so stood there keeping guard upon 'em till the rest of their Company appointed for this Expedition came up to them. They were but twenty three Men that did this Exploit, tho' there were above three hundred *Portuguese* in the Church, besides Women and Children. Those that were left in the Town took the Alarm at the time that the Church was beset, and dispos'd of themselves and their Money into places of more security; but as for them that were taken Prisoners, the Admiral discharg'd them all, except seven or eight of the principal.

The Plunder of the Town consisted in *Succats*, *Sugars*, *Cassavie Meal*, and (which was better than all) pretty good quantities of *Gold* and *Silver*. One fellow that took up his Lodgings in a Frier's Cell, found a Chest of Silver under the good Man's Bed, it contain'd seventeen hundred Rials of Eight, a small Hoard which this devout person had laid up ('tis to be suppos'd) for a time of necessity.

The *Indians* Friends to the *English*

The *Indians* of the Country rejoyc'd mightily at the taking of this place, and desir'd the Admiral to keep it to himself, and never let the *Portuguese* come there more now they were once driven away; they protested they would be all of his side, and to justifie the integrity of their Pretensions, they discover'd to him all the things they knew of, and amongst the rest three great Bags of Money which the *Portuguese* had hid, and guided him to a place where he brought off three hundred head of Cattle, a Stock that serv'd 'em all the time they staid at *Santos*. Most of the Company was for spending the Winter here, but the Admiral refus'd it for many good reasons, that they made it full two months before they went away, and that expence of time was undoubtedly the overthrow of their Voyage. At their going off they burnt the outward part of the Town, destroy'd several of their Sugar-Mills between *Santos* and *San Vincent*, and set fire to all the Ships in the Harbour.

Go to the *Straits*.

From *Santos* they sail'd towards the *Magellanick Straits*, and about the River of *Plate* had a Storm so horrible and amazing, that the Admiral with all his great Courage could not avoid being shock'd at it. The Fleet was miserably tost about and dispers'd, but the Admiral having before appointed Port *Desire* for the place of their general Rendezvouze in case of a separation by any Accidents, the weatherbeaten Ships made in there of their own accord as fast as they could.

Having refresh'd at this Port, they sail'd to the *Straits* Mouth, and finding the Winds there very contrary, were forc'd to lie beating before the Harbour of Port *Famine* at least three days before they could double that Cape; for many times casting Anchor without the Cape, in twenty fathom Water, on a sudden the Current would carry away the Ships with Cables and Anchors afloat: At last with much ado they doubled the Cape, and got into Port *Famine*, where for seven or eight days they were shut up for want of Wind to go forwards: All the while they liv'd on Muscles and the Fruits of the Country, there was no other more substantial Food to be gotten, the Savages themselves (who sometimes visited 'em) were not able to supply 'em: These naked People would return Feathers for whatsoever they gave 'em, and when they made signs to 'em for other Victuals, the others would answer again by signs, that they had none for themselves, but just what they could get by their Darts. They were wonderfully shy and fearful, they would not come any nearer than the distance of a long Pole, by which they reach'd out and receiv'd what pass'd between 'em.

Inhabitants shy of them.

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Their Sufferings by cold.

'Tis easie to be imagin'd that our *Englishmen* must needs be in very disconsolate circumstances at this place, straitned in Provision, and pinch'd with such severe Cold, that 'twas not an easie matter to live under the extremity of it: Many of 'em that were well in the Morning, before Night were frozen to death; and others of 'em endur'd such hardships, that perhaps to die had been a much less unhappy thing. One Person particularly (of whose Adventures we shall hear more hereafter) pulling off his Stockings, pull'd off his Toes along with 'em, having his Feet (mortified with the Cold) as black as Soot at the same time; and another pretending to blow his Nose, blew it quite off, and threw it into the Fire.

They try'd a great many places in the *Straits*, hoping to find better Shelter and more plenty of Provision, but they could meet with none where 'twas possible for Men to live at that time of the Year; yet notwithstanding, in spight of all the Cold and bitter ruffling Winds, as long as they had Ground to anchor in and Tides to help 'em, they kept beating on in the *Straits*, and they pierc'd so far in, that they reckon'd they had made no less than fifty leagues within the *Straits* Mouth. The only tolerable place they came to was a sort of a Harbour, where all the advantage they had, was perhaps not to die quite so fast of the Cold, and to be something less expos'd to the fury of those extravagant Winds that were then blowing; but for all this, the Men died so fast, that if they staid there much longer, 'twas certain, they would have no Men at all left; and had the Men been invincible by the severities of the Weather, yet the Sails and other Tackling of the Ships were not, for they decay'd and wasted apace, so that they were now almost past service.

Sail towards *Brasile* again.

The Admiral therefore seeing that he must leave the *Straits*, (unless he intended to bury his whole Fleet there) and knowing that the sooner the better too, set sail from thence, and directed his Course towards *Brasile* again. 'Twas his insolent mutinous Company that determin'd him to this Course, for he himself had projected a Voyage to *China*, and had all things been favourable, had made his passage thitherwards thro' the *Magellanick Straits*; but as that fail'd, and there was yet another way open, *viz.* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, so he had thoughts of pursuing his intended Voyage that way; but these factious People murmur'd, and made so many Remonstrances against it, that the Admiral (fearing some bad effects if he should exasperate them by an over-obstinate adherence to his own Designs) suffer'd himself to be perswaded by them, and gave command to steer towards *Brasile*.

Ships lost.

In this Course they lose the *Desire* and *Black Pinnace* by the way, which the Admiral charges upon the treachery of Capt. *Davis*; and it was not many days after that in a most prodigious Storm they lost the *Roebuck* too, so that now the Admiral had only his own Ship left, whatever Designs he had to execute upon the Coast of *Brasile*.

Come into St. *Vincent* Bay.

'Twas with extream labour and hazard that they reach'd the Coast of *Brasile*, and came to an Anchor in the Bay of St. *Vincent*. Here some of the Company desir'd leave of the Admiral to go ashore to some of the *Portuguese* Farmhouses to get Provisions, and he yielded to it, giving them a caution not to make any long stay ashore, nor to venture themselves very far: And as long as they hearkned to this good Advice matters succeeded well enough, but when they began to neglect it, and suffer'd themselves to be carried beyond the bounds which the prudent Care of the Admiral had set them, they plung'd themselves into those Mischiefs which he so well foresaw, and so zealously endeavour'd to prevent.

A certain *Indian* comes abroad, and tells them, that at a little distance there was a very rich *Farmhouse*, which they would do very well to make a Visit to, and therefore desir'd that a small Troop might be sent thither. They had some reason to give a little credit (at least) to this Story, since the *Indian* who told it had deserted his own Countrymen, and been for some considerable time receiv'd into their Service: Accordingly the Admiral appointed Capt. *Barker* (a Person in whom he repos'd more confidence than in any one Commander besides) to march out with twenty or thirty Men upon this Design, but with positive Orders at the same time to make but a very short stay, whether he met with any thing or nothing.

Some land ashore.

Contempt of the Admiral's Orders.

These Men being once got ashore, quickly forgot their Admiral's Orders; they met with good Victuals and Drink, and fell to stuffing their own Carcases, while in the mean time the Admiral and the Ship were to take care of themselves. They liv'd so well, that 'tis plain they

1591. they had no thoughts of coming aboard again, for they sent back the Boat that carried 'em, as if they had intended to take up their Dwelling there. The Admiral expected their return with a great deal of impatience; he was surpriz'd to see 'em so bold and venturous, and not less fearful of some direful event, considering the place where they were, and the small strength they had to defend themselves withal. He sent Messages to them, but receiv'd no Answers; he commanded 'em to come away, but they were out of his reach, and ow'd him no Obedience; besides, they were then in a very merry elevated state, and consequently were all Admirals and Great Men in their own imagination. After this manner they pass'd away two days and two nights, and not the least News to be heard what was become of 'em; at last, upon the third day in the morning, the poor *Indian*, all bloody and wounded, got to the Ship, and put the Admiral out of his suspence by the Story of these Gentlemens fate.

The *Portuguese* it seems finding what Bait would take with them, had given them a very plentiful Entertainment, and seeing them so entirely abandon'd to the pleasures of Eating and Drinking, thought they had a fair Opportunity now in their hands of taking a considerable Revenge: In short, they got together a body of eighty *Portuguese* and three hundred *Indians*, and falling upon them with that Force whilst they were thus engag'd, sacrific'd every Man there present, and 'twas with much difficulty that the *Indian* escap'd (like *Job*'s Messenger) to come and bring the News. 'Tis true, that this was no less than perhaps the Admiral expected, and 'tis certain 'twas no more than these Men deserv'd for the Crimes they were guilty of, but yet 'tis easie to imagin that the Admiral must needs be deeply afflicted at it; for besides that, he had lost not only so many of his little Company, but so many of his best Men, (which made it a double Loss) his Boat was gone into the bargain, and without that, 'tis well known, a Ship is in a very forlorn case at Sea; and there's no doubt but he must have suffer'd the very last Extremities, if by good fortune he had not got an old Boat from the *Portuguese*, but lighting on that, he was able to serve himself a little (tho' but a little) by that means; besides this, for a little further alleviation of his Miseries, the *Roebuck*, that had been lost in the great Storm, (coming this second time to *Brasile*) came up to him again in this Bay, but in the most miserable condition that ever Ship was beheld in, all her Masts gone except the mizen, her Sails quite blown away, and every way extreamly shatter'd: A Ship so much weaken'd and out of order was but a poor addition to the Admiral's Strength; yet for all he was in no better circumstances for an Attempt, he could not but think of some Revenge upon the *Portuguese*.

Punishment of Contempt

Roebuck recover'd again.

He therefore mov'd down the River towards their Town, which he intended to beat down about their Ears; but when he was about half way, he found the River so narrow, by reason of a Shoald, that those great Ships could not pass, and all the Company declar'd it would be extreamly hazardous to endeavour it; nay, it was not without danger that they went so far, for they had very little more Water than what the Ships drew, and if they had once come aground, it had been impossible ever to disengage 'em again, since (besides the shallowness of the Water) 'tis all ozie thereabouts, and no Anchors will hold to hale a Ship off.

Necessity of small Ships on the Coast of *Brasile*.

Now the Admiral found the want of his little light Ships, for nothing could be done here upon that score; and 'twas not only here, but at most other places along the *Brasilian* Coast, that they would have been distress'd for small Ships, for all their Harbours are barr'd, and there is no getting any large heavy Ships over 'em. All the Revenge that could be taken here was, to land some Men and spoil their Farmhouses, which they did, and brought off some quantities of Provision.

But a *Portuguese* Pilot propos'd to the Admiral a far nobler and more considerable Revenge than this, which was, the taking (or battering at least) the Town of *Spirito Sancto*, and promis'd to carry the Ships over that Bar without any danger, affirming, that they should find at least five fathom Water there.

This Project, as 'twas a very good one upon many accounts, so 'twas eagerly embrac'd by the whole Company, and approv'd of by the Admiral himself, who very well knew that there was no place in all *Brasile* like that for the supply of those Wants he was in: But when it came to be executed it would not do, the *Portuguese* was either very ignorant of the place, or design'd to run the Ships aground, for the deepest Water all over the Bar was but three fathom, and the Ships could not pretend to pass there. Besides this disappointment, the Road was so ill, that they could hardly ride there, neither could they take in Water and other Necessaries, or do any sort of business. 1591.

Ships to be attack'd.

And now, when it was far more likely than not, that they should leave this place very speedily, and that without doing any thing, they discover'd three Ships at anchor not far from the Town; they were all glad of this, making no doubt at all of bringing them clear out of the Harbour; whereupon the Admiral propos'd the making the Attempt that very night, before they were remov'd into a place of more security, and had all the best things taken out of 'em; but these base fellows, that were never good for any thing but drinking and revelling, and seem'd to be bewitch'd into a fatal dislike of every thing their brave Admiral put 'em upon, grumbled, and were unwilling to stir then, and so the business was deferr'd till the next morning, but then 'twas too late, and their opportunity was gone, for the *Portuguese* had brought the Ships in the night-time just close to the Town, and fortified the Passage so, that they who attempted to bring off those Ships were like to pay pretty dear for their Attempt; besides, the River was very narrow which they were to go up, and over and above the Forts which the Enemy had rais'd, there was a natural Fortification of Rocks, from whence a small number might beat out the Brains of an Army almost, by tumbling down great Stones upon 'em.

Good Advice neglected.

And now with all these disadvantages the perverse Soldiers were for going to attack the Ships, nothing else would satisfie 'em, and there was danger of a general Uproar amongst 'em if the Admiral refus'd to comply; 'twas for this reason perhaps more than any thing else that he consented to their going, but however, together with his Consent, he gave a strict charge that they should spy out a convenient landing-place, but not land, what opportunity soever offer'd it self; and withal, that if the least danger appear'd in coming at the Ships, they should immediately return, and not pretend to rush thro' it, to the hazarding of both Men and Boats.

The Command in this Enterprize was given to Capt. *Morgan*, and their two crazy Boats were dispatch'd crowded with Musqueteers as full as ever they could hold. As soon as they were come within reach of the Guns from the Enemy's Sconces, they began to play pretty warmly upon 'em; and then our Men seeing all the Difficulties they had to encounter with, Captain *Morgan*, mindful of the Admiral's Orders, told 'em 'twas best to retire, and not venture any farther; but the foulmouth'd Soldiers presently began to abuse him, call'd him *Coward*, telling him they always thought he was such a one, and now they saw it plainly; which was such a provocation to the Captain (who was a Man of Metal and Courage enough) that in that Transport he forgot his Duty to the *Admiral*, and presently commanded them to land; but alas, 'twas running upon certain and inevitable Fate: 'Tis true, they had by an excess of Courage some little advantages at first, and the Captain with ten more of the boldest scaled the Walls of one of the Sconces, while another Party drove the Enemy out of the other, and possest themselves of it; but the showres of *Indian* Darts and Arrows that fell upon 'em, and the great Stones that were thrown from off the Trenches, were not to be avoided: In short, the brave Captain lost his Life, and above two thirds of the Company, and of those that return'd there were not eight but what were bitterly wounded, some having two or three, others five or six Arrows apiece sticking in their Bodies. The number of sound Men now remaining was very small, they had no hands now to spare for fighting, having but just enough to do the necessary Work of the Ships.

Insolence of the Soldiers.

Capt. *Morgan* and his Company lost.

The *Admiral*'s concern and sorrow for these Losses was inexpressible, but however he set sail from this unfortunate place for the Island of St. *Sebastian*; and 'twas in the way to this place that the Misfortune befell him which compleated the ruin of all his Designs, and perhaps the breaking of his Heart too.

The *Roebuck* leaves the Admiral.

His Ship the *Roebuck*, that had once before been lost by a Storm, now wilfully lost her self, that is in plain terms, gave him the slip, and left him to shift for himself; but this was not all, for she had got on board her the Surgeons with their Medicines, besides the best part of the Provisions, and then had left the Admiral loaded with all her sick and wounded Men, so that as the sick Men were under a necessity of dying for want of Physick, the sound ones were no less expos'd for want of Provisions, if Providence did not supply them. 'Twas Capt. *Devis* that commanded the *Roebuck* at this time, and to his honour it must be recorded, That *he was the Man that did this brave Action.*

They

1591. They made a shift to get to Island St. *Sebastian* by that time their last Cask of Fresh-water was in hand, and they had already begun to suffer very greatly upon the score of the scarcity of that grand Necessary amongst them. At this place they refresh'd themselves, survey'd their Stores of Tackling and Provision, mended their Boat, and made her fit for further service: As for Provisions, they had enough for fourteen weeks at their scanty narrow way of living, but their Tackling was much less and worse in proportion, for they had hardly any Ropes left, and but four Sails in all, the Sprit-sail and Foretop-sail (two of the most necessary) being wholly wanting, and the rest more than half worn out. The Admiral here told 'em plainly his design of going a second time for the *Magellanick Straits*, for they had the Summer now before 'em, and they would not fail of a stock of Victuals in going that way, at least if *Seals* and *Penguins* would serve the turn.

Come to the Island of St. Sebastian.

These and other Arguments which were urg'd for this Course they had so much Patience as to hear, but so much Impudence as to answer with only factious murmurings, and at last downright clamours against him that propos'd 'em; in short, they swore all round, that they would never go to the *Straits* again, but sail directly home, and that nothing should divert 'em from their purpose. The Admiral was so highly incens'd at this daring Insolence, that he resolv'd to make one of the principal Mutineers an Example to the rest, and that with his own Hand: This fellow refus'd to go to the *Magellanick Straits*, but the Admiral would now force him to make a much longer Voyage, and for that end whipt a Rope about his Neck, and intended to strangle him: When the Company saw that he was in good earnest, and the fellow was going to pot indeed, they all desir'd the Master of the Ship to intercede with the Admiral for his Life, and promis'd they would be obedient for the future, and take what Course he himself should think fit; so the Criminal was discharg'd, and the others seem'd to be in a much better humour and more governable for some time, after the Admiral had thus exerted his Authority, and shewn that he was not afraid of 'em; but all the while they were not really mended, they did but carry it fairly and smoothly to his Face, when at the same time they secretly curs'd him and his designs, and plotted his destruction.

The Soldiers refuse to go to the *Straits*.

'Twas in a terrible fear of their Villany that he liv'd all the time he was ashore at this Island, about new building the Boat: The *Portuguese* had continually a watchful eye upon him, and wanted but an opportunity to assault him; besides, there was but a small Creek that parted these Enemies from him, and he had reason enough to apprehend that some of his good People might hold a Correspondence with 'em: For him to suspect thus much of them, had not been at all any injury to the Rogues; for besides, that their rebellious and treacherous Disposition was a sufficient ground for't, they were at that time actually caballing with the *Portuguese*, and conspiring the Murder of the Admiral and all the Company ashore; and a certain *Irishman* (one of the number) brought the Design to as much perfection as the circumstance would admit of, that is, he led the *Portuguese* over in the Night-time, and knowing that the Men were mostly unarm'd he assur'd the Enemy, that they might do even what they would with 'em, since they could make no resistance; and so all the sick and wounded ones were murder'd upon the spot, and the rest taken Prisoners.

The Admiral's trouble with his mutinous Crew at the Island.

1591. Horrid Treachery.

After this Mischief done, the *Portuguese* went over to the other side again, but left several Parties of *Indians* planted up and down amongst the Bushes and Trees, who so distress'd our Men with their Arrows (and yet could not be hurt themselves) that they were forc'd to quit the shore entirely, and go on board the Ship: This was a very great prejudice to them, because they had not finish'd all the Repairs they came ashore about, neither had they laid in that stock of Wood and fresh Water they wanted; but 'twas impossible to stay, and so they were oblig'd to submit to the present urgent Necessity.

The Admiral now made only a shew of living, for his Heart was so far broken that he could hardly be said to live indeed; all his Hopes were gone, and he desir'd nothing more than to get into some desolate place, and to lie down and die; yet still he had some mind to be sailing towards the *Straits*, but his outragious Sailors stubbornly refusing it, he propos'd the going for St. *Helena*. This Design they seem'd to comply with, but yet in effect endeavour'd to frustrate it, for when he was asleep they would sail directly contrary to his Orders; and when they had gotten too far to the Northwards for St. *Helena*, 'twas impossible to perswade 'em to tack about a little to the Southwards again, so horribly fearful were they of the *Straits*; and so jealous lest the Admiral should trick 'em thither.

The Admiral forc'd to sail homewards.

What between this rude Obstinacy of theirs and that of the Winds together, they did not come to St. *Helena*, but, as it should seem, made the best of their way for *England*. This Course the Admiral hated worse than Death, and as bad as his Men did the *Magellanick Straits*; for, having been unfortunate, he was asham'd to see his Native Country without some Performances worthy both of it and himself: But 'twas in vain to resist, and a *Man must go when the Devil drives*, or any such Furies as those were that tormented him.

He was more than 8 gr. to the Northwards of the Line when he wrote this Letter, and sent together with it his last Will and Testament, but his account breaks off there, and we hear not whether he came ashore or ended his wearisom Life at Sea.

And thus have we the last Adventure of that Brave and Great Man, Admiral *Candish*: His first Voyage was as full of Glory as this was of Misfortune; no Man ever compass'd the Globe in so little time; no Man ever did more happy things abroad, and return'd to his Country in greater Pomp and Triumph than he; and 'tis not unlikely that he might have shone this last time as bright as he did the first, had not the ill Humours of a company of base Fellows interpos'd and eclips'd him.

Chap. IV.

The strange Adventures of Anthony Knivet, *(who went out with Admiral* Candish *in his last Expedition) amongst the* Portuguese *and* Indians; *together with his Travels thro' those parts, and the account of the People, their Customs, and the Products of their Countries.*

WHEN the Reader has consider'd the whole course of this Man's Adventures, seen what Dangers he pass'd, and what Difficulties he surmounted, it may be he'll be ready to wonder what could kill such a man at last, and what Death he should die: And indeed one may venture to say, that it is not likely he was born either to be hang'd or drown'd, brain'd or stabb'd, to be kill'd either with Heathen Arrows or Christian Shot, to be roasted in the torrid or frozen in the cold Zone, to be devour'd by Wild Beasts nor (which is worse) by Wild Men. We usually say a Cat has nine Lifes, because we see it so tough and hardy, and endure so many kicks and blows; and for the same reason we may allow this Man at least so many, if not double the number. But let us follow him, and see how many Deaths he has confronted, that we may judge the better both of his good Fortune and Constitution.

Knivet loses his Toes.

This was the Man that (first of all) lost his Toes by the severe Cold in the *Magellanick Straits*, where he was also very near eaten up with Lice at the same time: Twice they imagin'd him to be quite dead, and accordingly took him up to fling him overboard, but just as they

1591. they were going to do it the man spoke, and desir'd them to forbear, because he was not yet quite gone; and certainly he cry'd out in very good time, for he was as near going (in another sence) as Four-pence half penny is to a Groat.

Not long after, the Admiral making a blow at one of his mutinous Seamen with a piece of a mighty Cable, by accident struck *Knivet* instead of that Rascal, and laid him for dead upon the Deck; and truly, having lain there for some time and shewn no signs of Life, they e'en took him up, designing to cast him to the Fishes, but (as before) the poor man signified to them in a very happy minute that he had yet some life remaining, and so sav'd himself for that time also.

Knock'd down.

At the Isles of St. *Sebastian* he was brought ashore (with some others) in the most miserable case that one can easily suppose a man to be; his Body was all over black, his Feet (and what Toes he had left) extreamly raw; he was wholly unable to speak, neither could he stir without help; he and all his Company were look'd upon to be past all Hope and Cure, and so were set down here to take their Fate, being left entirely to the care of Providence. As for *Knivet's* part, being once laid, he expected to rise up no more, but the others were in better case than he, being able to move about a little: However, having lain there upon the Sand, under the powerful Rays of the Sun, for five or six hours, he began to come to himself, the warm Sun carrying off that deadly Chill that possess'd him before, and raising his Blood and Spirits into some motion again. The first thing he did was to gaze and stare about, like one awak'd out of some deep Sleep, or a man come back again into the World from an Extasie; and the first Objects that presented themselves to him were his Companions lying about him, some dead, others in their last Agonies, groaning and giving up the Ghost; this was a melancholy Scene to a man that had but just now recover'd his Senses, and 'twas enough to have made him lose 'em all again: To be sure he was some time considering into what sort of World he had got, how he and they came thither, and what brought 'em into that condition; but having after some time recover'd the memory of former things, and concluded (as we will suppose) that the Ship's Company had set them all ashore to die, we'll believe that the poor man was in no small distress. He found that his Companions had hasten'd their own End, some of them by eating a sort of venomous Pease that grew by the Sea-side; this he relates, tho' how he came to the knowledge of it we can't tell. However, considering the Calamities they were deliver'd from by Death, he thank'd the merciful Providence of Heaven for shewing that Favour to those poor Wretches, and at the same time bewail'd his own Misfortune that he was left out of the number, and thereby reserv'd for a Life of such Miseries as he had now reason to expect.

Left ashore to die.

He look'd towards the Sea, and saw no sign of any Ship or Boat that came to relieve or see what was become of him; and as for Food, there was nothing to be had, unless he would have eat some of the 'forementioned Pease: Now to do that, was to be poyson'd; and to forbear, was to be starv'd; and tho' he was not at all fond of Life, yet he could not determine by which of those two ways he had best put a period to it.

He comes to himself.

Companions dead.

While he was in these thoughts he saw something stir upon the Sea-shore, and making a shift to crawl thither upon all four, he found they were Crabs playing about in the Mudd; so having gotten some of those, he carried 'em to a hollow Fig-tree hard by, where he found a great Fire ready made, and laying 'em upon the Coals, dress'd 'em in this manner and eat 'em.

Lives upon Crabs.

After this Repast he lay down to sleep again, and slept till the next day, and then at the time of the Ebb took his opportunity to get more Crabs, which was all his maintenance, and without which he must of necessity have been starv'd. And at this rate he liv'd eight or nine days, without the sight of any living Creature except the Crabs he fed upon; but the stench of the dead Bodies of his Companions beginning to grow very noisom and offensive, he was fain to remove his Quarters to another place, and this was at some convenient distance, by the side of a fair River.

A terrible Creature fears him.

But he had not been here above half an hour before a terrible sort of Creature came out of the River, and march'd directly towards him; its Back was all cover'd with Scales, it had great ugly Claws, and a long Tail. *Knivet* was too weak and lame to run away, (if that could have been a deliverance to him) and therefore instead of that, went forwards to meet it; the Animal upon this stood still and look'd at him, and opening his Mouth thrust out a long Tongue, which for the form he compares to a Harping-iron. As for his part, he said his last Prayers, and expected the next minute to have been seiz'd and grip'd in those horrid Claws the very sight of which made him tremble; but all of a sudden the Creature turn'd about, and ran into the River again. 1591.

It may be this unexpected Deliverance did not surprize him a little, but yet however, since 'twas possible he might have more such Visitants if he staid in that place, and ten to one if the next Monster prov'd so merciful and good-natur'd as this, he went away from thence farther up into the Island.

His next place of settlement was determin'd by the sight he had of a mighty Whale lying dead upon the shore, like a Ship with the Keel upwards; here he made himself a little sort of a Hutt, and fed upon the Whale for the space of a fortnight, and no doubt there was enough left for a fortnight more.

More Men set ashore.

But, as good luck would have it, at this place he met with some Company; there were forty Men more set ashore, ('tis to be supposed upon the same score that he had been) and having joyn'd himself with them, all together they made a pretty good shift, and besides, now he was in a much better state of Health too, and by frequent going into the Water had so far heal'd his sore Feet, that he was able to walk very well.

These poor men knew well enough that they should never be taken into the Ship again, and therefore must provide for themselves as well as they could, till some way was open for 'em to get clear: But it hapned that the *Portuguese* and *Savages*, having some way or other had notice of their being there, landed upon the Island with a considerable number of Men, intending to destroy or take 'em all Prisoners. This News was brought 'em in the Night, by one of their own Men, who had escap'd the Enemies hands, and told 'em, that two others of their Companions were taken Prisoners, and would be constrain'd by the *Portuguese* to direct them to their Quarters. Neither was there any way for 'em to avoid the approaching Danger, for they would have march'd along the Shore, but the Sea ran so high that they could not, and therefore were oblig'd to keep their Post and be upon the watch: But, in short, all their Care avail'd 'em little, for the *Portuguese* and *Indians* broke in upon 'em, and seiz'd 'em, and very quickly began to do execution upon these miserable Captives; they knock'd about half of 'em on the head, and an *Indian* was going to serve *Knivet* the same sauce, making two or three blows at him with his short Bill, but he catching hold of a *Portuguese* that was just by, and crying out, that *he would tell them some News if they would save his Life*, got a Reprieve for that time.

Portuguese and *Indians* assault and murder 'em.

After he had told his Tale (which 'tis probable was even what came uppermost at that time in his fright) the *Portuguese* deliver'd him into the hands of a *Savage*, with whom he was to go, but he fearing he should be murder'd, beg'd of the *Portuguese* to let him go along with him wherever he went; however, being assur'd that this *Indian* was his Slave, and that he might safely venture himself with him, he follow'd him along the Shore. They travel'd together almost all the night, and when they came to any Rocks that ran out into the Sea, the *Savage* would take him upon his Back, and swim round the Rocks till they were quite clear of 'em, and then land him again; at last they came by a great Cliff that stood by the Shore, and then his savage Guide whistled, to which another that was upon the top of the Cliff answer'd, and upon this there presently came out five or six *Portuguese*, of which one was the Captain of the Company that had thus assaulted them.

Knivet saves his Life.

Travels with a Savage to the Captain.

When *Knivet* was brought before him, he demanded of him, *What News?* but the Prisoner being something hungry after his Nights Journey, desir'd that he might first have some Victuals, and then he would tell all he knew. The *Portuguese* laugh'd heartily at this Request of his, but however they granted it, and gave him a pretty good Meal after which he satisfied their Curiosity as well as he could as to the *News* they desir'd.

More *English* kill'd.

The rest of the Prisoners being also brought hither, receiv'd their Fate at this place; no less than twenty eight of them were sacrific'd, while *Knivet* and one more alone escap'd.

Knivet carried to S. *Sebastian*.

After this he was carried away by the *Portuguese* to the City of St. *Sebastian*, situated upon the River of *Janero*: At their entrance almost all the City came out to meet 'em, they made such a noise with Pipes and Drums as they came along in their Canoes. The barbarous fellows (being come pretty near the Shore) took him up in their Arms and toss'd him out into the Sea, crying, *There's*

1591. *There's our Prize*, which had well nigh coſt him his Life, for the Tide ran ſo ſtrong that he was almoſt carried away with it, and had certainly been drown'd if one who had more compaſſion than the reſt had not commanded ſome of the Slaves that were by to go and fetch him out.

When he was brought before the Governour, he examin'd him, and then gave him for a Slave to that very *Portugueſe* who had firſt reſcued him when the *Savage* was about to cut him down with his ſhort Bill: This was as good fortune as he could expect in his preſent condition, for that Perſon us'd him with great humanity and kindneſs, made him always eat with him and lodge in his own Room, and then his buſineſs was only to keep his Maſter's Hogs, and go down to the Sea-ſide to get him Crabs.

Knivet's firſt Maſter.

But theſe good days were too ſoon over, for the Governour calling him to a ſecond Examination, the effect of it was, that he was ſent away to work at a Sugar-Mill in the Country; here he had a miſerable life on't, he was laſh'd and beat like a *Galley-Slave*, not ſuffer'd to have a rag of Clothes to his Back, and nigh ſtarv'd into the bargain; all which put together, was ſo intolerable, that he reſolv'd to run away, and tho' he had no Refuge but a Wilderneſs to flee into, yet he thought he could not meet with more ſurly Company, nor endure more Straits, than where he was; ſo accordingly he march'd off and finding a certain convenient Cave, he fix'd upon that for his Habitation: All the Day long he went out to fiſhing, and at Nights he went up and down to the *Indians* Houſes, to exchange his Fiſh for other Neceſſaries. And here he might have liv'd quietly enough, had not the Governour's care and diligence found him out, but 'twas his Chance to be diſcover'd, tho' being come back they uſed him better, and allotted him a leſs ſlaviſh Work than formerly he had for a time.

Sent to the Sugar-mills.

Runs away, and lives in a Wood.

Worſe uſe than before.

But his ever varying Fortune, not long after, brought him into the Sugar Concerns again, and that under a more tyrannical inſulting fellow than he was with before; he was under the management of one that mortally hated an *Engliſhman*, and made little difference between ſuch a one and a Dog, except it were that the Dog were the leſs beat of the two.

Knivet groan'd under this cruel treatment for the ſpace of four months, and then a much better circumſtance offer'd it ſelf to him; the Governour's Son pitying his diſtreſſed condition, deſir'd his Father to give him to him, which was granted, and ſo he was releas'd from the bondage of that ſort of life. 'Tis true, he was a Slave ſtill, but he was not us'd ſo much like one as before; he had a *Maſter*, but it was a *Man* that was his *Maſter*, and not a *Beaſt* or a *Devil*; which was no little Conſolation too.

He is given to the Governour's Son.

There was at ſome diſtance an *Indian* Town call'd *Wyanaſſes*, the People of which were at peace with the *Portugueſe*, and for Knives and Hatchets us'd to ſell their Wives and Children to 'em: His Maſter being order'd by the Governour his Father to reſide here for ſome time, *Knivet* came along with him hither, and from hence to *Jarawapipo*, from which place he was diſpatch as his Factor with ſeven or eight Slaves loaden with Knives and Hatchets to another *Savage Town*, the People of which were call'd *Peries*.

Wyanaſſes.

Jarawapipo.

He goes to the Town of the Peries.

Having put into one of the largeſt Houſes, as ſoon as he was entred a Hammock was ſet up for him, and he requeſted to lie down upon it; this done, at leaſt twenty Women came into the Room, and ſome laying their Heads on his Shoulders, and others on his Knees, they all began to cry out together in a moſt ſad and doleful manner. *Knivet* could not tell what to make of this ſort of entertainment; the beginning puzzled him ſo, that he was in ſome doubt whether the latter end would be Comedy or Tragedy, yet as much ſurpriz'd as he was, he let the Women go on with their ill Muſick without giving them any diſturbance, and they alſo (when they had done) went away without giving him any account of what they meant by it. As ſoon as the Women were gone, in comes an old *Savage* with a great wooden Sword in his Hand, his Body painted all over red and black, three great holes in his Face, one in the under Lip, and the other two in the ſides of his Mouth, and in each hole a green Stone: This fellow came ſwaggering into the Room, and ſtriking his Breaſt in a moſt paſſionate manner, he look'd as if he had been ſtark mad, talk'd prodigious loud, and walk'd up and down without ſeeming to take notice of any body's being there. The poor man in the Hammock thought the buſineſs muſt be done now without fail, and indeed ſuch an odd Scene as this would have made any one conclude that the next that follow'd would be no other than that of Death it ſelf. However, (to ſhew how pleaſantly *Knivet* was even cheated into his Life, which in his own imagination was as good as loſt) the *Savage*, after he had finiſh'd all his poſtures and preachments, comes and ſtrokes him upon the Head and bids him welcome; after that, he call'd his Servants to bring out what Proviſions he had, and then inviting his Gueſt to come and partake with him, he made him know that he was glad to ſee him. And the News of a Stranger's being at this Houſe quickly ſpread abroad in the Town, and reach'd the other Towns too that were hard by, ſo that abundance of the *Cannibals* came to gaze and ſtare upon this new Face. *Knivet* was very kindly entertain'd and us'd in all reſpects by this old *Savage* his Hoſt; but that which made it the more conſiderable was, that he prov'd to be the King of the *Peries*, and this Houſe conſequently the Palace.

An odd way of receiving Strangers.

1591.

Every one of theſe Towns was a Kingdom independent, and that ſtood upon its own Baſis, ſome grave experienc'd old *Savage* or other was their King, and the reſt paid him Obedience as ſuch; perhaps *Knivet* lit of one of the beſt, and a Man whoſe Hoſpitality, Fidelity, and other Virtues would have rank'd him amongſt a better ſort of Men than *Cannibals*.

A Story of an inſolent Savage.

One day, as our Traveller was in the Houſe, there comes in a certain hectoring *Savage*, King of another Town hard by, that was a violent hater of the *Portugueſe*, and it may be at firſt took *Knivet* for ſuch a one; he brought a couple of Women along with him, and laying his Hands on their Necks, in that poſture came dancing up to *Knivet*: When he had danc'd thus about a quarter of an hour, he open'd his eloquent Lips, and began in this manner; *Doſt thou ſee theſe Women?* (ſays he) *By my Valour I got their Love, and their Deſire I am ſworn to fulfill, which is to kill thee, as I have done many more before.* The other replied, *That he was none of his Enemy, nor did not come into the Country to do him or any of his Countrymen miſchief, but ſervice, by bringing them thoſe things they wanted; but if he pretended to offer him any Violence, he and all his Country ſhould be ſure to pay for't.* The *Savage* did not mind his Anſwer, but went directly to lay hands upon his Goods that lay there, deſigning to divide them between his two Miſtreſſes, but *Knivet* then ſtarting out of his Hammock, and drawing his Sword, ran at him, and almoſt overturn'd him, which rude Aſſault ſo cool'd the *Barbarian's* Courage, that he durſt not pretend to meddle any more, and the higheſt revenge he took at that time was, to rail, ſcold, and threaten to kill his Adverſary.

Knivet defends himſelf

The fearful noiſe he made whilſt he was thus pouring out his wordy indignation upon *Knivet*, alarm'd the old King of the *Peries*, who was not far off, and brought him into the Houſe to enquire what the matter was; and when the Caſe was told him, he ſharply reprov'd his Brother Prince for this Outrage done againſt his Friend, and that under his own roof too, and more than that, commanded him in a great fury to be gone out of his Town, and at his peril to come no more there without leave. So the other was fain to march away without his expected Spoil, but he went it ſeems with a deſign to revenge himſelf, for next day News came that he had arm'd his Town, and was coming with a good force to fetch away *Knivet*, whom he reſolv'd to ſacrifice according to the Cuſtom of the Country: But the other, as peremptorily reſolv'd to defend him as he was to deſtroy him, aſſembled all his People together, and having told them the occaſion, they all with a great ſhout declar'd their unanimous reſolution to ſtand by him and the Stranger to the laſt man; ſo they march'd out into the Field to meet the other *Savages* that were then advancing towards 'em, and found 'em much inferiour to themſelves in number, which was the reaſon that their Enemies (conſcious to themſelves how much they were overmatch'd) preſently chang'd their Pretenſions, and ſent word, *They did not come with a deſign to fight, but only to drive a Trade and be merry with them.* Upon this a Peace was preſently concluded, and they went away together to the Town of the *Peries*, into which the King freely admitted all the reſt, but would not ſuffer their Prince to come in, upon the ſcore of the Affront which he had lately offer'd him.

The Peries arm in his behalf.

Knivet having ſeen ſo happy a concluſion of this buſineſs, reſolv'd to return to his Maſter again; but however, to gratifie his Hoſt for all Kindneſſes to him, he made him a Preſent of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe things he had brought, for which in return the other gave him ſeventy Slaves.

And now he took his leave, having a Guard of three hundred Bowmen, which the King of the *Peries* would needs

Comes from the Peries.

1593. needs ſend to convoy him along: His Maſter was at that time at *Ilha Grande*, where he was well receiv'd by him, and found him well pleas'd with his Negotiations among the *Savages*; and 'twas a ſign he was ſo, ſince by that time he had been at home two months he propos'd to him a ſecond Journey into the ſavage Countries upon the ſame account; but *Knivet*, whom Experience had taught the Inconveniencies of ſuch Journeys, and beſides finding little or no Profit in them as to himſelf, refus'd to undertake it, and was thereupon ſent away to the Governour again, who made it his buſineſs to be all day long upon the Water a fiſhing.

He is ſent to ſea by the Governour.

In this Employ being one time upon a Rock watching for a *Dog-fiſh*, it chanced that he fell aſleep, his Line lying under him; a while after the Fiſh took the Bait, and by tugging the Line wak'd him, but he being in ſome confuſion, and running about the Rock to obſerve the Fiſh's motion, the Line tangled about his Legs, and the Fiſh ſtill pulling hard, dragg'd him off the Cliff into the Sea; here was the Fiſherman catch'd by the Fiſh, and that by the meer help of a Line, without Hook or Bait, a fine Trick, and a fair Warning to all of that Profeſſion. When the poor man was thus attracted into the Water, one may eaſily imagin he wiſh'd himſelf out again, eſpecially when he ſee the Fiſh ſwimming up to him, to catch him in a far worſe ſence than the former, that is, between his Teeth; but having always ſome good Luck (as well as bad) attending him, he got hold of the Line with his Hand, and giving it a jerk, ſo tormented the Fiſh with the Hook that ſtuck in his Mouth, that he turn'd about and ſwam away, but *Knivet* being faſtned to him by the Line, conſequently ſwam along with him. In this caſe there had been no help for him if he had not remembred he had a Knife hanging about his Neck in a String, but with that he cut the Line, and ſo diſengag'd himſelf from the danger; however, his Body was ſo beat and torn upon the Rock, that he was not able to ſtir for the ſpace of a fortnight.

As ſoon as he was recover'd again he was commanded out to his old trade of Fiſhing, by which means he had one day an opportunity of informing himſelf of ſome *Engliſh* Ships that were coming that way; and as he had (no doubt) a very longing deſire to get out of this miſerable Bondage, ſo he determin'd to try if he could not accompliſh it at this time: For that purpoſe being upon the watch, he ſpied the *Engliſh* Ships ſailing along at a good diſtance, but concluding that they would put in at St. *Sebaſtian* to refreſh, he ſet all the *Indians* aſhore that he had with him upon ſome plauſible pretence, and having the Wind fair, he hoiſted Sail all alone, and directed his courſe towards St. *Sebaſtian*. And he was now even within ſight of the Ships, when a contrary Wind blew ſuch a Storm that he was forc'd clear away, his Boat driven upon the Rocks of an adjacent Iſland, and daſh'd all to pieces, whilſt he himſelf was little better than ſo, by the rude blows he had againſt thoſe Rocks; but making a ſhift to get to the Shore, he lay here upon the Iſland three whole days without the leaſt nouriſhment, and here he muſt have lain perhaps till his Wounds and Hunger together had kill'd him, if the Canoes the Governour had ſent out to purſue him had not by chance landed at this place, and found him in that helpleſs condition.

Endeavours to make his eſcape.

His diſappointment.

His Entertainment when he was brought back was ſuch as was to be expected from ſuch an Attempt; he was led with his Hands bound behind him, all the Town rail'd at him and call'd him *Runaway*; the Governour, after a cholerick reception, commanded him to Priſon, and gave order how he ſhould be treated there; for a fortnight he was manag'd more like a Dog than a Man, he lay upon the bare Ground, and was fed with nothing but *Caſſavi-meal* and *Water*.

Cond mn'd to be hang'd.

After this Exerciſe in Priſon, he was condemn'd to be hang'd as a *Renegado*, and was brought out of Priſon in order to his execution; but in his way to the Gallows going along by the *Jeſuites College*, all the Fathers came forth in a body, and carrying a Crucifix along with 'em, they preſented it to the Governour as a Symbol of Compaſſion, and at the ſame time falling on their Knees before him, beg'd the Life of the poor Malefactor: At their requeſt he was ſav'd, but remanded to Priſon, and after having been mortified there for three days, he was brought out into the Market-place, and there whipt with Cords till his Skin was fetch'd off from Head to Foot, or (to uſe his own expreſſion) *till he had not a ſpot of Skin remaining upon all his Body*.

Sav'd by the Jeſuites.

Cruelly us'd in Priſon.

This Puniſhment over, he was carried to Priſon again, and treated there both as to Diet and Lodging as before, the effect of which was, that a Body ſo bruis'd and raw as his was, with lying on the bare Ground quickly corrupted, and the manifeſt ſigns of Putrefaction appear'd in Vermin and other horrible inſtances. 1593.

Sent to the Sugar-mill.

When he was ſo far recover'd as to be able to attend Work, he was ſent to the Sugar-mill, that ſoft, lazy, pleaſant Poſt, in which he had enjoy'd ſo much eaſe before, that to be rid on't he threw himſelf into the horrours of a Wilderneſs: To prevent his running away now, they faſtned an Iron Weight of thirty pound to his Leg, and put him under the government of a man who never met him but he baſtinado'd him, whether there was reaſon for it or no; a man that never ſtood to conſider Faults, nor enquire into the Merits of a Cauſe, but took a pleaſure in puniſhing, and diverted himſelf with Cruelty. Often he complain'd to the Governour of the barbarous Practices of the Factor, and ſhew'd him the marks of his cruel hand in Scars and Bruiſes, with which his whole Body almoſt was cover'd, but he had now no more Compaſſion for him, and ſeem'd to abandon him to the Tyranny of that Officer.

Stabs the Factor, and runs away.

At laſt, when he had ſuffer'd nine months Oppreſſion of this nature, and ſaw no hope of releaſe, but by a bold and cloſe ſtroke of his own, he determin'd to make it, and rather choſe to kill the Factor than ſuffer himſelf to be kill'd by him; and that barbarous man himſelf ſhortly after gave him both the Opportunity and the Motive to put this violent Reſolution in practiſe, for as *Knivet* lay aſleep in the Sugar-houſe the Factor comes in, and with a Cudgel ſtrikes him a ſound blow over the Ribs, with that he ſtarted up, and ſeeing him ready to repeat his ſtroke, he catch'd up a Knife, and giving him two or three ſtabbs, got off, and made the beſt of his way into the Woods: Here he wander'd up and down, wiſhing ſome Lyon or Tyger to come and devour him, rather than fall into the hands of the *Portugueſe* again; and 'twas in the midſt of his moſt fearful thoughts of this matter that he heard a great noiſe of People in the Woods, which put him almoſt beſides himſelf, he believing them to be his Purſuers.

His eſcape from thoſe that purſued.

As the Noiſe encreas'd ſo did his Confuſion; ſometimes he ran and ſometimes he ſtood ſtill to hearken, but at laſt perceiving them to come nearer and nearer, and finding a neceſſity of ſome very ſecure Shelter to be gotten that very moment, he look'd about and 'ſpied a *Caravala* in a Tree, which is a ſort of buſhy ſtuff compos'd of thick long Leaves, and as big as an Eagle's Neſt, into which he got and lay very cloſe and ſtill; but he had not been there above a quarter of an hour before the Tree was compaſs'd about with *Indians* that were ſent to ſearch for him; they knew nothing of his being there, but ſeeing it appear like a place proper enough for hiding, they ſhot a good many Arrows up into the Tree, and when they had done that (no body crying out) they went away.

Poor *Knivet* was ſo terrified with this, that he kept in his Neſt two days and nights, in all which time he eat nothing, ſo that when he came down he was in a very weak and faint condition; but as well as he was able he directed his courſe to the Sea-ſide, and went along the Shore, in which march he found two or three *Savages* lying there aſleep, with their Fiſhing-tackle by 'em, and ſome little matters of Proviſion; this was ſo ſeaſonable an occurrence to a man ready to be ſtarv'd, that it had been a fault to have neglected relieving himſelf by it, but he did it very modeſtly, and never wak'd the *Savages* to tell 'em any thing either of the Virtue or Vice of what he had done.

A little farther he met with another *Savage* aſleep, whom (upon a ſtrict obſervation) he knew very well to be one of his fellow Slaves, and him he made bold to awaken, to enquire into the reaſon and manner of his coming thither; and truly, upon comparing notes together, their Caſes were juſt alike, for he had ſhed Blood too, and was a *Renegado* as well as *Knivet*, and durſt no more go hence than he, ſo that the likeneſs of their paſt circumſtances was an Inducement to 'em to ſeek their Fortunes for the future together. And this conjunction was ſo much the happier on *Knivet*'s ſide, in that this *Savage* was a great man in his Country, and beſides of wonderful honeſt Principles, inſomuch that the other declares he never met with truer friendſhip from any than from him. *Solamen miſeris ſocios habuiſſe doloris.*

Theſe two Wanderers (having adjuſted the matters of their Courſe) ſwam over from the Iſland to the Main, and came both very feeble and weary aſhore, for the Arm of the Sea was at leaſt two miles wide: Now they came out into a horrid Wilderneſs, where Lyons and Tygers and fearful Serpents were very common; their Food was wild Honey and Palmetoes, and a ſort of Snakes which the Cannibals call *Boacyna*.

1593. When they had travel'd here thirty seven days, they came out into an open champion Country, and at last reach'd a place, the prospect of which *Knivet* seem'd to know; upon consideration he found it was *Pianita*, (the Town of the *Paries*) where he had been so well receiv'd before, and his old Host was no less glad to see him now also. Here he told 'em the cause of his coming amongst 'em, with all the Barbarities the *Portuguese* had exercis'd upon him, and this, together with some Perswasions to renounce the Alliance and Friendship of the *Portuguese*, wrought so far on them, that they resolv'd with one consent to break off from them, and defend both themselves and him against 'em.

A terrible Journey.

And this Resolution 'tis possible they had maintain'd, had not some of their Neighbours (that were fond of the *Portuguese*) practis'd with 'em, and insinuated a better Opinion of that People into 'em; but they cried up the Bounty and other good Qualities of the *Portuguese* at such a rate, that the others believ'd what they said to be true; and therefore, to gratifie such a People as them, poor *Knivet* was deliver'd bound into their hands, and so presented to his old Master the Governour's Son, who was come into those parts to buy Slaves.

'Tis true, the malicious Neighbours had told Tales, and inform'd the *Portuguese* that *Knivet* was at the Town of the *Paries*, and tis certain also that Messengers were sent to *Pianita* to demand him, before the *Paries* knew any thing of that Information; so that it must be granted 'twas a sort of a Surprize upon 'em, but yet that will never excuse their Infidelity and Breach of Promise.

Knivet is brought to his Master.

Knivet being brought before his Master, was now under an absolute necessity of submitting to all Conditions impos'd upon him, in order to the saving of his life; 'twas in his power to chuse whether he would go home and be hang'd (for that must be the least of his Fate) or take upon him to do the Work enjoyn'd him by his Master, and which he had some reason to believe would not be very easie; however, this being (at least to present view) more eligible than passing immediately into the hands of an Executioner, he chose that part, and stood to his Master's pleasure.

Goes another Journey.

Accordingly he was dispatch'd (with some few *Savages* in company) into a certain Country of *Cannibals*, to traffick for Slaves, and a dismal Journey he had on't for 25 days together, over Woods and Mountains, and in continual Dangers by fierce and ravenous Animals; at last they came to a very fair and broad River, upon the Banks of which the Town (where they were to trade) was situated, and having got a Canoe, as they were swimming down the River they overtook another Canoe in which was two of the Natives: These *Savages* were infinitely astonish'd to see *Knivet* in his *Portuguese* Habit; they gaz'd at him with a strange eagerness, and seem'd doubtful whether they should esteem him a Man or no: And truly *Knivet* for his part was in no less suspence about them, for they were all over cover'd with Feathers, and look'd more like Birds than Men, and if they had had Tails, might well enough have pass'd for a couple of great Fowl. In short, 'twas impossible to see of what Complexion they were, except by some few places in their Legs; they had besmear'd themselves from Head to Foot with a sort of viscous Gum, and laying their Feathers on upon that, they stuck so close that no body could be sure (at first sight) that they did not grow there.

Strange Habits of the Savages.

After each Party was satisfied with looking, (which was no little while first) one of *Knivet's Savages* which was of that Country was commanded to tell 'em the design of their coming, and to desire 'em to give notice of it at the Town, which they did very willingly, having been gratified with some little Trifles.

About two hours after came forth a body of at least five hundred of these feather'd Animals, leaping and singing, and shewing themselves extreamly glad of the coming of these Strangers to their Town; and when they had brought them thither, all the rest came to receive them, and expres'd their Joy in the like manner. *Knivet* was entertain'd with a mighty deal of Ceremony, led from House to House, and had long Speeches made to him by all the principal Men; and when they came to the main business of dealing for Slaves, he succeeded so well in it, that he bought no less than ninety.

This Affair over, he return'd to his Master at *Ilha Grande* with the Slaves he had gotten, and under his protection, and his company, went home again to the Governour, who had now lost all sentiments of Displeasure and Revenge, and was become mighty full of Care and Fear for him, lest some unhappy Accident or other had betided him in his Rambles. And now he was advanc'd to a Post in the Sugar-mills something like, and brought him in some profit, for in the space of a Twelvemonth he had laid up two hundred Crowns.

Knivet in a better place.

1593. From this good and credible place (by that time he was come to taste the sweetness of it) he was forc'd away by a War which broke out between some of the *Indians* which were Friends and Allies of the *Portuguese* and others the most mortal Enemies of both.

The *Portuguese*, in conjunction with other *Indians*, rais'd an Army for the defence of their Friends, which march'd under the command of the Governour's Son, and *Knivet* was order'd to make one of the Company. To tell all the Difficulties and Terrours of this Journey would be a Work too tedious and irksom; sometimes they waded thro' Rivers, march'd thro' marshy and muddy Grounds, cross'd steep and ragged Mountains that lifted up their Heads into the middle Region of the Air; many times they were pinch'd severely for want of Food, and upon this score, together with their constant tedious Marches, the whole Army was much enfeebled, and abundance quite worn off their legs: They had several cruel Distempers rife amongst 'em too, but principally amongst the confederate *Indians*, who therefore cried out of Spirits and Hobgoblins that flutter'd about and tormented them at that rate; but the truth on't is, that they died chiefly (as 'tis common in those hot Countries to do so) of excessive Sweating and Faintness, together with the Worms breeding in the Fundament and consuming those parts. The Remedy the *Indians* use for this is only to take Slices of *Limons* and *green Pepper*, and put it into their Fundaments, and with this they generally perform the Cure.

He goes to War with the *Portugueze*.

Difficult passages.

Distempers in the Army.

But at one particular Stage in their Journey they were mightily troubled with a sort of very poysonous Snakes that were all about in a Bottom where the Army encamp'd; they kill'd about 100 of 'em before they could free their Lodging for that night, and yet they had no more mischief done than only the loss of an *Indian* who was bit by one of 'em; this poor man, as soon as ever the Wound was given, swell'd violently, and the Blood gush'd out of his Eyes and from under his Nails, and in that condition he died.

Venomous Snakes.

In another place they were much more endanger'd by a kind of Fruit, which was very pleasant to the taste and as pernicious other ways: Here the whole Army, both *Portuguese* and *Indians*, were sick, and *Knivet* says, for all that he knows had perish'd, had it not been for a piece of Unicorn's Horn (as he calls it) which one of the Company had by him. Their best Food in this march was Pines, Palmetoes, and wild Honey, and sometimes a little *Guiney*-Wheat and Potatoes, but these things were but seldom to be gotten neither, their way lying thro' more rough and unfruitful places; 'tis a sign they were hard put to it for Victuals, when they eat up all their Leather Targets by the way, nay, the very Cowhide that cover'd the Host and the sacred Utensils was devour'd too, and had those Instruments been made of Leather, they would have been gone as well as the rest: But 'tis a wonder that since the presence of the Host has produc'd so many miraculous Effects, it should not do something here, to keep these good *Catholicks* from coming to such Extremities as oblig'd 'em to eat up the venerable Hide that cover'd it from the Injuries of the Weather: We are told, that the Beasts themselves have come out of the Woods, and the Fowls down from the Trees, to pay their Adorations to it: Ah, how happy and seasonable would it have been for a company of wild Hogs or good fat Deer to have come and worship'd the Host at this time, and have given the *Portuguese* an opportunity to cut their Throats! But there were Infidels and our Heretical Countryman (the Spawn of *Luther*) in the Company, and who knows what an obstruction their presence might be?

Bad Fruits.

Scarcity of Provision.

Now this Army (you'll say) was in a fine condition to encounter a furious Enemy, they had nothing to defend 'em from a shower of Darts and Arrows, for their Targets (which should have been upon their Shoulders) were in their Bellies; and certainly they had been in a hopeful case if their Enemies had not been all ran away; but when they by so many long and horrid Marches had at last reach'd their Town, they found no body there: Perhaps there was something extraordinary in this, the wicked Spirits of that Town smelt what was coming, and in a strange hurry were forc'd to fly the presence; which happed well enough for the *Portuguese*, who else in all probability must have fled from theirs. The *Tamoya's* (for so were their Enemies call'd) had left some store of Provisions behind 'em, which they took possession of, and besides reap'd their Harvest of *Mandioque* for 'em. They staid here two months, the most part of which time was im-

1593. imploy'd in nothing else but providing a stock of Victuals for their return. By this Town is a Bog, which after Rains abounds with Frogs that are a very good Meat and much eaten; there are a great many large Snakes too, which devour those Frogs, and are themselves devour'd by any that can catch and kill 'em, being a sort of Food sufficiently esteem'd both by the *Indians* and *Portuguese*; but it seems they are bold fierce Creatures, and will both assault and pursue a Man, for one of the Company that went out one night a Frog-catching was like to be catch'd by one of these Snakes, it was a very great one indeed, at which he came in not a little fear'd; upon this *Knivet* (who had more courage) went out with a good Club, and coming to the place where the Snake was, she immediately quitted the Prey she had in her Mouth, and raising up her Skin, like the Scales of a great Fish, and opening her Mouth very wide, she put her self into a posture to leap at him, but he by one sound and fortunate blow prevented that assault, for hitting the Snake upon the Head, he quite crush'd her Skull, and tho' she flounc'd about and made a great noise in the Water for some time after, yet entirely dispatch'd her by that means; this Snake he dragg'd home, and cut her out into quarters for the Captain and the principal Officers: But notwithstanding, this Snake had very near cost him his Life, for it being his turn to be Centinel that night, one of the Officers reflected upon him for his negligence, and asserted, that he had been call'd to the Watch while he was away; upon this, tho' 'twas false (and prov'd to be so) yet such a Quarrel arose between 'em, that *Knivet* using his Sword, left his Adversary for dead upon the ground.

Furious Snakes.

Knivet kills one of 'em.

And now he was bound and placed in the Stocks, whilst Articles were drawn up in form against him; more than this, the Frier was sent to prepare him for another World, and tho' the good Father was so charitable as to make two Visits to him, exhorting him to Confession, yet not a bit of Sin could be got out of *Knivet*, who had (as he said) confess'd them all to Heaven before. In short, he was led to the place of Execution, made his Speech to the Company, and expected the fatal turn, but the Officers (who had many of 'em a kindness for him) happned to fall into a Debate among themselves what Authority the Captain had to put him to death, especially since no Murder was done, neither was he impower'd by any Commission from the King; and truly upon consideration they found he had so little, that they commanded the Execution to be staid, and went away to the Captain to intercede for the Criminal's Life; and tho' he refus'd to grant it, yet they were resolv'd to have it, and so accordingly by their own Authority (in spite of all the Captain's Protestations to the contrary) they return'd and discharg'd him.

Condemn'd to die.

His escape.

When the Army had staid in this Country some three months longer, they began to march homewards again, and *Knivet* address'd himself to the seeking new Adventures; to go home with them would be to go to a certain Death, (if at least any could be certain to so slippery a fellow) and therefore he beg'd leave of the Captain to go seek his Fortune: This was more easily granted him than his Life before was, for as he was not fond of the Captain's company, the Captain was not much concern'd about his, but even gave him liberty to dispose of himself how and where he would.

Upon this permission *Knivet*, with twelve more of the *Portuguese* in his company, took leave, and began their Journey: They went down the River of *Jacro* in a Canoe which they made of the Bark of a Tree, and coming to a certain Village, they landed there, intending for the future to go altogether by Land. Here were no Inhabitants at all, but it seems the *Indians* came hither sometimes to fish, for here they found good store of earthen Pots, and in 'em Lines with pieces of Gold tied to them, which were used for that purpose; likewise here they met with many sorts of very fine and beautiful Stones, green, red, blue, white, others very glittering, and as clear as Crystal. They concluded by these tokens that they must be very near to *Potasin*, and therefore travelling South-west from hence, they came into a sort of a brown barren Soil full of Rocks and Hills, and yet many small Rivers water'd it too; here they found lumps of Gold as big as Hazle-nuts by the sides of these Rivers, and great quantities of fine Dust of the same Metal.

He undertakes a new Adventure.

After this they came out into a fair open Country, where they had a prospect of a wonderful Mountain at least ten days Journey from 'em; it shone with a dazling lustre, and when the Sun came about, so that the Beams were reflected off from thence towards 'em, they declare it was very troublesom travelling against the light of it: 'Tis pity they had not told us what it was that made this Mountain to reflect such a light, for it's hardly to be suppos'd that Men should be so stupid as to pass by and not enquire into the cause of so remarkable a *Phœnomenon*, tho' it's not improbable that the vast numbers of those fair bright Stones before mention'd might be the reason of such a shining. 1593.

About the foot of the Mountain they found abundance of the *Tamandro's* or *Ant-bears*; this Animal is as big as an ordinary Bear, and like it in the Body; but it has a Snout of almost a yard long, and a very great Tail all black and grey; they have the Name of *Ant-bears* from their so constant devouring those Insects, for they thrust their Tongues into the Ant-hills, and then when the Ants are settled in great heaps upon them, they draw them into their Mouths, and so swallow them all down. These *Tamandro's* are good Meat, and our Travellers served themselves of them very considerably for the Fleth-part of their Provision.

They went along by this Mountain at least twenty days before they could find any passage over it, but at last they did find one, tho' not over, yet under it, and that by a River that ran quite thro'; where this River went, or whither 'twould carry 'em, what Vortexes and Whirlpools, what Cataracts and vast falls of Water over Rocks and Precipices there might be, they knew not, but yet they resolv'd to attempt a passage this way.

They go down the River under the Mountain.

Now who would not think that these Men were in some very great distress to find out Death and Danger, when they went to look for't in a River that ran under a mighty Mountain, and (for all that they knew) down into the great Abyss? Or had they been sure to avoid all such Dangers, yet King *James*'s Reason against shooting *London-bridge* would have prevented some People perhaps from engaging in such an Enterprize; for since the Mountain must fall one time or other, 'twas not impossible it should tumble down upon their Heads: However, they put that to the venture, and making 'em a sort of a Boat of Canes, between three and four yards wide, and six yards long, into it they went, carrying some store of Provision with 'em, because they could not tell how long 'twould be before they came out again; and indeed *Knivet* plainly declares, he does not know how long they were in that horrible passage, he says they went in of a Morning and came out again of a Morning, but that's all he knows of the matter: Now this must evidently be from one of these two causes, either they slept a great while, and so lost time that way, or else they were all the while in such dreadful darkness that they could never distinguish Day from Night: However, he says, when they had gone quite thro' and saw once more the chearful Light, and the face of the superiour World, they were wonderful glad; which any one will easily believe, that thinks what 'tis to sail under the bottoms of Mountains. And now seeing Houses all about 'em, they determin'd to quit their Boat, and go and throw themselves upon the mercy of those *Savages* that dwelt there, and learn of 'em how to steer their Course for the future.

Scarcity of Provision.

Taken by the Tamoyes.

So they made up towards the Houses, and as soon as ever the *Savages* espied 'em they came out full drive to meet 'em, whooping and hollowing all the way. Having taken 'em, they presently bound their Hands, and tied Cords about their Middles, and so led 'em away to their Town. Being brought thither, two or three grave old Men came to examine 'em of what Country they were, and the *Portuguese* all confess'd directly what they were, but *Knivet* said he was a *Frenchman*; and it had been well for them if they had been *French men* too, for they were not aware into what Country they were rambled, nor into whose hands they were fallen; these *Savages* were the *Tamoyes*, their most irreconcilable Enemies, and to whom nothing in the World was more pleasant than to shed the Blood of their Nation.

Within two hours after this Examination and Confession, Execution came on; one of the *Portuguese* was led between six *Savages* out into a Yard, and then an old Man came to him and bid him look about him and take his last view of all things that pleas'd him, for he should now see 'em no more; upon this a lusty young *Savage* with a great Club advances up to him, *Dost thou see me?* (says he to the poor trembling *Portuguese*) *I am he that has kill'd many of thy Nation, and will now kill thee*; and as soon as the word was out of his Mouth, with two sound blows he dispatch'd him: When he was dead they held him over the Flame, and stript off all his Skin, and then having taken out the *Viscera*, (which they gave to their Women that stood by) they cut out the Body into Joynts, and sent it about from House to House as far as 'twould go. Thus they serv'd all the twelve *Portuguese* one after another; they made so many Feasts of them, and were merry to the highest degree, doing nothing but drink,

Manner of their Executions.

1593. dance, and hollow Night and Day as long as these Dainties lasted.

When *Knivet* had seen all the *Portuguese* thus devour'd, he expected that they would be very quickly for tasting a piece of a *Frenchman* too, but truly when they had done all their Sports they came to him, and told him he should not need to fear the like treatment that the *Portuguese* had, for as for all his Countrymen they had ever been their Friends, but the *Portuguese* had always been their Enemies and made Slaves of 'em, and 'twas for that reason that they had dealt in this rigorous manner with them.

Knivet liv'd.

Thus our *Englishmen* (tho' under the notion of a *Frenchman*) liv'd not only free from all fear and danger, but also in good credit and esteem amongst 'em; and he was serviceable to 'em upon many accounts, he taught them how to encamp, to put themselves into order of Battel, to fight regularly, and several other things relating to Military Discipline; they never would go out to Battel without him, and in the time that he was with them they gain'd several Advantages over other Nations of *Savages* that came to disturb 'em. 'Tis the Custom of these barbarous People to go roving about, whole Nations of 'em together, from one Quarter to another, and that as often as they have a mind either to change their Habitations or make War with any other People whom they are jealous of, or suspect will be their Enemies.

And *Knivet* now found something of an Inclination in these *Tamoyes* to leave the Country where they dwelt at that time, and remove into those parts of the Continent where they could have Trade with the *French*, and where they had also formerly liv'd; he did not stifle this motion, but endeavour'd to promote it as much as he could, for his Fortunes seem'd to be inseparably link'd to theirs, and therefore if he went along with them into those parts, there was some hope of his seeing *Christian* Faces again, and getting an Opportunity to make his escape, but if they staid here those hopes were for ever lost, since they would never care to part with him. In short, after he had given them an account of the place he fix'd upon for their settlement, and the probabilities of a good Commerce with the *French* there, they unanimously resolv'd to relinquish the Country they were now possess'd of, and go and plant themselves there; so they march'd away in a body to the number of thirty thousand, thro' Woods and Deserts, over Mountains, Hills, and Rivers, sometimes Northward and sometimes Southward, shaping their Course as Necessity and Policy together directed them, and had they not gone to War with another Nation of *Savages* by the way, they might probably have finish'd their intended Journey with safety and quiet enough, but engaging themselves against a certain People who were the Allies of the *Portuguese*, they brought a compleat Ruin upon themselves; for those People being considerably worsted by 'em in one Battel, went and crav'd Succour of their Friends the *Portuguese*, who quickly rais'd an Army, and sent it out under the Command of the Governour's Son, he with whom *Knivet* went before upon the like Expedition, and who had so many times been his Master; and these much better Soldiers, with their Martial Furniture, and especially their terrible great Guns, so daunted the Army of the *Tamoyes*, that they were like so many Men without Life or Soul, and not at all pretending to dispute the point with 'em, submitted themselves to their Mercy.

Tamoyes injure the Allies of the *Portuguese*.

Portuguese kill and captivate 'em.

The Captain was astonish'd to find his old Servant *Knivet* alive amongst these People, but having examin'd him what was become of the twelve *Portuguese* that travel'd with him before, and finding the *Tamoyes* had sacrific'd 'em, he presently gave Orders to his Soldiers to massacre all the old Men and Women, and bind the rest for Slaves. Thus was the whole Nation in a manner cut off, 10000 kill'd upon the spot, and the remaining 20000 led into a Captivity worse than Death.

'Tis true indeed, that there was yet remaining a small Town of this People, as they accidentally discover'd afterwards; for going out upon a new Expedition, against another sort of *Savages*, that were come to take up their Dwellings in some of those places where the *Tamoyes* had been before, they found a Town of these *Tamoyes*, who had liv'd by themselves in a Mountain ever since the first Conquest the *Portuguese* had made of 'em. Their Captain (*Knivet* says) was at least 120 years old, a Man of wonderful Strength and Stoutness for his years, and of a very daring Courage; he with his People joyn'd with the *Portuguese*, in their Design against these new Enemies, and being come in sight of their Army, he runs into the thickest ranks of the *Portuguese*, and bid them that had never seen him observe him now, and follow him into the Battel, (if they durst) where they should see his Valour: When he had said this he took his Bow and Arrows and charg'd into the very middle of the Enemy, of whom he kill'd three presently, and was himself shot with one and twenty Arrows, which remain'd sticking in his Body. Before he died, he desir'd to be instructed in the *Christian Religion*, and to have Baptism administred to him, both which being done, he expir'd, calling upon God for Mercy in a very devout and fervent manner.

A valiant Savage King.

1593.

The *Portuguese* had no great trouble to put an end to this War, for the Enemy never stood to joyn Battel with 'em, but ran all away, and they not thinking it worth their while to pursue 'em, return'd home.

Knivet escapes to *Angola*.

After this *Knivet* liv'd something better with the Governour than before, but yet he was grown so horribly weary of this Country, where he had met with so many Disasters, and suffer'd so many Miseries, that he resolv'd once more to attempt the making an escape from it; and his Plot succeeded, he got on board a Ship, and came to *Angola* in *Africk*, from whence he went up the River of *Guansa* to the City of *Masangano*, intending to serve there as a Soldier for some time, and then travel thro' *Ethiopia* into *Turkey*, and so home.

But it seems there was another Journey cut out for him at this time, and instead of making a Visit to *Prester John* or the *Grand Seignior*, he must once more go and see the old Governour in *Brasile*. In plain terms, he was seiz'd here by a Pursuivant, carried away Prisoner to *Angola*, and from thence to St. *Sebastian* to his old Master again. The Governour receiv'd him after another manner now than he did the first time of his running away, he punish'd him only with Jokes and Jests, bid him welcome from *England*, and ask'd him how all his Friends did there; he order'd the Fetters to be taken off from his Legs, gave him good Clothes, and us'd him kindly.

Is taken and sent back to *Brasile*.

Some time after this (by a favourable turn) *Knivet* had the comfort of breathing the Air of a Christian Country again, for his Master was recall'd from his Government in *Brasile* home to *Lisbon*, of which (we may be sure) he was not a little glad.

Goes to *Fernambuco*.

They set sail from St. *Sebastian* for the City of *Fernambuco* in *Brasile*, where they were to stay some time, and in this Course they so wonderfully escap'd a Shipwreck, that hardly any Deliverance of that kind could be more strange and unexpected: They got ashore upon this Coast, where they had been expos'd to so much danger, and made the rest of their Journey to *Fernambuco* by Land.

Goes to the Wars at *Rio Grande*.

While they lay at this place, *Knivet* went to the Wars at *Rio Grande*, for that place was besieg'd by a very potent *Indian* King, with an Army of above 40000 Men. The *Portuguese* set upon 'em unawares, and having surpriz'd 'em in the midst of their Mirth and Feasts, made such a slaughter, that they were glad to propose Terms of Peace; the Conditions were, *That all their Prisoners should be releas'd, and they should be permitted to live in their own Country as Freemen, only acknowledging a subjection to the King of* Spain, *and upon this score they would all of 'em, both King and People, be baptiz'd.*

The *Portuguese* gladly accepted of these Conditions, and so Peace was made, and one of the largest Provinces of all the North of *Brasile* was added to that Crown. The Soldiers got very rich Plunder at this Conquest, they found Diamonds, Rubies, and Saphires in some of the Villages that stood by the Sea, and *Knivet* for his own part tells us, that he was above five hundred Crowns the better for this Expedition.

Sails to *Lisbon*.

When this was over, he return'd to *Fernambuco* to his Master, and from thence in a short time sail'd with him into *Portugal*. He liv'd in the Governour's House at *Lisbon* in pretty good sort for the space of nine months; but then falling sick, he was so far neglected by his Master (who certainly ow'd him more care and attendance) that he had suffer'd the last Extremities if a certain charitable *English* Nun had not given him a seasonable Relief; and 'twas by this good Woman's means that (as his Sickness grew more and more violent) he was remov'd into the Royal Hospital, where, he tells us, the *Portuguese* Doctors bled him twenty one times, and at last compleatly recover'd him; and then when the Physicians had done with him, his kind Friend the Nun brought him out again with Money in his Pocket.

Becomes an Interpreter to Merchants.

Now *Knivet* thinking all manner of Obligations to his Master for the future were utterly cancel'd by this his cruel neglect of him, did not go back to his House, but set up for getting his own living; and the course that he took for it was, to be an Interpreter to Merchants; in this way he got as much business as ever he could turn his hand to, and maintain'd himself very well: Abundance of these Merchants (finding his fitness for business) would have imploy'd him in their Concerns in *Brasile* and other parts of the *West-Indies*, but he who had liv'd in that

Country

1593. Country but too long already, and had now a mind to have one look more at *England*, refus'd their Offers, and waited for a favourable opportunity to take that view he so much desir'd; but the Date of his banishment from home was not yet out, his Fortune must yet have another unhappy turn, and Slavery that left him in *Brasile* meet him once more in *Portugal*. To be brief, his old Master, that found he would not come at him, incens'd the Viceroy against him, and had him laid in a Dungeon, where he was kept with so short an Allowance that his manner of living was next door to starving: In this Distress he continued for some time, but how long we are not certain, as neither also how he was deliver'd from thence, but we know by many intimations that he did undoubtedly see *England* again, and rejoyce with his Friends, after all the various Scenes of his disastrous Fortune.

Knivet cast into Prison.

Having run over the History of this Man's Adventures, we are now to see the Observations he has made upon the several Countries he travel'd thro', the varieties of People and Nations, with as much of their Customs and Rites as were known to him, and (after all) those Remarks which do more immediately relate to Navigation and Geography.

The Natives of Brasile. As for the People of this mighty Country (*Brasile*) the first Nation he describes are the *Petivares*, who dwell in the Northern parts of *Brasile*, between *Baya* and *Rio Grande*; they are not of so wild and barbarous a disposition as many of the *Brasilian* Nations are, their greatest rudeness lies in their preserving those two notorious Characters of wild and rude Men, which is going quite naked and devouring Human Flesh; otherwise they are a People of decent and civil Manners enough: If you come to 'em as a Merchant, they'll traffick fairly with you; if as a Warriour and an Enemy, they'll fight with as much Generosity and Courage. They are generally portly, of a good Stature, and of no bad Complexion; their Bodies are wrought all over with fine Works, and their Lips perforated with a Roebuck's Horn, to make room for a green Stone which is to be placed there; both these Ornaments (the latter at least) seem to be peculiar to the Men, neither do they assume them till they are of age; but this green Stone in their Lip is such a mark of Gentility amongst 'em, that he that appears without it is reckon'd to be of the very Dregs of their Nation, and to have no fine Blood running in his Veins.

Polygamy. They allow every Man to take as many Wives as he can get, but the Women can have but one Husband at a time, yet a Wife of one Man may be pass'd off to another, if her present Husband gives his consent to it in a publick Meeting. These poor Women are in one respect meer Porters to their Husbands, for when they go to the Wars the others lug along all the Provision in Baskets at their Backs.

Customs of Childbed. But they manage the matter still more odly in another respect, for when they are deliver'd of a Child, and ought to have all the ceremony and attendance proper to a lying-in Woman, the Husband presently lies down in the Hammock, (as if he had been brought to Bed himself) and all his Wives and Neighbours come about and serve him. This is a pleasant fancy indeed, that the Woman must take all the pains to bring the Child into the World, and then the Man lie down and gruntle upon it! there's few Women in the World would like this, to lose all the Privileges and Triumphs of that condition, and instead of being caress'd and waited upon by the Men, presently to become Nurses or Gossips to 'em themselves; but the Custom obtains among the *Petivares*, and their Women it seems don't dispute it.

Superstition. The Men are so very superstitious, that all the while their Wives are with Child they will not kill any female Animal, Beast, Bird, or Fish, for they believe that if they should, their own Child would certainly die.

When they go out a hunting at any time, and bring home some agreeable Prey along with 'em, they do, by making a Present of it to one of their Wives, shew which of the number they intend to lie with that night; she that receives the Favour is not a little glad and proud on't, she smiles upon the Gift as the happy *Sultana* does, who receives the *Grand Seignior*'s Handkerchief upon the like occasion; away she goes to the Water and washes, then she comes home, and goes up into her Hammock, and commands all the rest of the Wives to serve her; in short, she is sole Empress of the House (as well as of the Bed) for that day, and all the rest are very punctual in their obedience to the Orders she gives.

The *Petivares* are great Enemies to the *Portuguese*, and certainly eat all the Prisoners they take; they that take 'em don't kill 'em, but give 'em to their Brothers or Friends to do it for 'em; and here 'tis a Fancy that these People have, to assume as many Names to themselves as they kill Men.

Towns and Houses. As for their way of living, they have good large Towns of their own, and those Towns good large Houses, for they are 22 yards long; they are cover'd over with Palmeto Boughs, and have no manner of Partitions in 'em: They divide all their Grounds, and justly enough observe every man his proper limits.

Feedings. They are not ambitious of high feeding, living mostly upon *Herbs*, *Guiney-wheat*, and *Mandioque*; both Men, Women and Children wash themselves every morning, this is a thing they never omit, but whether there be any thing of Religion in it, or whether it be pure Decency and Cleanliness or no, is not certain.

Serpent Jebya. The most remarkable Animals of this Province are the *Serpents* and the *Monkeys*; the Serpents are by the Natives call'd *Jebya*, they have four Legs and a long Tail like a Crocadile, and are preying ravenous Creatures like them; they lie very still and close upon the ground, and hide their Tails, that they may not be discover'd by them when they watch for Prey, and then when any Animal (that they dare seize on) comes within reach, they raise themselves, and darting out a couple of sharp Fins from the fore quarters, kill whatsoever they strike.

Monkys. The Monkeys (which the *Petivares* call *Warica*) are as big as an ordinary Spaniel, but very black, with a Face almost human, and a very long broad Beard; you shall see twenty or more of 'em together in a Tree, and one of the number shall walk up and down with his Paw upon his Beard, chattering and making a violent noise, whilst all the rest sit mighty still and quiet, listening to the Discourse of that preaching Monkey.

The Tapoyes. On the Coast betwixt *Fernambuco* and *Baya* dwell the *Tapoyes*, which Name signifies *Wild Men*, and therefore all the rest of the Cannibals abhor that People and their Name, the *Wayanasses* only excepted, who are like the *Tapoyes* in their Manners, and consequently don't so much despite the Name: And they very well deserve to be call'd so upon this account, that they have no settled Habitations, but run up and down the Woods like the wild Animals; neither do they maintain any friendship or correspondence with other People, but are at war with all, and their next Neighbours are sure to be their Enemies, let 'em come where they will. They make holes in their Lips, as other Savages do, but they don't work their Bodies all over like the *Petivares*, tho' instead of that they besmear 'em with a Gum, and then stick the Feathers of Parrats and other Birds upon 'em. They are a cowardly treacherous sort of People, never coming out into the open Field to fight, but hiding themselves in Holes, and behind Trees and Bushes, till they have a fair opportunity to attack their Enemies with some considerable advantage; they don't value themselves by their fighting, but by their running, so that he's the best Man amongst 'em who (when he has done a mischief) can scour fastest away. They eat Human Flesh as well as their Neighbours, but they speak a Language very different from all the other *Brasilians*. The Women here go out to War with their Bows and Arrows as well as the Men, and therefore if they can but run as fast, are to be sure as good Soldiers as they.

Topinaubazes. From the River of St. *Francis* to *Baya de Todos Santos* dwell the *Topinaubazes*, which are like the *Petivares* in all points, as to Dress, Language, and Manners, this only excepted, that they let their Beards grow long, which neither the *Petivares* nor any other Cannibals do, but pull it quite away, and that not only from their Faces, but their Eyebrows and Privy parts also.

Waymores. From *Baya* to the *Elews* dwell a barbarous and desperate sort of People call'd *Waymores*; they are very big lusty fellows, exceeding strong and valiant, (or rather furious) not ever considering Danger or the hazard of their Lives, but will attempt any thing that lies in their way, tho' with ever so great an odds of Men. They have no Towns nor Houses, the Woods and other Refuges of wild Beasts are their natural Homes: They don't care where they come, (into what Province, or amongst what sort of Enemies) for they are so very swift of foot, that hardly any body can hurt 'em: No Lyon can devour its Prey more greedily than they do the Flesh of Mankind, neither is any Swine more filthy and dirty than (for the most part) their Bodies are.

The Tememynos. The *Tommymos* dwell about *Spirito Santo*, and have every way as much Spirit and Courage, but withal are much more like Men and true Soldiers than the *Waymores* are. They have many Towns, and those strongly wall'd and guarded too; their Houses are cover'd over with Bark of Trees, and made with Canes like Hurdles, that they may have the conveniency of shooting out thro' 'em.

Knivet

The Portuguese war with them.

Knivet went to the Wars along with the *Portuguese* against these People, but he declares, that tho' they had a considerable Army, they thought every man to die there, the *Savages* assaulted 'em with such a well-govern'd fury and so great a resolution: While they were besieg'd they would come and stand upon the City Walls, (painted all red and black, and besides trimm'd with Feathers) holding in their hands Wheels set round with combustible matter, these they would set of a light fire, and waving 'em about their heads, cry out to the *Portuguese*, *Logue eyeee y mem anc*, that is, *Even like this shall you be consum'd*. One of them broke into the *Portuguese* Army one day, and coming to the General, took him up in his Arms and in spite of all their endeavours ran away with him to the River, where he threw him in, and had certainly drown'd him, if a timely relief had not come: But at last they were vanquish'd, and great numbers of 'em kill'd and taken Prisoners, tho' they made the *Portuguese* so much work first, that they would easily grant it was not a thing of trifling difficulty to conquer the *Tomomines*.

The Wayteguazes.

The *Wayteguazes* inhabit about the North and South side of Cape *Frio*, in low marthy grounds; they are bigger Men than the *Waymores* are, and wear long black Hair like them; their Women fight as well as the Men, and are accoutred with Bows and Arrows; they don't lie in Hammocks as other Cannibals do, but like Hogs, upon the Ground, round about their Fires. These are a People too that are at War with all Nations, and eat *Spaniards*, *French*, *Portuguese*, *Blackmores*, *Brasilians*, indifferently, according as they can catch 'em. When you take any of these fellows Prisoners, and bind 'em ever so fast, (unless it be with Chains of Brass or Iron) yet you must have a watchful eye upon 'em if you intend to keep 'em; for *Knivet* says, that thirteen of 'em were left thus in a House by themselves bound Hand and Foot, and yet when they came to look for 'em, they were all gone. This had not happed if they had put out their Fire before they had gone away, but leaving that burning, the Prisoners made shift to roul themselves to it, and so burnt asunder the Cords that held 'em.

Eaters of all People.

Odd way of taking Sharks and Alligators.

Hardly any besides these People themselves do perhaps dare to make so bold with *Sharks* as they commonly will; they'll go into the Water to 'em, manage 'em till they have got 'em by the Tail, and then drag 'em along to the shore in that manner.

Knivet tells us of very great *Alligators* in this Country, he saw abundance that were seven yards long, and taking it all together, (the horrible Scales, the ugly Paws, and much more ugly Head of it) he believes it one of the most frightful Creatures that can be look'd upon. The *Portuguese* are mightily for taking these Creatures, but they dare not venture to take 'em so as the others do the *Sharks*, that is, go into the Water and catch 'em by their Tails; they fish for 'em with a great Iron Chain and a Hook as big, which they bait with a Cock or a Hen or some such Animal. The Testicles of the *Alligator* (he says) are as good as any Musk in the World, and 'tis upon this account that the *Portuguese* do fish for 'em.

The Wayanasses.

In the *Wayteguazes* Country the Mountains are so full of *Crablice*, that they are a bitter plague to all that live there; they stick in the Skin, and when they have once fastned themselves, there's no pulling 'em off again; therefore *Knivet* says, that when all other means fail'd, they were fain to make a Fire of Straw, and singe themselves all over like so many Hogs, and by that means they were rid of 'em. This Country abounds with wild Hogs and a kind of wild Fowl as big as Turkeys call'd *Mutu's*.

Topinaques, their strange Customs.

The *Wayanesses* dwell eighteen leagues to the Southward of the River *Janeiro*, at *Ilha Grande*; these are People of lower Stature, as well as Courage, than any others we have describ'd, but they have much more Humanity, and are not addicted to such barbarous Practices as the most of their Neighbours are; they don't paint nor carve their Bodies, but the Women colour their Faces and Bodies too with a sort of red, like Oker, which grows in a round Cod like a Bean, by this means their Faces (which are otherwise sufficiently well-featur'd, and adorn'd with a good natural Complexion too) are rendred far from enticing, and in short very ugly. Both Men and Women have their Hair growing long by their sides, and shaven on the crown, like *Franciscan* Friers; they are mighty admirers and takers of Tobacco, and think it not only the best thing their Country produces, but one of the greatest Necessaries of Life; for, besides its use in smoaking and chewing, they practise all their Chirurgery with it, and apply that alone in case of any external hurt whatsoever.

'Tis of them that the *Portuguese* buy most of their Slaves, and if at any time they want, they come to *Ilha Grande*, where they are sure to find some of the *Wayanasses* a fishing, who quickly go to their Towns and make provision for a Market.

Topinaques.

The *Topinequaes* have their Quarters at St. *Vincent*: The Women here do all paint themselves with divers colours, and on their Heads they wear a thin Bark of some Tree, like a Ribbon. When they kill any Man they are all of 'em (universally) painted with a sort of Fruit they call *Janipavo*, their Heads are stuck with Feathers, their under-Lips set with Stones, and having each of em a Rattle in their Hands, they dance for three days together: The Men will drink of a very filthy Liquor they prepare themselves as long as they can stand, and if they are ever so much overloaded and disorder'd by their Excesses, they take a Pipe of Tobacco, and pretend to be as easie and fresh again presently as if they had drank nothing.

Paries.

The *Paries* dwell from these at least a hundred miles, within the main Land; they are in stature and make most like the *Wayanasses*, which is short, thick, big-bellied and broad-footed; their Complexion is agreeable enough, but their Temper and Qualities are of all the *Savages* the most commendable, for they will not go to war with any Nation that will but suffer 'em to live in peace; they chuse rather to wear Clothes than to go naked, if they can but get 'em; and then they take no pleasure in eating human Flesh, neither do they make that their Food, but when they must do it to keep 'em from starving; in such a case, if they have a dead Man by 'em, they'll eat him.

There are abundance of Lyons, Leopards and Cats of Mountain in this Country; and for Vegetables, Pines, Cocao's, and Balsamick Trees, and these last in such plenty, that for a Knife or a Comb you may have five or six gallons of Balsam.

The Molopaques.

After you have pass'd the furious River of *Paraeyua*, you come into the Country of the *Molopaques*; these differ from all the *Savages* (that our Author had seen) in this point, that they have Beards like the Men of other Countries, whereas amongst all the Nations of *Brasile* you shall hardly find any one People that shew you any thing considerable of this token of Manhood. He commends highly their good manners and civil deportment, their order and distinction of Houses and Families, each man here dwelling with his own apart from others, and not huddling two or three score together in one great Stall, or under some shelter in the Woods, as many other *Savages* do. And they observe their seasons for eating and drinking as regularly as they do the distinctions of Families; they eat Morning, Noon and Night, and not (like Beasts of Prey) at every impulse of a ravenous Appetite, or when a bit falls into their clutches.

Their orderly living.

The King.

The Kingly Power has annex'd to it the liberty of exceeding all the Subjects in the number of their Wives; and this seems to be the main mark of distinction between Soveraign and Subject in that Country, for the King has neither any Garb or Ornament, any Respect or Honour, or any thing else (as far as he could observe) to distinguish him from another man, but only his greater number of Women and his Title *Morouishava*, which they always gave him.

The Women.

The Women *Knivet* compares to the *English*, both for their Complexion, Behaviour and good Humour; they are however, he acknowledges, something too reserv'd and backward in their Conversation, being so very grave that you shall never see 'em laugh at any thing that passes, but yet so quick and apprehensive withal, that you can say nothing but what they take. In short he believes, with the Civil and Religious Improvements and Polishments of the *European* World, they would be one of the finest People upon Earth.

Long Hair.

The Women have their Hair of divers colours, white, yellow, brown, black, and they generally wear it so long that they tie it about their middle (with the Bark of a Tree) for a covering; those that have not this defence wear a sort of a Furr instead of it.

Plenty of Gold.

Their Country is very rich in Gold, tho' they don't esteem nor use it for any other purpose than to fasten about their Fishing-lines: This may serve for an Emblem good enough, and we know what multitudes of such silly Fishes there are in the World, that are drawn upon the Hook with a golden Bait. They don't trouble themselves to work in the Mines for Gold, as the *Spaniards* do, but content themselves with such pieces as they find when the Rain has wash'd away the Earth. Where the Golden Mines are, there are no Trees, but Mountains of dry black Earth; and that particular Mountain where the *Molopaques* find most of their Gold, is call'd by them *Eteperarangr*.

The

Motayes. The *Motaya's* poſſeſs a fair champion Country between the *Molopaques* and the *Tamoyes*; they are a People of little Stature, a good brown Complexion, and they wear their Hair (both Men and Women) much as we do in *England*, but they abhor any thing of Hair ſhould grow upon their Chins or Eyebrows, and therefore they always pull it away with a Shell.

Their Entertainments of Strangers. When Strangers come to their Houſes they welcome them with bitter weepings and lamentations, and after that they entertain 'em with the beſt they have: *Kniver* ſays, that when he and the *Portugueſe* came amongſt 'em, they came forth ſinging and dancing to meet 'em upon the way, and brought *Guiney* Wheat and Roots to preſent 'em with; but certain'ly never was ſuch a Feaſt heard of as they made 'em when they came to their Houſes, it conſiſted of Frogs, Snakes, Serpents, Dogs, Monkeys and Mans-fleſh, a Treat that might have ſerv'd well enough had Lyons and Crocadiles or ſome ſuch rude voracious Animals been their Gueſts; but this was their beſt, and it ſeems ſome on't went down well enough, tho' the Mans-fleſh would not, for which the *Motayes* laugh'd at them, pitied their ignorance, and told 'em, they had not Palates nice enough to diſtinguiſh fine Meat when 'twas ſet before 'em.

Lopes. Farther in the Country live the *Lopes*, call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Bi rero's*; they are much ſuch ſort of People as the former, but their Women more rude and ſhameleſs, maintaining nothing at all of the *decorum* of their Sex: They live altogether in the Mountains of Pine-trees, and upon that Fruit mainly: Their Houſes are only Boughs, tied together with rinds of Trees, and therefore are chang'd as often as they pleaſe, or when more Fruit and better Shelter of Boughs invites 'em to it.

Rich in Gold. The Country is as rich in Gold and fine Stones as moſt in all *Braſile*, but it lies ſo far in the main Land, and is ſo populous, that as yet the *Portugueſe* have got no footing there.

The Tract of Land that runs along from theſe Provinces laſt deſcrib'd, towards the Country of the *Tamoyes*, is wonderfully rich in Gold and rare Stones; here was that ſtrange Mountain before mention'd, that caſt ſuch a luſtre at a vaſt diſtance; here 'twas alſo that *Kniver* and his Company met with Gold and Precious Stones ſo very frequently as they were travelling along, that 'twas a wonder how it came about that each of 'em ſhould not bring off ſuch a Cargo of Riches as would make 'em live jollily for ever after; but he does affirm, that they oftentimes threw away the Stones they had, to take up others they met with which they thought finer and more valuable. 'Twas at leaſt two months they travel'd in this golden Country, having their Eyes every day ſtruck with thoſe Beauties and Charms which the whole World is ſo mad for, and ſo vehemently covets to poſſeſs.

Tamoyes. And the Country of the *Tamoyes* it ſelf is not leſs enticing upon this account: Theſe *Indians* do no more value Gold and Precious Stones than we do Bricks and Tiles, and the reaſon is, becauſe they ſee 'em almoſt as commonly. They are perhaps the moſt handſom taking People in all *Braſile*, both Men and Women, and that whether we conſider the goodneſs of their Complexion, the cleanneſs of their Make, or the juſtneſs of their Stature and Proportion.

Kniver (as has been related) liv'd a conſiderable time amongſt theſe People, but he has not been ſo particular as might have been expected in diſcovering their Cuſtoms and Manners to us.

Tecoman. The Country of *Tecoman* was one of thoſe that the *Tamoyes* paſs'd with *Kniver* when they travel'd towards the Sea. The Inhabitants of it are call'd *Pigmies*, becauſe they are of ſo very ſmall a ſize, but they dont't ride upon Cranes, nor are they ſuch poor *Animalcula* as the vulgar Fables make 'em to be: They dwell altogether in Caves and other ſubterraneous retreats, and their main ſuſtenance is Roots, Wheat and *Caſſavi*-meal, of which the former is ſuch as we have in *England*.

This Province the *Spaniards* believe to be the common Boundary of *Braſile* and *Peru*, becauſe here are the common Products of both thoſe Countries, the *Braſilian* Roots and the *Peruvian* Corn and Grain. They keep this in their hands, (tho' it yields 'em nothing but wild Horſes) for theſe little *Tecomans* are deſperate Enemies to the *Peruvians*, and help to keep them in awe under the *Spaniſh* Government.

Caryjohs. Between this and the Country of the *Caryjohs* ſtands the famous Mountain of Metals, ſo call'd becauſe of the Mines of Iron, Copper, Gold and Quickſilver that it contains; 'tis vaſtly high, and all bare, without any thing of a Tree.

The chief Town of the *Caryjohs* ſtands by the Sea, in a fine pleaſant riſing Ground; there's a good Bay hard by, where an hundred Ships may lie at Anchor without any danger, and here all one may be ſure to be always furniſh'd with good ſtore of Fi[illegible]h. In this Country a man may buy a dozen Skins of very g[illegible]od Furr for a Knife or a Fiſh-hook, and for any little parcel [illegible] of Trifles you ſhall have an *Indian* go and fetch two or three Baskets of Metals, ſome pieces of which ſhall, it may be, be of the moſt valuable kinds; nay, ſome for the value of two or three Knives and a Comb, and ſome ſuch things, [illegible] had brought 'em to the worth of four or five thouſand crowns in Gold and Stones. The *Caryjohs* are Men of good Courage, they ſpeak the ſame Language with the *Tamoyes*, and are in moſt reſpects like 'em. The *Tamoyes* warring with theſe People drew the ſtrength of the *Portugueſe* upon themſelves, as was before related, ſo that here 'twas that our Traveller finiſh'd his Peregrinations about this part of *America*, going home from this place with the *Portugueſe*.

Gyants at Port Defire. As to the other parts of *America* whither his variable Fortune brought him, he tells us, that at Port *Defire* (which is the next Haven to the *Straits* of *Magellan*) there are People which may very well deſerve the Name of *Gyants*: He ſaw ſome of the prints of their Feet upon the Shore, and affirms, that they were above four times the length of an ordinary Man's Foot; and ſome of the Fleet further told him, that when they lay at Port *Defire* ſome of theſe monſtrous People threw ſuch huge Stones out of Slings from off the Shore upon them, that they were forc'd to weigh Anchor and lie farther out at Sea: But more than all this, he actually ſaw one of them that was taken and brought to *Breſile*, a meer Youth, but above thirteen ſpan long; he was fair, well proportion'd to his height, and wore his Hair long, hanging down upon his Shoulders. There are ſeveral ſmall Rivers about this Port, which afford great ſtore of Pearl and Coral.

Dwarfiſh People at Port Famine. At Port *Famine* dwell a ſort of *Savages* very different from the former, they are not above five or ſix ſpans high, but withal very thick and well ſett; their Mouths are ſo wide that they reach almoſt from Ear to Ear, and theſe wide Mouths they fill with raw bloody Fleſh, which they devour with an exceſſive greedineſs: They beſmear their Faces and Breaſts with Blood, and then lay on light downy Feathers, which the Blood makes ſtick to their Skins (like ſo much Glue.) As for the Humour and Manners of this People, there was nothing at all to be known of either, for they were ſo exceſſively ſhy and fearful of being catch'd, that there was no Converſe with them to be obtain'd.

Kniver ſpeaks of a certain Beaſt in this Country which is bigger than a Horſe, with vaſt great Ears and a Tail like a Cow; they are very good Meat, tho' he knows no other Name of them than that which the *Indians* of *Braſile* give 'em, which is *Tapehywaſon*: He ſaw ſome of the ſame alſo in *Ethiopia*, in the Kingdom of *Manicongo*, and there the *Portugueſe* call 'em *Gomba*.

But we muſt now take a ſhort view of his Obſervations of that part of the World.

Angola. 'Twas to *Angola* that he fled from *Braſile*, and of this Country he tells us, that 'tis very ſmooth and champion, has a dry black Soil, and yields very little Corn, but good ſtore of Plantans, it yields neither no ſort of Stone, and very little Wood, ſo that the *Angolans* Houſes are ordinarily very pitiful things, cover'd with Earth, and no bigger than a reaſonable Chamber, but yet divided into ſeveral Partitions, in one of which a Man has hardly room to turn or ſtand upright. Their Beds are made of Bulruſhes ſow'd together with the Rind of a Tree. The Money moſt current amongſt them is nothing but the Shells of Fiſhes, which they pick up upon the Shore, and which the *Portugueſe* alſo bring in great plenty from *Braſile* to *Angola*.

The People and their Cuſtoms. Theſe People do much eſteem red, blue, and yellow Clothes, and for a piece of a ſpan ſquare they'll freely give a Slave; the uſe they put it to is, to hang it before, and under that the Skin of a great Weazel, and this is all their Apparel. Their Complexion is the blackeſt of all *Africa*, and as black as Jett it ſelf: The Men cut long Streaks in their Faces, that reach from the tops of their Ears to their Chins, and the Women wear abundance of Shells upon their Arms and the ſmall of their Legs.

Money. The Cuſtom of the Country allows to each Man but one Wife at a time, and if any Perſon lies with his Neighbour's Wife, he loſes his Ears for his Offence. All their Children are circumcis'd, and have their ſeveral Proper Names given 'em at that time.

The *Angolans* do very religiouſly fear and reverence their King, they ſerve him with all the care and reſpect in the World, and think it the higheſt Crime to diſobey any Command he gives. They fight no Duels but what they

they fight by his special leave and per[mission], and in his presence; they come before him, and falling flat on their Faces to pay him their first Adorations, they then rise up and kneel, and in that posture crave his permission to fight; the King then takes 'em over the Shoulders with a Horse-tail, and by this token signifies his Pleasure in granting them their Desire. After the Battel is over, the Survivor (if there be any) comes and prostrates himself after the same manner before the King, and having made a long Harangue, he rises and takes the Horse-tail from the King's Shoulder, and waves it over his Head, and then lays it upon his Shoulder-again, and now he goes away with abundance of Honour, all the Nobles and Courtiers attending upon him. When this Prince goes abroad, he has two or three hundred Archers to attend him, ten or twelve Musicians go before him playing upon Pipes made of Canes, next to these follow five or six Pages, and the rear is brought up by the Nobility.

The *Portugaze* have a City in this Kingdom, call'd *Spirito Santo*, a place of considerable Trade for Slaves and Elephants Teeth, besides Provisions, which the Blacks bring thither constantly.

Congo But *Congo* (which our Traveller visited also) is certainly a much more mighty Kingdom than *Angola*. This King goes abroad with a vast deal of Pomp and Splendour, on either side of his Elephant there goes six Slaves, all of 'em Noble, some of 'em of Royal Blood, yea, Kings themselves: Thus twas at the time of *Knivet*'s being there, there were two captive Kings, who waited by the side of this Monarch's Elephant, and several of the rest were Brothers and near Kinsmen of Kings; they carry a Canopy of State over his Head, and at every the least word of command he gives, they fall flat upon the ground before him: Before him march at least five hundred Archers; next to them, and just immediately before himself, goes a Herauld, who proclaims all his great Actions, and extols his Virtues, that have made him famous in that part of the World; then follow his Secretaries and other Domesticks; and in this manner he always goes abroad. When he goes to his Camp all the whole Army worships him, and they kiss the Ground together; and after a Battel, if he visits his Camp, he ever dubbs at least twenty Knights, and gives 'em Livings according to their merit.

The State of the King.

The King upon the Throne when our Countryman was there was a *Christian*, the *Portuguese* had made him so, and consequently were very great about him: *Knivet* was brought before this great Prince, and finding him gentle and favourable to Strangers, he did (at his command) entertain him with very free Discourses of his own Queen and Country, and when the *Portuguese* would have interrupted him at his talking several things they did not like, the King gave 'em a passionate Reprimand, telling 'em, he ought to be let alone telling the truth, and it being his own Country that he spoke of, he was a better Judge of what was or was not so than they.

Two things in *Knivet*'s Discourse did very greatly astonish this King, one was, That Queen *Elizabeth* had so long govern'd her Country without any interruption by Rebellion and Tumult; and the other, That she had all that while liv'd a Maid, and so vigorously defended her self from a Husband: By this Wonder the King seem'd to suppose that such things were hardly to have been expected in his Country; and it may be so, for a Climate under the Line might much more naturally tend to produce the contrary effects, than one in the middle of the Temperate Zone.

Masangano, an unhealthy place.

That part of the Kingdom of *Congo* that borders upon the Kingdom of *Angica*, especially that about the City of *Masangano*, is very unhealthy: This City lies just under the Line, in a bottom, surrounded with four Hills, and as there is not one River, so there's abundance of Bogs. The *Portuguese* observe a mighty regularity here in their Diet and Clothing and Physicking of themselves, and yet (after all) die like any Rats; while *Knivet*, who slav'd hard all day long, and eat or drank any thing he could get, and that at any time too of the 24 hours, enjoy'd his perfect Health, and never made the least Complaint all the while he was in this most intolerable Climate.

Gold. The Gold that this Country affords so plentifully reconciles the *Portuguese* to it, and makes all the scorching Heats and cruel Distempers of it tolerable to 'em.

Angica. The Kingdom of *Angica* lies under the Line; the Natives are tall and very well proportion'd, valiant and resolute to the last degree; the *Portuguese* their Neighbours at *Masangano* do distress them with Wars, but 'tis their Principle always to die when they can't conquer those Enemies, for they never yield to 'em. They are a sort of *Mahometans*, as their Rites and Customs (well known in that Religion) do plainly discover. They have not much better Dwellings (whatever their Provisions be) than their Neighbours the *Angolans* have; but yet we hear of no more, as to the latter, than good Wheat and a Grain like Fetches, of which they make their Bread: And for Fowl, they have Hens, Partridges, and Turkies good store.

Mahometans.

Thus have we run thro' his Remarks upon the Countries he travel'd thro'; these that follow will more directly serve the Mariner.

Rio Grande (call'd by us the *Great River*) is above two leagues broad in the mouth: On the Coast are many great Bays, where the *Indians* frequently find considerable quantities of Ambergrise; also in the Country adjoyning are great store of Sugar-canes, Pepper, Ginger, and Wax. *Rio Grande.*

'Tis to be noted, that on the Coast of *Brasile* there are three Rivers that bear the Name of *Paraeyna*; the first lies next to *Rio Grande*, the second runs thro' the Country almost as far as *Lyma*, and comes out between Cape *Frio* and *Spirito Santo*; the third lies betwixt the River of *Plate* and St. *Vincent*: The former has a fair great Bay, which Ships of the largest dimentions may enter and come to an Anchor near the Shore.

Guyana is a small River that lies by the first *Paraeyna*; in the Mouth of it stands a Rock that is continually cover'd with Sea-fowl, and hereabouts you have two fathom Water; a quarter of a mile inwards, upon the South-west side, you may have fresh Water, and good store of Cattle: Upon this River also you'll find a great many Sugar-mills, and fishing-Carvels that are continually carrying Sugar to *Fernambuco*; likewise here's *Brasile*-wood, Pepper, Ginger, Cocao's, *Indian* Nuts in great plenty. *Guyana.*

Etamarique is a Point of Land like a Cape, it runs half a mile into the Sea, and upon it the *Portuguese* have built a Town; you may anchor very near the Shore, both on the South-west and North-east side of the Town, in seven fathom Water. All the Country till you come to Cape St. *Augustine* is low Land, and there's no danger in sailing from thence to *Fernambuco*, except the Clifts which lie along the Coast of the River St. *Francis*, and are always to be easily seen: When there is a Spring-Tide the Seas overflow the Land behind, and if there be any Wind blowing from the East, it beats the Sea into the hollows of the Clifts, and makes a terrible noise, upon which account the *Indians* call this *The Land of the Bell*. Here are pretty good quantities of Sugars, and very great ones of Cocao-nuts. *Etamariqua.*

On the North side of *Fernambuco* you shall see white Downs, and when you are past all these on the South, you are then by a place call'd *Capiguramirini*, where there are Fishermen always to be found; from hence to *Fernambuco* is not more than two leagues. At this time, if you are under 8 gr. you shall see a flat Land, even and bare, which is call'd *Capitua*, and then you must take care that you don't run Southward, for fear of a Point of Land which is four leagues from the Cape, and stretches into the Sea as far as Cape *Augustin*; 'tis call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Punto de Olynda*. *Caution.*

When you have doubled this Point, you are to avoid putting in with the Town of *Olynda*, and that because of the Sands call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Bayhos de St. Antonio*, which lie at least three or four mile into the Sea: Being near the Shore, you will see all the Ships that lie at Anchor over the Clifts call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Arecias*. This place where the Ships lie is a league from *Fernambuco*, and 'tis the noted Harbour into which all the Shipping from *Fernambuco* comes, and from hence to the Cape you shall see the Clifts lying one by another, and as even and regular as a Wall made by Art. *Punto de Olynda.*

The Town of *Fernambuco* is seated upon a Hill, and strongly intrench'd round about; towards the Sea stand several Forts, which scour all the Shore from the *Arecias* to the Point of *Olynda*. From the *Arecias* runs along a River thro' the Land, about a Gunshot from the Sea-shore, and goes quite behind the Town from the South to the West and East, and so makes it a *Peninsula*, communicating with the Land on the North side only. *Fernambuco.*

The Cape of St. *Augustin* is a shoot of Land that advances into the Sea two or three miles; 'tis easily known by the three Hills that appear, as also the *Portuguese* Church, and particularly in that half a league to the Southward you see the Island St. *Alexyo*. *Cape Augustine.*

The Island of *Alexyo* is long and narrow, stretching North-east and South-west, and lying within a league of the Shore; you may anchor between it and the Shore in all weathers, for there are several fair Bays, where you may lie in ten or twelve fathom Water; also upon the Island it self you may take in Wood or fresh Water. *Island Alexyo.*

Porto

Porto Docalno. *Porto Docalno* lies Southward of *Alexyo*, it is a low flat Land; you need not fear going in by the Rocks, for hard by them you shall have fourteen fathom Water. This Harbour may easily be known from the Southern Point of the Island *Alexyo*, for when 'tis low water you shall see a fair Bay, and all the Shore (being a black ground) bare almost to the Cape. Here you have great store of Sugar-canes and Cattle.

River of Stones. About eight leagues to the Southward from *Porto Docalno* is the *River of Stones*; you shall see from Sea a great Bay run within the Land, and before the mouth of it many great Rocks: Now, to come into the Bay, you must keep close to the Shore on the South-west side, and after you be in the Bay go full West, and this Course will bring you to a River that runs at least twenty leagues up into the Land. Here you may (if you be of any tolerable strength) plunder the *Portugueſe* of their Sugars and Cattle, and meet besides with *Brasile*-wood, Pepper, Cotton, and several other sorts of Merchandize.

Camaryiuva. *Camaryiuva* lies a league to the Southward of the *River of Stones*, and, to know it, you will upon kenning discover three great red Hills call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Barcos Varnellios*. The place is not inhabited, and the mouth of the River is narrow and shallow, having not above five foot Water, but you may anchor in the Bay hard by the River, and send your Boat very safely for fresh Water; you may fish also here very successfully, for there's great plenty of all sorts of fresh Fish.

St. Antonio River. The River of St. *Antonio* lies seven leagues from *Camaryiuva*; 'tis a very great River, and is some fifty leagues within the Land, having seven fathom Water at coming in, but is so narrow that no Ship ought to venture entring; but the Boats may without danger, and 'tis as good a place as can be to supply you, if you want Fish of any sort, especially that great Fish call'd by the *Indians Varana*, which is as big as an Ox. After you are within the River, you have high Sand on both sides, and a treacherous People that live thereabouts to deal with; if they see you unprovided or negligent in your Watch, they'll fall upon you, but if they find you able and always ready to defend your selves, then they'll come and trade very peaceably with you.

Harbour of Frenchmen. That Bay which is call'd *The Frenchmens Harbour* (and by the *Indians*, *Aiaremа Piaſave*) lies two leagues Southward from the River of St. *Antonio*; it may be known by a high Hill which stands over it, and is full of *Brasile* Trees. To enter this Harbour you must mark the Clifts, and when you are got to the Northward of all of 'em but one, you may safely come within a Stones-cast of the Shore. To get fresh Water, you must land and go upon the South side of the Hill, where you'll see a fine Stream issuing out of the Hill into a great Cistern cut out of a Rock.

River of Crocadiles. The neighbouring River is by the *Indians* call'd *Jaquareaſicke*, or the *River of Crocadiles*, because there are abundance of those Creatures in it: 'Tis narrow, and is remarkable for the white Rock that stands in the mouth of it. To enter it, you must keep on the North side of the Rock, where you have nine and ten foot water: After you are in it you come to a great Bay, and on the North-east side there's a small River, where you may be supplied with fresh Water. Here a Man must take special care how he goes into the Water, for the Crocadiles lie close by the Bank-side, and presently seize any thing that comes into their Element. Here's nothing to be had in this place, unless you'll fish for Crocadiles, and take their Cods or Bladders for the Musk they afford, as the *Portugueſe* very commonly do.

Alaqua Riv. The River *Alaqua* lies three leagues to the Southward from that of *Crocadiles*, and four to the Northward from the River of St. *Michael*; on either side of it you'll see a great Hill, by the *Portugueſe* call'd *Os Caivas*. There is but seven or eight foot water at the coming in, tho' very clear of all Rocks; but after you are enter'd, you'll find a great many banks of Sand, where store of Fish is to be had for the pains of catching. At the coming in also, on both sides, a Man may take in fresh Water.

Michael Riv. The River of St. *Michael* is known by the Clifts that stand before it, like the *Arecias* Clifts of *Fernambuco*; you must enter at the end of the Cliff hard by the Shore on the South-west, taking good heed to a small Clift that stands between the mouth of the River and the Shore; this small Clift you are to leave betwixt you and the Shore, and then between it and the Rocks you may enter, and have three fathom water: But you must observe in entring not to sail to the North-east, (tho' you see the Bay large) and that because of several great banks of Sand; therefore you must keep West still, within a Stones-cast of the Shore, and so you shall be sure to keep in the Chanel. Thus you must sail till you discover a House, which you will see doubling a Point full South from you, then 'tis best to cast Anchor, because unless a man knows the Chanel very well, he is in danger by going further. You will see a River that runs up into the Land, near which dwell several *Portugueſe*, and here you may meet with Cattle enough, *Caſſavi*, *Brasile*-wood, Oysters, (in which you'll find good Pearl) Ballam, Tobacco, and Nesico-trees, the Wood of which is very valuable, and good for Bruises and old Ulcers.

The River of Toads. The *River of Toads* is eight leagues from the place last mention'd, in the *Brasilian* Tongue 'tis call'd *Corcoen*, which signifies as much. Here is a very good Harbour, if a man knows how to get in well; now the entrance is between the two great Rocks that stand right before the Bay, which by the *Portugueſe* are call'd *Os Bajos de Don Rodrigo*. When you are entred, you may anchor hard by the Rocks, and found the Chanel, which lies North-east from you. The best way to get fresh Water is, to go a quarter of a mile by the Sea-side, and then you see a fair River, where you may have both Water and Fish too.

Cape Frio. Cape *Frio* is a Point of Land that runs into the Sea at least twelve miles, and lies under 22 gr. You may anchor on the East side of the Cape, in a Harbour call'd *Abayia Formoza*, which will afford you good store of *Brasile*-wood, and sometimes Ambergrise. On the North side of the Bay you'll see a great River call'd *Uparasu*, where you may fish to very good purpose, and in the mouth of this River there's a great deal of Coral.

R. Saquaremа. *Saquaremа* is a River that runs four leagues to the Southward from the Cape; it is narrow at coming in, and you'll have twelve foot Water till you be three or four leagues up the River: All along on both sides you have *Brasile*-wood and fresh Water plenty. Upon the South side of the River you'll see the Hill call'd by the *Indians Boypeua*, (that is, *the rotten Whale*, for the top of it looks like a Whale) and there, if you want such wild Food, you may have Poratoes, Plantans, Oranges, Limons, and the Roots call'd by the *Indians Caravaſon*, as many as you desire.

Great Rock Etioca. A league to the Southward of the River *Saquaremа* stands the great hollow Rock *Etioca*. Before the mouth of this Rock, towards the Sea, stands another flat Rock that shoots out a little upon it, where may be seen very plainly and distinctly the prints of bare feet in several places up and down in that most solid Stone. Here's very good fishing, and also plenty of those pretty green Stones which the *Indians* use to wear in their Lips. You may anchor within Musquet-shot of the Shore, but if the Wind be in the East, 'tis very dangerous.

Pirateniga. *Pirateniga* is a Bay five leagues to the Southward of the Rock *Etioca*; right before it stands a small Island inhabited by the *Portugueſe*. This Bay runs between a Mountain a mile and more within the Land: You may lie with your Ships at the Island, and send your Boats ashore for Cattle, *Caſſavi*, Oranges and Limons, and many other Commodities besides; if a man has a mind to some Fish, he may satisfie himself abundantly at that Sport, either by Net, or Hook and Line. *Knivet* affirms, that at this Bay he saw one of those Marine Creatures which the Vulgar gives the name of *Mermaids* to.

River Janero. The River of *Janero* or *January* lies three leagues from *Pirateniga*; it is indeed a great Arm of the Sea, which runs at least fourteen miles into the Land; in the mouth are four Islands situated, but the best mark for the City of St. *Sebaſtian* is a Fort that stands on the North side of the coming in of the Harbour, upon a Rock: On the South side stands a Hill that reaches into the Sea, call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Camo*, (that is, the top of a Ship) and on the North side of the *Camo*, at the foot of it, hard by the Sea-side, stands the high Rock which they call the *Sugarloaf*; this is just as you sail into the Harbour: But then in the midst of the entrance, (in the very mouth of the River) lies a Rock very plain to be seen, so that to go in you must keep between the Rock and the Fort that stands on the North of you. When you are entred the mouth of the River, and are past the Fort, you shall see the Island of *Brigalion* right before you: Now you must be sure to pass on the North of this Island, and as soon as you have done so, you have the prospect of the whole City, both on the Hill and the Sea-side, before you; then you must take heed not to go right to the City, because of the Sands that lie all along before it as far as the Island of St. *Bent*: This Island is a quarter of a mile from *Brigalion*, and to the Eastward of it stands a great Rock, between which and the Island of St. *Bent* you venture to sail: As soon as you have entred, you may anchor hard by the Island, and then you'll see a Church standing upon a Hill, which is call'd St. *Bent*, at which time you need not fear to go right before the Town.

Cautions in sailing to St. Sebaſtian.

River *Wara-tiva.* The River *Warativa* lies three leagues from that of *Francis*, and 'tis to be known by two Islands that lie exactly before the mouth of it, where also you'll discover an high Hill. On either side, both on the South-west and North-east, is low Land, and there is no entring for any Ship here, tho' you may anchor between the Island, and send your Boats athore. Here are Fruits and Fish in the same plenty as in several other places before describ'd.

From the River of *Warativa* for the space of four leagues is all low sandy ground, and here you'll see an high Hill call'd by the *Indians Maramayapuam*, (or the *Ilha Grande.* *Land of War*) right over against this Point you see *Ilha Grande*, at the coming in of which Harbour you may be secure, for hard by the Shore you have twenty fathom Water. When you are in the mouth of this Harbour you see right before you a great white Rock, which will lie full West from you: You must leave *Ilha Grand* Southward from you, and then another great Island called *Espeyra* comes in view; at a Point of this Island which lies full West towards the main Land, you'll see two small Islands, and when you are right against 'em, a fair Bay, where you may anchor at pleasure. To come into this Bay, you must pass between the two Islands just now mention'd. This Harbour merited a more particular Direction to be given for the finding of it out, because it has this Advantage, that a Man may sail out of it with almost any Wind whatsoever.

Long Island. *Long Island* is easily found out, for 'tis hard by the main Land, and is to be seen distinctly from the Island *Espeyra*; and to the Southwards from it (about half a league) you'll see two small Islands which go by the name of *Amombiquave*, over against which is a delicate River, where you may be furnish'd with great store of Fish, and upon the banks find *Mandioca*, and several other good Roots.

St. *Sebastian* The Island of St. *Sebastian* lies about three leagues from *Ilha Grande*; 'tis a long and fair Island, and you may safely anchor between it and the Shore. About half a league from the Island of St. *Sebastian* stands a small Isle right into the Sea, call'd by the *Indians Uraritan*, and by the *Portugueſe*, *Aguada ſſas*; here you may always meet with Seals, and several sorts of Sea-fowl, as many as you will.

River of *Paraguay.* That River *Paraguay* (that runs between the Town of St. *Vincent* and River of *Plate*) has a very good Harbour for Ships, and hereabouts you meet with abundance of the Cannibals call'd *Carijos*, whom you may trade with for Pepper, Ginger, very rich Furrs, Cotton-wool and Wax, which they bring in great plenty.

River of *Plate.* The mouth of the River of *Plate* is wide, and within it are several Banks of Sand; you must be sure to keep very near the North Shore, till you shall see an high Mountain white at top, then sailing Southward at least four leagues, you'll see another small Hill on the North side, which you must sail right with; this brings you into a fair Bay, where you must still keep along the Shore, and after passing the Western Point of this Bay, you'll have the River *Maroco*, and then you need not fear any Shallows till you come before the Town of *Bonos Ayres*.

Country between *Tucuman* and St. *Jago.* From the Province of *Tucuman* to St. *Jago* is eighty leagues, and all the way to be travel'd with a Compass, and care to be taken in steering to a Point as nicely as if you were at Sea; the reason of which is, the prodigious Mountains of Sand that are found there, and which shift and change places as the Wind does, so that to day you have 'em on this side, and to morrow on the contrary side of you.

In this Journey also you'll pass several Rivers, which will appear to be not above a foot deep, but without good Guides will be found deep enough in Quick-sands to swallow both Horses and Waggons together.

From St. *Jago*, till you come to *Potosi*, you travel thro' Mountains and Valleys and great Towns of *Indians*, who all are at Peace with the *Spaniards*; and you shall meet with hundreds of these *Indians* upon the Road, who shall offer to carry you from Town to Town in Nets fastned to Canes, and supported by two or more Men; this is the easiest travelling in the World, and the price of it is no more than a Fish-hook, or a few Glass Beads.

You'll also pass by several Gold Mines, and may traffick with the *Indians* for that and Precious Stones, but this sort of Trade is not brisk hereabouts, as 'tis at *Potosi* it self, because there the Mines are open and wrought on, but between St. *Jago* and *Potosi* they are not.

At *Potosi* you have no want of any thing, (tho' the Country of it self be barren) for the Traffick they have with *Lima*, and all the Towns of the South Sea, brings a sufficient Supply; they carry Oils and Wines in great earthen Jarrs upon the Backs of Sheep, which they commonly call Sheep of five Quarters, because their Tails are as big and heavy as one Quarter of the Sheep.

The Ore. The rich Ore (when they first take it out of the Mines) looks like black Lead, then they grind it in certain Engines, and wash it thro' fine Sieves in pav'd Cisterns made for that purpose. They make the *Indians* work in the Mines stark naked, that they may not hide any thing about 'em; and thus are they kept to the Drudgery, while their Masters, the *Spaniards* wallow in all manner of Ease and Pleasures, and grow excessive rich into the bargain.

And here we end the Account of Knivet's *Remarks.*

CHAP. V.

Some Observations of the Island of Trinidado, *the rich Country of* Guiana, *and the great River* Oronoco, *with other Rivers; made by* Francis Sparrey, *who was left in the Country by Sir* Walter Rawleigh *A. D.* 1595, *and after that being taken Prisoner by the* Spaniards, *and living a Slave in* Spain, *return'd into* England *again A. D.* 1602.

Guiana. THE Country of *Guiana* bears directly East from *Peru*, and lies almost under the *Equinoctial*.

Riv. Oronoco. The River of *Oronoco* (otherwise call'd *Barequan*) has nine Mouths upon the North side of the main Land, but upon the South side our Observer could discover no more than seven; so that yet, what between Islands and broken Lands, it has some sixteen Mouths in all. The entrance to this River thro' the River *Capuri* has nine foot water at the mouth in a full Sea, and at the ebb but five foot; the Water flows but a small time, but rises apace, and the ebb goes but slowly, continuing six hours in all.

River *Amana* In the bottom of the Gulph of *Guanipa* there is a River call'd *Amana*, which leads into *Oronoco* also; if a Man enters this River of *Amana* from *Curiapan*, he can't possibly return the same way he came, by reason of the Easterly Winds and strong Currents, but he must of necessity go into a River within the Land, which is call'd *Macurio*.

If you sail some twenty leagues in the River *Amana*, you may discover the great and high Mountain *Oecopa*, from whence may easily be discover'd the Plains of *Samia*, thro' which you have a safe passage over Land within ten or twelve leagues of *Cumana*, or to the *Caracas*. Upon these Plains are four several Nations, all which are reputed great Soldiers, and they are something black; their Names are, the *Samia's*, the *Assawaics*, the *Wikeries*, and the *Arrora's*.

Passage to *Oronoco.* To go from the Island of *Trinidado* to the great River *Oronoco*, the River *Amana* bears South, but parting from this Rvier by a Branch which bears to the West, one may this way enter *Oronoco*.

The

Riv. *Europa.* The River *Europa* lies to the East of *Oronoco* as you come from *Trinidado*. 'Tis very easie to go from the River *Oronoco* to the Town of St. *Domingo*, which bears N. N. W. directly, but you must of necessity pass the River *Amapaia*, leaving the Island of the *Amazons* to the S. and hold your Course as near as may be N. W. and N. N. W. By this means you avoid all the danger of the Cannon and Force of the Town, and land some six days Journey from St. *Domingo*.

Riv. *Wiaumli.* The River *Wiaumli* is to the N. of *Oronoco*; to go into this River, you may go in the Land till you come to the little River *Maccah*, then directing your Course South, you will within two days enter the River *Wiaumi*: This River gives its Name to the adjacent Country too.

River *Drano.* *Drano* is a fair River, and lies exactly South-east from *Oronoco*, but it's dangerous to go far in it, not upon the account of any Dangers the River presents to a Boat that sails in it, but the bad Air and malignant Dews (that fall thereabouts and kill abundance even of the *Indians* themselves) are Impediments in the way of a free conversation upon that River. Besides this, there is another, and that is the horrible corruption of the River by the foul and loathsom Waters that are continually drein'd into it from the Fenns of *Anebas*; these are so bad, that 'tis deadly to drink of 'em, and many a one has died for't.

River *Arui.* The River *Arui* runs continually North, and so to the River *Cassipa*, and from thence into *Oronoco*: Near to *Arui* are several other Rivers, but hardly any thing considerable.

The first River that falls into *Oronoco* from the North is call'd *Cari*; beyond that, on the same side, is the River *Limo*, to the West of that is *Paoo*, and beyond that the Rivers *Caturi*, *Voari* and *Capuri*, which last 'tis dangerous to enter.

In the River *Oronoco* are various Islands, particularly in the midst of it a pretty big one, and somewhat mountainous, call'd *Ocanita*; there's another also which goes by the Name of *Aio*, where the Wind is always Easterly in the Morning before the Sun is high.

Riv. *Ubra.* The River *Ubra* bearing to the West of *Carthagena*, bears to the Southward of the Island of the *Amazons*: This River *Ubra* (if you stand to the South-west) leads to that part of the Province of *Arimaijo* which is call'd *Ereegoodawe*; 'tis a barren mountainous Country, they have neither *Guiney-Wheat* nor *Cassavi*, but *Venison*, *Hogs* and *Conies* they have in great abundance.

The Author's attempt to pass by the River *Oronoco* to *Peru*. 'Twas reported to our Author by the *Indians*, that there was (on the North of *Peru*) a way to enter the River *Oronoco*, which Intimation encourag'd him to attempt the discovery of a Passage from that River to *Peru*. In this Attempt (he tells us) he was driven by a Storm into a River which his *Indian* Pilots call'd *Salma*, in which after he had been for three days, he enter'd the great River of *Papemena*, which is at least six leagues broad: From hence he came to the sweet and pleasant

A Description of the Island of *Athul*. Island of *Athul*, a Spot so delightful and in so benign and temperate a Climate, that he professes he could willingly have spent the remainder of his days there: There's abundance of fine fresh Rivers, and those well stock'd with Fish; there are Fowls and other Animals for Food. In the Woods (which are very numerous) you have delicate Fruits all the Year round, Cotton, Balsam, *Brasile*, *Lignum vitæ*, and Cypress-trees. The Soil promises Metals, nay, some sorts of Ore he did find in divers places; the Rivers too afford fine Stones, but for want of Skill he dares not warrant the goodness and valuableness of 'em.

This lovely Island is but small, and it has no Inhabitants, which (he says) is upon the account of the neighbourhood of the *Caribes*, a rude sort of Savages, within whose reach People are afraid of living.

From hence he return'd to the River of *Oronoco* again, because he found his labour lost, and 'twas impossible to go to *Peru* that way; but he did not go back exactly the same way that he came, for passing the River *Papemena*, he left that of *Salma*, and came a much more direct way into the River of *Oronoco*, even by the River *Limo*, as his *Indian* Pilots imagin'd; but by what went before 'tis plain, that there was no great credit to be given to their Surmises. The Author frustrated of his Design.

He gives us farther this account of a Voyage he made from the River *Oronoco* Westwardly, in which Course a Man is like to meet with most Gold, tho' there be most Danger too, (especially in going far into the Country) by reason of the *Epu emi*, an *Indian* People that live continually in Arms, and are never easie but when they are fighting and killing their Neighbours.

From *Oronoco* he came into the River of *Casnero*, and so coasted to *Amapaia*, (remarkable for that bad sort of Water before mention'd) from thence to the River *Paoo*, and at the term of six weeks came into the rich Country of *Curca*. This is in the Province of *Guiana* or *Meanoa*, and 'tis character enough of it to say, that it abounds in the most desirable of all Metals: In some places you have Mines of white Stone, and the Gold running in Veins between the Stones; in others you find it in solid Grains in the Sands of the Brooks and Rivulets: But a Man can hardly be rich here without venturing his Life for't, that is, he can't go to the Rivers to pick the Gold grains without danger of being snapt by the Crocadiles. There are also Pearl in this Country, some of which our Traveller saw, but they are neither large, orient nor round; the *Spaniards* said they were not Pearls, but Topazes, and perhaps neither he nor they said true. Province of *Curca*.

Camalaha is a place to the Southward of *Oronoco* River, famous for a Fair of Women-Slaves which is kept there. *Sparrey* going to Market here, had such a Bargain on't, that one may venture to say positively he could not be cheated of his Money; for eight of these female Slaves (and the oldest of 'em under eighteen) he gave a red-hafted Knife that cost him exactly two Mites, so that a Woman here is four times as cheap as a Farthing Pye is in *England*, tho' perhaps she is a much-worse bit; at this rate a Pedler, out of the Stores of the portable Shop at his Back, might buy Women enough to plant a Country almost as big as the *Great Mogul's*. *Camalaha* Fair.

Tar or *Taroo* is an Island to the S. S. W. of *Oronoco*: This Island has no stated Inhabitants, but serves only for a kind of a baiting-place to the *Caribees*; those Barbarians go abroad and steal People, and then they come hither and eat 'em. The Author came to this place with a considerable strength, designing to sacrifice some of those Cannibals if he had found 'em here, but they were gone, tho' their Houses suffer'd for 'em, and were burnt to the ground. Going about the Island close by the Water side, he found Stones of several colours, tho' he makes no mention what they were, either in his own or other mens Opinions. *Taroo* Island.

To the Westward of this Island is a River call'd *Habuc*, in most places about which you have 8, 10, 14, 17 & 30 fathom Water; the entrance at the mouth is barr'd, but yet at a full Sea you shall have 14 & 15 foot Water, and in the Chanel where the Canoes enter (and which is but narrow) there is better than six fathom. This *Habuc* is certainly the best and surest Harbour for our Ships in all these parts, and 'tis not quite eight days Journey from *Oronoco*. *Habuc* Harbour.

There is a certain River call'd *Capurisol*, thro' which (he tells us) is a most sure, safe, and perfect way to *Peru*, tho' the Voyage will take up eight or ten weeks to finish it, and it must be perform'd with Ship-boats or Canoes too, because these Rivers have always very little Water. This River lies in 8 gr. 2 min. N. L. and in it you shall always have a light breeze of a Westwardly Wind, Noon-time only excepted, when there is hardly any at all: The Country in which it is has the Name of *Emeria*, and that Province is the East part of *Dorado*. *Capurisol* River, by which one may go to *Peru*.

CHAP. VI.

An Account of a Voyage to Guiana *by Captain* Charles Leigh, *per'orm'd at the charges of Sir* Olave Leigh *his Brother, and his own: Taken out of the Captain's Journal and Letters, and the Journals of several others that went the same Voyage.*

A.D. 1604. *March.* THE Captain set out in a handsom Bark of some fifty Tun, call'd *The Olive-Plant*, having no more company with him than forty six Men and Boys.

Capt. *Leigh* goes for *Guiana.* The design of this Voyage was, to make a more compleat discovery of the Country of *Guiana*, and to fix an *English* Plantation there; to which the Captain (with his Brother) was the more encourag'd, in that he had visited this part of the World once before.

Comes to the Riv. of *Wiapoco.* By the 22d of the ensuing *May* they came into the River of *Wiapoco*, in the Latitude of 3 gr. ½ to the North of the Line; and the Town of *Wiapoco*, which lies on the Coast of *Guiana*, was that where they intended to take up their abode.

Receiv'd kindly by the Natives. The Natives were ready to give them a good Entertainment as soon as they came; they were extreamly willing the Captain and his Company should reside amongst 'em, and yielded to their taking solemn possession of the Country in the name of His Majesty of *England*.

About this River of *Wiapoco* (otherwise, and by a more moderate Name, call'd *Caroleigh*) dwelt three Nations of *Indians*, the *Trios's*, *Arwaka's*, and *Sapeyca's*, which being driven away from their ancient Dwellings by that pestilent and troublesom People the *Caribes*, had settled themselves here. Now the Agreement the Captain made

A Contract betwixt 'em. with the *Indians* was this, That allowing him a good quantity of Ground for Gardens, and some Houses for the present, he should assist 'em against their inveterate Enemies the *Caribes*. This Contract was confirm'd by very good Assurances on both parts, and to make it the more sure on the side of the *Indians*, the Captain demanded, and they freely gave, four or five Hostages, as Pledges of their fidelity and good meaning, two of which were Persons of great account amongst 'em. Their first

The Mount *Howard.* Plantation was upon part of the Mountain that lies on the West side of the entrance of the River, and to which they gave the Name of Mount *Howard*, in memory of our famous Admiral of that Name.

In this Country might our Captain have liv'd a very fortunate life, and one very useful too to his own Country at home, had he not had the same plague with many

Mutinous Company. Great Men abroad, (and which has broke the neck of many a brave and well-laid Design) a mutinous discontented Company: They had not their fine Meats and Sauces here as in *England*, nor their soft Down-beds, but must lie in Hammocks, swinging in the Air like so many Spiders in their Cobwebs; besides, they were not to walk about and take their pleasure only, but there were Woods to be cut down, and other necessary works in order to a Plantation to be done, none of all which did agree with the Constitution of these People; they were therefore very troublesom and tumultuous, and made several bold Remonstrances against the Captain's Designs of settling in the Country, demanding to be led home again. However, with kind words and many perswasions, he brought them to consent to try the Country for a Year, and patiently endure all Extremities; notwithstanding which some of 'em were worse than their words and left him, even those of whose Service and Company he had most need.

'Twas another Unhappiness too that the Men were very unhealthy here, some had *Agues*, others *Fluxes*, others again *Vertig's*, but the most vexatious (tho' not

Worms in the Feet. the most dangerous) of all was a sort of *Worms*, which made their way into their Feet, and under their Nails, and fix'd themselves so securely there, that they were not to be gotten out but by tearing open the Flesh with a Needle, and then not without great pain and difficulty neither. One of the Company had his Feet so overrun with 'em, for want of Shoes and Stockings, that he was

Indian Cure for the same. forc'd to submit to the *Indian* method of cure, which was this, they pour'd melted black Wax upon the bottoms of his Feet till they were all cover'd, this they let lie on till 'twas throughly cold and hardned, and then with a sudden twitch pull'd it all off at once, and they say all the *Worms* came off or out along with it; which any body would easily grant to be possible, since no doubt but the Skin and Flesh came along with it, and 'tis probable the *Worms* might keep them company.

'Tis to be noted that the Captain, the next year after his arrival, dispatch'd the Ship home again to *England*, for fresh supplies of such things as he wanted; it went under command of Captain *Huntlie*, and carried in it the five *Indian* Hostages. Now the return of this Ship was very greedily expected, for the Company was distemper'd many ways, and besides, they could not at all times have from the *Indians* those quantities of Provisions they had occasion for; and in this uneasie condition did the Ship find 'em when it did come; however, being now all together, and the honest Party something stronger than before, they acknowledg'd the Captain's Authority in general, and promis'd to assist him to the uttermost. After this they made an Expedition against the *Caribes*, the confederate *Indians* going along with 'em; but those Villains, as cunning as they are mischievous, having taken the Alarm, got away into the Woods, and avoided 'em.

Ship returns.

Fruitless Expedition against the *Caribes.*

The Fatigues of this Journey, together with the filthy Liquors they were oblig'd most commonly to drink, and the foul Weather they were expos'd to abroad, heightned the Fluxes amongst 'em, and kill'd several; and worse than all, the Captain himself, just upon the point of his going on board for *England*, to fetch a compleat lading of such things as were needful for his Company, was carried off by the same Distemper; and thus by this unhappy stroke the whole business was quash'd, and all the Company began to think of shifting for themselves, some went away in their own Ship for *England*, others got on board a *Dutchman*, and others a *Frenchman*, as many as there was room for; but, in short, there were ten poor wretches that could get no passage, and so must stay upon the spot: Here then they liv'd, waiting for the same favourable opportunity that their fellows had before them, and recovering by degrees a good state of Health, they imploy'd their time in planting Flax and Tobacco, and other Country Labours. They liv'd in perfect amity and friendship with the *Indians*, and made another Expedition with 'em against the *Caribes*, wherein they succeeded better than before, doing considerable damage to the Enemy. The care of their Provision for Life lay altogether upon the *Indians* who had undertaken it, and they did it at so cheap a rate, that two months Victuals would cost our *English* no more than such a trifle as an Ax or a Hatchet, or a few Knives.

Captain dies.

Some stay behind.

At last the happy opportunity came for these Men to return into their own Country too, and that by another *Dutch* Merchantman, which came into the River of *Wiapoco*; but the way by which they had notice of this they themselves look upon to be very strange, for some months before the *Indians* told 'em that there were three Ships lying in the River of the *Amazons*, one of which at such a time should certainly come into the River of *Wiapoco*, where they then were. Our Men say, that the *Indians* often converse with *Peyar*, (some invisible Being which they call by that Name) and that this Information came from him; but let it come from what it will, 'twas certainly a true one, for the Ship came exactly at the limited time.

They go in a *Dutch* Ship for *Holland.*

The *Indians* were very loth to part with 'em, and being willing to have yet some memory of them and their Country remaining amongst 'em, they brought abundance of their Children to 'em, to receive some of our *English* Names: Likewise there was great enquiry made after Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, (who was well known in this Country) and one considerable *Indian* came as far out of the Main as *Orenoque*, to ask what was become of him, and to send him a challenge of his Promise of returning again. And certainly that excellent Person had procur'd himself such an esteem in these parts of the World, and was so valued even by the *Indians*, who were not such competent Judges of his worth as we our selves were, that if his

Fame

Fate had been to be decided by them, they would sooner have made him the head taller by a Crown, than shorter in that sence that we did.

Our *Englishmen* having embark'd themselves in the *Dutch* Ship, sail'd with them to *Amsterdam*, and from thence came safe to *England*.

To this may be added the following Account of another Ship sent by Sir Olave Leigh *to his Brother at* Wiapoco, *but which put in by the way at Isle St.* Lucia, *and never finish'd her Voyage to* Wiapoco.

IF the former Voyage had an unfortunate issue, and besides had something sad and melancholy in it, tho' more than the Scenes of common and usual Deaths, this now before us was certainly much more sad in its Consequences, since the Scenes here were most of 'em bloody ones, and the Deaths barbarous Executions.

A.D. 1605 This Ship (the *Olive Blossom*) set out for *Wiapoco* the same Year, in *April*, that the other Ship did in *July* from *Wiapoco* for *England*; the Commanders were Captain *Catlin* and Captain *St. John*. What between contrary Winds and Currents, and especially the unskilfulness of the Master, they quite lost all hopes of recovering their intended Port in any due time, and therefore they put in first at *Barbados*, and afterwards the Island of St. *Lucia*, designing from thence to return to *England* again; but examining their Stores of Provision, and finding not near enough to serve so great a Company as they were so long a Voyage, Captain *St. John*, with several of the Passengers, to the number of 67 Men, resolv'd rather to stay and take their Lot upon the aforesaid Island, than run the hazard of being starv'd at Sea. Here therefore they were set ashore, with their Swords, Musquets, Powder, one small Piece, and a Barrel of Biscuit for Food, which was all the others would allow 'em; but notwithstanding they quickly found a way to get a constant supply, which was by trading with the *Indians*, who were willing to maintain that Correspondence with 'em; they would bring 'em all sorts of Roots and Fruits that their Country afforded, together with some Fowl too, as Hens, Gulls, Pelicans, Woodcocks and Snipes, and then with a little trouble they could every night take delicate Tortoise upon the Sands.

67 Persons set ashore.

For some five or six weeks they liv'd in the little Huts or Houses they had built, and never made any Excursions into the Country, nor any Journey towards the discovery of it: But the Captain seeing one day certain Plates of Metal upon the Arms of some of the *Indians*, and being inform'd that they were Gold, enquir'd of 'em from whence they had it. who told him pointing to a very high Mountain in the North-west part of the Island: Upon this the Captain himself with several of the chief, (to the number of a Boat-full) went in quest of this golden Mountain, the rest being appointed to keep good guard at home in the mean time; but the Journey not being very long, they promis'd to return in a weeks time again.

When this part of the Company was gone, the others that staid behind expected the *Indians* to come and bring 'em Victuals as they us'd to do, but they did not come near 'em, and for three days together they saw nothing of 'em. The *Indians*, it seems, had observ'd when the Captain went, and had follow'd him to so good purpose, that they cut him off, with his whole Company, in that Journey; and this was the reason why the treacherous *Barbarians* did not come with Provisions according to their Custom, for they were then at the slaughter of the *English* at the Mountain.

Capt. *St. John* and his Men kill'd.

Indians prepare to destroy the rest.

And now they intended to make a like riddance of their Companions; for in the next place they began to gather about 'em in great numbers, but yet carried it fairly and smoothly, to take away all grounds of suspicion from 'em; but our Men, who well saw how many came to 'em both by Sea and Land, and therefore began to mistrust some ill Design, kept a strict watch, and fortified their little Camp as well as they could: The *Indians* came up and down to 'em, and drank and smoak'd with 'em as before, and amongst others there came a certain desperate Savage, whose Name was *Augramert*, who was a Captain of the Island of St. *Vincent*, and whom they had invited hither to serve 'em in this Enterprize.

After Dinner one day *Augramert* (who had been well entertain'd) would needs have our Men to his Quarters, alluring them with the Promise of furnishing whatsoever Provisions they had occasion for; for 'tis to be noted that the *Indians* had laid up large Stores for the use of these new-comers, tho' they had none to spare for the *English*. There was eighteen of the Company that went along with him and his Father, and very pleasant they were till they came within sight of the Houses, but then all of a sudden, whilst Mr. *St. John* (who was the Captain's Brother) was jesting and playing with *Augramert*, that Savage catch'd hold of his Sword with one hand and his Poignard with t'other, and at the same time the old man his Father knocks him down with a great wooden Sword: Then the *Caribes* that lay in ambush began to shew themselves, and the Arrows flew out of the Woods like Hail; our Men were but eighteen against four or five hundred, and surpriz'd too, so that hardly having time to light the Matches of their Guns, there were not above six discharges made: However, after their first disorder, they rallied and made a stand in a certain Pass, where they might possibly have defended themselves to some good purpose, even against that multitude, had not a new Company assaulted 'em behind, but receiving a showre of Arrows in their Backs, they had no other way but with their Swords in their hands to break thro' them, and endeavour to run for't; but 'twas impossible to escape, for they had laid so many Ambushes, and so effectually stopt up every Pass, that all these brave Men (one only excepted) died upon the spot, several of 'em being piere'd with more than a hundred Arrows, and the Savages taking care all along not to come within reach of them till they saw 'em drop, and then with their huge *Brasile* Swords came and knock'd 'em o'th' head.

Savages set upon the Men.

He that made his escape from this direful slaughter had a hard matter to do it; he was forc'd to hide himself in a Wood, and then swim a Lake, and so get home, which he did time enough too, to give his Fellows the Alarm.

And 'twas in a very little time after, that a Body of the Savages came and presented themselves upon the Sands to their view, intending to assault 'em, but they quickly march'd off again when the others let fly with their Piece of Cannon upon 'em.

But in the space of two or three days they return'd with thirteen or fourteen hundred Men, and beset them round both by Sea and Land, shooting their Arrows continually in amongst 'em, and wounding several: This sort of Combat held for seven or eight days, but then the Savages bethought themselves of a more dangerous piece of Policy, they shot Fire along with their Arrows, which burnt both the Houses of the poor Defendants and all their Chests too, which they encompass'd themselves withal as a Barricado against the Enemy; however they maintain'd their ground, and quickly erected themselves a new sort of a Fort made of the ruins of the old one, and cover'd with Earth and Sand; this effectually sav'd 'em from all danger by Fire, and (as they had order'd the matter) kept off the storms of Arrows too: Their Enemies seeing they could not accomplish their design, went all away and left 'em.

Savages attack them in their Houses.

They defend themselves.

But now they were still expos'd to very dangerous Enemies, tho' the others were gone out of sight, there was Hunger and want of all Necessaries for Life coming upon 'em with violence, and which way to guard against these they could not tell; but Providence was pleas'd to incline the minds of some of these savage Creatures to be kind and pitiful to them in their extremity, for they came and of themselves offer'd to traffick with 'em for Provisions, and thus constantly supplied 'em for the space of a week: At last our Men told 'em, *Their desire was not to stay in their Country, to be any farther troublesom to 'em, but to be gone, in order to which if they would furnish 'em with a Boat, they would give them in requital Hatchets, Knives and Beads, as many as would content 'em.* To this the *Indians* agreed, and brought 'em a Boat, upon which they presently went to work to fit her up for service, and went off as soon as possible, because these friendly Savages told 'em, there were farther Preparations making against 'em.

Some of the Savages supply 'em with Provisions.

They put to Sea in a very bad condition, having no Chart, nor Compass, nor Skill to manage and direct a Boat; neither could they hold out long as to the matter of Provision, for four or five gallons of Water, with a few Plantans, Potatoes, about twenty Biscuit, and a little Rice, was all their Store.

They were ten days at Sea, and one of those days had a very great Storm, which tho' it brought 'em often into danger of drowning, yet did 'em this kindness, to bring 'em Rain to quench their thirst: Some Sea-fowl also (tir'd with flying) came and rested themselves upon the

the ſide of the Boat, and theſe help'd to eke out their ſcanty Proviſions.

They being nineteen of 'em in one little Boat, crowded and preſs'd it ſo, that the Brim was near enough the Water to let every little Wave roul over it, ſo that four of 'em were continually imploy'd by turns to lade out the Water.

'Twas upon the tenth day that they firſt 'ſpied Land, but what, or where 'twas they knew not, having only gone as the Wind and Sea carried 'em, except that ſometimes they directed their Courſe a little by the Sun in the day, and the Stars by night; however, they could not reach Land the ſame day they 'ſpied it, but labouring with a Calm till night, they came upon the Shore before they were aware, and ſo ſplit their Boat upon a Rock; here ſome ſcrambled up the Rocks, and others the Roots of Trees that ſtood upon the Shore where they were caſt; 'twas a certain Iſland, but without Inhabitants, and indeed any thing that was fit to preſerve Life.

After they were all got on ſhore, and began to look about 'em, they found into what a miſerable place they were caſt, and they eaſily concluded that if there was no way found to get looſe from hence (in a very little time too) they muſt every man of 'em ſubmit to his Fate; in ſhort, they muſt be ſtarv'd, all of 'em together, unleſs ſome (that could and would attempt ſuch a Diſcovery) ſet themſelves to find out relief. Upon this conſideration they agreed, that a certain number of 'em ſhould take the Boat and go over to the main Land, while the reſt ſtaid there praying for their good ſucceſs, and a deliverance from the Deaths that threatned them. The Men that went had certainly their ſhare of Danger, as well as them that ſtaid behind, who had nothing in the Earth to ſatisfie Nature withal but Salt-water and Tobacco; theſe Travellers (I ſay) were ſometimes in danger of ſtarving as well as they, but then they were more expos'd upon other accounts, as particularly in croſſing ſeveral Rivers, where ſometimes the *Sharks* and other times the *Alligators* would purſue 'em for a good way together.

Scarcity of Proviſion.

When they had wander'd ſome time, and were hardly able to go any further, they came to a Cave, where they ſaw a Veſſel of Wheat-flower, which without any further ceremony they made into a ſort of Cakes, and gave Thanks to God for't, without troubling themſelves about the Owners. Shortly after this, they were ſo happy as to light upon ſome company which were *Spaniards*, *Indians* and *Negroes*, and theſe were as kind and compaſſionate to our Men as their diſtreſſed caſe requir'd; they feaſted 'em with the beſt of their Proviſion, and becauſe they ſaw 'em ſo very feeble, let 'em ride, and went themſelves on foot: Thus they brought 'em to an *Indian* Town, where they had the ſame ſort of treatment ſtill, and here 'twas that they began to open the miſerable caſe their poor Companions were in at the deſolate Iſland; and as ſoon as ever they had recover'd ſtrength enough to undertake the Journey and ſhew the way, the *Spaniards* and *Indians* went along with 'em, and carried Proviſions for thoſe poor Men: Providence had diſpos'd of ſome of 'em in the mean time, ſo that the number was leſs by five, and indeed the remainder was ſo near going the ſame way too, that 'twas a queſtion whether Nature were not too far tir'd and ſpent to be recover'd again; for they were not able to eat, ſo that 'twas with a great deal of Art and Care that thoſe feeble and ſick ones were to be manag'd, and no little pains to be taken to ſet 'em upon their Legs again; however, they carried 'em over to the main Land, and from thence to that ſame *Indian* Town where their Companions had been ſo kindly entertain'd before, and ſo to another Town inhabited by *Spaniards*.

Both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* ſhew'd all the Generoſity and Good-nature imaginable in the treatment of theſe Men, and they ſeem'd ſo glad of the opportunity of relieving ſo much Miſery, that 'twas even a matter of Contention amongſt 'em who ſhould be moſt forward to do it; all the Dons of the Town took each his Man to entertain at his Houſe, to provide for both at Bed and Board, and to furniſh with all the Materials of a comfortable and pleaſant Livelihood; and then for a Country Entertainment, at any time when they pleas'd they went out into the Villages, where the *Indians* would give 'em a true and hearty welcome with the beſt Fruits and Meats they could provide, and ſeeing alſo that they were pleas'd with Apes, Monkeys, and Parrots, they would catch ſtore of thoſe Creatures, and have em ready in their Houſes againſt the *Engliſh* came; thus well were they diſpos'd of after their miſerable circumſtances, and ſo conſiderable a breathing time had they to prepare 'em for freſh Troubles.

The *Engliſh* treated kindly at *Coro*.

After they had been here ſome time, they began to think of their own Country, and ſome of 'em made a motion to the *Spaniards* for a permiſſion to go; and indeed it was but ſome of them that had a mind to be gone, for as to the others, they liv'd ſo much at eaſe that they did not care to think of interrupting that ſort of life by a new courſe of Adventures; beſides, they perſwaded the *Spaniards* not to let their Fellows go, and ſuggeſted ſeveral little Jealouſies to 'em, which was far from the Kindneſs to be expected from Countrymen, and Men too whom common Dangers and Sufferings ought to have endear'd to each other; however, at laſt three of 'em got both leave and opportunity to go, breaking thro' all the tempting Offers of the *Spaniards* to keep 'em in the Country.

Go to *Carthagena*.

The Town they went from was call'd *Coro*, and the place they were bound for was *Carthagena*, where the many Recommendations they had to the chief of the City would in all probability have procur'd a very good reception, had not the Governour died juſt as they came thither; but that happening, (unluckily for them) they were immediately clapt up in Priſon, and in no ſmall danger of being condemn'd to the Gallies, had not the mediation and kindneſs of one conſiderable man prevented that; and by his means alſo they were conſtantly ſupply'd with good Proviſions all the while they lay there, for the barbarous *Teniente* (he that ſupplied the Governour's place) would not allow 'em any thing: This ſame good-natur'd *Spaniard* alſo, with another as rich and charitably diſpos'd as himſelf, were the Bail for theſe poor Men, entring into a Bond of a thouſand Ducats for their forth-coming; however, that was more a piece of Formality than any thing elſe, for the *Teniente* himſelf, at their delivery out of Priſon, did give them their Liberty. And now they were only to ſpend their time in making much of themſelves, till the Galeons were ready to ſail for *Spain*, with whom they were to go. One of the generous *Spaniards* carried 'em down to his Country-houſe, and treated 'em in a manner more like Noblemen than poor common Sailors; then the Dons and the Great Men that came to his Houſe as Viſitants would (out of their winnings at Cards) give each man of 'em ſix or ſeven Pieces of Eight at a time. And at this rate did he and the reſt entertain 'em, till the Galeons went, at which time he procur'd 'em each their paſſage.

Impriſon'd there.

Set at liberty.

As for the reaſon of this extraordinary Courteſie this *Spaniard* ſhew'd our *Engliſh*, it was the Favour ſhewn by Sir *Francis Drake* to his Father; for when *Carthagena* was taken and plunder'd by the *Engliſh*, Sir *Francis* ſav'd that Perſon's Life and all his Goods; and his Son did this to diſcharge himſelf in ſome meaſure of the Obligation that laid him under.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

An Account of a Voyage to Guiana, *perform'd by* Robert Harcourt *Esq; of* Stanton-Harcourt *in the County of* Oxon: *Written to Prince* Charles.

OMitting the several Particulars of the Voyage, (in which there occurr no Remarks capable of giving any Entertainment) we'll consider the Author as at the end of it, and already come to an Anchor in the Bay of *Wiapoco*. It was not long before several Canoes of *Indians* came to see who and what they were, and finding 'em to be *English*, came on board 'em without any farther Ceremony.

Bay of *Wiapoco*.

The *Indians* here were no less pleas'd with our Mens Knives, Beads and Toys, than our Men were with the Plantans and Potatoes, the Hens and the Fish, which the others brought with 'em; there was a mutual satisfaction of Appetites amongst 'em, of the one side for Eating, and of the other for Play; the Belly here, and the Fancy and Humour there, were equally entertain'd.

Town of *Caripo*.

The Town from which these People came was call'd *Caripo*, seated upon the East side of the Hill in the mouth of *Wiapoco* River; and 'twas not a little advantage to our Men in coming hither, that the Lord or petty King of this very place was on board their own Ship at this time; he had been it seems some years in *England*, and now (with another of his Countrymen) came over with Mr. *Harcourt*, tho' his true Quality was not known till the *Indians* now discover'd it. There was very great Joy amongst them for the return of their Prince, and the more effectually to express that, as also their Gratitude to the *English* for this Benefit, all the chief *Indians* of the Town came on board Mr. *Harcourt*'s Ship, and brought plenty of their Country Provision with 'em. As for their parts, they desir'd no better Entertainment than *Aqua Vitæ*, and that they had till their *Indian* Humour and Gaiety was rais'd to a pretty high pitch; but after these sort of Merriments were over, Mr. *Harcourt*, in a Speech, gave 'em to understand the design of his coming; he put them in mind of what had been done by Capt. *Leigh* before, who by their free consent took possession of the Country in the name of the King of *England*; That His Majesty intended no sort of unjust Usurpation over 'em, nor to treat 'em in any way like Slaves and Vassals, but only to be their friendly Protector, and deliver 'em from the Insolencies and Oppressions of the *Caribes*: He told them also of the Kindnesses that had been done them by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who freed 'em from the *Spanish* Servitude, burnt the Town of *Trinidado*, and deliver'd five of their *Indian* Kings, that lay there bound Neck to Neck with Collars of Iron, and would have been sacrific'd; particularly also, That their Countrymen the *Oronoqueponi* (who border upon the River *Oronoco*) did then actually surrender their Country to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the name and for the use of Queen *Elizabeth*; and from all this, That the same Resolution was likewise expected from them.

The *Indians* here, &c. — Go to *Carthagena*.

The *Indians* come aboard the *English*.

Mr. *Harcourt*'s Speech to 'em

Set at liberty.

The *Indians* were sensible of the truth of all these things, but yet they seem'd to be much dissatisfied that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* himself did not come again amongst 'em, according to his Promise; and when Mr. *Harcourt* had excus'd that, they objected, That they had not room enough to receive so great a Company as now was come, for their Town was but small, and besides, their Gardens but little neither, so that the Products of 'em would never be sufficient to maintain both themselves and our Men too. But this Objection they did not urge very stiffly, for they were told, that the *English* did not intend to be chargeable to 'em and live upon their cost, but to traffick with 'em for Provisions, upon the Principles of a just and equal exchange, and would also be no less diligent than themselves in dressing and improving their Garden-grounds, that they might have enough of those Necessaries of Life. Upon this the *Indians* crav'd the liberty to withdraw and go to consult amongst themselves, which they did, and sate above two hours debating and drinking *Aqua vitæ*, and at last gave this as their final and unanimous Resolution: That the *English* should be very welcome to settle amongst them, and that they would furnish them with Houses and all other Necessaries as far as they were able; but only, since the same things had been several times promis'd them before, and no *English* had yet planted in their Country, they fear'd lest this should prove to be mere Words and Ceremony too than any thing of Performance; however, they would be contented to try once more.

Indians Objection.

They consult.

They yield to the Proposals made.

And now our Captain, with all his whole Troop, went ashore to the *Indian* Town, where the best reception that could be expected from such People as they was given 'em, and they were dispos'd of up and down in convenient Lodgings.

Caripo Town.

This Town of *Caripo* is very advantageously seated; for, standing upon a great rocky Mountain, it is not accessible but only by certain narrow foot-paths, (which are easily defended too) and that by reason of very steep Cliffs and rough woody ways, so that our Men were lodg'd here as in a Fort, and wonderful conveniently in respect of the Harbour, for that was but at the bottom of the same Hill, on the top of which they liv'd, so that their Ships rid at Anchor just underneath 'em.

The great Rains, that fell almost without intermission, made 'em lie still here in this Nest for at least a month, and there was no going out to travel the Country. But that wet season being over, the Captain address'd himself to the search of those Golden Mountains that had been so much talk'd of, and which his Company had been so often promis'd from the very beginning of the Voyage: But as many times great Hopes and Promises do, so did those that they were fed up with, prove vain and empty at last, and their most forward Guide, who had before made no doubt of shewing them the richest Treasures of Gold, now when it came to the tryal upon the spot where he had pretended these to lie, could discover nothing at all.

Hope frustrated by the Guide.

This Disappointment so stirr'd the inconstant Humour of the common Soldiers, and those that came out meerly for the sake of the charming Gold, that they were like to have put all into downright confusion; but the prudent Commander us'd his utmost endeavours to cool that heat, and silence the noise made upon this score, and that so successfully, that what by soft words and politick contrivances to set 'em at work and keep their hands full of business, he prevented the matter from running up to the extremity of an open Mutiny.

Besides, some of the *Indians* discover'd to him, that the Country of *Guiana* was not so barren of Gold as the ignorance and mistake of their Guide might have made it imagin'd, for they shew'd him one day certain Images of Metal, which upon examination were one third part at least Gold; and they told him too, that those things were made in the high Country of *Guiana*, where great store of 'em was to be had. But then the very white Sparr, of which also all the high Country is full, was another confirmation of this; for as every sort of Mine has a peculiar Sparr, so that of Gold and Silver has one, which by its extraordinary whiteness and pureness is very distinguishable from all others.

Gold Tokens.

But tho' the Captain was out of all hope of advancing to any of those Mines now, yet he set himself to perfect what Discoveries he could of the Country in order thereto, and therefore did in person travel up the River of *Wiapoco*, to make Observations there, and also dispatch his Brother (with some others,) to discover the River of *Arrawary* and the Country bordering upon it, which adjoyns to the River of the *Amazons*: He went also and took possession of the Mountain *Gomeribe*, which is the uttermost Point of Land to the Northward in the *Wiapoco*; this he did with the Ceremony of Twig and Turf, in the presence both of his own People and the *Indians* too. After possession taken, the Mountain was deliver'd over to an *Indian* to hold and possess the same, himself and his Heirs, of His Majesty *James* King of *England* paying the yearly Duty of a tenth part of all Tobacco, Cotton-,

M. *Gomeribe*.

Cotton-wool, Annoto, and other Commodities growing within the Limits of the same.

Dangerous Voyage. But the Attempt of the Captain's Brother and Capt. *Harvey*, in discovering the River *Arraway*, was attended with great Difficulties and Hazards, for their length run by Sea to this River was near an hundred leagues; and in the way they had many fearful plunges, by reason of a high-going Sea that breaks upon the Flats and Shoals, especially at the next great Cape to the North of *Arraway*, which they nam'd *Point Peril*, upon the score of the Danger they pass'd there. Then up the River their Discovery proceeded fifty leagues more, and yet all this while they had none but flat-bottom'd Canoes, not near so broad, tho' something longer than the common *Thames* Wherries.

Discoveries up the River of *Arraway*.

The *Indians* they met with up this River plainly discover'd they had never seen *European* Faces before; they would not a long time be enticed to any sort of Trade or Conversation with them, no, not with the other *Indians* they brought along with 'em, because they were as much as the others perfect Strangers to 'em, but always stood upon their guard, and by their actions declar'd that they look'd upon 'em as Enemies; but at last the fine Toys wrought upon 'em, and an earnest desire to possess some of those things, the looks of which pleas'd them so well, that it induc'd 'em to come to some terms for Provisions.

Shy People.

What progress they made in discovering this River shall be afterwards related, but they had certainly gone farther if they could have been supplied with Bread and Drink, for as for Flesh and Fish, they could procure enough, but the other Necessaries failing, 'twas impossible to perswade their *Indian* Guides to proceed with the Voyage, and so they sail'd homewards again: And here their greatest danger attended 'em, for coming to the *Caribbees* Islands, they would needs pass between them and the main Land; now the *Indians*, who well knew the extream danger of such an attempt, had said all that could be said to dissuade them from it, and yet nothing would do, but they must go that way. And here 'twas that they met with such a Breach of the Water, that if the *Indians* had not been extraordinary industrious indeed, they had been all swallow'd up: The Seamen call these violent Breaches of the Water by the name of *Boers*, for 'tis like the furious clashing or rushing together of two enrag'd Creatures; after the first shock they part and retire back, to meet with more violence, till one has entirely run down his Adversary; such a sort of a Combat is here between two contrary Tides, they strive and press upon each other with a horrible noise and foaming of their Waters; and our Men, as if they had a mind to see which was the strongest of the two, must needs come where they thus broke upon one another, but 'twas their good luck to escape and come home safe again to *Wiapoco*.

Return for *England*.

Not long after this Mr. *Harcourt* was oblig'd to return for *England*, having left his Brother to command in chief in his absence, to whom was joyn'd as Assistant (or rather as his Lieutenant) that same Captain *Harvey* before mention'd.

Having parted from *Wiapoco*, he came first of all to *Caiene*, where finding some defect in his Ships, he left them at that place to repair what was amiss, and in the mean time, with his Ship-boat alone, went to see what discovery he could make. He follow'd the Coast to the Westward, and passing by the River of *Mecco-aria*, he lodg'd that night in the mouth of the River *Courwo*, which has an entrance narrow enough, tho' deep, but within affords a good Harbour. The next day he continued his Westwardly Course also, and passing the Rivers *Manmanary*, *Sinnamera*, *Oareſſenini*, *Coenaunenia*, *Chacce*, and *Amenna*, he came to the River *Marrawini*; the Bar lies two or three leagues off at Sea, and 'tis all Shoal upon it, being but two fathom Water, but within it the Chanel is three, four, five and six fathom deep: At a matter of five leagues within the River are the Islands *Curewapery*, which are wholly uninhabited, because at the rising of the Waters they are overflow'd; and there are abundance of other Islands of this nature up and down in this River.

River *Courwo*.

Divers other Rivers found by Mr. *Harcourt*.

He omits several *Indian* Towns and Villages, together with the Entertainment he had at them, and only tells us, that having gone about twenty leagues from the Sea, he found the River in a manner barr'd up with Rocks, over which the Water fell with prodigious violence, notwithstanding all which Falls he had the Courage to proceed; but still the farther he went, the more dangerous he found them to be and the more in number too; but then when he had pass'd the first Mountain towards the high Country of *Guiana*, (which is call'd *Sapparew*) and had discover'd several other high Mountains before him, being then at least six days Journey up the River, he met with so hard and shoaly a Water, and such vast Overfalls, that here he was forc'd to put an end to his Journey.

Falls of Water.

Being return'd back to his Company and Ships, he had the following account of the Country from a Kinsman of his, who had been at the trouble of travelling to make some discovery. He went at least eleven days Journey up the River *Marawini*, which by the way is much different from that of *Wiapoco*, since the latter is not passable but when the Waters are fallen to the lowest, and the former not but when they are risen to the highest. Here he came to a Town of the *Caribees* call'd *Tapu-imune*, which is above a hundred leagues from the Sea, and three days Journey from *Mereſſege*, another Town of the same People also: The *Indians* of this place inform'd him of several great and mighty Nations that he would come to, if he travel'd some six or seven days beyond *Mereſſege*, particularly of some that were in strength and stature beyond other Men, and had consequently Arms (Bows and Arrows) vastly bigger than what were us'd or could be manag'd by any other People: Farther, That several very great and considerable Rivers do fall into the River *Marawini*, (some of which he saw himself as well as heard of) and that 'tis twenty days Journey from *Tapuramune* to the head of *Marawini*; moreover, that a days Journey from thence to the Landward, a man comes into a plain level Country, very fit for Cattle, upon the account of the mighty Grass it affords. In short, this Person in his Journey met with above eighty Overfalls of Water, and several of 'em very dangerous, which tho' as he came they made him difficulty enough, yet in returning they did not a little quicken his passage; a Man generally in this case swims three days Journey in one.

Difference between the River *Marawini* and that of *Wiapoco*.

Tapuramune.

Strange *Indians*.

Mr. *Harcourt* now sail'd homewards with all the Expedition imaginable, and had a Voyage to his desir'd Port safe and prosperous enough, in 'his accounts of which we have only one or two Remarks to take notice of; the one is, of the excellent Pitch at Cape *Brec*, which is known pretty well in the World upon that score, 'tis here in such plenty, that all places on this side the Globe may be stor'd with it, and 'tis so good and so proper for all Ships that go into the very hot Countries, that nothing can be imagin'd more; any Man will easily conclude this, when he is told that this Pitch will not melt nor run with the Sun's heat, as all other Pitch does: The other Note is, of the famous hot Bath at the Island of *Mevis*, and which Mr. *Harcourt* commends as an admirable Remedy for several Diseases; he himself experimented the Vertues of it, he brought a very bad and dangerous Cough along with him out of *Guiana*, of which he was very speedily cur'd by bathing and drinking the Water; farther, one of his Servants had his Hand so burnt with Gunpowder that he was like to lose the use of some of his Fingers, the Sinews were shrunk and the Hand contracted after a very odd manner, but by bathing two or three times all was much alter'd for the better, his Hand was perfectly heal'd, and tho' not reduc'd so entirely as was desir'd, yet 'twas in a fair way so to be. Several others of his Company were also cured of ugly Swellings in their Legs, and that within the compass of a Day.

Pitch of Cape *Brec*.

Hot Bath of *Mevis*.

After this account of the Voyage, we must take that also of the Country to which 'twas made, its Qualities and Inhabitants.

It is bounded on the North with the Sea and the great River *Orenoco*, on the East and South parts with the celebrated River of the *Amazons*. This River of the *Amazons* is perhaps the greatest River now known in the World, and several valuable Writers have esteem'd and call'd it so; it has its rise from the Mountains of *Peru*, and (winding and turning it self as it does) runs the space of fifteen or sixteen hundred leagues; it discharges its burden into the Ocean with such a violent force, that a great way out at Sea you may drink fresh Water, and Mr. *Harcourt* declares, that being thirty leagues from Land, they drank as good and well-tasted Water as could come out of a Spring, and this from the River of the *Amazons*.

River of the *Amazons*.

'Twould be an endless work to describe all the lesser Rivers and Branches that communicate with this mighty Stream, 'tis enough to say, that there is a prodigious number of 'em, and perhaps as many several Nations of *Indians* that dwell about 'em; there is a several Kingdom almost at every River, and sometimes to go from one Bank to another, is to come into a new Country: But we are now more immediately concern'd with *Guiana*. One of the sweetest and most pleasant Provinces of this spacious Country is that which they call *Coſheberry*, that lies

The Country of Guiana.

lies to the Northward of the River *Arrapoco* (the moſt Weſtwardly Branch of the River of the *Amazons* that falls into the Sea.) The *Engliſh* that travel'd here found a delightful mixture of open Downs, fruitful Meadows, and thick Woods; there were abundance of ſtately Mounts that afforded pleaſing Proſpects, and very low Valleys beneath 'em, all ſhaded with Trees and moiſtned with freſh Streams running thro' them: According to their deſcription, no ſpot of Ground in the Univerſe could be more capable of charming a man than this, eſpecially the Air of it, being as healthy too as the appearance is inviting. It affords a ſort of Stones which

Topazes here found.

at firſt were taken for Diamonds, but prov'd not to be ſo, tho' very good and lovely; but this they ſay of 'em further, that they are a ſort of a ſign of Diamonds, and 'tis obſerv'd that at *Tenaſſeren* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where there is the greateſt plenty of Diamonds, theſe Stones are plentifully found too; our Men gave 'em the Name of *Topazes*, but what they were ſeems to be uncertain.

Beſides this *Coeſheberry*, there are alſo the Provinces of *Arracoory* and *Morewnia*, which are very pleaſant and fertile ones. In general, this Country affords as many Minerals and Metals as any part either of the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies*, and there's demonſtration enough that, as for ſome of the Metals, they are none of the baſeſt.

Phyſical Drugs.

For Phyſical Druggs, there's *Spikenard*, *Senna*, *Caſſia Fiſtula*, *Bole Armoniac*, *Terra Lemnia*, yellow *Amber*, and ſeveral noble *Gums*; but there's one Gum call'd *Calliman* which they thought merited a particular deſcription, 'tis black and brittle, and looks almoſt like common Pitch, if you put a little of it upon burning Coals, it will quickly fill the Room with a moſt ſweet and pleaſing odour, and the ſame Fumes receiv'd up into the Head, will effectually cure the *Vertigo*, *Megrims*, and all Diſtempers of their kind; it is commended alſo for its great uſe in the dead *Paiſie*, and Womens pains in their Backs, the effect of their Labour; in this latter caſe they order it to be ſpread upon a piece of Leather, and applied to the part: Laſtly, 'tis good for all Wounds and Sores, for any Ache or Pain, and is very proper to be us'd where any part requires a particular ſtrengthning and refreſhment. Beſides this, there is another Gum which they call *Baratta*, which is every whit as ſovereign a Medicine and as rare a Perfume.

Vegetables.

As for the Vegetables of this Country, there are ſome very odd ones; there's an Apple, which goes by the name of the *Sleeping Apple*, but may as juſtly be call'd the

Strong purging Apple.

Purging Apple, ſince it produces both thoſe effects, and with violence too; this a certain *Engliſhman* found to his no little trouble and diſorder, he only bit a piece to try how the Apple taſted, ſpitting it out again preſently becauſe 'twas ſo violently hot, however that very ſmall matter which went down produc'd the effects of an extraordinary ſleepineſs and purging, and the latter diſorder did not ſtop till it had made the man ſit down at the leaſt ſixty times.

There is farther a certain Berry in theſe parts (admirable againſt the *Dyſentery*) which the *Indians* call *Kellette*.

Medicinal Plants.

The Juice of the Plant *Uppea* cures Wounds made by impoyſon'd Weapons, and that of the Leaf *Icari* is as good a Remedy againſt the Headach.

But the Mechanicks as well as Phyſicians may find in this Country Materials for the practiſe of their ſeveral Profeſſions; the Joyners here may find the delicate Wood *Pira Timinere*, which will ſerve for all the Curioſities of their Trade; it is red and ſpeckled, and worth thirty or

Woods for Dyers.

forty pounds *per* Tun. The Dyers have all the main Ingredients for Colours that can well be wiſh'd for; the Berry *Annoto*, rightly prepar'd, gives a perfect Orange-tawny in Silk, and there's another that dyes a blue; there's a Gum which in Cloth dyes a ſure and perfect yellow in grain; Leafs which (well prepar'd) dye a deep red; a Wood which gives a purple, and another a yellow; but that which is more worth obſervation is, that there is a certain ſort of Wood which tinges a hot Liquor with a noble purple, and a cold one with as good a crimſon. The Wood that intoxicates the Fiſh is alſo

See *Knivet's* Voyage.

here in great plenty, of which ſome account was given before, but 'tis a ſort of a Providence that it grows ſo plentifully here, becauſe the People are hardly ingenious enough to ſhift for themſelves by other methods of Fiſhing, as other *Indians* do.

Tobacco.

Tobacco is one of the moſt topping Commodities of this Country, and 'tis the opinion of our Authors that this very thing alone might be manag'd ſo, as to bring in the *Engliſh* Nation as much Profit as ever the *Spaniards* had by the richeſt Silver Mine they are Maſters of in the *Indies*; the Soil is certainly very kind to and fit for it, no place can be more natural to it, except the Pipe in which 'tis to be ſmoak'd.

Sugar-canes.

The Sugar-canes are another Product of as great character as the Tobacco, they grow here to a vaſt bigneſs in a very little time, and therefore (conſidering alſo the mighty plenty of 'em) a man may fairly conclude that no little advantage might accrue by erecting ſome good *Ingenio's* here.

Cotton-wool and fine Hemp or Flax are very common Commodities alſo, of the former they make Fuſtians, Bombaſt, and the *Indian* Hammocks or Swinging-beds, and of the latter a Cloth extraordinary fine, and fit for the beſt uſes.

Cotton and fine Hemp.

And ſince we are ſpeaking of Vegetables, it is not amiſs to bring the *Senſitive Plant* (as 'tis vulgarly call'd) into the number; they are not uncommon in ſome parts of the Country, they appear almoſt like Roſebuſhes, and are about half a yard high; our People made ſeveral Experiments upon 'em, both by touching and cutting the Leafs, and they had taken care to put ſome of 'em up in Pots to bring over, which they had effected, but that the Monkeys (who will always be imitating what they ſee Mankind do) went to make ſome Experiments upon 'em too, and quite ſpoil'd the Plants.

As for matter of Proviſions, the Inhabitants depend mainly upon what the Earth brings forth ready to their hands; their Food is moſtly like themſelves, wild and in its pure naturals, at leaſt if they take any pains, they ſpoil a Diſh by the dreſſing on't: The *Caſſavi* Root is their principal ſtaff and ſupport for Bread, they rub the

Caſſavi, *Mais*, and *Guinea*-Wheat.

Root upon a Stone, and preſs out all the Juice of it, and afterward's bake and ſo grate it into flower; the raw Juice is ſaid to be Poyſon, but boil'd with *Guinea*-Pepper makes an excellent wholſom Sawce. They have alſo a vaſt deal of *Mais* or *Guinea-Wheat*, which is a Grain that yields a wonderful Encreaſe, even a thouſand or fifteen hundred for one, and many times more; it makes very good Bread and Cakes, and may be us'd to any purpoſes that our Wheat may.

Their Drinks.

And they are beholden to the *Caſſavi* and the *Guinea-Wheat* alſo for their Liquors, of which they have ſeveral ſorts, ſmall and ſtrong, thick and thin, clear and muddy, ſome that muſt be drank preſently, and others that will keep ten or twelve days, but yet (they ſay) all of them pretty tolerably taſted. Wine they have none at all, for there is not a Vine in the Country, but the Soil being ſo rich as it is, and the Clime ſo warm, 'tis more than probable that (were they planted here) they would proſper exceedingly.

Honey.

But they have as good Honey as any in the World, and as much of it too, tho' it be all wild, and taken out of hollow Trees and holes in the Earth.

Fruits.

Their common Fruits are Pines, Plantans, Medlers, Plums, and Nuts of various kinds, the three firſt of which are greatly commended, but the two laſt to be eaten with caution, inaſmuch as the Plums are very apt to give the Flux, and the Nuts to bind too much, unleſs eaten moderately.

Beaſts wild and tame.

And as for thoſe that cannot content themſelves with theſe common Products of the Field, there's Fleſh enough for 'em of all ſorts, Deer, wild Swine, Hares and Conies, but very different from ours in *England*, Maipurics (which taſte like Beef, and will take Salt) and Baremoes or Ant-Bears, that taſte as much like Mutton; beſides theſe, Lyons, Tygers, Leopards, Ounces, Marmozels, Porcupines and Armadillo's.

Fowls.

For Fowls there are wild Ducks, Wigeons, Teal, wild Geeſe, Pheſants, Partridges, Doves, Stockdoves, Woodcocks, Snipes, Blackbirds, Curlews, Goodwits; Birds of Pleaſure, as all ſorts of Parrots, Parrakeetoes, and ſmall Birds of delicate colours; Birds of Prey, as Hawks, Vultures, and others of the ravenous kind.

Fiſh.

The varieties of Fiſh are ſtill as great, if not greater, for here you have plenty of Sea-Breams, Mullets, Soals, Scates, Thornbacks, Swordfiſh, Sturgeon, Seal, and Salmon; of Shell-fiſh, Shrimps, Crabs, Lobſters, and Oyſters, which laſt may be taken off from the Branches of the Trees by the Sea-ſide; but the moſt remarkable freſh-water Fiſh is that which is call'd *Caſſoorma*, it is bigger than a Smelt, and much more delicious Food; this Fiſh has a flat Back indented, and the Ribbs round, very different from moſt other Fiſhes; but 'tis odd enough which is farther reported of it, that it has two pair of Eyes, ſo that as it ſwims along it keeps the lower ſights always within the Water, and the upper ones above or out of it: A very circumſpect Fiſh indeed, that looks into both Elements at once, and wants only a pair of Eyes more in the Tail to make it impoſſible to be catch'd. There is another Fiſh too that deſerves a particular mention, call'd

by the *Indians*, *Coiumero*; by the *Spaniards*, *Manati*; and our *English* the *Sea-Cow*: It is properly a Sea-fish, but it always comes into the fresh Water in Winter and wet weather, and sometimes 'twill come up into the Shallows in the drown'd Lands, and feed upon Grass and Weeds. The Meat of it tasts like Beef, takes Salt every well, and will serve to victual Ships, as many of our *English* have experienc'd: It affords an Oyl excellent good for many purposes, and the Fat of it serves to fry Fish or Flesh as well as Butter or any other Fat; but then as the inside of it is furniture for the Belly, so is the outside also for the Back, for the Skin is as good as Buff, and being dry'd in the Sun, and preserv'd from wet, 'twill make Targets and other pieces of defensive Armour, in which a Man may expose himself to a showre of *Indian* Arrows.

The *Sea-Cow* and its Use.

Before we come to speak of the Inhabitants of this Country, their Manners and Customs, we must take a little view of the disposition of the Land and Air it self: By the Sea-side 'tis all very low, and the scorching heat would render it wholly uninhabitable here, were it not for the fresh Easterly Breezes that cool and temper the Air, blowing generally most forcibly in the heat of the day; and in many places the low Lands are actually very little inhabited for all this Remedy, and that because of the overflowing of the Waters, a Distemper which the cool Breezes can never cure. In the mountainous parts the Air is fine and pleasing, the Soil in many places very fertile, and in others barren, tho' that barrenness is also fruitful of rich Metals and Minerals very often. The champaign Country is very temperate and healthful, and abounds in Meadows, Pastures, and delicate fresh Rivers; 'tis inferiour to none for all sorts of Sports and Pleasures, and in many places too will give a Man the particular Sport of digging Gold and other valuable Fossiles out of the Ground.

Quality of the Land and Air.

The Weather and Seasons upon this Coast do differ considerably with respect to the several parts of it, for in the Eastern parts, towards the River of the *Amazons*, the dry weather begins in *August*, and the violent Rains and blustering Winds come on in *February*; but in the Western parts, towards the River *Oronoco*, the dry weather begins in *October*, and the Rains and Winds in *April*; but as for degrees of Heat and Cold, 'tis much at one both in the Eastern and Western parts, tho' sometimes (from some particular causes) those Seasons may commence or end sooner or later both in the one and the other of 'em; and this the Experience of them that have liv'd there confirms.

The Weather and Seasons.

The principal Nations of this Country are, the *Paragoto's*, *Arrucoories*, the *Charibes*, the *Arwaca's*, the *Yaio's* and the *Suppaio's*; the *English* were mostly conversant with the three last, as being the Inhabitants of those parts which they most frequented, tho' they had some correspondence with some of the friendly *Charibes* too. Of all these the *Arwaca's* have the best Character for sober civil deportment; the *Yaio's* are a sort of a proud flouting People, and the *Suppaio's* crafty and close in their dealings, and both the one and the other require good looking to.

The Nations of Guiana.

What their Religion is, could never be discover'd, there is so little sign of any external Form amongst 'em; they seem to shew a certain observance of the Sun and the Moon, but they don't express it by any formal act of Worship, or by any Sacrifices made to them, yet there appears to be rooted in their Minds a certain Notion of another state, wherein Men exist after this Life, as also of Rewards and Punishments therein: Thus whenever a Prince dies, they always kill some one or other of his Slaves; and they give this reason for it, That he should attend his Master in the other World where he is gone. Again, when those *Indians* die amongst those which have the Reputation of being good, they point up to Heaven, as when those that have been mischievous and troublesom are gone they point down to the Earth, intimating thereby the different circumstances of the Good and the Bad in their different Habitations and Housings after this Life. It has been further observ'd of 'em, that they have express'd to the *English* a mighty desire of having Men brought amongst 'em that should teach 'em to pray, and particularly Capt. *Leigh* was mightily sollicited by 'em to this purpose. Now 'twould be odd to suppose such a Desire in Men, without supposing also at the same time that they were aware of the Existence of some very powerful and good Being, at whose hands they were to ask Protection and Supply of their Wants. And indeed, if what our Countrymen do very positively affirm be true, that their Priests or Soothsayers have sometimes actual Conference with wicked Spirits, and that these poor wretches themselves are sometimes distress'd by 'em, and feel the effects of their Malice, 'tis no wonder (if they have any Notion of a Being that is both kind and great too) that they should desire to learn the way of invoking Him.

Their Religion.

Some hints of their Belief of a future state.

But, to let this pass, they have no other Division nor Computation of Time than by Moons and Days; and as for numbering, they reckon from One to Ten, and then say, *Ten and One*, *Ten and Two*, instead of Eleven and Twelve, and so on. In common Conversation they reckon by their Fingers and Toes, by which way they express their Numbers and keep their Reckoning exactly and readily enough. When they promise or appoint any thing to be done by a time limited, each Party takes a bundle of Sticks containing as many as there are Days or Moons in the space of time they agree upon, then every Day or every Moon each Man draws one Stick out of his bundle, and when they are all gone they know the appointed time is come.

Their account of Time

Their greatest Solemnity is at the death of any of their Princes, Captains or Friends of great note and quality, but the plain truth on't is, 'tis no more than a drunken bout, for the *Guianians* are excessively given to this Vice, and 'tis the surest mark of a brave Man amongst 'em, when he will stand as firm as a Post over a Jarr of Drink, and empty two or three down into his Belly: Upon such an occasion they meet together, and bring several Jarrs of their strong Liquor along with 'em, for (as was hinted before) this is the very Spirit of the Solemnity, and without Drink they cannot remember the Departed: Here then they drink, dance and sing; and to make the Harmony more compleat and ravishing, the Women that are a-kin to the Party deceas'd set up their Pipes and cry all the while. These mighty doings last just as long as the Drink does, and no longer, for when that's out the Ceremony is over, the Musick ceases, and the whole Company is quash'd, so now they begin to disperse themselves again. Oh! did but some of the great Rivers of the Country run with strong *Parranow* or some other such Liquor, how soon would these People change their Element, become amphibious Animals at least, and duck themselves half the day in the belov'd Fluid?

Solemn rites at the death of a Captain or Friend.

And indeed, since they esteem a Man so much for his Drinking-abilities, one would think this qualification should determine 'em in their choice of a General for the War; but they are not such desperate Sotts neither, tho' they are bad enough of all conscience; they know that a General must know how to handle other sorts of Instruments than a Pot or a Jugg, and be able to look other Enemies in the face than a Jarr of strong *Parranow* or *Cassavi* Beer; in short, they require Patience, Courage and Hardiness in him they elect to this Charge, and therefore when they have fix'd upon a Man, they thus proceed to try whether he has those Virtues or no; they set him in the midst of 'em, and after they have harangu'd him a while upon the Qualities of a good General, they take their Rods and begin to whip him soundly; the noble Candidate stands unconcern'd under this severe trial, he never starts nor flinches, tho' every stroke draws Blood from him, and the dy'd Rods declare his Flesh to be carbonado'd: Thus when his Virtues have been written over and over in scarlet, and the Examiners conclude 'em to be visible and manifest enough, they put an end to the examination, and with one consent salute him General: A very pretty method indeed! a man that is ambitious of this Honour need only get the reputation of having a casehardned Backside, and he is in as fair a way to Preferment as can be.

Method of chusing their General.

These People are of a tall neat make, well limb'd and proportion'd; they go all naked, both Men and Women, without any sort of covering, and the Women submit to it with as little concern and regret as the Men: But if it be said that Paint is a covering, then indeed they must be allow'd to be cover'd, for they do besmear their Bodies with that, especially when they go to Feasts, and would make the finest figure.

Their Houses are built much after the manner of our Barns in *England*, but much longer, for some of 'em by measure were a hundred and fifty paces long and twenty broad, so that a hundred Persons at least dwell in one of 'em; they are very artificially contriv'd, and the thatching is so nice and exact that no wet whatsoever can possibly molest them that are within.

Their Houshold stuff consists of earthen Pots or Jarrs, which hold their Liquor, and are made so neat, that they look as if they were gilt; then Baskets of divers sorts, very artificially made; and their Hammocks, some of which are made of Cotton-wool, and others of the Bark of Trees.

The

The Men and the Women never keep company together all day long, they eat, drink and converse apart, the former at one end and the latter at the other end of the House by themselves: Also when a Woman is to be deliver'd, she goes into a Room all alone by her self, and going thro' her Labour without so much as a Cry or a Groan, when the Child is born she calls to her Husband to come and take it, who immediately goes and receives the Infant, puts it in a Pot of Water to wash it, and then paints it over with several colours.

The Commodities these *Indians* mostly desir'd of the *English*, by way of exchange for the Products of their Country before mention'd, were all sorts of Edge-tools, Nails, Fish-hooks, Harpon-irons, Looking-glasses, Beads, Needles, Pins, Hats, Linnen and Woollen Cloths, Shirts, Bands, Salt, Powder and Shot, Swords and Musquets; but these latter sort of Tools our Men were cautious (and that justly) of making them very familiar with. They laid a great deal of stress upon the assistance and friendship of the *English*, and 'twas as great a baulk to any of 'em all to find the *English* engag'd against 'em.

There was one of these *Guianian* Princes nam'd *Leonard Ragapo*, whose Country was that very pleasant Province of *Coosheberry* before describ'd; this Person (who was a true Friend to the *English*) had invited them into his Country, and upon that invitation, and by the Captain's order, some of 'em went and resided with him for a time. While they were there the *Caribes* broke into his Dominions, committing horrible Outrages, and not content with doing that mischief at a distance, advanc'd their Army towards the place where *Leonard* himself was; the brave *Indian* arm'd some of his Troops with their usual Weapons, Bows and Arrows, sharp-pointed Staves, and wooden Swords and Targets, and then desiring four of our *English* Musquetiers to bear him company, he march'd to meet the Enemy; he was himself the entire orderer of the March, and disposer of the Battel, the *English* permitting all this as well in a compliment to him, as to see their way and method in martial affairs, and the posture he set 'em in was thus; first the four Musquetiers two abreast, then two *Indians* arm'd with Swords and Targets, next two Archers, and then two carrying sharp-pointed Staves, and thus the whole Army, which was not near a hundred, went on: The *Caribes* came on in the same good order, but coming within view, and spying the four *English* in the front, they made a sudden stand; *Leonard* presently guessing the reason of it, commanded his own Men to stand too, and then (taking only his Sword and Target) advanc'd towards the *Caribes* till he came within hearing, and call'd out for their Captains to come and meet him; here he smartly reprov'd 'em for the Injuries they had done him and his People, demanded satisfaction, and withal warn'd them of ever coming into his Territories more in that hostile manner; but he told 'em, if they would not satisfie for the Wrongs they had done, and promise never to disturb the Peace of his Country more, he stood ready there with his Friends the *English* to give 'em Battel, in order to the taking a just Revenge; and lastly he bid them take notice, that if they were resolv'd to fight, and any of the *English* died in the Conflict, he would fetch all the Power of that Nation from *Wiapco*, and cut 'em all to pieces, and burn their Houses. This, spoke with a good grace and courage, and enforc'd with the presence of the *English*, had the desir'd effect, the *Caribes* (tho' vastly more in number) were cool'd and quieted, they submitted to the Conditions of Peace impos'd upon 'em, and so march'd back to their Habitations.

From hence 'tis plain, that what by the Factions of these *Indians* among themselves, and the Necessities some of the weaker Parties lie under of protection and defence, a foreign Power (managing the matter well) would find no great difficulty to plant it self amongst 'em.

CHAP. VIII.

A brief Account of the Country and People about the River of the Amazons; *by* William Davis *Barber-Chyrurgeon of* London, *who liv'd there some time.*

THIS Country (the Relater tells us) is extreamly full both of Woods and Rivers, as also of Lakes and Pools, so that the Inhabitants are far enough from any danger of wanting those two great conveniences of life Wood and Water; the Woods abound with all sorts of wild Beasts, and there's plenty of good wild Fowl in 'em too; but *Parrots*, he says, are more common there than *Pigeons* in *England*, and he commends 'em for as good Meat: The Waters, both the running and standing ones, afford as much Fish; but there are so many *Crocodiles*, *Alligators*, and *Water-serpents*, that those who frequent 'em for that Sport must always be upon their guard.

The Country is very subject to violent Rains, Thunder and Lightning, and those Storms, as they are very frequent, so they commonly hold sixteen or eighteen hours of the twenty four. But the worst Persecution to Strangers that come hither is that of the *Muskitoes* or *Flies*; these importunate Animals will be continually hovering about a Man and sucking his Blood, let him do almost what he can to defend himself; and 'tis to be suppos'd the Author suffer'd pretty considerably under this persecution, because he seems to speak something feelingly of the matter.

There are abundance of petty Kings about this great River and the various branches of it; they have their several Rivers to themselves, which confine their Territories and Power, and upon which they very often fight one with another; 'tis upon the Water that they decide most of their Quarrels, and he that's overcome is not thrown out of his Canoe to feed the Fishes, but serves for a principal Dish at the Table of the Conqueror, the victorious King eats up him his Arms have subdued, and buries him in his own Royal Belly; notwithstanding which one is bound to believe, that the honour of such a Sepulchre is no temptation to any man to be overcome. The Ensigns of Majesty here are a Crown of Parrots Feathers, a Chain of Lyons Teeth or Claws hung about the Neck or the Middle, and a wooden Sword in the Hand; he that appears thus adorn'd is thereby known to be a King.

The People go (both Men and Women) as naked as they came into the World, they wear their Hair long, but the Men have it pluck'd off on the crown, which is all that can be call'd Fashion relating to them: As for the Women, they have none at all, but their Hair and Breasts are both so long, that 'tis a question which of the two are longest. The Men wear little Canes thrust thro' the foreskin of the *Pudenda*, as also thro' their Ears and lower Lips; at the bridge of the Nose they fasten small glass Beads or Buttons, which hanging down directly before their Mouths, bob to and fro as they speak, and in this pretty motion they take not a little pride and pleasure: But as foolish as they are in this respect, they are crafty and ingenious enough in others; they are horrid treacherous too, light of Finger as well as light of Foot; they are very dexterous at shooting, and kill not only Beasts and Fowl, but even the Fishes too in the Water with their Arrows; as soon as they have struck a Fish they presently throw down their Bows and leap into the Water to catch him; this Weapon is made of *Brasile*-wood, 'tis about two yards long, and the Arrow seven foot, the String is made of the Rind of a Tree, and lies close to the Bow without any bend. When they have got any Prey they meet together in companies, and eat every man what he has got himself; this they do without Bread or Salt or any sort of Drink but Water, the Author says Water and Tobacco, but 'tis to be suppos'd he does not mean Water with Tobacco steep'd in it, for if he does, their Liquor is strong enough of all conscience in one sence, whatever it be in another. The Country yields neither Gold nor Silver, as far as the Author could

discover, but vast quantities of Fruits and Roots, such as have been describ'd in the other parts of *America*.

The People are so wise as to despise Money, or at least so happy as to be ignorant of it, and they'll exchange a parcel of Provisions for a glass Bead or a Jews-harp that they won't take ten or twenty Shillings for, and if all other People had been of their mind, that part of the World had been less visited than 'tis.

CHAP. IX.

A compleat Account of the great Country of Brasile, *with the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants; from a* Portuguese *and a* Frenchman, *who liv'd there a great while.*

WE shall not pretend to reckon up the vast numbers of Nations with which this mighty tract of Land is peopled, to tell their several Names and Tribes, nor to describe the particular places of their abode; something has been done this way before, in the account of Mr. *Kniver*'s Adventures in this Country, upon which score we shall forbear entring any farther into that subject now; 'tis sufficient to say, that amongst all the diversities of Languages which these several sorts of People use, there is one which (because it spreads more than any single Language besides) may be call'd the principal Tongue of *Brasile*, and 'tis spoken by ten several Nations of *Indians*: This is that which the *Portuguese* do understand and speak in all their converses with these People, and their Children born here speak it much more perfectly than themselves; it is an easie, eloquent, and pleasant Language enough, and very copious, but the great fault of it, and that which renders it difficult to Learners is, its having such a multitude of Comparisons in it.

Ten Nations in *Brasile* who use the same Tongue.

The People that speak this Tongue are (and were) the ancient Friends of the *Portuguese*, and 'twas by their Arms and Assistance partly that the Country was conquer'd; they joyn'd with the *Portuguese* in their Endeavours to extirpate the rest of their barbarous Neighbors, and their Endeavours have succeeded so well, that they are now almost all gone from the Coast, and are retir'd to surer Refuges in the inner part of the Country.

Friends to the *Portuguese*

These People, as distinct from the ten Nations before mention'd, are all comprehended under the general Name of *Tapoyes*, and there is no less than seventy six several Nations of 'em, each of which uses a peculiar Tongue; they are inveterate Enemies to the *Portuguese*, and to all the rest of the *Brasilians*, tho' 'tis said that there is one sort of 'em that dwell near the River of St. *Francis*, that maintain a friendly correspondence with 'em, many of which are also made Christians after their manner, that is not instructed in the Principles of the Christian Faith, but sprinkled with the Water of Baptism.

Tapoyes.

The Climate of *Brasile* is temperate and healthful, and (amongst the Natives at least) the Thread of Life is spun out to as great a length here as any where: The Country is full of old People, and 'tis a common thing to see ninety and a hundred Years in a hopeful way of going on to a greater number. This will make it easily believ'd that the Air they breath is pure and clear, as indeed it is, and the Heavens always shew a bright face over their Heads; you seldom see black Clouds flying about here, or noisom Fogs and Mists rising, every scent of which sometimes gives a man a Distemper, if the sight of 'em does not make him melancholy. In the Winter, 'tis true, there are great Rains, and the Skies help to overflow the Country as well as the Rivers, but all this wet does not make it unhealthful, nor breed such Distempers as shorten the Lives of the Inhabitants.

The temper of the Country.

There are very short Twilights in this Country, 'tis no sooner Day but the Sun's up, as also 'tis Night as soon as ever he is down. The Summer begins in *September*, and ends in *February*; the Winter in *March*, and ends in *August*, and the Days and Nights are almost equal all the Year round.

Seasons.

From *Fernambuco* as far as the Government of *Spirito Santo* 'tis all full of Hills, and you hardly meet with any Stone, especially 'tis so towards the Sea-coast; but from thence to St. *Vincent* 'tis very rough and rocky, and abounds with Stone Quarries.

In describing the Products of this Country, we will begin with the Vegetables; and here the *Mandioca* comes first to be consider'd. This is a Root something like a Carrot, but bigger and longer; they grow to the height of fifteen span, and at every spans distance there are certain Joynts; out of the sides shoot several little Stalks or Branches, which have a white Pith within, and if broken off and set in the ground, will themselves in six or eight months have gotten Roots big enough for Food, for 'tis to be noted that this Root is the main thing they make their Bread of; they steep it in Water, and then making it up in Balls with their hands, they dry it upon Hurdles over the Smoak, then they scrape and sift it, and so get a Flour which is whiter than that of Wheat; this Flour mix'd in a certain proportion with the raw *Mandioca*, makes 'em a Biscuit, which they call *Biscuit of the War*, because it serves the *Portuguese* and *Indians* when they go to Sea-service. There is also another sort of Biscuit, which is made of the Water or Juice of the green Root, congeal'd and dried by the Sun or the Fire; this is of all the whitest and purest, and is so delicate, that 'tis made only for the best sort of People.

Vegetable Products.

Mandioca Root.

The Use of it

This *Mandioca* Root serves 'em for the making several sorts of Broth also, and those so very healthful and restorative, that they give 'em to sick People, as the most proper and effectual means to recover 'em. But besides all these Uses, they make Cakes, Pies, Fritters, and Cimnels of it; yea, there's hardly any useful or pleasant sort of Food belonging to a House, and which can be made of Grain, but they fetch it out of this Root.

As for the Medicinal Vertues of it, 'tis commended as an excellent Remedy against the bitings of venomous Creatures, when 'tis prepar'd by drying in the Smoak; notwithstanding to eat this Root raw is of dangerous consequence, for it contains a cold crude Liquor, which produces fatal effects in the Body of Man, yet other Animals have the privilege of eating it raw without any hurt, and not only so, but with a great deal of benefit, for it fattens and nourishes them to a great degree; but should they drink the express'd Juice, it would infallibly kill 'em, and they would live no longer than till that got down into their Stomachs. There is one particular sort of it which the *Indians* call *Aypim*, that they except from this property of poysoning when eaten raw, and which boil'd or roasted is very well tasted, and makes good Flour for Cakes and Bread; but the Wines which the *Indians* make of it are such a Medicine for the Liver, that to their frequent drinking of this Liquor is attributed their freedom from all Diseases incident to that part.

The Herb *Nana* is very common in this Country, it is like the *Semperviv.e* or Herb *Aloes*, and has Leaves like that, but not so thick, and is all round about full of sharp Prickles: in the middle of it grows a Fruit like a Pine-apple, full of Flowers of divers colours, and very pleasing to the sight, and at the bottom come out four or five Sprigs, which are fit for planting. The Fruit is one of the best in the World, has a grateful smell and a very pleasant taste, and is very full of Juice; if one would compare the taste of it to that of any other known Fruit, one would say it resembles that of a Melon, but 'tis vastly better. The Juice is very good for them that are troubled with the Stone, but found to be as hurtful wherever there is a Fever; and for a vulgar use of it, it perfectly takes away all spots out of Clothes. This Fruit is so very plentiful, that the *Indians* fatten their Hogs with it, and except some small quantities that are preserv'd for a sort of Sweetmeat, they have no other way for common spending of 'em, but only to carry them to Sea, where the Sea-sick People eat 'em, and find benefit by 'em; and then to infuse 'em in Wine, and drink a draught of it in the morning, they look upon to be very wholsome.

Herb *Nana*.

Its Use.

The Fig-tree *Pacoba*, which grows here very commonly, is that which the Natives call *Adam*'s Fig-tree; it is

Fig-tree *Pacoba*.

very

very big, and grows to twenty quarters long, the Stalk is soft and spongy, the Leaves extreamly long, smooth and soft like the *Bragmza* Velvet, so pleasantly cool and refreshing, that People sick of Fevers have these applied to 'em to abate their violent heats and make 'em easie The Fruit grows in clusters like Figs, upon certain *Pedunculi*, which come out of the main Stalk every foot distance, and each cluster contains about two hundred of the Figs, sometimes more and sometimes less. The Fruit gather'd and laid to ripen becomes very yellow, and acquires a pleasant taste; but besides its gratefulness to the Palate, 'tis medicinal to the Body, as those that lie down of Fevers or that spit Blood do experience to their benefit. This is an ordinary Fruit also in their Gardens, and they have of 'em all the Year round.

Of the *Palm-trees* of this Country (of which they make four or five kinds) there is one sort particularly which they call *Yri*, that bears a cluster of Fruit like Damasens, but the whole is so large and heavy, that a man can hardly lift it with one hand; the Kernel is of the bigness of a Cherry, and may be eaten, tho' of the Fruit it self we have no account either one way or the other. Upon the tops of these Trees there grow certain white Tendrels or young Branches, which they cut off and eat, and those that have been troubled with the Piles affirm, they afford relief in that case.

Yri, a sort of Palm.

The Tree call'd *Aijri* by the *Brasilians* is something like the *Palm*, but the Stock is arm'd on every side with sharp Thorns and Prickles, which will do the same execution upon a man's Fingers that touches 'em that so many Needles would do: It bears a Fruit not very large, but which contains a Kernel as white as Snow, and not to be eaten. This Tree seems to be a kind of Ebony, for the Wood is very black, so hard that the *Brasilians* make Arrows and Clubs of it, and so heavy that, being thrown into the Water, it presently sinks to the bottom.

The Tree *Aijri*.

There are Trees also whose Woods are of divers other colours, and some of 'em as variously entertaining the Smell with their different scents, as they do the Sight with their colours; one particularly perfumes the Air like a Rosebush, and another that throws out a scent like a Bed of Garlick; this latter Tree is so strong, that no man can endure the place where 'tis either hewn or burnt; 'tis every way a Poyson to the whole Body, as well as to the Nose, and if a man eats the Kernel of the Fruit, he is in as much danger of dying by that as by the horrid stink without eating. The Natives pass by all these bad qualities, and love the Fruit notwithstanding, because it furnishes them with materials for making their Rattles. The Leaves of this Tree resemble the Leaves of our Apple-trees, and the Fruit appears (in shape) something like a rough Chesnut.

Choyne-tree. The *Choyne-tree* is of an indifferent height, with Leaves of the same green and form too as those of a Bay-tree, and a Fruit as big as a Child's Head, not round but oval; the hard Shells of these serve 'em for Rattles, and being also divided in half, they are used for Cups and other smaller Houshold Vessels.

Sabaucaie. To this use also do they put the large Fruit of the Tree *Sabaucaie*, but Nature has directed 'em to this by making the Fruit in the form of a Cup. In the bottom of it there are a parcel of small Kernels that look like Almonds, and have the same pleasing taste too.

Acaiow. The Fruit by the *Barbarians* call'd *Acaiow* comes from a Tree of the height of our Service-tree, 'tis of the shape and bigness of a Hens-egg, and when ripe, of a golden colour like a Quince; it affords a Juice of a tart quick taste, and that is reckon'd a very proper and good cooler for the Body, when disorder'd with any preternatural heats.

Paco-aire. *Paco-aire* is a Shrub of ten or twelve foot high, with a Stock many times as thick as a man's Thigh, and yet for all that so tender that it may be cut asunder with a Sword at one stroke. The Fruit it self has the name of *Paco*, and 'tis as long as a man's Hand, and not unlike a Cucumber either in colour or shape when it comes to be ripe; but then these grow for the most part twenty and twenty five thick together upon every Bough, so that the *Brasilians*, when they gather and carry 'em to their Cottages, do often find themselves loaded with a few of those Boughs. When the Fruit is ripe, the Knop being pull'd off after the manner of a fresh-gather'd Fig, it seems clotty and full of little clusters, upon which account them that eat it do imagine almost they are eating a Fig, and indeed the taste is not only as good, but much better than that of the most delicate Figs that come from *Marsilia*. The Leaves of the *Paco-aire* are in form like those of *Water-sorrel*, but big enough to cover the *Water* it self as well as the *Sorrel* that grows in it; the length of 'em is generally six foot, and the breadth two, but they are very slender and thin, and having only one strong middle rib to support and hold 'em together, the Winds do so tear 'em with blowing 'em about, and leave 'em hanging in so many rags, that to those that look on 'em at a distance, the shrubs appear to be all stuck with Feathers.

This Country affords store of those Trees likewise that bear the *Ananas*, that noble and useful Fruit; whether these of the *American* growth are better or worse than those in other parts of the World is not readily told, but 'tis certain that here they are very excellent. The Plant is in form like the *Flower de Luce*, with crooked bending Leaves, which are divided round about something like the Aloe, and of the form of those of the greater Thistle; the Fruit is as big as an ordinary Melon, and of the shape of a Pine-apple, growing after the manner of our Artichoke; when they are ripe they are of a golden colour, and yield the smell of the Fruit of the *Eben* Bramble, so that they discover themselves by their fine scent to those that walk in the Woods and other places where they grow; in taste they excell to that degree, that none of our preserv'd Fruits do go beyond 'em, and the Liquor drawn from 'em by expression is nothing inferiour to the *Malmsey* Wine.

Ananas.

The Plant *Murcuia* runs up the Walls and Trees like Ivy, it is very pretty to look upon when 'tis in Flower, and yields a round Fruit, which is not always of the same colour, but some yellow, and others black, and divers other colours besides 'em: The little Kernel and Juice within are of a pleasant taste enough, tho' somewhat tart; but taken all together, 'tis a Fruit of a very good account in the Country, and of no little use. The Leaves of the Plant beaten with Verdegrise, is a Specifick for inveterate Ulcers and the Pox.

Murcuia.

To these may be added the *Mulberries*, the *Dewberries* both red and black, *Cammon* and *Kidney-Beans* of many sorts, *Potatoes*, *Pumpions*, so large, that when they have hollow'd 'em they use 'em for Vessels to carry Water in; *Millet* of many sorts, the Root *Cara*, which is like a Turnep, and the *Taiaoba's*, that resemble Cabbages, and purge a man that eats 'em.

But the Root call'd by them *Jetica* (which is the *Mecoacan* of the *Antilles*) is remarkable for this Vertue also; it is a long Root like a Radish, of a considerable bigness, and purges sufficiently; beaten also in Wine or Water, 'tis a Medicine for the *Ague*, and preserv'd or made into a sort of Marmalade, is taken to very good purpose upon several other accounts.

Jetica.

The Plant *Ipecaya* is a Specifick for the *Dysentery*; the Stalk is a quarter of a yard long, and the Root rather more; it has only four or five Leaves, but those (as indeed the whole Plant) of a very rank and filthy smell: They beat the Root well, and then infuse it in Water, letting it stand all night, the next morning they strain it off and drink the Infusion, which purges so effectually, that the malignant Humour is entirely carried away and extirpated by it.

Ipecaya. A Remedy for the Bloody-flux.

Cayapaia is an Herb which for its singular vertue in securing the Body from all the mischievous effects of Poysons, particularly that of Serpents, has got the name of *Snakeherb*; and 'tis reckon'd as good a Remedy as the *Unicorne* and *Bada*, the *Bezoar-stone* or *Cocco* of *Maldiva*. There is no part of it of any significancy for this purpose but the Root only, which is thin and slender, and in the middle has a Knot like a Button; this they beat and infuse in Water, and so drink the Liquor: And 'tis the same course also that is taken if a man be wounded with an envenom'd Dart or Arrow, or if he has a Fever; they have no other method of preparing it, but give their Patient a Dose of this Water, which they repeat as the case requires.

Cayapaia. A Counter-Poyson.

The Herb *Tyroqui* or *Tareroqui* is (as some would call it) a Solar Plant, from the particular regard it bears to that Luminary; it lies as it were dead and wither'd, quite shut up and contracted all night long, and in the morning, as soon as the Sun is up, it begins to recover and shew all the marks of Life, in the opening and expanding of it self, and spreading its Flowers; thus it continues till Sun-set, and then it dies away again, till the comfortable Beams of the next morning Sun come and give it a new resurrection. The Root of this Plant is very jagged, the Branches slender, the Leaves like them of *Basil*, the Flowers red, and come forth all at the very top: It's good to destroy *Worms* both in Men and other Animals, and the *Indians* (when they are sick) perfume themselves with it, to preserve 'em from dying; but how vain soever that Fancy be, 'tis pretty certain that it may preserve a man from dying of the *Bloody-flux*, if he uses it in good time, for 'tis esteem'd a very great Remedy for that Distemper, but then tis not the Fumes that cure neither, but the infusion or some other preparation of

of the Plant, according as those *Brasilian* Doctors please to manage it.

The same is partly the vertue of the Herb *Embeguacu*, it helps the *Flux*, and is upon many accounts more proper for Women than Men; the Roots of it are so long that it does almost exceed belief; the Rind is very strong, and serves for the making substantial Cords and Cables for Ships, which are of such a nature, that by being in the Water they grow green.

Caccobatinga is a small Herb, which bears a Flower as big as a Hasle-nut, with a very few Leaves, green above and white underneath; the Roots and Leaves stamp'd are an excellent Remedy against all sorts of Wounds, but they use the Leaf also it self without any stamping or pressing, for only laying it to the Wound, it sticks fast till it has done the business.

The Herb *Cobaura* serves for the cure of old Sores that are advanc'd past the reach of all other Remedies; they lay it both bruis'd and burnt to the part affected, and it quickly masters the Ulcer, dries up the Humour, and brings a new Skin.

The *Holy Herb* (as they call it) does this service in the case of Wounds, and a great number of internal Maladies too; they use it for Asthma's, Coughs, Catarrhs, disorders of the Head and Stomach; but the *Portuguese* and *Indians* do make some other (and those very unholy and unclean) uses of this holy Plant, for they'll sit and suck the smoak on't for a whole day together, till they are as drunk as so many Apes; they make certain Pipes or Tubes of Palm-leaves, and fill 'em with this Herb dried, and then setting fire to it at one end, and holding the other in their mouths, they keep drawing till they have drawn themselves into a state of absolute Drunkenness; and they are not contented neither to do this all the day long, but the *Portuguese* will do it in Bed, and the *Indians* as they lie in their Hammocks for a whole night together, and are the next morning as mellow as if they had been drinking Wine or strong Beer all that time.

Guaraquiminya is reckon'd to be the Mirtle of *Portugal*, and besides other excellent Properties, has this, so effectually to expel *Worms* out of the Body, that those that eat it do ordinarily void 'em presently.

Camaracatimbae is a Plant that resembles the *Sylva's* of *Portugal*, the Water wherein 'tis boil'd is an admirable Remedy for *Scabs*, *Pox*, and *Green Wounds*; the Flower of it is very fair and lovely to look upon, and finely scented, and being so, they use it to adorn both their Houses and Altars.

Aipo is the very *Smallege* of *Portugal*, and has the same Vertues; it is found only about the Sea-coast, especially in the River of *Janero*, for which reason perhaps 'tis that it is so much sharper and more pungent than that of *Portugal*.

The *Meadmallow* of this Country has the same effects with that otherwhere; the Flowers are a curious red, very large, and look almost like *Portugal* Roses.

Caraguata is a sort of Thistle that bears a yellow Fruit as long as one's Finger, which eaten raw will blister the Lips, but boil'd or roasted, produces no ill effects, only they are forbidden to Women with Child, because they are said infallibly to cause Miscarriage.

There are also others of these *Caraguata's* that have vast long Leaves like Flags, and bear a Fruit like the *Nana* before mention'd, but not at all well-tasted; the best part of the Plant is the Leaf, of which a very fine sort of a Thread may be made, fit for many good purposes, but in order to the getting of this Thread, they prepare the Leaf by steeping it in Water.

Good Thread from a Leaf.

Timbo is a Plant that comes up from the Earth like a String, and rises up to the tops of the highest Mulberry-trees, to which sometimes also it grows close like Ivy; they are exceeding strong and tough, and therefore serve for all manner of bindings, even those that are as big as a Man's Leg may be wound and twisted about without breaking. The Bark or Rind is an infallible Poyson to the Fish, and being cast into the Water, leaves hardly any of 'em alive: This seems to be something of the same nature with a kind of Wood (before describ'd) which had the like mischievous effects upon the Fishes.

Timbo.

See *Knivet's* Voyage.

The *Bombasine Cotton-shrubs* are found in great numbers in this Country; they grow to an indifferent height, and have Flowers like the little yellow Balls of Cucumbers. The Fruit, when ripe, divides it self into four parts, each of which yields the Cotton in flocks of the bigness of a little Ball; in the midst of these flocks are found certain black Grains very compact and close press'd together, in form and bigness not much different from a Bean. The *Brasile* Women are very skilful in gathering and spinning this *Bombasine Cotton*, and the great use they make of it is about their Beds, as we shall see farther by and by.

Cotton.

Mastich grows here also amongst the Briers and Bushes, which, together with all the rest of the odoriferous Plants and Flowers, perfumes the Woods after a most pleasant manner. In these Woods you find Reeds of the bigness of a Man's Leg, and whilst they are standing upon the ground, so very tender, that with one blow of a Sword one may cut off the largest of 'em, yet let 'em be but dried and you'll find 'em hard and stiff enough; the *Brasilians* head their Arrows with 'em, and they are so very piercing, that whatever wild Beast is struck with 'em is sure never to ramble the Woods any more.

Mastich.

Besides the Reeds, they have as many varieties of Canes, some of which are extreamly big, and others very long, consisting of a great number of Joynts, and these the *Indians* use for Weapons also.

To conclude, the Plants found here that co-incide with those of our own Country, are *Ferns*, *Parsly*, *Purslain*, *Basil-Royal*, *Sowthistle*, *Beets*, *Endive*, *Peony-royal*, *Mint*, *wild Sage*, tho' such of these as smell strong enough in our Climate, have but very little (if any at all) in that.

This following Account of some other Brasilian *Vegetables, tho' it was not lit of time enough to be put into the foregoing one, yet deserves to be presented to the Reader, which we shall therefore do.*

Other Plants.

OF the *Acaiow*-trees the Author (whose Name we know not) observes, that the Timber or Wood it self is found to be fit for no use whatsoever, but it affords a sort of a Gum good for painting, and that in great plenty; with the Bark of it they dye their Yarn and the Vessels they use about their Houses: If the same be stamp'd and boil'd with Copper till the third part of the Water be consum'd, 'tis a sovereign Remedy for old Sores, and makes 'em heal quickly.

Mangaba.

The *Mangaba*-trees have green Leaves all the Year round, and bear Fruit twice a Year; their Flower is altogether like the Jessamin, and smells as well; the Fruit is as big as an Apricock, yellow, but spotted with black, and within has several Kernels, which are eaten as well as the Fruit it self; they are wholsom, well tasted, and lie so light upon the Stomach, that those who have eaten ever so many can hardly find they have eat any at all: The Tree and Fruit both being green, are full of a clammy milky Juice, and bitter to the taste; the Fruit is always gather'd green, and laid to ripen in their Houses.

Cupaiba.

Mirucuge.

The Fruit *Mirucuge* is like the wild Pear of *Portugal*, it has a very long stalk, and is always (like the former) taken green off the Tree; the trunk of it affords a milky Liquor, but of such a consistence when 'tis well settled and congeal'd, that if the Inhabitants had the Art of writing Letters, this might serve 'em instead of Sealing-wax.

Araca.

The *Araca* is a sort of a small Pear, (or at least nearer that than any other Fruit) the colour of which is yellow, red, or green, for there are of all these kinds in *Brasile*, and those very common and plentiful too; it is a Fruit that holds very near all the year round, and is pleasant enough in the eating, especially to them that love but a small relish of the sowre.

Ombu.

The *Ombu* is a great Tree, not very high, but well spread; the Fruit is like a white Plumb, and therefore the *Portuguese* do give it that Name; it has this odd property, that it makes those People lose their Teeth that eat it; but the Root is much more favourable, it has no influence to make a man lose any good thing belonging to him, but will contribute to the ridding him of whatever is evil and troublesom, for they give them with advantage to People in *Fevers*, and they serve instead of Water to those that travel the Desarts, because being naturally very cool and refreshing, they help to abate the violence of a man's thirst in that case.

Jacapucaya.

The Tree call'd *Jacapucaya* is one of the greatest and faireſt of the Country; it bears a Fruit like a Pot, and big enough to answer the use of a Pot too, and is at least two fingers thick; but the best of all is, that upon this Pot there is a Cover which (pull'd off) discovers the Nuts that lie within, but if you stay till the Fruit is ripe, the

the Cover will open of its own accord and let the Nuts fall out. The Nuts do very much resemble the *Indian Myrobalans*, but if a man eats many of 'em green they bring all his Hair off: The Husks are used for Drinking-vessels, and the Timber of the Tree (which is very hard, and never rots) is much used about the Sugar-mills

Araticu. The *Araticu* is a Tree of the bigness of an Orange-tree, and the Leaf is like that of a Citron or a Limon; the Fruit is of the size of a Pine-apple, being better scented than tasted, and more wholsom than either: Amongst the several sorts of 'em there is one call'd *Araticu Panania*, the Fruit of which is so cold, that much of it eaten has almost the effects of a Poyson. The Roots of these Trees for lenity are as so many Corks, and therefore the People out of them do make Buoys for their Nets.

Pequea. Of the *Pequea-trees* there be two sorts, one bears a Fruit as big as a good Orange, and the Rind of it is as thick as that of the Orange is, but within it you find a Liquid which you may call a Honey, if at least the sweet taste and the fine Amber colour will allow it that name; there is as much of it as comes to the quantity of an Egg, and there are several Kernels mix'd with it. The other *Pequea* is only for Timber, but 'tis some of the heaviest and most durable of this Country.

Jabaticaba. The Tree *Jabaticaba* distinguishes it self by this in a pretty remarkable manner from most other Trees, that it is wholly beset with Fruit from the very Root to the top Bough or Sprig; all along the Body of the Tree you find the Fruit, as well as in the uppermost Branches, and so going downwards you do the same till you come to the very Earth it self. The Fruit is of the bigness of a good Limon, and has a sowre taste, like some Grapes; the *Indians* make a kind of a Wine of it, but what or how good we are not able to say.

As for the *Pines*, *Palms*, and *Cocao's*, they are too common to insist upon their description.

Cahueriba. The *Cahueriba* is a very large Tree, and affords Timber for strength and service inferiour to none; but that which renders this Tree most valuable is the sovereign Balm it affords, a Balm compar'd to that of *Gilead*, that perfectly heals all green wounds, and takes away the scarr. The way of getting it is, to make an incision in the Bark, and so the Balm distills from the Tree into a Vessel set to receive it: 'Tis a sign that the Balm it self is a rare Perfume, when the Bark of the Tree is so good a one, and the Natives make Bracelets and Necklaces of it upon that account; but the Woods where they grow smelling all over, will make a man sensible of this at some distance.

Cupeyba. *Cupeyba* is a sort of Fig-tree, commonly very high, strait and big, if it be cut it yields a vast deal of Oyl that serves both for Lamps and the cure of Wounds, even to the taking away the Scarr it self: The Wood is good for nothing, the entire Vertue of the Tree being wrapt up in this oily matter; and therefore, tho' our Author tells us that the Beasts, who are taught by Nature the Vertues of this Tree, will come and rub themselves against it, as if 'twere to borrow something from it in order to the cure of their Distempers; we cannot be of his mind in this matter, but believe that the sence of the Beast's rubbing is the very same with that of a Man's scratching where it itches, and that they do it against this Tree, and not another, is because this happens to be next 'em, or to lie readiest in their way.

Ambaigtinga. *Ambaigtinga* is another kind of Fig-tree, which affords Oyl for Lights also as the former; but they draw a peculiar Oyl from the Leaves, by laying them in the Sun for some days, then stamping and boiling them, and taking off the Oyl which swims at top. This Oyl is a very good Remedy for them that are troubled with continual Vomitings, and can't retain what they eat, as also for the Cholick and Obstructions in the Bowels; the use of it lies altogether in external application, namely, anointing the region of the Stomach pretty plentifully with it.

Igbacamuci. *Igbacamuci* is a Tree that bears a Fruit in fashion like a Pot or Pan, and is as good as a Quince; within there are certain small Seeds, that are a noble Remedy for the Bloody-flux.

Igeiçea the Mastich. The Tree that yields the *Mastich* is call'd *Igeiçea*, when 'tis cut there distills a white Liquor, that afterwards congeals, and is the *Mastich* it self.

But there is another Tree of this kind call'd *Igtaigeiça*, which signifies in the *Brasilian* Language *Mastich* as hard as Stone; and it answers its name, for 'tis so hard and shining withal, that it looks more like Glass than Gum, and the People do really use it to glaze their earthen Vessels, valuing it mightily upon that account.

Curupicaiba is like the *Portugal* Peach-trees in the Leaf, and the Liquor that comes from the Leaves of it is excellent for the Pox, and for all Wounds, both green and old ones; the Bark upon incision yields a matter so clammy and viscous, that they use it instead of a Birdlime, and catch the smaller sort of Birds with it very easily. *Curupicaiba*

The *Caarobe* Tree is medicinal all over, and not a part belonging to it but is some way or other a Remedy; the Leaves chew'd and laid to a Pocky Sore, dry and heal it; the Wood has the same effect that the *China* Wood and that of the *Antilles* have in the same Distemper; and of the Flowers they make a Conserve of no contemptible use in that case also. *Caarobe.*

The Wood *Caarobmocorandiba* has the same vertues with the former, and besides it cures the Looseness; it's grey, and has a hard Pith like the *China* Wood.

All the Country of *Brasile* abounds with the Trees call'd by them *Jaburandiba*, and in that with a Remedy for all Diseases of the Liver, as powerful as any that's known; 'tis the Leaf that is to be eaten for this purpose raw, and as it comes from the Tree; and the Author seems to speak with more than ordinary assurance in this case, as having been ('tis probable) an Eyewitness to a considerable number of Cures. *Jaburandiba.*

The *Betele-tree* affords a Remedy as proper and sure for the Toothach, which is the Root (a little bit of it) put in the hollow of the Tooth, but then it bites and teazes the Tongue like Ginger, and consequently drawes plenty of Rheum, which may do good in other cases. *Betele.*

The *Cassia Fistula* Tree is reported to grow in *Brasile*, and the *Spaniards* declare 'tis as good as that which comes from the Eastern World; but our Author does not pretend to have found any here. *Cassia Fistula.*

The *Anda*-trees are very fair and great, their Wood serves for all uses that Wood can be put to; the Fruit gives an Oyl for Wounds, but the *Indians* value it as much for the use they make of it in their Unctions. *Anda.*

The *Moxereguigba*-tree bears a Fruit as big as an Orange, in which are a parcel of Kernels, from whence they draw another sort of Oyl to anoint themselves with; the Bark kills the Fishes, and all other Creatures that drink the Water where 'tis cast have the same fate also. *Moxereguigba*

The Fruit of the *Aiurauriba*-tree affords a red Oyl, and that of the *Aiabutipita* a black one, both which the *Brasilians* very frequently anoint themselves with: 'Tis to be noted too that Fruit which yields the red Oyl is red it self, as that which yields the black is black, and this latter is very much esteem'd amongst 'em, as a Medicine of no small vertue. *Aiurauriba.*

The *Janipaba*-tree is a very large one, bearing a Fruit like an Orange, and in taste like a Quince; the Leaf resembles that of a Walnut, and changes every month; the Timber is very fit for service, and the Fruit a Remedy for all sorts of Fluxes; of this also they make an Ink or a Paint to colour themselves with, which when first made is white, and so it continues for some hours after 'tis laid on upon their Bodies, but then it changes into the contrary colour, and they remain as black as so many Negroes; not that the *Brasilians* do make themselves all over of this complexion, they only give some fine strokes about the Face, Arms and Legs, draw a pair of Stockings perhaps, or a slash'd Doublet, or some other piece of dress, to make themselves a little fine, but then all this finery wears off in eight or nine days time, and longer than that they can't keep it upon their Backs do what they will; they must renew the decaying colour when that time is expir'd, and lay on fresh, or else they lose their *European* Habits, and become poor naked *Brasilians* again as they were before: Repeating this often, makes the Skin very tough and hard; and 'tis to be obsery'd, that in order to have a Paint that shall answer the design, the Fruit must be gather'd green, for being ripe it will not do. *Janipaba.*

The Tree call'd *Jaquitimguacu* bears a Fruit like the *Spanish* Strawberry, the Seed or Kernel of which is very hard and black, and shines with a gloss like Jett; the Husk of it is bitterer than Aloes, and serves for washing as well as the best Soap in *Portugal*. *Jaquitimguacu, &c. used for washing.*

To these may be added the fine *Brasile*-wood, of which the red Ink is made, and other Woods of several colours, fit not only for the making other colour'd Inks, but all sorts of carv'd and turn'd Works. Then the Smelling Woods, the Incorruptible Woods, that never rot being either laid in the Earth or in Water, the Woods of *Angolin* and *Aquilla*, Cedars and Nutmeg-trees, which tho' not quite so fine as those of *East-India*, yet come very near 'em; of all these our Author tells us no more than that they are Natives of this Country also as well as the former. He ends his Discourse of Vegetables with an account of a Tree which will be thought not a little strange;

ſtrange; it is a very great and ſpreading one, growing about in the Fields and otherwhere in the main of the Country; the Boughs of it are perforated up and down in ſeveral places, and the holes are many times the length of an Arm, and full of a clear well-taſted Water; they are always found full, and ſtand at the ſame ſtay Winter and Summer; a whole troop of weary Travellers may come and refreſh themſelves under one of theſe Trees, repoſe in the cool ſhadow, and quench their thirſt with the Water of this Fountain; and the want of Water being moſt commonly one of the greateſt Inconveniencies to thoſe that travel the inland parts of the Country, it ſeems as if Providence had provided this Remedy for't, in diſpoſing up and down here and there ſuch funds of of Water as theſe are, which ſhould not be liable to the uncertainties that the common ones are.

Bees of Braſile. Having done with the *Vegetables*, we come to the *Animals*: The *Bees* of *Braſile* differ conſiderably from ours, and are more like that leſſer ſort of black Flies we are troubled with in the Summer than our Bees by much; they make their Combs in the holes of rotten Trees, from whence the *Braſilians* gather it with a great deal of Art and Care; the Honey being ſeparated, the Wax remains as black as Pitch, and this they preſerve very nicely, but not to make Torches or Candles with, (for as for Lights they uſe only a ſort of Wood which yields a very clear and bright flame) but to ſtop cloſe up the great Canes in which they keep their Feathers, that they may not be gnaw'd by the Butterflies.

Butterflies. Theſe Creatures, (which the *Europeans* call *Butterflies*, and the *Braſilians Anavers*) are as big as Graſhoppers, they come about the Firehearths in great multitudes, as our Crickets do, and are ſure to conſume and devour any thing (unleſs it be Stone, or Bone, or Metal) that lies in their way; but there is nothing which is not Meat that 'ſcapes 'em worſe than Leather and things made of it, and therefore if they lite of any Leather-breeches, Jackets, Shoes, &c. they eat off all the upper grain entirely, and leave a thin ſlight buſineſs behind, which a man may call the remainders of Leather, if he pleaſes, but without he knew it to be ſo, he would be hard put to it to prove it. If a *Fawn* or any thing of that kind be in their way, they'll make a clear Anatomy on't, and ſhew a man the wonderful ſtructure of the Bones, without giving him the trouble to pick off the Fleſh. In a word, theſe Animals are not a little vexatious to them, and if their Houſes have not the plague of Rats and Mice like ours, yet they have Butterflies, which by the advantage of their Wings can come where the former ſort of Vermin can't pretend.

Spiders and Scorpions. Our Authors tell us likewiſe (but without deſcriptions) of various ſorts of *Spiders* here; of *Scorpions*, which are almoſt as common about their Houſes as the *Lizards* are, and they are in every hole, and the walls themſelves are cover'd with 'em: But the ſting of the Scorpion is not ſo fatal it ſeems in this Country as 'tis in many others, for they ſeldom die of it, nor is it attended with any horrible ſymptoms preſently, only in the ſpace of twenty four hours it will produce very violent pains; the Remedy the *Braſilians* uſe is a bruis'd Scorpion applied to the part. In the account of the Snakes and Serpents we ſhall be more particular.

Divers ſorts of Snakes. The *Giboya* is one of the largeſt Snakes of the Country, and ſome of 'em are found of twenty foot long; the miſchief they do is not by their Poyſon (for they have none) but their Teeth, as other ravenous Creatures do; they lie upon the watch along the Highways, and when they ſee their Prey within reach, they at once throw themſelves upon it, and wind themſelves round the body of it with I know not how many folds, by which means the poor entangled Animal is cruſh'd, and all his Bones broke. This Snake has it ſeems a good large ſwallow, for they report of him, that no leſs than a whole Stag goes down his Throat at once.

How they ſeize their Prey.

The *Guiraapiaguara* is a very black long Snake, and has a yellow Breaſt; they glide along upon the tops of the Trees faſter than any man can run upon the Ground, and here they catch Birds and eat their Eggs, for which reaſon the *Braſilians* gave 'em that name, which in their Language ſignifies *Eaters of Birds-eggs*.

There is another ſort alſo that do as well mount the Trees for Birds and Eggs, as deſtroy the Chickens and rob the Henroofts below; theſe are very long and big too, but all over green and beautiful enough to behold, and the name they give 'em is *Caminana*.

A Snake with a long Snout. *Boyciapua* ſignifies having a long Snout, and the Snake of this name is remarkable for that; it is very long and ſlender, and feeds only upon Frogs. The Natives conjure with this Snake, for when a Woman has no Children they take and lath her over the Hips with it, and then ſay ſhe ſhall be ſure to have ſome; a very probable cauſe of ſuch an effect, but ſure the help of her Husband is not excluded at the ſame time.

An odd way to have Children.

The *Gaitiepia* (a large Snake) has all the ſcent of a Fox, ſo ſtrong and rank that he is diſcover'd by it wherever he is; ſo has the *Boyuna* too, which is black, and very long and ſlender. Some People fancy the ſmell of a Fox is good for the Paſſie, and if ſo, theſe Snakes might perhaps be kept to as good purpoſe.

The *Bom-Snake* is call'd ſo from the noiſe he makes as he goes along; it is of a very large ſize, but does no manner of hurt.

The *Boicapecauga* (which ſignifies a Snake having Prickles upon its Back) is very formidable, as well for his dimenſions as his poyſonous nature; and whereas ſome of thoſe Creatures may be met with ſafely enough, both Men and all other Animals endeavour as much as they can to keep out of this Snake's way.

Wild Boars. *Jararaca* is a general name for four ſorts of very venomous Snakes; the firſt is about ten ſpans long, having two fearful fangs or tuſks that lie as it were cover'd up in their Gums, but when they bite they ſtretch 'em out to a great length, and ſtrike 'em with a mad fury into the Object that provokes 'em. Some ſay the Venom is in the Gum, others, that it is incloſ'd in the cavity of the Tooth, but however this is certain, that there is an Inciſure along the ſide of the Tooth for an outlet to it: this venomous liquor is very yellow, and ſo ſtrong that it diſpatches a man in a few hours time. Another ſort have the ſame colour and form with the Vipers of *Spain*, and are every whit as dangerous. The third and worſt of all has a red Chain along the Back and Breaſt, and all the reſt of the Body grey. The laſt kind are but ſmall in compariſon with the others, are of an earthy colour, have ſome things about the head like a Viper, and make ſuch a noiſe as that does.

The *Curucucu* is about fifteen or ſixteen ſpans long, a fierce and poyſonous Creature, that lies cloſe among the Trees, and leaps at Men or any other Animals without diſtinction.

Bell Snake. The *Boycininga*, otherwiſe call'd the *Snake of the Bell*, is twelve or thirteen ſpan in length, it is reckon'd very poyſonous, and moveth with a mighty ſwiftneſs toward its Prey, inſomuch that upon this account they have given it the name alſo of *The Flying Snake*; but notwithſtanding this advantage, it does not hunt ſo ſucceſsfully as other Creatures of that kind do, for Nature has form'd a Bell in its Tail, which makes ſuch a noiſe as it moves along, that 'tis a warning to all Creatures that hear it to keep out of the way. There is another of theſe *Bell-Snakes* that is ſmaller than this, but black and very venomous.

Strange Poyſon. The Snake *Ibiracua* is remarkable for this effect of its Poyſon, that it makes the Party bit preſently void Blood at all the paſſages of the Body, at Mouth, Noſe, Eyes and Ears, and thus it continues ſtreaming forth till by ſome proper method the Flux is ſtopt, which if not done in time too, ſignifie nothing, and the whole maſs will at laſt be exhauſted.

But of all the reſt known the Snake *Ibiboboca* is ſaid to be the moſt fatally poyſonous; this lives in chinks and crannies of the Earth, and by the providence of Nature is ſo form'd, as to be very dull and ſlow in its motion; it is all over (both Head and Body) ſpotted with red, white and black, which diverſity hath procur'd it the name of the *Snake of many colours* amongſt the *Braſilians*.

Muſk Snake. As for that which is call'd the *Muſk Snake*, we have no more ſaid of it, than only that it deſerves that Name, as carrying a very powerful (but pleaſing and fragrant) ſmell of Muſk along with it wherever it goes, ſo that the blind man, by the direction of his Noſe, may poſſibly keep out of the way of theſe as well as the other above-mention'd. The *Braſilians* are endanger'd by theſe venomous Creatures not only abroad in the Woods, but even in their own Houſes, and according to the account given by our Authors, there's hardly a day but ſome miſchief or other is done; they find 'em about their Seats and in their very Beds, and are peſter'd with 'em in ſo many places, that 'tis (at leaſt it muſt be thought ſo by them that are not us'd to ſuch companions a very vexatious life they muſt needs lead, to be forc'd to be ſo continually upon their guard.

Divers ſorts of Deer, &c. We will now go on with the reſt of the terreſtrial Animals, and then come to thoſe that dwell in the Water. The *Deer* (call'd in the *Braſilian* Tongue *Cuacu*) is a Creature that the Natives themſelves do as highly eſteem as any, and that partly becauſe their Sinews furniſh

nish them with Bowstrings, and their Horns with heads for their Arrows: There are several sorts of 'em found in the Country, some that feed altogether in the Woods, and others that frequent the plain Fields, and are to be seen there in whole herds; some that are very large, great-headed, and have ten or twelve Snags; others of a small size, and that have one only. The Skins of them serve for several occasions, and the Flesh is also of no little account amongst 'em.

The *Tapiirel:* (which some call the *Elkes*) are made like a Mule, the Tail is about a Fingers length, and the Snout (which they shrink up and extend at pleasure) a span, but they have no Horns at all; they'll take the water and swim a great way, and not only so, but dive too, tho' when they do this they quickly get to the firm bottom, and going along there, come up again in another place.

Wild Boars. The wild Boars are of divers sorts; the common ones (which are also the ordinary food of the *Indians*) have exactly the scent of a Fox, by which they are betray'd to the Dogs that hunt 'em.

Others call'd *Tayacutirica* (which signifies a Boar that grinds his Teeth) are much bigger than the ordinary ones, and much more rare; they are arm'd with Tusks, which render 'em very formidable to the other Animals, and they are sure to assault any they meet.

But yet these are much less fierce and terrible than a third sort, which they call *Tayacupica* (the sence of which is a Boar that stands still and waits); these will fly upon the greatest Dogs, or any Hunters, tho' ever so well arm'd, that come near 'em, and what they master they rend in pieces and eat, whether it be Man or Beast. If they pursue a Man, and he takes the shelter of a Tree to avoid their fury, they'll besiege him there, and stay till he comes down, so that at this rate he must of necessity either stay there and be famish'd, or become a banquet to the hungry Boar at last; and therefore the *Indians* that are acquainted with this trick take care to go with their Bows and Arrows, and so play upon the Besiegers out of the Tree till they have dispatch'd 'em.

The *Tapirousson* is a Beast that much resembles a Cow as to its shape and size, tho' in other respects it differs very much from it; it has long shaggy Hair of a reddish colour, no Horns, a very short Neck and Tail, long hanging Ears, a slender thin Leg, and a whole Hoof; 'tis a Creature of no fierceness at all, and notwithstanding Nature has given it a sett of very sharp Teeth, is not at all apt to imploy 'em in any actions of violence upon Men or other Animals; the Natives hunt 'em abundantly, catching 'em sometimes in Traps and Gins, and piercing 'em at others with their Arrows, but 'tis not so much for the sake of the Flesh (tho' that be good enough, and tasts not much unlike our Beef) as for the Hide, of which they make their Targets, and is, when well dried in the Sun, of an obstinacy that no Weapon in the World can make yield.

Ounces. The *Brasilian* Woods are well stock'd with *Ounces* likewise, some black, others grey, others spotted; there's hardly any Beast to be found in 'em more cruelly furious than this; the Boars will pursue a Man to a Tree, and stay for him there, but the Ounces will mount the Tree, and go up after him, especially if they are any thing big; there is nothing they meet can be secure from their rage if they happen to be a little flush'd, they'll assault whole troops of other Animals at once, break into the herds of Swine, destroy the Henhouses, and leave waste and desolation wherever they come in those fits; the killing of one of 'em is reckon'd a very glorious action among the *Indians*, he that does it gets a Name by it that makes him not every one's fellow, and they use the same Ceremonies of Triumph in this case that they do when they have conquer'd a human Enemy, the only difference is, that they eat the latter, but make no such use of the former; they afford nothing that's good (as far as is known) but a Skin, which the *Portuguese* Women use for Rugs and Coverlets, especially the fine spotted ones.

Ant-Bear, mention'd by Kerner, but not describ'd. The *Tamandua* (or *Ant-Bear*) is of the bigness of a large Dog, but bigger than 'tis long; the Tail is twice or thrice the length of the Body, and so well set with Hair, that 'tis a Skreen to him from the Injuries of all weathers, and a Cover, in which he can wrap up himself so securely as not to be seen; the Head is small, the Snout thin, and the Mouth very little, but the Tongue (with which he licks up the Ants after he has open'd the Hills with his Paws) is full three quarters long: All the Dogs are said to be exceedingly afraid of these Creatures, and the *Ounces* too have at least an aversion to 'em, if not a fear of 'em.

Acuti. The *Acuti's* are like the Conies of *Spain*, chiefly in respect of their Teeth; they are of a dunn colour, inclining somewhat to a yellow and are bred up tame about the Houses; they take into their fore-feet whatsoever they eat, and so carry it to their mouths; they always eat very fast, and what they leave at one time they presently go and hide till the next that they are hungry.

Paca. The *Paca* does in some measure resemble a Pig, the Flesh is pleasant and well tasted, but not very easie of digestion; there are great numbers of 'em, and yet they never bring forth more than one at a time; some of 'em are pure white, which are great Rarities, and found chiefly about the River of *St. Francis*.

The *Aguti* is of the size of a young Pig, and has a cloven Foot and a short Tail like that, but the colour on't is red, and the Nose and Ears like that of a Hare; these are very delightful Meat.

Pagua. The *Pag* or *Pague* is of something a larger size than the former, and eats like Veal; the Head is very deform'd, but the Skin so beautiful and fine, all spotted with black and white, that 'twould be of no little account to those that are skill'd in Furrs or would make Merchandize of 'em.

Carigue. The *Carigue* is like the Fox of *Spain*, (tho' somewhat less) but smells much worse; it has a Bag that reaches from the fore-feet to the hinder, with six or seven Teats in it, and in this Repository their young ones are lodg'd till they are big enough to provide their own food. It generally brings half a dozen or more at a litter, which is too many by five for such ravenous Vermin as they are, for they destroy all manner of Poultry, and climb up the Trees and Houses too in the night-time, searching for Prey; in short, there's hardly a Bird that can 'scape 'em.

Tatu. The *Tatu* or *Armadillo* is of the bigness of a Pig, of a whitish colour, and has a very long Snout; the Body of it is wonderfully defended with hard Plates or Scales which no Arrow can pierce, neither is the Creature vulnerable, except he be hit just in the Flanks; they will dig so very fast, that several Men with their Mattocks have not been able to do so much as one of these with his Snout alone, so that they presently convey themselves into a sure refuge under-ground, where they are not to be undermin'd nor indeed taken by any other trick, but only that of throwing Water into their holes, which if it be done, they are easily master'd: Their Flesh is as white and tender as that of any Hen or young Pig, and the Skin is useful for the making of Purses; the *Brasilians* are mightily pleas'd with 'em, and breed 'em up for domestick Companions.

Sarigoy. The *Sarigoy* is a Beast which the *Brasilians* will not touch to eat of, because of the loathsom smell it has with it, but the *Europeans* have found 'em notwithstanding that to be very good Meat, if they are but flea'd and all the fat that lies about the Kidneys carefully taken away, for Experience has told 'em 'tis this alone is the cause of that vile smell, and when this is gone the *Armadillo* it self is not more agreeable Food.

Wood Rats. The Woods abound likewise with a sort of great *Rats* (as our Author calls 'em) which are as big as a Squirrel, and their Flesh not much inferiour to that of the most delicate Conies.

Canduacu. The *Canduacu* seems to be no other than the *African* (tho' here 'tis the *American*) *Porcupine*, amongst which there is this difference, that some of 'em have their Bristles or Quills black and white, others have 'em yellow and black at the points, and all these throw or dart out their Quills as that Beast is vulgarly known to do; but then there is one sort of 'em very small, which tho' they are furnish'd with those natural Darts as well as the rest, yet never shoot any about as they do; but they all agree in this property, that they are a very good sort of Meat.

Hirara. The *Hirara* is a Beast very like the *Civet-Cat*, and are of several colours, as white, black and grey; there's nothing will serve this Creature for Food but Honey, so that the *Brasilians* lose many a sweet suck by their means; they do nothing else but hunt about the Woods for it, and when they have found a stock, they go and fetch all their young ones to that place, then the old one goes in and brings it out to the others till their Bellies are full, and satisfies her self with their leavings.

Cuati. The *Cuati* by its grey colour resembles the *Portugal Badger*, the Claws and Snout are very long, and by the help of the former it climbs the Trees like a Monkey; they are so ravenous that there's no Animal they light of (that is not more than a match for 'em) that 'scapes being devour'd by 'em, but Snakes, Birds and their Eggs is mostly what they live upon. Some keep them tame in their Houses, as being docible Creatures and apt for several purposes both of service and diversion, but they are withal so malicious, and given to tear and devour all that lies in their way, that they are not much liked for domestick Companions. Of these there is two or three

kinds more, which are as big as Dogs, and have tusks like wild Boars, and do very near as much mischief as they.

Wild Cats. As for those Beasts which our Authors call *Brasilian Wild-Cats*, 'tis probable they are no other than *Tygers*, which their delicate Furrs, their extraordinary swiftness and fierceness, does seem very sufficiently to justifie; yet they find none of 'em bigger than an ordinary Dog, but for colour they have both black, white and saffron.

Jaguarucu. The *Jaguarucu* is call'd the *Dog* of *Brasile*, more for its Dog-like yelping than any other resemblance; they are of a grey mingled with white, their Tail very hairy; they live upon Fruits as well as Animal Prey, and will bite what they seize on after a very terrible manner.

Tapati. The *Tapati* are like the Conies of *Portugal*, and they also make a kind of a noise like the barking of a Dog, but this is chiefly in the night-time, and the *Indians* never hear it but they are surpriz'd, looking upon it as an evil Omen; they are very rare, for not only the Beasts of Prey, but the ravenous Birds too do assault and devour 'em.

Jaguacini. The *Jaguacini* are as big as a *Portugal* Fox, and of that colour; they feed chiefly upon Sea-crabbs and among the Sugar-canes, of which they destroy abundance; they are a mighty sleepy sort of Creature, and are very often taken napping and kill'd.

Biaraaca The *Biaraaca* is like a Ferret, but considerably bigger, and has a remarkable Cross of white and grey along the Back; this Creature makes wretched havock of the poor Birds and their Eggs, but its most beloved food is Amber, which it very often walks the Sea-shore to find; it has neither sharp Teeth nor long Claws, nor any formidable Weapon, and yet is able so well to defend it self and offend its pursuer, that no Beast of Prey can do better: In short, 'tis by a stink that it makes, and one so very foul and horrid, that it has made both Dogs and Men that have taken it sick to the very death; they don't tell us which way it comes, whether upwards (which is less probable) or downwards, as also whether it be from any Excrement voided, or is only a meer Fizzle; but which soever it be, 'tis said of 'em, that they are so cunning as to make a hole in the ground and do their stinking occasions there, when they would not be discover'd, as on the other hand, when they are surpriz'd, to scatter that fine Perfume abroad, and so by poysoning the Huntsmen and Dogs to put an end to the chase.

Priguica. The *Priguica* is like a shagg'd Dog, very ugly to look upon, his Legs very long, and arm'd with fearful Claws, yet with these long Legs they go with their Belly just touching the ground, and move so very slowly along, that 'tis an eatie matter to take 'em, but all the blows a Man can give 'em shall never make 'em mend their pace. Their only or principal Food at least are the Leaves of certain Fig-trees, which if they are depriv'd of, they die.

Sagoyin. The *Sagoyin* is by some reckon'd a kind of Monkey, 'tis of the bigness of a Squirrel, and has red Hair, but in the make of the Body, the Nose, the Neck and Breast, shews a lively Image of the stately beauty of the Lyon; but the resemblance is still nearer in respect of the Spirit of this Animal, but 'tis very haughty and full of Stomach, apt to resent an affront, and would pine to death with meer discontent and vexation, should any thing be offer'd contrary to its humour; 'tis for this reason partly that they don't attempt to bring 'em into this part of the World, they would never endure their Prison, nor digest the injury of the Confinement, but would die out of spite by the way, and make their Jaylors lose their triumph; but then they are but poor little feeble Animals, and don't appear to be fit for fatigue and travel, especially by Sea, so that (tho' they would be mightily esteem'd in this part of the World if we saw 'em) yet upon this account also they don't attempt their transportation.

Hay. The *Hay* is of the bigness of a Dog, of an ash-colour, with a very long Tail, its Feet and Claws are horrible, like those of a Bear, and its Belly hangs down like a Sow ready to farrow. While this Creature is in the Woods it is extreamly fierce, but being taken and us'd to the presence and company of Men, it becometh tame and gentle.

Cuti. The *Cuti* is of the size of a Hare, with short spotted Hair, a small Head, and little sharp Ears; it has a Snout more than a foot long, perfectly round, and of equal bigness, except just at the extremity, where it diminishes all of a sudden, the cavity of it is very small, and will scarce receive ones little Finger; it is a very stubborn, obstinate, little Beast, and when 'tis taken will gather up its four Legs and lie down all of a heap, and till 'tis pleas'd of it self to rise, will neither be sooth'd nor beaten into it; and not only so, but it won't eat neither, unless you provide a Banquet of Ants for it, which Creatures it often feasts upon in the Woods.

Jaguarete. The *Jaguarete* is a Beast of Prey very like the *Lynx*, in respect of his sported Skin; his Chin is furnish'd with a Beard of long shaggy Hair, his Legs as long almost as those of a Greyhound, and he runs no less swift than that Creature does; the *Brasilians* are horribly afraid of these Beasts, and not without reason, for they are many times snapt by 'em and torn in pieces; on the other hand when they catch any of the *Jaguarates* in their Traps, they revenge themselves upon 'em with all the malice imaginable, they put 'em to the most lingring deaths they can contrive, pierce 'em now and then with an Arrow, that they may feel themselves die, and by their torments make those they have offended some satisfaction for their Crimes; and 'twas upon this account that these People the first time they saw our *European* Hounds ran away every man for his Life, as fast as their Legs could carry 'em, they fancied they were *Jaguarates*, and concluded our Men to be out of their Senses to let 'em leap and fawn upon 'em so as they did. We read also what service Dogs have done the *Spaniards* in their Wars with the *Indians* upon several occasions, how the poor *Barbarians* were terrified, their Troops disorder'd and broken by the letting loose of the Dogs amongst 'em, and the *Spaniards* Victories over 'em facilitated by this only assistance; nay, there don't want instances wherein we find a main stress of the Battel to have lain upon the Dogs, while their Masters stood by, look'd on, and only cry'd *halloo*. Now 'tis very possible what we have been speaking of might be some cause (at least) of this so mighty a fear and consternation, and that granting a parcel of Dogs to be capable of disturbing a naked Enemy, as the *Indians* were, yet their resemblance to the most hated and fear'd *Jaguarates* made the impression of Horrour much deeper than otherwise 'twould have been.

The *Brasilians* afraid of 'em.

Apes and Monkeys. The Apes and Monkeys are very numerous in this Country; of the former there is a peculiar sort call'd *Aquiqui*, which are as big as a good Dog, black and very ugly every way, the Face is white, and the Beard reaches from Ear to Ear, and is as precise as if 'twere cut with a pair of Scissars. Notwithstanding their colour, they have sometimes a young one that happens to be reddish, and the government of the Apes always belongs to these, for (we must know) their Kingdom is elective, tho' the Honour goes along with this Carrot-colour'd Family.

There are Apes and Monkeys both of several other colours besides, and some of 'em are reputed to be so fierce and stomachful, that if they are wounded with an Arrow, they'll turn again and fling it at him that shot it, and then for their cure they look out for a certain Leaf, which they chew and cramb into the Wound. 'Tis said also that when their Cubbs are so very little that they can't go, they leap with 'em from Tree to Tree, hanging about their Necks, and those little Animals will hold and cling as fast to their Dams as a Burr to a Man's Coat; but if their young are so big that they can go, but not strong enough to leap, then if they have occasion to move from one Tree to another that is within their length, one of the old ones lies across and makes a sort of Bridge, holding fast by one Tree with his fore-Paws and the other with his hinder, and so all the little ones pass over his Back.

Divers sorts of Parrots, and other small Birds.

Crocadiles and Lizards. To the Land-Animals we may also joyn the *Lizards* and the *Crocadiles*; 'tis true, the *Crocadile* frequents the Water as well as the dry Land, but those that do so (or which is all one, the *Alligators*) shall afterwards be mention'd with the other Animals of that Region: We have here to do with the *Crocadiles* that keep the Land, and of these, our Authors assure us, there is no small plenty in *Brasile*; there are many of 'em of the bigness of a man's Thigh and proportionable length, but so far from doing any harm, that the little Children play freely with 'em, and they run about the Houses as commonly (but in far greater numbers) as Dogs and Cats do about ours.

And that we may be sure that these are not really *Lizards* which they call *Crocadiles*, (mistaking one for the other) 'tis to be observ'd that they tell us of the *Lizards* besides, how large they are, what colour, and how good meat: Their Skin is russet, and adorn'd with multitudes of spots; they are very harmless inoffensive Creatures, and never known to do any thing to forfeit that character they commonly have, of being friendly to Mankind; their Flesh is as white, tender and sweet as that of the best Capon, so that those who have loath'd it upon the conceit of the Creature, have upon tasting it been fond of it above all other meats. 'Tis true that these now describ'd are the *Lizards* that frequent the Marshes and Rivers, but then we are assur'd there are others that are

purely

purely Inhabitants of the Woods, and of which also 'tis as true, that they have nothing of that cruel and ravenous humour in 'em that *Crocadiles* are always describ'd by: Was it ever known that Animal refus'd a good morsel when he could easily come by it? that he stood to stare and gaze upon his Prey, and then tamely run away from it? But one of our Authors (*Levius* the *Frenchman*) does confirm this of these *Lizards* upon his own knowledge and experience, and to that purpose tells this Story.

A Story of a Lizard.

He and two more of his Countrymen were travelling some part of *Brasile*, and passing thro' a certain Valley, they heard a fearful noise, made by some Beast or other coming towards 'em, and quickly after, upon a little Hill about thirty paces from 'em, they 'spied what it was, but 'twas with no little fear and surprize that they saw a *Lizard* bigger than a Man in the Body, and near six foot long, cover'd with white rough Scales like Oyster-shells; the Monster stood and look'd on 'em, as they could well see by his glaring Eyes, and they being in no condition to make any assault upon him, kept their station, expecting when he would come and fall aboard 'em; but the *Lizard*, it seems, had no such design, for as he stood upon that rising ground for a little fresh Air, (which they saw him draw in with open mouth, the weather being extreamly hot) so when he had taken his fill both of that and looking at them too, he turn'd suddenly about and ran away. 'Twas a full quarter of an hour that this Interview lasted, and Monsieur tells us he was not a little glad when 'twas finish'd, and he saw the *Lizard*'s Tail: However, it confirm'd him in the opinion that this Creature has a love to Mankind, since in his case there was a fair opportunity, if it had lov'd only to devour 'em.

There are also other Animals besides the *Lizards* which would make an ordinary Stomach heave at the thoughts of eating, and yet are very acceptable meat with the *Brasilians*; such are a great large sort of *Toads*, which they roast and eat without so much as bowelling, and *Land-Serpents* colour'd with black and red, as big as a Man's Arm, and four or five foot long; these they catch abroad in the Woods, and bring 'em home and throw 'em down amongst their Wives and Children, who take 'em up and handle 'em without any manner of hurt; so that 'tis certain these Creatures, both *Toads* and *Serpents*, have not that poysonous quality in 'em that some others have in the very same Country; tho', allowing all that, a man would fast as long as Nature could hold out, and it should be one's last shift to make a meal of 'em.

Divers sorts of Parrots, and other small Birds.

Let us come now to the wing'd kind, and leaving the gross Earth, look over the Inhabitants of a finer Element.

Parrots are some of the most vulgar Birds of the Country, they flie together in whole flocks, and are kill'd by thousands, for all which they swarm so, that there's never any miss of 'em: There are various sorts of 'em, and there's only one known but what will talk with a very little teaching; their colours are very beautiful and shining, and so admirably mix'd in several of 'em, that one of those Birds alone is an entertaining sight.

Some have a Breast as red as scarlet, and all along the Body are yellow or green or blue, but not without a little sprinkling of all these colours too: These never lay more than two Eggs at a time, and breed in the trunks of old Trees and about the Rocks. Others with all the former colours have black and grey besides, and they'll breed and bring up their young in the Houses, for which reason they are much more esteem'd. There is another that is black sprinkled with a little green throughout the Body, the Feet yellow, and the Eyes and Beak red. Another that is all green, the Cap and Collar yellow, the Pinnions red, the Tail red, yellow and green, and over the Beak a tuft of blue Feathers that adorn it to a wonderful degree.

But the Parrot call'd the *Tuin* is something more curious, if not for the colours, yet for the size; 'tis no bigger than a Sparrow, but so chearful, that 'tis always tattling or singing after its manner, and will skip up and down upon a man's Breast and Shoulders that breeds it up, and eat the Victuals out of his Mouth, or pick his Teeth with its Bill if he'll give it leave; these are esteem'd as very great Rarities.

But there is another, which they call *Guiraiuba*, that they make more account of than the former, but the only reason seems to be because 'tis scarce and far-fetch'd: This Bird is hardly seen out of a great man's House, and they value 'em as some men do their Hawks, and as others do the Birds that delight 'em with the most charming Notes, and yet this is a Creature that never sings nor talks, but is always sad and sullen, and of a humour not capable of giving any diversion; so that there's no doubt to be made but 'tis the uncommonness of it that enhances the price, and makes 'em so much esteem it. This silent melancholly Bird is a Jewel in the midst of all the thousands of talking Parrots in *Brasile*, for the same reason that one of those talking Parrots would be so if all the rest were tongue-ty'd and dull like this.

The *Tapu* is a Parrot of the bigness of a *Pye*, its Body of a fine black, the Beak and Tail yellow, and on its Head it has a Coronet consisting of three tufts; they are bred up in Houses, and live upon Spiders, Beetles, Crickets, and suchlike Insects, in catching of which they are so sharp and diligent, that they keep a House very clear of 'em; they are so much for pecking, that if a man holds 'em in his Hand they'll be apt to run to his Eyes and peck there, for which reason they don't make 'em so familiar as they do other Parrots. 'Tis a common observation of these Birds in general, that they are extreamly sensible and apt to learn, and we are told a Story of one whose docility is no small support to the Reputation of all Parrots in this respect; at the command of his Mistress he would either dance, whistle, talk, or counterfeit the noise the *Brasilians* make when they go to battel, and at the least word from her leave off in the middle of the Dance or Song, or whatever else he was doing; neither was it possible to make him move either Tongue or so much as his Foor, till the Mistress signified she gave leave: Our *Frenchman* made the Experiment, and endeavour'd by Caresses to seduce the Bird into a little motion, but all in vain, *Poll* stood as immovable as a Post, and as silent too, and paid an exact obedience to the Law his Mistress had impos'd upon him, in spite of all artifices and endeavours to the contrary. The Woman valued this Parrot at so high a rate, that she abus'd him when he offer'd to buy it; and when he demanded the price of it, she told him, a piece of a brass Cannon.

The *Guaminligue* is commended for one of the neatest and clever'st little Birds that is; in its flight it makes a noise like an *Humble-Bee*, and flies much after that waving uncertain manner, and then never eats its Food sitting still, but always flying; the colour of the Body is grey, but the Cap upon its Head is such, that 'tis hard to say what colour 'tis of, for whatever side or way you look upon it, you see almost all sorts of colours, and 'tis the same if one looks upon the Breast; it has a very long Bill, and a Tongue that stretch'd out is full twice the length of the Bill. Whether this Bird sleeps much or no is uncertain, however the *Indians* say that it spends six months entirely in a profound Sleep.

The *Guiranhengeta* is of the bigness of our *Goldfinch*, the Back and Wings blue, the Breast and Belly yellow, and a Diadem of the same-colour'd Feathers upon his Head; 'tis an admirable Bird for the Cage, indeed in this alone a man has the pleasure of many, for it has the Notes of a great many other sorts of Birds, and makes such a variety of changes and turns in its whistling, that it is a Consort by it self; neither is it for giving its Master a little touch of Musick and away, but continues the Song to such a length, as effectually shews the goodness both of the Birds Lungs and Humour at the same time.

The *Tangara* is about the size of a Sparrow, 'tis all black except the Head, which is of a fine Orange-tawny. If there were any way to be let into the Mysteries of the actions of these Creatures, or a Rule to know the meaning of 'em, a body would imploy that piece of Skill.

The Fowl that frequent the Salt-water are next to be consider'd.

Sea-Fowl.

The *Gairatinga* is as big as the Crane of *Portugal*, the Body extreamly white, and its Legs and Bill very long, but the former reddish, and the latter yellow; on the Neck a man finds the greatest beauty that belongs to it, which is a Plume of very fine Feathers, not to be compar'd to any but those of the *African* Estridges.

The *Caripira* is otherwise call'd *The forked Tail*, because its Tail is divided in the midst; the fat of this Fowl is good for the Looseness, and the Feathers serve the *Indians* for their Arrows: 'Tis said of 'em, that they are certain forerunners of the Ships arrival, and it very seldom fails that some few days after they are seen the Ships come into their Ports.

The *Guaca* is taken to be the Sea-*Mew* of *Portugal*, which, because 'tis common enough, we shan't stand to describe; they live upon Cockles, which to open and come at, they take 'em up in their Bills, and let 'em fall upon the Rocks till they have broke the Shell in pieces.

The *Guiratouteen* is a Fowl, the most remarkable property of which is, the Lethargy or deep Sleep that it is most commonly found to lie in; the *Indians* light on 'em lying thus on the shore to all appearance dead, and tho' handled,

Sea-Fowl. handled, discover no signs of life; but then to bring 'em to themselves again they give 'em a cant, throwing 'em a good way, and so by means of the fall the Bird is thorowly wak'd, and makes use of its Wings to avoid being toss'd in that manner any more.

The *Calcamar* is as big as a Pigeon, and the report of the Country is, that they lay their Eggs in the Sea, and there hatch and breed their young; they don't fly at all, but by the help of their Wings and Feet together swim along upon the Water very swiftly: The Mariners generally expect a great Calm when they see these about, and this they do sometimes in such vast numbers, that they are even troublesom to 'em.

The *Agoia* is of the size of a *Pie-annet*, its colour is white bespotted with red, and the Bill is long and fashion'd like a Spoon; 'tis a mighty catcher of Fish, to do which it uses this slight, to strike it with its Foot upon the Water, and then stretch out its Neck to wait for the Fish till a fair opportunity offers to seize 'em.

The *Carocora* is a little grey Bird, whose Eyes are made very beautiful by a red circle that appears in each of 'em; those that hear the noise it makes are deceiv'd, imagining it the Voice of some very large Bird; but 'tis odd that this Bird can't sing with its fore-mouth, but must do it also with that behind at the same time, that the Song should come both ways at once, and that with so filthy a smell too, that 'tis no little punishment for a man to be by. 'Tis true, as to the concern the Ear has in the matter, the Harmony may be both ways much alike, and the Fart as melodious as the Song, but since another Sense is also to give its Verdict and declare it self offended, we must pronounce an odds between 'em, and say the superiour Organ makes the sweetest Musick. This Entertainment usually begins two hours before Day, and lasts all the Evening till the end of the twilight, and the People observe that for the most part 'tis a token of fair weather.

The *Guara* is as big as a *Pigeonnet*, it has a long Bill which at the end is like a Crescent, and its Legs are about a span; there's hardly any Bird so strange as this, for the various colours it appears in; 'tis the true *Proteus* among the Fowl, and he that knows it at one time cannot possibly do it at another, without he goes by some surer marks than that of the colour. When first it comes out of the Shell 'tis black, and quickly after turns grey, by that time it comes to have the command of the Wing it becomes whiter than the purest Dove, and this innocent colour it next exchanges for that of Blood, 'tis redder (if possible) than scarlet it self, and so continues all the rest of its life. These may be bred in Houses, but their food must be Fish or Flesh, and always put in Water; the *Brasilians* highly value their Feathers, and make all those gawdy fantastical Ornaments (for which they are so noted) as much of these as of any other their Country yields.

Our Authors tell us of several other sorts of Water-Fowl, but not describing any of 'em, we will hear their account of the Fish and other Animals that live in the Water, some altogether, and others amphibious.

Divers sorts of Fish. We will begin with the *Ox-fish*, so call'd from its likeness to that Creature, particularly with respect to its Head, which with the hairy Skin, the Ears, the large Tongue and Cheeks, resembles an Ox strangely; the Eyes are but small in proportion to the Body, but they are defended with Eyelids, by which the Creature shuts and opens 'em at pleasure, wherein there is a remarkable difference between it and other Fish; but there is also as much in the point of breathing, for this cannot dwell long under water, as others can, but must every now and then come up for a mouthful of Air, and breathe a little: The Body is of a great bigness, and all cover'd with yellow Hair; it has two Arms each a cubit long, and two Hands with five Fingers a-piece, and on each a Nail like that on a Man's; under these Arms the Females have two Dugs, with which she suckles her young, but these are never more than one at a time: The Inwards of it appear exactly like those of an Ox, and on all the outside it has nothing of a Finn, so that the most of the Fish is seen in the Tail, which is notwithstanding all round and close: In the Head, a little above the Eyes, are found a couple of Stones of a considerable magnitude, white and heavy, and reputed to be the best Remedy for the *Stone* in the World, being beaten to powder and drank in a draught of Wine or Water, it forces away the Stone if it be voidable, and of this they give us an instance of their own knowledge. The Bones of this Fish are all hard and massy, and not only as solid, but as white as Ivory; the Meat is to be compar'd with the best of Beef, which it much resembles, and is as substantial a food either for a House or Ship; and indeed it is so much more like Flesh than Fish, that it rais'd a dispute amongst the *Portuguese*, whether 'twas a proper Dish for Fish-days or no; and both Parties had enough that was plausible to urge on their sides, for if one could say 'twas an Inhabitant of the Water, and came out of the same Element that all Fish live in, the other might reply, So did *Mermen* and *Mermaids* too. and yet a holy Father would hardly allow a Dish of that same on a *Wednesday* or *Friday*; besides, there's the strength and substance of Flesh in it, and 'tis too rank and high to answer the ends and purposes of a Fish-day. In short, how they ended the matter is uncertain, but the case being weighty, and the Peace of Mens Consciences concern'd in it, it ought to have been well discuss'd by Divines, and brought to a compleat determination.

The *Beijupira* is like the *Sturgeon*, and not much less valued, for its good taste and wholsom nature; they are taken in the open Sea only with a Hook and a Line, being six or seven spans long, their Bodies very round, black on the Back, and white on the Belly.

The Fish call'd the *Ox-eye* is like the *Tunnie*, as well for its size as form, the inward as the outward parts; it is vastly fat, and they take out of it Courses as thick as a four-shilling-piece of the *Portugal* Money; this serves for all the purposes that good Butter or rather Hogs-lard does. The Eye of it is so very like that of a terrestrial Ox, that upon that score it goes by this name.

The *Camurupi* is as much esteem'd for eating as any of the former, it's twelve or thirteen span long, and has a Finn upon the Back (which it always carries rais'd up) that is at least two or three; the grain of it lies all in flakes interlarded with fat and grease, but notwithstanding it has abundance of bones, and must be eaten with much care and caution. They generally kill 'em with Harpon-irons, for 'tis a thick Fish and heavy, being burden sufficient for two men to lift; there are multitudes of 'em to be found in those Seas, and they are a profitable Prey enough, considering the quantities of Oyl that are drawn from 'em.

The *Piracembu*, otherwise call'd *The snorting Fish*, is known and discover'd by the snorting noise it makes, which is heard very distinctly if it be any thing near: It is pretty considerably big, and eight or nine span long, of a good taste, and much esteem'd; in the Mouth it has two Stones of the breadth of a Hand, whose use and office is to grind the Wilks and other such hard things whereon they feed: These Stones the *Indians* prize at a great rate, and wear 'em about their Necks as Jewels.

Whales are so common upon this Coast, that they are to be seen sometimes forty or fifty together, and many Barks have been overwhelm'd by 'em; any loud roaring noise scares 'em strangely, particularly the beating of a Drum does it effectually, and makes 'em very fierce and mad.

The *Sword-fish* also (the everlasting Enemy of the *Whale*) is no stranger in those Seas; their Weapon is eight or ten span long, set on both sides with a row of very formidable Teeth, which are longer or shorter according to the dimensions of the Fish; the *Whale* very frequently feels the exceeding sharpness of this Weapon, in the terrible battels fought between this Fish and it; but the *Shark* comes in for a share in the honour of the Victory too, for the *Sword-fish* seldom engages alone, but while that gives the Wounds the hungry *Shark* comes and sucks the Blood, by which means their Adversary is so enfeebled, that at last he is forc'd to yield the day. The *Sword-fish* Enemies to the *Whale*.

Of the *Sharks* there are six or seven kinds observ'd about the Coast of *Brasile*, but all fierce and voracious to the last degree; they will not only pursue a Man upon the Water, but leap ashore after him too, and by that means they are sometimes prevented from returning back again. All that they can seize or light on is their Prey, and be it what it will, down it goes, provided it be not a Harpon-iron, or an Anchor, or any thing of that untractable nature; their Bellies are sometimes furnish'd like a Salesman's Shop, for there you shall find Skins, Cloth, Doublets and Breeches; in short, any piece of Tackling from a Ship, or any Rags that drops from the Back of a Sailor, is meat for a *Shark*. Those cruel Teeth of theirs, that rend their Prey in so fearful a manner, do as much mischief after they are dead as when they are alive, for the *Indians* use 'em in their most deadly Arrows, and he that has once seen what these Teeth are, may easily imagine what a wound such a Weapon (coming with a great force too) would make upon the tender flesh of a human body; 'tis almost too cruel for Mankind, and ought only to be imploy'd against the *Sharks* themselves, and 'twould be proper enough to destroy such destroyers with their own Teeth. Ravenous nature of the *Sharks*.

The

Divers sorts of Fish.

The *Flying Fish* and the *Cuttle* abound also in these Seas, but these have both been describ'd in other places.

The *Toadfish* or (as 'tis call'd in their Language) the *Amayacu*, is about a span long, and oddly painted, but the Eyes are fine and fair to look on; when 'tis taken out of the Water it will snort and swell strangely, for which reason it had the name of the *Toadfish* given: If it be flea'd (they say) it may be eaten, but otherwise it infallibly and suddenly kills those who pretend to feed on it, as some have found to their cost; and no great wonder it should kill Men, when 'tis a Poyson for Rats, as it seems 'tis, and there's none of those Vermin that eat of it but die for their curiosity.

There are two other kinds of these *Toadfishes*, one that is all over cover'd with Prickles like a Hedghog, and snorts and swells out of the Water like the former, and may also (like it) be eaten if the Skin be pull'd off, and (they say) with advantage too in case of the *Bloody-flux*, tho' methinks it should be a man's last Remedy, if there be any room for choice. The other is of a triangular form, and the Poyson (which in the two former was but Skin deep) in this is sunk down into the Bones and *Viscera*, which clear taken out, the Fish notwithstanding is said to be eatable; and eatable only it should be, without ever being actually eaten, unless it come in for a last refuge in Food, as the other should do in Physick.

The *Amoreca* is like the *Toadfish*, that is, full of sharp Spikes or Prickles, for this is arm'd in the same manner: It lies cover'd up under the Sand upon the shore, so that sometimes it wounds the Hands and sometimes the Feet of them that are searching there after other things, and in this case a man's only remedy is by Fire, this alone draws out the Venom.

The *Puraque* is in form like the *Scale*, but in nature and quality resembles the *Torpedo*; for if a man touches it, tho' but with a Stick, his Hand shakes like that of a Paralytick, and is benumb'd to that degree, that all sence and use of it is for a time taken away: Notwithstanding all this, the Fish is eaten without any manner of prejudice.

The *Camararu* is ten or fifteen span long, very fat, and roasted tastes like Pig; the Body is cover'd with Spikes, which are yet a less dangerous Weapon than the Teeth, for the Arm or Leg that's bitten by 'em seldom recovers, but rots away. The Natives say they engender with the *Sea-Snakes*, for they find 'em in the Sands waiting for 'em, and many times actually knit and twisted with 'em.

The *Ameya Curub* is a round Fish, and of the bigness of the *Bugello* of *Spain*; it is very venomous, and its Body is as full of a sort of Warts as it can hold, for which reason it has the Name of *Curub*, that word signifying a *Wart*.

Besides this and others mention'd before, there are several other sorts of venomous Fishes, and such as have so vehement a Poyson too, that few escape who eat or touch 'em.

Mermen and Mermaids.

But what shall we say to our Authors accounts of the *Ypupiapa* or *Merman*, a Story which for a long time has appear'd as ridiculous to some People as that of the *Sphinx* or *Centaur* it self; neither would they any more believe the Seamen telling of an Animal that is both Fish and Man, than the Poet's describing another which is a compound of Man and Horse; not that they mention them neither as such a mixture of the parts of Man and Fish, but rather as all over and entirely human in their shape; but yet, tho' the description be not particular as to the matter of fact, they make no manner of doubt. They come up to the Barrs of the fresh Rivers, and are to be seen there very frequently; and in *Fagocripe*, seven or eight leagues from the Bays, a great many of 'em have been discover'd: In *Porto Seguro* they have been both seen and felt too, several *Indians* having been kill'd by 'em; and 'twas but in the Year 1682. that an *Indian*, upon the Water in a Canoe, was pursued by one of 'em, and with very much difficulty made his escape; but this fellow coming home miserably frightned, it seems, told the Adventure to his Master, who would needs go to see the Monster, but he had better have taken his Man's word for't as it fell out, for sitting carelessly in his Canoe with one of his Arms out, the Creature (who had 'spied him) suddenly seiz'd him by that Hand and carried him under Water: What they catch they are said to embrace so strictly in their Arms, that they do with grasping crush it all to pieces.

The *Apula* is a Shell-fish that looks more like the joynt of a Cane than any thing else; 'tis good to eat, and if reduc'd to powder and drank fasting, has the name of very great good in Distempers of the Spleen.

The Fish call'd *Sea-fomes* by the *Portuguese*, *Aguas mortas* or *Dead-waters*, are as broad as a Hat, and by the multitude of folds they have (by which also they catch other Fish) do resemble the *Barbary* Purses: These are not to be eaten at all; their stinging causes very great pains and (which is a peculiar property) unavoidable weepings, and therefore we are told of an *Indian* who had receiv'd many a bitter wound with Arrows, and never shed Tear for any of 'em, but being stung by this Creature, wept plentifully; so that it seems not to be the effect of any violence of pain, but of some particular property of the Venom, which forces it self that way, and well deserves to be further enquir'd into.

Crabbs.

There are several sorts of *Crabbs* found in this Country, and most, if not all, are made Food by the People; one kind that casts its Shell, always when it does so retires into its hole, and there tarries the space of two or three months, and then comes out again: Another is so large, that a Man's Leg will go into the Mouth of it; these Creatures are so affected with Thunder, that it always fetches 'em out of their holes, but they make at the same time such a rattling noise themselves, that they may be heard a great way, and they have sometimes been mistaken for troops of arm'd Enemies upon a march. That kind that keeps in the trunks of the Trees which grow by the Sea-side live mostly upon Cockles, and uses a notable artifice for getting the Fish out of the Shell; when they see a Cockle gaping, (as they do very often) they presently by the help of their Claws slip some little Stone or other into the aperture, so that the Cockle cannot possibly close his Shell again, by which means they have an opportunity to pick out the Fish, which they do with a great deal of dexterity.

The *Periwinkles* and *Muscles* are very fine and good, and plentiful too hereabouts; they both afford a sort of small Seed-pearl, but of the *Muscle-shells* particularly the *Indians* serve themselves for Knives and Spoons.

But the *Oysters*, as they are extreamly large, so they yield many of 'em Pearl that are very big and rich: The *Indians* in former times us'd to come and fetch vast quantities of *Oysters* to serve 'em all the Year round, and the Shells they piled up in mighty heaps up and down in several parts of the Country, which by degrees came to be cover'd with Earth and Trees; the *Portuguese* by digging have discover'd several of these vast Hills of buried Shells, and do continually find more and more of 'em, and the use they put 'em to is, to make a sort of Lime of 'em for building. How great these collections of Oyster-shells are, may be guess'd by this, that of one heap alone was built part of a College, the Governour's Palace, and several other Buildings, all which notwithstanding had not exhausted it, but part was yet remaining when our Authors were in *Brasile*. This Lime is very white, and very fit for all the purposes 'tis made for; this only is to be said of it, that the Rain turns it blackish.

Wilks.

The great *Wilks* are valued at a high rate by the *Brasilians*, for the sake of the many Nicknacks they make of 'em, nay, to purchase one they'll part with a Prisoner or a Slave very frequently. Those of the largest sort are two span in breadth and one in length, and not to be exceeded in whiteness by Ivory it self. As for the lesser sort of *Wilks*, *Scallops*, and another sort of Shell-fish call'd by the *Brasilians Piraguaig*, (which are eaten, and their Shells us'd for Ornaments) these are too common with 'em to be so much regarded.

Large *Shrimps* and *Prawns* are no uncommon things in *Brasile* neither; and in a word, about the holes and cracks of the Rocks are abundance of Animals to be met with; they afford refuges to the *Sea-ruffs*, *Crabbs*, *Oysters*, *Water-rats*, *Parrots*, and many others, which may at any time be found there by those that will venture to search such places.

Other Animals that use the Water.

To the Fish also we may subjoyn these following, which tho' not of that kind, yet do either in whole or in part belong to the Water; some of these are of the *Serpentine* kind, and as formidable as any others whatsoever.

There's the *Snake* call'd by the *Brasilians Cucurijube*, which is reckon'd one of the very largest that is known in the Country; there are some of 25 and 30 foot long, and a yard in compass, which are dimensions large enough to make the Report credible of their swallowing the larger sort of Animals, such as great *Hogs*, *Stags*, and the like: It has a Chain all along the Back from the Head to the Tail, and the Teeth wherewith the monstrous Beast grinds her Prey are like a Dog's, both for size and form, but the method it takes to seize and secure it is, to wind and fold it self about it, and let it be Man or Beast that is once made a Prisoner in that manner, there's no possibility of redemption again. When they have gorg'd and glutted themselves pretty well they are mightily dispos'd to sleep, which costs 'em many times their Lives, for the *Indians* come and chop a piece or two of their Tails

Tails off when they find 'em napping, and this (they say) is to be done without incurring any danger, for the Animal lies in a Sleep so deep, and so like a Death, that she does not rouze even at these abuses. Thus one day they found one asleep, and cut two pieces of the Tail off, and the next day they came and found her dead, and saw she had two wild Boars in her Belly; she was twelve yards and a half long, and proportionably big.

The *Manima* is another *Water-Snake*, and rather bigger than the former, and has a fine painted Skin; the *Brasilians* hold it for a mighty lucky thing to see this Creature, they bless themselves upon it, and take it for an Omen of long Life; but other People perhaps would be of a contrary opinion, and take it for very ill luck, and an infallible Prognostick of a sudden Death, to meet such a filthy Monster as this is. These two last-mention'd are fresh-water *Snakes*, but the *Terepomonga* is a *Snake* that lives in the Sea.

The word *Terepomong* in the *Brasilian* Tongue signifies a thing that cleaves fast, and this Creature is of that strange nature, that whatsoever touches it sticks to it so fast, that 'tis not to be parted from it again; this *Phænomenon* is as strange as any in Nature, and 'twould be worth while to enquire the cause of it, and to know by what sort of a glutin it is that the *Terepomonga* binds other Animals so close to it self, or what else can be the cause of this adhesion. It seems however that by this means she gets her Livelihood, 'tis a necessary advantage that she cannot part with nor subsist without; for whether 'twill do in the Sea or no is uncertain, but 'tis sure that the *Snake* comes ashore for recruits, contracts her self up into a little compass till she has got something fastned to her, and then she marches away with it to the Sea, and returns again to her own natural bigness, which is equal to that of a large Cable.

Jacare Lizards. The *Jacare Lizards* are as big as Dogs, their Snout is like that Creature's also, and their Teeth long and large; their Skin is like Plates of Armour, and will defie any Arrow in the World to pierce it, yet they do no manner of harm, and the *Indians*, who take 'em often in their snares, do very seldom (if ever) destroy 'em. Their haunts are discover'd not only by the great Cries they make, but also the musky smell they carry with 'em, and which, of all the parts of the Animal, is particularly predominant in the Testicles. They lay Eggs as big as Goose-Eggs, and so hard, that striking one against the other, they ring like Iron. They frequent both the Land and the Water too.

The *Jaguarnen* is a Creature bigger than any Ox, and its Teeth more than a span; these are very mischievous, and prey both by Land and Water; they are not very common, but some of 'em are found in the River of St. *Francis* and in *Paraguacu*.

Sea-Wolfs. The *Atacape* seems to be a Sea-Wolf; 'tis vehemently ravenous, and comes frequently up out of the Water to watch for Men, and then 'tis so swift a runner, that 'tis a hard matter to escape it.

Water-Hogs. The *Water-Hog* (call'd *Capiigoara*) is as big as that which lives altogether on the Land, but has no Tail like that; it will stay a long time under Water, but yet tho' it be so familiar in that Element, it lodges on the dry Land, and always brings up its young there: In the roof of the Mouth it has a very great Stone, which serves instead of Teeth; its food is Grass and the Fruits that are to be met with along the Rivers.

The *Tortoises* may be mention'd too, these swarm to an incredible degree, as well they may, considering they lay two or three hundred Eggs at a time; they lay 'em all in the Sand, and when the young ones are hatch'd they lead 'em away to the Sea, where they are brought up. The Eggs are as big as Hens-eggs, very round, and have this property, that whether boil'd or roasted, the White is ever soft. Some of the *Tortoises* are so big, that their Shells make compleat Targets for the Wars, and there was one taken upon the Coast of *Brasile* of such a size that twenty men could not lift it from the ground.

In the fresh Rivers they tell us likewise of *Otters* and other Water-beasts that have rich and delicate Furrs, some of which do no harm, and others very fierce and given to devour.

Frogs: the *Indians* fear their noise. Amongst the several sorts of *Frogs* that lie croaking about in the Pools and Puddles of this Country, that kind which the *Indians* call *Guaririci* is not to be forgotten: What notions they have of it we can't tell, but this is certain, that they are so fearful of hearing it croak, that they die with that fear almost; and if it be their lot at any time to hear that fatal Musick, 'tis impossible to perswade 'em to think of living, but the fancy that they must die thereupon is so deeply rivetted in 'em, that they do indeed languish and die in good earnest: This seems to be the pure effect of odd Notions and Imaginations, and is not a despicable Instance of the danger of yielding to those Impressions at first. Some fantastical old Hagg or crackbrain'd Fellow or other amongst the Ancestors of these *Indians*, disliking the noise this Animal made, gave it an ill Name, and spoke of it whatever a wild and crazy Imagination dictated, and their Posterity, who think themselves bound to believe all they say, took it and kept it like an Oracle, and now it has pass'd from Generation to Generation, and is sunk so deep into their heads that they can't throw it out again, but must preserve it in spite of all Sense and Reason. A poor little *Frog* can't croak in a Puddle, but half a dozen Lubbers that hear it must come home sick and die upon't.

That account which has now been given of *Plants* and *Animals* relates to such chiefly as are the peculiarities of this Country, at least are strangers to us in *Europe*; but besides these, our Authors tell us, those of our part of the World do live and thrive there in abundance too.

Brasile appears like another *Portugal*, for here you have the Horses, the Herds of Cattle, the Poultry, the Grain, the Fruits, the Flowers, the Plants which that Country yields. The Reader will easily understand this of some, and not all these several things; neither do we intend any more by that resemblance of *Brasile* and *Portugal*, than that the *Portuguese*, who are Masters of the Country, have transported a great many of the Products of their own Soil hither, and made 'em now as it were Natives of this.

Having now survey'd the state of Nature in this great Country, it remains that we dip a little into the Civil and moral History of the same.

The Religion of the Natives. The Religion of the *Brasilians* is (like themselves) something wild and unpolish'd, digested into no Precepts, attended with no Ceremonies, and (in a word) hardly capable of any description. That Power which they call *Tupan* is explain'd by them to be the Author of the Thunder and Lightning, (or rather the Thunder and Lightning it self) but 'tis plain that they have no very good opinion of him, for being violently scared when any Tempest rises upon 'em, they say, that's no good God that puts 'em into such a fright. Yet others of 'em have attributed some Goodness and Bounty to *Tupan* too, for they say 'twas he that first gave 'em their Mattocks and Tools for Country Labours, and 'twas he that gave their Food and the encrease of their Lands: But when our Travellers discours'd to them the subject of the Creation and Government of the World by one Almighty Being, they look'd upon one another, like men that heard a new and strange Story: Their way is when they are mightily surpriz'd to express themselves by this word *Teh*, which is their note of admiration, and solemn with them upon such occasions; thus they did now, they answer'd the Discourse with *Teh*, *Teh*, and discover'd a considerable degree of astonishment. But the notion of the universal Deluge passes currently amongst 'em, and they often have it in their Songs, (as well as their Discourse) that the whole Earth was oppress'd with a Flood of Waters, and all Mankind were drown'd, except some of their Ancestors, who sav'd themselves by climbing up into monstrous high Trees: This both our Authors agree in to be a generally-receiv'd Tradition amongst 'em, and they profess to have expressly heard it from 'em.

Their notion of a Deity. Of the general Flood.

Neither are they utterly void of notions of Good and Evil, and the consequences of each as to some kind of future state; 'tis true, that future state is blindly describ'd by 'em, and their Suppositions about Rewards and Punishments as full of barbarous Whimsie as that of their Ancestors deliverance from the Deluge.

Of a future state.

Virtue with them is, to defend their Country, to murder their Enemies and eat 'em when they have done: And their after-Felicities are, to be gather'd to the far-distant Region where their Progenitors are, to live in pleasant Gardens, and sport amongst the Trees and Flowers with them. On the other hand, their Wicked Men (that is, Cowards and feeble-spirited inglorious Fellows) shall be all fetch'd away by *Aignan*, and treated in a very severe and cruel manner by him: But yet this, with all the whimsie and conceit of it, is so surely and firmly their Belief, that they are inspir'd by it to do those things which (according to their measures) are actions of Virtue and Piety. Neither are they so obstinately fix'd in their own way, and so fond of their Opinions, as not to bear the Proposal of any other, or to take it ill if they are disputed with or sometimes contradicted, they would endure all these Liberties with much easiness and good humour, nay, would be pleas'd to hear the accounts the *Europeans* gave of their God and Religion. And truly herein

herein the Endeavours of *Lerius* the *Frenchman* were very good and commendable; he was not backward to make use of any opportunity to instruct these poor barbarous People in those matters which the other *Christians* (who upon pretence of their Conversion conquer'd their Country) never took the pains to give 'em any information about. But to this purpose he tells this Story; That being one time at a certain *Brasilian* Village, there was a mighty crowd of the People about him, whom the novelty of such a sight as himself and his Countrymen had drawn together; the People, glad of their arrival, made 'em a great Feast, at which they themselves alone sat down, the grave men of the *Brasilians* standing by and attending them all the while, for 'tis their Custom never to sit down to eat with those whom they highly honour and respect. They observ'd that *Lerius* and his Companions pull'd off their Hats and spoke some words before they began to eat, and in like manner when they had done, which appearing a very odd thing to 'em, one of the elderly Men came and enquir'd the meaning of it, *What meaneth this Custom* (says he) *which you now used, when taking off your Caps you all kept silence except one? To whom was that Speech which he made directed? Was it to any of you here present, or to some that are absent?* Upon which *Lerius* took occasion to discourse of several points of Religion to them, and they heard him very patiently out, nay, discover'd so much relish and liking of the matter he had talk'd of, that many of 'em promis'd to observe the new Law which he had taught 'em, and did several times joyn with him and his Company in their Exercises of Devotion.

Reasons of the difficulty of the conversion to Christianity.

But as they are wonderfully fond of imitating the Examples of their Forefathers, and think it the highest glory to be like them, so it follows that they must very tenaciously maintain the Customs their Ancestors did, and keep (as sacred) whatever comes by Tradition from 'em. Besides, they are apprehensive of a mighty shame and scandal in abandoning an old Custom and conforming to strange Modes even in any thing, they think it argues a foolish fickleness and inconstancy of mind, (tho' they change for the better) which will render them the scorn and derision of their Neighbours; and this one thing alone weigh'd very heavy with 'em, as appear'd by their own confession to *Lerius*; they told him they should lie under the scoffs and reproaches of all the bordering People, if they should now become tame and gentle to their Enemies, and be afraid to eat their Flesh as they had formerly done. This is such a piece of Virtue and Bravery amongst 'em, to treat their Adversaries in the most severe and inhumane manner, that till their notions of Virtue and Vice are alter'd, 'tis not to be expected they should ever leave it. Yet it must be own'd that they seem'd to think the *Europeans* who had no such Customs better men than themselves that had, and were it not for the 'forementioned restraints, could e'en be content to part with 'em. *Mair*, (would they say to *Lerius*, for by that name they call all *Frenchmen*) *you are very happy, who know so many Secrets as you do, which are all kept hid from us poor miserable men.*

Notion they have of the Devil.

But to proceed; 'tis very clear and certain that they have a notion of some evil and hurtful Being, which has both will, power, and opportunity sometimes to do 'em mischief; the Name they give him most commonly (for they have several) is *Aignan*, and 'tis in no little fear and dread of him that the poor wretches live; *Lerius* affirms, that he has been often talking with them when they have fallen into an agony without any apparent reason, acted like mad-men, and cried out raving, that *Aignan* beat 'em. As for themselves, they pretend to see very odd sights not uncommonly, but what we now speak of is what the Author was an Eyewitness to several times: And supposing the truth and sincerity of his relation, (and what should move any man to invent such Lies of the Devil?) 'tis odd that any Prepossessions, any degree of a powerful Imagination, *Flatus*, *Hupo*, or any thing of that kind, should shake every Limb and Bone of a Man's Body, make him sweat with very anguish, and appear with a distorted countenance, like one suffering the utmost extremities of a rack. It is true indeed, there are amongst 'em a parcel of Rascals that go for Witches, and are likely enough to impress the People with the worst of notions, and make 'em believe all those things which will most contribute to the reputation of their Impostures; these go by the name of *Caraibes*, and their chief business is to go about from Village to Village, insinuating a belief of a mighty Power they are possess'd of, and the strange things they can perform; they perswade 'em that they are able to inspire 'em with Courage and Fortitude, and that the very Fruits of the Field are in their power, so that they can either make 'em flourish, or hinder their kindly growth if they please; and which is worse than all this, the *Brasilians* are so bewitch'd as to believe 'em, and have so great an opinion of their Skill, that they don't take it well to have it call'd in question, and 'tis almost the same thing there as to deny the Infallibility of the Pope in *Europe* amongst them that believe it: But of the blind Credulity of the one and the roguish Tricks and Impostures of the other, this is also a further instance remarkable enough; the *Caraibes* will take three or four of those Rattles they call *Maracca*, which are as big as Ostritches Eggs, and dressing them up with Feathers, they thrust the Staff unto which they are fastned into the ground, then they command the very best Meat and Drink that the House where they are affords to be set before these Hobbyhorses, telling the People, that the *Maracca's* will devour it all, and they as readily believe it as that they themselves do ever eat or drink; and thus they make them furnish a constant supply of Provisions for I know not how many days together, all which they take their opportunity to come and steal away themselves, and so play the same trick that their honest Brethren the Priests of *Bell and the Dragon* did.

Tricks of the *Caraibes*.

'Tis a common thing in travelling up and down the Country to see a parcel of these fine Messes standing before a Broomstaff, (for 'tis no better, abating the Feathers) but *Lerius* and his Companions were so wise when they met with 'em as to baffle the Conjuration, and eat 'em themselves; this made the *Caraibes* their mortal and irreconcilable Enemies, and the *Brasilians* believ'd some very great misfortunes would happen to 'em for such a piece of Impiety.

There is also a certain sort of a religious Solemnity in use amongst 'em, in which the *Caraibes* bear no little part. The *Tonoupinambaltii* (for 'twas amongst those that *Lerius* convers'd most) have a Custom of coming together in a general Assembly once every third or fourth Year; 'twas our Author's hap in his Travels to come to that place when this great Assembly was met, and seeing some of the *Caraibes* amongst 'em, and guessing from thence that some very odd things would be done, he resolv'd to stay and see the end of it; the multitude was divided into three parts, the Men by themselves, the Women also apart, and the Children so too, and each troop shut up in a distinct Mansion; *Lerius* and his company being Strangers, were shut up with the Women, and the last Orders the *Caraibes* left with them was, that they should not any of 'em dare to stir out of that place, but diligently attend to the singing of the Men. After some time they began to hear a low muttering noise from the Apartment of the Men, at which the Women rose up, bustled together, and stood all of a heap listning to those doleful sounds; but when the Men rais'd their Voices, so that the words were distinctly heard, particularly the Interjection *Hè, Hè*, which they often repeated, the Women immediately broke out too, and answer'd in the very same terms; but then they proceeded to such extravagancies, that the *Frenchmen* was well nigh scar'd; together with their howlings, they ran out into such wild postures and motions, shaking their Paps, foaming at the Mouth, falling down in Agonies, and lying like so many perfectly dead, that (to use his own expression) one would have thought the Devil had taken corporal possession of 'em. The Horrour was likewise encreas'd by the dismal cries and screamings of the Children, who when the Women were rais'd to this pitch, began to open their Pipes too; and this, *Lerius* confesses, made him lose very near all his Courage, and he began then to think what might be the end of this matter, but he was freed of those melancholy thoughts a little while after by the removal of the cause of 'em, for the dismal sounds languish'd away by little and little, and by doing so gave the Ear the pleasing respite of a profound silence; the Men had finish'd that round of Song, and the Women and Children (like sympathetick Chords, that beat only upon beating of the others) gave over too and held their Tongues.

Solemnities of the *Brasilians*.

After a short interval the Men began again, but with so sweet and truly harmonious a Note, that our Author was now as much ravish'd as he was terrified before, and had a mighty desire to remove to that Mansion where they were, that he might see as well as hear 'em; his Interpreter disswaded him upon the score of the danger, and told him 'twas an Enterprize himself durst never attempt, who had been conversant amongst 'em several years; the *Brasilian* Women also alledg'd the same thing, but he being inflexibly bent to see the Ceremony, broke thro' all perswasions to the contrary, and accordingly went.

The Author goes amongst 'em.

At his entrance (contrary to all expectation) the *Brasilians* discover'd no manner of concern, but kept their order

The Delusions of the *Caraibes*.

order and went on with their Dances as if no Stranger had been present; the manner of their Dance was thus: The whole multitude was divided into three parts, and each of those threw themselves into a circle, all standing very close by one another, but not joyning Hands, every man's right Hand was laid upon his Buttock, and the left hanging down streight by his Side, and in this posture they danc'd along in the round shaking their right Legs; in the midd'e of every ring stood three or four *Caraibes* dress'd up after their antick manner, and holding in each hand one of the *Maraca's* before mention'd; these Impostors stood here to do the great Office for which they are so highly reverenc'd by these silly People; they mov'd up and down, danc'd backwards and forwards, and shook their Rattles, with several other amusing nonsensical actions, but these were but the introductory Ceremonies, for in the next place they took long Canes, into which they stuff'd an Herb they call *Petum*, which they put Size to, then turning themselves hither and thither, they puff'd out the Smoak upon the multitude that stood round 'em, using these words, *Receive the Spirit of Fortitude, wherby you may overcome all your Enemies:* The Dances and the Musick held on the mean while, and as for the latter, the Author (who was himself not ignorant of Musick) in plain terms professes, that 'twas matter of the highest wonder to him, how People utterly unskilful, as they are, should ever lay their Notes so harmoniously together, and form Tunes so very pleasing as they did; it had, he says, then such an influence upon him, touch'd his Passions so agreeably, and excited so many delightful Sensations within him, that he was all Transport and Extasie, and gone quite beyond himself, neither could he ever think upon it afterwards, but a secret Joy would steal upon him at the remembrance; in a word, he could not forget it, and that pleasing din was always striking his Ears.

The manner of their dancing.

The Songs they sung at this Solemnity were partly Lamentations for their dead Ancestors, repetitions of their Acts, hopes of their own meeting with 'em again beyond the Mountains, and dismal threatnings of their Enemies; also here 'twas that our Author (amongst the medley of Subjects their Songs went upon) heard them commemorate the general Deluge, and the drowning of the whole World except some of their Nation.

The business being over, the *Brasilians* made a most sumptuous Feast (after their manner) for the entertainment of the *Caraibes*, to which they invited *Lerius* and his Company also; neither did they at all resent that liberty he took in coming into their Assembly without their leave, tho' perhaps the first thing of that kind that ever was done by any *European*.

The Ceremony of their Lamentations for the Dead and performing the Funeral Rites is no less odd than the former, a man that is not us'd to it, and comes amongst 'em at such a time, must either resolve to lie awake all night, or else go seek a Lodging at another Village; the Women scream and howl at such a rate, that the Musick of a whole Wilderness of Wolves is not more intolerable: This is the trade as soon as ever a Party is dead, the Breath is no sooner out of the Body, but Grief comes out of their Mouths with so hellish a noise and fury, that 'tis a wonder they don't blow it all clean away, especially considering that they hold it so long too, for if a Person dies in the Evening they'll make this melody all night long without intermission; neither are they only the Members of a single Family, or of two or three perhaps that are allied, that make up these Consorts, but if it be a Person of some consideration amongst 'em that is dead, the whole Town meets to run mad together upon this occasion: They say all the fine things of the Deceased they can think of, reckon up all his noble Qualities, as his Valour, his Hunting, his Fishing, his Bounty in giving Captives to his Friends to be devour'd; and this they do speaking to each other in parts, mixing their Cries and Lamentations between: This our Author heard when the Dialogue proceeded thus; *That most valiant man is dead* (says one Party) *which gave us so many Captives to be devour'd*; to which the others answer'd, *Oh that notable Hunter, most excellent Fisher! Oh, valiant killer of the* Portugals *and* Margaiates! And thus they went on exaggerating the Praises of the Dead, but then the burden of the Song (or rather of the howling) was thus, *He is dead, he is dead whom we lament*; to which the others replied, *Alas, he is dead, and we shall see him no more till we dance with him behind the Mountains, as our* Caraibes *teach us.* When they have finish'd these Ceremonies they wash the Corps and paint it over very neatly, and then wrapping it in Cotton, they set it into a Vessel which stands in a deep hole in the Earth; but 'tis to be observ'd that their way is not to lay dead Bodies horizontally, as the Custom obtains in *Europe*, but either bolt upright or at least sitting in that 'foremention'd Vessel: The Masters of Families are generally buried in the middle of their own Houses, and along with 'em all those things they us'd to value and admire, and the reason they give for it is, that they may not by lying in the way revive the remembrance of the Deceased, and cause new sorrow as often as they are seen; but if any man has a thing by him when he dies that was given him by another, it returns again to him that gave it, and he may lawfully seize it wherever he finds it, for they say that a man by dying loses all right to every thing that comes to him this way.

Lamentations for the Dead.

Praises they give the dead.

Their manner of Burial.

Into the Mansion of the Dead they also put great store of Provision; this is to stop *Aignan's* mouth, who comes rummaging about the Graves, and if he finds no good Victuals there, eats up the Corps in revenge: And this they continue to do constantly till they think the Body is consum'd, and the Worms have secur'd it from *Aignan's* Depredations for ever.

It will be easily conceiv'd that this Notion was put into their Heads by the *Caraibes*, who come and steal away the Provisions, and then make 'em believe the Devil does it; but one would sooner believe he was in their Bellies than any where else, to lick so many Platters clean every night as they do, and that for so long together. Notwithstanding the *Brasilians* believe as they tell 'em, and will do so in defiance even of ocular demonstration to the contrary, *Lerius*, by watching their waters narrowly, and shewing them the Provisions set in over night remaining untouch'd in the morning, made them plainly see there was no Devil in the matter, but the hungry Guts of the Priests, and yet they could hardly believe their own Eyes; and as 'twas with a great deal of difficulty that some few were convinc'd, so the rest were not to be wrought upon, but persisted still in their old Opinion, that *Aignan* came and eat up all the Victuals. What is the power of Errour and Prejudice, when insinuated into the minds of Men, and artfully cherish'd there? It will upon occasion render all their Senses useless to 'em, and make 'em as blind with a pair of Eyes in their Heads as the Moles are that have none at all; here were People that were in doubt whether a *Dæmon* had not quite devour'd the Provisions, tho' they saw it plainly lying in the Dishes before their faces; and no doubt but the *Caraibes* could make them believe a Pig to be a Dog, or a Goose to be a Parrot, if they set themselves to try their power over 'em.

After a Corps is buried, all the Kindred continue their Lamentations night and day for the space of a Moon, not howling with open throat, so as they do at first when the loss is just come upon 'em, but in the more moderate way of weeping and sighing, and doing a sort of Pennance, abstaining from all Food the whole day, and taking a little refreshment at night only; but when the date of the mourning time is out, they immediately apply themselves to the work of redeeming their lost time, and having been so long divorc'd from all Pleasures and Entertainments, they plunge into 'em with no little eagerness, both Men and Women fall to drinking, and (that they may never be troubled with their Sorrows more) they drown them.

How they end their Mourning.

But now these People, that are such passionate bewailers of the Dead, are very ill tenders of the Sick, and one would fancy, by the trouble and pains they put themselves to upon Deaths and Funerals, they should not be very fond of 'em. They have indeed a sort of Men amongst 'em which they call *Pages*, and are their Physicians, but much fitter to be Pages in the *English* sence of that word than in the *Brasilian*; they pretend to cure Distempers by Suction, that is, when the sick person has discover'd the affected part, they apply their mouths and draw, making believe they draw and suck away the cause of the Distemper. Now suppose a man had a *Fistula in Ano*, these Doctors would have a fine cleanly work on't, and 'twould be odds if (while they made the Patient well) they did not make themselves sick: The practise of Physick in other Countries requires a man to have a good Head, but here it requires a strong Stomach, and he that can eat a —— without spewing for the matter, may set up for a well-qualified Doctor.

Manner of curing Diseases.

It's a strange Humour of these People, that when any body is sick they never give them any Victuals without they urge it themselves, so that if a man should lose the use of his Tongue in a Distemper, he must starve of consequence without remedy: But it is much stranger still, that those who are about the sick Party do nothing but dance, drink and sing all the while he is languishing upon his Bed; this is a very hard case, and a man had much better be dispatch'd out of the way when he begins to be ill, than be tormented with a continual noise in his Ears when

Hard treatment of the Sick.

when he is in such a case: Tis true, they are willing to be rid of the trouble of Attendance, and have the sick Man at the end of his pain to as soon as may be, and no doubt but this is an effectual Method to accomplish both; but then they should not make such a terrible splutter afterwards, for 'tis odd to go first of all to kill a Man by ill management, and then fall a howling because he is dead. But they have (as was said before) a Consolation that comes afterwards, and know how to wash away all the Remainders of their Sorrow.

Their Marriages.

In the Point of Marriage, the *Brasilians* stick at no degree of Relation but that of own Mothers. Sisters and Daughters; as to all the rest, they are free, the Uncle marries his Niece, and the Nephew his Aunt: But tho' these Bloods may be lawfully mingled, yet those of two intimate Friends are held so near, that 'tis a Crime amongst them to pretend a Marriage there. No Man may marry the Daughter or Sister of his *Atcuraffep* (as they term it) that is, his most familiar Friend, who lives together with him in such a manner, that all their Goods are common. Their way of proceeding in the getting of Wives, is, first to make sure of the Woman's Affection, and then go to her Parents, or (if she has none) the next Kindred, and ask their consent, which if they give, well and good, if not, they are contented of both sides, and forget one another. A young Man did not use to be suffer'd to marry amongst them, till he had given some Proof of his Courage in the Wars by taking or killing an Enemy, and he was obliged also to hold certain Feasts for two or three Year before: So the young Women having discovered the Tokens of Ripeness, kept their Feasts likewise, and then their Parents began to think of Husbands for them. But there is a mighty deal of mirth and feasting when a young Bride is brought home to her Bridegroom; all the Parents and Kindred of both sides come together, and lay the Foundation of their new Relation in good eating and drinking. After the Feast is over, the concluding Ceremony is the delivery of a Net clean wash'd, to the young Couple; this ratifies the Marriage, and they go presently away to consummate it. But leaving them in the Hammock, the Bride's Father in the mean time in the other Apartment, acts a very comical part: He takes a Stake or something of the like nature, and falls to cutting and chopping of it, and what is this for, but to chop off the Tails of the young Grand-children that are now to be expected. They are mightily afraid any of their Race should appear like Monkeys; but they believe they would, and come with Tails into the World, if they did not take this Method to prevent it; and therefore the Bride's Father very solemnly chops a Stick, which how natural a Tendency it has to hinder the growing of Tails, any body that considers the Matter a little deeply, will easily see.

A strange Custom.

Some Customs of the *Brasilians* were hinted by Mr. Knivet, but these Authors were in other parts of the Country.

Privileges of the ennobled ones.

When the *Brasilians* have married their Children, they then allow them the liberties of drinking and carousing freely, which before they denied them; they think it proper for Youth to be bred up in all manner of moderation and abstinence, and not have that Spur added to their natural heat and vigour, which Wine and strong Liquors will certainly add: And they are introduced to this Liberty with something of ceremony; the old People make a Speech to them about the sober and moderate use of Wine, tell them they must drink so as not to make their Tongues run too fast, and encline them to speak bad things; and then they give them the Initiating Cup, and hold their Heads at the same time least they should be sick and vomit; for 'tis to be noted, that if their young Men are over-power'd with the first Wine, they take it as an Omen of their being Cowards, but if they carry it off bravely, they conclude they'll be fit for the Wars, and fight with courage.

A preposterous Act of a good Souldier.

Customs at the birth of Children.

When a Child is born, the Father thus far performs the Office of a Midwife, as first of all others to receive the Child into his Arms, to wash and paint it, cut the Navel string, and press down the Nose; which latter they do, because they imagine the greatest Beauty of their Children to lie in the flatness of their Noses: Then without wrapping it in any sort of Swaddling-clouts, he lays it down in a Hammock, and if it be a Boy, he brings a little wooden Sword, a Bow and Arrows, which he puts down by it, and a Bunch of Herbs, which represents the Enemies the young Heroe shall kill when he comes of age. After this, he kisses it, and leaves it with this short hortatory Speech, *My Son* (says he) *when thou art come to Man's estate, be valiant, and take revenge of thy Enemies.* As for their management of Children, they generally let them suck a Year and a half, and their Mothers carry them about in Nets at their Backs, thro' heat and cold, and all weathers, wherever they go. They are extravagantly fond of, and indulgent to them, avoid all things that may make them cry, and therefore (even when they are capable of it) they never give them any correction, that they may not have so displeasing a sound in their Ears. But one thing deserves particular notice, which is, that the *Brasilian* Children do in great measure confute our Notions here in *Europe*, about the first management of them, for 'tis generally said, that Children would grow crooked, bandy legg'd, and every way out of shape, if they were not bound and swath'd up very close and tite; whereas the *Brasilians* never use a Rag about theirs, they are laid down naked upon a Cotton Bed as soon as they are born, and carried so afterwards at their Mothers Backs, and yet none are better shap'd than they, and grow more strait and upright; 'tis not common to see a deform'd or a distorted Limb amongst them, or if there be, 'tis known to be the Effect of some other Cause.

Brasilians never wean their Children.

Poligamy allow'd.

Poligamy is a Custom generally receiv'd and allow'd in this Country; there's nothing to bound or stint any Man as to the number of his Wives, but his own Humour and Circumstances; neither do they with a multiplicity of Females under their Roofs, lead lives less quiet and pleasant than those that have but one. The Women don't scold and quarrel about the biggest share in the Man's Affections, nor plot and contrive to circumvent one another in their Amours. The Husband may make one his Darling if he pleases, and the rest will look patiently on, and won't give him or the happy Favourite any trouble by their Jealousy. If either of the Wives should defile his Bed by any adulterous practice, he has a Power in his Hands to revenge himself; and that he may do, either by killing her that has so abused him, or if not that, yet by putting her away with all the ignominy in the world: Death or Divorce are the Punishments of the Crime. But unmarried Women may take all the freedom imaginable, and no body reproach them for't. They are under no Law but that of Inclination, and know no restraint but that of want of Opportunity, and if that be taken away, 'tis easy to imagine what follows; yet to do them justice, the Authors say, they wish the *Europeans* did not give occasion to say, that they are more beyond all shame and modesty in those matters than the *Brasilians*.

Adultery punish'd.

Free use of unmarried Women.

Habit.

As to what concerns the Dress and Habit of these People, 'tis quickly describ'd; they go naked, except only the Ornaments of Paint and Feathers. In some Parts where the *Portugueze* have to do, they have conform'd themselves a little to the *European* Custom, and wear some sort of Apparel; but 'tis more for pure fashion's sake, than regard to modesty and decency; or, because the *Portugueze* oblige them to it, and they dare not disobey them. Tis plain, that they look upon Cloaths as an incumbrance, and do what they do only out of form, by their way of using on't; for amongst those that are provided with all necessary Apparel, you shall see one come abroad with a Cap only on his Head, and another with a Wascoat or short Jacket that reaches to the Navel, and every where else as naked as he was born; this is dressing to good purpose, and such a short Jerkin as that, well answers the great design of Cloaths. They have various ways of cutting their Hair, of polling and shaving in use amongst them; and indeed this is one of the main Characters by which the several Nations are distinguish'd from one another. The Women always cut their Hair when they become Mourners for the Dead, and also when their Husbands go long and dangerous Journeys, in both which Cases by this Custom, they express their sorrow and concern.

Houses.

Their Houses are made of Timber, and cover'd with Palm Leaves, have two or three Doors each, and consist of a great number of Rooms: Each of these is taken up by a distinct Houshold, and has its own proper Fire-place, Hammocks and other Furniture belonging to it; they are not parted from one another by any Wall, so that when a Man is once entred the Door, all that the House affords or contains, is open to him. Some of them are so large, that they hold 200 People and more, and generally all are govern'd by one principal Person, who is, as it were, the Master of the whole united Family.

Furniture.

Their Houshold Stuff consists of Earthen Jars, Baskets, Basons, Platters and Cups; the Cups are made of Gourds and other Fruits hollow'd for this purpose, and all their Baskets and Panniers, some of Rushes, others of Grass, but so very ingeniously wove together, that their Art deserves highly to be commended. But the greatest Curiosity belonging to their Houses, are their Hanging-Beds, which they work in Looms made after their Country fashion; some of them are made

like Nets, others like solid Cloth; they are five or six Foot long and an Ell broad, having at either end certain Cotton Loops, thro' which the Cords pass that fasten them to the Beams of their Houses.

Washing. When these Hammocks are become dirty with long use, or by reason of the Smoak of their Fires which burn all Night close by them in the Winter time, they cleanse them after this manner: The Women go into the Woods and gather a Fruit not much unlike a plain Gourd in shape, but much bigger, so that one of them can scarce be held with one hand: This they cut into pieces, and having thrown it into a great Earthen Vessel, and pour'd on a little water, they stir it vehemently about with a Stick, till a sort of Froth arises; this is their Soap, and all besides, and they need nothing else, for it makes their Beds comparable to the cleanest and whitest things in nature.

Works and Labours. The Men spend their time in Employments suitable to their Sex; in Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, Fighting, and making Arms for that purpose. The Women spin and weave Cotton, dress Victuals and do Garden work, and are, in a word, marvellously industrious and handy. The chief Man in each Family preaches to all the House in the Morning as they lie in their Hammocks, he tells them when 'tis time to rise and go to their several Labours, and what they should bestow their time in for that day. This Custom they say they learn'd from a certain Bird (which they call the Lord of Birds) 'tis like a Hawk, and sings every Morning with the first advances of the day; they argue, that as that Bird sets up his Note so as to be heard of all the rest about him, even so should the Master of a Family make all that he is concern'd with, hear his Instructions.

Custom taken from a Bird.

Diet. As for their Diet, it is e'en what they can get; what Nature and Providence affords, or Art and Industry can procure them: what the Woods or the Water, or the Air will yield them; what they can kill with an Arrow, or catch in a Trap, pluck from a Tree, or dig out of the Ground; 'tis the Flesh of any Creature, rational or irrational, Fruits, Grain, Herbs, or Roots; their Stomacks are not nice and squeamish, nor do they need the courtship of fine Sauces: They won't stick even at the most loathsome Animals, and many Snakes and Toads have been Instances of the strength and goodness of their Digestion. And as they are indifferent to what they eat, so they are as little thoughtful about the Concern of providing it; they don't spend time in collecting and laying up great hoards of Provision, but content themselves to get in reasonable Supplies as their Wants return upon them. The Woods are at hand, and their Bows and Arrows, and Fishing Tackling, are always ready, and if they light of any sport, they eat and are merry, if they fail, they are patient, and bear the Inconveniencies of Hunger and Thirst with an easy mind, till they can remove them.

Times of eating. They observe no stated times for eating; the Formalities of Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper are not known amongst them: If they have a Stock of Provisions by them, they make but one Meal on't, but that runs thro' the whole 24 Hours; for they eat all Night as well as all day long, and like some People that we say their Money burns in their Pockets, and they can't be quiet till 'tis all gone, so the *Brasilians* are as restless till their Cup-boards are empty, and the House be clear'd about them.

Drinking Feasts. Ordinarily they don't drink at their Meals, but make a distinct and particular business of that afterwards; they love it so well, that they won't do it, but when they have leisure to attend and set to it; and indeed they ply it so close, that they generally lie level with the Horizon by that time they have done. But their extravagancy this way appears much more at their set Feast, which they often make. Upon these Occasions there are some of them that go singing about from House to House, calling and inviting all they can find to come to be merry. This Mirth lasts two or three days, or perhaps more, and it's made up of Musick, Drinking, and Dancing; there is some eating work also, but that's at the beginning, and (as the less principal part of the Entertainment) serves only for an Introduction to the rest. And they are so indefatigable in these Sports, that they allow themselves no time for rest; they never sleep a wink all the while, but spend the whole time in dancing and drinking. Sometimes too the strong Liquors work so powerfully, that they go to lugging one another by the Ears, to breaking of Pates, and fingering one anothers Wives promiscuously; they fall all of a heap, and do all the rustical things that a wild Mobb let loose upon one another can be supposed to do. Abstracting from these accidental Disorders, they are a People of sober civil carriage enough; they agree wonderfully well together, and very seldom brawl or fight; but if any quarrel happen, and one be wounded by another, if he that did the mischief can be taken, he is wounded exactly in the same part of the Body by the Kinsmen or Friends of the Sufferer. In a word, they are mighty punctual in their Retributions in case of Corporal Damage; the *Lex talionis* obtains amongst them in its utmost vigour, and 'tis not only Life for Life, but Eye for Eye and Tooth for Tooth, without any limitation or excuse.

Good qualities of the *Brasilians*.

Their exact Justice.

None are more kind and gentle to their Wives than the *Brasilians* for the most part are; if they are otherwise, 'tis when Wine has got the mastery of them, and then they excuse it to the good Women afterwards, telling them that the fault was in the Wine; which commonly makes up the matter betwixt them. And, whether it be out of love or jealousy, or a mixture of both, they seldom go out, but their Wives go with them; when they go from home the Man walks before, and the Woman comes after, which is, that if there should be a Danger of any sort, the Man may meet with it first, and give his Wife an opportunity to make her retreat; but when they come homeward, they shift places, the Woman is first, and the Man comes behind for her guard; so that either way the Woman is still nearest home.

Kindness to their Wives.

They teach their Children very early to dance after their Country manner, and not only that, but to sing too; these are the first things they learn as soon as they are capable, and 'tis indeed the chief part of their Institution. But 'tis observable, that they document so, that even while they are very young, one shall seldom see those little Squabbles and Fallings out amongst them, that Children are very incident to in other places; they don't fight and call one another names, nor give any sort of bad language to one another, but follow their Play with a great deal of peace and quietness. The *Brasilians* are much more thankful if any one does these young ones a kindness; if he teaches them any thing, or makes them a Present, than if 'twas done to themselves; and there's no surer way to make an entire Purchase of their Friendship, than to express a fondness for, and a good will to their Children. And for this Reason 'twas that they had so great an esteem for the *Portuguese* Fathers; those Priests were very intent upon the Education of their Children, taught them to read and write and cast account, and to sing after the *European* manner, and in short, always gratified and delighted them with one new thing or other; so that the Parents look'd upon them as the very best of Men, and were entirely captivated by these Methods.

Care for their Children.

As to worldly Grandeur and Riches, as there is very little of it to be seen amongst the *Brasilians*, so they seem to be a People wholly void of all manner of Ambition and Desire that way. They affect no stately Pallaces, splendid Equipages, or great and pompous way of living. If they have Kings amongst them, they are crown'd with Feathers; and a Gentleman is not one that has 1000 Pound a Year, and is follow'd by half a dozen Footmen in gawdy Liveries; but a poor naked Fellow that has a Skin as thick as Parchment, and raced all over after such a manner, that it looks as if they had been pricking Patterns upon it. They content themselves with their homely Cottages, that just serve to defend them from the Injuries of the weather; and considering nothing but Convenience and a bare Supply of the Necessities of Nature, they move their Dwellings up and down, fixing themselves here and there, according as they can best answer those Purposes. Neither do they trouble themselves any more about the getting a great deal of Land, than of building fine Houses, making curious Walks and Prospects, and other Delights of that nature. They have Ground indeed to improve and cultivate for the Service of their Families, but not with all those Guards of Hedges and Ditches that we have: Every Master of a Family uses at pleasure what will be convenient for his own House, without drawing Lines to mark out properly, or setting up any Land-marks for a Caution to his Neighbour: So that here are no Quarrels nor Contentions about the Division of Lands and the Bounds of Estates; no going to law for a Hedge or a Fence, or spending whole Estates about a Foot of Ground. The *Brasilians* wou'd ridicule such People to the last degree, unless they thought them mad, and spared them upon that account; for they look upon the Earth to be equally free for them all, and that 'tis every ones Priviledge to enjoy as much of it as serves his occasion, and when that's done, as he has reason to be contented, so no body else has any thing to do to disturb him in his Possession.

Contentedness with their mean way of living.

Move their Dwellings up and down.

No division of Lands.

The *Brasilians* liberal.

Money

No Money amongst them.

Money is a thing wholly unknown amongst them, neither have they any manner of need of it in their happy and easy way of living. If they have occasion for one another's Labour or Assistance, they make the Recompence in something or other which Nature furnishes to their Hands. Thus when they call others to help them in their Husbandry Works, they make good store of Wines for the Labourers to drink, and this is every whit as pleasing a Reward to them, as so much Money a day wou'd be to others, neither do they care how long they work upon the same score; their Neighbours that employ them give them the Necessaries they want, and they believe they have nothing beyond that in life to look after. And if there be any shadow of such a thing as Trade amongst them, its only bartering and exchanging one Commodity for another, unless we allow Shells, Feathers, and fine Stones to be Money, for then we may say indeed that there is buying and selling. Now considering these things, one must yield the *Brasilians* to be thus far a happy People; and by their great contentment with so little of the World, to reprove the covetous and ambitious temper of others who (tho' superiour to them in many excellent Qualifications) yet are so far from reaching this Point of Vertue, that they have no other care nor passion left in them, but that for hording and raking up together as much Wealth as is possible. VVhat quiet and truly pleasant lives do these Savages (if we must call them so) live in comparison with them? Their Heads are burden'd with no great and mighty Designs, nor do they break their rest with thinking of the Fortune of such an Adventure at Sea, or such a Project at Land: They sleep sound in their Hammocks, dreaming of no Shipwracks nor Plunders, and their Minds lie as easy as their Bodies in those soft hanging Beds. 'Tis true, a Musqueto or some troublesome Insect or other may possibly visit them sometimes, but the sting of a Flie is much easier to be born than that of painted Thoughts, and Fears, and Cares; ay, a Scorpion is a more tollerable Companion than these.

They work for Necessaries.

A Discourse between the Author and a Brasilian.

'Twas a Conference well worth observation, which *Lerius* once had with a *Brasilian* upon these Matters, and admirably well shews the Sence of their Minds about those things which the rest of Mankind commonly dote so much upon. *What is the meaning* (says the *Brasilian*) *that you* Mairs *and* Pero's (that is, *French* and *Portuguese*) *come so far as our Country to fetch Wood? does your own Country afford you no Fuel for the Fire?* To this *Lerius* answer'd, *That they had in his Country Wood enough to burn, but that was not the Use they put the* Brasile-*wood to; they used that in the Business of Dying, which none that grew in his part of the World was fit for.* But (replies the other) *have you need of so great quantities of it, and won't less than you fetch away serve your turn?* He told him *No, one rich Merchant alone in his Country was Master of as many Scarlet Cloths, Looking-glasses, Knives, and Beads, and all the fine things that they admired, as would buy several Ships Lading of the* Brasile-*wood. Ah! says the* Brasilian, *You tell me very strange and wonderful things; but pray does that great rich Man you speak of never die? and if he does, who is Heir of all those Goods he leaves behind him?* *Lerius* told him, *His Children, or if he had none, his next Kindred. Surely by this* (replies the wise old Savage) *a Man may easily perceive that you Mairs are very great Fools; for what need you tire and turmoil your selves at that rate in sailing over the Ocean, where* (*as you tell us your selves*) *you sustain so many Hardships and Dangers? Is it that you may get Riches for your Children and living Kinsfolk? Simple Men! Is not the Earth that has nourished you, sufficient also to maintain them? We have Children and Kinsfolk as well as you, and them* (*as you see*) *we love dearly; but since we confidently hope that it shall come to pass, that after our departure beyond the Mountains, the same Earth which has nourished us, shall also relieve and cherish them; herein we repose our selves and rest content.* Here the Dialogue broke off, and what our Author answer'd to the last Sentence of the *Brasilian*, is not told us; it may be he held his Tongue and said nothing, which perhaps was the best reply he could make in this case.

The Brasilians liberal.

The good Temper of these People is farther seen in their diffusive bounty and Charity: A Man can't offer them a greater affront, than by calling them Niggards, or any way suspecting their generosity and good nature; and they are much pleased on the other hand, if a Man will make use of their Kindness, and suffer them to supply his Wants. They make a constant Practice of giving one another Fish, and Meal, and Fruits, or almost any thing that they are Masters of, and if they know of any one that wants what they have in the House by them, they'll be sure to send him a Supply. They carry it after the same free and kind-hearted way to Strangers too, and tho' they have the Name of Barbarians put upon them, yet none are certainly more truly hospitable than they. * 'Tis true, their way of receiving Strangers is something odd, and may look a little barbarous, tho' the worst of it is, that it may probably frighten those that are not accustomed to it; but if a Man can stand the first Shock of their rude Salutations, and hear all their Weepings and Out-cries without fear, he'll have no cause to be afraid afterwards, but may promise himself to be made very much of. *Lerius* professes that he was not a little confounded at their manner of treating him at his first arrival amongst them; and expected no other than first of all to be rifled, and afterwards sent beyond the Mountains. As soon as ever they saw him, they came swarming about him, and jabber'd out all together, their *Marapé Derere?* that is, *What's your Name?* In the mean time one takes off his Hat and puts it upon his own Head, another gets his Coat, and a third his Sword and Belt, which he threw over his naked Shoulders; and thus dress'd up with his Spoils, they run up and down shewing the fine things to their Companions. A little while after, this first Transport was over, and they came and very civilly restor'd every thing again; which was so much beyond *Lerius's* expectation and desire, that he would freely have given all that and more, to have had them kept away for good and all, and not have come near him a second time. But his Interpreter then told him, they greatly desired to know his Name; now they are not able to pronounce any of our *European* Names, neither can they make any sence of them if they could speak them; for all the Names in use amongst them being taken from things, and things that they ordinarily converse with, it would appear a kind of mockery to them, to tell them of any other but such. *Lerius* therefore suppressed his Christian Name *John*, and that of *Lerius* signifying an Oyster in the *Brasilian* Tongue, he took that hint from the Interpreter, and told him he was call'd *Lery-oussou*. This gave them a great deal of Satisfaction, and they often used their word *Teh* at it; at last they replied, *Surely this is a very excellent Name, nor have we ever yet met with any Mair that had such a one as this.* All this while *Lerius* cou'd not well tell what to make of them, and was still under some fear lest they should eat the Oyster, as they had done many others of the same kind before; however, his Interpreter who knew their Customs perfectly well encouraging him, he resolved to venture a little farther amongst them. When they came into the Village where they intended to lodge for that Night, they found the People dancing and very merry upon the account of one of their Enemies whom they had taken and killed that day; but *Lerius* could not find in his Heart to bear a part with them in their Mirth; one of the first Sights he saw, was the Limbs of the dead Man broiling upon a Gridiron, and this made him relapse into his former fear, and begin to doubt whether his own wou'd not be the next to be so dress'd. Yet he went into the House, and according to the custom, immediately laid himself down in a Hammock, where he had not been laid long, but the Wives and Daughters of his Host came weeping and lamenting about him: They rejoiced at his happy coming in tears, and spoke abundance of things in his commendation: *Have you taken so much pains to come and see us? you are good, you are valiant, you are wise, you have brought many excellent Merchandizes along with you which we want here.* But *Lerius* understood neither their Complements nor their Wants, only the Presence of his Interpreter was a Comfort to him, and made him hope all would end well. Now they always expect that their Guests should discover some sort of Passion and Concern while they are entertaining them after this manner; and therefore they must sit with a very sober settled Countenance, and if they can't cry in good earnest, they must pretend to do so at least, and fetch many deep and bitter sighs: But some of the *French*-men did not need to counterfeit a Passion; for whether 'twas out of fear or meer sympathy, is uncertain, but however they cried and sobb'd as well as the Women, and *Lerius* himself was obliged to make them believe he was not far from doing the same. When this Scene had held a while, in came the *Moussacat* (the Master of the House) very busily employ'd about making an Arrow, which he minded for some time without so much as once casting an Eye upon his Guests, or saying any thing to them. At last he came up to *Lerius*, and gave him the Salutation, expressing a great deal of satisfaction at his coming thither, and enquiring presently whether he were not hungry or no; then he order'd his People to bring in what the House afforded, which

** Manner of entertaining [illegible] in another part of the Country [illegible] things [illegible] this*

This was amongst the Tououpinambaoults.

An Adventure of the Author's amongst them

They strip him.

Enquire after and are pleased with his Name.

tho' but their ordinary Fare, and ſerv'd up in a homely courſe manner, yet gave plain Indications of a ſincere and hearty Welcome. The *Braſilians* of this Village were (as was hinted before) making merry upon the death of a Captive, to which Sports *Lerius* had no mind to go, being weary and indiſpos'd, but inſtead of that, betook himſelf to his reſt in his Hanging-Bed; but he had not ſlept long, before the noiſe which the Savages made (dancing and carowſing upon this Occaſion) waked him, and had not that done it, what follow'd wou'd; for preſently upon this, one of them comes up to him, with a roaſted Foot of the poor Victim in his Hand, which he held out to him, intending thereby that they look'd upon that ſort of Food as a Dainty, and had ſent him that piece to taſte. But *Lerius* who look'd about him and found his Interpreter gone, began now to act that part himſelf, and interpreted that the holding up of this roaſted Foot to him, ſignified the like piece of Cookery ſhortly to be performed upon himſelf. Had there been any way of eſcape for him left, he had that Minute quitted his Hammock, and ventured out into the Woods, but there was none; for he ſaw a Guard of *Braſilians* ſtanding about him, and theſe he thought were to keep him for the Gridiron next Morning; but were indeed no other than the Waiters which they always make attend upon Strangers, as a piece of civility they think due to them. Seeing himſelf therefore ſhut up on every ſide, he betook himſelf to his Prayers, and ſpent the whole Night in Devotion; as any Man duly touch'd would, who expected he muſt be executed next Morning. All this while the *Braſilians* wondred what had come to the Man, that he was in ſuch an agony; he mutter'd to himſelf, and ſigh'd and groan'd, and had a world of uneaſy Poſtures in his Hammock; yet they ſaid nothing to him, but let him alone. The honeſt Interpreter for his part had ſpent the Night with the Savages at their merry Bout, and was in no concern about his Maſter, becauſe he knew the Fidelity and good Diſpoſition of the People among whom he was. However at break of day home he comes, and finds him very ill, as pale as Aſhes, and taken with a Feavour, at which he was ſurpriz'd, and therefore ask'd him whether he had not reſted well that Night. One may eaſily imagine what Anſwer *Lerius* gave to this Queſtion, and how the Interpreter was ſchool'd after his Night's Paſtime; but yet to compleat the Jeſt, he tells the *Braſilians* in what a Terrour his Maſter had lain in all Night, and how they had frighten'd him with holding up the Leg of the roaſted Man to him. They ſaid they were very ſorry they had made him ſo uneaſy, and that indeed they perceived he was out of order; then they were not able to hold out any longer, but broke out into ſuch an extravagant fit of laughter, that *Lerius* inſtead of being afraid, was now more aſhamed that he had made them ſo much ſport. One may venture to relie upon the Credit of this Story, ſince the Author tells it of himſelf, and it does not ſeem to make much for his advantage. But beſides this, he had ſeveral other Adventures amongſt the *Braſilians*, all which (as he declares) gave ample teſtimony of their Courteſy and Hoſpitality to Strangers, and makes it very certain that no Man need fear to go amongſt them, provided he does not exaſperate them by Injuries and Affronts.

How to procure the good will of the Savages.

On the other hand, at the expence of a few Trifles, ſuch as Knives and Combs for the Men, Sciſſers, Bracelets and Looking-glaſſes for the VVomen, and Fiſh-hooks for the Children, a Man may purchaſe the Friendſhip of a whole Nation of them; for they value all People (that diſcover any thing of a bountiful temper) at a high rate, and therefore, tho' if you have nothing to give, you may freely have the Refreſhment their Houſes afford, yet if you oblige them with any of theſe little Toys, they'll be even Horſes to you into the Bargain: If you are weary and can't travel, they'll take you up aſtride their Shoulders, and go along with as much briskneſs as can be. *Lerius* ſays, he often made uſe of theſe two legg'd Hackneys, and the Hire perhaps was a two-penny Knife. They need no VVhip nor Spur, but rather a Bridle, for they never ſtop till they come to the End of their Journey. He out of pity one time deſired the *Braſilian* that carried him, to ſtand ſtill and take a little breath, but he anſwer'd him laughing, *Woat*, ſays he, *do you think I am ſo effeminate, or of ſo weak a courage, that I ſhould faint and lie down under my Burthen? no, I would rather carry you all the day without any Intermiſſion.* This Drudgery the *Braſilians* are train'd up to from their Cradles as it were; for there are no Beaſts of burthen amongſt them, ſo that all the heavy Loads that ſhould be laid upon the Backs of Horſes, Camels, and the like, are forced to come upon their own; and indeed they are broad enough to bear them.

The Braſilians uſually ſkip upon their Backs.

We have hitherto ſeen ſomething of the more civil Manners and Cuſtoms of this People, we muſt now conſider thoſe that relate to War, and their Treatment of their Enemies, in all which we ſhall find them as fierce and violent, as we did the others tame and good-natur'd. The *Braſilians* live in perpetual Wars with one another; there's hardly two Nations of them that agree and league together, unleſs perhaps to the deſtruction of ſome others to which they are both Enemies. And where a Quarrel is once ſprung amongſt them, it is immortal, and goes on from one Generation to another; neither (conſidering the Principles and Notions they go upon) can it poſſibly be otherwiſe; for they are not led by thoſe Motives to make War upon one another that other People are; it is not Ambition and the Fame and Glory of a Victory, they are not ſolicitous about enlarging their Territories, nor puſh'd on with a covetous Deſire of poſſeſſing the Goods and Spoils of their Enemies; they fight purely for revenge, and to do themſelves juſtice upon thoſe that have killed and devoured their Friends and Kinsfolk. Now then every Battle that is fought beſides revenging the old Injuries on both ſides, muſt unavoidably introduce new ones, for 'tis hard to imagine any Action of this nature, without ſuppoſing ſome ſlain or taken Priſoners at the ſame time. So that here are new Wrongs and new Occaſions of fighting continually added to their old ones; every time they fight their Paſſion and Revenge has a freſh Spur added to it, and every ſucceeding Generation has all the Quarrels of the foregoing ones entail'd upon it.

Cauſes of their Wars.

The elder Men, by long Speeches and Harangues made for that Purpoſe, excite their Courages, and prompt them on to Battle; this is a ſolemn Cuſtom amongſt them, and they ſeldom go to war without having firſt ſeveral Sermons made upon the noble Actions of their Anceſtours, and paſſionate Exhortations to initiate them in the Vertues of ſlaying and devouring their Enemies. Thus do theſe rude Orators ſtir up the People in every Village, and they being eaſily moved and enflamed, aſſemble themſelves together, and meet at the appointed place of Rendezvouz. Theſe old Men have alſo the Charge of the Army, and the Conduct of all the Military Affairs, and tho' they march their Troops in no manner of order at all, yet they obſerve this Rule, to keep the moſt valiant Men in the Front, and make them give the Enemies the firſt of his Entertainment.

Old Men make Speeches.

As for Weapons, they are provided with thoſe that are ſufficient to anſwer all the bloody Purpoſes of War.

Their Furniture.

The Swords are made, ſome of a red and others of a black wood, that is very cloſe and heavy; they are five or ſix Foot long, and a Foot broad in the wideſt part, of a kind of an oval form; the thickeſt part of the Back is at leaſt an Inch, but the Edge is exceeding thin and ſharp; 'tis true, they are wooden Swords, but they don't cut after a wooden manner; for the Author ſays a very ſharp Ax will hardly do more execution.

Swords.

Their Bows are made of the ſame ſort of wood, and exceed ours ſo much in length and thickneſs, that few *Europeans* are able to bend or unbend them; nay, 'tis taſk enough to manage even the Bows they make for their Children of 10 or 12 Years old. The Bow-ſtrings are made of a Plant call'd *Tecou*, which tho' it be very ſlender, yet it is ſo tough and ſtrong, that it will bear the force of a Horſe pulling it.

Bows.

Their Arrows are about an Ell long, conſiſting of three Joints, the middle part is Cane or Reed, and the two Extreams are black wood, and theſe Joints are ſo firmly bound together with the Bark of Trees, that Glew it ſelf could not make them faſter: The Tails of them are furniſh'd with Feathers of a Foot long to make them fly the more ſteadily; and the Heads arm'd with the Tooth of ſome Beaſt, or ſome ſharp Fiſh-bone, or a Reed four or five Inches long, and made ſmooth and thin like a Surgeon's Launce. Since the *French* and *Portugueze* came amongſt them, they have learn'd to make the Heads of their Arrows of Iron, and ſometimes perhaps ſtrike in a very long ſharp Nail at that end: But which way ſoever 'tis, they are a bloody Weapon, and will go thro' any thing almoſt; they'll cleave a large Stick aſunder, and have been known to flie quite thro' a Man's Body and ſtick faſt in the Ground on t'other ſide. Many times they poiſon them too, and and notch and jag the Heads at that rate, that they carry as certain death along with them almoſt as a Cannon Bullet, tho' much more cruel and painful.

Arrows.

But they are ſtill more terrible Weapons, by being in the Hands of ſuch ſkilful Shooters; for there's hardly any Mark, tho' ever ſo ſmall, but they will hit it, and they

Skill in Archery.

they can not only fetch down the smallest Bird from a Tree, but strike even any little Vermine whatsoever that crawls upon the Ground; and they are every whit as quick and dextrous as they are exact and sure in the use of their Bows; they'll send one Arrow flying after another with a wonderful nimbleness, and 'tis as much as the best *European* Archer can do to dispatch four or five in the time that they will a dozen.

Targets. For defensive Armour, they have only Targets made of the Hide of a Beast, with which they cover themselves in Battle, and receive the Arrows of their Enemies: Neither do they care for or desire any more, and they are so far from fancying the Customs of other Nations that use Coats of Mail, Head-pieces, and the like, that if they had but a Shirt on, they would throw it off before they went to fight, because they look upon any thing of this nature as a burthen and an incumbrance to them. As for Iron Swords, they did not esteem them for the Purposes of War, and when the *French* bestow'd some amongst them, they always kept them out of the Scabberds, and us'd them to cut Sticks and Boughs of Trees withal, as they wou'd any other Domestick Instrument.

Trumpets and Pipes. To encourage their Souldiers, they have also a kind of warlike Musick, which keeps playing as they march: Some blow with a sort of Horns that are about an Ell and half long, and broad like a Trumpet at the lower end; others pipe with little VVhistles, which they make of the Bones of their Enemies, and these to be sure have a mighty influence to inspire them with courage and resolution.

Their way of attacking an Enemy. Their Armies are more or less numerous, according to the Occasion, but when they have assembled what Forces they judge convenient, they begin to march towards the Enemies Country; and when they have enter'd their Borders, a select number of the best Souldiers advance a Day or two's Journey before the rest, and post themselves in the VVoods, waiting there till they have an Opportunity to fall upon the Enemy with some advantage; or if that Design fails, and the Enemy keeps out of their reach, they take their time to surprize them in their Villages, which they may easily do, since they lie all open, and have no manner of fence about them; yet since the coming of the *Europeans* amongst them, they have learn'd to fortify themselves a little, making certain Intrenchments about their Villages, and defending the Entrances with sharp Stakes, by which means they grew more cautious of assaulting one another in the Night than they used to be before. But when they agree of both sides to decide the Controversy fairly in the Field, and come to a pitch'd Battle, nothing (as *Lerius* tells us, who was an Eye-witness) can be more fearful and horrible. He with some of his Country-men, accompanied the *Toucupinam-baltians* in an Expedition against the *Margaiates*, that most deadly Enemy, tho' all the Service they did, was only to set the others on, and every now and then to let fly a small shot or two.

The fury of their pitch'd Battles. As soon as ever the *Toucupinam-baltians* had sight of their Enemies, they broke out into such loud and horrible Out-cries, that they made all the Shoar ring again, and *Lerius* says, he believes Thunder cou'd scarce have been heard at that time. VVhen they were advanc'd nearer to each other, they redoubled their Cries on both sides, blew their Horns and whistled with their Bone Pipes, and when that Shout was over, they stood threatning one another for some time; some held up the Bones of their dead Enemies, and others shew'd the Teeth of them, which they had hung in Strings about their Necks; in short, they had so many frightful Actions and Gestures, that 'twas enough to scare a Spectator to see only what they then did: But when they once came to join Battle, the Terrour of all the former Scenes was quite forgotten; the Rage and Fury that transported the *Toucupinam-baltians* was hardly to be express'd; they expos'd their naked Bodies (cover'd only with their Targets) without fear or discretion, to the Showers of Arrows their Enemies threw upon them: those that were wounded, tore the Arrows out of their Flesh, bit them for madness like so many Dogs, and then went on fighting as before. No VVounds nor loss of Blood, no Danger nor Pain could make them leave fighting, only those that died were quiet; as for the others, their Fury held up to the same pitch, and the insatiable thirst of Blood still hurried them on, till the Enemy not able to endure so much violence, gave ground, and left them entire Masters of the Field.

Hot but not pleasant fight together. But notwithstanding the Horrours of so bloody a Field, the Author says, that there was something very pleasing and entertaining to the Eye in it too; for besides the comical Actions of the Combatants, in their whistling, leaping, and throwing themselves about into several Figures, with a surprizing nimbleness and dexterity, their Habits of Feathers with the Sun shining upon them, and putting a lustre upon all those varieties of Colours, was a very agreeable sight; then the vast numbers of Arrows flying to and fro in the Air with those long and beautiful Feathers fastned to them, made a very glaring Shew, and a Spectatour that stood safe out of the way, might be very well pleased with the bare Phenomenon. *Lerius* and his Friends purchased no little good will amongst the Savages, by going to War with them, for they are mightily pleased at any Strangers being witness of their valour (the virtue they most value themselves upon) and therefore upon such Occasions, always desire their Company along with them, and take it extreamly well if it be granted. But the plain truth on't is, 'tis a dangerous piece of Civility to yield to them in this matter, for here a Man may (not unlikely) complement himself out of Life or Limb; while the Arrows thus flying about at randome, he that does not fight, but only gapes upon them that do, may chance to have one in his Mouth, and that would go near to spoil him for an Orator for the time to come.

Their Triumphs after Victory. When the War is ended, the victorious Troops march home with a great deal of noisy clamorous Triumph; now the Bone Whistles and the Horns of an Ell long, make all the musick they can, and the Songs of the Women that follow the Camp (like the Out-cries of the Men before the Battle) make all the Country ring about them. Of all the Honours attainable in this life, these People are sensible of none greater than that of beating their Enemies and leading home a multitude of Captives; And therefore they celebrate no Feasts with so many Ceremonies, nor with so profuse and extravagant a Mirth, as they do those they observe upon these Occasions. But all this Joy is a sad presage to poor Prisoners, and denounces to them their approaching fate. They are to furnish the Materials of the Feast, and whatever be the Drink, their Bones must be pick'd to find Meat for't.

How they manage their Prisoners. He that has taken a Captive (as a mark of his condition) ties a small Cord about his Neck, and if he be thought likely to attempt an Escape, fastens one Hand also to his Neck; besides this, he paints his Eyelids, Eyebrows and Beard, and polls him after his Country fashion, and then trimming him up with Feathers (so thick that nothing else can be seen about his Head) makes a show of him in every Town he comes to. Thus are these miserable Wretches insulted all the way till they come into the Conquerour's Country, and here they are met upon the Borders by the Women, who come shouting to receive them: After this, they don't any way torment or deal hardly with them, nor so much as imprison them; they only put a hard Collar about their Necks, and instead of Shackles, tie their Legs below the Knees with a very weak sort of Bandage, which a Man may easily get himself free from. But this they don't often do neither, unless they apprehend any danger of loosing their Prey; on the other hand they appoint him a Keeper or two, that never stir from him, and so give him all the liberty imaginable of going about the Fields and the Woods: And 'tis pleasant enough that the *Brasilians* should think their Women fittest for this Office, and make them guard the Prisoners as they do: They had sure a mighty confidence in the Vigilence and Fidelity of that Sex, to commit that to their keeping, the loss of which would spoil all their Sport. But however they have been well enough rewarded sometimes for their good Opinion; for these trusty Guardians have not only let the Prisoners go, but also run away themselves after them: 'Tis true, they have endeavour'd to prevent this, by employing those Women, whose interest and relation to the principal Persons concern'd, should oblige them to be faithful in the Case; but notwithstanding all that, they expose themselves to hazards, and they ought to be sure the Woman does not like the Prisoner before they make her his Guardian; for if she does, she lies under a powerful temptation to put him in a way of saving his life, and then when she has done that, she must run after him to save her own. 'Tis much pleasanter still, that this Woman who is the Prisoner's Keeper, and besides, his Cook to dress his Victuals, is also commonly given him for a Wife too. This is yet a stronger Motive to Infidelity; but 'tis a sad Dilemma the poor Woman is brought to, she must either betray her own Friends (perhaps her own Father) or resign her Husband up to a barbarous death, when 'tis in her power to deliver him; and certainly whatever punishment she deserves for the former Crime, yet if she were guilty of the latter, she shou'd e'en go down upon the same Gridiron and broil together with him.

Some of the Captives comfort to

him. But it happens sometimes that there needs not very much caution and vigilence in the matter; the Prisoner himself despites liberty, and is contented to be eaten. He eats, and drinks, and sleeps, and grows fat upon't; he keeps company, and takes his pleasure, as if he were condemn'd to live, and to live merrily too; and some of them are so far besotted as to be pleas'd with their fate, and to think it a mighty great Priviledge (by being buried in the Mens Bellies) to be excus'd from the noisome Putrefactions of a Grave, and being eaten by such vile Creatures as Worms are. But they need not trouble themselves about that, for their Enemies are ever ready to do them that favour, and will find Burying-places for as many Corps as they please; only this is to be fear'd, that they may'nt lye altogether so secure as they promise themselves; for the Worms is a very common Distemper in those Parts, and those Vermine may possibly meet with them at second hand, in the Bellies of the other People.

'Twould be endless to tell all the Particulars of these Festivals, how they drink and dance, and dress up the Victim with Feathers, and disguise him with Paints, till they have made him look like a Monster, that is indeed more fit to be knock'd o'the Head, than suffer'd to live. In a word, they are all drunk and mad upon this Occasion, there's nothing but noise, babbling, and confusion amongst them; they are not contented to talk, but they stand whooping and screaming out Stories to one another, of their own and their Great Grand-father's Acts in the Wars: And here every Man will be heard, tho' it costs him the breaking of a Vein; so that the great Point is, who can be loudest, and most effectually drown the rest of the pretending Voices about him. These sort of Entertainments lasts for three or four days, neither is there any intermission of noise for all that time (including the Nights too) any longer than while they just drink, or go aside to ease nature. After this, the Captive is sacrific'd, and not without abundance of odd Ceremonies and Conjurations; the fatal Instrument is way'd this way and that way, pass'd forwards and backwards between the Legs of the Victim, and then deliver'd (consecrated as 'twere for that Office, and with no little formality) to him that is to do the Execution. But this is many times not presently dispatch'd, for he that is to die, what by wrigling about, inclining his Head, and sometimes dapping quite down when he sees the Sword lifted up, makes them so much work, that tho' they begin to prepare early in the Morning, yet 'tis high Noon before the Slaughter is over. These People have prodigious hard thick Skulls too, and 'tis not an easie matter to beat out their Brains; yea, *Lerius* tells us of one that had a Skull invincibly hard, and the strongest Executioner of them all (with that formidable heavy VVeapon they use) was not able to break it. VVhen this bloody work is done, the more solemn Feasts begin; for now the grand Materials for them are ready, and there needs only the Fire to compleat all: And this may be said of them, that the most luxurious Man in the VVorld, the most absolute Epicure does not swallow his choicest and finest bits, either with more greediness or true relish, than the *Brasilians* do the Flesh of their Enemies.

Festival Uproars.

Ceremonies of making a Gentleman.

As for the Executioner, if he was a vulgar Fellow before, he is now become a Gentleman; this Action makes him so, or at least gives him an undoubted Title to that Badge of Gentility, which none that see can pretend to deny. His Relations proclaim what he has done thro' all the Village, then they rub him with some part of the dead Man, and lay him down in his Hammock as if he was sick; within a few days after they make him so, for they race his Skin (all over the Body) with the Tooth of a certain Beast, and then soak him with the Juice of some Plant mix'd with a Powder very finely Ground, which torments him to no small degree; but Honour is the Consolation he has in his Misery, and the enduring this smart is one step towards his being a Gentleman. Thus he lies in his Hammock till he is perfectly well again, and never speaks a word, nor opens his Mouth upon no occasion whatsoever; and that he may have no occasion to do otherwise, all his Victuals stand by him, that he may take it when he pleases; but this is neither Fish nor Flesh, but VVater, Flour, and a little Fruit. VVhen this Mortification is over, they celebrate his rising with a Feast of VVines; he cuts his Hair, and paints himself with black, and from thenceforth has the Honours and Priviledges of a Gentleman.

CHAP. X.

An Account of Sir Richard Hawkins's *Voyage into the South Sea; Collected from his own Observations, and those of some curious Persons that went along with him.*

April, A. D. 1593.

THE Design of this Voyage was to visit the celebrated Kingdom of *China*, the Isles of *Japan*, the *Molucca's* and *Philippines*, by the way of the *Magellanick* Straits and the South Sea; in order to which Sir *Richard Hawkins* furnish'd at his own charge two substantial Ships and a Pinnace, with Men and all Necessaries, intending, if Providence favour'd him, to fetch no less a Compass than *Drake*, *Candish*, and the rest of the famous *Circum-navigatours* had done before him.

Sir Richard Hawkins's Misfortunes at first going out.

VVe shall pass over all the Disasters he met with in the Channel by the roughness of the VVinds and Sea, but much more by the rudeness and knavery of his Mariners. Those shifting Fellows, who cared for nothing but how to get a Set of Drink into their Bellies, took the advantage of the idle time (that a Storm found them to spend ashoar) to run themselves and their Master in debt, pawning their very VVeapons, Instruments and and Shirts upon their Backs, and after all absenting themselves from their Ships, and upon pretence of a Press then going on, running quite away; so that if the Admiral had not prudently provided against such Mischiefs as these, by raising at first more Men than he had need of, he must have gone to Sea with his Ships half mann'd, or have lost time, and staid till he had supplied himself.

By this means it came about that three Months were spent by that time they came to the *Canarie*-Isles, which are famous in the VVorld upon so many accounts. The VVine of the Isle *Palma* is well known by the Merchants, the lofty Pike of *Teneriff* by all the Men that use the Sea: The Pitch which these Isles afford is no new thing to the Sailors neither, and 'tis remarkable for that Property, that the heat of the Sun won't melt it. The Corn that grows here is very good, but there's a sort of worm that breeds in it, which eats out all the Substance, and leaves the Husk entire. Between the Isles *Forteventura* and *Lancerota* (which are two of the seven *Canaries*) is a very good Sound, and fit for the meeting of a whole Fleet, especially too upon the account of the secure Anchorage, and the abundance of Fish there to be met with.

Canarie Isles. The wonderful Tree in the Isle *Fierro*.

But the greatest Rarity of all these Islands, is the Tree in the Isle *Fierro*, whose Leaves continually distil pure water, and sufficient both for the service of Man and Beast there: It stands upon the Declivity of a Hill, and is shaded about with a multitude of stately Pines, that defend it from the scorching Sun: It is of the bigness of a middle-siz'd Oak, and six or seven Yards high; the Bark is white like Hardbeame, the Boughs are very ragged, the Leaf like that of the Bay, white on one side and green on the other, but it bears neither Fruit nor Flower. In the Night time a thick Cloud or Mist always hangs about it, and the water drops off from the Leaves very fast and in great quantities. The Inhabitants have laid Pipes of Lead from the Tree to a great Pond in the Valley, so that all the VVater discharges it self in there: This Pond is handsomly pav'd with Stone, and holds 20000 Tun of VVater, but notwithstanding the largeness of it, it will be fill'd in the space of a

Night

Water for the whole Isle.

Night. The Island contains about 7 or 8000 People, and many more thousands of Mules, Camels, Goats, and other Beasts, and all are supplied from this Fountain; for the great Pond communicates the Water it receives to several other lesser ones, which disperse it abroad thro' the Island.

Note for Sailors.

The City of the *Grand Canaria*, and the chief Port, is on the West side of the Island; the principal Town and Port of *Teneriff* is on the South side; and the Towns and Ports of *Palma* and *Gomera* on the East side. In *Gomera*, some three Leagues Southward from the Town, is a very large River, but all these Islands are something dangerous to land upon, because of the violent wash of the Ocean. Those that are not obliged by any necessity to do otherwise, may do better to go to the Eastwards or Westwards of these Islands, as well to avoid the Calms that sometimes hinder eight or ten days sailing, as the Distempers and intemperate heat of the Climate is apt to cause.

Cape de Verd Isles.

Neither are the Isles of *Cape de Verd* a jot better in this Respect; Sir *Richard Hawkins* says, that both times he was at those Isles, it cost him near half his Company by Feavors and Fluxes, and other Maladies. They lie within 14 Degrees of the Equinoctial, and therefore it may well be imagin'd that the Sun has no little Power there, even all the Year round; sometimes they pass three or four Years also without rain, and the Earth is scorch'd in that manner, that a Man well shod can scarce endure to go where the Sun shines. This violent heat fatigues People at that rate, that they are greedy of any sort of Cooling whatsoever, and apt incautiously to expose themselves to it whensoever it comes. Thus the N. E. Wind that generally blows every Afternoon at four a clock, comes very cool and fresh, and they considering nothing but the pleasure and ease of being deliver'd from a burdensome heat, lay themselves open to it, and consequently to many very dismal Disorders by that means. 'Tis not strange that a Flux or a Feavour shou'd follow, upon so sudden a shutting up of all the Pores of the Body by a cool brieze of Wind; that the Limbs shou'd be distemper'd, the Blood boil, and all the Fluids be put in tumultuous Motions, when what was fairly going out thro' those Vents in so large quantities, is violently repealed and forc'd back again. Strangers who are more liable to these Inconveniencies than the Natives, have now learn'd this way of prevention of them; they defend their Heads and Bodies with as many Coverings as they can almost endure on; upon the former they wear a Night-cap, a *Montero*, and over both them a Hat, and upon the latter a Suit of thick Cloth, and over that a Gown furr'd or lin'd with Cotton or Bays; in short they arm themselves against the Heat, as the People in *Nova Zembla* would against the cold, and by this means they not only feel less of it, but also are more out of danger of catching cold by the Breezes. They find also by many and common Experiences, that the Moon has here very sensible but those pernicious Effects upon humane Bodies, that are expos'd to the Rays of it; and therefore they take care never to sleep in the open Air, or in a House with the Windows open, thro' which her Beams can come. Sir *Richard Hawkins* had in this matter the Experience of a very credible Person, who sleeping one Night in his Cabin with the Moon shining in upon him, had so extraordinary a pain, accompanied with a violent burning in that Shoulder, that for more than 20 Hours he was like a Man down-right distracted; and 'twas not without a great many Applications (besides a world of torment and pain that it cost him) that he was freed from it at last. This Accident happen'd upon the Coast of *Guinea*, in which Country the bad Effects of this Planet are very commonly felt this way.

Violent heat there.

Dangerous Consequences of taking cold by the Breezes.

Remedy used by the Natives.

Pernicious Effects of the Moon.

The *Cape de Verd* Isles, which are six in number, belong to the Crown of *Portugal*, as the *Canaries* do to that of *Spain*. The chief of them all is St. *Jago*, well known to the *English*, as having been sack'd twice by them, once under Sir *Francis Drake*, in A. D. 1585, and another time under Sir *Anthony Sherley*, in *A. D.* 1596, as it had also been once before, in *A. D.* 1582, by *Manuel Serades*, a *Portuguez*, with a Fleet of *French*: And the Isle *del Fogo* is known to all the World for its burning Mountain, the Flames of which are seen in the Night time 20 Leagues off at Sea. The best watering place in any of them is on the West part of the Isle *Brevo*, where there is a great River; but then the Anchoring is bad, as 'tis for the most part all about these Isles. The *Canaries* have much the advantage of the *Cape de Verds*, for Corn and Wine, Iron, Pitch, and some other Commodities perhaps, but these latter pretend to Ambergrice, Civet, Elephants Teeth, Gold, (which they have from the Main of *Guinea*) Salt, Rice, Cotton-wool and Cotton-cloth, Spunges and Pumice-stones; as for Sugars, both the one and the other have good store of them: Neither are the two *Madera* Isles inferiour to either of them in this respect; they are known to produce excellent Sugars, rich Wines, and fine Sweet-woods.

Observations of the Canaries.

The Fleet having past all these Isles, and being now within five Degrees of the Equinoctial, was in no small danger by reason of the Shoals, as they apprehended. They observed the colour of the water to change, and be much whiter than it ever is known to be where there's any thing considerable of depth: And accordingly having made the Experiment with their Lead, at 14 Fathom they found Ground; but at the same time sending some up to the top of the Ship, they presently discover'd the main Land of *Guinea*. Now the Reckonings of all the Ships agreed in this, that they were at least 70 (some said 80) Leagues from the Land, which notorious Errour therefore immediately forc'd them to conclude some strong Current setting to the Eastward had been the cause of it. And this Errour was no other, than what all must unavoidably fall into, that come within the reach of Currents, while there is no infallible rule for finding the Longitude.

The Current from the Equinoctial to 20 Degrees North, is very strong, and sets very nearly East, directly upon the *Guinean* Shoar, as they found by experience to their no little danger; but what particular Shiftings and Variations it may have, they are able to give no Rules as to that: So also the Current that is met with between *Newfoundland* and *Spain*, sets nearly East and West, and did a long time impose upon the Mariners and put them out in their Reckonings: And Sir *Richard* tells us, that he has seen in some Sea Charts the difference of above 30 Leagues between the Isle *Tercera* and the Main: That some have assured him, that coming from the *Indies*, and looking out for the *Azores*, they have got sight of *Spain*; and others looking out for *Spain*, have had sight of the *Azores*. There's the same Current in the *Levant*; but it runs trade betwixt the Mains, and changes sometimes to the Eastward, and other times to the Westward. Upon the *Brasilian* Coast and the South Sea, the Current is likewise changeable, but it ever runs along the Coast, keeping company with the Wind; and it is an infallible Rule, that 12 or 24 Hours before the Wind alters, the Current begins to change. In the more Northerly parts of the *West-Indies*, the Current is found to run continually one way, and sets along the Coast from the Equinoctial to the North, and in this case when it sets North or South, the Effects of it are easily discover'd; but how to know truly the setting of a Current from East to West, and in the open Sea too, is difficult, beyond the reach of any Rules hitherto given to account for't. When they came within three or four Degrees of the Line, the Company began to be miserably afflicted with the Scurvy, abundance of 'em died, and the rest were so frightened and discouraged with it, that they grew uneasie, wish'd the Voyage were at an end, or that the Admiral wou'd make it be so, and sail homewards. The Winds also had been contrary, and continued so for a good while after they had pass'd the Line, and as they approached the Coast of *Brasile*, it veer'd to the Eastward. About the middle of *October* it grew large and fair for them, so that in few days they got thwart Cape St. *Augustine*, and near the latter end they were in sounding of the great Shoalds, which lie along the Coast betwixt the Bay of *Todos Santos*, and the Port of *Santos*, otherwise call'd *Nuestra Senora de Victoria*, between 17 and 18 Degrees South Latitude. These Shoals are discover'd by the multitudes of small Birds that live upon the Rocks and broken Lands about them, and are ordinarily met with many Leagues before a Ship comes in any danger of them.

Amongst the Accounts given of some Fishes, as Dolphins, Bonitoes, Sharks, Swordfishes, Threshers, and the like, which have been describ'd in other places, the Author tells us one thing of the Dolphins, which is somewhat remarkable. It was an old Story of this Fish, that it is a mighty Lover of Mankind, and lov'd to follow Ships upon that account: Now as for their following of Ships, Sir *Richard Hawkins* asserts that to be a Truth upon his own knowledge, for he says, that setting out from the *West-Indies* in 1583, he [illegible] a Shole of them, which followed him from the [illegible], which is near 1000 Leagues; [illegible] make it past all doubt that they were some of them the very same Dolphins that attended the Ship at first, he says that the Sailors had mark'd several of them, [illegible] the Back, another near the Tail, and another [illegible]

A Story of the Dolphins.

so that they were very easily to be known from the rest; and then if those that had so bad entertainment from them by being thus wounded, would not for all that forsake the Ship, 'tis less probable that the others who had no such cause should do it. But the reason of this he does not ascribe to any such Affection to Mankind as is talk'd of, but a Love to their own Bellies, for they get a great many Scraps of Provision out of a Ship; the Seamen throw out broken Victuals sometimes into the Sea, and the Dolphins love to gather up that, as may be easily imagin'd; so that they are Hangers on to a Ship upon no other score, than a Company of Beggars are to a good House, where they ever now and then meet with a belyful.

Sport with the Sharks.

The Seamen in this Voyage had a great deal of Pastime with the Sharks, of which they catch'd abundance; and as they are the most merciless Devourers in the World, so they had no mercy at all upon them, but studied a thousand ways to torment them: At the Tail of one they tied an empty Hogshead well stop'd, another they yok'd like a Hog, and set him a swimming, from a third they would pluck out the Eyes, that he might never see to do any more mischief; another's Belly they would rip up and throw him into the Water with all his Guts hanging out, which every one of his Fellows would be sure to have a snatch at; sometimes they would take two together, and bind them Tail to Tail, and so leave it to themselves to part afterwards as well as they cou'd in the Ocean. And the Reason why they made this horrid havock amongst the Sharks was partly because they depriv'd them of the pleasure of swimming and washing themselves, which a Man dares not as long as a Shark is in the way; but Superstition perhaps had some hand in it too, for the Seamen look upon it as a bad Omen to have these Fishes attending about a Ship; it looks as if some of them were shortly to die, and the Sharks were come already in expectation of their Carkasses: And they who are altogether for a jolly life, don't care to have any of these melancholly Presages about them; it must needs be a disturbance over a Bowl of Punch for a Man to see one of these Devourers hankering about him, and shewing him his Coffin and Grave both at the same time.

How the Sharks man age their young.

The Sharks don't spawn as most other Fish do, but whelp like Terrestrial Animals, and their young ones upon occasion, go in and out of their Mouths very frequently, till they are of a considerable bigness; as suppose there were a Storm, or any other danger that threaten'd, the old Shark immediately receives them into their Shelter, where they are out of harm's way: And Sir *Richard Hawkins* says, that he has seen them do thus when they have been more than a Foot and a half long, and after the killing of the Dam, the young ones have been all found in her Belly or Pouch.

The Thresher.

Those that go to Sea too very often, speak of the formidable Battles between the Whales and his two grand Enemies, the *Sword-fish* and the *Thresher*; and as to this, our Author tells us, that he has heard the sound of the mighty Stroaks the Thresher gives, at least two Leagues off, and at the same time the roaring of the Whale might have been heard much farther; 'tis with the Tail that Fish lays on at this rate upon the Head of the Whale, and indeed considering how hard he labours, he well deserves the name of a Thresher.

Observations of the Winds.

Concerning the Winds, he gives us these Observations farther too; that from the North Tropick to three or four Degrees from the Equinoctial, the Breeze (which is the N. E. Wind) obtains generally throughout the Year, only near the Shoar it's variable: That in three or four Degrees of the Line, either North or South, the Wind hangs Southerly; the Months of *July*, *August*, *September*, and *October*, and all the rest of the Year, from the Cape of *Good Hope* to the *Azores*, you find the Breeze continually: That the best of all times to cross the Line from North to South, is in the Months of *January*, *February*, and *March*, tho' the Passage be good enough also in *September*, *October*, and *November*; yet not so sure as in the former. When they had made betwixt 19 and 20 Degrees to the Southward of the Line, the troublesome Winds and the Distempers of the Company, made them resolve to look out for the Shoar: And that which first offer'd it self to their sight, was the Port of *Santos*, or *Nuestra Senora de Victoria*, which is easily known by the great high Hill over the Port, which rises in the form of a Ball, and coming near the Shoar, a white Tower or Fort is seen, which stands upon the top of a Hill over the Harbour. Entring the Port, within a quarter of a Mile is a small Village, and three Leagues higher up is the chief Town, where they have two Forts, one on either side the Harbour, and within them ride all the Ships which come to load or discharge. In the small Village spoken of, is ever a Garrison of about 100 Souldiers, part whereof watch there, and the other part in the white Tower upon the top of the Hill which commands it. But their Expectations from this place were not at all answer'd, for the Governour sent word, that he had expres Orders from his Majesty of *Spain* to suffer no *English* Ships to come there, and therefore required them to depart the Port in three days. All the comfort was, that they got two or three hundred Oranges and Limons aboard, which was no little help to them that were down with Scorbutick Distempers, there being hardly any Remedy in the World known to be comparable to this Fruit, for all that contract these sort of Illnesses at Sea. Being obliged to conform themselves to the Governour's Orders (for they were too weak in all Senses to pretend to force any better Treatment from him) they set sail and held a W. S. W. Course.

Santos.

A strange story.

And here Providence, which but a little before had very strangely preserved them from the horrible Effects of fire in their Ships, now as wonderfully deliver'd them from a Ship-wrack, and a Wrack so sudden and surprizing, that they had been all lost before they could have had the least sence of their Danger, if a strange accident had not prevented it. The Master of the Ship (who was gone to sleep) had committed the care of the Steerage to one of his Mates, and he either being drowzie, or over confident of the skill of the Man that manag'd the Helm, neglected the oversight of him, and left him to steer entirely according to his own mind: And in short he steer'd so, that they were now e'en almost upon the Shoar, and neither the Mate nor Helms-man discover'd any thing of the matter: But the Master who was fallen into a very deep sleep, by reason of his Labours and long Watchings before, all of a sudden waked out of it in a terrible fright; he knew no reason why he shou'd be so discompos'd, there was no noise nor alarm in the Ship, the Winds and Sea were both very still and quiet, and 'twas a fine clear Night; he endeavour'd to compose himself and go on with his sleep, but he cou'd not conquer his uneasiness, nor forbear yielding to a powerful Inclination to rise and go upon Deck, and this he had no sooner done, than he saw the Ship just as it were running aground; but there being time enough yet to give a command, he made him at the Helm immediately put close a Sterboard and so edge her off, and presently sounding their depth, they found hardly three Fathom water, by which they more clearly saw in how good time this turn was given to the Ship, and the wonderfulness of their Deliverance from a Danger that had otherwise been unavoidable.

Cape Blanco.

The next day they came athwart Cape *Blanco*, which is very low sandy Land, and extreamly dangerous; for, for a matter of four Leagues into the Sea (across it) lie Banks of Sand which have a little water over them; and here by sending out their Boat and Shallop to sound, they observed their depths and so kept clear of them.

Isles of St. Ann.

From hence they steer'd to the Isles of St. *James*, or (as others call them) of St. *Ann*, where they purpos'd to refresh their sick Company. These Isles are two in number, and lie 22 Deg. and a half South Lat. the Air of them is good (as many of the sick People found to their benefit) but the Water very bad; for in one of them, what Water there is, is a meer Pool, and a filthy one too, full of ugly Worms and Serpents; and that of the other, tho' it be a running one, yet passing along by the Roots of certain Trees, which have a strong rank scent like Garlick almost, contracts such a hogo from thence, that 'tis not to be drunk. Besides, they suspected it to have some pernicious quality, for some of their Men died here with a strange swelling of their Bellies, which they could not attribute to any thing else, but the drinking of this Water.

Fruits growing there.

The Fruits the Isles afforded were a sort of Cherry, or a Fruit to which they gave that name for its resemblance to our Cherry in colour and respect of the Stone, but it differ'd from them in shape, for it was not round but oblong, and something dented about, however of a very pleasing and grateful taste.

They found also Palmito-Trees, the Fruit of which was exactly like a Coco, but no bigger than a Walnut; and a Fruit growing in Cods very like Beans, both as to the thing it self and the Cod wherein 'twas inclosed; but the Effects of them were not very pleasing, for they made those that eat them evacuate both upwards and downwards.

Another Fruit they met with here, was the Prick-pear, as the Sailors call them; it grows something like an Artichoke, but less, and in the out-side red, white within, and compass'd about with Prickles: The Fruit grows upon

upon the side of the leaf, and is of so good a taste, that they say the *Indies* hardly affords any of a better. The Birds, and other Creatures, find them out as fast as they ripen, for they love them mightily, which our Seamen cou'd find by the marks they had left of their eating; and this (by the way) is the great Rule they go by in judging what Fruits they shall eat, and what they shall let alone, when they light of those they are not acquainted with: they look to see whether the Birds or the Cattle have been beforehand with them or no at the same; if they have, they think they may fall on boldly, for they conclude they wou'd not eat it if 'twas poison, and what is good and healthful for those Animals, they conclude is likewise so for themselves. But this Rule may chance to deceive them, for it will by no means follow, that that which does not kill a Horse or a Dog, shall not do a Man any harm; 'tis well enough known, that some Creatures have their peculiarities in this kind, and what's Meat or Physick to one, is as bad as poison to another. There's no doubt, but as some of our Vomits and Purges wou'd kill a great many other Animals, so abundance of those things that are salutary and beneficial to them, wou'd make sad work in our Bodies, if not quite unhinge them. Besides, when one sees a Fruit that some Creature has been nibbling at, who knows what effects it has had, and how dear the Animal has paid for tasting? So that if one can't make trials, a body had better use one's Reason and Judgment, than follow the conduct of the Brutes in this matter.

Seamens rule for eating unknown Fruits.

Two Rocks by the Island.

Adjoining to these Islands are two great Rocks, about which they light of great store of young *Gannets* in their Nests, the broth of which they found did their sick People service; as also the *Purslane* which they met with about those Rocks, which boil'd and eaten for a Sallet, was very grateful to their weak Stomachs, and renew'd a languishing Appetite. In these Islands are abundance of venemous Creatures, as Adders, Scorpions, and several other sorts. The chief of the Fowl they observ'd were Parrots, and a kind of Phesants, but much bigger than those with us. The water highs and falls here about 5 or 6 foot, and but once in 22 hours, as 'tis in all this Coast, and in many other Parts of the *West-Indies*, as upon the Coast of *Peru* and *Chili*, except where there are great Bays or Nidraughts, and there the Tides keep their ordinary course of twice every 24 hours. In the lesser of the Islands is a Cove for a small Ship to ride in, Land-lock'd, and she may Moor her self to the Trees on either side; to this they gave the name of *Palmito* Island, for the plenty it has of the larger sort of those Trees. All about this Coast the *Portuguese* keep strict Watch and Ward, surprizing many Ships when their Companies are ashore, and oftentimes (if that Feat be not to be done) making Prisoners of the Men themselves, if they don't stand nicely upon their guard to prevent them. They make great use of the *Indians* for these thievish purposes, for they are generally great Masters of all the Arts of Treachery and Surprize, and have their Canoes always ready by them to carry them where any such work is to be done.

Animals upon the Island.

Tides.

Danger of the Portuguese and Indians.

Several of our *English* Commanders have found this to their cost, and Admiral *Candish* particularly lost 80 Men by them, together with his Boat, at the Island of *St. Sebastian*, which was one (and not an inconsiderable) step towards the overthrow of his Voyage. Sir *Richard Hawkins* being aware of this, and the best part of his Company lying ashore, he had given them a particular charge not to neglect their Watch, but to keep themselves always in a due posture of defence. And to try whether his Orders were observ'd or no, as also to make them watchful from a more lively principle of fear for the time to come, himself, with a few Soldiers, came over from the Ships, and landed at a considerable distance from the place where the Booths were erected for the company that was ashore. They march'd as silently along as they cou'd, and did their endeavours to surprize them, but by that time they were come within 40 Paces of them they were discover'd, and all the well and the sick together came out to oppose them, and fight for their lives. Here were Men that had not stirr'd out of their Beds but by the help of others for many months, that now bustled and bestirr'd themselves; they cou'd not move their dull Scorbutick Limbs before, but this Alarm put strength and spirits into them, and the apprehension of the *Indians* being come to knock them all o'th' head, suspended their pains for the present. The other Party came upon them with a horrible noise, (as the *Indians* always do in their assaults) and they receiv'd them as briskly; but having just begun a Skirmish (in which there was no damage done on either side) upon the report of a Gun from one of the Ships the aggressors retired, made haste to their Boats and got away, but having rowed about to the usual Landing-place, they came ashore in all haste, and march'd up to them, as if they had been just come from the Ship on purpose to assist them. The Defendants told them, if they had come a little sooner their company might have done them some service, but the action was now over, and the enemy quite gone away. They said the *Indians* (who thought to surprize them) had assaulted their little Camp with a wonderful deal of fury, but finding them better provided than they expected, and hearing that the Ship had taken the alarm, they run away to their Cano's as fast as they cou'd. And to put the Admiral out of all doubt that they were *Indians*, some said they saw their Cano's, others their Bows and Arrows; nay, there were them that swore they plainly saw their long shaggy hair, and the very paint upon their skins. Neither did Sir *Richard* go about then to undeceive them, but let them alone in the mistake, and left the fancy of the long hair and painted skins to work its utmost effects upon them, in making them watchful against the time when such things should come in reality. Had the Island had the ill reputation of being haunted, these Men cou'd as well have fancied Devils as *Indians*, and describ'd their Horns and Tails, and flaming Eyes; 'tis an easie matter for a Man, when he is prepossess'd, to see all these Figures with his Eyes which his disturb'd Imagination draws, and to describe them to other People in great order too.

Caution to them that go ashore.

A pleasant Story.

The power of Imagination.

Some time after they were gone from this dangerous place, and out at Sea, where it cou'd do no harm to reveal the Plot, Sir *Richard*, for the Jest's sake, told them how he had serv'd them; but 'twas all one, the most of them held in the same opinion, and the Picture of the *Indians* was sunk so deep into their heads, and so lively figur'd there, that all that could be said cou'd neither convince them, nor obliterate that. And it seems it did them a great deal of good, for they were wonderfully careful and vigilant ever after, in all places where they were obnoxious. The sick company was so well refresh'd here, that there was but few of them that continued to be so at their going away; the whole time of their stay was above a month, and from this place they sail'd to Cape *Frio*, and so to *Ilha Grand*. They commend the Harbour of this Island, its Bays, and excellent Water. But as there are abundance of other smaller Islands (for it is it self 8 or 10 Leagues long) that lie within it, so there is one particularly, which for its fertility and pleasant situation has deservedly the name of *Placentia*. This is Peopled, but all the other lie desert; it affords Plantanes, Pines, Potatoes, Sugar-canes and Hens, with all which our company stored themselves.

A good cure for Negligence.

Placentia Island.

As for *Ilha Grand*, they say 'tis a meer Wilderness, cover'd so thick with Trees and Shrubs, that a Man can hardly find a place there, if he passes, he is not in danger of leaving some of his Skin behind him. These Woods are full of wild Beasts too, that are continually howling day and night; and there are so many diversities of tones and voices, that 'tis a very disturbing musick to them that lie thereabouts. The greatest curiosity it affords are the delicate Shells found upon the shore, like those of the Mother of Pearl, which are brought out of the *East-Indies* to make standing Cups; but these are vastly beyond the others for fine natural Works, insomuch that they are commended by our Travellers for some of the greatest rarities they ever saw.

Ilha Grand.

From hence they set sail for the *Magellanick* Streights, in their way to which they took a *Portuguese* Ship laden with *Cassavi* Meal and Sugars; she was bound for *Angola*, and there to be laden with Negroes for the River of *Plate*, which is a mighty great Trade, and very much used. The Negroes are carried from the head of the River of *Plate* to *Potosi* to work in the Mines, and 'tis a very sorry Slave that is not worth there 5 or 600 Pieces, every piece of 10 Rials; all which Money they pay and receive in Rials of Plate, for there is no other current thereabouts.

Sail for the Streights.

Trade of Slaves to the R. of *Plate*.

About the heighth of the River of *Plate*, and 50 Leagues from the Coast, a violent storm overtook them, and in these the * Captain of the other Ship took the opportunity to slip away for *England*, and thereby effectually frustrated all the design of the Voyage, and laid them open to all those disasters that afterwards befel them, as will plainly appear in the following relation. While this storm lasted, there were abundance of Fowl as large and big as Swans, that came hovering about the Ship, and as the Wind calm'd they setled themselves in the Sea, and fed upon the sweepings of the Ship. Being therefore desirous to see what they were, they threw out a line and hook, which one of these ravenous Fowl presently seized, but swallowing the bait was himself taken,

* His name was *Tovalton*, the same person who by a like treachery blasted Adm. *Cavendish*'s last Voyage.

A Sea-Fowl. taken, but the Men that went to lay hold of him were soundly paid for their attempt, for the Bird laid on so fast and so hard upon their Fingers, that they both let go their hold, and came off, shewing their hands all black and blue. After this manner they fish'd up several others, but were forc'd to fasten a Cord about their necks, and so drew them up into the Ship, for they were too fierce and furious to be handled. They prov'd very good Meat, tender, and of kindly nourishment; they were of two colours, some white, and others grey, their beak was more crooked than that of a Falcon; in each Wing they had three joints, and both Wings being extended to their full stretch, from the extremity of one to that of the other was more than two fathom.

An unknown Country. Holding on their course for the Streights, in the Latitude of between 48 & 49 degrees, they discover'd Land, but were utterly ignorant what Land it shou'd be, for no Plat nor Sea-Chart made mention of any which lay in that manner, and about that heighth: 'Twas a goodly Champion Country, and well Peopl'd, as they saw by the multitudes of Fires upon the Coast, but they could not come near enough to speak to any of them, wanting their Pinace to discover the shore before them. It had abundance of fresh Rivers, and the out-shoots of them discolour'd the Sea in many places as they pass'd along.

The Streights of *Magellan* are well known, and have been describ'd already, upon which account there needs no inserting of their relation of them; and so also of the *Penguin* Islands, which are just by: But as those Kingdoms are visited by most Seafaring-men that come this way, for the sake of the Fowls which they afford in such plenty, so did our Company make a step thither too for the same refreshment.

Penguins. This Fowl dwells and feeds in both Elements; at Sea it lives upon Fish, and at Land upon Grass and Weeds as a Goose does, which it resembles in its proportions, tho' it has no feathers, but only a sort of down all over the body: but Nature, that has not furnish'd them for flying, has in some measure made it up by swift running, and they are able to move that way as fast as most Men. They harbour themselves under-ground in deep Burrows, in which they hatch their young, and the bigger Island is all over undermin'd by them, except one Valley only which they have reserv'd to feed in. The Seamen here had one day a solemn bout of *Penguin*-hunting; their way was to cast themselves into a Ring, and so enclosing the Fowl, with Sticks and Staves to knock them down.

Hunting of *Penguins.* They are not to be taken without some such Stratagem as this, and the assistance of a great many hands; nay, they would very often break the Ring, and get out into the open Field, and then there was no little sport in the following of them, for the ground being all hollow'd and undermin'd, the pursuers in the middle of their running slipt into those holes: one perhaps leap'd to escape a hole before him, and lighting upon false ground tumbled into a worse; another lifting up his Arm to deliver a blow upon a *Penguins* head, sunk up to the Arm-pits, and had need of help to draw him out, however they made a bitter slaughter amongst the poor *Penguins*, and they were so afraid of coming into their hands, that they wou'd run down Rocks and Precipices, or any thing to avoid them; a Man wou'd have thought they shou'd have kill'd themselves with such falls, but yet they say they wou'd presently run away to the Sea, and be as brisk and lively as ever. They are good Meat either roasted, bak'd or boil'd, but best the former way, tho' which way soever they are dress'd they must be flea'd; the Seamen pouder them up in Hogsheads.

Gulls and *Gannets.* The same place afforded them good store of *Gulls* and *Gannets* too, tho' not so plentifully as *Penguins*; but they commend the *Gulls* for most delicate Food. The

Ducks. *Ducks* were numerous too, but different from ours, and nigh so good Meat. They had one part of the Island peculiar too, and taken up only by themselves, which was the highest Hill in it, and more than a Musket-shot over.

The admirable Art of their Nests. The Art and Order which these Creatures shew'd in building and disposing their Nests was plainly wonderful; they are made of the self same Mould that all the Hill consists of, but because this is too stiff to be wrought into a convenient Figure, they fetch water in their beaks and moisten it, till they have made a sort of Clay on't that they can manage. They are as regularly made as if done by Mathematical Rules, being a kind of Cylinders, the top and bottom about a foot over, and the height 8 inches. They are so exact in this matter, that you can't find any Nests that differ from one another in any of their dimensions; and as they are all of the same base, and heighth and depth of the inside hollow, so they are plac'd at the same distances from one another, and their positions are so artificial, that a Man wou'd be puzzled to find a place for another Nest to stand in, excepting only those little paths that are left between the rows for the Ducks themselves to pass along. And had several Brooms been here to sweep all about the Hill, it cou'd not lie more neat and clean than it's kept by these Birds; there was not a stick, a straw, a feather, a bit of dung to be seen any where, and the Nests themselves were as clean in the inside as those little Walks and Avenues were in the outside.

Another sort of Animals that gave them some diver- *Seals.* sion here were the *Seals* or *Sea-Wolves*, as some call them. One of the Mariners by chance spied a company of these lying asleep, with their bellies toasting against the Sun, and went to call the rest of his company, who thought to steal upon them unawares and surprize them; but these Creatures always provide against that, and set a Watch. One of the number stands Sentinel while the others sleep, and at the approach of any danger gives them warning; and by this vigilance of theirs, it came to pass that the Seamen were disappointed of their sport, for as soon as ever the Sentinel discover'd them, he set up a great howl and wak'd the rest, and they all presently fell a running towards the Sea. Some of the Mariners got betwixt them and the water, thinking to cut off their retreat, but the *Seals* run against them with such a force that they tumbled them all down; and tho' they dealt a few blows amongst them, yet they could not stop them in their career, a Sword won't pierce their thick Hides, and to give them a blow with a stick is to beat upon a Rock, there's no way for't but to strike them upon the Snout, if possible, which makes them fall down dead presently.

Their vigilance to prevent it. Description of the *Seals.*

This Fish is like a Calf, it has 4 legs, but those not above a span long each, and the skin of it is very well known in *Europe* for its manifold uses, but these upon *Penguin* Island, our Authors says were different from all they ever saw, not only that they were of a size so much larger, but in their foreparts had so much resemblance to a Lion, their hair very long and shaggy, and besides they had Mustachoes.

The troublesomness of sailing through the *Magellanick Streights*, is very well known to all those that have made the experiment; there are so many turnings and windings, so many Nooks, Points and Reaches, that the wind that serves at this place will perhaps be contrary to a Man a few Leagues off, tho' it keeps still in the same Point. This was one cause why they made but a slow progress, they were driven to and fro by the Winds, and having got a considerable way out of a Harbour, were many times forc'd back into the same again.

While they thus loiter'd up and down in the *Streights* they mended their Ships, and repaired as well as they cou'd the damages done to their Casks by those pestilent Worms which the *Spaniards* call *Broma*, and the *English Arters*: These Vermin are a sad plague to Ships, and when once they have work'd themselves into the Planks, will bring all in danger in a little time unless the Ships be sheathed. They enter at first no bigger than a needle, but by degrees grow to be as large as a Man's little finger, and the Planks look like Honey-combs by the holes they eat in them: In order to prevent this inconvenience, Sir *Richard* propose his Father Sir *John Hawkins*'s method of sheathing Ships, which he affirms to be vastly better than all the ways formerly used, and indeed sufficient for the purpose, which none of them can be allowed to be; and that is, before the Sheathing-board is nail'd on, to smear it all over with Tar half a finger thick, and upon the Tar to lay another Stratum of hair such as the White-Limers use, as thick as the former, over all which the sheathing is laid and nail'd on fast, the nails standing very close to each other, the thicker and closer the better. Experience has prov'd that this way does effectually defend a Ship against these Worms; but besides, it has this farther to recommend it, that 'tis of all other the cheapest. It has been the common Opinion, that these Worms are bred in the fresh Water, and carry'd along with their streams into the Sea; but Experience has taught the contrary, and assures us that they breed in the great Ocean, and that in all Climates, but especially near the Equinoctial.

The Worms *Broma*, that eat the Planks of Ships. Best way to sheath the Ships.

In passing along the *Streights* they saw but very few sorts of Animals, and fewer of the humane kind; some of their Habitations indeed they saw sometimes at a distance, but these People come down and live by the Sea-Coasts in the Summer-time, and then retire up into the Country, where they have warmer shelters, when the Winter storms come upon them.

The Tree which affords that Bark call'd by some *Cortex Winteranus* they met with here, the leaf is of a whitish green, and in form not unlike the *Aspeni*; the Fruit, which

Winter's Bark.

which is green, grows in clusters, each Berry being of the bigness of a Pepper-corn, and containing within it 4 or 5 grains twice as big as a Mustard-seed, and being broken is white within-side, and has a hot biting taste like Pepper, but is rather more afflictive to the Tongue than that. The Bark is a kind of universal Spice, for it has the taste of all together; 'tis very comfortable to the Stomach, and preferr'd by many to any Spice whatsoever.

They found likewise abundance of Muscles, which were very good, and no small part of their refreshment here; they had most of them some Pearl in them, but not very large, nor shewing any thing of that bright Orient colour which is so desirable in them, and is found in the Oyster-Pearl, but some Muscles had no less than 20 or 30 Pearl in them, which lay dispers'd up and down in several parts of the Fish.

'Twas with no little trouble that our Ship, after so long labouring up and down in the *Streights* of *Magellan*, got her self free, and came to have the open prospect of the great South Sea; however being out, they shap'd their Course for the Island of *Mocha*, passing along by *Baldinia*, which was then in the hands of the *Spaniards*, but afterwards (together with the *Conception*) taken from them by the *Indians*, and were the two principal places they had in that Kingdom, and both Ports.

Baldinia stands in 40 degr. S. L. in a fine woody Country, it has a pleasant River, and navigable, so that a Ship of good burthen may go up as high as the City.

Some degrees to the Southward, before one comes to *Baldinia*, lies the Island *Chule*, which according to the Information given by some *Spaniards*, is not easily to be distinguish'd from the Main, and it lies so, that those that pass by it are apt to think 'tis a part of the Main; it's rich in Gold, and therefore inhabited by the *Spaniards*, who as certainly flock to all such places, as Eagles and Vultures do about those that are full of Carrion. Our Company made no discovery of this Island, but held on their Course and came to the Island of *Mocha*. It lies in 39 degr. S. L. and is about some 4 Leagues over; it is mostly a high mountainous ground, but round about the foot of it, at half a League distance from the shore, it's Champion, well cultivated, and stock'd with Inhabitants. They had some Commerce here with the People, but forc'd to be very wary, and always to stand upon their guard while they did so, for these *Indians* are wonderfully sly and subtle, and such mortal Enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they are jealous of all Foreigners upon their account, and suspect them to be either *Spaniards* themselves, or to come amongst them with such designs, and for such purposes as the *Spaniards* did. 'Twas for this reason that they dealt so inhospitably with Sir *Francis Drake*, and deceiv'd him with so fine a treachery; the result of which was the killing or wounding all his Company, and grievously hurting himself into the bargain. He had fewer wounds than any of his Men, but yet he had three, and two of them upon his Head. Sir *Richard Hawkins*, who had this example before his Eyes, endeavour'd to manage matters so with them as not to be made a Second himself, but yet they had very near been too hard for him with all his care and vigilance, and he was forc'd to deal roughly with some of them to prevent their doing him a mischief.

These *Indians*, for their Manners and Customs, are pretty near akin to them of *Arawka*, which have the reputation of the most valiant and hardy Soldiers in all that part of the *Indies*: They are all Cloath'd in Woollen, their Cassocks are made like a Sack, square, with two holes for the Arms, and one for the Head, but they are all open below, without Lining, or any other Art to be found in the composure of them. Their Houses are built round like our Pigeon-houses, with a sort of a Funnel (which serves for a Chimney) at the top to discharge the smoke. As for the People themselves, they are generally tall, strong and well made, of very great agility and dexterity in the use of their Arms, or any sort of Exercises; they have much better Countenances than most of the *Indians* in other Parts, and those better Faces in them are the Companions of much better Sense, and more Ingenuity too. They use the common Weapons of the barbarous Countries, but not after the common and barbarous manner, for they are skilful and valiant Soldiers, and capable of making an Adversary tremble that has to do with them. The Island affords excellent Sheep, but the People were not willing to part with any of them, so that they only just tasted the Mutton to be extraordinary good, but could not purchase any store of it upon any terms whatsoever. There's no doubt, but those that had come hither before such things as *Spaniards* were known amongst these People, might have found very good Entertainment; for as the Country is able to afford it, so the Inhabitants don't seem to be naturally so ill-disposition'd as they shew'd themselves to be, but rather to be sour'd by ill usage, and provok'd into such a fierce and froward temper by the Cruelties and Barbarities that have been practis'd amongst them. As for our Men, they plainly saw that there was no good to be done here, nor no way to perswade the *Indians* into a good opinion of them, for they made great fires upon the Island and upon the Main, which was evidently to give notice to one another to be in a readiness either to resist or attempt something, and either way was proof enough that they design'd to have nothing to do with them; and therefore they determin'd not to spend any more time a courting of their Friendship, but having well refresh'd themselves set sail.

On the S. W. of this Island lies a great ledge of Rocks, which are very dangerous, and 'tis good to be careful how one approaches with a Ship to the Island on any side. Over against this Island of *Mocha* lies the City Imperial, 8 or 10 Leagues up in the Country; and all along the Sea-coast from *Baldinia* to 36 degr. the *Indians* have in a manner rid their hands of the *Spaniards*.

They held their Course now for Island *St. Mary*, which lies in 37 degr. 40 min. which is little and low, but fertile and well peopled. Some 10 Leagues to the Northward of this Island lies the City *Conception*, which has a very good Port; from whence they Coasted along till they came in 33 degr. 40 min. about which height lies the Islands of *Juan Fernandes*, betwixt 60 and 80 Leagues from the shore, known for the plenty of Fish they yield, and the good refreshment to be had there. Sir *Richard Hawkins*'s design was not to discover himself upon this Coast till he was got past the great Port of *Lyma*, and there were many weighty Reasons that inclin'd him thereto; but his head-strong company would not hear of this, their minds were set upon Spoil and Plunder, and and they were for taking the first they met with, whether it expos'd them to the *Spaniards* notice or no. To comply with their humour, therefore he hal'd the Coast aboard, and discover'd that Evening the Port of *Valparizo*, which serves the City of *St. Jago*, standing some 20 Leagues into the Country; in this Harbour they found 4 Ships, who no sooner saw them coming, but those that were aboard them turn'd in, and run ashore with that little they con'd save, leaving them the rest, and the rifling also of all the Store-houses upon the shore. The Pillage of these Ships was more for the Belly than the Pocket, consisting of Wines, Hens, Beef, Bacon, Wax, Tallow, and other Commodities; besides which, there were Planks, Spars and Timber, for *Lyma* and the Valleys, which is a very rich Trade, since they have no Timber but what is brought from other places. But another Ship that came into the same Port while they were there, supplied the defects of the others, and brought them a pretty good quantity of Gold which she had brought from *Baldinia*, *Conception*, and some of those places: and then the Owners of the other Ships coming to terms with them, for the redemption of the best part of their Goods, there was Money coming in that way also, so that what with one and the other the Booty was not inconsiderable; but then a part of the Eatables, and other useful Commodities, were reserved for the use of their own Ship, so that upon all these accounts they were as well furnish'd with Provisions, and other Necessaries, as at their first setting out of *England*.

This Harbour of *Valparizo* is good for all Winds, except those that blow from some point to the North, for it runs up S. & by W. and S. S. W. but 'tis to be consider'd that it has abundance of foul ground. A League to the Southward, or better, before a Man discover this Bay, there lies a great Rock or small Island near the shore, under which a Ship may ride: It is a good mark, and a sure sign of the Port; and when the Bay is discover'd, a Man must give a good birth to the Harbour, for there are dangerous Rocks lying a good distance off. There is neither in this Port, nor any other place till you come to *Guayaquill*, any thing of flux or reflux; which *Guayaquill* is in 3 degr. S. L.

About 10 Leagues to the Northward of this Harbour is the Bay of *Quintera*, which is very open, and affords good anchoring. Here 'twas that Admiral *Candish* was betray'd, and several of his Men murder'd and taken by the treachery of a rascally *Spaniard*, whom he had brought out of the midst of a hundred Deaths at the *Magellanick Streights*, and maintain'd, together with his Company, (who must all have starv'd else) till he had set him down here.

From *Valparizo* they sail'd to *Coquinbo*, which is in 30 degr. This is one of the best Harbours in the whole S.

Mischief of the *Spaniards* ill treatment of the *Indians*.

Peru.

Imperial.

St. *Mary*'s Island.

Perverse tempers the overthrow of a well designed voyage.

Valparizo Harbour.

Quintera Harbour.

Coquinbo an admirable Port.

Sea, it is Land-lock'd for all Winds, and capable of holding a great many Ships; but the ordinary place where Ships lade and unlade is between a Rock and the Main, on the West-side, about half a League up within the entrance of the Port, which lies S. & S. by E. In the Country directly over the Port is a round piked Hill like a Sugar-loaf, and before the entrance on the S. point of the Port, coming in out of the Sea, is a great Rock, a good birth from the shore; and these are the best marks to know the Port by. While *Baldinia* and *Arawca* were in Peace, and free from the troubles and combustions of the War, that is, before the raking *Spaniards* got thither, the most plenty of Gold was reckoned to be there, and perhaps is still; however, the Mines of *Coquinbo* have since got the reputation. But this Country is not only rich in Mines of Gold but Copper also, which they carry to *Peru*, and sell it cheaper there than 'tis sold in *Spain*. In *Coquinbo* it seldom rains but a shower proves a golden one to them, for the violence of the water washes the Gold off from the Mountains, and besides furnishes them with water for the setting their Engines a work. It affords a great deal of Linen and Woollen Cloth, and great store of *Indian* Mantles, with which they furnish other Parts, but 'tis very course Stuff. They have no Iron nor Pewter, as also no Silk nor fine Linens, and therefore all these are mightily esteem'd; and so are all Haberdashers Ware, Edge-tools, Arms and Ammunition, and the like.

Directions to find it.

Description of the Country of *Coquinbo*.

Gold.

Commodities.

From the Port of *Coquinbo* they shap'd their course for *Arawca*, one of the finest Countries that the Sun shines upon, for the temperate and wholsome Constitution of the Climate, and the abundance of all things serviceable in life, either for Pleasure or Necessity. The Mines of Gold and Copper are innumerable, and all manner of Provisions are so plentiful, that the meanest of the Inhabitants have their Houses always furnished with Bread, Wine, Flesh and Fruits; and out of their Stores, or rather Superfluities, they supply the neighbouring Parts. The *Spaniards* brought in the Country at first *European* Horses, Oxen and Goats, which took so well, and multiplied to that degree, that they are to be seen thousands of them together in Droves and Herds, wild, and without any Owner; but besides these, there are those which are bred in the Country, and common to most Parts of *America*, in vast numbers too. Amongst these kinds of Animals, the greatest curiosity is the *Chinchillas*, a little Beast like a Squirel, but grey, and its Furr the most soft and delicate of any that's known, for which reason all the Princes and Noblemen are very fond of them, and buy them almost at any rates. They have all the Fruits that are to be found in *Spain*, except Plumbs, Cherries and Almonds, besides those that are of the peculiar growth of the Country; but as for them three sorts of Fruits, our Travellers tell us they never observ'd any of them in these Parts of the *Indies*. Their Gold they got two several ways, one by washing away the Earth and Dross from it in great Trays of Wood, which requires no little Art and Care, and the other by drawing it out of the Mines, which is much more laborious, not only in the procuring the very Ore, but separating and purifying the Gold afterwards. Another Commodity they have also, which some *Europeans* have made almost as valuable as Gold, which is very fine and large Bezoar Stones; those they have great plenty of, for the Animals that afford them are far from being rarities amongst them. The People are very Industrious and Ingenious, of great strength and invincible Courage. This is sufficiently prov'd by their sustaining a violent War against the *Spaniards* for above 40 Years together, and maintaining their Liberty inviolate at last, for the *Spaniards* could not by any means conquer and enslave them as they had done by the rest of the *Americans*; and 'tis certain that they never did meet with so vigorous an opposition, and so rough a treatment any where, take it all over the *West-Indies*, as they did here. They fight either on foot or a Horseback: those that use Horses, are arm'd with no stouter Armour than a Beast's Hide, which they put on upon their own backs just as it comes off from the others, green and raw, without any farther dressing or preparation; and if it be wet at first, they wear it till 'tis dry, if soft and pliable, the heat of their Bodies will make it hard and stiff, and sit like a Coat of Mail. Notwithstanding, one *Arawcan*, in this leathern Suit, let him have but a Lance, will fight hand to hand with the best *Spaniard* cover'd with Steel from head to foot. And for an instance of the undomitable Courage and Resolution of these People, particularly against the *Spaniards*, we have this Story related of a famous Captain amongst them. This Person had signaliz'd himself in several very considerable Actions against the *Spaniards*, and was known always to be one of the forwardest to undertake or enterprize any thing that tended to the freeing his Country from the Tyranny of such cruel enemies; but at last, 'twas his hard fortune to fall into their hands, and they very well knowing him, and his particular spleen against them, resolved to prevent his fighting for the future, and for that end cut off both his hands. They were sure now indeed never to fall into his, but he had a pair of stumps yet left to plague them, and a heart as full of courage as ever; and therefore to have made themselves secure, they ought not to have trusted this bold *Arawcan* with a Head upon his shoulders, but have taken that into their keeping too as well as his hands. However it was, whether by policy he made his own escape, or the *Spaniards* despising his (now) impotent rage and fury, sent him back into his own Country, yet home he came, and instead of being baulk'd at such a loss as he had sustain'd, or sitting still as a Man that had no more to do with the concerns of War, he bestirr'd himself more vigorously than ever, aggravating the barbarities committed by the *Spaniards*, and doing all that cou'd be to provoke his Countrymen to a severe revenge; and they who needed but little perswasion to fight with the *Spaniards*, were now incens'd to the highest degree to see one of their principal Leaders thus serv'd by them. In the succeeding Battel this brave *Arawcan*, who cou'd not fight, discharg'd the Office of a General; he was continually going about from one place to another, to encourage and hearten the Soldiers, and having loaded his two stumps with bundles of Arrows, he supplied those that wanted with fresh, as fast as they spent upon the Enemy. In a word, what with his Presence and Soldier-like exhortations, he did as much service without striking a stroke, as a part of the Army did with fighting; and tho' the particulars of the Battle are not told us, yet there's reason to believe the *Spaniards* had cause to wish they had taken his Head the same time they did his Hands.

Arawca.

An excellent Country.

Fruits and Animals.

Gold out of the Mines, and from the Mountains and Rivers.

Bezoar Stone.

Qualities of the People.

Courage of the *Arawcans*.

A Story of *Arawcan* Captain.

As for the Town of *Arawca*, it stands in a great large Bay, in about 18 degr. S. L. before you come to it, a League to the Southward of the Town and Road is a high round Hill, much higher than the rest of the Land of the Bay about the Town. When our Ship came to an Anchor here, they met with a Bark laden with Fish from *Moormoreno*, a high Head-land between 24 and 25 degr. S. L. whether the Boats ordinarily go a fishing every Year. Our *English* were much beholding to these *Moormorenians*; 'tis true they were their Captives, but they complimented them exceedingly, and gave them particular marks of their friendship and esteem. They call'd the *Englishmen* Brothers, and were themselves the greatest Brutes in the World, and had hardly any thing of Men except the shape; they were, to speak properly, rather Fish than Men, for they liv'd as naturally in or under the water, as in the open air, and wou'd dive as well as if they had been spawn'd in that Element. Their Country is barren, and affords them little or no sustenance, and therefore they go into the water for't, where if they meet with a live Fish they swallow him presently, and eat without the Ceremonies of Sawce and Dressing, as other Sharks do. The *Spaniards* make their Markets of them, and use them as they would Otters in the water to catch Fish, or Asses upon the Land to carry Burdens: they give them neither Food nor Wages, but leave them to shift for themselves; their other Slaves they use like Men, in respect of the Body, but these they use like Beasts, taking care neither for Body nor Soul. But one wou'd not expect much care for the Souls of Men from such, one of whose Instructors of a Town of *Indians*, had no more to teach them than this, To say *per signum sancti cruces*; a profound Doctor, and who ought to have learn'd Grammar along with his Catechize.

The Indians of *Moormoreno* and their Kindness to the *English*.

The *Spaniards* Kindness to them.

A fine Instructor.

From the Town before-mention'd, they continu'd their course along the Coast till they came athwart the Bay of *Pisco*, which lies in 15 degr. 15 min. S. L. after which, being clear of Cape *Sangaleon*, with its Island, they Anchor'd two days athwart of *Chilca*. But now the Vengeance they had pull'd down upon their heads by sailing upon these Coasts began to pursue them, a formidable Armado was rigg'd out and in quest of them: Advice had been given by Sea and Land, and the Viceroy of *Peru* had had more than sufficient Information that such Enemies were beating about upon the Coast. In order therefore to put an end to their Piracies, he fitted out 6 Warlike Ships, furnish'd with 2000 Men, and all other Necessaries, under the command of one of his Relations; and our Ship had gone but a little way from the Port of *Chilca* before she discover'd them. The *Spaniards* and they being in sight of one another, great preparations were made of both sides for a fight, but the Wind interpos'd, and fought so well on our Mens behalf, that

Bay of *Pisco*.

Cape of *Sangaleon*.

Spanish Armado comes after them.

that the unweildy Ships of the *Spaniards* came off with broken Masts and shatter'd Tackling by the bargain. The Admiral snapt her Main-mast asunder, and so began to lagg a-stern, and with him two other Ships. The Vice-Admiral split her Main-sail, and the Rear-Admiral crack'd her Main-yard, and one only of the Armado (that was gotten to the Windward of them, and had none of these afflictions) was at leisure to fight, but she had no stomach to it, and durst not begin the Attack. Thus they lay for a whole day viewing one another; but as night came on, Sir *Richard* began to consult with his Officers what course was best to take, they were in a manner surrounded, for the *Spanish* Admiral, with two more, were a-stern of them, the Rear-Admiral right a-head, the Vice-Admiral to the leeward, and one upon the loof, and most of them within shot. In short, after many debates, 'twas concluded that they shou'd bear up before the Wind, and endeavour to make their escape between the Admiral and Vice-Admiral; which they accordingly put in execution (before the Moon was up) and very happily perform'd, shaping their course for the Bay of *Atacames*, where they intended to take in Necessaries, and to pursue their Voyage. Instead of being punish'd by the *Spaniards* for what they had already done, they were now going on to do more, and an opportunity shortly offer'd it self, which was a good Ship coming in their way about 50 Leagues to the Northward of *Lyma*, and in sight of the Town of *Mongen*; she was laden with Wheat, Sugar, Cordovan Skins, and *Miele de Canas*, of all which they took what they had a mind to, and so burnt her, but the company they set ashore.

Their Ships beaten with the weather.

English escape thro' them

It's strange to see with how few Men they'll manage a Ship in the South Sea, for in this Prize, which was above 100 Tun, there were but 8 Men, and they don't use to bestow above 14 or 15 in a Ship of 300 Tun; nay, more than that, 'tis credibly reported that a Ship has been sail'd from *Guayaquill* to *Lima*, which is above 200 Leagues, by 14 Men only, and yet deep loaden too. But then the business is, they are forc'd to gain their Voyage by turning to Windwards, which is the greatest toil and slavery the Mariners have, and they sail at a very slow rate in all these sort of Voyages, insomuch that they are sometimes 4 or 5 Months between *Guayaquill* and *Lima*; but they are pretty secure in that Sea from Storms, and have assurance of a never-failing Breeze, which is the reason that every Seaman strains himself to the uttermost to do the work of two Men.

Sailing with few Men in the South-Sea, and the reasons of it.

They held on their course till they came thwart the Port of *Malabrigo*, which is in 7 degr. S. L. In all this Coast the current runs with a very great force, but never observing any stated Course, except that sometimes it runs along the Coast to the Southward, and at other times to the Northward. As for instance, at this time the Course of it was to the Northward, and it forc'd them so violently to the Landwards, that without especial Providence calming the Wind, they had there had a miserable end put to their Voyage. 'Twas about the Point of *Aguisa* that they were in this imminent danger (which they note thus particularly, that others may be aware of the same when they come thereabouts.) Thwart of this Point lie two Desert Islands called *Illas de Lobos*, for the multitudes of Seals that haunt the shore; in the bigger of them is very good and secure Harbour, and they both lie in 6 degr. 30 min. S. L. or near thereabouts.

Port Malabrigo.

After this they continued their Course along the shore, and came athwart the River of *Guayaquill*; this has two Islands in the mouth of it, the Southerly and biggest call'd *Puna*, in 3 degr. S. L. and the Northerly call'd *Santa Clara*. *Puna* is inhabited, and 'tis here that the *Spaniards* build their principal Ships, because of the vast quantities of Timber hereabouts; for from this River, both *Lima*, and all the Valleys, are furnish'd with Timber, and they have none but what is brought from hence or from *Chili*. By this River also passes all the chief Trade of the Kingdom of *Quito*; it's Navigable several Leagues into the Land, and is all along well-stock'd with Timber. The water of it is found by experience to be good for all aches of the Bones, and for the Stone and Strangury; the reason of which, some will fetch from the Vertues of the Sarsaparilla, with which 'tis impregnated, all the Banks and Low-lands adjoining being abundantly repleniish'd therewith, but how wisely or truly the Philosophers and Physicians must judge. Another thing the River affords, which ten to one cures all distempers if a Man happens to light on't, and that's a very fierce and ravenous Alligator; many poor *Indians* and *Spaniards* have had their Bones crush'd by these, and they are so numerous too, that they are seen here in whole shoals together, as Fish are in other Rivers.

In *Puna* the Tide rises 15 or 16 foot, and from this Island to *Panama* they keep the ordinary regular Course. Some 5 or 6 Leagues to the Northward of *Puna* is *la Punta de Santa Elena*, under which is good Anchoring, and very clean ground. Having pass'd this Point, they made the Island *de Plata* in 2 degr. and *Puerto Viejo* in 2 degr. 10 min. and Cape *Passao* which lie directly under the Equinoctial. Some 80 Leagues to the Westward of this Cape lies a heap of Islands, call'd by the *Spaniards Illas de los Galapagos*, which are desert, and afford no manner of refreshment. From Cape *Passao* they directed their Course to Cape *St. Francisco*, which is plac'd in 1 degr. N. L. 'tis remarkable enough not only for its heighth, but being all cover'd with Trees, as is also the Land over the Cape, and all the Coast from hence to *Panama*. From the *Magellanick Streights* to this Cape *St. Francisco*, in all the Coast from Headland to Headland, the Courses lie betwixt the N. & N. by W. and sometimes more W. tho' that but seldom. It's a bold Coast, and but little subject to foul Weather, or alteration of Winds, for the Breeze (which is here the Southerly VVind) blows continually from *Valparizo* to Cape *St. Francisco*, except it be a great chance indeed.

The Bay of *Atacames* (which they had propos'd to come to) lies about 7 Leagues from the Cape; in the midway, some Leagues from the shore, you meet with a a Bank of Sand, to avoid which, some care must be taken, for in several parts of it there's but little VVater. This Bay appears like an Island, and in high Springs 'tis believ'd that the Sea goes quite round about it. To the Eastward it has a high sandy Cliff, and in the midst of the Bay, a fair Birth from the shore, lies a big black Rock above water, from which to the sandy Cliff is a drown'd Marshy ground, and a River which is broad, but has no depth. The Bay of *Atacame* is in 1 deg. N. L. the fatal place in which the Voyage was terminated, and all their designs ruin'd. But for a clear account how this came about we must know, That after Sir *Richard Hawkins*, with his Ship and Pinnace, had got thro' the Armado, they being disappointed of their hopes, return'd back again to *Lima*; but here they were most miserably insulted and mock'd for their fruitless Expedition. The Women, to abuse them the more sensibly, put on Swords, and took Fire-Arms in their hands, and demanded of the Viceroy that they might be dispatch'd to fight with the *English* Ship. This went so near the hearts of these gallant Soldiers, and besides provok'd the Viceroy so far, that he commanded the Armado forth again, making them stronger than they were before; so that these busie Gossips were the cause of all the mischief, if they could but have held their Tongues, and been contented to have sate down with the disgrace as well as the Men, (who were more concerned in it than they) our *English* might have preserv'd their Ship and their Liberty; but they must be passing their Jests upon the Soldiers, and putting Swords by their sides forsooth, as if they knew how to manage them as well as Ladles, Pokers and Fire-pans, their own proper weapons. They were very angry no *English* Prisoners were brought home, (which we must suppose they expected) and therefore wou'd not, or cou'd not be quiet, till they had sent the Armado abroad again to get some. VVell; it was in the Bay of *Atacames* that our People first spied the enemy approaching, and as soon as they knew who they were, they guess'd without much trouble what they came for. The Mariners were all in general very uppish upon this Occasion; there was nothing but hectoring and bouncing amongst them, and no noise cou'd be heard but the Proclamations of the great Actions they wou'd do. One promis'd to cut down the Admiral's Main-yard, another to take his Flag; and the Gunner, for his part engaged, that with the very first tire of shot he would lay one of them in the Suds. Others wish'd they had never come out of their Country to be so disgrac'd, because Sir *Richard Hawkins* made some demur about fighting this Armado, so well provided as it was, and so much superiour in number. But (as commonly it happens) these very bluftering People were as much cool'd when they came to the trial; they did little or nothing of the many mighty things they had talk'd of, and the Gunner, for his part, was like a Man without life and soul. But there were shrew'd suspicions of his sullenness and treachery, and if he were not a Villain, he was the likest to one that ever stood in such a Post, for all his Implements were out of order, spoil'd, and not fit for use; and he was either such a Coward, or so great a Rascal, that he himself stood as useless as a great many of his Tools. Notwithstanding this, the fight was long and tedious, and (there being some good hearts and diligent hands on both sides) brisk and sharp too; they fought, and then breath'd, as it were by consent, and then fell

They see the Spanish Fleet.

Noise and boasting amongst the Seamen.

Perfidious Gunner.

to

Dreadful fight.

to it again, and held it at this rate for three days, and almoſt all the nights too. The *Spaniards*, for the moſt part of that time, kept pouring in the great and ſmall Shot, which could not be anſwered ſo warmly by the *Engliſh*, as wanting both materials and hands to manage it. But they were ſo civil too, as ever now and then to call upon the *Engliſh* to ſurrender, promiſing them good Quarter upon that condition; and this the company were fond of ſubmitting to, and importun'd Sir *Richard Hawkins* to take pity of their diſtreſſed Caſe, and not make them all Sacrifices or Slaves to the *Spaniards*, whoſe fury 'twas impoſſible for them now to eſcape. But this thought of yielding (tho' of a ſingle Ship to a whole Armado) wou'd not down with him, and therefore he commanded them all to their reſpective Stations again; yet he was now ſo wounded and weak himſelf, that he had little reaſon to expect to ſee the iſſue of the matter, and was beſides obliged to undertake the diſcharge of the hazardous and laborious Office of a Gunner. In ſhort, they maintain'd the fight till the 3d day in the Afternoon, and then it appear'd to be impoſſible to do ſo any longer, for all the Sails were torn, the Maſts ſhatter'd, the Pumps ſhot to pieces, the Ship all over mangled, with the beſt part of the Men kill'd, and 7 or 8 foot of water in the Hold. Being therefore in this ſinking condition, there was no farther time to diſpute whether the *Spaniards* Offer ſhou'd be accepted or no; and therefore Sir *Richard* order'd a certain *Spaniſh* Pilot, which he had Priſoner aboard, to go in his Name to Don *Beltran de Caſtro* the *Spaniſh* Admiral, and tell him, That if he wou'd give his Word and Oath (as the King's Officer) to receive them all a *buena querra*, to give them Life and Liberty, and Paſſage as ſoon as might be into *England*: And farther, to ſend alſo ſome certain Pledge for the confirmation of all this, that then he wou'd ſurrender his Ship; but if he would not engage to do thus much, he ſhou'd never enjoy any of the Fruits of his Victory, ſince they were all reſolv'd to periſh with their Ship, rather than endure any manner of ill treatment from the *Spaniards*. And really, by their Demands, one wou'd not have thought they were in much danger of any, or that they muſt the next hour, by an unavoidable neceſſity, be either ſwallow'd up of the Sea, or fall into the hands of the *Spaniards* without any terms at all. And 'tis no ſmall wonder that the *Spaniards*, under ſuch circumſtances of advantage, ſhou'd ſtand to argue *Pro* and *Con* about the matter, and not rather purſue what they had begun, and accompliſh the fate of the crazy Ship, and its as weak Defendants. But whatever were the reaſons, 'tis certain they did otherwiſe; the Admiral ſwore by his Maker, and by his Knighthood, (to bind the bargain more firmly) that he wou'd receive them all to fair Quarter, and grant every thing elſe they demanded, and in token of this he drew off his Glove, and ſent it for a Pledge. Upon this the *Spaniards* enter'd the Ship, crying *buena guerra* as they came; neither was there any ſort of Outrage or Inſolence committed by them. And which was a particular mark of the Admiral's civility to Sir *Richard Hawkins*, he ſent for him into his own Ship, that he might be ſure to be out of all harms way when the multitude came aboard. The kind and honourable uſage he had from that generous *Spaniard*, as it was hardly to be expected from an Enemy whoſe patience had been ſo tried, ſo not eaſily expreſs'd. Neither did his Humanity and Courteſie ſtop there, but extended it ſelf to all the Seamen and Mariners who were now become his Priſoners; he gave Order for the ſupplying them with all Neceſſaries, and the looking to their Wounds, which was done with ſo much care and diligence, that not one of all the whole company died that was alive at the ſurrender of the Ship. 'Tis true, there were ſome of the *Spaniards* that were of quite another temper, that grumbled at this kindneſs, and ſaid that the *Engliſh* ought to be treated as Pirates, and Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks, and many other things of that nature; but the Admiral put Sir *Richard* out of all doubt and fear, by repeating his ſolemn promiſe that all things ſhould be managed according to the agreement, and that provided the King of *Spain* (according to cuſtom) left him to his diſpoſal, his Liberty ſhould coſt him no more than a Brace of *Engliſh* Greyhounds, a Ranſom ſmall enough, conſidering what 'twas in his power to have demanded. Neither did the *Spaniſh* Admiral's making this proviſo (if his Maſter left Sir *Richard Hawkins* to his diſpoſal) ſeem to be any way capable of giving a juſt ſuſpicion of any ſiniſter deſign on foot againſt his liberty, for the King might poſſibly uſe his Prerogative againſt Cuſtom, and not allow his Admiral the Privilege that us'd to be allowed as his Right, otherwiſe the matter was plain enough, and the preſumption as ſtrong as well cou'd be, that Sir *Richard* might be ſure of his liberty, for in the *Spaniſh* Armado's the Cuſtom obtains thus: If there be an abſolute Admiral, the 10th part of all Spoil and Plunder belongs to him, and he has it not by Lott, and as it happens to fall to his ſhare, but by Choice, for he takes what he pleaſes himſelf; in the ſame manner he proceeds if there be ever ſo many or ſo few Ships of the enemy taken, but if there be but one, ſhe is entirely at the Admiral's diſpoſal, and ſo are the Fortunes and Liberties of all that are aboard her.

Engliſh yield upon good terms.

Engliſh make their terms.

Spaniards accept them.

The kind uſage of Sir *Richard* and all the *Engliſh* by the *Spaniſh* Admiral.

Cuſtom amongſt the *Spaniards*.

With this hope and expectation, our *Engliſh* went away with the *Spaniſh* Fleet towards *Panama*: In this Courſe they came by the famous *Pearl*-Iſland, which lie along the Coaſt, beginning ſome 8 Leagues W. S. W. from *Panama*, and run to the Southward near 30 Leagues. There are ſeveral of them, and moſt of them inhabited by *Spaniards*, and *Negroes* which are their Slaves, and kept only to fiſh for Pearl. The Pearl lie in ranks in the uttermoſt part of the Oyſter which is call'd its Ruff, and the biggeſt are generally found next to the end or joint of the Oyſter. Thoſe in the *Eaſt-Indies* have commonly the Character of the beſt and fineſt, tho' the *Weſt-Indies* (in the judgment of our Author) do produce as good; and perhaps one of the largeſt in the World was found in theſe Pearl Iſlands, it was as big as the Pommel of a Ponyard, and was given by King *Philip* the Second of *Spain* to his Daughter *Elizabeth*, Wife to *Albertus* Archduke of *Auſtria*. Within the Pearl Iſland lies a ſmall Iſland which they call *La Pachete*, which contains not a League of ground, but is a moſt fruitful ſpot; it belong'd to a private Man, who by his own and his Slaves induſtry, made it bring him the value of 50 or 60 pound every Week in Fruit, which he conſtantly ſent to the Market at *Panama*.

Pearl-Iſland.

A great Pearl.

In their Courſe to *Panama*, they ſail'd between the Iſland and the Main, where there is a very good Channel of 3 or 4 Leagues broad, and without any danger, except a Man come too near the ſhore on any ſide; and yet this is thought the better Courſe than to go a Seaboard of the Iſland, becauſe of the ſwift running of the Tides, and the advantage to ſtop at Ebb; as alſo for Succour and Aſſiſtance, if a Man ſhou'd happen to be calm'd, which may happen here ſometimes.

Direction in ſailing to *Panama*.

At laſt they came to an Anchor under *Perico*; theſe are two little Iſlands which make the Port of *Panama*, which is about two Leagues W. N. W. from the City, yet the City has alſo a Port for ſmall Barks at full Sea, having then about 7 foot water, but at ebb 'tis quite dry.

Perico, the Port.

News being ſent to *Panama* of the ſucceſs of the Expedition, there was great rejoycing there, expreſs'd by the diſcharge of all their Artillery, and the prodigious Illuminations, which made the City at a diſtance look as if it had been all of a blaze. The Armado alſo came thundering on with their Artillery, and the Triumph wou'd have better befitted the Conqueſt of another Armado, than one poor Ship, which was yet all they had to ſhew for it.

Joy amongſt the *Spaniards*.

As to the particulars of Sir *Richard*'s Entertainment, Detainure there, Liberty and Travels homewards, we have no account of them, for here his Relation breaks off, tho' he promiſes a ſecond Part, wherein theſe ſeveral Paſſages ſhou'd be largely handled.

In general, we find by what is occaſionally dropt, that after being ſome time at *Panama*, where he was very civilly entertain'd by the ſame Don *Beltran de Caſtro*, he was ſent into *Peru*, and reſided both at *Lima* and *Cuſco*, the two moſt celebrated Cities of that glorious Empire. That he was a Priſoner here is paſt all doubt, but that he was treated by the Vice-Roy, and all the Noblemen of the Country, more like a Prince than a Priſoner, is alſo moſt certain. How 'twas with him at the Iſland of *Tercera*, at *Madrid* and *Sevil*, (for at theſe places he was alſo confin'd) and what accidents befel him there, the ſecond Part which he promiſed muſt diſcover. This muſt be ſaid, that he no where diſcovers the leaſt degree of ſuſpicion of any treachery in the *Spaniards*, nor complains of any hard uſage; and his company were every where as eaſie as himſelf.

The reſt of Sir *Richard*'s Adventures.

One thing is to be obſerv'd, that Don *Beltran de Caſtro* ſhew'd him a Letter from the King of *Spain* to the Vice-Roy of *Peru*, wherein was given an account of his Voyage, the Ships, their Number, their Burden, their Ammunition, and whither they intended to go; adding withal, *You may ſee* (ſays he) *by this, whether the King my Maſter has not ſome good Friends in* England. To this Sir *Richard* reply'd, *That 'twas no wonder his Maſter had ſo many Friends every where, ſince he had ſo much Gold and Silver; and 'twas no uncommon thing to ſee them make People tell Tales out of School, and out of Country too. And the truth of it is, the* Spaniards *ought not to be blam'd in this caſe for getting Advice, but the baſe and perfidious* Engliſh *for giving it.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

An Account of the taking of St. Vincent, *and* Puerto Bello, *in the* West-Indies, *by Captain* William Parker *of* Plimouth.

THE Fleet which did these great Exploits was but small, consisting of no more than two Ships, one Pinnace and two Shallops. The *Prudence*, Admiral, was but of 100 Tun, and had about 130 Men aboard her; the *Pearl*, Vice-Admiral, was of 60 Tun and 60 Men; the Pinnace of 20 Tun and 18 Men. The Persons that signaliz'd themselves in this Action, and had a part of the Command, were these that follow: Captain *Giles*, Capt. *Ward*, Capt. *Fugars*, Capt. *Loriman*, Capt. *Ashley*, with some other Gentlemen as Volunteers. In their passing by the Cape of *St. Vincent* in *Spain*, commonly call'd the South Cape, they met with such a violent Tornado, or gust of tempestuous Wind, that their Pinnace, with all her Men but three, were lost with it, and glad to come off themselves without any more damage.

Nov. A. D. 1601.

A great Tornado.

Directing their Course from thence to the Islands of Cape *Verd*, immediately upon their arrival there they set upon *St. Vincent*, which is one of them, and took the Island and the Town; the Spoil of which was given to the Soldiers, and the Town it self after that to the Flames.

St. Vincent taken.

Hence they haled over to the Coast of *Terra Firma*, and coming to the *Rancherie*, or Pearl-Fishery in the small Island of *Cubagna*, they found the Governour of *Cumana* there with a Company of Soldiers; notwithstanding which they landed their Men, and were receiv'd with great warmth and briskness by the Enemies, however at last they got the better on them, took the Place, with divers of the best Men Prisoners, together with several of their Barks and Boats at the same time; for the Ransom of all which, Capt. *Parker* had 500 *l.* in Pearl paid him.

Pearl Fishery taken.

This done they proceeded with their Voyage, sailing directly for Cape *de la Vela*, where they met with a great *Portuguese* Ship laden with Negro's from *Congo* and *Angola*, and bound for *Carthagena*, from whence those wretches were to be sent to the Mines. This Prize, with very little trouble and resistance, came into their hands, and the Redemption of these Slaves came to 500 *l.* more; 'tis true they had no benefit by it, being still where they were before, (and 'tis certain are Men that can't alter their condition, being every where doom'd to Slavery) but the Seamen had some benefit by it, and tho' 'twas not much, yet 'twas better than lying still upon the water and doing nothing.

Portuguese Ship taken.

After this they went to the Island *Cabeca*, where they embark'd 150 of their Men in two small Pinnaces and two Shallops, and then sail'd to the Island *Dos Bastimentos*, where they pick'd up some Negroes for their Guides, and so with their Boats and Pinnaces presently enter'd the mouth of the River of *Porto Bello*; it was night, but they had a bright Moon shining upon them, by the help of whose light the Watch had quickly discover'd them. At their very first entrance into the Haven (which is by the way above twelve score over, and very deep at the mouth, and a good way upwards) they were haled by the strong Castle of *St. Philip*. Here is always 35 good Brass Pieces ready mounted to bid an Enemy welcome, and Soldiers enough to manage them. These, as was said, haled our Pinnaces, and ask'd whence they were; to which they (having some *Spanish* Tongues aboard them for that purpose) immediately answer'd that they came from *Carthagena*. Upon this, the others commanded them to come to an Anchor, which they did; but about an hour afterwards, Capt. *Parker* took his opportunity to go up the River with his two Shallops, leaving the Pinnaces there at Anchor before the Castle of *St. Philip*. But as there is another less Fort, called the Fort of *St. Jago*, that lies directly opposite to the Castle, so it happen'd that some of the Soldiers there spied the Captain moving on with his Shallops, and cried out to him to stay, running after him along the shore; but he neglected their outcries, went on directly to the Town of *Triana*, and landed his 30 Men, (for he had no more with him upon this design) and in a trice, tho' the alarm was given, set it on fire, and leaving it burning, march'd into the great and rich Town of *Porto Bello*, to which *Triana* was as it were an inlet. Being entred here, he directed his march immediately to the King's Treasure-House, where he found a Squadron of Soldiers drawn up to receive him, with two Brass Field-pieces well mounten on their Carriages. The fight that succeeded was sharp and long, and Capt. *Parker* had lost the best part of his 30 Men, when those which commanded the Pinnaces hearing the alarm, and finding 'twas high time to advance, timely came into his relief with 120 fresh Men, which assistance turn'd the Scale, and quickly put an end to the conflict, for the *Spaniards* now began to secure themselves by flight, and a good number of them got into the King's House, where they defended themselves very resolutely. The besieging of this took up at least four or five hours, all which time they continued in some Action or other with the Defendants; but at last the *English* made their way in, and became Masters of it, as they were also of the whole Town entirely. Amongst the Prisoners of Quality were the Governor, and the *Scrivano*; as for the *Alcade*, he was run out of Town, and had taken care to have the company of a great gold Chain along with him, which he fled with about his neck. As for the Treasure found in the Treasure-House, it was nothing to what they expected, for this place is the Repository at one time of the Year, of all the Treasure that comes from *Peru* and *Chili*, which sometimes amounts to more than 6 Millions of Ducats. They, for their parts, now met with no more than 10000 at this time, but if they had come 7 days sooner had got a Booty of 120000, which were gone in two Frigats for *Carthagena*. The Spoil of the Town otherwise, in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, was not inconsiderable, and was all given to the Soldiers, to their no little satisfaction. They did not think fit to make a Penny of the Prisoners that were taken, but rather by setting them free without Ransoms, to give the *Spaniards* an example of civil and generous Deportment towards their Enemies. This Town had two goodly Churches, 6 or 7 fine Streets, 3 small Forts on the one side, besides the great Castle of *St. Philip* on the other; and the *English* were so kind as to spare all these Buildings too, when it was in their power to have demolish'd them all, and left nothing but Ruins behind them.

They enter the Haven.

Capt. Parker goes on with 30 Men.

Triana taken.

The fight in Porto Bello.

The Town taken and spar'd by the English.

In a word, they staid in the Town for a day or two, to shew that they were absolute Masters of it; in all which time they had not the least disturbance from any rallied Forces of the *Spaniards*, nor no alarm given, only as they were sailing away again the Enemy began to appear, and make some little stir, but 'twas only the exchanging of a few Bullets, and taking leave of each other at parting out of the mouths of their great Guns.

The Spaniards don't disturb them in the possession of it.

This Action of the taking a Town of such great strength with so few Men, bred such an Idea of the *English* Valour in some of the *Spaniards*, that the Governor of *Carthagena* particularly, swore he would give a Mules lading of Silver to have a sight of Captain *Parker* and his Company; and had they been sure he would have parted with what he had upon so easie terms as they at *Porto Bello* did, 'tis very likely they might have sold him that favour, but his strength being uncertain as well as his pay, they did not think fit to attempt him.

They leave it.

The little Fleet came safely into *Plimouth* Harbour again, having had the Honour of taking with a few Men, in a little time, and an inconsiderable loss, one of the finest Towns the King of *Spain* has in the *West-Indies*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Some Notes relating to the General History of that Part of the West-Indies *under the Dominion of the* Spaniards: *Collected from the broken Observations of* Alexandro Ursino, *a* Roman, *who lived in* Peru *and* Chili *34 Years; of* Pedro Ordonnes de Cevallos, *a* Spanish *Priest; of* Lopez Vez, *a* Portuguese, *taken by Captain* Withrington *at the River of* Plate, *with his* American *Notes about him.*

AS to what concerns the History of Nature, the Civil Policy, Customs and Government of these noble Countries, we shall afterwards produce, and these things in a large and particular Account by it self; wherein the Histories of the two Celebrated Empires, *Mexico* and *Peru*, shall be trac'd in all the most valuable Heads, and whatsoever we can pick out of Authors of any Character writing upon those Subjects, shall be presented to the Readers view. What is offer'd now, is only a Collection of some loose Notes relating more to the Geography of some particular Parts and Places, than of the general Heads that will allow them to come in fairly afterwards; they were thought to be of some use by their Authors, and therefore by them diligently preserved and transmitted to us. But as things of this kind (being independant upon one another) wont run on (as other relations have done) in a continued uninterrupted Story, so the Reader must be contented to take them in pieces and parcels, as their Authors have deliver'd them, and the nature of the thing admits of.

Country of New Spain. The Country of *New Spain* has several very excellent Ports both on the North and the South side: The principal of them on the North is *St. Juan de Lua*, at which place all the Armadoes that come from *Spain* are discharg'd, and the Merchandizes are carried to the great City of *Mexico*. There are several also which it has upon the South Sea, from whence they trade with *Peru*, *Panama*, the *Philippine* Islands, the *Moluccas* and *China*. *Ports.* The first part of the Country (reckoning as you proceed along the Coast) that is inhabited by the *Spaniards* is *Veragua*, the richest perhaps of Gold in the whole *Indies*, but intolerable sickly, and hardly fit to be dwelt in. The air is very hot and sultry, yet not clear and serene withal, but thick, and always full of rainy Clouds. It yields little or no Fruit neither, and most of the sustenance of the Inhabitants comes from other places; and yet all these inconveniences do the *Spaniards* endure for the sake of the beloved Gold, and wont quit a place that has so many contrarieties to nature, for one thing that makes it agreeable to a sordid covetous humour. There is no more than 4 Leagues between the River *de Carinas* (which issues from the Lake of *Nicaragua*) and the South Sea, and to bring these two together, and open a communication between both sides of the *American* World by this means, is thought by our Authors to be a much less difficult work than some of those of the like nature, that were projected formerly by the *Egyptians* and *Romans*.

Veragua rich in Gold. Unhealthy.

A short cut to the Sea.

Terra Firma. From this tract of *Veragua* unto the Island of *Margereta*, the Coast along is call'd *Terra Firma*; the *Spaniards* gave it that name, because 'twas the first firm Land they conquer'd after they had pass'd the Islands. This is also hot, wet and unhealthy, like the former. Particularly the Town of *Nombre de Dios* has a scandalous reputation upon this account; 'tis the first place inhabited after you have passed *Veragua*, and were it not for a convenience, the air of it certainly wou'd never have recommended it to have been inhabited at all. But it has a good Port, and 'tis the way by Land to the South Sea, and the trade of *Peru*; and then over against it (as it were) on the South Sea Coast, stands the well-known City of *Panama*, which is not above 18 Leagues from *Nombre de Dios*. To this Town of *Nombre de Dios* does the *Spanish* Shipping come and unlade, the Goods being carried from hence in Barks up a River to a House which is call'd *the House of Crosses*, and from thence upon Mules by Land to *Panama*, which is but 7 Leagues from that forementioned House; and this Carriage is very laborious and chargeable to them, because of the great Rains, and the uneven mountainous rugged ways.

Nombre de Dios.

Carriage of Goods to Panama.

From *Nombre de Dios* you proceed to *Carthagena*, the Country about which is much more healthy, and fuller of Provision; the Town it self also is larger and fairer by much, and has a Port which far surpasses all the rest. If the Trade of *Spain* has made *Nombre de Dios* a rich place, that and others have done much more for *Carthagena*, for here the Ships always stay when they go and come from *Spain*; and if they chance to Winter before they go home, they are sure to lie at *Carthagena*. Besides, there's abundance of Goods and Merchandize discharged here to be carried into the Kingdom of *New Granada*, and great quantities of Gold come from that Kingdom hither. But there is no Land-carriage of Merchandize from *Carthagena* into *Granada*, not only in that this lies 200 Leagues within the Land, but there are vast unpassable Mountains, and standing Waters in the way, so that they carry all up the great River *Magdaler*. This River, tho' it be both large and very deep, yet they can not go with their Barks above 20 Leagues up it, because of a great current; so that the Barks discharge all their Goods into small Canoes, which row close along by the shore side.

Carthagena. *Great Trade.* *Gold from Granada.* *Carriage of Goods to Granada from Carthagena.*

There is a passage by the new Kingdom and *Popayan* from *Carthagena* to *Peru*, which is in all about 500 Leagues; so that taking the 200 Leagues which they go up the River, the other 300 are thro' a Country well inhabited, and where there is good and quiet travelling. The Posts do often pass to and fro this way, but because 'tis very long and tedious, the Merchants don't use it but when they are constrained to it.

Passage into Peru.

Santa Marta lies 50 Leagues distant from *Carthagena* along the same Coast; 'tis but a poor Town in respect of Trade or Building, yet great quantities of very fine Gold are said to be gather'd up hereabouts, which one wou'd think should alter the Character of the place. Here begins the great tract of Mountains whose tops are cover'd with Snow, that run thro' the whole Continent almost to the *Magellanick Streights*, and are easie to be seen by their white heads above 3 Leagues into the Sea. Adjoining to them there is a Valley call'd *Tagreua*, the richest place yet known; but the Inhabitants are very numerous, and a valiant courageous People too, and use such artifices in poisoning their Arrows, that they have lived hitherto pretty free from invasions and disturbances by Foreigners. The *Spaniards* have indeed made some attempts upon them, but they have as often been baffled and defeated, and the Valley lies still unconquer'd.

St. Marta. *High Mountains.* *Valley of Tagreua.*

Omitting the Islands upon the Coast of *Terra Firma*, which are above 70 in number, our Authors proceed with the Port Towns along the Coast of the Main-land, and tell us, That passing once the Islands of *Margareta*, there are none inhabited by *Spaniards* till you come to *Fernambuco* on the Coast of *Brasile*. Between this Island and *Fernambuco* is the River of * *Maranyn*, one of the greatest in the World, and first found when the *Spaniards* were seeking out the other Coast. 'Tis impossible to enter this River, because of the mighty current that comes down; and withal, there are many sandy shelves lying about the mouth of it, upon which account it came to pass that 'twas a long time before the Riches, which the River affords, could be known. It was not till the time that *Peru* was conquer'd that this discovery was made, but it was then done by *Gonsalo Pizarro*; for travelling up into the Country he came to a great River, where he saw the Natives in their Canoes bringing Gold to exchange with the *Spaniards*. Hearing this, he was desirous to see the end of this River, but could not travel by Land because

* They certainly mean the River of *Amazons*.

Discovery of the River of Amazons.

because of the Mountains, and for that reason he made a small Pinnace, and sent *Orillana*, one of his Captains, with 30 Men, who went down the River: But they cou'd not possibly return again, because of the violent current that was against them, and forc'd them quite out into the Sea, so that they came to the Island of *Margareta*, however they were very near a Year and half upon the River, for it has abundance of turnings and windings, which make a long passage on't; but they never durst go ashore, seeing such a multitude of People inhabiting about it, and not knowing how they wou'd entertain them. But thus far they obtain'd their design, that they were fully assured the River was a very rich one in Gold, and had some of it to shew for undeniable proofs; which they did not think fit to return with and shew to their General *Pizano*, but, in short, went home into *Spain*, and presented it to the King. And this same Captain his Majesty dispatch'd back again with a Fleet of Ships, and 600 Men, to take possession of the rich River; but the Project came to nothing, for the Captain himself died, with many of his Men, by the unhealthiness of the Country, and those that remain'd dispos'd of themselves as they thought fit, every Man his own way. Notwithstanding, the Fame of the River and its Riches being mightily spread abroad, and ringing particularly in the Court of *Portugal*, a certain *Portuguese* Gentleman, *Leus de Melo* by Name, ask'd Leave of King *John* the Third to go upon this Expedition; for 'tis to be noted, that that part of *America*, from the mouth of this River to the mouth of the River of *Plate*, is held by the Kings of *Portugal*, according to the Treaty of Partition made between them and the Kings of *Spain*. This Person had 10 Ships and 800 Men, but coming to the mouth of the River, he lost all his Ships but two; and as for the Men, tho' the most part of them were saved, and got ashore, yet they did not prosecute the Discovery, but went to the Island *Margareta*, and from thence were dispers'd all over the *Indies*. This bad fortune of two Fleets deterr'd others from making the attempt; yet two or three Captains from the Kingdom of *New Granada* did afterwards endeavour to discover it by Land. Yet none had any considerable success, till some years after one *Pedro de Oruza*, a Native of *Navarr*, but in the *Spanish* Service, came to the head of this great River, with at least 700 Men out of *Peru*. Here he made Pinnaces and Canoes, in which he carried above 2000 *Indians* along with him, to be serviceable to him in his designs, together with a great many Horses, and good store of Provision; all which was of necessity to be carried by water, for there's no doing it by Land, not only because of the Mountains, but also the many Rivers which run between them, and communicate with the great one of *Maranon*. They went down the River with their whole Company and Cargo till they came to a plain Country, where they began to lay the foundations of a Town, but being most of them Men not used to such sorts of Labours, and withal tired with the hot and rainy Seasons, they quickly laid it down again, and having nothing else to do, began to murmur at their Captain, and wish themselves at home in *Peru* again; not but that the Country where they were afforded Provisions enough, and besides was capable (one wou'd have thought) to have charm'd them into good humour, with the prospect of Gold which it gave them. But their seditious Minds were not to be quieted with any thing, and there was a certain Fellow amongst them (one *Lopez de Agira* a *Biscaian*) that made it his business to blow up the coals, and by his cunning insinuations to heighten the discontent they had already receiv'd. He had been an old Mutineer in *Peru*, and had had his hand in many such businesses as this, and therefore finding now a fair occasion wou'd not stick to lay hold on't, but fell to his old way of practising against his Officers. In a word, by his means they were work'd into the humour and design of making away with their Captain, which they did, stabbing him in his sleep, and murdering at the same time all his Friends; and yet these factious Fellows must needs be Loyal and Dutiful to their King too, they wou'd huzza, and cry out, *God save the King*, at the same time that they were cutting the throats of his Officers. But they did not stop here, for now *Lopez* falls to making Orations to them; and, in short, harangues them so long, till he had perswaded them to make a certain Creature of his their Supreme Head, and himself their Captain, to manage the Affairs of War. And having gone thus far, he thought he had e'en as good carry them one step farther, and that was, to change this Title of Head into King, and renouncing all Allegiance to the King of *Spain*, to acknowledge this Tool of his as their Sovereign for the future, and do homage to him as such. All which they did, and to bind the bargain with something more than ordinary solemnity, the Rogues built an Altar, and upon that forswore all Duty and Obedience to the K. of *Spain* for ever, and engaged their Allegiance to the Upstart, the new created King *Fernando de Gosman*. But his Majesties reign was but short, for *Lopez*, who had a mind to his Place and Title, within 20 days took an occasion to dispatch him; this he did with his own hand too, to shew that he had Authority to make and depose, or murder Kings, Captains, Generals, or who else he pleas'd. And now he had his desire, and was King himself, but for all that, being no Gentleman, he was resolv'd to rid his hands of all them whose better and more deserving Blood might reproach his base Pedigree, or whose Vertue might be any way an impediment to his designs. And therefore, one of the first things he did was to cut the throats of all the Gentlemen, and those that were of any considerable degree; in order to effect which, and such like designs, he chose him out of the whole Army a select number of Ruffians, which he always kept about his Person, and were his Tools to do any of the bloody work his barbarous Mind projected. But as it commonly happens, that a great deal of Guilt and Impiety brings horrid fears and suspicions along with it, and those that are conscious of evil designs and practices against others, are as apt to be afraid of the same from others; so it was here, this Miscreant cou'd not enjoy himself with his new Dignity, the Title of King was no ease and security to him, and he was jealous that every one would be as ready to violate the respect owing to the Character as he had been himself. If he had but seen two Men talking together, it was a certain sign of a Plot against his Life, and consequently to prevent the execution of it, they must lose theirs. At this rate he tyranniz'd over the multitude, which by such methods was reduc'd to a number that cou'd by no means deserve that name; and for the conclusion of all, at his going away from the Country, he left all the Women and the sick Men behind him for a prey to the Natives, or the wild Beasts, which come first. And these were no inconsiderable number, for the Climate being something intemperate, (at least the Season was so) it bred many diseases amongst them.

During their stay here, they took a great many Canoes of the People of the Country, in which they found store of Gold; and in short, by one way or another, partly upon the Water, and partly upon the Land, enrich'd themselves to a considerable degree. Here 'twas also that they saw those warlike Women which have given an occasion to some to raise a Story of *Amazons* dwelling hereabours, and the River has been Christen'd by that name upon this very account. The business was only this, that the *Spaniards* fighting with some of the Natives, the Women came and fell on too, their Husbands they thought were in danger, and they came to help them, like truly tender and loving Wives. And they say, that they fought more valiant than the Men; what weapons they used they don't tell us, but 'tis pretty certain 'twas not their nails. The *Spaniards*, it seems, were something ruggedly dealt with by them, and talk as if they had rather have fought with the Husbands than the Wives, if they had been to chuse one of the two. So that all the Stories of those warlike Heroins, the one breasted Ladies, that call Men out of the next Country when they have occasion for their Service; that send the Boys back to their Fathers, and keep the Girls to breed them up to the War, and are, in short, an entire Society of Females. This, I say, all vanishes into this one point of fact, That there were a parcel of honest Women that had so much courage and love to their Husbands, that when they saw them assaulted, wou'd chuse rather to run the hazards of the Battel, than stand by and see them knock'd on the head.

But to proceed: *Lopez* with his company sail'd down the great River of the *Amazons*, and came to the Island *Margareta*, by which time his number was reduced to 230 Men. The Governor thinking him to be one of the King's Officers (but little imagining he was King himself) receiv'd him handsomly, and for his reward the Villain kill'd him; and having landed upon the Island, and rummag'd about there, he went off again to the main Land, forcing some few Soldiers along with him. And now he was for conquering the whole *Indies*, for he was so vain as to tell himself, that as he march'd, all wou'd turn to his side; but he was deceiv'd, for the alarm having spread about the Country, the Governor of *New Granada* rais'd an Army, and follow'd him into the Continent. And whereas he fed himself up with hopes, that the King's Army wou'd run over to him when it came to the trial, he was sadly cozen'd in that too, for his

Riches of it.

A second attempt.

A third attempt.

Pedro de Orua goes from *Peru* down the River.

Foundation of a Town.

Mutinous Company.

Lopez de Agira, a seditious Fellow, kills the Captain.

A K. chose.

And kill'd by *Lopez*.

Lopez King himself.

Jealous of ill practices against him.

Lopez leaves the sick.

Gold.

Amazons.

Lopez's treachery, and the rising of the Country against him.

his Army run over to the Kings. Thus every way forſaken, and out of all hopes of ever retrieving his Affairs, and ſure beſides, if taken, to be made an example, to the terror of all ambitious Traiters in the World, he reſolv'd to prevent that, and be his own Executioner. In order to this, he firſt gave his Daughter a mortal Stab, (that the might never have the reproach of his infamous actions) intending afterwards to do the like to himſelf; but in the interim, the King's Soldiers broke in upon him and hack'd him to pieces. This was the fate of *Lopez de Agira*, that of a common Soldier became a Captain, of a Captain a General, and of a General a King; and for his laſt Preferment would have been his own Hangman, but cou'd not.

Lopez's death.

The River of the *Amazons*, which we had occaſion to mention, has engaged us in this Diſcourſe of its Diſcovery; which finiſh'd, we proceed with the general Account of the reſt of the Continent.

All the Coaſt between this great River and the River of *Plate*, is properly the Coaſt of *Braſile*; and, as has been ſaid, belongs to the Kings of *Portugal*, by vertue of the Treaty between them and the Crown of *Caſtile*.

Braſile diſcover'd.

Braſile was firſt found by Don *Pedro Arnales Cabrall*, the ſecond time that the King of *Portugal* ſent his Ships to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and was then taken poſſeſſion of in his Name.

River of *Plate.*

The River of *Plate* was diſcover'd by *Soliſ* firſt of all; next by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, who went up it 150 Leagues and built a Fort; afterwards by Don *Pedro de Mendoza*, who made no great matters of any particular Diſcoveries himſelf, but left a conſiderable number of *Spaniards* behind him. Theſe Men got Boats and went up the River, and leaving at a certain place, where they were, three Mares and Horſes, they multiply'd to that degree in the ſpace of 40 Years, that for 20 Leagues together the Country was crouded almoſt with thoſe Creatures.

The diſcovery of it.

Strange multiplication of Horſes.

The *Spaniards* ventur'd at leaſt 300 Leagues up the River, and found the Country very full of Inhabitants, and well provided with the Neceſſaries of Life; and the *Indians* proving very kind and friendly to them, they lived together with them in a Town on the North-ſide of the River, which they gave the Name of *Aſcenſion* too. And they had lived here full 20 Years, before thoſe *in Spain* knew any thing of their being here, for the Admiral *Mendoza* loſt moſt part of his Ships, and died himſelf in the way homewards. But they now growing old, and doubting their Children, born and brought up in this heathenith Country, (for the *Spaniards* here took *Indian* Wives) wou'd become at laſt one People with the Natives, and quite loſe their Chriſtianity, for this reaſon ſent into *Spain* to give the King notice of their Affairs; who, thereupon, diſpatch'd two or three Ships with more Men and Women for the good of the Plantation, and a Biſhop, Prieſts and Friers, for the ſupport of the Chriſtian Religion amongſt them. When this Relief was come, they planted two places more on the North of the River, and travell'd 300 Leagues beyond the Town of *Aſcenſion*; but finding no Gold nor Silver to invite them to ſettle there, they return'd to the place from whence they came. This Town by degrees grew ſo populous that 'twas inlarg'd into a City, and from a City became one of the moſt conſiderable in the whole *Weſt-Indies*. The Country about it is fruitful, and yields plenty of all ſorts of Proviſion; and as for Trade, the two principal Commodities are Sugar and Cotton.

Spaniards dwell with the *Indians* at *Aſcenſion.*

More People come out of *Spain.*

City of *Aſcenſion.*

The Coaſt along from this River of *Plate* to the *Magellanick-Streights* has been very little diſcover'd either by Sea or Land, only ſome Ports have been taken notice of by Ships going to the *Streights*.

Unknown Coaſt.

As for the Land that lies from the *Magellanick-Streights* to the Coaſt of *Chili* its little known, becauſe of the great Mountains of Snow that hinder travelling by Land; and the Shoals, and the multitude of little Iſlands that lie off the Main, have alſo hindred any exact Diſcoveries to be made by Sea.

Country from the *Streights* to *Chili.*

The firſt known Country on the Coaſt of *Chili* (coming from the *Streights*) is that of *Caſtro*; 'tis the worſt of all thereabouts, becauſe there's very little Gold, and as little Proviſion, and then 'tis exceſſively cold. The whole Country of *Chili* is above 100 Leagues long N. & S. but not more than 25 Leagues in breadth. There run from the high Mountains into the Sea a great number of Rivers, which make it one of the pleaſanteſt Countries in the World, and that 'tis as fruitful and rich too is paſt all doubt.

Caſtro.

Chili.

The Province of *Arauco* is not above 20 Leagues long, but has a fine plain Country which lies juſt over againſt the Iſland of *Mocha*.

Arauco.

The chief City of all *Chili* (and the richeſt too) was *La Conception*, but it has been plunder'd and burnt by the valiant *Araucans* ſo often, that it became a poor decay'd place upon't.

St. *Jago* (which ſtands 25 Leagues up in the Country) ſucceeded *La Conception* in the character of the principal City, which it has kept, and is a conſiderable place. The Port of *Valparizo* upon this Coaſt, is that whither all the Ships come from *Lima* and unlade their Goods. Next to *Coquimbo* (which is the next Town by the Sea-ſide beyond *Valparizo*) is *Copiapo* a Port Town, but more remarkable for being the utmoſt Boundary of the Country of *Chili*; when you are paſs'd this, you come into a Country that leads you to *Peru*. The tract of Land between *Capiapo* and *Peru* is near 160 Leagues, but it lies deſolate 'tis ſo rugged and mountainous. *Peru* is at leaſt 800 Leagues from North to South; upon above 600 of which 'tis ſaid that no Rain ever falls, and yet the moſt wanton and luxurious appetite in the World can crave for nothing which this Country will not yield. The reaſon of which, ſome attribute to the vaſt ridge of high Mountains that runs along upon the Weſt frontier, which defends thoſe ſweet Valleys of *Peru* from the rainy Clouds that wou'd otherwiſe water them. But however, from theſe Mountains there iſſue out abundance of Rivers which diſcharge themſelves into the South Sea, and as they run along their waters are drawn off by Sluces and Channels cut for that purpoſe, by which the Vineyards and Corn-fields are ſufficiently refreſh'd, and the whole Country made exceeding fruitful. Betwixt theſe Mountains and the Mountains of *Chili*, that ſtretch to the *Magellanick Streights*, there lies a mighty Plain of 60 leagues over, which is ſo cold, that it is unfit for the production of Corn, but yet is very fruitful as to ſeveral other ſorts of neceſſaries. Behind the ridge of ſnowy Mountains lies the Province of *Tucuman*, wherein the *Spaniards* have ſome Towns; the laſt of them is called *Cordove*, from whence to *Santa Fee*, upon the River of *Plate*, is about 70 leagues; which Town of *Santa Fee* was built in that place to favour the deſign of ſeeking a way to *Peru* by the River of *Plate*. The firſt Town in *Peru*, as you come from *Chili*, is called *Atacama*, and from hence to *Arica* all the Coaſt is inhabited by *Indians*, that acknowledge the *Spaniſh* Authority. From hence you go to *Camana* (the next Port Town) and ſo to *Acari*, famous for the beſt and greateſt quantity of Wine made in all *Peru*; from thence along the Coaſt to *Calao*, the well known Port of *Lima*.

Several Towns.

Bounds of *Chili.*

Peru.

No rain.

Provinces of *Tucuman.*

Santa Fee.

Camana.

Acari.

Proceeding ſtill Northward, you come to the rich City of *Truxillo*, which is one of the principal ones of *Peru*; the next to which of note is *Guayaquill*, which ſtands 40 leagues up into a great Bay or River, at the entrance of which ſtands *Tumbez* an *Indian* Town. *Guayaquill* is remarkable for the quantities of Saſſaparilla they gather here, and the ſtore of Timber it affords for the building Ships, but much more for its being the firſt place in *Peru* where it rains, for all between *Atacama* and *Guayaquill* there is none.

Guayaquill.

Timber and Saſſaparilla.

From hence you go along the Coaſt to *Puerto Viejo*, formerly a noted place for Emeraulds, but it ſeems the plenty and commonneſs of theſe Stones have ſo ſunk the value of them, that the trade is decay'd, and the Town grown poor; by the way, 'tis much more likely that theſe ſhou'd not be true Emeraulds, than that a Town which had plenty of ſuch noble Jewels ſhou'd ever go to decay.

Emeraulds at *Puerto Viejo.*

Within the Main, ſome 50 or 60 leagues from hence, ſtands *Popaian*, a place of ſome trade; but from thence, as far as *Panama*, you meet with no Town at all, for the Country is very mountainous, full of Rivers, and unwholſome too. About this Country dwell the *Symmarons*, a company of fugitive Negroes, that being run away from their *Spaniſh* Maſters, here eſtabliſhed themſelves into a Community. The reaſon of this Revolt was the hard uſage they had from their Maſters, and tho' there were ſeveral attempts made to reduce them to their former Obedience, yet they all prov'd unſucceſsful; the Negroes ſtoutly defended their Liberty, and very often made the *Spaniards* feel the effects of their indignation and reſentment. At laſt they came to a ſort of a Compoſition, and becauſe the *Spaniards* cou'd make no better terms, they yielded the Negroes ſhou'd have their liberty, and live in a place by themſelves, provided they wou'd be quiet. Their principal place is St. *Jago de los Negros*, not far from *Panama*, where they have all Officers of their own, only a *Spaniſh* Governor reſident amongſt them. The Coaſt running along betwixt *Panama* and *Nova Eſpanna*, is call'd *Coſta Rica*; next to which is a mountainous Country call'd *Coſta di Nicaragua*, inhabited by the *Spaniards*, and containing ſeveral good Ports, to which great ſtore, and many varieties of Merchandize are brought. Thus have we gone round this whole great Continent,

Popaian.

The *Symmarons.*

Their Habitation near *Panama.*

Coſta Rica.

Nicaragua.

Continent, and ſeen the Coaſts of both ſides of it; it remains now that we add ſome other Remarks of our Authors.

Muſo the beſt Emeraulds.

The Town of *Muſo*, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, has the beſt Emeraulds known in all the *Indies*, and are taken out of a Rock, which is it ſelf an inexhauſtible Treaſury of that ſort of Riches. A certain *Indian* found here a Stone which was ſent to King *Philip* of *Spain*, the value of which was not to be fix'd, and all the Jewellers were puzzell'd to ſay what 'twas worth.

Mines of *Potoſi*.

The great Mountain in *Potoſi*, where the Mines are, has always a Cloud hanging over the top of it, even in the pureſt and cleareſt weather. At the foot ſtands the City, but there's no ſuch thing as Graſs or Paſture within 6 leagues all about. The entrance into the Mine-works, and the working there, are ſo dangerous, that they which go upon that deſign uſe to take the Sacrament of the Altar, expecting never to return more. The Metals lie at a vaſt depth in the Earth, at leaſt 200 times a Man's height: Rain is very neceſſary for theſe Works in the Mines ſometimes, and this they uſually have about *Chriſtmaſs*. In *February* the Silver comes from *Potoſi* and *Porco* to *Lima*, and about the ſame time the Ships come with Gold from *Chili* to the ſame place, and this amounts to near 3 Millions, half of which is the King's, but in all, both Gold and Silver, 'tis about 12 Millions. From *Lima* it goes to *Panama*, in the Month of *April*; from *Panama* by Land to *Nombre de Dios*, and from thence by Sea to *Carthagena*. The Gold that comes out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, and the Province of *John de Salina*, is alſo brought by a River to *Carthagena*, ſo that at that place there's a good Booty to be met with every Year, if ſome well-laid project were as well put in execution.

Times of carrying the Treaſure, and the places.

Mines of *Oruto* and *Guacovelica*.

The Mines of *Oruto* are given over through the defailure of the Quickſilver; and the rich Silver Mines of *Guacovelica*, which uſe to yield 8000 Quintals yearly, have been ſtopp'd up by the falling in of ſome Mountains.

Wine and Aſſes ſcarce in *Quito*.

To conclude theſe Remarks, they tell us that two things are exceſſively ſcarce and dear, conſequently in the great City of *Quito*, and thoſe are Wine and Aſſes. The former is worth 8 Rials a Quart if brought from *Lima*, but 12 if it comes from *Spain*. The latter are ſuch rarities, that one has been ſold for 1500 Pezo's; and 'tis a ſort of Proverbial Queſtion in the Country, What's deareſt at *Quito*? To which the Anſwer is, An Aſs. But they were always reckon'd a very ſenſible ingenious People, and 'tis but agreeable to their Character to have few of theſe Animals amongſt them.

The diſcovery of *Solomon's* Iſlands.

It may not be amiſs to add to this, the Account they give us of the firſt Diſcovery of the Iſlands of *Solomon*. The *Spaniſh* Vice-Roys in this part of the World, to ingratiate themſelves the more with the King their Maſter, and keep his favour, that they may the longer keep theſe profitable Poſts, uſe to ſet themſelves to make new Diſcoveries. Thus Don *Luis de Velaſco*, Vice-Roy of *New Spain*, ſent out a Fleet and diſcover'd the *Philippine* Iſlands. After the ſame manner one *Caſtro*, Vice-Roy of *Peru*, ſent out a Fleet from *Lima*, a principal Commander in which was *Pedro Sarmiento*, a famous ſearcher of the *Magellanick Streighes*. They ſail'd 800 leagues to the Weſt of the Coaſt of *Peru*, and in 11 degr. S. L. they found ſeveral Iſlands inhabited with People of a tawny complexion, and quite naked. Theſe Iſlands afforded Ginger, Cloves and Cinnamon, tho' not the very beſt; there was alſo ſome appearance of Gold. Between 9 and 15 degr. S. L. they diſcover'd 11 great Iſlands, the largeſt of which had its Name *Guadalcanal* from the firſt Obſerver, and upon the Coaſt of this they ſail'd 150 leagues, before they cou'd know whether 'twere an Iſland or part of the Main-land; nay, they cou'd not at laſt find the end of it, ſo that they concluded it might poſſibly be part of a Continent ſtretching to the *Magellanick Streighes*. However, theſe were thoſe afterwards call'd *Solomon's* Iſlands, and they afforded excellent Victuals of all ſorts; ſo that they are the moſt convenient refreſhing places that can be as a Ship ſails from the Coaſt of *Chili*, *Peru*, or the *Magellanick*, for the *Molucces*. Here is alſo Gold to be had, which the Natives will give in truck for other Commodities. The *Spaniards* did not think of finding Gold hereabouts, but yet they brought home to the value of 40000 Pezo's, and good ſtore of Spices too. The Natives were very ſtout Men, and fought continually againſt the *Spaniards*, ſo that they got no more Spoil of one ſort nor another, than what they got by main force. They were at leaſt 14 Months in diſcovering theſe Iſlands from one to another; at the end of which they return'd home, ſailing to the North of the line, and ſo falling with the Coaſt of *New Spain*.

Spices. Gold. Store of Proviſions.

The reaſon of their Name.

That the *Spaniards* might be encouraged to go and Plant theſe Iſlands, the Diſcoverers politickly gave them the Name of *Solomon's* Iſlands, as if they ought to ſuppoſe theſe were the very Iſlands that Prince fetch'd all his Gold from to adorn the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. This was a good contrivance to ſend ſome away, and ſo make more room for the reſt in the rich and delicious Country of *Peru*. And the trick took ſo far, that Colonies were actually going to be ſent thither; but at the ſame time they had notice that Sir *Francis Drake* was gone into the South Sea; upon which, Orders were ſent that they ſhou'd not be inhabited, to the end that the *Engliſh*, and all other Nations paſſing that way to the *Molucca's*, might meet with no other refreſhment there than what they cou'd get from the Natives, who are not very forward to entertain Strangers.

CHAP. XIII.

The Natural Hiſtory of the Spaniſh Indies *in general.*

WE are here to run over thoſe things that relate to the Hiſtory of Nature in this part of the World, and therefore ſhall make no diſcourſe of Long. and Lat. of length and ſhortneſs of Days, of Shadows, Twilights, and other things of Mathematical conſideration. For theſe things we muſt go to our Globes, till we find them determin'd by infallible Obſervations made in the Country. In the mean time, we may ſurvey with pleaſure the Land, Rivers and Springs, the Mountains, Meadows, and fruitful Valleys, Animals, and all the rich Products of the Earth; amongſt which variety of Subjects, we ſhall meet with ſome that will poſſibly entertain us.

The temper of the Climate.

What the quality and temper of the air for the moſt part is, may be pretty eaſily gueſs'd from the ſituation of the Country; yet this is not a Rule that holds without exception, neither are the degrees of heat and cold in any Country preciſely to be determin'd by its nearneſs to, or remoteneſs from the Equinoctial, ſince there are abundance of other cauſes that concur to theſe effects, and are to be conſider'd in their ſeveral influences and relations thereto. The Torrid Zone is in a great many places truly ſo, and the Inhabitants are as it were continually roaſting; thus 'tis in *Ethiopia*, and almoſt all Parts of *Africk*; in ſome Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and many others of *Aſia*; and ſo in part of *Braſile*, and others for the *American* World. But yet in the ſame Zone, in other places, 'tis quite otherwiſe; the air is cool and temperate, and the Sun, tho' he comes directly over the heads of the Inhabitants, yet does not torment them at that rate with his heat. At *Quito* in *Peru*, the heat is very gentle and moderate, and ſo 'tis generally upon the Plains of that Country, but about *Potoſi* 'tis downright cold, and by the bare feeling of the temper of the air thereabouts, a Man wou'd gueſs that he were much farther removed from the Equinoctial than he is. And 'tis the ſame too moſtly in the Kingdom of *New Granada*, which enjoys a pleaſant temperate air, rather inclining to cold than heat, as is very well ſeen in the ſkins and complexions of the Inhabitants. But this difference is not only obſervable by Land, but at Sea too; for as about all the Sea of *Panama*, and the Coaſt of *Braſile*, you have violent and hardly tolerable heats, ſo upon the *Peruvian* Sea it has been taken notice, that even when the Sun has been directly over the heads of thoſe that have ſail'd along, they have had as much cold as they car'd

Difference of heat and cold in the burning Zone.

Difference of heat and cold upon the *American* Seas.

The influence of the winds in this matter, and the difference between the ſame winds in thoſe Parts and *Europe*.

for. 'Tis paſt all doubt, that the Winds and Breezes are the principal cauſes of this difference, and tho' we can give no particular account of the various Laws obſerv'd by them in all Parts of this great Country, yet ſome few things, which pretty conſtant experience has juſtify'd, are to be taken notice of. In *Europe* we find, that in the Summer time our moſt cool and pleaſing Seaſons are in the Morning, the Evenings being more frequently (if compar'd with them) hot and ſultry. Contrariwiſe in *Peru* (and it holds too in many places in the middle Zone) they feel ſome of their greateſt heats in the Morning, becauſe at that time the freſh Winds from the Sea don't blow upon them, but towards the middle of the Day thoſe Winds (with their conſtant and ſtated courſe) return and make the air cool and pleaſant. Again, the North Winds which with us are ſharp and piercing, yet diſperſes Miſts and Clouds, and clears the air, is in many Parts of *Peru* troubleſome and unwholſome; darkens the air, and brings Rain along with it very frequently.

Effects of the N. & S. winds.

On the other hand their South Winds are healthy and refreſhing, and make very bright and pleaſant weather along the Plains and Coaſt of that Country; and yet neither of theſe Rules will hold univerſally, for they have there extremely cold and dry North Winds, and their Rains wet South ones, as is well known in ſome

Of the E. & W. ones

mountainous Parts of *Peru* and *Chili*. Again, our *Solanus*, or Eaſt Wind, is reckon'd far leſs mild, kindly and healthful, than the *Zephyrus* is; but here (and ſo 'tis all over the Torrid Zone, the Eaſterly wind, which they call the Breeze, b ows not only pleaſure and refreſhment, but health and advantage to the Body: One can't ſay it does more ſo than the Weſterly does, becauſe that Wind that is the full Weſt, ſeldom or hardly blows at all be-

The wet and dry Seaſons.

tween the Tropicks.) As for the order and conſequence of the dry and wet Seaſons one upon another, the Rule obtains here that is eſtabliſh'd by univerſal Experience every where in the Torrid Zone, that when the Sun is fartheſt from them they have their faireſt and dryeſt weather, and the contrary when he returns and comes over their heads again. Thus in *Peru*, when the Sun makes his courſe towards the Tropick of *Cancer*, the air is very clear and calm; they have nothing of Rain or Snow, all their Rivers fall, and ſome are quite dried up. On the other hand, as the Sun approaches to them, and comes to ſhine with more direct and forcible beams upon them, the Rain and Snows come on too, and the Rivers ſwell and overflow their Banks. The ſame Law is obſerved in proportion in the Coaſt of *New Spain*, the Iſlands of *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba*, and *St. John de Porto Rico*, and univerſally on the North-ſide of the Line, with reference to the Sun's acceſs to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, as on the South-ſide with reſpect to that of *Cancer*. But this Law 'tis well known) holds only in the Torrid Zone, for all the Regions without the Tropicks have Rain and Snow, and all that foul weather when the Sun is fartheſt from them, and together with the return of that Luminary, not only their great heat, but cleareſt ſky and drieſt weather too. This Rule is ſo well confirm'd by Obſervations throughout the World, that 'tis not to be in the leaſt queſtion'd.

Difference between the Torrid and Temperate Zones in the point of weather.

The temper and conſtitution of the Land is to be conſider'd with reſpect either to the low, the high, or the middle Lands. In general, the low Parts towards the Sea-Coaſt are hot and moiſt, and not ſo fit to be inhabited, nor near ſo healthy as others are. There are ſome of them that are plainly uninhabitable, not only by reaſon of the Sands which lie in vaſt mountains in many places, but the watry plaſhy Grounds, which is the other extreme; for the waters that fall from the Mountains, finding no outlet in theſe flat and low Lands do perfectly drown them, and render them unfit for living in. And what by one and the other of theſe, eſpecially the latter, the greateſt part of the Coaſt of this Empire, particularly that upon the South Sea, is made a very ill ſort of a Habitation. Only 'tis to be ſaid, that this admits of an exception, with reſpect to ſome Parts of *Peru*, where the low Lands are cool, fertile and healthy. The high Lands are cold and dry, very healthy, but not very fruitful nor pleaſant; yet there are Paſture Grounds, and good ſtore of Cattel, out of which they ſupply their want of Corn and Grain, but then they have the advantage of having the rich Mines amongſt them, and all things we know obey Gold and Silver. Theſe two advantages of Paſture and Mines in the high Lands, do countervail the other two of Trade, and abundance of Wines which are found in the lower along the Sea-Coaſt. The middle Lands are moderate in temper as well as ſituation, they have not the hot muggy air of the one, nor the piercing cold of the other; they abound in many ſorts of Grain, as Wheat, Barley and Maize, which grows not at all in the high Countries, but pretty well in the lower. There's alſo delicate Paſture-Grounds, Fields full of Cattel, Orchards and Gardens of Fruit, and an admirable mixture of Woods and Foreſts. This is the part of the Country that is beſt form'd for Health and Pleaſure; and 'tis the moſt crouded and thronged with Inhabitants, who live here a ſort of Paradiſiacal life.

Conſtitution and Diviſion of the Land.

Sands and marſhy grounds.

High lands.

Paſture and Cattel.

Mines.

Products Corn and Grain.

Nature of the Land in *Mexico*

But for a more particular Account of the Nature and Quality of the Land, we may conſider how it is in the two well-known Parts of this vaſt Empire the Countries of *Mexico* and *Peru*. As to the former, 'tis obſerved that what way ſoever you enter it you are upon the aſcent, and having mounted a good heighth you begin to fall again, tho' but a very little. All the Land about *New Spain* and *Mexico* is of this nature, not but that there are high Mountains and deep Valleys; but the buſineſs is, that the main of the Country lies thus conſiderably elevated above that which runs along the Sea-Coaſt. *Peru* is to be conſider'd as divided into three Parts, which are call'd by the *Spaniards* the *Lanos*, the *Sierras*, and the *Andes*. The *Lanos* runs along the Sea-Coaſt, the *Sierras* be all Hills with ſome Valleys, the *Andes* are ſteep and craggy Mountains. The *Lanos* takes up ſome 10 leagues in breadth, in ſome Parts leſs, and in others a little more; the *Sierras* run ſome 20 leagues in breadth, the *Andes* as much, ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs. It never rains upon all the *Lanos* or Sea-Coaſt, but ſometimes there falls a ſmall dew; to defend themſelves from which the Inhabitants need no more than coverings of Mats, with a little Earth upon them. Upon the *Andes* it rains almoſt continually, tho' ſometimes the Seaſons vary there as to more and leſs. In the *Sierras*, which lies betwixt both the Extremes, the Rains obſerve the ſame Seaſons that they do in *Spain*. The *Sierras* abounds with a ſort of wild Goats and Sheep, and their Valleys are very pleaſant and full of Fruits. The *Andes* afford great numbers of Apes and Parrots; and here alſo they find the Plant *Coca*, which is ſo greatly eſteemed of the *Indians*, and of the Trade of which they make ſo much Money. The *Andes* and *Sierras* run along for above 1000 leagues in view with one another, and almoſt parallel too. Beyond the Royal City of *Cuſco* they open from one another, and form a large and ſpacious Champian, repleniſh'd with abundance of fine Rivers and flouriſhing Paſtures. It is a healthful Soil, the beſt Peopled, and the richeſt of all the *Indies* for all kinds of Proviſions, Corn only excepted; but they have all the Cattel of *Europe*, beſides thoſe that are peculiar to the Country, and excellent Fowl, particularly ſtore of Partridges. This is call'd the Province of *Callao*; the next to which, namely *Charcas*, has abundance of very fruitful Valleys, and Mountains that afford the richeſt Fruit in the World, which is the charming Metals of Gold and Silver.

The Land in *Peru*. *Lanos*, *Sierras*, *Andes*.

Goats and Sheep.

Apes and Parrots.

Plant Coca.

Great Champian.

Store of Fowl.

Province of *Callao*.

There are ſeveral very great Lakes in this Country: The Lake of *Titicaca*, in the Province of *Callao*, (juſt now mention'd) is full 35 leagues in length, and 15 in breadth at the wideſt place, and there are 10 or 12 great Rivers that empty themſelves into it. The water is not ſalt nor brackiſh like that of the Sea, but has ſo many ill qualities that 'tis not fit to be drunk; there are ſeveral Iſlands in it which formerly were inhabited and cultivated but now lie waſte, but for all that Lake is inhabited ſtill, and you may ſee a great many Villages of *Indians* floating in it. For 'tis to be noted, that there grows here a ſort of Reed which they call *Tortora*, of which they make a ſort of Boats, and then tying a good number of theſe all together they compoſe a Village, which removes from place to place according as their Occaſions lead them. The Lake is well repleniſh'd with Fiſh and wild Fowl, which are the things theſe *Indians* mainly depend upon for their livelihood. Tho' it receives ſo great quantities of water, yet it has but one vent only, which running in a current for at leaſt 50 leagues, forms at laſt another Lake; this is leſs than the Original one, but yet very large in it ſelf, and upon the Banks of it feed abundance of Cattel that grow very fat with the fine Paſturage they meet with there. At the end of the Valley of *Tarapaya*, near *Potoſi*, there's a Lake ſo round in its circumference, that it ſeems as if it had been deſcrib'd by Compaſs. But 'tis ſtranger ſtill, for the quality of its water; in the middle it boils up like a Pot for at leaſt 20 foot ſquare, which is the very riſing of the Spring, and 'tis ſo hot, that that compariſon is juſt enough alſo upon this account. They very frequently bathe in it towards the outward Parts, and near the Banks, but going farther 'tis ſo hot that 'tis not to be endured. They have cut a great Channel which draws off a conſiderable ſtream of water from the Lake, (for the ſervice

Lakes.

Great Lake of *Titicaca*.

Floating Villages.

Fiſh and Fowl.

Boiling Lake

ſervice of their Metal-Engines) notwithſtanding which the Spring works up ſo very faſt, that the Lake always keeps full without any apparent decreaſe. The mighty Lake of *Mexico*, upon ſome accounts deſerves more admiration than the former. That great City it ſelf is ſeated in it, but the proſpect of the floating Gardens is not leſs fine and agreeable than that of ſo many Houſes, for here you ſhall ſee large Plats of ground full of all ſorts of pleaſant Herbs and Flowers ſwimming along upon the water, and floating from one part to another. The Lake affords two ſorts of water, one ſalt like that of the Ocean, and another ſweet and clear, from the many Rivers that enter into it. In the midſt of it is a great rocky Iſland, which has ſeveral Baths of hot water, very wholſome and medicinal, and much us'd upon that ſcore. The quantities of Fiſh it affords are ſo great, that the Revenue of the Lake is ordinarily reckon'd at 300000 Ducats *per Annum*. In general, all the Lakes of *New Spain*, and *Mechoacan* particularly, are very full of Fiſh; and as there are not a few of them, ſo 'tis plain that the Inhabitants can't want that ſort of Proviſion.

Great Lake of *Mexico*.

Two ſorts of Water.

Hot Baths.

Great ſtore of Fiſh.

This Country is admirably well water'd with Rivers, and ſome of the greateſt in the World have their riſe from ſome parts of it. The River of *Alvarado* in *New Spain* is a very conſiderable one; and that of *Magdalen*, which falls into the Sea betwixt St. *Martha* and *Carthagena*, runs with a ſtream of above two leagues breadth into the Ocean, which it does with ſuch a force, that for above 10 leagues it preſerves it ſelf diſtinct and unmixt with the Salt water. But the great River of the *Amazons*, and that of *Plate*, are ſtill more wonderful for their largeneſs, velocity, and the great quantities of water they pour into the Ocean. They both riſe out of the Mountains of *Peru*, where they receive conſiderable additions from the Rains, and other little Rivers. The former opens into the Sea with ſo wide a mouth, that 'tis almoſt incredible; a Man ſees only Sky and Water there, and 'tis juſt as if he were in the great Ocean; 'tis much about or near the Line that it thus communicates with the Sea. Some allow it 70 leagues of breadth in that place, others not ſo much, but all agree 'tis the greateſt River known in the World, and neither the *Danube*, *Nile*, *Volga* or *Ganges*, are comparable to it. The Tides flow almoſt 100 leagues up the River, in which reſpect alſo it may claim precedency of all the Rivers in the World that have been yet diſcover'd. The River of *Plate* runs into the Sea in about 35 degr. S. L. and ſometimes 'tis ſo overcharg'd with waters, that it drowns all the Fields about it, and the Country looks like a Sea; this Deluge holds for a matter of 3 Miles, and then the River returns to its ordinary Courſe or Bounds again. The Natives, when they find this coming upon them, they quit their Habitations, and retire with all their Goods into their Canoes, and ſo float up and down till the ſwelling River ſinks again, and makes way for them to return to their Houſes. On the South-ſide of the Mountains of *Peru* the Rivers are not uſually ſo great, becauſe their Currents are not long, and many waters cannot join their forces together; but then they are very ſwift in their deſcent from the Mountains, and have ſudden falls, upon which account they are very dangerous, and many have loſt their lives in attempting to paſs them. The methods that the *Indians* have to help People over their Rivers are various, and ſuch, as they that try them had need be above the fears of drowning. In ſome places they make uſe of a long Rope that reaches from one Bank to the other, on to which is faſten'd a Basket, and in that the Party that is to paſs over puts himſelf; ſo then the *Indians* that undertake the buſineſs ſwimming over to the other ſide, they drag him by the Rope along to them. In other places they ride aſtride upon a wadd of ſome light ſtuff or other, and mount the Paſſenger behind them, and ſo with a piece of board, inſtead of an Oar, they row themſelves over. Others of them again, do compoſe a kind of a Float of Gourds or Pompions faſten'd together, upon which they place all the People, and their ſeveral things that are to go over; on to this Float they fix certain Cords, which the *Indians* that go ſwimming before do pull, and ſo tow along the whole Machine, while at the ſame time others come behind, and do that ſervice by thruſting which the others before do by pulling. Sometimes they have undertaken to carry Men over Rivers upon a Table-board, which they have born upon their ſhoulders, and this without any manner of fear or concern; and the learned Jeſuit *Acoſta* paſs'd the *Alvarado* in *New Spain* after this manner, and tho' 'twas in a ſhallow part of the River, yet ſometimes the *Indians* were many times out of their depth and loſt their footing, and then when 'twas ſo they preſently fell to dabbling and treading the water; ſo that bottom or no bottom, 'tis all one to them. As for Bridges they uſe none, unleſs floating ones made of Hair and Straw ſometimes; the *Spaniards*, 'tis true, have built Bridges of Stone over ſome Rivers, and the *Indians* may uſe them 'tis poſſible when they lie in their way; that is, if they have not Gourds or Pompions at hand to make a Float of, or a wadd of Straw, or ſome ſuch conveniency, which is much better than a Bridge, which may tumble down into the water while a Man is going over it. In ſhort, there's no need of Bridges for People that are as ſafe in the water as upon the dry land, and in no more danger of drowning than the Fiſhes themſelves.

Rivers. *Alvarado. Magdalen.*

River of the *Amazons*.

Wide Channel.

River of *Plate*.

Great Floods.

Swift Rivers.

Divers ways of paſſing the Rivers.

Indians uſe no Bridges.

There are Springs and Fountains in this Country that have ſomething rare and wonderful in them. In *Guancavelica* in *Peru*, there's one that ſends out hot water, which as runs along petrifies and turns to perfect Rock. It's true, this ſtrange ſort of Stone is ſoft, light and eaſie to cut, but yet 'tis ſtrong and laſting, and ſo fit for uſe, that almoſt all the Houſes of the adjoining Village are built of it. They ſay alſo, that 'tis very fatal for Men or Beaſts to drink of this water, and there's no doubt to be made on't, if it turns to ſtone in their Bellies; to be ſure 'tis no good Diuretick, and wont paſs quite ſo well as a Chalybeat. But by means of this petrifying quality of the water, it comes to paſs that the Fountain blocks up its own way, and ſo neceſſarily changes its Courſe, and is continually forcing it ſelf new paſſages. At the Baths which they call the *Inca's* Baths, there are ſome ſtreams which come almoſt boiling hot out of the ground, and cloſe by theſe are others that are as cold as Ice. In the Province of *Charcas* eſpecially, there are a vaſt number of theſe hot Springs; and the *Spaniards*, who meaſur'd Time by *Ave-Maries*, won and loſt Wagers about holding their fingers in the water while thoſe ſhort Devotions paſs'd, but a Devotion as warm as the water, wou'd have made them find out ſome other way to meaſure the Time, while they were playing the fool thus with one another; a Man can't well burn his finger to purpoſe without crying oh! for't, and that's very pretty ſport in the middle of a Prayer. Near *Cuſco* there's a Fountain that has its waters impregnated with a Salt very white and good, which it leaves behind as it runs along, and that in ſuch quantities, that if the People thought it worth their while they might make it turn to ſome good account; but they have ſo much of this Commodity thereabouts that they altogether neglect it. The waters which run in *Guayaquill* in *Peru* near the Line, are reckon'd good for the *French* Diſeaſe, and many other caſes of the like nature; for which reaſon they are viſited by People that live at a great diſtance all round about, and they talk of very great cures that are wrought by them. They attribute the vertue of theſe waters to the Saſſaparilla, that the Country is known to abound with. Out of the Mountain *Bilcanota* in *Peru* there iſſues a Spring, the water of which, as it comes juſt from the Rock, is of an Aſh-colour, and looks like Lye; beſides it caſts a fume from it like a thing that's on fire: it continues after this manner for a great way, till the ſtream has ſo many other waters mix'd with it, that all the heat and fuming is quite gone. There are alſo Springs, the waters of which are of very odd colours; thus in *New Spain* there's one, whoſe water is blue, and in *Peru* another of a blood red colour, the ſtream of which the Inhabitants call the Red River, but as to the Vertues and Properties of either of theſe, we can give no account.

Springs and Fountains.

A petrifying water.

Inca's Baths.

A Fountain that yields Salt.

Medicinal waters.

Smoking water.

Waters of various colours.

If we Survey theſe Parts of the World, we ſhall find two burning Mountains and Volcanoes, no leſs terrible than thoſe famous ones of *Ætna* and *Veſuvius* in *Europe*. That of *Mexico*, which is near the Village of *Angels*, is a very conſiderable one, and takes up ſo much ground, that they go turning and winding about it in the aſcent a matter of 30 leagues. There has been no fire obſerv'd yet breaking out of it, but thick Clouds of ſmoke are very common, and ſeen almoſt every day; and ſometimes it throws out great quantities of Aſhes and Cinders too. Theſe Paroxyſms are ordinarily in the Morning and the Evening, tho' *Acoſta* tells us he has obſerv'd them at other times of the day. That of *Arequippa* is alſo vaſtly high, and the Mountains is all over nothing but Sand; it has never flam'd viſibly, tho' the effects of an inward fire are diſcernible enough in the ſmoke which at certain times it ſends out. Thoſe of *Guatimalla* are more remarkable ſtill, as well for their heighth and greatneſs, as the horrible flames that are ſeen to aſcend out of them; this Phenomena is often diſcover'd by thoſe that ſail a great way off in the South Sea, they can ſee at that diſtance, by the vaſt Columns of ſmoke and flame, when the Volcanoes are in their raging fits. The Country about *Quito* has a conſiderable ſhare in this ſort of Calamity

Volcanoes.

A great one by *Mexico*.

That of *Arequippa*.

Thoſe of *Guatimalla* ſeen in the South Sea.

too;

That by *Quito* in *Peru*. too; there's one in that neighbourhood that throws out Aſhes and Cinders for many leagues about, and ſometimes fills the air at that rate with them that 'tis quite darken'd, and there's little difference between Day and Night while that combuſtion laſts. And the forementioned Author tells us, that he was in the City of *Quito* at a certain time when the Volcano raged, and threw out ſuch a prodigious quantity of Aſhes, that the People were not able to walk the Streets for't.

Earthquakes. To the Volcanoes we may not improperly add Earthquakes, which are another, tho' a very formidable head of the Natural Hiſtory of this Country. The Empires of *Mexico* and *Peru* are both liable to them, but eſpecially the latter, which if it were not for this inconvenience wou'd be above objection in every point, and compariſon in moſt; but it muſt be acknowledg'd that 'tis ſubject to theſe direful concuſſions, and its neighbour *Chili* is equally expos'd to the ſame calamity too. It was but

City of *Guatimala* deſtroy'd. in *A. D.* 1586. that the City of *Guatimala* was almoſt all ſwallow'd up with an Earthquake, and the great Volcano there had then been vomiting out whole torrents of fire for ſix months together, without any conſiderable intermiſſion by day or by night. The ſame was the fate

Arequippa likewiſe. of the City of *Arequippa* about three years before that.

A ſhock from *Cuſco* to *Quito*. A little before that there was an Earthquake that, as it were, run along from *Chili* as far as *Quito*, which is above 100 leagues; but this was not ſo terrible as another which happen'd upon the Coaſt of the ſame Country of *Chili*, which entirely demoliſh'd ſeveral Towns, overturn'd great Mountains, which tumbling down into Rivers ſtopt the Courſes of them, and converted them into Lakes; the Sea at the ſame time was in a fearful commotion, and relinquiſhing the Channel, the Ships in ſeveral places were left upon dry ground.

Dreadful Earthquakes in *Chili*.

A terrible one in *Peru* In the forementioned Year 1586. or thereabouts, there was the like confuſion at the City of *Kings* in *Peru*, and the adjoining Country; 'tis true there were not many lives loſt at that time, for the People were warn'd of the approaching miſchief by a diſmal grumbling noiſe in the Bowels of the Earth, upon which they left their Houſes and Gardens, and betook themſelves to the open Fields. But a great part of the City was ruin'd, and the Inhabitants themſelves muſt have been deſtroy'd too, if they had not retir'd farther up into the Country, for by the convulſion the Sea was furiouſly thrown out of its Bounds, and carried near two leagues up into the Land, the water riſing above 14 Fathom, ſo that the Country was perfectly delug'd for that diſtance, and there was no living there but in Boats or very high Trees.

Leſs violent in *Mexico*. *Mexico* alſo has its ſhare of theſe Misfortunes, but they are not near ſo violent there as in *Peru* and *Chili*. Theſe two laſt Countries have not the horrible Commotions of the airy Region, the frightful Thunders and Lightnings that many other places have; but inſtead of that, they are paid off with Earthquakes, which ſort of Commotion is the more formidable of the two, and moſt commonly attended with the greater miſchiefs.

The Riches. This part of the World has had the name for wonderful Riches ever ſince 'twas diſcover'd; and not without juſt reaſon, for none all over the Globe can pretend to ſo great Treaſures as it, if we reſtrain the word to Gold and Silver, not but that there are Jewels and Pearl to be found here too in no ſmall plenty in many places; but perhaps the *Weſt-Indies* will give the precedency to the Eaſt in this matter, and acknowledge its own Pearl and Jewels leſs beautiful

Ways of getting Gold. and valuable than thoſe of the other. As for their Gold, they find it one of theſe three ways; either in Grains, which is always pure, without any manner of mixture, and needs no melting nor refining in the Fire; or in Duſt, which is found about Rivers and Places where much water hath paſs'd, and is to be ſeparated by waſhing away the Sand and Earth that contains it; or elſe in Veins in a kind of Stone which comes out of Pits and Mines, and requires much labour to dig it out of the Earth at firſt, and refine it in the Fire afterwards. The firſt ſort is not ſo plentiful as the ſecond and third, but 'tis the ſecond ſort that they get the largeſt quantities of in the *Indies*; tho' there are Mines that afford the Gold

Gold Mine. Stone, in ſome pieces of which you ſhall ſee the Stone intermix'd and ſtreak'd as it were with gold, in others you ſhall have half Gold and half Stone. And this Stone runs in a perfect Vein in the Mine as Silver does, as *Acoſta* tells us, he was an Eye-witneſs in the Mines of *Curuma* in this Country.

Beſt Gold. The fineſt Gold is reckon'd to be that of *Caranava* in *Peru*, and of *Baldivia* in *Chili*; and next to this the Gold of *Veragua*. The Gold is commonly found mix'd with Silver or Copper, but that which is found mix'd with Silver is, generally ſpeaking, of fewer Carrats than that mix'd with Copper. What abundance of this rich Metal theſe Provinces yielded may be gueſs'd by this, that the *Incas* of *Peru* had almoſt all their Houſhold Materials, and other Utenſils, made of it. They did not content themſelves with ſmaller Veſſels of Gold, as Pots, Cups, Goblets, Flaggons, nor with the larger ones, as great Kowles, and others of that ſort, but had even their Chairs of State, and Litters of Maſſy-gold. And 'tis certain alſo, that at *Mexico* the *Spaniards* found in the Temples Images of various forms, and of a very great magnitude too, all of the ſame ſolid Metal. As for Silver, the chief Places from whence they draw that are the Mines of *New Spain* and *Peru*, but thoſe of *Peru* do vaſtly ſurpaſs the others; and amongſt all theſe, the Mines of *Potoſi* are the moſt admirable. 'Tis true thoſe of *Porco*, which are 6 leagues diſtant from *Potoſi*, were diſcover'd long before them, being open long before the *Spaniards* ever ſaw the Country; but tho' the Metal there be very good and rich, yet by reaſon of ſome obſtructions they have left off to dig there. 'Twas at leaſt 12 Years after the *Spaniards* had enter'd the Country that the Mines of *Potoſi* were diſcover'd, which was brought about by this accident: A certain *Indian* of the Province of *Cuſco* (whoſe Name *Gualpa*, for this Diſcoveries ſake, we ought to mention) being one day a Hunting, his Game running up ſome part of this great Mountain of *Potoſi*, where the way was very full of Buſhes and Shrubs, he, to help himſelf along, catch'd hold of a branch or twig of ſome Buſh, and by that means pull'd it quite up; but happening to obſerve the Earth about the root of it, he ſaw the Silver Ore, which he preſently knew to be very good, having had conſiderable Experience in thoſe Matters by attending the Mines at *Porco*. At the ſame time alſo, ſearching a little farther, he found ſeveral pieces of Metal, which lay diſpers'd about the ground near the place where he had pierc'd this Vein. Being thus ſecure of his good fortune, he came ſeveral times, and drew Silver out of this vaſt Treaſury, never giving the leaſt hint to any body. At laſt another *Indian* his Neighbour (*Guanca* by Name) obſerv'd not only that his way of living was alter'd mightily for the better, and he ſpent at a very great rate, (as a Man might well do that had the Mines of *Potoſi* to bear him out in't) but alſo that the Silver which he refin'd was quite different from that of *Porco*; this gave him a ſuſpicion of the truth, and he never left working till he had work'd it quite out, and *Gualpa* confeſs'd the whole matter to him; nay, more than that, went and ſhew'd him the place whence he had all his Riches. And now theſe two Men agreed to ſhare this glorious Mountain between them; *Gualpa*, for his part, kept the Vein he had firſt diſcover'd, and *Guanca*, for his, had another rich Vein very near the former. A very comfortable Subſiſtence this was for each of them, and a fine Inheritance to be left to a Son, and this, 'tis very probable, they might have enjoy'd a long time, if they had not claſh'd and fell out with one another; but as Diſcord helps to bring a great many things to light, ſo 'twas here. *Guancas* Vein was very fine and rich, but 'twas harder to work than *Gualpas* was, and therefore he wou'd fain have come in a ſharer with his Comrade in the Profits of his; but the other not being willing to admit of this, they fell out about it, and *Guanca* preſently went and diſcover'd the Secret to his Maſter *Villaroel* a *Spaniard*. And he having aſſur'd himſelf, by Ocular Demonſtration, of the truth of what was told him, open'd the buſineſs to the Governor, and ſo, according to the Law, he and his Servant *Guanca* remain'd Lords of the Mine, to dig and draw forth the Silver as their own, paying only the King's Duty, which is a fifth part. For 'tis to be noted, that thoſe that diſcover a Mine have the Profits of it granted to them, and their Names are Regiſtred in the King's Books, with the Place and Time o diſcovery.

Riches of the *Incas*.

Silver Mines.

Porco-Mines a long time open.

Potoſi-Mines how diſcover'd.

Quickly after this, there were two Veins more diſcover'd in the ſame Mountain of *Potoſi*, ſo that there are four in all that they draw Silver out of; but the firſt was the beſt and richeſt, being half Silver; and beſides that wonderful frequency of it, it went on at that rate for 50 or 60 Stades, which is ſo many times a Man's heighth, but there it fail'd. All theſe Veins lie of the Eaſt-ſide of the Mountain, neither is there any ſuch thing to be diſcover'd on the Weſt-ſide. They run in very irregular forms, divers other leſſer ones ſhooting out of them as ſo many branches out of the arm of a great Tree; in the wideſt part they have 6 foot, and in the narroweſt a ſpan breadth. Every Vein has ſeveral diſtinct Mines, which are parts and portions of the ſame, and are divided between ſeveral Proprietors whoſe Names they alſo bear. The largeſt of theſe contains about 80 Yards, neither may it be more by the Law, and the leaſt about 4 or 5. By continual working and drawing

More Veins diſcover'd.

The odd figure and running of the Veins.

drawing such vast quantities of Ore out of the Bowels of them they are become very deep, and in the rich Mine they reckon the depth in some places to be 200 Stades; 'tis true this is the greatest depth, but they have gone in many other places, both of that and the other Mines, to 60, 70, and 80 Stades. To remedy the inconveniencies ariling from hence, they have made certain Mines or Passages Horizontal ways from the lower parts of the Mountain, which running across, meet with the Veins at last; and by this means, they work with much less pains, charge and danger. These cross Mines they call Soccabones, and they make them a matter of 8 foot broad, and a Stade in heighth, having Doors to shut and open them as they please. They cost no little charge and trouble to finish, and one only of them was 29 Years a making; but there are several of them, and the Proprietors of every Soccabone have this advantage allow'd them, that the 5th part of all the Metal drawn forth is theirs. But the Men that do all the work of the Mines, that labour at drawing out the Silver, are Slaves indeed. They work in continual darkness, without knowledge or distinction of Day and Night. They breathe a gross unwholsome air, or indeed rather Metallick fumes and vapours, which breed horrible Diseases, and make them very sick. They have the raw smell of the Earth continually in their Nostrils, and are expos'd to all the damps that rise, which many times are attended with fatal consequences. But then the dangers of being crush'd with the falling Earth, or their own falling from such heighths, they are forc'd to mount too in carrying up the Silver; as they are very great, so they are continual, and it can never be said that they live one moment in safety while they are in those dismal Caverns. They carry up all the Metal upon their shoulders, from the lower depths of the Mine, perhaps 150 Stades high, where they deliver it. For which purpose they have pendulous Ladders made of twisted leather, and cross'd with Staves of wood, by which they are continually ascending and descending with their burdens upon their Backs. At the end of each of these Ladders, there are Platforms of Wood rais'd with Seats for the poor Labourers to sit and breathe themselves. And 'tis a vast deal of pains they take in hewing out the Metal at the bottom of the Mines, for 'tis commonly very hard, and they are forc'd to use great Hammers to overcome it; they weary themselves with strong and heavy blows upon the hard and untractable Rock, and get no more ground many times than by working upon so much Flint.

The depth of them.

The Soccabones or Horizontal Mines.

The hard task of them that work in the Mines.

What *Pliny* has said of the workers in Mines at that time, agrees very well with the case of these poor Labourers at *Potosi*: *We enter even into the very Bowels of the Earth* (says he) *and go hunting after Riches to the place of the Damned. Those that seek for Metals perform Works more than Giants, making Holes and Caves in the depths of the Earth, and piercing Mountains by the light of Candles, where Day and Night are all alike, and they see no light of the Sun for many Months. With heavy Wedges and Hammers they pierce the hard Rock, and break the Flints how strong soever, for the hunger of Gold is yet more sharp and strong.* Thus that Author, who talks as if the Mines of *Potosi* had been discover'd in his time, and he had stood by and seen the Workmen in all their toil and drudgery. But however it comes to pass that the *Spaniards* are come abroad into the New World to fetch Gold and Silver, 'tis certain from the forementioned Author that they had it in no small plenty within their own Territories. He reports that *Spain*, above all other Countries of the World, (that is which were known and under the *Roman* Jurisdiction) did abound with Gold and Silver, especially *Galicia* and *Portugal*, and above all the *Asturias*, whence (he says) they brought every Year 20000 pounds of Gold, and that they did not find so great plenty in any other place. Particularly he tells us, that the Pits or Holes of those Mines in *Spain*, which they began to dig in *Hannibal*'s time, were remaining in his time, and held till then the Names of their Discoverers. Amongst these, that which *Bebello* discover'd was very famous, and kept that Name in *Pliny*'s time, and was then also dug to the depth of 1500 paces into the Mountain, which they having continued to labour in it from the time of *Hannibal* till then. But the advantages which that great *Carthaginian* made of it were very considerable, for according to the account of our Historian, they brought every day 300 *l.* weight of Silver out of it; yet is all this in a manner inconsiderable to the Riches brought out of the *American* World, for *Acosta* tells us, that the Fleet in which he came from those Parts, brought 12 Cassons of Gold, every one of which was 100 *l.* weight, besides a vast deal more in Bars, all which was the King's share, not reckoning that which came for Merchants and private Men, which was all Registred, and much less still that which was not Registred, which amounted to a greater Sum yet. At the same time there were above 11000000 of Silver transported in the two Fleets of *Mexico* and *Peru*, and very near half of it was for the King. In short, it appears by the Register-Books for the Province of *Potosi*, that they did every *Saturday* enter sometimes 150000, sometimes 200000 Pieces into the Books, whereof the King's fifth Part amounted to 30000 or 40000 Pieces; so that every day they drew from this Mine to the value of 30000 Pieces, (every Piece worth 13 Rials and half) and the King's daily share was at least 6000 Pieces.

Pliny's Account of Mines.

Mines of *Spain*.

Riches of the Mine of *Bebello*.

The vast quantities of Gold and Silver that are brought from *America*.

At this rate have the Mines of *America* poured out their Riches to the *Spaniards*, which will appear vastly greater yet, if it be consider'd that the best part of the Silver, which the *Potosi* Mines have afforded, was never Custom'd, which notwithstanding went about amongst the *Indians* and *Spaniards*; nay, if we may depend upon the credit of *Acosta* in this matter, not the one third Part, no not half of the Silver of *Potosi*, ever was Custom'd, or came into the open light.

The work goes on so much the easier in the Mines of *Potosi*, because they never yet have met with any water to stop them in all their diggings; and 'tis the happiness (one may say the wonder) of this Mountain, that they have gone to the depth of 200 Stades, and never had any hinderance upon that score. But as this is a very common impediment in Mines, so perhaps 'twas partly owing to this that they made no more progress formerly in those in *Spain*, or that they did not think fit to continue working in them: For *Pliny* reports, that the fam'd Mine of *Bebello* was very full of water ('twas even like a River coming in upon the Labourers) and therefore that the *Gascoignes*, who were employ'd to work in it, besides all their toil of hewing and hammering out the Metal, were incredibly fatigu'd with drawing out and emptying the water: till which was done they were not able to work, at least with any manner of ease and quiet; and this was also the case of the Mines of *Porco* in *Peru*.

No water in the Mines of *Potosi*.

As for the quality of the Silver they got at *Potosi* 'tis very different, for in one and the same Vein you shall meet both with very rich and very poor Ore, some of it is red, another sort ash-colour, and so of divers colours; but the richest of all is of the colour of Amber, and the next to that inclines to a black. They have usually drawn out of one Quintal of Ore, 30, 40 and 50 Pieces of Silver, but out of the finest 200, and 250; the poorest of all is that which yields 3, 4, 5 or 6 Pieces.

Qualities of the Silver.

Their way of refining the Silver was first of all by melting, and dissolving the Mass over the fire, and in that state of liquefaction the Dross, and all heterogeneous Mixtures, were cast off by themselves. For this purpose they built abundance of small Furnaces all about the Mountain of *Potosi*, (there were above 600 of them) where with Wood and Coal-fires they carry'd on this Work; but because it consum'd vast quantities of Wood to do so, one who it seems set himself to contrive a way how to save that charge, and yet do the work too, found out the way of using a sort of Straw instead of Wood and Coal. It is a thing almost like a Reed, and they call it *Ycho*; but 'tis wonderful to see what an influence the flame of it has to dissolve these Metals, and how much better it does than any other sort of fuel. Then there's this conveniency too, that there's great plenty of it throughout almost all the Mountains of *Peru*: And this is agreeable to what *Pliny* tells us upon this Head, that there is Gold which melts more easily with the flame of Straw than with hot burning Coals.

Method of refining by fire out of use.

In some of these Furnaces they use the natural, in others an artificial Wind from Bellows; and 'tis worth more observation what has been confirm'd by long Experience, that the Metal of the *Porco* Mines is easily refin'd with Bellows, and that of *Potosi* cannot be but by the natural air from the Mountains; but of later Years they have for the most part left off their Furnaces, and make use of Mercury for the refining of their Silver.

A strange

In order to this, they beat and grind the Silver-stone or Ore very small in the first place; after which they search it, reducing it to as fine a Powder as they can. This Powder they put into Vessels over the fire, mixing a good quantity of Salt with it, which promotes the design of separation of the Impurities; the common proportion is 5 Quintals of Salt to 50 of the Metallick Powder. Then they strain the Quicksilver into the Vessel, stirring it about well that all may incorporate together. And whereas they at first us'd to do all this off from the fire, mingling their Silver and Mercury in great Troughs, and so stirring and letting it settle several times one after another, which took up almost a Month to accomplish,

Method of refining by Mercury.

pliſh, they have ſince made uſe of fire, which mightily promotes the work and ſhortens the time, ſo as that in the ſpace of 5 or 6 days the Mercury is ſufficiently incorporated with the Silver. After this union of the two Bodies, the great work is to ſeparate them again, which they do in this manner: They pour the whole mixture into water, and ſtir it about well, by which means all the Earth and Droſs is clear of the Mercury and Silver, which being by far the more ponderous, take their places at the bottom accordingly. This operation they repeat ſeveral times, till they have perfectly cleanſed it from all the feculencies. When the Silver and Mercury are clean and begin to ſhine, they put all into a Cloth and ſtrain it pretty forcibly, ſo that all the Quickſilver runs out and leaves the Silver behind. But becauſe there is ſome of the Metal that ſlips away with the Earth and Droſs (which they call the waſhings) they therefore waſh this over again, and draw out the remainder. The Silver Ore differs much as to the proportion of Mercury it conſumes, and the quantity of pure Metal it yields, for ſome yields a great deal of Silver, and waſtes but little Quickſilver: Another again conſumes a deal of Quickſilver, and yields little Silver; a third ſort conſumes much Quickſilver, and at the ſame time brings a great deal of Silver; and a fourth, as it requires but little Quickſilver, ſo it affords but little Silver. But yet 'tis obſerv'd, for the moſt part, that the richeſt Ore, as it gives the moſt pure Metal, ſo it conſumes the moſt Mercury, and the quite contrary in that which is poor and thin. The Silver drawn with Mercury is ſo fine, that the Workmen are forc'd to allay it with ſome mixture; but this Art of refining, as uſeful as it is, there is ſome good reaſon to believe 'twas unknown to the Ancients, in *Pliny*'s time at leaſt, ſince when he makes mention of the refining of Silver, he ſpeaks only of melting, and ſays in one place plainly, that Mercury will aſſociate it ſelf with no metal but Gold alone, which this way of refining is a ſufficient confutation of.

Separation of the Silver and Mercury.

Difference of the Ore as to the Mercury it takes up.

Obſervation.

Refining by Mercury unknown to the Ancients.

Having had occaſion to ſpeak of the Uſes of Mercury, it mayn't be amiſs to go a little farther into the Hiſtory of this wonderful Metal: The Country we are treating of affords it in abundance, eſpecially the Mountains of *Guancavilica*, near the City of *Guarſangua* in *Peru*; there is the vaſt Treaſury of this Metal, as in the Mountains of *Potoſi* is of Silver. The *Indians* have had indeed Mines of Quickſilver open amongſt them for many Ages before theſe of *Guancavelica* were diſcover'd, but it was not for the ſake of the Quickſilver (for they knew not what it was till the *Spaniards* came amongſt them) but for the ſake of the Vermilion which is incorporated with it; for we muſt know that Quickſilver is found in a ſort of Stone, which likewiſe yields the Vermilion, or Minium, as the Ancients call'd it. The *Indians* give it the name of *Limpi*, and having a very great eſteem for it, they took abundance of pains to open the Earth, and dig it out of the deepeſt Mines: and the principal uſe they made on't was, to paint and colour themſelves with it, eſpecially when they went to the Wars; as alſo now a-days, upon all Publick Solemnities, Feaſtings, Dancings, and the like. Neither is it amongſt theſe People alone that this Mineral has been in ſuch eſteem, for *Pliny* reports that both the *Romans* and *Ethiopians* were very fond of it, for theſe and ſuch like purpoſes; that the former were accuſtom'd to paint the face of *Jupiter* with it, and the latter not only the faces and bodies of their Idols, but alſo their own; and that the *Romans* ſometimes did this too as well as they. That all the Vermilion was brought to *Rome* from *Spain*, where they had a great many Pits and Mines of Quickſilver, and that the *Romans* wou'd not ſuffer it to be refin'd in *Spain* for fear they ſhou'd ſteal ſome of it, but had it all brought to *Rome* ſeal'd up juſt as it came out of the Mine, and ſo refin'd it there. In a word, that they brought every Year from *Spain*, eſpecially from *Andaluſia*, a matter of 10000 weight; and this, he ſays, the *Romans* valued as an infinite Treaſure. This Mineral however (as was ſaid before) the *Indians* had known of a long time, but knew nothing of the Nature and Uſes of the Quickſilver which is to be drawn out of the ſame Maſs. And the *Spaniards* themſelves had been in the Country a conſiderable while before they knew of any of theſe Mines; and the firſt diſcovery, as it was of the Mines of *Guancavelica*, ſo it was purely accidental like that of the Silver at *Potoſi*. For a certain *Portugueſe* (*Henrique Guarces* by Name) having a piece of this *Limpi* which the *Indians* uſed, obſerving it well, found that it muſt needs be the very ſame thing with that which they call'd Vermilion in *Caſtile*, and knowing that this and Mercury were lodg'd together, he went to the place whence they drew their *Limpi* to make trial of it, and found it to be ſo. Immediately upon this diſcovery the Mines began to be opened, and vaſt quantities of Quickſilver were tranſported to *Mexico*, where they firſt began to refine their Silver with it; and from thence the method was brought to *Potoſi*, where they us'd it ever afterwards. The largeſt of all theſe Mines extends above 80 yards in length, and 40 in breadth, in which they have made ſeveral Pits and Ditches of 70 Stades deep, ſo that at leaſt 300 Men may very well work altogether in it.

Indians value the Vermilion.

The uſes ſome other Nations put the Vermilion to.

Quickſilver Mines in *Spain*.

How the Mines of *Guancavelica* were found.

The way of drawing out the Quickſilver, is to take the Stone and beat it well, and then ſet it in Earthen-pots, cloſe luted, over the fire to melt, by which means the Mercury is ſeparated into a body by it ſelf; for mounting up in fumes it encounters the Veſſel, and ſo falls down again congeal'd. When 'tis thus drawn they put it into Skins, and lay it up in the King's Store-houſe, from whence it goes by Sea to *Ariqua*, and from thence by Land upon their Sheeps back to the Mines at *Potoſi*. 'Twill be of little uſe here to ſtand to deſcribe their Engines and Mills for grinding the Silver Ore, to prepare it for the receiving of the Mercury; 'tis enough to ſay in general, that in ſome of them they uſe the ſtrength of Horſes, in others the force of Water to ſet them a work. And this water being for the moſt part Rain, they have made 7 Ponds for the receiving of it, which are three Stades deep, and 1600 Rods in compaſs, and each provided with their proper Sluces; ſo as that when they have need of any water, they open a Sluce, and let out a ſtream of water as much as they have occaſion for: but becauſe for the moſt part they have little Rain, except in the Months of *December*, *January* and *February*, and then if they come plentifully, their Ponds are well fill'd, and the grinding holds for 6 or 7 Months; for this reaſon, all about *Potoſi*, they pray for Rain for the ſake of the Silver, as they do in other places for Bread-corn. After the Silver is melted and caſt into Bars, the next work is to give it the Alloy; for which 'tis carried to the Aſſay-maſter, whoſe buſineſs we will leave to himſelf, and not dive into it. Having been thus long in the Mine, 'twou'd be unpleaſant to detain the Reader any longer in the Mint; we ſhall only obſerve a little farther concerning the Mountain of *Potoſi*, that the Air about it is very cold, the Soil dry and barren, the Ways very rough and uneven. There grows neither Graſs, Grain nor Fruit, and what thro' the infertility of the Earth, and the intemperature of the Climate, 'twou'd be utterly void of Inhabitants, if the charms of Silver did not draw them thither. But the outward Poverty of the Mountains is not valued, ſince 'tis ſo extravagantly rich within; covetouſneſs has made People overlook all thoſe defects and inconveniencies, ſo that 'tis more plentifully ſtock'd with Inhabitants than any other place in all the Kingdom of *Peru*. You may have there all ſorts of Meats, Wines, yea, the moſt exquiſite Dainties whatſoever, tho' the place it ſelf is hardly able to keep a Man or a Horſe from ſtarving for one Night. The Mountain is vaſtly higher than all others about it, 'tis reckon'd from the top to the bottom 1680 yards, and 'tis a league in circuit at the bottom.

How they draw the Quickſilver.

Engines for grinding the Metal.

Ponds and Sluces.

The Mountain of *Potoſi*, its barrenneſs and dimenſions, &c.

The other part of the Riches of this Country lies in Pearl and Emeraulds. Of the former we have ſpoken up and down already, ſo that we ſhall need to ſay no more here; only taking notice, that whereas the greateſt plenty of them has been commonly ſaid to be at the *Pearl-Iſlands* in the South-Sea, near *Panama*, *Acoſta* relates that the beſt and greateſt ſtore were found at the time of his being in the *Indies* in the North-Sea, near the River of *Hatch*. But to ſpeak the truth, the *Pearl-Iſlands* ſeem to have been diſcover'd ſince that time, ſo that the North-Sea might afford the moſt and beſt then, and the South-Sea have the reputation afterwards. As to the Emeraulds, the greateſt ſtore of them is found in the Kingdom of *New Granada*, and in *Peru* near *Manta* and *Port-Viel*, according to the accounts of the ſame Author. He tells us alſo, that towards that place there is a certain happy Soil which bears the Name of the *Land of Emeraulds*, for the abundance of them which are found there; but the *Spaniards* had not been able to reduce that Country, and make themſelves Maſters of the Emeraulds in his time. Theſe Jewels grow in Stones like Cryſtal, and (as he tells upon his own Obſervation and Experience) appear faſhion'd like a Vein in the ſame. There's a vaſt difference amongſt them as to the perfection of colour, and the diffuſion of the green tincture thro' the body of the Jewel; for ſome are half white and half green, others very near all white, others very perfect, and tinctur'd with the true noble green all over. Their ſizes are as different too as their colours, and tho' there are ſome reported to be of a vaſt magnitude indeed, yet the forementioned Author never pretends to have ſeen any

Pearl in the North Sea as well as the South.

Emeraulds.

The Kingdom of Emeraulds.

Differences between them.

any larger than a good Nut. Both Pearl and Emeraulds are little esteem'd in the *Indies*, in comparison to what they are in *Europe*; and there is no other reason for't but only this, That things that People converse with very familiarly and frequently (whatever they are) at last become little and vulgar to them. Even Diamonds themselves wou'd not be exempted from this common fate of losing their reputation, if they came abroad in the World as much as many other things that do. It was perhaps not upon this account however of seeing so many Jewels together, that an *Italian* Lapidary valued them at no greater a rate. There was a certain *Spaniard*, who having an admirable Emerauld, shew'd it the *Italian*, and ask'd him the value of it, who told him he priz'd it at 100 Ducats; upon which he shew'd him a larger than the former, and that the *Italian* valued at 300 Ducats. The *Spaniard* quite drunk with this discourse, carries his Lapidary home to his Lodging, and shews him a whole Casket full of the same Jewels, desiring his opinion of them: Oh, Sir, (says the *Italian*) they are very good Stones, and take them one with another they are worth a Crown apiece. 'Tis pretty likely he had some design upon a bargain, but whether the *Spaniard* let him have it or no is uncertain.

A Story of a Spaniard and an Italian about the price of Emeraulds.

We have done now with the Riches that are buried under the Earth, or hidden in the Waters, and it follows next to take a little survey of those upon the surface, the Plants and Animals, which are more useful to humane Life by far than the former. But here we shall endeavour to take care, that those Animals or Vegetables which are common to this part of *America* with those Parts which have been already describ'd, shall be here omitted, at least as far as the varieties and ambiguities of Names will allow us to make a judgment of them.

Vegetables in the *Spanish Indies*.

The most noted Grain in this part of *America* is the Maize, of which the *Indians* make both Bread, and a very strong sort of Liquor, which intoxicates the drinker sooner than the juice of the Grape. It is thought to be no way inferior to our Wheat in strength and substance, only the eating much of it, where a Man has not been accustom'd to it, is said to incline him to Scabs and Swellings. This Grain grows upon Canes or Reeds, every one of which bears one or two bunches or clusters, in each of which there shall sometimes be 600 or 700 grains. They sow the grains one by one, and not very thick nor close together; it requires a Soil both hot and moist, and where it meets with such a one it thrives wonderfully. The green Leaves and Canes, or Stalks of the Maize, is very good Provender for the Horses and Mules, and when 'tis dry it serves them instead of Straw: and to give them the Grain it self, they esteem much better than the giving them so much Barley, because of the goodness of the nourishment it affords; only they observe this Rule always, to water them before they feed them with this, because 'tis of so swelling a nature. The *Spaniards* and *Indians* eat the Maize both boil'd and roasted, and the buds of it being very fat and oily, do serve them instead of Butter. As for the ways of making Liquor of it, some steep the grain till it breaks, and then they boil it to such a degree of strength, that a little will overturn a Man. Others go a more cleanly way to work, which is first of all to chaw and squeeze it well in their mouths, and so making a kind of a Leven of it, to boil it well afterwards: Nay, some of the *Indians* are of opinion, that to make good Leven it must be chaw'd by Old Women, which if they drivel substantially, may without all doubt put some vertue in it. This Drink is commended for the service it does to the Back and Kidneys, and for easing pains in those Parts: one wou'd rather think (as the Old Women prepar'd it) it shou'd serve for a Vomit, and while it cured one illness in the Back, shou'd bring another in the Stomach. 'Tis remarkable, that neither this Grain nor Wheat will grow so as to come to any perfection in any of the *Spanish* Islands, as *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Porot-Rico*, and *St. Domingo*, tho' there has been not a little care nor pains taken to bring it to pass. For when they have been sown (for instance Wheat) it comes up well 'tis true, and is green presently, but so unequally that it comes to nothing; for at one and the same time some is spindled, some is in the ear, and some does but bud, here 'tis great and there small, in one place in the grass, and in another in the grain. And such is the quality of the Soil, that no Art nor Tillage cou'd ever cure this distemper of it. The same thing is observ'd in some parts of the Continent, as on the heights of the *Sierras* of *Peru*, and the Provinces of *Colao*, none of this Grain will grow there; tho' the cause of it in these Parts is the great drought and coldness of the Region, contrary to what it is in the forementiond places, where the same effect proceeds from too great heat and moisture. For want of Wheat and Maize in those Parts of *Peru*, the Natives use a sort of Roots to make their Bread of, which they call *Papas*; they are like Ground-Nuts, very small, and send out a great many Leafs. They dig up these Roots and dry them well in the Sun, after which they beat them, and make them into a kind of Bread, which is not only eat privately in their Houses, but great quantities of it also are carried to the Mines of *Potosi*.

Maize.

The description of it.

Uses of it.

Ways of preparing it in order to making drink.

Observation of the Maize.

Papa Roots.

This is, in short, the chief of all their Roots for Bread, and 'tis of the same use and significancy for that purpose in these Parts of the Country, that the *Cassani* Root is in others. The *Cassani* is also found here, and a great many others, which serve partly as common Food, and partly as Dainties, which we shall not stand here to recite the Names of, since we know little more of them than that comes to. They have several sorts of Pulse amongst them answering to our Lentils, Beans and Tares; but *Acosta* is of opinion, that none of these were in the Country before the *Spaniards* came, who brought them out of *Europe* hither, where they grow and increase to a wonderful degree. And there is hardly any sort of Plant brought out of the *European* Countries into these Parts, but what meets with a Soil somewhere or other that suits it as well as the natural; tho' on the other hand, those that go from the *Indies* into *Spain* or *Portugal*, very seldom thrive and do well. In short, 'tis hard to think of any sort of *European* Grain, Pulse, common Garden Herb, or Fruit-tree, but what the *Spaniards* have brought into *America*, and grows there as well as can be desir'd. There is only an exception as to Cherries, which don't prosper so well: Medlars and Services are not very common neither, as also Nuts and Filberds; Oranges, Limons and Citrons, do grow and multiply most extravagantly, and of the former especially, a Man may see whole Woods and Forests. The same is to be observ'd (in proportion) of Apricocks, Peaches and Figs; as for Apples, Pears and Plumbs, tho' they are to be met with, yet they are not so very plentiful as the former, but none of these defects are perhaps to be imputed to the Soil, but rather to the negligence or unskilful management of the People. The *Indian* Melons and Pompions grow to such a monstrous bigness, that 'tis almost incredible. The Valley of *Toca* in *Peru*, is particularly famous for the former of these; the Root continues several Years in the ground, and brings Melons every Year, and they trim and dress it as they wou'd a Tree. The Pine-apples are of the same form and fashion with those of *Spain*, but otherwise they differ, having nothing of a scale, but are all one entire pulp as it were, fit to be eaten when the skin is pull'd off. 'Tis an excellent Fruit both for smell and taste, and the way that they dress it is to cut it in pieces, and steep it a while in Salt and Water. They grow one by one upon a Cane or Stalk, which rises up amongst a great many leaves like a Lilly, but bigger. The Apple is on the top of every Cane, and it grows only in hot moist ground. We must note, with reference to this and several other Fruits, (and not only them, but various other vegetable Productions, and Animals too) that the *Spaniards* at their first coming over gave those *European* Names to things they found here, which resembled any way what they had convers'd with in *Europe*, and were call'd by those names there. Thus, I say, they call these Pine-apples, upon the score of a bare resemblance in one particular respect as to the form; and so likewise 'tis the same by these that follow. The *Indian* Cucumbers are so call'd, because (for the most part) in length and roundness they resemble the *Spanish*; but they are not green, but of several colours, as violet, yellow and white. They are very pleasantly tasted, full of liquor, easie of digestion, and very refreshing in hot weather. The Meat does not taste quite so sharp as that of the Pine-apple, and the outside is not at all rough and prickly, but very smooth and even. They require temperate Soil, and must have pretty much watering. That which they call the little Fruit of *Chili* is of a very pleasant taste, nearer that of a Cherry than any other *European* Fruit, but in colour and grains resembles a Mulberry not ripe, tho' more rough and bigger than that. The Plant it self is very little and low, spreading it self upon the Earth, and grows naturally up and down in the Fields of *Chili*. Of the Fruit which they call Prunes there are divers sorts; those call'd the Prunes of *Nicaragua* are very red and small, and have little Meat upon the Stone, but that little is of an admirably pleasant taste, and 'tis given to sick People to provoke an appetite. There are others which are very large, and of a dark colour, and have each two or three stones apiece, but hardly of any taste at all. The *Capolie* is a Fruit so like a Cherry in form and taste (only 'tis something bigger) that it may well pass for the

Sorts of Pulse.

Difference of the *Indian* and *European* Soils.

Fruits of the *Indies*.

Yast Melons and Pompions.

Pines.

Cucumbers.

Little Fruit of *Chili*.

The Plant.

Prunes of *Nicaragua*.

Capolie.

Capote. Chicocapote the Marmelade Fruits.

Cherry of this part of the World. The *Capote* and *Chicocapote*, are call'd the Marmelade Fruits by ſome, in that their taſte and colour do both come pretty near to that of this Sweet-meat; there is but little difference between them, and both are cried up by ſome People for the moſt excellent Fruit of the *Indies*. Others give this title to the *Blankmanger*, which is reported to taſte like a mixture of Almonds and Cream. The form of it is like a Pear; the Meat within is white, tender and ſoft, like Butter or Cream, and contains ſeveral black kernels in it. The *Mamey* is like a Peach, but bigger; they have one or two ſtones, and the meat and rind both very hard; the Fruit is but indifferent, but the Conſerves made of it are like Marmelade. The Tree is large, well-faſhion'd, and bears a pretty broad leaf. The Fruit of *Guayvos*-Trees are like little Apples, but ill taſted, and full of ſoure kernels, and hardly wholſome. Upon this account neither Man nor Beaſt eats it, and therefore the Trees are infinitely multiplied, for the Fruit falling down, and receiv'd upon the hot moiſt Soil, ſprings up into a new Tree; and ſo the multiplication proceeds. In *Peru* the *Guayvos* differ from others, in that the Fruit is not red but white, neither has it any ill taſte, but is altogether as good as the beſt of thoſe in *Spain*, and paſſes for a Fruit reaſonably wholſome and agreeable to the ſtomach. The *Palto* is a Fruit like our Pears in form, but in the inſide very different, for it has a large ſtone, and the meat is ſo ſoft, that when they are full ripe 'tis of the conſiſtence of Butter, and has a very delicate taſte. In *Peru* this Fruit is very large, and has a hard tough ſcale, which may be taken off whole; in *Mexico* it has a very thin skin, which may be peel'd off like that of an Apple. As for *Coco's* and *Plantane*, or *Plantane*-Trees, with their reſpective Fruits, they have been deſcrib'd in the relations of other Parts; they are very common here in the *Indies*, and of both there are various ſorts. Altho there are excellent Almonds in *Spain*, yet this Country affords a ſort that far exceeds them; they call them the Almonds of *Chachapoyas*, and beſides their pleaſing delicate taſte, the Phyſicians have pronounc'd in favour of them, that they are the wholſomeſt Fruit in the *Indies*. 'Tis known that the Coco yields a ſort of an Almond, and there is abundance of them brought out of the *Andes* of *Peru*; but as theſe are fatter and richer than thoſe of *Spain*, ſo the Almonds of *Chachapoyas* are much richer than them of the *Andes*, tho' they both come out of the ſame Country, namely *Peru*. They grow upon very high Trees bearing great leaves; they are incloſ'd not in a ſhell, but a ſort of a huſk ſomething like that of a Cheſnut, but beſet with prickles. The *Cacao* is a Fruit not quite ſo big as an Almond, but ſo much eſteem'd amongſt the *Indians*, that it has been one of the richeſt and beſt Merchandizes of *New Spain*; it has paſs'd amongſt them for Money upon all ſorts of occaſions, and they uſe to give it the poor inſtead of Alms. It is hard to tell for what reaſon this Fruit ſhou'd be ſo much valued, for it does not ſeem to be any way extraordinary either as to taſte, ſmell, colour, or any other property that one can think upon; it is more fat and oily than an Almond, and when roaſted has no ill taſte, which is the moſt that can be ſaid of it, and is by far too little to procure it ſuch an eſteem as it has. As for the drink they make of it, 'tis in very great repute. the *Spaniards*, both Men and Women, are vaſtly fond of it, and the *Indians* give it for an Entertainment to Great Men as they paſs up and down the Country; but after all, 'tis a loathſome thing to them that are not uſed to it, and the ſcum, or froth of it, is little better than a Vomit. So that the beſt account of the matter is, that the People have taken a fancy to it, and having done ſo they may eaſily imagine it to have all the fine properties in the World. The Tree whereon this Fruit grows is pretty big, but ſo very tender, that they are forc'd to ſet ſome large ſpreading Tree always by it, to ſhelter it from the heat of the Sun. The Province where there is the greateſt Traffick for this ſort of Commodity is *Guatimala*, and 'tis about thoſe Parts and *Mexico* where 'tis in ſo very great eſteem; but the People of *Peru* are even with them as to another fancy which they have, and the *Mexicans* can't be fonder of their *Cacao* than the *Peruvians* are of their *Coca*. This is a ſmall green leaf which grows upon a Tree about a fathom high, and requires as much care in the Planting and Dreſſing as the leaf it ſelf does in the keeping after it is gather'd; but it has this remarkable property, that every 4 Months it comes forth with a freſh ſpring of theſe leafs. The *Coca* is as great a Commodity in *Peru* as the *Cacao* is in *Mexico*, and the Trade of it in *Potoſi* it ſelf amounts every Year to above half a Million of Pieces. A Baſket of it there is worth 4 Pieces at leaſt ready Money, and in *Cuſco* it goes for two or three Pieces; in ſhort, all the Markets and Fairs almoſt depend upon it, and 'tis a ſort of univerſal Merchandize. It grows in the *Andes* and Valleys of *Peru*, where there is an extreme and abundance of Rain; and abundance of poor *Indians*, that come out of other Parts to labour about the cultivating of this Plant, do here loſe their lives, what with the hardneſs of the work and the intemperateneſs of the weather, for 'tis a very nice tender ſort of a Vegetable, and ſince it coſt the lives of ſo many Men to manage it, the *Spaniſh* Doctors fell into hot Diſputes whether it ſhould not be quite deſtroy'd or no, however at laſt they agreed that they ſhou'd ſtand.

Blankmanger an excellent Fruit.

Mamey.

Guayvos.

Palto.

Almonds of *Chachapoyas.*

Almonds of the *Andes.*

Cacao mightily eſteem'd in *Mexico.*

Coca as much valued in *Peru.*

Difficulty of managing the *Coca.*

The *Magucy* is a Tree of which abundance of Wonders are written; and to ſum up the character of it in ſhort, it yields Water, Wine, Oil, Vinegar, Honey, Needles and Thread, and they ſay a great many other things beſides. It is moſtly a Native of *New Spain*, where the *Indians* eſteem it at a great rate, and commonly have one of them about their Houſes to furniſh them with theſe Neceſſaries. At the end of the leaf (which is very large) there comes out a ſtrong and ſharp point or prickle, which ſerves for a Needle, and the leaf it ſelf is to be drawn out into a kind of thread. The body of the Tree being cut, affords a Liquor very ſweet and freſh, which they drink like water: this Liquor boil'd becomes a Wine, and that ſuffer'd to ſtand open a while, ſoures and turns to Vinegar; and the ſame Wine boil'd for a conſiderable time longer, thickens into the conſiſtency of a honey. The wood of this Tree being very light and ſoft keeps fire a long time, and ſerves for a ſort of Touch-wood; the *Indians* that have Guns uſe it inſtead of Match.

The Magney-Tree.

The *Tunal* is another noted Tree in *New Spain*, but 'tis the moſt deform'd and irregular of all Trees, and more properly to be call'd a confuſed heap of Leaves than a Tree. For firſt, one leaf comes out of the ground, then another upon that, and ſo they continue upwards; but as they grow up, thoſe below become ſo large that they almoſt loſe the form and quality of leaves, and are rather great branches, but of very odd figures and ſhapes, and beſides ſo ſharp and prickly, that the Plant has in many places the name of a Thiſtle upon this ſcore. There are ſome of theſe *Tunals* that bear Fruit much eſteem'd amongſt the *Indians*; they are bigger than Plumbs, and have a ſort of a ſhell, within which is the meat which is very like that of a Fig. There are two kinds of them, the white and the red; the former of which are by much the beſt, both for ſweet taſte and fine fragrant ſmell.

The *Tunal*.

As for *Quinces* and *Pomegranates*, they abound in all parts of this Country, only of the latter 'tis to be obſerv'd, that they are all very ſweet; neither do they value thoſe that have any thing of ſharpneſs, ſo that there's none of that kind to be found.

Quinces and *Pomegranates.*

Here's great plenty alſo of thoſe two moſt uſeful and ſerviceable Fruits, *Olives* and *Grapes*; each of which affords a Liquor, the benefit of which all Mankind is acquainted with. The *Indians* don't much trouble themſelves with making Oil of their Olives, but think it much better to eat the Fruit it ſelf; neither do the *Spaniards* follow this Trade much, but content themſelves with the Oil they bring from *Spain*. The Grapes grow in all Parts of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, Iſlands and all, but they don't thrive any where ſo well as in *Peru*; neither do they make any quantities of Wine comparable to what is made in that Country. The truth is, the Grapes don't ripen ſo kindly, the exceſſive Rains that fall keep them from coming to that perfection and maturity that Wine requires; and therefore they bring Wine from *Spain* and the *Canaries* to all the Parts of the *Indies*, *Peru* and *Chili* only excepted, which need no ſupplies from thoſe Countries in this caſe. The Vines of *Peru* are commonly in very hot Valleys, where there are Waters running along for the refreſhment of them; and they are forc'd to make uſe of that to water their Vines, for the Heavens there afford no Rain. But yet there are ſome places, where the Vines are neither watered by the Clouds nor from the Rivers, and for all that they bring forth in abundance; but they generally ſay (to account for this) that the Soil is well moiſtned by the waters that fall from the adjoining Mountains, and that this keeps the Vines in heart, and is the reaſon why they are ſo fruitful under ſo viſible a want of water. The moſt fertile Valleys for Vines are *Victor* near *Arequippa*, yea, in the Territory of *Lima*, and *Caraguato* in the Country of *Chuquiavo*; and from all theſe together are drawn ſuch ſtore of Wines, that the Revenue is very conſiderable. 'Tis remarkable, that in the City of *Cuſco*, and ſeveral Valleys beſides, there are ripe Grapes to be met with all the Year round: But 'tis ſtranger ſtill what *Acoſta* re-

Grapes and *Olives.*

Plenty of Wine.

Vines of *Peru.*

lates

lates of ſome Trees in *Peru*, one part of which yields Fruit for one half of the Year, and the other part for the other half; and he gives a particular inſtance of this in a Fig-tree at the Town of *Malla*, 13 leagues from the City of *Kings*, one half of which that is towards the South is green, and yields Fruit when 'tis Summer upon the *Sierras*, and the other part towards the *Lanos* or Sea-coaſt is green, and bears Fruit in the contrary Seaſon when 'tis Summer upon the *Lanos*: For the truth or falſhood of this, that Author ſtands accountable; we ſhall only ſay, that if it be a truth 'tis a very odd one, and if a lye 'tis as roundly and boldly told.

A ſtrange Fig-tree.

To the Vegetables we may alſo ſubjoin thoſe Vegetable productions that are of note in this Country, as Sugar, which brings in a great Revenue, and goes from hence in vaſt quantities to *Spain*: Cotton, which is not leſs plentiful and profitable than the former, eſpecially in the Valleys of *Peru*, *New Spain*, and the Province of *Tucuman*, where the Cotton-ſhrubs grow in abundance; *Anir*, a thing that comes from ſome Herb, and ſerves for the dying of Cloth, and is a very profitable Commodity, but what the thing it ſelf is, or what the name or nature of the Plant that affords it, we cannot inform the Reader. *Cochinile*, tho' not a Vegetable, or part of a Vegetable it ſelf, yet being a ſort of an Appendix to a Vegetable, may be mention'd here likewiſe. Thoſe Inſects which we give this name to (for *Cochinile* is no other than a dried Inſect) are found breeding in great numbers upon the leaves of one of the kinds of the *Tunal*-trees; that Tree, 'tis true, bears no Fruit of its own, but the *Cochinile* is ſo valuable a one that the Tree is excus'd, and not only ſo, but mightily priz'd, tho' otherwiſe barren. Silk is an Animal production too, but the Mulberry-trees (that maintain thoſe uſeful little Animals that make it) will allow it a place here. Originally there were no Mulberry-trees in the *Indies*, and conſequently no Silk-worms nor Silk, but the *Spaniards* ſettling here, brought theſe out of *Europe*, where they thrive incomparably well; they make abundance of good Taffata's in the Country, but in *Acoſta*'s time were not come to the making of either Damasks, Sattins or Velvets.

Sugar.

Cotton.

Anir.

Cochinile, an Inſect.

Silk.

We ſhall not trouble the Reader with a long Catalogue of Names of other ſort of Trees, after we have been thus long upon the more uſeful ones, which by their Fruit, or ſome production or other, are ſerviceable to the Neceſſities of Mankind. Oaks, Cedars, Pines, Firrs, Palms, Ebeny, are the moſt common and well-known, as well as the moſt profitable ones of the Country, for all the uſes of Life. The *Molle* is a Tree from whence the *Indians* draw a ſort of Wine; it came originally from *Peru*, and it has the name of the *Peruvian*-tree at *Mexico*, but they do much better there than in their own native Country. It mayn't be amiſs here to take notice of a vaſtly great Cedar (as 'twas reported to be) about 3 leagues from *Guayaca* in *New Spain*; this Tree was ſtruck with Lightning from top to bottom, and ſo ſtrangely too, that 'twas by that means all hollow'd in the inſide. Being meaſur'd within, it was found to be 9 fathom in circumference, and without, near the Root, it was 16 fathom, and a little higher 12. The People of the Country ſay, that before the Lightning ſhatter'd it, it was able to ſhelter 1000 Men, who might very well ſtand under the ſhadow of it; and 'tis pretty certain that they did uſe to come and dance, and perform ſeveral of their ſuperſtitious Ceremonies under it. All that remains of it now beſides the ſtock, is only ſome of the great branches, which renew their verdure with the Spring ſtill, and ſhew ſomething (tho' but very little) of the ancient beauty and majeſty of the Tree. Thoſe that think this ſtrange, may remember what *Pliny* reports of the Plantane-tree of *Lidia*, the hollow of which was 81 foot, its vaſt boughs made it appear more like a Wood than one Tree, and the ſhadow of it cover'd a great part of the Field where it ſtood.

A great Tree.

Another taken notice of in Hiſtory.

But we ſhall quit this Diſcourſe of the Trees, and take a ſhort view of the Spices, Gums, and other valuable and uſeful Drugs. 'Tis true this Soil is not ſo happy as to produce the noble Spices of Cloves, Cinnamon and Nutmegs; neither is Ginger natural to it, tho' vaſt quantities of that Spice have been tranſported from ſome Parts of the *Weſt-Indies* into *Spain*, particularly from *Hiſpaniola*, whither it was firſt brought from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and where it thrives ſo well, that it grew to be an incumbrance at laſt. But the natural Spice of the *Weſt-Indies* is a ſort of Pepper which they call *Axi*, and is uſed generally all over the Country; it grows in the hotteſt Valleys, and is of ſeveral ſorts, ſome green, ſome red, ſome yellow and of a burning colour, which latter they call *Caribe*, and is extremely hot and biting. There is indeed a ſort which is nor at all diſpleaſing to the taſte, and may be very well eaten alone as other Fruits are; but as for the common ſorts, they have no little ſhare of the ſtrength and fire of Pepper, and are us'd by them in Sauces for that purpoſe. To correct this *Axi*, and render it more temperate and fit for uſe, they mix it with Salt, and ſometimes with a ſort of Grain call'd *Tomates*, which is very cool and full of juice, and gives a very pleaſing reliſh to any Sauce 'tis an ingredient in. *Acoſta* ſays, that ſeveral of the *Spaniards* have been of the opinion that this *Indian* Pepper was cold in its nature, but the moſt do ſay that it burns in their mouths and ſtomachs at a ſtrange rate, and beſides that 'tis a ſtrong provocative to Venery, if any thing liberally taken; ſo that thoſe Men that will have a thing that produces theſe effects to be of a cold nature, may poſſibly come in time to diſpute whether fire it ſelf ben't ſo or no. This Country has furniſh'd ſeveral excellent Gums for the increaſe of the *Materia Medica*. Here's the famous *Gum-Animi*, the *Tacamahacca*, *Caranna*, and *Storax*; the uſes of which are well known in Medicine. Here's alſo the *Caſſia*, *Fiſtula*, *Mechoacan*, *Guaiacum* and *Saſſaparilla*, all in vaſt plenty, but the former comes for the moſt part from the Iſland of *St. Dominick*.

Spices.

Axi, or *Indian* Pepper.

The uſes of it.

Excellent Gums, and other Drugs.

To theſe alſo may be added Liquid Amber, *Copal*, and Oil of *Aſpick*, which the Phyſicians and Painters both make uſe of, the one for Plaiſters, and the others as a Varniſh for their Pictures; but the moſt celebrated of all is the rich Balm, which is an admirable Perfume and Medicine too. The Tree that affords it is as big as a Pomegranate-tree, and not much unlike it in faſhion. The Balm is of various colours, white, red, greeniſh and dark-colour'd, of which the firſt is commonly moſt eſteemed. The pureſt of all is that which diſtils of its own accord upon the inciſion of the Bark, and this is call'd *Opobalſamum*; the other is drawn from the leaves and bark boil'd and ſtrain'd, which has the name of *Xylobalſamum*, and that very properly. Although it be to be had in many places up and down in this ſpatious Country, yet that which comes from *Tolu* (not far from *Carthagena*) bears the beſt Character. The *Spaniards* and *Indians*, tho' they eſteem it, yet don't value it at that rate that we do; the Balm has the fortune of abundance other rich things, not to be much minded becauſe they are common and eaſie to be had. However, amongſt the *Spaniards*, a great deal of it goes off upon Spiritual Occaſions, and in the Service of the Church; for they had leave from the Apoſtolick See to uſe this Balm inſtead of Cream in their Unctions, and other dawbing Ceremonies. How much this *Weſt-Indian* Balm-tree differs from that of *Paleſtine*, which yielded the noble Balm of *Gilead*, as 'tis vulgarly call'd, is evident from all the accounts that both Antiquity and Modern Travellers have given of that Tree. *Pliny*, who had ſeen it himſelf, ſays 'twas a ſmall Tree, and faſhion'd like a Vine; and thoſe that have viſited thoſe Parts of the Eaſt where it grows ſay much the ſame thing. Notwithſtanding this, *Strabo* affirms that the ancient Balm-tree was of the bigneſs of a Pomegranate-tree, which very well agrees to the deſcription of the *American* Balm-tree, but not at all to that of *Judea*.

Indian Balm.

Two ſorts.

Uſe of it in the Church.

Obſervation of the Balm-tree.

And thus we have done with the Vegetables of this Country; we are next to conſider the Animals. As for the *Quadrupeds*, we may conſider three Claſſes of them, either ſuch as were carried by the *Spaniards* into the Country, or ſuch as were found there by them of the ſame kinds with the *European*; or laſtly, ſuch as are peculiar to the *Indies*, and not known on this ſide the Globe. Of the firſt ſort are Sheep, Kine, Goats, Swine, Horſes, Dogs, Cats, and ſeveral others; for of all theſe there is very great plenty. The ſmaller ſort of Cattle, Sheep eſpecially, have multiplied here to a very great degree, and if they thought it worth while to make profit of their Wooll by ſending it into *Europe*, there's no doubt but it would be a very rich Trade; for the Stocks of theſe Animals, that are in the Country, are hardly to be imagin'd, and there is ordinarily ſo much Paſturage for them, that they can hardly go any where but they'll find it. In *Peru* there is ſo much, that they don't trouble themſelves to bound and limit, to fence and hedge it in; no Man has any proper to himſelf, but ſends his Flocks roving about where they will, to pick and chuſe their own feeding. There are ſome that are Maſters of 60, 80, nay 100000 Sheep a-piece, as *Acoſta* tells us he knew of a certainty in his time, and yet with all theſe vaſt Flocks they are put to no ſhifts to find feeding for them, ſo fruitful is the Country in Graſs and Paſturage. Some little uſe they have made of their own Wooll both in *Peru* and *New Spain*, in both which there are a great many Clothiers, (eſpecially in the latter) and tho' the Cloth

Animals.

Four-footed Beaſts.

Great ſtore of Sheep and Paſturage in *Peru*.

Vaſt numbers of Sheep.

Wooll and Clothiers.

which they make ſerves the poorer People of the Country, yet they don't much value it themſelves, but are very deſirous of the Cloths that come from *Spain*, which generally bear a very great price. 'Tis certain that they are much better than the *American* ones, either becauſe the Wooll is finer, or the Workmen more expert; or from both theſe reaſons together. As for Kine, there are no ſmaller numbers of them than of the Sheep in compariſon, and they are of two ſorts. Some are tame, (as they may be call'd) and feed together in Herds in the Paſtures, of which they make conſiderable profit, partly by their Fleſh, and partly by the Milk, Butter and Cheeſe that comes from them; neither are they of little uſe to them in their Country Labours, as Tilling the ground, and the like. The other ſort is altogether wild, and live at liberty in the Mountains and Foreſts, without Owners or Government. He that firſt takes or kills any of them is their Maſter, for they treat them in this reſpect as they do any other wild Beaſts. There are ſuch multitudes of them, that ſome Parts of the *Indies* are quite over-run; in *Santa Domingo* they are to be ſeen by thouſands in the Fields and Woods, and 'tis a Solemn Exerciſe with the People to mount on Horſeback on purpoſe to Courſe and kill them. They do this only for the ſake of the Hides, which are a good Commodity; for as to the Fleſh they never meddle with it, but having ſtead off the Skin, they leave the other for meat to other Animals that may be glad on't. There are alſo great numbers of Goats, the chief profit of which is their Tallow, uſed by almoſt all ſorts of People to make Lights of; the Skins they uſe for Shoes. Horſes have multiplied in the Country exceedingly, and in many places there are found as good as the beſt in *Spain*, either for Pomp or for Service. Aſſes and Camels are both very ſcarce; of the latter there were ſome brought into *Peru* from the *Canary Iſlands*, but they have not multiplied very much: but one thing is, they uſe another ſort of Animal for carrying burdens, which is their Sheep, of which we ſhall ſee more by and by. The *Indians* had no Dogs amongſt them, till the *Spaniards* brought them from *Europe*; a little Creature they had ſomething like a Dog, which they call *Alco*, and upon that ſcore of the reſemblance, they call all Dogs by that Name. Of this Animal they were ſo exceſſively fond, that they wou'd ſpare the Meat out of their own bellies to feed it, and when they travell'd always carry'd theſe along with them for Companions, either in their boſoms or upon their ſhoulders. But ſince the Conqueſt, Dogs have been no rarities in the *Indies*, in the Iſlands eſpecially, and particularly at *St. Domingo*; at this Iſland they have been an affliction and a plague to the People, for they go about in troops and devour the Sheep, ſo that they were forc'd to endeavour the extirpation of them, by propoſing rewards to them that kill'd a Dog, as they do to them that kill Wolves in *Spain*. Lions, Tigers, Bears, Boars and Foxes, are to be found in great numbers in the Woods, and were Inhabitants of thoſe wild places before the *Spaniards* came to be Inhabitants of any. Stags and Deer are alſo very numerous in the Foreſts; but amongſt theſe, the moſt common are a ſort of Deer without Horns, like the *Corcos*. The wild Hogs go in great Herds in the Woods, and are of a very ſmall ſize, but extremely fierce, and are ready to aſſault any that haunt them if they don't ſecure themſelves in the Trees; and therefore their way is to climb for't, and ſo while the Hogs are biting and gnawing the Tree below, to dart down their Lances at them and kill them. The fleſh of them is very white and render, and when they fat them with Maize, their greeſe paſſes amongſt the *Indians* inſtead of Oil. The Name they go by in the *Indies* is *Sainos*, and had they no Name at all they wou'd be remarkable enough, if 'twere only for that one odd mark which Nature has ſet upon them in their formation, which is, to have a Navel upon the ridge of their backs; this is expreſſly what thoſe who pretend to have ſeen them declare of them. There is another ſmall Creature which ſeems to be ſomething of the ſame nature with this, which they call *Guadatinias*, and are reckon'd very good meat. And as the *Sainos* reſemble Swine in all other points but that laſt mention'd, ſo do the *Dantes* come as near to ſmall Kine, the furniture of the horns only excepted, which theſe Creatures want. That which is moſt eſteem'd of them is their Hides, which they make Jerkins and other Coverings of; and it has this property, to be ſo hard and ſtout as to be a good defence againſt any blows whatſoever. The *Chinchille* is a ſmall Beaſt like a Squirel, having a wonderful ſmooth ſoft skin, which they uſe very frequently to wear next their ſtomachs, reckoning it very wholſome; of the hair they make Rugs, and ſeveral other ſorts of Coverings.

Wild Kine and tame.

Numbers of them at *St Domingo.*

Uſe of the Hides.

Goats Tallow uſ'd.

Horſes.

Camels.

Dogs *Alco.*

Wild Beaſts.

Sainos.

Creature that has a Navel on the back.

Guadatinias.

Dantes.

Uſe of the Hides.

Chinchille.

A warm skin.

The Hares and Conies, which are very plentiful in the Country, need no deſcription; as alſo neither the Ant-Bears, Armadilloes and Monkies, with many others which have been mention'd before in the other accounts of *America*. Only as to the Monkies, we may note that there are ſome of them in theſe Parts of the *Indies*, very extraordinary both as to their ſize and their colours too, for beſides black, grey and bay-colour'd, there are ſome that are ſpotted after a very curious manner. But ſome things are yet more wonderful in them than all that can be imagin'd in their make, and that is their agility, their ſubtilty, and their ſence. *Acoſta* ſays he ſaw a Monkey leap from one Tree to another which ſtood upon the other ſide of a River; he does not ſay what the River was, or how broad, but to be ſure 'twas not the great River of the *Amazons*. The ſame Author tells us of a Monkey of his acquaintance that belong'd to the Governor of *Carthagena*, which had abundance of very clever tricks with him; but if the Reader thinks they argue too much ſence for ſuch an Animal, and that we make a Man of a Monkey, he is deſired to remember that the Story is not ours. This Animal wou'd very orderly go to the Tavern for Wine, carrying his Pot in one hand, and the Money in t'other; neither wou'd he give the People the Money before he had his Pot full of Wine. Sometimes, when he was diſpatch'd upon theſe Errands, the Boys wou'd aſſault him in the Streets, and throw Stones at him, but Pug (who wou'd take no affronts from them) in that caſe always ſet down his Pot, and pick'd up Stones and pelted the Boys again, and ſo when he had clear'd the way march'd home with his Wine. And tho' he lov'd this Liquor entirely (for *Acoſta* ſays he has ſeen him drink luſtily ſeveral times) yet he wou'd never touch a drop till his Maſter had given him leave. If he ſaw any Woman patch'd, he wou'd expreſs a great deal of indignation, and not only chatter and make faces, but if he cou'd come at her wou'd have left the print of his teeth behind him. Mankind have born their teſtimony againſt this vanity a long time ago, but now it ſeems the very Monkies take notice of it, and rebuke the pride and folly of that Sex. The Ladies had better pull off their patches themſelves, than have Apes and Monkies ſcratch them off, for this wou'd be the way to have occaſion for patches in good earneſt.

Various other Animals.

Strange Monkies.

Obſervation of a Monkey at *Carthagena.*

But there is another Beaſt, of which *Oviedo* gives us an account, that deſerves a particular notice. The *Spaniards*, by the rule of contraries, call it *Cagnuolo Leggiero*, or the Light-Dog, whereas 'tis one of the heavieſt dulleſt Animals in the World; 'tis ſo ſlow in its motion, that it can't go above 50 paces in a day. They are as odd ſhap'd as can well be imagin'd; about two ſpan in length, their feet arm'd with long claws like Birds, and their bellies trailing upon the ground, for their legs are not able to ſupport them. One can't ſay whether the face be more like that of an Owl or a Baboon, for it has ſomething of the beauties of both theſe Creatures; the ſmall eyes and noſtrils ſhou'd belong to the Baboon, and the very round face to the Owl: but beſides this, it has a very little mouth, and a ſtrait high neck every where of a bigneſs, and is like a Cylindrick Rouling-pin. By the help of thoſe long nails, which Nature has furniſh'd them with, they eaſily climb Trees, which is their great delight, and they are moſt commonly found up in ſome Tree or other. Their colour is moſt like that of a Weaſel, and they have this obſervable mark over and above, to be wholly without a tail. But the ſtrangeſt thing of all is the Muſick they make; *Oviedo* ſays that they have ſix notes very clear and diſtinct from one another, and are heard ſinging them always in the night. This Author declares he has kept them in his Houſe, and cou'd never diſcover what ſort of food 'twas that they liv'd upon, for they were never ſeen by any to eat, only they frequently open'd their mouths, and ſuck'd in the freſh air or wind. They are no way harmful or miſchievous, but a dull lumpiſh unprofitable Creature, that takes no other pleaſure it ſelf, (nor affords none to Mankind) but only that of crawling up into a Tree, and making that noiſe in the night.

The Slow-Dog.

Its note.

The ſame Author deſcribes a ſort of Beaſts which he calls *Bardato*, which he ſays reſembles a barbed Horſe; that is, a Horſe cover'd with Armour for the Wars. But by the particulars of this deſcription, this Creature ſhou'd be no other than the *Armadillo*, which we have given an account of before; and the rather, becauſe he recommends them for ſo good meat, which the *Armadilloes* are generally reported to be.

Bardato.

Before we leave the *Quadrupeds*, we muſt ſpeak a little more particularly of the *Indian* Sheep and Goats, which we have hitherto only mention'd by the by. Thoſe Beaſts which we here call Goats, are call'd *Vicugnes* in the Country.

Vicugnes or Goats. Country, and we give them the name of Goats only for this reaſon, that they have more reſemblance to a Goat than any other Animal. They have no horns, and are ſomething larger than common Goats; they feed upon the higheſt tops of the Mountains, and are ſo far from being offended with Froſt or Snow, that they ſeem to delight in it. They uſe to ſhear theſe Creatures, and of their fleece or hair to make ſeveral ſorts of Coverings; and whatever they make on't 'tis very fine and durable, and ſo is the colour alſo, for they never Dye it, but uſe the natural colour, which is like that of dried Roſes, and has this good property never to fade nor change. The fleſh of the *Vicugnes* is no good meat, tho' the *Indians* ſpend pretty much of it; they aſſemble in great companies, to the number of 1000 or 2000 Men, on purpoſe to hunt them, taking 300 or 400 at a time, out of which they chuſe what is fit for their turn, and let go the reſt. But yet they are no extraordinary Breeders, and for that reaſon the *Incas* of *Peru* did formerly forbid the taking any of them unleſs it were by their ſpecial commandment. The greateſt uſe of this fleſh is in Phyſick, and 'tis reported to be a certain remedy for weak and ſore eyes. *Acoſta* tells us he made the Experiment himſelf: He had one time travell'd a long way through the Snow, which diſturb'd his eyes at that rate, that he was afraid he ſhou'd have loſt the uſe of them, but coming into an Inn, an Old Woman told him of this remedy, and promiſed him relief if he wou'd but try it; ſo a piece of the fleſh of one of the *Vicugnes*, juſt kill'd and all bloody, was applied to his eyes, which accordingly perfectly cured him. But the moſt profitable Beaſt in all the Country (all things conſider'd) is the Sheep; of this there are two ſorts, one that they call the *Paco*, and the other the *Guanaco*, the main difference between them being this, that the former have a pretty good fleece of Wooll upon their backs, and the latter are almoſt bare. Theſe Creatures ſerve not only for Food, but Beaſts of Burden: they are their Horſes, their Aſſes, and their Camels; the moſt part of the Silver that comes out of the Mines of *Potoſi* goes upon their backs to *Arica*, which is at leaſt 70 leagues. Each of them will carry five or ſix *Arrobes* of Silver Bars, tho' when they have a very long Journey indeed, they don't drive them above 4 leagues a day. And 'tis a ſtrange thing to ſee with how ſlender a Guard the *Spaniards* ſend along a vaſt Treaſure of Silver upon the backs of theſe Creatures; you ſhall meet a troop of them laded with as much as comes to 400000 Ducats, and no more than a few *Indians* or *Spaniards* perhaps to drive them along, and theſe fellows ſometimes ſhall lie down to ſleep in the midſt of the open Fields, and leave the Sheep to take care of themſelves. The *Pacos* and *Guanacos* both are of ſeveral colours, ſome white, ſome black, others grey or ſpotted, and they dye the Wooll they get from the *Pacos* of as many ſeveral colours as the Animals themſelves are; but the *Guanacos*, as was ſaid, ſupply them with no Wooll, tho' they are generally the fitteſt for burden.

The Hair ſtuff.

A good Medicine for the Eyes.

The *Pacos* and *Guanacos*.

Burden Cattel.

Their Wooll.

This ſort of Cattel delights in a cool freſh air, for which reaſon they live and do well upon the *Sierras*, and die in the *Lanos* becauſe of the heat; nay, in all the extremities of the weather, and when they are cover'd over with Ice and Froſt, they continue very ſound and well. They ſometimes make a great deal of ſport to the Beholders by a motion they have, which is indeed ſomething pleaſant; for as they are going upon the Road they'll ſtop all of a ſudden, and raiſe up their long Necks, looking very wiſtly upon every one that ſtands about them, which to be ſure has ſomething very ſignificant, and expreſſive of a concern the Animal is under, if one cou'd interpret their meaning, and know what. But then they have ſome very ugly tricks, at leaſt thoſe that drive them have reaſon to ſay ſo; for without any apparent reaſon, they'll ſometimes ſet a running as if they were mad, and run up Mountains or Rocks, or whatever lies in the way, ſo that very often they are forc'd to ſhoot them dead as ſoon as they can, that the Silver Bars they carry may not be loſt. Again, at other times, they ſhall grow reſty and lie down under their burdens; and when this humour takes them, they'll endure rather to be cut in pieces than riſe and go on the Journey. The only remedy the Driver has in this caſe is patience, he muſt e'en ſubmit to the Creatures humour; he muſt ſtroak him, and make much of him, and ſo by fair and gentle methods entice him out of his ſullenneſs, and bring him to the uſe of his legs again. Notwithſtanding this, 'tis many times a long and a tedious work to make them get up; and whatever weather there be, the poor Drivers are forc'd to ſpend many hours in't in the open Fields, meerly attending upon theſe perverſe Animals. But we are farther to take notice both of theſe *Indian* Goats and Sheep, that they afford the ſo much valued and admired Bezoar-ſtone; and not only theſe, but the Stags in *New Spain* do the like, tho' there are few of theſe in *Peru*, as there hardly is any of the former in *New Spain*. They find them indifferently both in the Males and Females of both ſorts; the greateſt Stones are generally found in the *Vicugnes*, and they are white or grey, or of a dark green. Thoſe that are drawn from the *Pacos* and *Guanacos* are leſs, and black, and not ſo much eſteem'd for their Phyſical uſes: but above all, thoſe that come from the *Tarugues* (before-mention'd) are of the greateſt value, at leaſt vulgar fame has made them ſo; they are commonly of a light colour, inclining to grey, and have their ſkins bigger and thicker than the reſt. They differ alſo as much in their forms and ſizes as they do in their colours and other properties: ſome are round, others long, ſome as ſmall as Filberds and Wall-nuts, others as big as a Hens-egg; yea, *Acoſta* ſays he has ſeen them as large as an Orange. 'Tis pretty odd to ſee upon what ſort of Stuff theſe Stones do grow, and are form'd in the Animal, as pieces of Wood, bits of Iron, or ſome other Metal; and the Author juſt now mention'd ſays, he ſaw a couple in *Peru* that were form'd upon Pines, which were very diſtinctly to be ſeen in the cavity of the Stone when it was open'd. As for the Philoſophy of the *Indians* about the generation of this Stone, and why theſe Creatures alone do yield it, and not others as well as they, we believe it a little too extravagant to preſent the Reader with it: We ſhall only obſerve, that together with this natural, they have alſo this piece of immoral Philoſophy amongſt them, which is to cheat the World with counterfeit Bezoars inſtead of true and genuine ones; they have found out ways of imitating Nature, and make a ſort of artificial Stones that are not to be known from the other but by nice Experiments.

Bezoar-ſtones.

The beſt found in the *Tarugues*.

Great Bezoar-ſtones.

A Pine-apple found within one.

As for the other Animals, both Fowl, Fiſh and Reptiles, we ſhall not hold the Reader ſo long in the deſcription of them, as perhaps the greatneſs of the Country, and the variety of theſe Animals found there, may ſeem to require. But it muſt be conſider'd, that the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* and *Braſile* do not lie ſo far from one another, but we may well ſuppoſe them to have a multitude of the ſame Animals common, and that therefore many of the *Mexican* and *Peruvian* ones are already inſerted and deſcrib'd in the *Braſilian* Collection. Beſides, all Travellers have not the ſame degrees of care and curioſity in obſerving, and in this caſe we may ſay that many (even of conſiderable reputation) have hardly done their Parts ſo well with reſpect to this Country, as others of leſs name have done for *Braſile*.

Other Animals of the Country.

As to Fowl, we may ſay in general that the Country yields great varieties both of Land and Water-Fowl, of wild and tame, of Birds for Game and for Pleaſure, and that either in reſpect of their Muſick or their fine Colours. And certainly, as to the point of entertainment of the Eye, by admirable Colours, the *Weſt-Indies* do infinitely outdo all the Countries of the known World; for 'tis not only the ſeveral ſorts of Parrots that are to be brought in upon this account, but a great many others too, amongſt which the *Tominicois* (thoſe very minute Birds which a Man wou'd almoſt miſtake for Bees or Butterflies) are thought to have ſome of the perfecteſt colours imaginable in their feathers.

Fowl.

But there are ſome others that deſerve to be mention'd, tho' not ſo much upon the account of any particular Beauties that pleaſe the eye, as upon the ſcore of that Senſe and Sagacity that Nature has endow'd them with, and which they diſcover upon ſeveral Occaſions.

The odd qualities of the *Pacos*.

The *Picuti* is a Bird no bigger than a Quail, but cover'd with a mighty number of feathers, and thoſe of ſeveral colours too: But (which is very ſtrange) the beak of this little Bird is at leaſt one quarter of a yard long, and three fingers broad towards the upper part, ſo that this alone weighs much more than all the reſt of the body beſides; it is not ſtrait, but bent and crooked, and 'tis of ſingular uſe and ſervice to them in forming their Neſts, and Repoſitories for their young. Their way is by the help of theſe beaks to bore holes in the Trees big enough to go in and out, where they lay their Eggs, and hatch and breed up their young. And becauſe the wild Cats are very apt to come and viſit their Neſts, and wou'd plunder them too if they were not well guarded, therefore they uſe to defend themſelves in this manner: When they ſee any of theſe ravenous Beaſts coming they preſently whip into their Neſts, and thruſting their long beaks out thro' the hole, they ſtand in that poſture ready to give a puſh (or rather a peck) at the face of the Enemy when he comes: And the Paſs being thus guarded with ſo ſharp a weapon, is commonly very ſecurely kept,

The *Picuti*.

A ſtrange beak.

Good way of keeping guard.

kept; the Cats dare not come within reach of it, and are forc'd to go away diſappointed of their prey.

The *Matti* are a ſort of Birds ſomething bigger than our Thruſhes, almoſt all black, only they have ſome few white feathers in their necks: They ſhew no leſs cunning and contrivance than the former in the defence of their young; for becauſe the wild Cats are very good at jumping, and will eaſily throw themſelves from one Tree to another, unleſs they are ſo far aſunder as to be beyond their leap, therefore theſe Birds always build their Neſts in Trees that have no others near them. And if they ſhou'd climb up into thoſe Trees where their Neſts are, they form them after ſuch a manner that there's no entrance; for they make them very large and wide at the bottom, but growing narrower and narrower ſtill towards the mouth, ſo that the hole by which they enter is juſt big enough to receive them, and no more. Beſides, they defend them with ſharp and ſtrong thorns, which they ſtick in of all ſides of them, and are ſo cunningly faſten'd about them, that no humane Art can do any think like it; and the Cats can by no means come at the hole to thruſt their paws in to do the young ones any harm, as well upon this account of the thorns, as alſo that the Neſts are made ſo deep, that they cou'd never reach them unleſs they ſcratch'd them to pieces. Another thing they obſerve, is for a great many of them to make their Neſts together in the ſame Tree; which ſeems not to be ſo much for Society as mutual Defence and Preſervation, for always when the Cats come they make a moſt fearful noiſe and chattering, and the others generally run away as ſoon as they hear them begin to grow ſo clamorous.

Another provision againſt the wild Cats.

An excellent defence.

The like Policies are obſerv'd in the *Gazzuoli*, which are bigger than *Stares*, all over black, and have their tails very long, and beaks reſembling thoſe of the *Popingayes*.

Neſts over the water.

The *Pintadelli* have a mixture of ſeveral colours in their feathers, and they go quite another way to work to defend their Neſts from the wild Cats; for they build always in Trees that hang over the water, and in the very utmoſt parts of the boughs too, ſo that Cat or Dog that comes there muſt expect to tumble into the water.

Wild Cats don't ſwim.

But the wild Cats, they ſay, do ſeldom venture at theſe, for they never care for coming near the water; and of all the Land-Animals known, they are the only ones almoſt, that can't by ſwimming preſerve themſelves from drowning. The Birds indeed don't know this natural defect of the Cats, but as theſe are the moſt hungry devouring Creatures that can be, and will let no Animals live in peace about them that are but within their reach, ſo Nature has taught the *Pintadelli* this way of avoiding them.

The *Picui* have ſharp long bills to bore holes in the Trees to lay their young ones there in ſafety; and the *Matti* build very deep hollow Neſts, and fortify them with a Crown-work of thorns; and the ſame Wiſdom has taught the *Pintadelli* another artifice, which is to make their Neſts in Trees over the water, where their Perſecutors can never come.

Serpents and Reptiles.

The other Fowl, Fiſhes, Reptiles and Inſects, are ſuch as have been deſcrib'd in other places up and down: *Oviedo* tells us of Dragons in the *Weſt-Indies*, and of a formidable ſort of Serpent call'd a *Juanna*, which he makes to be an amphibious Creature, and no certain Inhabitant either of the Land or the Water.

As for his Dragons, we believe he means no other than ſome ſort of very great Serpent, of which we know there are abundance in thoſe Parts of the World, and not a Creature with a ſpiral Tail, great flaggy Wings, and a crooked Snout, ſuch as St. *George* is pictur'd trampling under his Horſes feet.

Juanna.

As for the *Juanna*, he ſays it has four feet, and very long claws, a ſet of very ſharp teeth, a ſpotted skin, that it makes no noiſe, nor diſcovers any thing of a voice, that it will faſt for many days together, and is very good meat, even preferable to any Coney; in a word, as to the ſize of it, he ſays 'tis as big as a Coney, and ſometimes as an Otter. After all, 'tis not impoſſible that this may be ſome kind of *Lizard* or *Jacare*, to which many of theſe Characters agree, eſpecially ſince he alſo adds that the tail of it is very like that Creature.

Very hurtful Vipers.

He ſpeaks alſo of a ſort of very venemous Vipers, the effect of whoſe biting is a ſudden and ſpeedy coagulation of the whole Maſs of the Blood; and of this he gives ſomes inſtances of his own knowledge.

Fiery Adder.

The Adder that is as red as Blood, and appears at Night like a burning Coal almoſt, he ſays is 7 or 8 foot long, but not ſo dangerous as the Viper before-mention'd; but that it does appear with that fiery aſpect at night, he gives us his own experience.

Monſtrous Toads.

There are a ſort of very great Toads which agree with the *Braſilian* ones, in this reſpect that they are not poiſonous; but he ſpeaks of their having bones, and thoſe ſo large, that a Man wou'd think them to be the bones of Cats or Dogs.

Strange Spiders.

There are Spiders of a prodigious bigneſs too; and that Author declares he ſaw one that was larger than a Man's Hand, and another the Eyes of which were as big as thoſe of a Sparrow. Theſe Creatures, as well as the former, are of various colours; and we may eaſily believe our Author, when he ſays that they are both of them very ugly and diſagreeable ſights.

Wiſdom of the Ants.

But 'tis very remarkable what he ſays of the Ants, which are ſo miſerably perſecuted and devoured by the Ant-Bear, as it is call'd upon that very ſcore: Theſe Creatures (which for many actions of theirs have deſervedly been ſtil'd wiſe and prudent) in many places work themſelves up great hillocks of a Man's heighth, but of ſo hard and ſtubborn a ſort of Earth in the outſide, that 'tis like a defence of Lime or Stone; for Experiments ſake, he made ſome of them be broken open, but they wou'd hardly yield to pikes of Iron they were ſo denſe and compact. Under this hard ſhell lie the Ants in infinite numbers, very well ſkreen'd by this means from the ſearching Tongue of their enemy. It may not be wholly improper to add an account of two or three remarkable things in Nature, tho' ſome of them perhaps out of their due place.

Poiſonous Fruit.

The main thing the *Indians* uſe to poiſon their Arrows withal is a ſort of Fruit, which in form and ſize reſembles the Muſcadel-Pear of *Sicily* and *Naples*; 'tis ſtain'd with red ſpots up and down in many places, and is of a moſt ſweet and pleaſant taſte. The Tree that bears it has a leaf like that of a Pear-tree, only ſomething leſs and rounder, and is never found but near the Sea. The Fruit it ſelf is of ſo alluring and inviting an aſpect, that a Man can hardly ſee it without having at the ſame time a ſtrong deſire to taſte; the doing of which wou'd infallibly be attended with ſome fatal conſequences, for the miſchievous nature of it is hardly to be deſcribed: And 'tis credibly reported, that if a Man does but lie down to ſleep under the Tree, he will find his Head and Eyes ſwollen when he awakes again, and 'twou'd be little leſs than the loſs of ſight, to have a drop of the dew that falls from it come into the Eye. One thing farther is obſervable concerning it, namely, that the Wood of theſe Trees, when burnt, makes ſo horrible a ſtink that no Man can endure it, and the malignant fumes that iſſue from it do cauſe a violent pain in the Head. The *Indians* uſe this deſperate poiſon about their Arrows, ſometimes alone, and ſometimes mix'd with that of ſeveral venemous Animals; but either is ſufficient to anſwer the end and purpoſe of their uſing it, which is to deſtroy them that are ſo unfortunate as to be wounded by thoſe Arrows.

Danger of it.

Stinking Wood.

Tree *Xagua*.

The Tree *Xagua* is a very tall, ſtrait and well-made one, and of it the *Indians* make all their Darts, Pikes and Javelins: It bears a large Fruit almoſt like the head of the great Poppey, and very good for eating; but out of it they get a water which is an admirable remedy for weak, faint and weary Limbs; it renews their ſtrength and vigour, and makes the fleſh which was before looſe and ſoft, to become ſound and firm again; and all this only by waſhing the Part with it. Yet it has this ill quality, that it does the skin almoſt as much harm by blacking it, as it does the fleſh good other ways; it leaves ſo thorough and deep a black, that 'tis a hard matter to get it out again. And the ſame good effects, as to the Fleſh and Limbs, the Bark or Rind of the Tree *Hobi* is known by experience to have, if it be boil'd in water, and the Parts waſh'd with it. This Fruit is ſmall and yellow, of a very good taſte, and in form not unlike a Damſon.

A Medicinal Water from the Fruit.

The Deform'd Tree, which grows moſt frequently in *Hiſpaniola*, is yet more remarkable in every reſpect: 'Tis ſo confus'd a heap of leaves and thorns, that nothing but a Painter's Pencil can deſcribe it; but with all this irregularity of ſhape, there goes along a noble vertue and healing property, which render theſe leaves the moſt compleat remedy for broken Limbs that perhaps is known. They only take the leaves well ſtamp'd and ſpread upon a Cloth like a Plaiſter, and apply this to the broken Member; it ſticks of it ſelf ſo very faſt, that 'tis difficult to pull it off before the buſineſs is done, but when once the Part is throughly ſoder'd and heal'd, it drops off without any help, and the doing ſo is a ſign that the Cure is finiſh'd, and this is commonly about 15 days a performing. *Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedo*, Governor in the *Weſt-Indies* for the Emperor *Charles* V. affirms (in a Diſcourſe of the Country which he ſent to that Prince) that he himſelf (as well as ſeveral others of his knowledge)

The Deform'd Tree.

Remedy for broken bones.

knowledge) had made trial of the ſoveraign vertue of this Plant, and that it has really that property of cleaving ſo faſt to the Part, and then falling off its own accord when it has done the work it was laid on for.

Plant which affords Threads for cutting Iron.

There is a Plant which is like a yellow Lilly, about the leaves of which there grow and creep along certain Strings or little Cords, that are of very great uſe to the *Indians* upon many accounts. There are two ſorts of theſe Cords, a thicker and groſſer, almoſt like the wiek or twiſt of Hemp in compariſon to the other, and this they call *Calbuia*: The finer ſort is like Flax, and they give it the name of *Henequen*; but both one and the other are of the ſame colour, which is between white and yellow, and ſome quite white. Of theſe the *Indians* make very ſtrong and ſubſtantial Cords, by which they hang up their Hammocks, and they put them to all uſes wherein any thing of a ſtout ligament is wanting. But 'tis ſtranger ſtill, that by the help of the fine threads of the *Henequen* they ſhou'd be able to overcome the ſtubbornneſs and ſtrength of Iron, and to ſaw aſunder Fetters, Chains, or Iron Bars, as they can eaſily do, and often practiſe it. When they wou'd perform any of theſe operations, they take a thread of the *Henequen*, and draw it this way and that way upon the Iron in the manner of ſawing, putting ever now and then a ſmall matter of very fine Sand upon the Thread, or upon the Iron; and when the thread, by continual rubbing, is worn and grown feeble, they take a freſh one, and go on with the work, till the Iron is quite parted in two. And thoſe that have ſeen the *Indians* at this work, ſay that they do it with a great deal of eaſe and dexterity; and that Iron, tho' ever ſo big and ſtrong, is with little trouble conquer'd by this means.

After this little view of Nature in this Country, we come to conſider the Cuſtoms, Government and Policy of the ſame, and this diſtinctly for each of the two famous Kingdoms of *Mexico* and *Peru*.

CHAP. XIV.

The Civil and Moral Hiſtory of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

WE will begin with the Account of *Mexico*, as being the firſt of the two Kingdoms laid open to the knowledge of *Europe* by the *Spaniſh* Conqueſt. The People of this Country, tho' much ſuperiour to many other of the Nations upon the ſame Continent, both in reſpect of Civil Politeneſs and Natural Endowments, yet ſtand upon the ſame level with them all as to Matters of Religion. They are Idolaters as well as the moſt Savage and moſt Barbarous, tho' perhaps it may be allow'd them to have made their Idolatry more fine and pompous, as well as more ſolemn and ceremonious than many others of them have done. Notwithſtanding this, ſome there are that ſay the *Mexicans* had undoubtedly a Notion of one Supreme Being, the Maker and Preſerver of all things, and that the *Spaniards* at firſt found little or no difficulty to convince them of this Truth, their own natural Notions, tho' blind and confus'd, ſetting in with the Arguments urg'd upon them for that purpoſe. But whatever Notions they had of this kind, 'tis certain that all their viſible Services and Adorations were paid to Idols; and tho' they had a high veneration for the Sun, as the Fountain of Light, and ſo many other Bleſſings to the World, yet we can't find that ever they honour'd him with any formal Worſhip. What the *Peruvians* did we ſhall ſee afterwards, but the *Mexicans* ſeem not to have done any thing of this nature. As for them, their Deities were all of a groſs and terreſtrial compoſition; they dug the materials of them out of their Mines and Quarries, or cut them out of their Foreſts and Woods, and of the many hundreds they had, ſome were Gold, or other baſer Metal, others Wood or Stone, or what pleas'd their own extravagant fancies. The moſt celebrated of all this number was an Idol which they call'd *Vitziliputzli*; what they imagin'd it the repreſentative of is uncertain, but they ſtil'd it the moſt Puiſſant Lord of all things, and erected a Temple in Honour of it, that was by far the proudeſt and moſt ſumptuous in the Country. The Image it ſelf was made of no finer Matter than Wood, but infinitely adorn'd with Gold, Jewels and Feathers. It was in the form of a Man, his Head cover'd with a Crown; in his Right Hand he held an Azure-colour'd Staff, and in his Left a white Target, and at his Sides were ſtuck 4 Darts. It was ſet upon a Stool mounted upon a high Altar, with a rich Curtain always drawn before it, to make all appear more Venerable and Sacred.

The *Mexicans* had Notions of God.

Honour'd the Sun.

Multitude of Idols.

Famous Idol *Vitziliputzli*.

Deſcription of him.

It would be to no purpoſe to deſcribe even all the principal Idols they had amongſt them, with the particulars of their Furniture and Decking, and the ſeveral odd Notions the *Mexicans* had of them; 'tis ſufficient to ſay, that they had one more which ſtood in an Apartment of the ſame Temple adjoining to the former, which they made almoſt equal in Dignity and Power with *Vitziliputzli*.

Other Idols.

As for the reſt, they allow'd them their ſeveral peculiar Offices and Provinces, and accordingly made their applications to them: And they always made every Deity known what he was, and what he preſided over govern'd or had care of, by ſome Devices of Painting, or Carv'd work about them. Thus the God of Famine, Peſtilence and Barrenneſs, was ſeen with Dead Men's Bones and Skulls drawn upon his Seat: The God of Merchandize and Traffick with a World of Toys and Trifles; and him of Repentance and Pardons with ſmoking Firebrands, to ſignifie the Prayers and Contritions of Sinners. A multitude of other Symbols and Characters were to be found about their Idols, the ſenſe and ſignification of which is a Task fit for their own Prieſts only to diſcover.

The Repreſentatives of their Power.

The Temples wherein theſe fine Pageants are ſeated with ſo much State and Majeſty, are themſelves as rich and beautiful as all the Skill of that Part of the World, in conjunction with their Zeal and Superſtition, cou'd poſſibly make them. Perhaps they may be ſhort of the *Peruvian* Temples, for prodigious Riches and Treaſures in the inſide, but then they generally exceed in pomp of Building, in auguſt Figure, and all the beauties of Art and Contrivance. That of *Vitziliputzli*, in the City of *Mexico*, is a wonderful Structure, whether one conſiders the bulk and dimenſions of it, the ſymmetry and regularity of the Parts, the goodneſs of the Workmanſhip, or of the Materials. It was built with great Stones cut in the faſhion of Snakes tied to one another, taking up a vaſt compaſs of ground, as may eaſily be gueſs'd from the bigneſs of the Court within; this Court wou'd contain better than 8000 People dancing in a round, which it very often did upon the account of thoſe Solemnities which were ſtatedly held there. Within the Circuit of the Court were all the Chambers of the Religious, the Oratories and Manſions of the Idols; upon the top of every one of which was a Column as black as jet, and very neatly wrought, and each Pillar adorn'd with a ſort of Battelment, which was ſupported with two *Indians* carved in Stone, and holding Candleſticks in their hands. Upon the moſt elevated part of the whole Structure were two Chapels of Stone, the Repoſitories of the two Grand Idols; they had all the Ornaments that Carving and Painting cou'd give to them, and the aſcent up to them was by 120 Stone ſteps. Before each Chapel was a Court of 40 Foot ſquare, and in the middle of each a lofty Pyramid, at which the Humane Sacrifices were always made. This magnificent Temple had four Gates anſwering to the four Cardinal points of the Compaſs; at every one of which begins a fair Cawſey of two or three leagues in length. For 'tis to be obſerv'd, that there are four large Cawſeys that run thus a-croſs, in the midſt of the Lake in which the City of *Mexico* ſtands, and at the end of each Cawſey is a handſome Portal or Entry, which faces directly ſome Gate of the Temple. And to render the appearance every way the more great and awful, they plac'd an Idol upon every one of theſe Portals, with the face turn'd to the Cawſey, that ſo all that advanc'd towards the Temple might have them in full view. Before the great Court of the Temple

Temples.

Great Temple at *Mexico*.

The Deſcription of it.

Walk of Trees.

ple (at some distance from it) was an ascent of 30 Steps upon the top of which was a Walk 30 foot broad. Thro' the middle of this Walk run a Palisadoe of very high Trees, planted in order at a fathom distance from one another: The Trees were all pierc'd with small holes from top to bottom, thro' which run a vast number of Rods from Tree to Tree, and these were all hung with the Skulls of those humane Victims that had been offer'd to the great Idol. These Objects struck a deal of horrour into a Beholder; the mournful sight made the place appear less lovely and pleasant, tho' perhaps it contributed not a little to the Religion of it. As to the business of Sacrifices, no People in the World perhaps have imbrued their hands in more Blood than the *Mexicans*, and that the Blood of Mankind too; only this is to be said, that the *Peruvians* have outdone them in some particular circumstances of these Sacrifices, shedding that blood which the others never pretended to. The *Mexicans*, as far as we can find, never offer'd any Victims of this nature, but what the fortune of War put into their hands; they were always Captives and Prisoners that were dealt thus with, and their Gods were serv'd only with what the Sword had left undevour'd. Indeed, this was one of the great Designs of their making War; they seldom fought for any thing but Victims for their Altars, and therefore took care to kill as few as was possible when they were engag'd in Battel, but made it their chief business to get Prisoners. The Great *Montezuma*, in a Discourse with a *Spanish* Nobleman, that had assisted at the Conquest of *Mexico*, signified as much as this came to. The *Spaniard* ask'd him how it came about, that being so great as he was, and absolute Sovereign of all the rest of the Kingdoms about him, he had not conquer'd the Province of *Tlascalla*, which was just by him? The Prince told him that there were two things that induc'd him to leave that Province unconquer'd; one was to keep his Soldiers in exercise, and prevent their growing idle, lazy and unapt for the Wars; but the other, and the principal one, was, to have a constant Supply of Captives for Sacrifices to his Gods. And there were abundance of Ceremonies us'd in the doing of this solemn Work: There were six Persons particularly employ'd in it, who had each his peculiar Part and Office in the Bloody performance; two were appointed to hold the Hands, and as many the Legs of the Victim; another to hold his Head, and the last to open his Stomach, and pull out his Heart. The Name they gave these Persons was *Chachalmuas*, which signifies as much as the Ministers of holy Things; and that Office was very highly esteem'd, and pass'd from one to another by Inheritance. It was the business of the chief of them all (of him that was as it were a Bishop in comparison with the rest) to give the fatal stroke, and do the whole of the Execution. The Name he went by was that of *Topilzin*; his Habit was a red Robe with Tassels beneath, a Crown of the richest Feathers upon his Head, and Pendants in his Ears. The others were attir'd in white Robes wrought with black, no Crowns upon their Heads, but their hair bound up, and circles of Paper painted with several colours stuck upon their Foreheads. When the Arch-Priest had opened the breast of the poor Victim, and taken out his Heart, he held it up reeking in its Blood to the Sun, and then presently turning towards the Idol he threw it in the face of him; a coarse Compliment to a Deity, and an odd way of making him an Offering. After this the dead Body was tumbled down the Temple Stairs, and those that had the best Title to them took them up, and divided them amongst themselves, and so went to feasting upon them. Thus were all the Captives serv'd one after another, for the most part 40 or 50 together; for they reckon'd it no honour to their Idol to offer him a small number. The Idol that stood by them at this Ceremony, was one which the Arch-Priest always brought with him from the top of the Temple; it was made neither of Wood, Stone nor Metal, but Paste of Wheat and Maize mingled with Honey. And ever before the Ceremony begun, the same Chief-Priest mounting up the Terrass in the middle of the Court, held up an high this Image of Dough, shewing it to all the People, and bidding them behold their Deity. This was a sort of excitement to the cruel Work that follow'd; and the People saw with less tenderness and compassion the miserable fate of the Sacrifices, when they were thus prepar'd by the sight of their Idol, and those addresses of his chief Minister. But the *Mexicans* sometimes gave a Captive the liberty of fighting for his life; they furnish'd him with a Sword and Target, but tied him by one of his Legs to a Pillar, so that he must either conquer him that he was to combat with or die. Here was no running away in this case, and nothing but downright Valour cou'd do any good. However, if the Captive got the better of his Adversary they, let him live, and live with Glory, for ever after that he had the Reputation and Dignity of a brave Captain; but if he was worsted, he was condemn'd to die, and the same hand that overcame must also Sacrifice him.

Multitude of Sacrifices at *Mexico*.

Prisoners only Sacrific'd.

Discourse of *Montezuma* and a *Spaniard*

Priests that perform the Sacrifices.

The Habits of the Priests at the Sacrifices.

Strange Custom.

Idol of Paste.

Priest holds it up to the People.

Captives fight for their Lives.

But they have also a sort of a Sacrifice amongst them, before which they treat the Slave that is to die after the most honourable manner in the World, and do all that can be to make him fat against the Day of Slaughter. They pick out a certain Slave whom they will, and deliver him to the Priest's Custody, calling him at the same time the Image and Representation of their Idol. More than that, he went for the future by the very Name of the Idol, and was honour'd and respected in a manner like the Idol it self. At his first entrance into this Dignity he was wash'd, and cover'd with the sacred Robes and Ornaments, and had the noblest Mansion in the whole Temple assign'd to him; but yet a Guard set upon him too, that he might not run away. He was serv'd by all the chief Ministers, and had none but great Persons about him; and as for his Food, it was of the richest that cou'd be provided. When he pass'd through the Streets a train of the Nobility follow'd him, and all the People came out of their Houses to see him; the Women particularly, wou'd come and present their Children to him to have his Benediction. In short, for a Twelvemonths space, he lived at this rate honour'd and serv'd as something more than Humane, and then his Heart was also shew'd to the Sun: They sacrific'd and eat him up as they did the rest; they first dubb'd him a Deity, and then made Stakes and Rashers of him afterwards. If this Person happen'd to make his escape, the principal Man of his Guard succeeded him in his Honour, and afterwards had his fate. This abominable effusion of Humane Blood, as it was first of all introduc'd by the Priests, so the Custom was continually held up by their artifices, and improv'd to such a degree, that some Festival days no less than 4000 or 5000 have been sacrific'd. Those wretched Men having the Ear of the Princes always open to them, would insinuate into them a belief of the pleasure and delight the Gods took in those Sacrifices: They wou'd tell them the Gods, at such a time, demanded such a number, and wou'd be displeas'd if a speedy satisfaction were not given them. And then War must be made out of hand, right or wrong; some neighbouring Province or other must be invaded to get Captives for the Priests to butcher. 'Tis matter of no little admiration, that Humane Nature shou'd ever stoop to so intolerable a Servitude as this, and so peaceably wear the Fetters of a parcel of Men, whose only business and design was to tyrannize and govern all the World about them. Some of the *Spaniards* indeed say, that the *Indians* were weary of the Yoke impos'd upon them by the Priests, and were glad of the Occasion of a new Religion appearing amongst them (which was all full of Mildness and Goodness) to throw it off: But there may be some reason to suspect partiality in their Accounts of the Matter, tho' it be not at all strange either that they shou'd be tired with the Cruelties and Slaveries of their own Law, or invited and allured by the sweetness of the Christian. *Ferdinando Cortes*, in his Letter to the Emperor *Charles* V. assures him, that after the Conquest of *Mexico*, there came an Embassy to him out of the Province of *Mechoacan*; the design of which was, to desire some information in the Nature of the Christian Law, and to let him know that they had no very good opinion of their own, and intended to leave it. This request *Cortes* granted, and *Acosta* says that the *Mechoacens* made the best Christians in all *New Spain*; which is possible, tho' if they were no better than a great many of their Teachers, one might conclude, without breach of Charity, that they were not very good ones.

A Slave honour'd with the Idol's Name.

Priests maintain these Customs.

Indians groan'd under the Yoke of this Bondage.

But to return to the Priests: These Men were highly honour'd and esteem'd by the People, and had very great Offerings made them, besides their stated Revenues, which their own ambition, and the blind fondness of the People, had made very considerable. The Priests of the Grand Idol *Vitzilipuitzli* had their Offices by Inheritance, but those of the Inferiour ones by Election; at least they were dedicated to the Service in their Infancy, and were also brought up in the Temple. Their most constant work was to Incense the Idols, which they did four times a day; at Day-break, at Noon, at Sun-set, and at Midnight. The last of these Exercises was the most solemn; the performance was attended with the Musick of Trumpets, Corners and Flutes, and after the Offering of the Incense, they all went into a Chapel to do one of the severest Penances imaginable. Each of them, with an Awl or a Bodkin, pierc'd the Calves of their Legs thro' and

Office and Duties of the Priests.

Their horrid usage of themselves.

and thro', drawing forth a deal of Blood, and were very careful afterwards to let the People know their Sufferings. Besides this Mortification, they obliged themselves to another, which was a rigorous Fast for at least a Week together, and this always before any of their great Feasts. At these times they took no more Food than just was necessary to keep them alive; they drank no Wine, they hardly allowed themselves any Sleep; and to make the Fast universal, they denied themselves all Conversation with their Wives. And as if all this were not enough, they wou'd discipline their flesh with most unmerciful Whips, and give themselves lashes fitter to be born by Horses than Men; which trick the People learnt of them too, and practis'd at the Feast of the God of Repentance.

What the *Spaniards* say further of their Religion.

Some of the *Spanish* Writers here go on, and carry the business of the *Mexicans* Religion much farther yet: They tell us of Confessors and Confessions, of Unctions and Baptisms, and Representations of the Eucharist amongst these People. In short, they trace out very near all the Sacraments, and make Popery to have been in the Country before they came to bring it thither. 'Tis true this is a good stroke enough, but a Man has no need of very nice Spectacles to see what lies at the bottom of such Insinuations as these are. They say the Devil has always been very busie to form his Church like that of Christ's; to cast his Worship in the same Mould as near as can be, and dress it up with resembling Rites and Ceremonies. But if the Worship of the *Indians* be such as they describe it, pray whose Image and Superscription is upon it? To what Church does the Character of seven Sacraments belong? If Satan then be for building his Church like that of Jesus Christ, and has form'd that in the *Indies* after such a manner as he has, we may understand from hence what the true Church is, and where 'tis to be found; 'tis the Original that answers to this Picture, and that can be no other than the Church of *Rome*.

An *Inuendo* of the *Spaniards* concerning the Church.

Now if these things of the *Indians* be punctually true, 'tis an odd way enough to alledge the Devil's practise, in order to the insinuating a belief of the Churches Authority; but if they are false, 'tis still worse to tell Lyes of him for the same purpose, and make the World believe he has been so busie in *America*, that he has had no time to do work in *Europe*. We shall not trouble the Reader therefore with the Accounts of these Confessions, and the Penances enjoyn'd upon the Confessing Sinners; the Unctions, and the numbers of venomous Ingredients in the Matter of them; the Ceremonies of their Preparation, nor those of their Application. As also neither with any Stories of the Witchcrafts, Sorceries and Enchantments perform'd by their Priests, nor the Delusions and Jugglings of the Fortune-tellers, both these agreeing together to cheat the People of their Money; and which is worse, of their Understanding too.

Pope amongst the *Mexicans*.

We shall only observe, that to make the Representation of the Natural Religion of the *Mexicans* yet more Romanish, *Acosta* has found out a Pope amongst them too; for he says, that in the ancient Tongue of the People, the High Priest was call'd *Papa*, which no doubt was of the Devil's inventing, for the sake of the imitation of him in the true Church of Church.

Other Religious Men.

The *Mexicans*, in the Month of *May*, Celebrated the great and solemn Feast of their Idol *Vitzilipuztli*: For the clearer account of which Ceremony, we must understand that besides the several Orders of Priests, who had their Mansions and Apartments in the Temple, there were also (according to the account of the foremention'd Authors) two other sorts of Religions, the one Men, and the other young Women, and each shut up in their several Cloysters, within the Circuit of the great Temple, and under their peculiar Governors and Governesses; the former Ministred to the Priests, swept and made clean the Holy Places, and kept the Fire perpetually burning upon the Altar. They lived in extreme Continency and Modesty, wou'd not dare to look upon a Woman if they met her in the Streets, and were perfectly obedient to their Superiors. They had no Incomes nor Revenues, but lived upon the Alms and Charity of the People; they suffer'd their hair behind to grow long, and tied it up in tresses, but were shaved upon the crown: that is, they were faint resemblances of Monks and Friers; differing chiefly in this, that these *Mexicans* were not condemned to perpetual Slavery and Poverty, to drudge in the Temple and beg all their lives long, but came out of it at the end of a Year, at which time a new Sett was brought in in their room.

Religious young Women.

The young Women likewise lived most chastly and regularly, as Virgins devoted to the Service of their God; they rose at Midnight, as well as the Men, to the worship of the Idol, and perform'd all the same Exercises as the Religious of the other Sex, even to the shedding of their Blood. Their business was to prepare Meat for the Idol and his Ministers, and do other Offices peculiar to their Sex. The least indiscretion, as to any Conversation with Men, cost them their lives, and they died many times upon bare suspicion, grounded only upon some of these preposterous Omens and Signs which that People had a world of, and were mightily govern'd by. But when the term of a Year was expired, they had the same Privilege with the Men, and went out of this House of Bondage into the Comforts of Matrimony.

The Fast of *Vitzilipuztli*.

In order to the Feast of *Vitzilipuztli*, these Virgins two days before made the Representation of the Idol in Paste, composed of Maize and the Seeds of Beets mix'd with Honey; it was cover'd with a rich Robe, and mounted in a Chair (which was placed in a Litter) in a posture ready to be carry'd abroad. The Morning of the Feast being come, the Maids were dress'd all in white, and appear'd with Garlands of Maize upon their Heads; their Cheeks painted with Vermilion, and their Arms (from the Elbow to the Wrist) cover'd with Parrots feathers of the same colour. They brought out the Idol of Paste into the great Court with all imaginable Solemnity, where the Religious young Men receiv'd it, delivering them from the burden, and taking the Litter upon their own shoulders; these were dress'd in red, and had Garlands upon their Heads too. After this they carry'd it abroad to several places without the City, a vast multitude of People attending it. At their return they had Humane Sacrifices, and a greater number that day than any other; the Sacrifices were succeeded with solemn Dances in the great Court of the Temple, the Religious dancing in the middle, and the Nobility making one great Circle about them.

Jesuits make the counterfeit of the Eucharist of it.

The Romish Fathers will have it, that after this, the Idol of Paste being consecrated by the Priests, was deliver'd to be eaten by the People, and receiv'd with the greatest reverence by them; yea, they call'd it the Flesh and Bones of their Idol, and look'd no more on it as common Paste. The sick also had the benefit of it, as well as the healthy and well, and 'twas carried to them with no little ceremony; but 'tis plain whither all this tends, here's Transubstantiation added on to the rest, but we want Purgatory still.

Feast of *Tezcallipuca*.

Next to this Feast came that of *Tezcallipuca*, the God of Repentance; this fell in the same Month with the former, and lasted 9 or 10 days. The Idol upon this Occasion was adorn'd with a new Robe, and several Devices of feathers, and other fine things; and being thus trimm'd up, the Veil or Curtain was drawn from before his Mansion door, that he might be seen of the whole Assembly. Upon this, one of the Officers of the Temple sounded a Musical Instrument, turning to the four quarters of the Heaven, intimating thereby that all must hear him. Afterwards he gather'd up Earth, and put it into his Mouth, eating it in token of Adoration. The multitude there present follow'd his Example, and afterwards prostrated themselves upon the ground, invoking the Idol, and shewing all the signs of Sorrow and Contrition for their Offences. This Exercise lasted for several days together, and then the Idol it self was solemnly carried about the circumference of the great Court, which was all strew'd with Flowers, Boughs and Garlands. All sorts of People made Offerings according to their quality and ability; some brought Gold and Jewels, others excellent Meats and Fruits, which the Priests first laid at the foot of the Altar, and then carried to their Chambers. The next part of this Solemnity was a Humane Sacrifice according to the usual manner, and then all concluded with Dancing, Musick and Feasting. The Person sacrific'd at this time was he that had born the Character of the Idol for a Twelve-month before, according to the former Accounts; every three Years there was no more Humane Blood but that of this Person only shed at this Feast, but the fourth Year they had several others to bear him company, for the Solemnity was every way much greater at that time, and the Religion of it heightned.

Humiliations and Prayers.

Feast of *Quetzacoult*, or of the *Merchants*.

Not much unlike to this was the Feast of *Merchants*, celebrated in Honour of *Quetzacoult*, the God of Trade and Riches. The Sacrifice here Represented the Deity also, and was highly caress'd by the Merchants; but his Reign was but short, and he had no more than 40 days allow'd him to enjoy his Ease, and take all this Pleasure. They had this Custom in particular, to give him a solemn warning of his approaching Death, which was done by two of the Ancients of the Temple in a most humble and respectful manner. And they took a great deal of notice how he receiv'd it, whether he was sad and melancholly;

lancholly, or appear'd as brisk and gay as he us'd to be; if the former, they concluded it an ill Omen, and the Merchants fear'd ill Succeſs in their Trade. When his Heart was taken out of his Body, 'twas offer'd to the Moon, and not to the Sun; and the Carkaſs it ſelf was dreſs'd up with very fine Sawces, and made a Banquet for the Merchants. This ſort of Men took it in their turn to find one of theſe Sacrifices for every returning Year, neither cou'd any one that traded much be lawfully excus'd from it. The *Mexicans* gave *Vitziliputzli* the Title of their moſt Puiſſant Lord, but in ſhort they honour'd *Quetzacoult* as much as he; his Temple was much frequented, and his Rites punctually obſerv'd, ſo diligent a thing is Religion where there is Intereſt too. This Idol was more in eſteem at *Cholula*, the Capital City of a *Mexican* Province, than at *Mexico* it ſelf, and 'twas the Cuſtom there to have one principal Prieſt to officiate every Week. And one great part of his Work was to beat up a Drum at Sun-ſet and at Day-break, for at Night, upon the ſound of it, all People quitted Publick buſineſs abroad and retired to their Houſes, ſo that there was a profound Silence all through the Town; and in the Morning, upon this Alarm, all Travellers and Strangers began their Journeys, neither was it permitted them to ſtir before they heard it. The Temple had an aſcent of 60 Steps to it, and a fine ſpacious Court, in which was a Theatre of 30 foot ſquare for publick Dances, Plays, and other Diverſions, which always follow'd the Celebration of the Feaſt.

The *Tlaſcallans* (the Neighbours, but moſt inveterate Enemies of the *Mexicans*) had their principal Sacrifice of Stags, and other Animals of the Woods and Foreſts; for they were great Hunters themſelves, and he whom they honour'd as a Deity was a mighty Hunter too, and their Country the moſt fit for all thoſe Sports of any in the whole Empire of *New Spain*. When the time of their great Feaſt came, they went abroad into the open light to do what they did; they did not ſhut themſelves up in Temples, nor make uſe of artificial Lights to perform their Matters by, but look'd the Sun in the face, and made him a Witneſs of their Actions. They erected an Altar upon the top of a high Mountain, and upon that they ſeated their Idol. Then a vaſt multitude of them march'd out of the City with all ſorts of Muſick in uſe amongſt them, and encompaſs'd the Mountain of all ſides. In ſhort, they ſet fire to the Trees and Buſhes all round, and burnt the Stags, Hares, Coneys, Wolves and Foxes, out of their ſeveral ſhelters and retirements, which thereupon made up to the higher parts of the Mountain in ſuch crouds, that they heap'd upon one anothers backs, and the Peoples too. The Hunters following of them hither, did here begin the Maſſacre; they kill'd great numbers of them, and pull'd out their Hearts before the Idol, and then retired laden with all theſe Spoils to the City again, where they made their Feaſt, and concluded it with Dances, and ſeveral ſorts of Theatrical Repreſentations.

As to the point of Funerals, and the Obſequies of the Dead, the *Mexicans* were not Superſtitious and Ceremonious than in their Sacrifices. Amongſt ſome of them the dead Bodies were buried whole and entire, amongſt others they were burnt to aſhes, and thoſe remainders afterwards committed to the ground in Urns. The former were generally buried in their Gardens and the Courts of their Houſes; the latter in their Temples, or ſome Dormitories adjoining to thoſe Sacred Places. But whether one way or the other, 'twas ſtill the Cuſtom for a dead Man, before he was Interr'd, to be ſaluted by all his Friends and Kindred as if he was living. They brought him (if a Prince or a Nobleman) Preſents of Gold and Jewels, and fine works, and buried a great Treaſure along with him, for his Expences in the other World. Upon the ſame ſcore, ſeveral of his Domeſticks were obliged to attend him, and die to continue their Service to him in that other ſtate. His Cook, his Butler, his Prieſt, his Dwarfs and common Slaves, all went after him to do their ſeveral Offices there. Yea, ſometimes ſome of the Kindred and Relations underwent this fate; for amongſt the Nobility 'twas look'd upon as a point of State to be ſerv'd by thoſe of their Blood. The Martial-men had particular Trophies and Marks of Honour, to diſtinguiſh them at their Funerals from other Men. Their Arms were carried along to the place of Interment before the Body, and whatever Heroical Actions the deceas'd had done in his Life-time, they were expreſs'd by a ſort of Blazonry, ſo that all the Aſſembly might be ſure to know them. The Ceremony of Interment was perform'd by the Prieſts with a world of ridiculous actions and geſtures; yea, they were ſometimes dreſs'd ſo frightfully upon theſe Occaſions, that the very ſight of them was almoſt enough to have made more Funerals.

Marriage amongſt theſe People was even in the literal ſenſe the tying together of a Man and a Woman: When a Couple came before the Prieſt to be thus united, after having declar'd their mutual Conſent, he took the corner of the Woman's Veil, and the skirt of the Man's Gown, and tied them together in a knot, and ſo led them thus join'd away to the Bridegroom's Houſe. Here a fire was preſently kindled, and the Prieſt led Miſtreſs Bride ſeven times round the Hearth, which was the Conſummation of the Ceremony, and left them actually Man and Wife. The *Mexicans* being very jealous of the Integrity of their Wives, do many times part with them, when perhaps the Women have given no juſt Occaſion either for the Divorce, or the Jealouſie that is the cauſe of it. In this caſe, when it comes to ſuch an extremity, they divide their Goods, and the whole Stock, according to what each of them had when they came together; the Man has his Part, and the Woman hers, and ſo ſhe has no more dependance upon him, nor concern with him; and that they may be exact and punctual in theſe Diviſions, they have Inventories always drawn up at Marriage, which the Fathers of both ſides keep in their hands, and bring forth upon theſe Occaſions. The Children are divided too as well as the Goods; the Daughters follow the Mother, and the Sons the Father. And the knot of the Veil and the Gown being now perfectly untied, the Man and Woman are both at liberty to go and tie it again where they pleaſe; only they muſt never do it with one another again by the Law, for if they die for't; and let them repent or change their Minds, or wiſh and deſire as much as they will, 'tis all one, the Separation muſt be eternal. If a Man and his Wife lives eaſily and pleaſantly together, without any manner of Jealouſies and Suſpicions, there's old Feaſting and Rejoycing of both ſides; the Man treats and preſents the Kindred of ſo good a Wife, yea, expreſſes his gratitude to the Gods too, by very great Offerings upon the ſame account. The Children of Princes and Noblemen, when born, were waſh'd by the Prieſt, and a little Sword put into the Right Hand, and as ſmall a Target into the Left. The Children of the Vulgar had ſome Inſtruments of their Callings put into their Hands; and the Daughters particularly, thoſe for Spinning, Knitting, and other Employments of the Women. This Ceremony was continued for four Days ſucceſſively, and always perform'd before ſome Idol.

The *Mexicans* had alſo their Books and their Learning too, tho' both much ſhort of what the *Europeans* cou'd pretend to ſhew them. Their Books were the leaves of certain Trees folded into a convenient form, but they had no ſuch things as letters in uſe amongſt them, but did all by Images, Symbols, and Hieroglyphick Characters. Where they intended things that cou'd be repreſented by their own proper natural Images, they made uſe of thoſe Images, but where thoſe were wanting, they expreſs'd them by other arbitrary Characters which they invented themſelves. The *Mexicans* write neither like the *Europeans*, *Africans* or *Aſiaticks*, but have a way by themſelves; their way is the Inverſe of the *Chineſe*, for whereas they write from the top to the bottom, the others go upwards from the bottom to the top. Their computation of Time was very different from the *European*; they divided their Year into 18 Months, each of which contain'd 20 Days, and ſo made up 360. The other 5 Days that compleated the number of 365, were entirely left out of the Account of the Year; they reckon'd them apart by themſelves, and called them the Days of Nothing, and this with very good reaſon too, for during thoſe Days they did nothing; that is, nothing of buſineſs for themſelves, nor ſervice to their Gods. The Temples were ſhut up, and the Sacrifices ceas'd, and they ſpent the whole time in viſiting one another. When thoſe Days were paſt they began the Account of the Year; and *Acoſta*, who pretends to have look'd over their Kalendars, ſays the firſt Day of the Year fell in with our 26 of *February*. In the Kalendar, each of the 18 Months had its proper Name and Picture, both which always related to ſome Feaſt or other Accident of the Month, or perhaps to ſome Change or Diverſity of the Seaſon of the Year then coming on. Their Weeks conſiſted of 13 Days, and each of theſe was mark'd in the Kalendar with a Cypher. But beſides Weeks of Days, they had alſo Weeks of Years in their computation; each of which took in 13 Years, and 4 of them Weeks being 52 Years, made up what the *Mexicans* call'd an Age. For every Age they had a Wheel, upon which all the leſſer Diviſions of Time were laid out in ſeveral Colours. In the Centre of the Wheel was painted

Heart offer'd to the Moon.

A Drummer of a Prieſt

Temple at *Cholula*.

Sacrifice of the *Tlaſcallans*.

Stags and Foxes burnt out of their holes.

Funerals.

Riches buried with them.

Servants ſlain.

Soldiers Obſequies.

Marriage.

The Man and Woman faſten'd by a Knot.

Divorces.

Diviſion of Goods.

Liberty of Marriage afterwards.

Ceremony at the birth of Children.

Their Learning and Books.

No Letters.

Way of Writing.

Counting of Time.

Their Days, Months and Years.

Weeks of Years.

Ages.

ted a Sun, from which pass'd out four Rays, dividing the whole Circumference into four equal Parts, each of which representing a great Week of that Age, was again divided into 13 Parts or Years more; and so the Division of the Age were compleated. Every Year also had a certain Picture belonging to it, either of a House, a Coney, a Reed, or a Flint; they had no more varieties than these four, and every Year had one or other of them. Along with this Picture they drew also any remarkable thing that happen'd that Year: Thus, to represent the Conquest of their Country by the *Spaniards*, they painted a Man in a Hat and a red Jerkin, which was the Habit of the first *Spaniard* that *Cortes* sent to *Mexico*. So that to denote the time of any event, they express themselves after this manner; at such a House, or such a Reed, in such a Wheel, happened such or such a thing.

Chronological Wheels.

Education of Children.

These People take care to give their Children a laudable and good Education, according to the Custom of their Country. For this purpose they have in their Temples Schools and Seminaries, where they teach them to Sing, to Leap, Vault and Tumble, and to handle Arms; use them to Exercises for the increasing both Strength and Courage; teach them the History and Customs of their Country, and particularly make them learn by heart and Dialogues and Verses made by some of their most eloquent and learned Men, and which their Masters rehearse over to them. Thus they fit them up for the Court, the Temple, or the Field, into the several Posts and Offices, of which they are remov'd as fast as they are qualified for them. One thing especially is very commendable in them, that they endeavour, as soon as may be, to draw off their Children from all the little foolish Sports and Recreations that age is so fond of, and to fix their Minds upon more profitable and solid Diversions, which may be of some service to them in the World.

Dances and Exercises.

The *Mexicans* perhaps have outdone all the rest of the People of that side the Globe, as to the pomp and variety of their Dances. The most noted and solemn of all was that which was call'd the *Mittote*, in which the *Mexican* Emperors themselves sometimes assisted and bore a part; of so high and honourable a Character was it amongst them. Their Musick was of several kinds, some resembling Drums, others like Flutes and Cornets, but together with these they had Vocal Musick also, and that not ungrateful to the Ear; they kept Time so nicely with the Instruments in all their motions, that that harmony was also very pleasing to the Sense. These Dances were held either in the great Courts of the Palaces of the Emperors, or those of the Temples of the Gods, tho' most commonly in the latter. The Musick stood in the middle; round them was a Circle of the Nobility, who manag'd the Dance with much more slowness and gravity, and sung with a more stately air than the rest. This Circle was encompass'd with another of the Common People, who discover'd a great deal of briskness and jollity, as well in their singing as their light and quick motions.

The *Mittote*.

Circles of Dancers.

These Dances, 'tis true, were in some measure brought into their Religion, and made as it were a part of it, but being originally of another design, and only borrow'd by the other for the sake of Pomp and Solemnity, the *Spanish* Fathers thought good to tolerate the *Mexicans* in the use of them, only taking care that they did not mingle their Superstitions with them.

The nature of their Government.

The six Electors.

The *Mexican* Empire has been all along, from its first rise, Elective, tho' the Electors themselves have been changed. At first the Power of chusing lay in the Commons, but afterwards 'twas transferr'd to the Nobility, and they constituted six Electors, four of whom were Grandees of *Mexico*, and the other two Princes that were Subjects to that Crown, the King of *Tescuco*, and the King of *Tacuba*. In the Election, the main qualifications they required were a Martial temper, love of Glory, and some ability in managing Warlike Affairs. When the Election was made, there was a splendid Feast at the Prince's first taking possession of the Throne; abundance of Orations and Speeches were made to him, and Sacrifices offer'd upon the Occasion. At the Coronation there was ever another as sumptuous and magnificent as the former; but then, before this Ceremony was perform'd, something was to be done on the King's Part. The Imperial Crown was not to be set upon his Head till he had fought one Battel, and his victorious Arms brought home a great number of Captives to be offer'd to the Idols: This done, that Ensign of Honour and Dignity was added to him, the Crown was set on, and 'twas the King of *Tescuco*'s Place and Office to do it.

King not crown'd till after a Victory.

Duty to their Princes.

The *Mexicans* are a People that have always express'd the highest degrees of Duty and Loyalty to their Prince; they were never known to have their hands in any Plots or Treasons, or to cherish any Factions or intestine Discords amongst themselves. Their Grandees have appear'd so free from Ambition and sinister Design, and possess'd with so generous and untainted a love to their Country, that they have some of them put away the Imperial Crown when it has been offer'd them, purely upon this consideration, that 'twou'd be more profitable for the Community to have it plac'd upon some other Head. The Government was in all Points regulated and disposed very well, and whatever some of their Religious Customs were, their Politicks were far from being barbarous. There were four principal Degrees or Dignities amongst the Noblemen; that of the Electors was first, and they were most commonly Princes of the Blood. Besides these there were three more, and out of these four Orders the Grand Council of the Empire was made up. But then there were a great many other subordinate Councils, Courts of Audience, Tribunals and Jurisdictions, which for Number, Order and regular Dependance upon one another, are said by some not to be at all inferiour to those in *Spain*. And there was as good a Policy establish'd for the gathering in the Revenues of the Crown, out of all the many Provinces of this great Empire. There were Collectors, Receivers and Treasurers, in every Province; and all the Tributes were constantly return'd into the Royal Treasury at *Mexico* every Month.

Dignities amongst the Nobles.

Councils, Tribunals, &c.

Treasurers, Receivers, &c.

The highest Honours and Preferments in this Country, generally fell to the share of the Men of Arms. Indeed the Nobility were (originally) only the best Soldiers, and always those that cou'd perform noble Deeds in the Field, had their reward in suitable Honours and Titles at Court. They enjoy'd Privileges that none else cou'd pretend to, and if the Princes were ever prodigal of their favours, it was to those Men that had shewn him, by some good proofs, they had Military Vertues worth his taking notice of. They had three Orders of Knighthood instituted amongst them, for the encouragement of Valour and Bravery: The first and most honourable of all had their hair tied up with a red Ribband, and a rich Plume of Feathers spreading upon their shoulders; besides 'twas allow'd them, as a particular distinguishing mark, to wear certain rouls of Feathers, and that as many as they had perform'd remarkable Actions in War. The next to these were call'd the *Lions* and *Tigers*, as being generally the most rough and hardy Soldiers of all, and put upon the most desperate Services; their mark was to be compleatly Arm'd, but without those gaudy Accoutrements which the former had. The last of all were the *Grey Knights*, which had their hair cut round about the Ear, and were never Arm'd but half way. All Knights were allow'd to carry Embellishments of Gold and Silver, to wear rich Cottons, to use gilt and painted Vessels, and to have Shoes made after the *Mexican* fashion; the Common People were denied all these, and incurr'd a Penalty by pretending to them. The Knights had also their Apartments and Lodgings in the Palace, mark'd with the several proper marks of their Order; under them were the Lodgings of the inferiour Officers, who were under so strict Rules, that if any one of them Lodged out of his Place, he did not forfeit that, but his Life.

Valiant Men preferr'd.

Orders of Knights

Having thus given some account of the principal Customs and Policies of this Empire, it remains that we touch upon the Rise and Foundation of it, and some of the most remarkable passages of its History. Those that have search'd into the Records and Traditions of the *Mexicans*, do generally agree that they were not the ancient Inhabitants of the Country they now possess, and have done for several Ages, but were Foreigners that left their native Seats and planted themselves here. The old Inhabitants were call'd *Chichimecas*, a Barbarous and Savage People, that liv'd altogether upon Rapine like the wild Beasts themselves. They had no Order nor Government, no Worship nor Ceremonies amongst them; neither did they live in Societies together, but dispers'd up and down in Caves and Woods, where they cou'd find the most agreeable shelters. They did neither Till the ground, Plant or Sow, or undertake any sort of Labour, but spent their time in Hunting their Fellow Brutes up and down the Mountains and Forests. Their Food was any raw Flesh they catch'd, and wild Herb, Root or Fruit, that came to their hands; there was no more of Art in their Diet and Dressing, than in the rest of the circumstances of their living. 'Tis reported that there are yet some remainders of them scatter'd up and down in *New Spain*, that maintain themselves by Spoil and Robbery, and live much after the old rate. The *Spaniards* cou'd never reduce them by fair means, and to have made use of force had been the same thing as declaring

Original of the Empire.

The *Chichimecans*.

Their barbarous Manners.

Not to be conquer'd by the *Spaniards*.

claring War against the wild Beasts, that can cover and hide themselves in the Labyrinths of Caves and thick Woods from all the Armies in the World. According to the Computations of the *Mexican* Registers and Kalendars, 'twas in that Year which is co-incident with our *A.D.* 720, that their Ancestors first left their own Country and came into this. That Country is some one of them that lie far to the Northward, and the People were call'd *Nevatalcas*. This was a general Name that comprehended all their Tribes; for we must know, that they consisted of seven distinct Nations or Tribes, all of which were much more Polite and Civiliz'd every way than the *Chichimecas*, whose Country they came to possess. 'Tis farther to be observ'd, that all these seven Tribes did not come into the Country (afterwards call'd *Mexico*) at at the same time; but first one, and then some time after another, and last of all the *Mexicans*, which was at least 300 Years after the first Tribe set out, according to the Accounts of their Historians. Of these Tribes that came first, some planted themselves about the great Lake (now call'd the Lake of *Mexico* others spread themselves abroad into other Parts of the Country, where they met with the best accommodations to invite them to a Settlement. They quickly after began to build Towns and Cities, the most remarkable of which were *Azcapuzalco*, *Tetzuco*, *Quahunacha*, and *Tlascalla*; of which we may have occasion to say something in the course of this History. As for the Natives of the Soil, the *Chichimecans*, when these Foreigners first intruded themselves upon them, they made no resistance, but e'en quitted their Country to them, and betook themselves to the securest shelters their Mountains and Dens cou'd afford them: Yet, after a while, they recollected themselves, and gave some of the Invaders some trouble; the *Tlascallans* were frequently vex'd with their Inroads, and were forc'd at last to make use of a treacherous Policy to procure their own quiet. They invited them to a Banquet, and having made them all drunk, disarm'd them; that is, they stole away their Weapons, and then set upon them. This afterwards produc'd a fierce Battel, in which the *Tlascallans* (having the advantage of Arms, and much better Discipline than their Enemies) carried the Victory; the consequence of which was, that the *Chichimecans* let them alone for the time to come. But then seeing also how amicably, and sociably these Foreigners liv'd with another, (for all the six Tribes, maintain'd an inviolable Friendship) and how much better it was to live in some Order, and under Government as they did, then like themselves to run wild about the Woods, and be under no Rules nor Laws, but those which a Savage appetite prescribed, they began to think of conforming to their Example; they built them Cottages, put on Apparel, and had a shadow of Government and Society. Their barbarity wore off in some measure, and something like Humane Nature began to discover it self amongst them; yet they would always live in the Mountains apart from the rest, hardly knowing how to take Mankind for their Companions. 'Twas at least 300 Years after the first 6 Tribes of the *Nevatalcas* came hither (as was hinted before) that the last Tribe which took the name of *Mexicans*, from their chief Captain *Mexi*, follow'd them, and came into the Country too. They pretend to have had Instructions from their Idol relating to their Journey; that he commanded them first to go into that Country, describ'd to them the place of their Settlement by infallible Marks and Signs, and gave them all along counsel and directions how to manage their Affairs. But leaving these suggestions, it is more credibly reported of them that they made a great many halts by the way, met with many letts and hindrances from Enemies, and were weaken'd by two or three Divisions amongst themselves, in which some considerable numbers of their body went off from them, and planted in other places: so that 'twas no little time they spent before they came upon the Spot that they were to inhabit, even as their Histories report of the 6 Tribes, that they were 80 Years making their Journey, for they built them Villages, cultivated the Grounds, and sow'd Corn in abundance of places as they came along; so that tho' they set out from their own Country, *A.D.* 720. yet they made it *A.D.* 902. before they entred that of *New Spain*. However, the Tribe we are now speaking of being come at last as far as the great Lake, they concluded to settle there; for the adjoining Country was rich and fruitful, and the Lake it self afforded them all that they cou'd desire of Fish and Fowl.

They tell a thousand Stories of the marks their God gave by Revelation to the Priests, of the very place in the Lake where they shou'd lay the foundation of a City that shou'd be Sovereign Mistress of all the rest about it, and become famous through the World. That they should find a *Tunal*-tree growing upon a Stone, and an Eagle standing upon it, with display'd Wings, devouring other small Birds, which they say came to pass, (and one may venture to receive it as a thing no ways impossible) upon which account they add, that they still carry in their Arms an Eagle with one foot upon a *Tunal*, and the other lifted up, holding a little Bird in the tallon; and this was a Symbol of the future Glory and Grandeur of the City. Upon this score also they gave it the name of *Tenoxtitlan*, which signifies as much as a *Tunal* upon a Stone, tho' the name that grew into common use was *Mexico*.

In order to the building of this, the *Mexicans* were forc'd to go to trafficking with their Neighbours, and this they cou'd the more easily do, because having had occasion in their march hitherwards to make some of them feel the effects of their Valour, they had struck a kind of terror into them, so that they were even forc'd to grant them the Trade and Commerce they demanded, tho' ever so much against their interest. To their Neighbours therefore the *Mexicans* brought all sorts of Fish and Fowl that the Lake yielded, and had of them in exchange Stone, Lime and Timber, for their building. They fill'd up also a part of the Lake with Rubbish, made the Causeys, and divided the City into four quarters, which now at this day bear the names of the *Quarters of St. John, St. Mary the round, St. Paul*, and *St. Sebastian*. They had but just seated themselves in this new Nest, and were not yet warm in it, before another Division happen'd, to the weakning of their yet young, but growing Power. The discontented Party that made this bustle, was angry at the method taken in the division of the City, looking upon themselves not to be dealt with therein according to their Merit. These therefore remov'd, and went and fixt upon another piece of ground in the Lake, where they built a City, and gave it the name of *Tatelulco*, because the ground resembled a Terrass. This City was the Daughter of *Mexico*, being sprung as it were out of the very bowels of it; but it prov'd a very unnatural and rebellious one, endeavouring by all ways imaginable the destruction of her Mother, which yet notwithstanding she was never able to accomplish. However, the fear of so many growing enemies about them, made the *Mexicans* think of establishing their Government upon the surest foundations, and casting themselves into such a form as shou'd leave them the least liable to any attacks. They therefore thought good to chuse a King, and because they wou'd prevent all private Feuds and Animosities amongst themselves, as also to oblige a neighbour Prince, whose Predecessor they had grievously offended, they unanimously agreed to offer him their Crown. This was the Son of the King of *Culhuacan*'s Daughter by a *Mexican* Prince, his Name was *Acamapixtli*; him they requested for their King, and him they had, his Grandfather thinking it no improfitable thing to have an Alliance with so Valiant and Polite a People as the *Mexicans* were. This Prince spent his whole long Reign in Peace and Quietness; he adorn'd the City with fine Buildings, large Streets and Conduits, and was a zealous promoter of the good of his Country. All his time the *Mexicans* groan'd under the Tyrannical Impositions of their Neighbours (and one of their own Tribes originally too) the *Tapanecans*, whose Metropolis was *Azcapuzalco*. These People envied the rising Grandeur of the *Mexicans*, and besides fear'd to have them some time or other become troublesome Enemies to them, they loaded them with heavy burdens of Tribute, and exacted even things next to Impossible of them. Neither did the *Mexicans*, in this Prince's Reign, make any Efforts towards their own Freedom, but patiently endured the Oppression.

To *Acamapixtli* succeeded his Son *Vitzilovitli*, by the favour and choice of the whole Community. This Prince married the King of *Azcapuzalco*'s Daughter, in order to the making some advantage for the *Mexicans* by such an Alliance. And this was the happy consequence of it, for when the new Queen of *Mexico* had brought a Son into the World, her Father pleas'd at that, discharg'd the *Mexicans* from all those intolerable Tributes, and contented himself only with some small acknowledgment, as a token that they were at his disposal, and liv'd in his Land. But those days of tranquility lasted not long, for both the *Mexican* King and Queen shortly after died, leaving a little Son of ten years old. This Prince's Name was *Chimalpopoca*, and as young as he was, he was chosen to succeed his Father, and crown'd with all the usual Ceremonies. The *Mexicans* having a Prince who was Grandson to their great Enemy, grew a little bold under his Protection, and began to make Demands.

They

Coming of the *Nevatalcas* out of the North Parts into *Mexico*.

Their Tribes.

Their Plantation.

War between the Natives and *Tlascallans*.

The *Tlascallans* beat the *Chichimecans*.

Chichimecans a little Civiliz'd.

Vain Stories of the *Mexicans*.

Long time by the way.

Story of the finding out the place where the City was to be built.

Mexicans trade with their Neighbours.

Quarters of *Mexico*.

Tlatelulco built.

Mexicans chuse a King.

The City adorn'd.

Alliance of the *Mexicans* with them of *Azcapuzalco*.

Mexicans demand Water. They wanted good water (that of the Lake being very thick and muddy) and therefore made their King beg Leave of his Grandfather to bring the water to *Mexico*, from a Mountain about a League off. This he granted, and they made a sort of an Aqueduct of Faggots, Reeds and Flaggs; but that not serving the turn, they sent to the King of *Azcapuzalco*, to require him to provide them both Workmen and Materials, that they might have an Aqueduct of Stone to supply their City with water. This Demand (so little becoming the servile state and condition of those that made it) displeas'd the King, but highly incens'd his Council, and made them take up Resolutions very pernicious to the *Mexicans*. They forbid all Traffick and Correspondence between their Country and *Mexico*; and not only so, but determin'd utterly to root out that Fugitive People shut up in the Mud, as they call'd the *Mexicans*, because they dwelt in the Lake.

A Rupture.

All those Governments were then so popular, that Kings signify'd little amongst them beyond the Name and the Figure, for the People dispos'd of all, and made War or Peace as they pleas'd. The King of *Azcapuzalco* cou'd do no more than make Remonstrances to the contrary, and desir'd them only at least to secure his Grandson, and then execute their pleasure upon the *Mexicans*. But tho' some of the Nobility promis'd this, yet another Faction was against it, and resolv'd to destroy the young King first, that the *Mexicans* being destitute of such a Protection might be more entirely at their mercy. This Plot they put in execution a little while after, and treacherously murder'd the young King in his own Palace. The *Mexicans* were transported with all the choler and fury in the World at this outrage, and wou'd presently have gone to Arms to revenge it; but being moderated by the grave Advice of some of their old Men, they resolved to defer it till they had fill'd up the vacant Throne, and gotten a new King. Then having made complaint to their Neighbours of *Tescuco* and *Culmacan*, of the barbarous injury they had sustain'd, and desired them at least to stand Neuters in the War they were going to make with the *Azcapuzalcans*; they farther intreated them to assist at the Election of a new King, and so proceeded to that Affair. The Prince made choice of was *Izcoatle*, a Son of *Acamapixtli* by a Slave, and by Marriage allied to the King of *Tescuco*. Preparations for War being presently made of both sides, the *Mexicans* found that their Enemies the *Azcapuzalcans* were by much too strong for them, and therefore unanimously press'd the King to lay down his Arms, and sue for Peace, chusing rather to serve the King of *Azcapuzalco*, and dissolving their own Government, to be thrown into the body of his Subjects, than run the risque of so dangerous a War. And this had been done, (the King not being able to withstand the importunities of the Populacy) if a young Nobleman nam'd *Tlacaellec* had not put a stop to these proceedings: He, by his Courage and good Advice, prevented this base submission, and the overthrow of the Government; he went alone, and gave a bold defiance to the Adversary King in his Palace, proclaimed the War openly to his Guards, and had like to have been cut in pieces for so doing. The Commons of *Mexico* were like to be in a tumult upon this; they were ready to have broke up in confusion, left the City and King both, and gone to find some places of Retreat for themselves and their Families. But upon the King's promises and perswasions they came to terms, and an agreement was made between the Nobility and them to this purpose: That since the main stress of the War was to lie upon the shoulders of the Commons, if in the succeeding Battel the *Mexicans* were overcome, the Commons shou'd be at their full liberty, and dispose of King and Noblemen as they thought fit; but if, on the other hand, they got the Victory, they shou'd quit all pretensions to any Interest in the Government for the future, and be Vassals to the Noblemen, they and their Descendants after them. This wise bargain made, and confirm'd in the most solemn manner, they went and engaged the Enemy, where by the Courage and excellent Conduct of *Tlacaellec*, they gain'd an entire Victory: they took the City of *Azcapuzalco* it self, with all the rich Spoil of it, putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword; and not contented with this, they pursued the broken Forces of their Enemies to the Mountains, and having reduc'd them to the last extremities, spar'd them upon condition of owning the Sovereignty of *Mexico* for the time to come.

K. of *Mexico* murder'd.

A new Election.

Commons not for War.

Bold Undertaking.

Bargain between the Nobles and Commons about the result of the War.

Azcapuzalco defeated. City taken.

Thus had the King and Nobility two Victories at once, one over their own Party, and another over their Enemies; the Commons were now their absolute Servants, and continued so to be, till a Foreign Power made King, Nobles and Plebeians, Slaves all together. This was the first step of the greatness of *Mexico*; here was a potent City that now receiv'd Laws from it, and submitted to its Yoke. And the good fortune of the *Mexicans* increas'd every day, Victories and Triumphs came tumbling in upon them apace: For quickly after this, the little Governments of *Tacuba* and *Cuyoacan*, (which were parts of the Kingdom of the *Tapanecans*, of which *Azcapuzalco* was the chief City) these I say were swallow'd up by the same growing Power. From these Cities there was a vast deal of rich Plunder, Gold, Silver and Jewels, carry'd away to *Mexico*, which now began to put on something of an Imperial face, and her Prince to appear like a great Monarch. These *Tapanecans* were the Posterity of one of the Tribes that came out of the North to inhabit this Country, and were consequently (originally) Countrymen to the *Mexicans*: however, now they were their Slaves, and shortly after another of the Tribes, the *Suchimilcos*, were so too; and being entirely defeated by *Tlacaellec*, presented their Crown to King *Izcoalt*. The next Conquest was that of the City of *Cuitlavaca*, which stood in the Lake of *Mexico*; *Tlacaellec*'s Name was so formidable in all that Part of the World, that he himself was almost Army enough to have done the business. However, to affront the Enemy more, he carry'd an Army of Boys along with him, and having assaulted the City, he prest it so closely with his young Soldiers, that the Defendants (who to be sure did not do much, and were conquer'd by the very Fame and Character of the General) quitted their Posts, and resigned the City to him. This made so much noise, that the King of *Tescuco* concluded he should not be able to defend himself long from the Power of Arms, so fortunate as those of the *Mexicans*, and therefore by the Advice and Consent of his Council, he sent his Ambassadors to offer his Submission to King *Izcoalt* too, who by this means had another Crown added to what he had before. This fortunate Prince having enjoy'd these Crowns a while, died, and made way for a Successor to put them on; leaving (besides his many Conquests) this standing Memorial of himself, namely, the great Cawsey extending along the Lake from *Mexico* to *Samilcho*, which was full four Leagues, a Work of no less usefulness to both Cities, upon the account of Commerce and Trade, than it was of Cost and Labour. The next Choice fell upon *Montezuma*, the first of that Name, who was Nephew to the famous General *Tlacaellec*, as this latter was also to the last King *Izcoalt*. This Prince was a mighty Conqueror too, he subdued the Province of *Chalco*, and passing the Mountain *Menade*, he conquer'd on to the North Sea; from thence returning towards the South Sea, he subdued several other Provinces, and by the surpassing Valour and Glory of his Unkle *Tlacaellec*, rais'd the *Mexican* Name and Glory to a very high pitch. He built the famous Temple of the Idol *Vitzilipuztli*, and augmented the Grandeur of the Imperial Palace, by appointing greater numbers of Officers and Ministers than ever were us'd by any of his Predecessors. 'Twas he also that first set a-foot the Custom of the King's going in Person to the Wars, to fetch in Captives for the Sacrifices of their Coronation Solemnities. He was crown'd with more pomp and ceremony than any Prince before him had been, and the publick Shews upon that Occasion were much more numerous and stately. He being dead, the Crown was offer'd to *Tlacaellec*, in consideration of his great Merit, but he as generously refus'd it, and gave his Vote for *Ticocic*, the deceas'd *Montezuma*'s Son. This Prince was directly the Reverse of his Father; he was a Coward, weak and indispos'd to Action. The *Mexicans* (the most dutiful Subjects in the World) cou'd not bear him, and therefore poison'd him out of the way, and made room for a more worthy Successor. This was *Axayca*, another of the Sons of the Great *Montezuma*, and brought into the Throne likewise by the Interest of *Tlacaellec*; that brave General did not live to see this second King (which he had made) crown'd, but expired worn out with old Age, and the toil of business. The whole Empire was deeply afflicted at his Death, and they bury'd him with a Solemnity becoming the Quality of the greatest of their Princes; no less than this was due to the Founder of their Empire, and the greatest Man in that part of the World, as all agree he was. *Axayca* was a very successful Prince in all his Undertakings, and the most valiant the *Mexicans* ever had. He added to the Empire the Province of *Tequantepec*, which lies 200 Leagues from *Mexico*, and carry'd his Conquests as far as *Guatulco*, a well-known Port in the South Sea. He reduc'd the Government of *Tlatelulco* to the Obedience of *Mexico* likewise, and made that Seditious Party, which had separated it self from the main Body, unite again, and become one People with them. The *Tlatelulcans* refus'd to do it by fair means, and their Prince, instead of

Other Dominions added to *Mexico*.

Chalco subdued.

Rites of the Custom of Sacrifices at the Coronation.

Generous Action.

Tlacaellec's death.

Tequantepec subdued.

Tlatelulco conquer'd.

Duel between the Emperor of *Mexico* and the Lord of *Tlatelulco*.

of acknowledging *Axayca* for his Sovereign, sent him a Challenge to fight Hand to Hand with him. They had both of them their Armies ready drawn up, but they commanded all to stand still till the Controversie was decided betwixt them two. The effect of it was, that the Prince of *Tlatelulco* not able long to endure the furious blows of the *Mexican* Emperor, turn'd about and run away towards the City, and his own Men seeing him run, took their heels and run after him, and both were follow'd by the *Mexicans*, who pursued them very close. The Prince of *Tlatelulco* got into the Town, and to save himself, run up to the top of a Temple, but *Axayca* being all this while in chase of him, enter'd the Temple almost as soon as he, and laying hold of him, he dragg'd him along, and threw him from the top of that lofty Building to the very bottom. The *Mexican* General (the fam'd *Tlacaelel*'s Son) had in the mean time entirely defeated the Forces of the *Tlatelulcans*, so that this City was also now forc'd to accompany a great many others in their fortune, and do Homage to *Mexico*.

Quaxalatlans conquer'd.

This Prince was succeeded by another who was one of the Electors, and his Name was *Autzol*: He subdued and quieted the Rebellious *Quaxalatlans*, who inhabited one of the chiefest Provinces of *New Spain*; in order to come at them, for there was a little Arm of the Sea in his way) he made a floating Island of Earth, Faggots, Reeds, Canes, and divers other Materials, upon which he plac'd himself and his Army, and so got to the Enemy. He extended the Limits of his Empire as far as *Guatimala*, which is 300 Leagues from *Mexico*; but while he was augmenting the Buildings and Beauties of *Mexico*, he had like to have quite laid it under water, and that by bringing a mighty Water-course to the City, which ruin'd a good part of it, and had well-nigh drown'd the whole. But he quickly drew off that Flood again, and repair'd the Streets that had suffer'd, and left the City much more fine than ever, and encompass'd with water like another *Venice*.

Strange Boat.

Mexico almost drowned.

Story of the 9th and great *Montezuma*.

This Prince dying, made way for *Montezuma* the second of that Name to come upon the Throne. And here the *Mexican* Greatness was come to the highest pitch; both the Monarch and the Monarchy it self were the most Glorious that was ever. This Prince was he that saw the fatal period of all this Grandeur, and an Empire that had been so many Years growing Great and Rich, swallow'd up in one or two by a Foreign Power. But because his Story contains more variety in it, and Matters that have been more talk'd of in the World, we shall be a little more particular in this than in the former ones.

His excellent qualities.

Montezuma was a Person of excellent Endowments, and for his Wisdom and Gravity wonderfully respected in the Emperor's Privy Council, of which he was a Member. He was also Cunning and Politick in the highest degree, and understood all the Arts of Dissimulation and Intrigue as well as he did those of War: None had more Courage for the Field, nor more Wit and Management for the Court than he. And to possess the People with Notions of his great Piety and Reverence of the Gods (which was one, and not an unlikely way of getting their Affections) he us'd frequently to retire himself into a private Chapel in the great Temple, where he was very busie in performing the Rites of his Religion. Upon all these accounts his Election was short and easie, the Eyes of all Men were turn'd upon him as the fittest Person to be Intrusted with the Charge of the Empire. When he had Intelligence that he was chosen, he hid himself in the Temple, and seem'd very unwilling to accept the Honour; and the Lords were forc'd to come and fetch him out, and place him in the Throne as it were by violence. The Ceremony of his Installment was attended with more Superstitions than were usually practis'd for his Predecessors; he drew Blood himself from his Ears and the Calves of his Legs, and had the gristle of his Nose pierc'd, and a rich Emerauld hung thereat. And as 'twas always the Custom upon an Election, for some of the Great Men to make Speeches to the Prince elected, so hardly was any Prince ever so harangu'd as he, and so much rapture expres's'd upon such an Occasion. The like excesses were also observable at his Coronation; the Feasts, the Shews, the Plays, the Dances, the Sacrifices, the Illuminations, and, in a word, the whole Pomp of the thing was every way extravagant.

Publick Triumphs at the Coronation.

Amongst the crouds of Strangers that came to *Mexico* to see the Solemnity, there were some of the *Tlascalians* and *Mechoacans*, the most inveterate Enemies of the *Mexicans*, whom when *Montezuma* had discover'd, he treated with all the kindness and generosity in the World, and order'd all his Subjects to do the like. But never was any of those *American* Princes (or perhaps hardly any other) so high and stately as he; all Plebeians were turn'd out of his Palace, and not suffer'd to bear any Office about him; he was serv'd only by his Noblemen, and no other dared ever to come into his Presence; if a Plebeian look'd him in the face he was punish'd with Death. He never wore any Garment, or eat or drunk out of any Vessel more than once. When he went abroad, the Noblemen carried him in a Chair of State upon their shoulders; he never set his foot upon the bare ground, but if he lighted at any time there were rich Carpets spread for him to walk upon. And always in his Progresses, he and his Nobles were enclos'd by themselves, and all the rest of the train kept without those Bounds, none daring to step within them. He was a most exact and impartial Dispenser of Justice, never abated an ace of the rigour of his Laws, and 'twas a woful Case that Man was in whom he found any way faulty in the discharge of his Duty. To keep a more strict and watchful eye over his People, he wou'd pry into their actions himself, and not rely altogether upon the Reports of other Men. 'Twas not uncommon with him to throw off the King, and go up and down in a Disguise, to see who were trusty and diligent in their Offices and who were not. Particularly he wou'd visit his Judges, and try their Integrity, by offering them Fees and Bribes, which if any of them took, he certainly Executed them for it afterwards; and he made no difference between Nobles and vulgar Men, between Strangers and Kindred, yea, the nearest of his Blood, if he found them tardy in the performance of their Duty.

Justice and Jealousie over his People.

This great Prince had spent about 14 Years in all this Glory and Felicity, when the *Spaniards* came to thrust him out of it. The Story says, that there were abundance of Prodigies that foretold this mighty change; Comets, strange unaccountable Lights in the Air, Voices and Monsters. In a word, some Stupendious Signs or other in all the Elements, which together with the Predictions of the Magical People amongst them, made the Emperor excessively melancholy, and confus'd the whole Country.

Prodigies and Presages.

We shall not trouble the Reader with the recital of these, because a great part of them perhaps were owing to the Superstitious fancies and conceits of the *Mexicans*; and on the other hand, we don't suppose but that some extraordinary things might happen before so remarkable a Catastrophe as this was, and the fate of so mighty an Empire be usher'd in with Events and Appearances very surprizing, as credible Histories assure us concerning some other Parts of the World. But then this is to be added too, that the *Indians* are so very full of whimsical superstitious Notions, that they are ready to make Miracles and Prodigies of every thing they don't understand the reason of; and so 'tis with respect to Omens and Presages, a Bird can hardly fly in the Air, or a Beast move upon the Ground, but they'll find something or other of an Omen in't. However, in *A. D.* 1517. the Calamities they fear'd began to come nearer in view, for there appear'd in the North Sea certain huge Bodies moving along upon the water, and the *Indians* upon the shore were under some concern to know what sort of Animals they were. We in *Europe* call these things Ships, but they took them to be Whales, or some other Monsters of the Sea. But they were much more astonish'd and frighted when they saw them draw near to the shore, and living Men come out of the Bellies of them, and Men with long Beards and Mustachoes too, and in a strange Garb; they believed these to be of the same Species of Animals with themselves, because they saw them go erect, and heard them talk, but those Beards and Whiskers were very puzzling circumstances, and made the Matter a little doubtful to them. The *Spaniards* however treated them well, and pleas'd them with some *European* Toys, informing themselves at the same time of the Greatness of the Prince, and the Riches of the Country. Having got this notice they dismiss'd the *Indians*, and these latter presently sent tidings to Court of what they had seen, and together with that the Pictures of the *Spaniards*, their Habits and Ships, drawn upon Cloth, and the trifles they had given them. All this went speedily to Court, and miserably confounded both the Emperor and his Council; hereupon he gave Orders that Watches shou'd be set upon all the Sea-Coasts, to give notice when these strange things appear'd again. And this was no longer than till the next Year, for then they discover'd the *Spanish* Fleet which had *Cortes* and his Men aboard. The Council now (to encourage the Emperor, or else out of a blind belief of what the Priests told them) assur'd him that this was only their great Lord *Quexcalcoalt* come again to them, who

Spaniards come the first time to get notice of the Country.

Indians Notions of the Ships and them.

News sent to Court.

Spaniards come the second time.

who had been for some Ages in the *European* World, and was now return'd into the West according to his Promise. Upon this *Montezuma* sent a splendid Embassy to *Cortes*, with abundance of noble Presents, to congratulate his arrival, to tell him also, that he knew he was his Lord *Quextzalcoatl*, and therefore acknowledg'd himself his Servant, and that he held his Country only in his Name, and as his Representative. This was no little advantage to *Cortes*, and therefore he humour'd the business accordingly, pretending he was that very Person they expected; and made the best figure possible at the reception of the Ambassadors, who (poor wretches) paid him even Divine Honours and Reverence.

Embassy sent to *Cortes*.

Cortes and his Officers now conferr'd together upon this Matter, and concluded that they ought not let slip this opportunity of making an entrance into the Country; in order to this, to give the *Indians* the greatest Notions of them and their Valour possible, and to appear in all the terrors of a Warlike figure before them. This resolution being follow'd, they accordingly shew'd them all their *European* Arms, and made the Artillery be discharg'd from all the Ships; the roaring noise of which astonish'd the *Mexicans*, as much as if they had seen the Heavens fall before them.

Spaniards terrific the *Indians*.

In a word, the Embassadors went home with quite another opinion of *Cortes* than they had at first; they said they were sure their Lord was not come in that Troop, but as for these, they were some Powers that were their Enemies, and came only to destroy them.

Montezuma receiv'd these Embassadors with abundance of Superstitious Ceremonies in his Palace of Audience, where he always sate upon such Occasions as these. There were a great number of Humane Sacrifices prepar'd, the Blood of which was sprinkled upon them as they went into the Emperor. However, the News they brought was so perplexing to him, that now he was almost besides himself; and to omit all the Stories of his consulting the Sorcerers and Magicians, to put a stop to the progress of these Foreigners by their pernicious Arts, as also the fruitless attempts they were reported to have made for that purpose, 'tis more credible that he went another way to work, and that was to endeavour to soften his Enemies by shews of Humility and Submission, whom he despair'd of overcoming by open Force.

For this end, he sent Orders to the Provinces all about to receive the *Spaniards*, as Men sent from Heaven, and to serve them with all the respect imaginable; and indeed, the consternation and fear the whole Country was in, as well as their Emperor's positive Commands, dispos'd them well enough to this tame and quiet submission to the *Spaniards*.

Tlascallans join with the *Spaniards*.

In the mean time, *Cortes* had been joyn'd by the *Tlascallans*, (the old Enemies of *Mexico*) who were a very great help to him, and without whom he could never probably have done any thing to the purpose. For they inform'd him of all things necessary for a Foreigner to know, that was come to Invade anothers Country; they shew'd him all the best and safest ways, and, in a word, conducted his march to *Mexico*.

Montezuma refuses to fly.

Montezuma hearing that the *Spaniards* were advancing towards him, with the *Tlascallans* in his company, resolv'd to make a Vertue of Necessity, and go forth to meet them; for he despis'd the mean and cowardly Advice of some of his Sages, to go hide himself, and lie secure out of the reach of his Enemies; on the other hand, he counsell'd his People to use all methods for their own safety, but for his own part, he determin'd to meet his fate with a greatness of Mind worthy of himself.

He goes to meet *Cortes*.

In pursuance of this Design, he was carried upon the shoulders of his Noblemen in a rich Chair of State, three or four Leagues out of *Mexico*, where he met with *Cortes*. At that Interview this great Prince alighted from his Chair, (the first time he ever did so to any Mortal) and saluted *Cortes* very civilly. The *Spaniard*, after those Salutations were over, told him he should banish all manner of fear and care, for he had no Design upon his Country, nor at all to lessen any thing of his Authority; so they march'd all away to *Mexico* together, where *Cortes* and his Companions were Lodg'd in the Royal Palace, *Montezuma* himself retiring into another.

The next day, *Cortes* made the Emperor and all the Nobility assemble together in the great Hall of the Palace, where he let them know, that he was sent by a Mighty Prince into those Parts of the World, not to make Conquests, but to do Offices of Kindness and Friendship; and therefore since the *Mexicans* and *Tlascallans* were so much at odds with one another, he won'd interpose his Mediation to make them Friends again; but in the mean time, he and his Company won'd stay there in the Country, without injuring or encroaching upon either Party, or carrying on any other Design than that of promoting the Common Peace and Tranquility of the Empire. This wheedling Declaration wonderfully pleas'd all them that heard it, and both *Montezuma* and his Lords expres'd a great deal of Satisfaction and Easiness upon it. The *Spaniards* were caress'd with all the Delights and Entertainments that that pompous Court cou'd afford, and the Emperor was not sparing of his Presents to *Cortes* and his Officers.

Spaniards and *Mexicans* quarrel.

However this calm lasted not long, and the *Mexicans* cou'd not be so blind, but they must needs see through these pretences; so that Jealousies and Distrusts grew of both sides, and both *Spaniards* and *Mexicans* were uneasie.

Cortes finding these Disorders to increase daily, thought to make one sure stroke to keep the *Mexicans* in awe, and prevent their taking Arms in their own Defence, and that by seizing *Montezuma* himself, whose Presence might encourage them to it. This was put in practice, and that great Prince made a close Prisoner, and put under a *Spanish* Guard; tho' the success was not at all answerable to the design, and the *Mexicans* were but the more incens'd for such an Outrage as this upon the Person of their Emperor.

The Emperor made a Prisoner.

In the midst of these troubles, *Cortes* was forc'd to go away from *Mexico*, and that upon the account of some Disorders in the Country, occasion'd by the arrival of another *Spanish* Commander *Pamphilio Narvaes*, who, probably, unwilling that *Cortes* shou'd have all the Glory and Profit of such a Conquest, was come to put in for a share; and 'tis a sign he was an Adversary not to be neglected or despis'd, because *Cortes*, to quiet him, went away and left his Affairs at *Mexico* in so ill a posture.

Mexican Nobles murder'd.

When he was gone, his Lieutenant manag'd things with so much Imprudence and Violence, that he quickly brought all to Extremities: He made his Soldiers fall upon the Nobility at their Publick Ball in the Palace, Massacring a great number of them, which barbarous Action incens'd the *Mexicans* to the highest degree, and made them run to Arms with a fury which nothing but the Blood of the *Spaniards* could quench the fire of.

Spaniards besieg'd in the Palace.

The *Spaniards* were now closely besieg'd in the Palace, and all their great Guns could not terrify the *Mexicans* from making Approaches to assault them. They did all they could to cut off Supplies of Provision from coming to them; and, in short, press'd them so close every way, that the *Spaniards* were fain one day, in the midst of a furious Battel, to expose *Montezuma* to their view, setting him upon the Battelments of the Palace, that they might see he was alive, and be something pacify'd thereby. The *Mexicans*, as soon as ever they saw their Lord, were transform'd in that moment from raging Lions to meek and gentle Lambs; they laid down their Arms, and kept a profound silence while he spoke to them. *Montezuma*, for his part, advis'd them to be quiet, and not fight with the *Spaniards*, since all their stirs cou'd do him little service, being a close Prisoner in their hands; but he cou'd not carry on his Speech for the Reproaches of his People. One particularly (a bold young Man nam'd *Quicuxtemoc*, and whom they afterwards made Emperor) gave him the foul Names of Coward and Traitor to his Country; revil'd him for his base and tame submission to the *Spaniards*, and told him, That since he had betray'd himself so weakly, the *Mexicans* were no longer bound to obey him. With that he began to draw his Bow to shoot at him, and several of them follow'd his Example, and pelted the miserable Prince with stones; however, they were so far from taking his Counsel, that they fell in upon the *Spaniards* again with more fury than before. And now the besieged were so distress'd, that they were forc'd to send privately away to *Cortes* to come with all speed to their Relief.

Montezuma revil'd by his own People.

Cortes having by this time quieted the tumults rais'd by *Narvaes*, and setled the Peace of that part of the Country, came to *Mexico* with as good a force of Men as he cou'd make; and taking the opportunity of the *Mexicans* Resting-day, (for 'tis their Custom in War to lie still every fourth day) he broke through, and got with his Supplies into the Palace.

Cortes's Return.

Notwithstanding this addition to their Strength, and the Presence of their General, the fury and resolution of the *Mexicans* still increas'd, which *Cortes* finding, and concluding 'twou'd be impossible to hold out long in that place, he resolv'd to give them the slip, and march off his Men in the dead time of the Night. In order to this, he was forc'd to lay a couple of Bridges over two very dangerous Passes, and the *Spaniards* had march'd over the first of them, and were upon the second, when an *Indian* Woman spied them, and gave the Alarm to the

The *Spaniards* fly.

Mexicans pursue them.

the City. Upon this all was presently in an uproar, and the *Mexicans* fell with so hearty and well govern'd a rage upon the *Spaniards*, that above 300 of their small Army were lost before they cou'd get over that second Bridge. Many of them too, staying to secure their Gold and Jewels, were taken by the *Mexicans*, and Sacrific'd with all the cruelty imaginable to their Idols. The *Mexicans* pursued them for two or three days, and distress'd them at that rate with continual Assaults and Alarms, that they were almost quite spent and tired out, as well for want of Rest as of Provision. However, at last, they got into the Territories of the *Tlascallans*, their Friends and Allies, where they made Provision in good earnest for the Conquest of *Mexico*.

Montezuma's Death.

How the great *Montezuma* died is uncertain; the *Spaniards* tell one Story, and the *Mexicans* another. Some say that he died of a wound he receiv'd with a Stone or a Dart, in that tumult when his own Subjects fell upon him. *Cortes* himself tells the Emperor *Charles* V. that the *Mexicans* Sacrific'd him, together with one of his Sons, that Night the *Spaniards* fled away. On the other hand, the *Mexicans* say they found *Montezuma* dead, and cover'd with wounds given by *Spanish* Ponyards. Which way soever 'twas, 'tis certain that unfortunate Prince met with his fate at that time, and was one of the greatest instances of the changeableness and uncertainty of all worldly Greatness and Felicity.

The Conquest of *Mexico*.

After his death, the *Mexicans* substituted *Quicuxtemoc* in his room, who did not sit easie in his Throne perhaps at all, and not quiet but a very little while. *Cortes* having made great Preparations for the War, both in Land Forces, and Boats and Brigantines, to fight in the Lake, being join'd also by the *Tlescallan* Army, return'd to *Mexico*, which after above 60 dangerous Battels, with much ado he conquer'd at last. *Quicuxtemoc* having resolutely maintain'd the last fight a great while, was taken Prisoner and led to *Cortes*, together with several others of the *Mexican* Nobles; when he came into the *Spaniard's* Presence he drew his Dagger, and advancing towards him, *Until this Day* (says he) *have I done my best Endeavour for the Defence of my People, and now I have no more to do, but to give thee this Dagger to kill me with.* *Cortes* told him he had no design upon his Life, and gave Orders that he shou'd be treated and attended in some measure surable to his Dignity. Thus came that mighty Empire into the hands of the *Spaniards*, and the Glory of the *Mexican* Princes, that had shin'd so long and so bright, to be quite extinct.

The n Wmade Prince taken.

From the History of *Mexico* we go on to that of *Peru*, wherein, besides the other Authors which we have had occasion to consult, (who yet were most of them such as had been upon the spot, and seen those Countries themselves) we shall here make use of a Native of the Country, one of the Family of the *Incas*, and who may reasonably be presum'd to be perfectly well acquainted with the Customs and Policies of his own Nation.

His Name was *Garcilasse di Vega*.

The Author we now speak of was born at *Cusco*, the Capital City of *Peru*, his Father was a *Spaniard*, and his Mother related to the *Incas*; and he declares that what he relates of his Country, was from his own Knowledge and Experience, and the Traditions of his Family. He tells us, that while his Mother resided at *Cusco*, those of her Relations that had escap'd the cruel hands of the Emperor *Atabalipa*, us'd to come thither every Week to visit her, and their Discourse was always of the Original, Customs and Laws of their Empire, which they were mighty careful of conveying an exact account of to all the younger ones about them, that they might preserve the memory of them to Posterity.

Peruvians Opinion of God.

The Notions of the *Peruvians* about one Supreme Being, the first Cause of all things, seem to have been much more clear and distinct than those of the *Mexicans*. 'Tis certain also, that they had a proper Name in their Tongue to express the Deity by, which was the word *Pachacamac*; the meaning of which is as much as the Quickner of the Universe, or as others wou'd call it, the great Soul of the World. This Name was so very Sacred and Venerable amongst them, that they never mention'd it but upon extreme necessity, and then not without all the signs of Devotion imaginable, as bowing the Body and Head, lifting up the Eyes to Heaven, and spreading out the Hands. They call'd him the Invisible and Unknown Being, and for that reason offer'd no Sacrifices to him, nor built him ordinarily no Temples, but paid him only an internal Worship and Reverence in their Minds; yet in a certain Valley in *Peru*, there was a Temple dedicated to him, and call'd by his Name. The Sun is generally esteem'd to have been the great Deity of the *Peruvians*, as having both Temples and Sacrifices in abundance, and the *Incas* making this the main point of the Glory of their Original, that they were the Offspring of the Sun, and consequently (in their Notion) of a Divine Race. Besides this, several other Deities have been brought in for a share of their Worship too, by *Acosta* and the *Spanish* Writers; the Moon and the Stars have been mention'd, the Earth, the Sea, the Meteors of the airy Region, the Springs and Rivers, and other meaner Objects upon the surface. But our *Inca* denies all this, and imputes it to their ignorance partly of the *Peruvian* Rites and Ceremonies, and partly of the Language, which agrees with the *Chinese* in this respect, that one and the same word having a multitude of significations, is to be determin'd to this or that particular signification by the tone and accent.

Temple dedicated to him.

An instance of this he gives in the word *Huaca*, the various Sences and Pronunciations of which being not understood by the *Spaniards*, was the occasion of their making many and gross mistakes in these Matters. The last Syllable of this word pronounc'd high in the roof of the mouth, determines it to signify an Idol for the most part, tho' 'tis also frequently us'd to signify Consecrated things in general, as Altars, Temples, Offerings, and the like. It also denoted all things that were rare and extraordinary in their kind, or that were out of the common course, and any way prodigious; thus the monstrous Snakes, that were 25 or 30 foot long, were call'd *Huaca*, and the Sheep that bore Twins had the same Name, those Creatures for the most part bringing but one.

The same word *Hucca* pronounc'd with the last Syllable in the inner part of the Throat, had also different and peculiar significations; and thus 'twas in abundance of other words in the same Language. The *Spaniards* therefore might easily mistake, and make the *Peruvians* seem to be guilty of fouler and grosser Idolatries than really they were. And that they acknowledg'd a Being superiour in Power and Majesty to the Sun (to which the most of their Temples were erected) is clear from the account the last Emperor *Atabalipa* gave of his Faith to the Friar *Vincent de Valle Viridi*, who came to Catechize him: *I hold* (says the Prince) *the Sun for God, the Earth for Mother, and* Pachacamac *for Creator of all.* But there was a passage of one of his Predecessors (the Inca *Huyana Capac*) to this purpose, which ought not to be forgotten. This Prince one day looking up to the Sun, (which they held to be unlawful to do) the High Priest, who was by him, reprov'd him for't; but he still persisting in his view, and the Priest in his reproof of him, at last he turn'd to the Priest with this Question, *Which of you all* (says he) *dares bid me, who am your Sovereign Lord, rise up and go a long Journey?* The Priest reply'd, *None wou'd be so mad as to do so. But* (continues he) *if I command the greatest of my Princes to go from hence to* Chili, *will he not do it?* To this the other return'd, *That none durst Disobey him. Why then, I conclude* (says the *Inca*) *that our Father the Sun must needs have a mightier Lord than himself, that commands him every Day to take such a long Journey; for if he were a Supreme Lord, he wou'd certainly some time or other lie still and rest himself.* The Emperor spoke incomparably well; tho' had *Nicolas Copernicus* been in his Court, he wou'd have told him his Argument for a Power Superiour to the Sun was of no force nor efficacy, since he never makes any Journeys at all, and does nothing else but take his Rest.

A pleasant Relation of one of the Emperors.

Belief of a future State.

The *Peruvians* divided the Universe into two Worlds more besides this; the high World, whither they said good Men went after Death to be rewarded for their Vertues, and the Center of the Earth, or the House of the Devil, where those that were Lewd and Vicious had a just Recompence for their Enormities. This Earth they call'd the World below, and said it participated of the other two; of the Rest and Satisfaction of the one, and the Sorrows and Discontents of the other.

Superstitious keeping their Hair.

They had a Notion of their returning to live here in this World again after a long space of time: For which reason (since they cou'd preserve nothing else of themselves) they were very curious in preserving their Hair against that time; and this, that when their Souls came to set all things together again that belong'd to them, they might not be troubled to look and search about for their Hair, but have it ready at hand, for the quicker dispatch, especially since (as the *Inca* says they believe) there will be such hurly-burlies and confusions at that time. Upon this account, whenever they Poll'd or did but Comb their Heads, they laid up their Hair like a Jewel. If they were abroad and did it, they wou'd thrust it into a Tree, or the hole of a Wall; and if another saw it fall out of its place at any time, he wou'd take it up, and very carefully lay it in again.

Their

Supplying the Dead with Provisions.

Their Notions of a Future State were such, that they believ'd those that were gone from this World, had yet need of the Comforts and Conveniences of it; therefore, some say, they us'd to Cloath the dead Bodies with new Apparel, and to stuff their Hands and Mouths with Gold and Silver. 'Twas not uncommon neither for them to lay in good stores of Provision, both Meat and Drink, into the Graves, that they may satisfy those Appetites when they please. Especially, they concluded that all great Men wou'd have occasion for their Trains and Retinues of Servants in the other World, and therefore they took care to send them after them in great numbers; that is, they were Sacrific'd at their Masters Funerals. Thus when the Emperor *Guanalapa*, the Father of *Atabalipa*, died, there were above 1000, and those of all Ages and Conditions, that went away to accompany him.

Men kill'd at Funerals.

The pleasant fancy of a *Portugueze* to save his Life.

We can't in this place omit taking notice of the ingenious thought of a certain *Portugueze*, to save his Life upon such an Occasion. This Man having been taken Prisoner, and made the Servant of some Nobleman or other, when his Lord died they fix'd upon him for one of the number that shou'd go to attend him in the other World; but he having been in the Wars, and lost one of his Eyes, told them 'twou'd be a disgrace to his Master in that World to have a one-ey'd Servant in his Retinue, and that therefore to avoid doing him that diskindness, they had better by half send another in his room that had both Eyes. The Relations of the Deceas'd consider'd what the *Portugueze* had said, and finding some Reason in't, and loth also to discredit their Kinsman there, they excus'd him, and substituted another in his place.

Arts of Preserving Dead Bodies.

They are mighty curious in their Arts of Preserving Dead Bodies, without any thing of ill scent or putrefaction, for a great number of Years; and in this manner they serv'd the Bodies of all their Emperors and Noblemen. There were some of the old *Incas* which were remov'd from their Dormitories in *Cusco*, and brought to *Lima* by the *Spaniards*, which having lain there for so many years, made every body admire to see the Bodies so fair and sound. But besides this, to Preserve the remembrance of them more perfectly, they made the Figure or Image of every *Inca* in his Life-time; and tho' *Acosta*, with some of his Tribe, say that the *Peruvians* perform'd an Idolatrous sort of Worship, both to the Embalm'd Bodies of their *Incas*, and these Images too, yet our *Peruvian* Author acknowledges nothing of this nature, and he does not seem to be at all partial to, or criminally fond of his Country.

Figures of the *Incas*.

As for the Sacrifices us'd to be made in this Country, the *Spaniards* tell us of Men, Women and Children, besides all other sorts of Animals; and particularly, as to Children, that no Nation under Heaven shed such vast quantities of that innocent Blood as the *Peruvians* did. Our Historian *Inca* agrees to this Account thus far, that in several Provinces which the Emperors of *Peru* subdued by their Arms, (and so fell within the Limits of their Empire) they did offer Humane Sacrifices, and that plentifully too, to their Idols; but that the *Peruvians* themselves, the genuine Subjects of the *Incas*, did so, he utterly denies. And as there were no Sacrifices offer'd to any Being except the Sun alone, (for the Invisible *Pachacamac* was honour'd with another sort of Devotion) so those that were offer'd were only common Animals, as Ewes, Rams, Lambs, Coneys, and all Birds that were fit for Mankind to eat of. Sometimes also fine Garments were burnt upon the same score; Corn, Fruits, and strong Liquors, were not uncommon Offerings neither.

Peruvian Sacrifices.

Way of offering Liquors.

As to the business of Liquors, the ceremony was first of all to dip their finger into one of the Vessels, and then looking up to Heaven, with a drop of the Liquor hanging thereat, they by that action signify they offer it to the Sun; after which, having made some motions with their Lips a little, they drink it off without any more ado.

Our *Peruvian* Author does not scruple at all to charge his Countrymen with a great deal of Idolatry in their Rites and Ceremonies; nay, he goes farther, and tells us of Sorcerers and Witches amongst them, and of their Conversations with the Unclean Spirit. The like also does *Acosta*; according to whom, those sorts of People are very numerous all over the *West-Indies*, but since neither the one nor the other gives us any particular Relations of this matter, which they can pretend to offer as infallible Truths, we shall not trouble the Reader with bare Surmises or Traditions.

No Image but that of the Sun.

The *Peruvians* had no Idols in any of their Temples, but only the Image of the Sun; one may say indeed (as the *Inca* himself does) that the City of *Cusco* was an Idol and a grand one too, being respected as Sacred and Divine, in that 'twas founded by the Great *Manco Capac*, who was the immediate Off-spring of the Sun according to their Tradition, and has all along been the Residence of the *Incas* his Descendants. Upon this score, any thing that came from *Cusco* was valued at a higher rate than a thing of the same kind and of equal goodness any where else; yea, a Man that came from *Cusco* had a respect paid him by others upon the Road that were in Quality as good as himself, much more if he were a Native or a Citizen of that place.

Cusco is self an Idol.

Glorious Temple of the Sun.

The great and splendid Temple of the Sun in this City deserves a particular remark: The most glorious part of it was the Chapel or Shrine of the Sun, which was wrought of polish'd Stone, and in figure four square. Every Wall was cover'd from top to bottom with Plates of Massie Gold, and upon the Eastern-side stood the Image of the Sun made with a Humane face, and rays darting out of every side. The rarity of it was, that 'twas made out of one entire Plate of Gold, and yet it took up all that end from one Wall to the other.

Image of the Sun.

At the Rifling of this rich City and Temple by the *Spaniards*, the Image of the Sun fell by Lott to one particular Officers share, and that extravagant Man hazarded it at a certain Game, and lost it all in one Night; from whence it came to be a Proverb there of a prodigal Gamester, *He has plaid away the Sun before his Rising*. On the one and the other side of the Image of the Sun, were the Bodies of the Deceased Emperors plac'd according to their Antiquity, and so finely preserv'd, that they look'd as if they were alive: They were set on Seats of Gold rais'd on Supporters of the same Metal, with their faces towards the People that entred; only *Huayna Capac* was set with his face towards the Sun, as being in their Opinions the Favourite Son of the Heavenly Luminary. All the Doors of this most magnificent Temple was cover'd with golden Plates, and in the outside upon the top of the Walls, which girt it round, there ran along a chamfred work of Gold in the form of a Crown which was above a yard broad. The People hid most part of these Royal Bodies, with a prodigious quantity of the Treasures, so that the *Spaniards* cou'd never be Masters of them; tho' what they had was surprizing, and some of the Corps were found, *viz.* three of the Emperors, and two of the Empresses, and brought to *Lima*, as was before hinted. Beyond the Temple was a Cloister consisting of four large Squares, round about the tops of which were Crowns of chamfred Gold after the manner of the Temple; and to these Squares were adjoining several delicate Chapels. The first of these was dedicated to the Moon, in which was her Image made of a vast Plate of Silver, and all the Doors were cover'd with Plates of the same Metal. Hither they came to recommend themselves to her good Influences, as being the Wife and Sister of the Sun, and Mother of the *Incas*, but they offer'd no Sacrifices to her as they did to the golden Luminary. On each side of the Moons Image were rank'd the Bodies of the deceas'd Empresses according to the order of their time, and just before it, face to face, stood the Mother of *Huyana Capac*, who had that Dignity conferr'd on her for bringing such a Son into the World. The next was dedicated to *Venus*, and the Planets in general; all of which they held to be the Servants of the Moon, and therefore plac'd near at hand by their Sovereign Mistress. That which succeeded to this was the Chapel of the fix'd Stars, the Roof of which was adorn'd with Stars small and great, and had the resemblance of a Firmament. This and the former were both cover'd with Silver Plates like that of the Moon, to represent the paler light and fainter lustre of the Bodies they were consecrated to. After these came the Chapels of the Thunder and Lightning, and of the Rainbow, which were both garnish'd with Gold; and upon the golden Walls of the latter was drawn a large Rainbow. Last of all was a stately Mansion for the Priests, which was also cover'd with Gold from top to bottom. In this great Cloister before-mention'd there were various other Apartments, Shrines and Tabernacles, which were comparable to any of the former for extravagant Pomp and Riches. Besides Gold and Silver, every place shone with Jewels too, such as the Country afforded; these are principally *Turquoises* and *Emeraulds*, for Diamonds and Rubies they have none. Upon the whole, no Princes in the whole World have ever adorn'd their Temples and Places of Worship so as the *Incas* of *Peru* have done. For several sorts of Sacrifices they had several Rooms set apart, some for one, and others for another sort; but one wou'd hardly at sight have imagin'd, that a House so glorious as this shou'd have been

Bodies of the *Incas*.

Large Cloister, with other Chapels and Shrines.

Chapel of the Moon, &c.

Riches of the Shrines.

Several Rooms for several Sacrifices.

devoted to Butchery and ſhedding of Blood. If there were ſome Pillars of Stone, there were others of Gold and Silver, not maſſie, but hollow; and the very Pipes of the Fountains, that brought water to ſerve the Occaſions of the Prieſts, were of no baſer Metal. But it almoſt goes beyond all belief what is reported of the Garden of the Temple, that there were the reſemblances of a vaſt number of Animals and Vegetables wrought in pure Gold and Silver; *Quadrupeds*, Birds and Reptiles, Flowers, Herbs, Trees with the Fruit on them, all done to the Life, and diſpos'd up and down in moſt natural Order. Beſides theſe, they had Humane Bodies in Effigie, both Men and Women; and, in ſhort, hardly any thing of this nature wanting, that exquiſite Art could contrive and make, and ſtately Power (like that of the *Incas of Peru*) command to be done. As for the Veſſels and Utenſils belonging to the Temple Service, they were none of them beneath the Metals before-mention'd; and 'twas the ſame as to the Inſtruments that related to the Garden, even the very Spades and Pick-axes were of the ſame valuable Materials. And 'twas not the Temple of *Cuſco* alone that was thus Divinely imbelliſh'd and ſet forth, there were ſeveral others in the Empire that were not much inferiour to it, but that which came neareſt, and, as ſome ſay, might pretend to rival, if not outdo it, was the Temple of *Titicaca*, which ſtands in an Iſland in the midſt of a Lake that beats the ſame Name. That which occaſion'd ſuch a prodigious Maſs of Treaſure to be brought hither, was a fond conceit of the *Peruvians*, that after the Deluge the Sun ſhined upon this ſpot before any other upon the Globe; and therefore, to acknowledge this benefit of their Father the Sun, they built him here a Temple, and all the Provinces of the Empire did make their Annual Offerings of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. The *Peruvians* themſelves have ſaid, that there was Gold enough in that Iſland (beſides what was wrought into fine Shapes and Figures) to have built another Temple from the foundation, but all went into the Lake when the *Spaniards* came into the Country, and ſo did a good part of the Treaſure of *Cuſco* go into the ſame ſure Repoſitory under water.

Glorious Garden.

Utenſils of the Temple.

Temple of *Titicaca*.

The Prieſts of the Shrine of the Sun at *Cuſco* were all of them of the Blood Royal of the *Incas*, and had conſequently the Title of *Incas* themſelves; as for the other Services of the Temple, there were *Incas* not by Birth, but ſuch as were ſaid to be ſo by Privilege. The High-Prieſt was commonly either Unkle or Brother to the Emperor, he muſt at leaſt be Legitimate of the Blood, or he was utterly uncapable of Diſcharging that Function. In the other Provinces, the Inferiour Prieſts were the Kindred of the Noblemen of thoſe Countries, and the chief Prieſt alone an *Inca*, for that Dignity muſt be at the head of all the greateſt Offices, both Sacred, Civil and Military. The Prieſts (which is much) had no peculiar Veſtments; they ſerv'd their Courſes in the Temple by Weeks, in which time they did not ſtir out of it Day nor Night.

Quality of the Prieſts.

But beſides theſe Religious, the *Peruvians* had alſo ſome of the other Sex, Women incloſ'd in certain Houſes, and living there the Lives of Nuns under the Government of their Superiours; theſe were to be all of them of the Royal Blood, without mixture on either ſide. They liv'd in perpetual retirement to their dying day, neither might they ſee or ſpeak with any Perſon but thoſe that belong'd to their own Houſe. 'Twas Death for any Man to enter the ſecond Gate of their Houſe, as no Woman might enter that of the Prieſts; only the Empreſs her ſelf, and her Daughter, had the liberty of going in and conferring with them.

Religious Women.

They had multitudes of noble Attendants of their own Sex to do all inferiour Works and Offices for them; as for their own parts, they did only exerciſe themſelves in the fine works of Spinning, Weaving and Sewing, and making the ſplendid Robes that the Emperor or Empreſs did wear, as well as thoſe which were offer'd to the Sun. They made alſo the Bread for the Sacrifices to the Sun at the great Feaſts, and the Drink which *Inca* drank at that time. All the Utenſils of their Houſes were as rich as thoſe of the Prieſts in the Houſe of the Sun, and they had a Garden alſo adorn'd with the ſame golden varieties. Their Manſions were not in the Temple of the Sun, but diſtant from it by a whole Street. Like this at *Cuſco* were ſeveral others in other Parts of the Empire, in which the ſame abatements were made as to the condition and quality of the Perſons admitted into them, as was obſerv'd concerning the Prieſts; for here, tho' the Governeſs muſt be of the Blood Royal, yet that of the Nobility, by ſpecial favour, was admitted to the Honour of growing old and cold in this retired Service. Their Employments were ſuch as thoſe at *Cuſco*, and their Maintenance like them from the *Inca*, and the Furniture of their Houſes no leſs rich and noble than the former, at leaſt as to the quality of the Materials, for the *Peruvians* ſcorn'd to uſe any thing below Gold and Silver (where it might be us'd) in the buſineſs of their Religion. But there was a Privilege which belong'd to theſe Country Nunneries which that in *Cuſco* never talked of, and that was, that ſome of the Members of them might be diſcharged from their Priſon upon the *Incas* peculiar fancy and liking to be his Bedfellows. After that piece of Honour done them, they never return'd to their former ſecluded Lives in the Nunneries again, but either went into the Service of the Empreſs, or into their own Countries, where they paſs'd under no little Character. Thoſe that were grown old in the Service too, might have the ſame liberty of retiring to their reſpective Homes; but as there was no great danger of theſe for becoming Wives afterwards, ſo thoſe that were young, and had been called out for the *Incas* Pleaſure, might never afterwards beſtow themſelves upon other Men, for 'twas reckon'd a ſort of putrefaction of the Character. Yea, the Women themſelves commonly were too proud on't to loſe it in any haſte, ſince to be Miſtreſs to the *Inca* was a greater Glory than to be Wife to the greateſt Lord in the Empire.

Concubines for the *Inca*.

There was another ſort of theſe Religious Women which liv'd retired only in their own Houſes, and took the liberty of going abroad upon very urgent and preſſing Occaſions. Their greateſt mortification was a Vow of perpetual Virginity, which they commonly kept inviolable. The penalty inflicted upon any Man that was guilty of ſo flaming a crime, as to offer violence to any of all theſe conſecrated Virgins, was Death in the cruelleſt manner, and 'twas not only his own fate to die, but his Wife, Children, and all his Kindred, were involv'd in the ſame puniſhment; this was the Law, but 'twas ſeldom or never executed, there being hardly any ſuch thing as an Offence of this nature known to be perpetrated. If the Women themſelves loſt their own Chaſtity, they were either bury'd quick, burn'd, or thrown to the Lions.

Other Nuns.

Puniſhment of thoſe that violated the Chaſtity.

The moſt Solemn of all the Feaſts celebrated in this vaſt Empire was that of the *Raymi*, or rather of the Sun, and it was to acknowledge the Suns Deity, and to commemorate the happy Deſcent of their firſt *Inca* from him. All great Men in all Poſts whatſoever were obliged to be at it; but if Age, Sickneſs, or the *Incas* buſineſs detain'd them, they ſent their Repreſentatives, either their Sons or Brethren. And at this time, all endeavour'd to make the brighteſt Figure poſſible, and to ſhew the utmoſt of their Pomp, and that in Perſonal Ornaments, as well as Equipages and Retinues. The People of every Province came with the ſeveral ſorts of Arms they us'd in fight, and bore along with them their ſeveral Devices and the Pictures of their warlike Exploits.

Feaſt of the Sun.

This great Solemnity is introduc'd by a rigorous Faſt of three Days, all which time they eat nothing but a little raw Maize, or a few Herbs; they kindle no fire in all the City of *Cuſco*, nor keep company with their Wives during this preparation. The Night before they make great quantities of Dough of their Maize, which is to ſerve at the Feaſt; and they never do make that Grain into Dough but at this Feaſt, and one more. Early in the Morning the *Inca* himſelf attended, with all the reſt of the *Incas*, (or Princes of the Blood) goes barefoot into the principal Street of the City, and there wait for the Riſing Sun. As ſoon as they ſee him peep forth, they fall into a poſture of Adoration, and cover their Faces with their Hands; the Nobles are all this while in a Street adjoining, performing the ſame Worſhip that the *Inca* and his Family does here. Neither is this Cuſtom peculiar to the *Peruvians*, all the People of the World worſhip the Riſing Sun as well as they, tho' the ceremony of doing it be ſomething different. This Devotion over the *Inca* riſes up, and takes two great Veſſels of Gold full of Liquor, one in each Hand; that in his Right Hand he pours into a Golden Pipe, by which it is convey'd to the Temple of the Sun, and is as it were a Draught conſecrated to that Luminary. Then he drinks a part of that in his Left Hand, and ſo gives it to the reſt of the *Incas*, who all this while continue in that humble poſture they at firſt put themſelves into; the Nobility in the next Street perform the ſame ceremony of drinking that the Royal Family does. After this the whole Train join'd, and went away in great order towards the Temple of the Sun. The Nobility ſtopt ſhort at a conſiderable diſtance from the great Gate, and only the *Inca*'s themſelves went on and enter'd that Sacred Place, where they fell proſtrate before the great Golden

Faſt.

Adoration of the Riſing Sun.

Their march to the Temple.

Image

Image of the Sun, and then made every one his Offering of golden Vessels; the Supreme, or as they call him the *Capa Inca*, with his own hands offer'd those to the Sun that he drank to him in before, but all the rest gave theirs to the Priests to offer for them, that is, those of them that were not Invested in the Priestly Office, for if they were they might perform this ceremony, otherwise no degree of Dignity cou'd make it lawful. The Priests having dispos'd of these Offerings of the *Inca's*, went out to receive those of the petty Princes or *Caracas*, (as they call them) who presented them in order according to their Antiquity, and the time they had been subject to the Empire. The ceremony of the Offerings being finish'd, they return'd in the same order to the Streets again, where they had plac'd themselves before, and the next performance that came on was that of the Sacrifices, the principal of all which was a black Lamb.

Offerings.

The Sacrifices.

And here they had a world of Auguries and Presages; the best sign was, if the Lungs discover'd any motion after they were taken out of the Body, and the worst if the Animal, while 'twas opening, happen'd to get loose from them that held it, and stood upright on its Legs. If one prov'd unlucky, they laid that aside and tried another; and if all were so they gave over the Feast, saying the Sun was angry for some crime or other, and expected nothing but Wars, Famine, Pestilence, and all manner of Calamities.

Prognostications from the Sacrifices.

The fire they us'd upon these Occasions was Sacred and Celestial too, fetch'd down from their Father the Sun by the help of a Burning-glass (or a Jewel) which the High-Priest us'd for that purpose; with this they did the Service of the Day, and kept fire in the Temple all the Year round. If the Sun did not shine they struck fire, for they must have it *de novo* for this extraordinary Use; but then this refusal of the Sun to afford his Beams, was look'd upon as a thing of very ill signification.

No Culinary Fire.

The Sacrifices were all Roasted, and eaten openly in the afore-mention'd Streets; and 'twas solemn at their Drinkings here, for the *Inca* to drink to some of the principal Grandees and Men of War, and send the Cup about to them by some one or other of his Kindred. The *Inca* which brought the Liquor us'd this form, *The* Capa Inca *sends thee this Banqueting Cup, and I am come to drink to thee in his Name*; and 'twas receiv'd with Eyes lifted up to the Sun, and devout thanks for the favour, and even the Cups were esteem'd as Sacred things, since the *Inca's* Lips had touch'd them. As for the rest, who were not thus honour'd, the *Inca's* of the Blood drank to them in their own Names, and not in the Emperors.

Sacrifices waited and eat in the Street.

Ceremony of drinking to the Nobles.

From what has been represented hitherto of the Riches and Splendor of this Empire, 'tis not hard to guess how the Princes liv'd, and in what manner they were serv'd. Their Palaces were built of Stone finely wrought and carv'd, but 'tis in vain to pretend to tell how much Silver and Gold went to the adorning of them; 'tis enough to say, that all things that cou'd be of those Metals were so; and cou'd golden Servants have attended them and done their Work, no doubt they had had their Domesticks and Retinue of the same. Yet had they in their Palaces and Gardens an Epitome of the Creation in Gold and Silver, having Men and Women in Effigie, all the Animals and Vegetables of the Country in their exact Shapes and Proportions. 'Tis needless after this to say of what Materials the Vessels and Utensils of common Service about their Houses were.

Magnificence of the *Inca's*.

The *Inca* never wore any Garment (tho' the richest) twice, but gave them to his Kindred; and we may suppose he had less need of this sort of change than that of the Furniture of whole Palaces, which, as our Author assures, was never remov'd from one Palace to another, but was new and fresh in every one throughout all the Provinces.

As for all sorts of Domestick Servants and Officers, they were not a few particular Persons taken in uncertainly to such or such a Place or Office, but there were whole Towns assign'd and laid out for those purposes; and 'twas their business to furnish out Men of ability and fitness for those Trusts, and after they had serv'd their appointed Times and Courses, to send others in their room.

Officers and Servants.

The *Inca's* had at certain times of the Year their Set Huntings, but they always went with a sweeping Train; seldom less than 30000 Men attended them upon these Occasions, half of which went upon one hand, and the other upon the other, compassing in 20 or 30 Leagues, and so taking all sorts of wild Beasts in great numbers, of which, when they had kill'd what they wou'd, they dismiss'd the rest.

Huntings.

For quick Dispatch and Advertisement of all manner of Occurrences, they had their Posts planted up and down at 4 Leagues distance throughout all the Parts of the Empire likely to afford any News; neither was there any thing remarkable that pass'd, but what was presently brought to the *Inca's* ear at *Cusco*.

The *Inca's*, as they perform'd the Office of Chief Priests at the Feast of the Sun, (they being the first Solemnizers and Beginners of the Ceremony) so did they do the Work of common Priests in the Business of Marriage to all of their own Lineage, and that once every Year or two.

Inca's marry their Kindred.

The *Inca* himself having assembled them before him, did call out the Couples, and join their hands; after which he deliver'd them to their Parents, who solemniz'd the Wedding with a Feast of four, five or six Days.

Inca marries his Kindred.

The *Curacas*, in the Provinces, did the like Offices for the young Men and Maidens within their respective Jurisdictions, as the *Inca's* did at *Cusco* to those of their own Blood. Every Man was free to make his own Choice, how and where he pleas'd, but having done so, the Woman he had chosen cou'd not be his lawful Wife till the Civil Power (not the Ecclesiastical) had by that Ceremony made her so. When the business was to be done, the way was for the Bridegroom to go to the Bride's House, and having put a Shoe on upon her foot, to lead her away to the place where either the *Inca* or the *Curaca* of the Province perform'd the Ceremony of Marriage.

The *Curacas* do the like.

Besides this Wife, the Law and Custom of the Country allow'd a variety of other Women, who were taken without any thing of the formality and publick notice; neither did the Magistrate at all concern himself in those Matters.

Concubines.

If the Lawful Wife dishonour'd her Husband's Bed, by admitting any other into it than himself, both she and the Cuckold-maker were punish'd with Death; that is, in case the Husband obstinately insisted upon having Justice done him, and wou'd not give his Pardon. On the other hand, supposing he was kind and compassionate, and by his forgiveness sav'd their Lives, yet the Law wou'd not let them go without some marks of its Severity, and therefore they were sure to be punish'd, tho' by the Indulgence and Goodness of the injur'd Man they scap'd the fatal stroke. The Concubines were not liable to these rigours of the Law, they might use the liberty of conversing with other Men without being thought guilty of any great crime.

Punishments of Adultery.

The *Peruvians* allow'd no Marriages with those that were near in Blood; and even the *Inca's* themselves did not venture upon it till towards the latter end of that Monarchy, as *Acosta* says. The Custom of marrying Sisters was first brought in, according to that Author, by the *Inca Yupanqui*, the Grandfather of *Atabalipa*, who authoriz'd it both by Precept and his own Practise. He married his Sister by the Fathers side, and decreed it lawful for the *Inca's* his Successors so to do; nay, at his Death, he commanded his Children to follow his Example, and the Emperor *Atabalipa* was the fruit of one of these Incestuous conjunctions. On the other hand, *Garcilasso Divego* says, without restriction of time, or any other circumstance, that the *Inca's* had the Privilege of marrying their Sisters, and did often do so; and the truth on't is, it seems probable enough that the Custom was much ancienter than *Acosta* will have it to be, and perhaps as old as the Empire it self. For according to the *Peruvian* Antiquities (as we shall see in its place) the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*, and his *Coya* or Empress, were Brother and Sister, being, as they feign'd, the Children of the Sun, which Example in the Founder of the Empire, and the most immediate Off-spring of their Deity, was sufficient to introduce the like practise amongst his Successors. In common Marriages, those of one Province might not marry with them of another, but all within and amongst themselves. Neither might they go to live out of the Provinces and Towns where their Habitations were at first setled; and if any did so, 'twas by stealth or particular favour.

Marriages with near Kindred.

Laws of Marriage observ'd.

The *Peruvian* Monarchy was from the first Establishment of it Hereditary; neither was there ever any such thing known as an *Inca* chosen amongst them. And the reason of this Constitution is clear enough, for the first *Inca* (as we shall see afterwards in the account of their Pedigrees and Successions) giving himself out for the Son of the Sun, his Off-spring were accordingly in the Opinion of the People of the same Divine Race; so that this high Descent, this Relation to the Sun, (of all visible Beings the most ador'd amongst them) must of necessity keep the Imperial Crown upon the Head of that Family.

The nature of the Government.

The *Inca's*, besides their multitudes of VVomen, had one which bore the Character of Wife and *Coya*, that is,

The Succession. Sovereign Queen or Empress, and in case of defect of Children by her, the Succession was devolv'd to the next of the Legitimate Blood, the Bastards being totally excluded from all interest or concern in it. The mark of Investiture in the Supreme Power, was a Roul of fire red Wooll hanging upon the Forehead. This Ensign was peculiar to the *Incalapa*, and as much his special Ornament as a Crown of Gold is that of other Princes; the Princes of the Blood might wear it indeed on one side, near the Ear, but the *Inca* only upon the Forehead. At this Ceremony there were great numbers of Sacrifices offer'd, and rich Oblations made, and an infinite throng of People from all Parts of the Empire. *Acosta* speaks of a solemn Invocation of the Deity by the Chief Priest, and a sort of Prayer made in the Publick Assembly for the new *Inca* and the Empire in general; but we don't find *Divega* takes any notice of it, who, 'tis probable, wou'd not have omitted such a thing had it been so.

The Laws. All their Laws, both Civil and Sacred, were attributed to *Manco Capa* the first *Inca*, who receiv'd them from his Father the Sun; thus he gave out to the People, according to the Policy us'd by *Numa*, and several other Heathen Lawgivers in the World. And notwithstanding that several of the *Inca's* made a great many excellent Laws themselves, yet all went by the Name of *Manco Capa's* Laws, to give the more force and authority to them.

Policies of the Governors. The Policies of the *Inca's* in their Government, were such as no Nation in the World need despise, and a great many perhaps may imitate.

Officers to provide for the Welfare of the Subjects. They always plac'd an *Inca* of their Blood as Supreme Governor in every Province, to whom all Causes there were ultimately referr'd, and who had a Yearly Account from all the Inferiour Governors of all that pass'd, of all that were Born or Dead, of the state of all the Troops of that Province; of the Corn, and other profitable Commodities. Whenever a new Province was conquer'd, the Inhabitants were reduc'd into certain Bands and Commonalties, and committed to the charge and care of Officers who had the inspection, some of 10, others of 100, others of 1000; and some, (which was the highest Charge of all) of 10000. This according to *Acosta's* account, tho' our *Peruvian* Author tells us that they went no higher than 1000. These Persons were to provide them with Corn, Wooll, and other necessaries of Life, to give an account to the Superiour Governors or Judges of their way and manner of Living, that 'twas regular, and according to the *Inca's* Laws; to see that there were no idle Vagabond Persons amongst them, and especially to take care about the Education of their Children. If these Inspectors neglected their Duty, the faults that were committed were their own, and they punish'd accordingly.

Their Duty and Business.

The Judges and Subordination of Courts. Every Town in the Empire had a Judge appointed to determine all sorts of Causes and Debates that were of less moment, and these constantly sent in their Sentences and Determinations to the Superiour Judges in the Capital City of the Province every Month. Neither did the Matter rest there, but went on from these to the more Superiour ones at Court, and if there was any thing of Injustice or Partiality found in any of their Sentences, they were sure to be severely punish'd.

Four great Vice-Roys. As the Empire was divided into four General Parts, (which they vain-gloriously call'd the four Quarters of the World, and were reckon'd E. W. N. & S. as they lay from *Cusco*, which was the Centre of all) so the Vice-Roys or Presidents of these Quarters, were the Supreme Ministers in the Government, and had the last Determination of Matters, the next remove being to the *Inca Capa* himself. If any Provincial Controversie cou'd not be decided either by the ordinary Ministers there, or by any Deputation from Court for that purpose, 'twas suspended till the *Inca* visited those Parts in his Progress, and was to be brought to an issue by a Sentence from his own Mouth.

Council of State. The four great Vice-Roys before-mention'd, and they alone, compos'd the Grand Council of State; with these the *Inca* advis'd about his Affairs, and they made Reports of all Matters to him.

Way of making Reports to the Court. The way of sending these Reports out of the Provinces (since they had not the use of Letters) was by Lines that had several knots made in them: Those knots were of various colours, and shew'd what crime or trespass was intended; and then certain threads of several colours too, fastned to the Lines, declar'd what punishments were due according to the Law. The same Order and Subordination of Courts and Officers were establish'd for Military Affairs; as for Civil, the same variety, and the same strictness of Discipline, every where observ'd. Another piece of Policy practis'd by the *Inca's*, was always when a Province was conquer'd, to dispose of the greatest part of the Inhabitants into other Provinces up and down, thereby taking away from them all manner of opportunities and advantages for Revolts or Conspiracies. Then no Towns that were taken by force at any time, were ever Sack'd or Plunder'd, or any sort of violence offer'd to the Inhabitants, but on the contrary, they had all manner of good treatment, and by easie and gentle methods they were brought to submit quietly and peaceably to the *Inca's* Government. And because they held it for a sure Maxim, that 'twas the best and safest course to keep their Subjects always in action, and well employ'd, therefore they put them upon works of long time and great labour; part of which were the large Cawseys made up and down in several parts of the Country, besides some other more stupendious ones, which we shall afterwards give the Reader an account of.

Gentleness to the conquer'd

Farther, when a Country was reduc'd to the Obedience of the *Inca*, Officers were presently sent to survey the Lands, and mark out what was fit for the production of Maize, or other useful Grain; to improve and cultivate what was barren, and to order the conveyance of water to places which wanted. When the Land was thus survey'd and made improveable, they divided it, allotting to each Town its proper share, that is, so much for the Use and Service of the Inhabitants; besides which, there were two shares more, one for the Revenues of the Sun, and another for the *Inca* himself, and each of these equal to that which was allow'd to the People.

Officers to provide for the People

Several kinds of Tributes.

Division of Lands. But provision was always made, that the Inhabitants shou'd not be straitned, and therefore if their numbers encreas'd very fast, there was some taken out of the shares of the *Inca* and the Sun, to make up the deficiencies of the other; in short, every Man had a portion assign'd him according to the greatness of his Family, if he were a poor Man, or his Occasions and Expences, if he were a *Curaca* or some Officer of the State. The Order observ'd in the Tillage and Husbandry of these Lands was this; in the first place they did those that belong'd to the Sun, this was a piece of Religious respect, and they concluded they ought to serve their Deity before themselves.

Care for Widows and Orphans. Next to these they took care of the Lands of Widows and Orphans, of old and sick People, and of all the Poor in general; of them that were in the Wars, whose Wives they look'd upon at that time as Widows, and particularly of those that were really so, and had actually lost their Husbands in the *Inca's* Service. Of all these there was special care taken, and they were farther allow'd (if at any time they wanted Corn or Seed) to have it out of the Publick Store-houses. There were particular Officers appointed for managing the Lands of all these sorts of People, and they were oblig'd to serve them first, before they did any thing for themselves. In the time of the *Inca Huyana*, there was one of the Officers hang'd for Tilling the Land of a certain *Curaca* his Kinsman, before he had done that of the Widows and Orphans; and to make it the more exemplary, the Gallows were set up, and the Execution done, upon that Noblemans Land where the Law had been transgress'd. Last of all the *Inca's* Lands were look'd after, those Princes building their own Prosperity upon that of their People, and endeavouring in the first place to render them easie and happy. When the Lands of the Sun and the *Inca* were Tilled, there was a great deal of pomp and solemnity in the business, they appear'd in their best Accoutrements, and broke up the ground with Songs of Joy and Triumph.

Poor People's Tribute.

Inca's care of their poor Subjects.

Persons free from Tribute.

Time of bringing it in.

Inns and Hospitals.

Punishments only Corporal

Ceremony at Tilling the Lands of the *Inca*. Nay, the first piece of ground that was dedicated to the Sun near *Cusco* was turn'd up by *Inca's* and *Pallas* (the Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal) in all their best Robes and Jewels. The Spades they us'd were of Wood, and about a Yard long, plain before and pointed, but round behind, and near four fingers thick; about half a Yard from the point was fastned a contrivance of wood like a Stirrop, for them to set their feet upon while they thrust them into the ground. They had their Attendants by them to ease them of a part of the burden, and lift up the Turfs of Earth for them; and to refresh them also with chearful Songs, while they were engag'd in this hard work.

The Tributes. The Government of the *Inca's* was very mild and easie too, in respect of the Tributes demanded of their Subjects. 'Tis true, their Power was Absolute and Uncontroulable, and had no manner of Bounds but what were prescrib'd and set by their own Wills, so that all the Fortunes of the Subject were entirely in their hands, and at their disposal. Notwithstanding this, they did not impose any heavy pinching Yokes upon them, nor by

by cruel and rigid Exactions, empty their Subjects Coffers to fill their own. This perhaps might have been expected in a Country where such a Custom was observ'd, for every Prince, as he came to the Throne, to furnish his own Palace with such prodigious Treasures of Gold and Silver as the *Inca's* of *Peru* always had in theirs. And this is said to have been their way; no *Inca* inherited the Domestick Riches of his Predecessor, but gather'd his own Treasure himself, that of the Deceas'd being the most part bestow'd amongst his Family, and part laid out upon his Chapel or Shrine, and other such Occasions, after his Death. And this was one reason of the heaping up such extravagant Treasures amongst those Princes, for there being an inexhaustible Fund of Gold and Silver in the Country, every one made it his business to outdo his Predecessor in the Glory and Riches of his Palace. Now this suppos'd, it was possible that the *Inca's* might have had occasion to drain their Subjects, and lay very heavy Taxes and Tributes upon them, that all these vast quantities of Treasure might be supplied. But they have ever gone another way to work, for they always kept the Mines in their own hands, and tho' they paid them very well that did and took care of the work, yet they kept an exact account of all the Profits that were made of them, and the Gold and Silver stopt no where after 'twas out of the Mine, till it came into the Imperial Treasuries at *Cusco*. As for Tribute, it was paid chiefly in Work and Labour, in Dressing and Tilling the *Inca's* Lands, and those of the Sun, in making Arms and Clothes, for which they had Wooll and Cotton allow'd out of the same Revenues.

Every Inca raises his own Treasure.

Several kinds of Tributes.

In general, had the *Inca* a mind to the Products of any particular Province they sent it him for Tribute, what and in what quantity he demanded it; but no Man ever paid any thing out of his own private share of Land. Sometimes perhaps a Sett of fine Dancers, or Musicians, pass'd for Tribute, or some choice Virgins for the *Inca's* own Entertainment. And if we may credit the *Inca* our Historian, all the poor People paid a Tribute, which 'twas more advantage by far to them to be rid of, than to the Emperor or any of his Ministers to receive, and that was such a quantity of Lice. The chief design of this was to lay them under a necessity of keeping themselves clean and wholsome, and at the same time by bringing something, tho' 'twas but a Louse, to acknowledge their subjection. Certainly no Prince was ever so kind to his Subjects as these *Inca's* were to theirs, for this was a sort of Tribute which (being in Nature a very multiplying thing) the Poor perhaps were always in a condition of paying, and 'twas no hard matter for them to scrape together their several Quota's; every Man out of his abundance helping his Neighbour that might have occasion to borrow.

Poor People's Tribute.

But the *Inca's* were kind to their poor Subjects, not only by taking away these Cattel from them, but also giving those of another sort to them out of his own Herds, when their necessities required such a Supply; and then when the Seasons prov'd unkindly, and Corn and Grain were scarce, there was a liberal Distribution made of those things to them out of his Granaries and Storehouses, of which there were many in every Province.

Inca's care of their poor Subjects.

As for all those of the Royal Blood, all Priests, Judges, *Curaca's*, Captains as far as Centurions, they were Tribute-free. So were all Soldiers in time of War, young Men under 25, and old Men above 50; and in general all Females, whether married Women or Virgins, had the same exemption.

Persons free from Tribute.

At the Celebration of the principal Feasts (especially that of the Sun) all the *Curaca's* and Governors came to *Cusco* with the Tribute of the whole Empire; besides which, they always brought their Presents for the *Inca* along with them, which were any Rarities or Curiosities whatsoever, or any thing that might be useful and serviceable to him in his Buildings, or other stately Works.

Time of bringing it in.

The Government of the *Inca's* was not only very indulgent and favourable to the Subjects, but had also a great regard to all Strangers and Travellers that came within the Verge of it: All such Persons were treated with the greatest humanity and kindness, and allow'd all the decent liberties imaginable.

Inns and Hospitals.

There were Publick Houses built on purpose for their Reception and Entertainment, and they had all necessaries at free-cost upon the Road, being furnish'd at the *Inca's* own Expence. Likewise, if any fell sick, they were not left expos'd without Care and Attendance to all Hazards and Uncertainties, but taken into convenient Lodgings, where they were furnish'd with all those things their condition requir'd.

Punishments only Corporal.

The Laws of this Country denounc'd Corporal punishments for all Offences, whatsoever; there was no such thing as a Mulct, since a Confiscation of Estate or Goods, for the *Peruvians* were of this Opinion, That all punishments that tended to impoverish the Criminal, and ruine his Fortunes in the World, did but make him so much the worse, and incline him to be more desperate in doing evil. Neither did the punishment of Treason and Rebellion extend any farther than the Persons of those that committed them; their Children and Families did not suffer any ways for their Crimes, but enjoy'd all their Privileges and Liberties as before.

But there was hardly any Crime more sharply punish'd than that of Lying; and if 'twere in a matter of importance, it proceeded to the loss of Life it self. As for Perjury, there was no such thing amongst them, for there was no Swearing or taking of an Oath; all they did to come by the Truth in weighty Cases, was for the Judge, by a solemn Demand, to put the Witnesses upon speaking their Consciences, *Dost thou promise in this Matter to tell the Truth to the* Inca? And woe be to them if they were found not to do so, for according to the Notions of the Country, they did not Lye to the Judge but to the *Inca*, who, like the Heavenly Sun his Father, had a sort of Universal Presence through the Empire. And in abundance of other Cases relating to Points of Common Justice and Honesty, the Tranigressors were call'd to a severe account; the Innocent and Oppressed were reliev'd, and Justice, when demanded, speedily done. Now tho' the Laws were strict, and even a small Offence was often punish'd with Death, yet all this Rigour was temper'd with so much Mercy and Gentleness, that the whole Empire (extending near 1400 Leagues, and consisting of so many different sorts of People was govern'd by one Law with as much ease as if they had been all but one House. But it must be confess'd, the Opinion of the Sacred and Divine Original of those Laws, contributed not a little to this Universal Reverence and Submission; they believ'd they all came from the Sun, and were his Ordinances, by the *Inca's*, and therefore the fear of breaking them was so much the greater, in that they thought their Deity, as well as their Prince, concern'd in the punishment of Offenders.

Severity against Lying.

Way of managing Witnesses.

Reason of Submission to the Laws.

The Titles of Honour us'd in this Country, may deserve to be a little explain'd, tho' many of them have been Occasionally mention'd up and down already. That of *Inca* was peculiar to the Royal Families, and because all of the Blood by the Male Line had the Title of *Inca* as well as the Sovereign himself, therefore by way of Eminence and Distinction he was call'd *Inca Capa*, that is, the only Lord or Sovereign. The young Princes of the Blood were call'd *Tutip Churin*, that is, Children of the Sun, till they came to be married, and then they had the Title of *Inca's*. The Sovereign's principal Wife was termed *Coya*, and all her Daughters had the same Title; other Wives and Concubines of the Blood were called *Palla*. Concubines not of the *Inca's* Family were called *Mamacuna*, that is Mother, by which they were distinguish'd from the *Coya*, who was sometimes call'd *Mamanchic*, that is, our Mother. The Royal Daughters were also call'd *Nusta*, that is Nymph; and if not born of Royal Mothers, for distinctions sake was added the Name of some particular Province for a Title, as *Colla Nusta*, *Quitu Nusta*. This general Title of *Nusta* continued till they were married, and then they exchang'd it for that of *Palla*. *Curaca* was a term of Honour belonging to the Noble or Princely Subjects not of the Blood, as Vice-Roys, Vassal Princes, and the like; but the most considerable degree of Honour, upon many accounts, was that of their Knighthood. For this, none but young Men of the *Inca's* Blood cou'd stand Candidates, or pretend to put into the Election. The design of it was, that there should be a Sett of Princes fit and able to bear the weight of so great a Monarchy, and to do Actions worthy of their high Original; that they shou'd be accomplish'd and qualify'd with all those Excellencies which Princes appear Great and Heroical in their Countries. In order to this, they had the best Masters that cou'd be found to instruct them, and every Year or two they pass'd a strict Examination by them.

Titles of Honour.

Knighthood.

They generally began to try their Constancy in the point of Abstinence and Fasting, making them for seven days together keep to an Allowance of raw Corn and Water, and that a very small quantity of both too. Those that cou'd not hold out in this were quite laid aside, as unfit for any farther Experiments to be made upon them. When they had gone through this Course of Mortification, they heartned them up with rich Food again, to render them fit for succeeding trials of Strength and Activity. Being divided into two Bodies, one of them was to keep and defend a Fort, while the other besieg'd

Exercises and Trials preparatory.

beſieg'd and aſſaulted it; and this they did with ſo much eagerneſs, that forgetting they were in jeſt they ſtirr'd one anothers Blood and came to earneſt, and the ludicrous War ſometimes coſt ſome of them their lives. Then follow'd Wreſtling, Leaping, Vaulting, throwing and ſlinging great Stones, caſting Darts and Lances. They tried how they could do the Duties of Centinels, and put them upon the Watch for ſeveral Nights together; and if they were ſurpriz'd Napping, they were puniſh'd with ſhame and reproaches. And to ſee whether they cou'd endure Pain as well as Hunger and Watching, they laſh'd them over the Arms and Legs with wands; and if they made any ſigns that they were not able to bear it, the queſtion was preſently put to them, If you can't bear this, how will you endure the weapons of your Enemies? In a word, they were oblig'd to be above ſence and feeling, or elſe they cou'd be no Knights; and how many wou'd curſe that Knighthood that muſt be had upon ſuch conditions? But the moſt unreaſonable trial of all, was for theſe young Candidates (for Knighthood) to be expos'd to all the tricks and poſtures of Fencers. Here they muſt ſtand, while thoſe Fellows pretended to make their thruſts at them, feigning a puſh here and there, and ſometimes of a ſudden making as if they wou'd ſtrike them a blow, and if they offer'd in the leaſt to ſtart or flinch, or by any little motion of their Bodies ſeem'd as if they wou'd avoid a ſtroke or a thruſt, then they had not courage and reſolution enough, and conſequently were not fit for this Honour. Neither did they leave them here, but tried alſo if they had Art and Ingenuity enough to make their own Shoes and Arms; not that they were always to be put upon this, but they thought it requiſite for ſuch Men to be able to know how to ſerve themſelves of every thing they needed. When they had gone through all theſe trials, the Maſters inſtructed them in the points of their Deſcent and Pedigree, and related to them the noble Acts of their Anceſtors, to raiſe in them the ſame paſſion for Glory, and ſpur them on to follow their Examples. They taught them alſo the Duties of Morality, and put them upon the practiſe of Juſtice, Truth, Clemency and Mildneſs, to all Men. During the whole time that theſe Exerciſes laſted, which was a Month, they laid aſide all their Princely Attire, and went in a vile and ſordid Habit, to learn Humility, and how to pity the Poor and Miſerable, that were forc'd to go ſo meanly Cloath'd. Even the Heir Apparent of the Empire ſubmitted to this, and all the reſt, to the utmoſt rigour; one only excepted, which was the Exerciſe of running for a Banner. Afterwards, when their Maſters gave an account to the *Inca Capa*, he attended in Perſon, and made a Speech to them; and then each of the Candidates, on his knees, receiv'd the firſt mark of the Honour, which was to have a hole bor'd in his Ear. The new Knight then kiſs'd the *Inca's* Hand, and the Perſon that ſtood next him pull'd off his Shoes, and put him on another ſort made of Wooll, which he was not till then allow'd to wear. After this he is led to another place, where the other *Inca's* put him on Breeches, (a piece of Apparel prohibited before) and adorn'd his Head with a Coronet of Flowers. The Princes Royal had the ſame Enſigns, only for a mark of diſtinction; after his firſt trial he was allow'd to wear a Fringe of yellow Wooll, and to carry an Ax, and a Javelin, which weapon, when put into his Hand, they call'd a weapon for Tyrants and Traytors. After this Ceremony of Knighthood, all the reſt of the Royal Blood ador'd him as their Prince.

The Inſtalment.

The *Peruvians* had no ſuch thing amongſt them as Trade and Commerce with Foreign Countries, having all things within themſelves, and no occaſion to ſeek the acquaintance of other People upon that ſcore. Neither, tho' they were Maſters of ſo much Gold or Silver, had they any thing of Coin or Money, for thoſe Metals ſerv'd entirely for Pomp and Ornament, and they had no notion of any ſuch Uſes of them as the *Europeans* put them to. Their way of Dealing was to Truck and Barter one thing for another, which they did in all their greateſt Fairs and Marts, for every Man knew very well what Commodities he ſhould have in exchange for thoſe he brought. Indeed they had a thing amongſt them which was valued at a high rate, and with which they cou'd purchaſe any thing as we do with Money, it was only the Leaf *Coca*, which the *Peruvians* ſet as much by as the *Mexicans* did by their *Cacao*, a little Fruit priz'd at the ſame rate, and us'd for the ſame purpoſes by their People; but the *Spaniards*, who brought the love of Money along with them, have ſince brought the uſe of it alſo into both theſe Countries.

Trade by way of Barter.

Coca uſed inſtead of Money.

The Language. Accents.

The *Peruvian* Language has peculiar difficulties in it, [illegible] the account of the various ways of pronouncing one and the ſame word, each of which changes the ſignification; for they lay the ſtreſs of the pronunciation either upon the Lips, the Palate, or the Throat. The accent is moſt commonly in the laſt Syllable but one, ſeldom in the Syllable before that, and never in the laſt of all. The *Cuſco* Dialect wants the following Letters of the Alphabet, *viz.* *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *i* conſonant, the ſingle *l*, *x*. Inſtead of the ſingle *l* they always uſe the double, and on the other ſide they never pronounce the double *l*; for which reaſon there are abundance of words in the *Spaniſh* Tongue that they cou'd never be brought to pronounce well. This variety of pronunciation will eaſily be allow'd to involve and render the Language difficult, and together with the heedleſneſs and blunders of the *Spaniards*, has contributed to the falſe naming of abundance of things. They ſeldom minded any more than the noiſe and ſound a word made in their Ears, and took up with the firſt they heard, without taking pains to enquire into it afterwards. Thus the Country is corruptly call'd *Peru*, and it owes that Name to the *Spaniards*, who Chriſten'd it ſo by miſtake. As for the Natives, there's no ſuch word among them, and out of very diſdain they wou'd never ſo much as ſpeak it, even when they were talking to the *Spaniards* themſelves. They had no proper Name for the Empire taken in general, but call'd it only *Tauantiſuyu*, that is, the fourth part of the World.

Miſtakes of the *Spaniards*.

But the buſineſs was thus: The firſt *Spaniards* that came upon the Coaſt ſurpriz'd an *Indian* Fiſherman, who having ſpied their Ship, was fallen into a deep wonder what ſort of thing it wou'd prove to be at laſt, and in the midſt of his muſings upon the matter, he was ſnapt by them and brought aboard. When the *Indian* had recover'd, and was able to ſpeak again, they ask'd him by ſigns and words too what the Name of the Country was, but he not knowing what they meant replied *Beru Peru*, that is, his Name was *Beru*, and if they wou'd know from whence he came, it was out of the River, *Peru* being a common Name for a River in that Language. From hence it was ſpread abroad, that the Name of the Country was *Peru*, they concluding the *Indian* had underſtood them, which he muſt have been a Witch if he had done. The like careleſs miſtake procur'd that Country (they now call *Yucatan*) its Name; the firſt Diſcoverers ask'd an *Indian* what the Country was call'd, and he (knowing as little *Spaniſh* as a Man may be ſuppos'd to do that never heard of ſuch a Language or People) anſwer'd *Tetetan, Teetetan*; that is, I don't underſtand you. But they, it ſeems, were as well ſatisfy'd with the *Indian's* anſwer as if they had underſtood it, and ſo turning this *Teetetan* into *Yucatan* (by the figure call'd Metamorphoſis) they paſs'd that about for the true Name of the Country.

How the Country came by the Name.

But to return from this digreſſion; the *Peruvians*, as Polite as they were in other reſpects, had no Letters at all, nay, not Symbols and Characters as their Neighbours the *Mexicans* had, by which they ſerv'd themſelves (in the want of Letters) with admirable Art and Ingenuity. Yet the contrivance of the *Peruvians* to ſupply this defect was very fine and pretty, and ſuppoſing the abſence of Letters, Symbols, and the like, perhaps not eaſily to be mended. We did before give a hint of this matter, when we ſhew'd how the Reports of the Courts of Judicature, in the Provinces, were convey'd to *Cuſco*. In ſhort, all their Regiſters, Memorials, and Accounts, were made up of theſe ſtrings and knots; in theſe were contain'd their Hiſtories, Ceremonies, Laws, and the whole Syſtem of their Affairs. They call'd theſe contrivances *Quippes*, every one of which was a complex of ſo many knots and ſtrings of ſeveral colours, and as we derive an infinite number of words from the various combinations of the 24 Letters, ſo did they draw a compleat Story or an Account from thoſe varieties of knots and colours. And they manage this ſort of computation with ſo much exactneſs, that they are no more to be cheated and impoſ'd upon in it, than we are in an Arithmetick.

No Letters.

Their way of Accounts.

By Knots.

Aceſta ſays he knew a Woman that had a General Confeſſion of all her Life done in knots and threads, and he declares 'twas ſo nice, that it cou'd not have been better if written or printed upon paper.

The ſame Author ſays (and herein the *Inca* agrees with him too) that they computed ſometimes by ſmall Stones and grains of Maize, which were rang'd and diſpos'd upon Wheels in ſuch an order, that they wou'd thereby calculate or expreſs any thing with the greateſt readineſs imaginable. Upon theſe the Chriſtian Converts drew out the *Creed*, the *Pater Noſter*, the *Ave Maria*, and cou'd repeat them as perfectly from thence, as the *Spaniards* cou'd from their Books.

By Stones and grains of Maize.

In

Computation of the Year.

In their Computations of Time, they were short of the *Mexicans* in some respects, and superiour to them in others. They had not such particular forms and divisions of Time as the *Mexicans* had, but what they did was more exact and agreeable to the Courses and Motions of the Heavenly Bodies. Their Year consisted of the same number of Days that ours does, and 'twas divided into as many Months. But for want of other Methods of Observation, they made use of one something rude and imperfect to determine the several parts of the Year, and that was by the Sun's coming to certain Pillars at the time of his Rising and Setting. These Pillars were twelve in number, and they stood in order upon the Mountains about *Cusco*, and 'twas by the means of these that they distinguish'd the Months.

Notions of Eclipses.

They had no knowledge at all in Astronomy, and attributed the Eclipses of the Moon to her sickness, believing that sometime or other, when she was very ill in those Fits, she would die and fall from Heaven, and kill all here below; and the truth on't is, when the Moon tumbles, woe be to them that stand in the way. But the Sun (to whom they durst not attribute any sickness or infirmity) was eclips'd because he was angry, and that hiding of his face at that time was the effect of his resentment of their Offences. When the Moon was in that state of illness, and look'd with so dark a face upon them, they were all in a horrible concern till she got well again, and recover'd her former lustre. They sounded all sorts of Musical Instruments, and set their Dogs a howling, believing those noises would help to recover her if any thing wou'd; for as 'twas said before, they thought some such bout or other wou'd make an end of her at some time, and they did not know but every Eclipse that happen'd might be the fatal one. And therefore, when the sad time is over, (during which the Men and Women howl too as well as the Dogs) they give thanks to the Invisible *Pachacamac*, that he has cur'd and brought her out of those Disorders, and thereby continued the happiness and comfort of the World. Actions so foolish and ridiculous as these, one would wonder at in a People every other way so sensible; but their Neighbours the *Mexicans* can't hit them in the teeth of it, being themselves not much wiser in a certain Custom which they repeated at the end of every Age.

Odd Custom of the *Mexicans*.

That very Night when the Age was expired, they put out all their fire, extinguish'd the Lights every where, and broke all the Vessels about their Houses; and for what reason was all this havock made? Why, the World must certainly come to an end some time or other, and 'twas their opinion, that that general fate wou'd be at the end of one of their Ages, and they did not know but it might come on with the conclusion of that very Age; and if the World should end that Night, what need shou'd they have of Fire or Houshold-stuff next Morning? There wou'd be no dressing of Victuals, and therefore no farther use of Pots and Pans, and Spits, and so they had e'en as good break them all beforehand. But cou'd not the Fools have had a little patience, and staid till next Morning came? What need they have been so hasty, and brought the World to an end within doors, before they saw 'twas so without? For the same reason they ought to have set all their Houses and Towns a fire at the end of every Age, for when the World was dissolv'd they wou'd have no more occasion for them than the Furniture of them. However, they watch'd very diligently all that Night, and when they saw Day-light appear next Morning, they bid it welcome with Musick, Shouting, Drumming; and, in a word, with inexpressible Joy, and gave thanks for it in their Temples accordingly. The *Peruvians* distress about the Moon in an Eclipse, and the *Mexicans* about the end of the World, are equally pleasant and comical.

Geography and other Sciences.

These People had a little more Skill in Geography than they had in Astronomy, for they made a sort of Maps and Plats of the Provinces of the Empire. Their Geometry consisted only in that practise which answers to the Etimology of the Word, they parted and measur'd their Grounds by it, and never troubled themselves with any Speculations. Musick they had also reduc'd to some Rules, and divers sorts of Instruments; and 'twas common amongst them to have Consorts of these and good Voices join'd together.

Poetry and Plays.

Their Poetry was only Dramatick, and extended no farther than the composing some Tragedies and Comedies. The subject Matter of the former was something or other Great and Memorable done by their Royal Ancestors, and the Actors were no mean inferiour Persons, but some of the *Inca's* themselves, and the best of the Nobility. In their Verses they observed exact measure, but never made them Rhiming; they were always very clean and free from smut, neither did their Poets ever so much as touch or glance at any thing immodest or indecent even in their most light and airy Compositures.

Mechanick Arts.

For Mechanick Arts, they were not very well furnish'd; they had no such things as Anvils, Files, Chizels nor Bellows, no Saw, no Augre, no Plainer, nor Nails.

No Tools for Work.

Instead of Anvils they us'd certain great hard Stones, which they made very smooth by rubbing one against another; and for Hammers, they had a Mass of Copper in form of a Die, without any Handle, which they grasp'd in their hands to strike with as one wou'd with a Stone. To supply the want of Nails, they fasten'd every thing that was to be fasten'd with Lines and Cords. But for all this defect as to the point of Tools, what wonderful Monuments of Art have they left for the World to admire? What stately Buildings both in Wood and Stone, and yet Carpenters and Masons so poorly furnish'd? The Fortress of *Cusco*, in its pristine Grandeur,

Admirable Fortress of *Cusco*.

wou'd have surpriz'd a Man that had look'd o'r all the Wonders of the World. The *Egyptian* Pyramids or *Pharaoh's*, the Walls of *Babylon*, or the Temple of *Diana*, were all wonderful to the last degree, but then 'twas easie to account for their making, for they were built by People that had not only the best Art and Skill, but all manner of Tools also fit to do such Works withal. But how the Fortress of *Cusco* came together into that form, 'twou'd puzzle any Man to imagine; and to use our *Inca's* own expression, it may seem rather a Work of Devils than Men. The Stones, or rather the Rocks of

Strange Curriage of Stones.

which it consists, being so great, and the *Indians* having neither Iron nor Steel to cut and work them, nor no Carts or other Carriages to draw them along, but all done by meer force of Men pulling with great Ropes, and that through rough uneven mountainous Ways, for 10, 12, and 15 Leagues together, 'tis astonishing to conceive such difficulties as these conquer'd by Humane force. There was one Stone particularly which the

The Stone *Saycusca*.

Indians call'd *Saycusca*, (which signifies wariness) for the infinite Labour and Toil it cost them to bring it along. There were 20000 Men employ'd about it, drawing with great Cables, and in one rugged place it kill'd near 4000 Men. 'Twas full 15 Leagues that this huge Mountain of Stone, this Rock, was brought; but which was stranger still, in the way they were oblig'd to cross a certain River not much less than the *Guadalquivir* in *Spain*, and what sort of contrivance they had to waft it over this River one wou'd be glad to know, the Stone to be sure did not swim over of it self, and what Vessel cou'd be form'd to do it is unconceiveable. But then the setting of all the parts of the Building together is not a much less Wonder than any of the former, for they had no Rule nor Square, nor no Cranes or Engines to lift up the Stones; instead of Mortar they us'd a sort of Clay, and by the means of this cement alone they made all so close and compact, that the Junctures cou'd hardly be discerned. A certain Priest who went to take a nice survey of this Prodigy of a Building, told the *Inca Garcilasso di Vega*, that his Opinion was, the Devil was the principal Architect, and he cou'd not see how all the Art and Force of Man cou'd ever lay such unweildy things together in that posture that they lay; and tho' we are not of his Opinion, yet we can't but admire the mighty Patience, Labour and Industry of the *Indians*, to go through with difficulties that appear so Invincible to all those that consider them.

Situation and Parts of the Fortress.

This Edifice stood upon a Hill on the North-side of the City, and a Hill so steep, that there was no possible assaulting it that way, and therefore there 'twas defended with one Wall only about 200 Fathoms long. On the other part of it there were three Walls, on incloising the other, each in the form of a Crescent, and of greater length than the former. The space betwixt them was about 30 foot, and every Wall had in the midst of it a Gate, which had one Stone elevated the full breadth and height of it. Within these Walls were three Forts, the

Vaults and Labyrinths.

middle-most round, and the other two square; all which had Vaults and Subterranean Passages from one to the other, perfect Labyrinths they were, with so many turnings and windings, that there was no getting out but by the direction of a Clue. In the round Fort was a Conduit of excellent Water brought a vast way under ground, but where or from whence was a Secret, and known only to the *Inca Capa*, and some of his chief Ministers. 'Twas here also that the *Inca's* took up their Quarters when they came to visit the Fortress, and 'twas adorn'd accordingly with all the Beauties of Gold and Silver, the Effigies of Plants and Animals in those Metals being enchas'd therein. The Governor of the Fortress was al-

Government of it.

ways to be of the Royal Blood legitimate, and 'twas not lawful for any but *Inca's* to come into it; for this was the

the House of the Sun for War, as the Temple was for Devotion.

Base action of the *Spaniards.*

The *Spaniards*, instead of repairing this august Building, pull it down as fast as they can, to build their own private Houses; and they have made such use of it for that purpose, that most of the Houses of *Cusco* have some Ornament or other belonging to the Fortress in them. By doing thus, they have defac'd the greatest piece of Majesty in the Universe, and a thing that any Prince upon Earth wou'd have been proud of the poorest Ruines of. The best of the three Walls were standing in our *Inca*'s time, but the reason was because they were too stout and strong to be pull'd down; yet he says they had begun to make some impression upon them, and that for the lucre of a great Gold Chain, which the *Inca Huyana Capac* caus'd to be made, and being hidden somewhere, they hop'd to find it here. Here the old Proverb says that Hunger will break through Stone Walls, and it seems that Covetousness will do the same too; and the truth on't is, the Walls of the Fortress of *Cusco* were capable of making a stubborn opposition to either of those greedy Appetites. But these sorts of Buildings, as Palaces, Castles and Fortresses, were the chief of what they had; they had none of those other varieties which the *European* World cou'd have shewn, even many Ages before the foundation of their Empire.

Ignorance of other Buildings.

Bridges, Arsenals, Towers, Columns, Arches, were things unknown amongst them; and as to the latter, they took the doing of it to be the effect of a Power and Wisdom above that of common Men. When they saw Arches of Wood rais'd over the River *Xaura*, they were downright astonish'd, but when the Bridge was finish'd, and all the Wood-work taken away, they all began to run for't, expecting that the Bridge it self wou'd fall down into the River; but seeing it stand firm, and, as they thought, supported (by some extraordinary Power) in the Air, they then concluded 'twas very reasonable they shou'd be Servants to the *Spaniards*, for without all doubt (said they) these Men must needs be the Children of the Sun. But it may be they had Reasons enough afterwards, to alter that Opinion of the Divine Original and Extraction of their Conquerors, and think it Honour enough to allow them to be Men.

We may now take a short view of the History of this Empire, the Origine, Succession and Conquests of the *Inca's*, and the various steps they made towards that heighth of Power and Command they were risen to when the *Spaniards* came amongst them. The *Inca's* (as has been often hinted already) derived their Pedigree from the Sun, which pretension of theirs was of the greatest use and service to them in the Establishment of their Monarchy. This made the People honour them almost like Deities, and yield a blind and undisputed Obedience to all their Laws and Impositions. They gave out, that their Father the Sun taking pity of the miserable barbarous Inhabitants of the Country, and willing to reform them to a more Civil and Polite way of living, sent down a Son and a Daughter of his own to be their Instructors, and gave them a Pattern of most excellent Laws to govern all those Nations by. And having withal given them a most absolute Sovereign Authority over all they cou'd tame and civilize, but a Sovereignty to be mix'd with so much Mercy, Justice and Beneficence, as, like the heavenly Sun their Father, to refresh and do good to all about them; together with this, he Ordain'd the Founding of an Imperial City, where the Majesty of the *Inca's* (his Race) shou'd shine forth with the purest lustre. This first Pair were the *Inca's Manco Capac*, and the *Coya Mama Oclo Huaco*, Brother and Sister, and Children of the Sun. Some of the common People of *Peru* bring in the Story of the Deluge here, and make the *Inca* and the *Coya* a Couple sent by some Deity to people and restore this part of the World again after that general Desolation. So that here they were like *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* in the Poet, and *Manco Capac* might say as well as the other, *O soror & conjux, O Femina sola superstes.* But the Inca *Garcilasso* mentions nothing of a Flood, and he declares he tells the Story as it was generally receiv'd and believ'd amongst the *Inca's*, and as those grave Persons did use to relate it at his Mothers House. To proceed therefore with his account, they pretended they were first plac'd or set down upon this World about the Lake *Titicaca*, which is near eighty Leagues from *Cusco*, where they were directed to settle and lay the Foundations of the Imperial City. And the mark they had to find out this place by, was a Bar of Gold they receiv'd from the Sun, which shou'd melt with one stroke upon the ground when they were come where the Seat of the Empire was intended to be. And they travelling, according to his directions, Northward from the Lake, had that sign come to pass (as they afterwards told the People) in the great Valley where *Cusco* now stands. *Cusco* the most ancient City. However, leaving the *Peruvians* to believe (as now they do) this History of the Origine of their Princes and Empire, 'tis certain that the Politick *Manco Capac* (who found this the best course to seat himself in a Throne) succeeded very well in his Device. He endeavour'd in his Dress and Ornaments, as well as by his Words and Pretensions, to appear to be something extraordinary; and the Savage People, who found him very different from themselves, believ'd him indeed to be the Off-spring of their Deity the Sun. When this Opinion was once fix'd, they were his Subjects and he their Sovereign; they gave him extravagant Honours, and wou'd even have gone through fire and water at his command.

Original of the *Inca's.*

Manco Capac's Politick fiction.

Peoples Credulity.

And the first People that thus acknowledg'd him, set it about amongst all their Neighbours, that the Son of the Sun was come to Reign over them, and had brought good and wholsome Laws that wou'd make all Mankind happy that submitted to them. By this means his Fame and Interest grew apace together; and having got a considerable number of People about him, he set them at work upon building Houses, which he gave them directions how to do, and so the first rough Lines of *Cusco* began to be drawn. This was near 400 Years before the *Spaniards* conquer'd the Country, as appears by all their Memorials and Records.

His civilizing them.

All these rude People he endeavour'd to Civilize and Instruct in his Laws; he taught them the profitable Arts of Life, to Cultivate and Sow their Land, to make Instruments for that purpose, to Dress their Victuals, and eat it after a more Humane manner, and to observe something of Order and Policy in their Battels. The *Coya* also undertook to perform the same part amongst the Women that the *Inca* did amongst the Men; she taught them to work in Wooll and Cotton, and make Garments for themselves and Families, and other Houshold Offices suitable to their Sex. Thus, in the space of 6 or 7 Years, the *Inca* saw himself at the Head of a Nation, and was in a condition to extend the narrow Bounds of his Territories by force, and plant the Sun's Laws by the Sword where they did not meet with a due Respect and Submission. But there was little need of force to conquer them that believ'd him to be the Son of such a Father; besides the allurements of his Government, and the useful Arts he instructed his People in, were sufficient to make him new Conquests without methods of violence. In a word, *Manco Capac* reduc'd all the East Country to the River *Paucartapu*, and Westward 8 Leagues to the great River *Apurimac*, and Southward 9 Leagues to *Quequesana*; and in this whole Region he Peopled, and brought into regular form, better than 100 Towns. Governors were plac'd over every several Nation that was brought in, and the Religion of the Sun establish'd, Temples being built, and Sacrifices appointed to be offer'd to him. This *Inca* likewise made severe Laws against Murther, Adultery and Robbery; he regulated the point of Marriage too, forbidding any thing of that nature till the Parties were come to Years of Discretion, and enjoyning that none shou'd marry out of their own Tribe or Kindred.

His Conquests.

Customs introduc'd by him.

He introduc'd the Customs of wearing the Hair Poll'd, of boring the Ears, and (as a sort of Diadem) wreathing a Riband of many colours, and almost a finger thick, 4 or 5 times about the Head. This parti-colour'd Riband was an Ornament peculiar to the *Inca* himself, but *Manco Capac* always indulged this to his Vassals, as their first Privilege, to bind a Riband of one colour about their Heads likewise. After some time, he allow'd the Polling too as a very great favour, but done in a way distinguishable enough from his. They had nothing else to take off their Hair with but a sharp Flint, which was very troublesome; insomuch, that when the *Spaniards* afterwards brought in Scizzars amongst them, they were so taken with the Invention, that they us'd to say, if the *Spaniards* had only come to bring them Scizzars, Combs and Looking-glasses, they wou'd have given them all the Gold in the Country. When this *Inca* came to die, he dignify'd all the chief of his Vassals (whom he assembled at *Cusco*) with the Title of *Inca*, leaving it as his Ordinance, that they and their Descendants shou'd be *Inca's* without difference, and their Wives shou'd be all of them *Pallas*; as if all these had been of the Royal Blood, and become *Inca's* and *Pallas*, not by Favour and Privilege, but by Birth and Relation; but the Royal Family then was but small, and the *Inca* was willing to see a greater number of the Kindred of the Sun, for the support of new risen Monarchy, before he died. Besides, by this Policy, he secur'd their Allegiance and Fidelity

New *Inca's* made.

to

to his Succeſſor, for having been adopted into the Family of the Sun themſelves, they wou'd be ſure to expreſs all manner of Duty and Loyal regard to the direct and natural Deſcendant. The *Inca*, for his part, told them that he was returning back to the Regions of his Father the Sun again, where he intended to reſt for the future; but if they endeavour'd to augment the Glory of the Empire, and ſtrictly obſerv'd the Sacred Laws he had brought, he wou'd ſuccour them out of thoſe bright Manſions where he was now going to dwell. He gave both the Vaſſals (or new made *Inca's*) and his own Children, their ſeveral Inſtructions apart; and, in ſhort, having taken all the beſt Meaſures for carrying on the Building, of which he had ſo well laid the Foundations, and acted the ſame Politick part at laſt that he did at firſt, he died, and was ſucceeded by *Sinchi Roca* his eldeſt Son by his Wife and Siſter, the *Coya Mama Oclo Huaco*. He follow'd his Fathers example, and took his own Siſter Partner both of his Bed and Throne; and this they did to keep the high Blood of the *Inca* pure and entire by it ſelf, thinking 'twou'd be a diſparagement to mix it with the beſt Humane Blood in the World. He made great Conqueſts too towards the Southern Parts, and hedg'd in at leaſt 20 Leagues more within the Bounds of the Empire. The Name of *Sinchi* was given him upon the account of his Valour and Dexterity, for he exceeded all in his time at Running, Leaping, Wreſtling, and caſting Darts and great Stones. Beſides his Southern Conqueſts, he reduc'd ſeveral other Nations on each hand of him, and reign'd near as long as his Father, which was 30 Years.

His Politick diſpoſals at death.

Second Inca *Sinchi Roca.*

His Son *Lloque Yupanqui* fill'd the Throne next, who added not a little to the extent of his Territories, ſpreading the Knowledge of the Sun's Laws amongſt a great number of other Nations. He reduc'd a heap of Nations call'd by the general Name of *Paucarcolla* and *Hatuncolla*, which we mention for no other reaſon than that of their particular fancy in the chief Object of their Worſhip, which was a white Ram. They ſaid that the firſt Ram in the World above, had more kindneſs for their Nation than all the other *Indians* beſides, and had bleſs'd them exceedingly in multiplying their Cattel. They wou'd have done very well, if they had alſo told the World how that Ram came to have ſuch a particular kindneſs for them above their Neighbours, and how they came to know they were beholding to him for ſo many Bleſſings. But *Lloque Yupanqui* broke the Horns of this Ram, robb'd him of his Honour, and made his Devoto's turn about to the Sun.

Third Inca.

His Succeſſor was *Mayta Capac*, but what Relation the *Inca* does not tell us. He led forth greater Armies than the Princes his Predeceſſors had done before him, and amongſt many Conqueſts, he brought the People *Tiahuanaca* to acknowledge his Supreme Authority. Theſe People deſerve a particular mention upon the ſcore of the famous Buildings that were amongſt them, ſuch that they ſay the wonderful Fortreſs of *Cuſco* was copied out from thence. There were Walls, Porches, Fronts, and other imperfect pieces of Building, made of Stones of ſo large a ſize, that 'twas ſtrange how they cou'd be manag'd and diſpos'd into that order; beſides, there were no Stone Quarries known in all the Country. Particularly in the ſame Region, ſalt by the Lake *Cbuquiviru*, there was a Houſe that open'd with a fair Court fifteen Yards ſquare, and encompaſs'd with a high Wall three quarters of a Yard thick; on one ſide whereof was a great Hall 45 Foot long, and 22 wide. But the rarity was, that the whole Building was all one entire Rock; the Hall, Court, Porches and Wall it ſelf, were all wrought out of one Stone. Beſides this, there were Sculptures of Men and Women in Stone, ſo natural that they appear'd as if alive; ſome had Cups in their hands, and ſeem'd to be drinking, ſome were ſitting, others ſtanding, and in moving poſtures, with a great many varieties more of this kind. In one Room there were two Giants, with long Garments trailing upon the ground, and their Heads cover'd; which is not the common Cuſtom of that Country. The People cou'd give no other account neither of the Buildings nor the Sculptures than only this, That according to their Traditions, all thoſe monſtrous Buildings were rais'd in one Night, and thoſe Effigies were real Men and Women once, but converted into Stone for their Impieties. The *Inca Garcilaſſo* had this Relation of the Wonders of this Place from one that was born and bred up together with him, and went thither on purpoſe to ſurvey them.

Fourth Inca *Mayta Capac.*

Prodigious Structures.

Fifth Inca *Capac Yupanqui.*

Capac Yupanqui, the Son of the laſt *Inca*, ſucceeded him in his Empire when he went to reſt with his Father the Sun. By the way we may note, that theſe Names *Capac* and *Yupanqui* are not proper ones, but terms of Honour and Dignity, and were given to the *Inca's* for the ſake of thoſe Vertues and illuſtrious Qualities they were endowed withal. 'Tis probable he had the two Names *Capac* and *Yupanqui* join'd together, (which none of his Predeceſſors had) from his extraordinary fortune in his Wars, and the Glory he purchas'd by them; for in his time the Empire ſtretch'd 180 Leagues from *Cuſco* Southward, and Weſtward to the Seawards, 60 Leagues one way and 80 another, to the Eaſtward 13 Leagues, and to the S. E. 40 Leagues, and all this before he had finiſh'd his Conqueſts, for after that 'twas grown to this bulk, he ſwell'd it into larger dimenſions by running it on to *Arequippa* 80 Leagues in length outright, and 14 in breadth. This Prince had occaſion in one of his Enterprizes to tranſport his Army over a great River, and having no Boats nor Bridges ready made, he was forc'd to make a Bridge, and he did it of Bull-ruſhes. They grew in great plenty thereabouts, and ſo they ſerv'd themſelves of them upon this occaſion after the following manner. They made a parcel of great Cables of theſe Bull-ruſhes as big as a Man's Leg, very firmly twiſted, and long enough to reach from one ſide of the River to the other. Some of theſe were extended croſs the River, and upon them were laid huge bundles of the ſame ſtuff tied very faſt together and to the Cables. Over theſe bundles they laid other Cables, and ſo *ſtratum ſuper ſtratum*, Bundles and Cables interwoven with one another, till at laſt they had made it into a firm Bridge. The dimenſions of it were 14 feet in breadth, and 150 paces in length, namely the breadth of the River at that place; and this Bridge of Bull-ruſhes was conſtantly repair'd every ſix Months. This Prince was remarkable for his pious Endeavours to propagate the high Race of the Sun, and ſtock his Family with *Inca's* and *Coya's*, for he left about 80 Children behind him. Yet our *Inca* ſays, that ſome others of them ourdid him ſeveral Bars length, bleſſing the Empire with 100, others 206; nay, ſome above 300 of the Off-ſpring of the Sun.

Bridge of Bull-ruſhes.

This Prince dying made way for the *Inca Roca*, the ſecond of that Name. He added more than 50 Leagues ſquare to the Empire towards the Province *Charcas*, beſides his Northern Conqueſts in the Nation of the *Chanca*, a fierce and valiant People. Theſe *Indians* deriv'd their Deſcent from a Lion, and therefore worſhipp'd that Animal, and frequently cloath'd themſelves in Lions skins. All the Valleys where the celebrated Plant *Coca* grows were taken in too, and beyond them to *Cannachuay*, where there is a deſcent, as our Author ſays, of almoſt 5 Leagues perpendicular, the way all the while going with infinite turnings and windings. Here in theſe Provinces they worſhipp'd the Herb *Coca*, alſo Tygers and great Snakes, of which there are ſome reported to be 25 and 30 foot long, but of no poyſonous nor deſtructive nature at all. This *Inca* has the honour of being the firſt Founder of Schools in *Cuſco*. He us'd to ſay that *Pachacamac* muſt needs be a very great King, that had ſuch a glorious Houſe as the Heavens were to dwell in; and that if he were to worſhip any thing here below, it ſhou'd be a Wiſe and an Underſtanding Man. But he made this concluſion too, that that which begins, grows, and at laſt dies irrecoverably, ought not to be an object of Worſhip; a noble concluſion, for a Man that read no other Divinity than what was printed in the great Book of the World.

Strange Deſcent.

Schools founded in *Cuſco*.

Wiſe Saying.

To this *Inca* ſucceeded *Yahuar Huacac* his Son, he had this Name becauſe 'tis reported of him that he wept Blood at his Birth; and as this was look'd upon to be a preſage of the moſt unlucky and croſs Events, ſo none of all the *Inca's* of *Peru* ever had that fate and thoſe calamities that he had. The beginning of his Reign was proſperous enough, and he carried on the deſign of his Predeceſſors, in extending the Bounds of their Dominions, with no little glory; but as he was forming yet greater projects, and laying out in his own mind other Nations and People to try his victorious Arms upon, his eldeſt Son at home became a plague to him; at leaſt he was jealous of him, and for that reaſon baniſh'd him from Court. And to make the ſurer of him, he confin'd him to the private and obſcure Life of a Shepherd; he made him enter into the Society of thoſe Men that kept the Sheep and Cattel of the Sun in *Chita*. This life he liv'd between 3 or 4 Years, but then (tho' directly contrary to his Fathers command) he came away to Court, pretending a Meſſage of very great importance to deliver to the *Inca*, neither wou'd he go till he had admiſſion. The buſineſs was, that he had a Viſion wherein he was inform'd of a dangerous Deſign againſt the State, that a Rebellion was hatching, and the Imperial City threatned with a ſurprize; and all this from the Mouth of an infallible Meſſenger, even *Viracocha*, the Brother of *Manco Capac*

Yahuar Huacac ſeventh Inca.

A Viſion pretended.

Capac the firſt *Inca*, who came down from the Regions of Light on purpoſe to reveal it, and appear'd to him for that purpoſe as he was feeding his Sheep. The *Inca*, who wou'd not believe any thing of this Story, ſent him away with a good chiding to his Sheep again; however, three Months after the Rebellion broke out indeed, and a great many Provinces altogether threw off the *Inca*'s Yoke, and cut the Throats of the Governors. And as this was the firſt Revolt that ever happen'd in the Government, ſo 'tis very poſſible that the young Prince might foretel it without a Viſion from Heaven, eſpecially if he was any way concern'd in the procuring of it, which is as likely as that he ſhou'd live the Life of a Shepherd contentedly. The *Inca* being much ſurpriz'd, for his part fled away from *Cuſco*, with a deſign to ſecure himſelf in ſome of the remoter Provinces; and the Inhabitants were going to follow his example, but that they thought of the Prince, and ſent for him to come and ſtand by them. The Prince gather'd what Forces he cou'd, and in the firſt place went after his Father, and repreſented to him his Crime and Cowardice in leaving the Houſe and Holies of the Sun, with all the conſecrated Virgins, expos'd to the fury of the Enemies; and then bidding all thoſe follow him, who preferr'd an honourable Death before a Life of Ignominy and Shame, he carried off with him at leaſt 4000 of the Royal Stock, the reſt retiring with the *Inca*. After this, ſome other Forces join'd him out of the Provinces, ſo that a conſiderable Army was made up at laſt, with which he advanc'd towards the Enemy, met, gave them Battel, and after a tedious and bloody conflict entirely defeated them. Neither is this Battel any clear proof at all that the Prince was not concern'd in the Riſing, for People may be (by Orders) teaz'd and oppreſs'd into a Revolt, as well as ſolicited and allur'd to it by Gold; but whatſoever was the cauſe of it, 'tis certain that 'twas a good opportunity for an active Prince to recommend himſelf to the Peoples favour; and 'tis certain alſo, that whether there was deſign or no, it had this effect. For he dealt ſo mildly with the Rebels, and us'd ſo many ſoft Arts in treating them after he had beaten them, that he made them abſolutely his own. But the Body of the People, in whoſe Cauſe he fought, did even adore him; he was receiv'd into *Cuſco* with Triumphs hardly ever known, and as they had given him the Name of *Viracocha* before, upon the account of his Viſion, ſo that now ſeem'd almoſt too little for him. After all theſe Honours receiv'd, he went to viſit his Father in his retirement, who was now grown very melancholly, ſeeing how things were likely to go. In ſhort, the Father and Son conferr'd ſome time in private; the iſſue of which was, that the Prince came out and told the Nobility that the *Inca* wou'd return no more to *Cuſco*; and they taking it for granted that he ſpoke the truth, concluded that a Palace of Pleaſures ſhou'd be built for him in that place, to ſpend the reſt of his Days in.

A great Rebellion.

Quieted by the Prince.

His Honours.

Old *Inca* retires, and the Prince ſucceeds.

Viracocha upon this return'd to *Cuſco*, and put on the Imperial Diadem himſelf, being receiv'd and acknowledg'd for *Inca Capa*. This was the end of the Viſion; in remembrance of which, (ſo lucky a one as 'twas) the new *Inca* built a ſtately Temple, but without a Roof or any Covering, becauſe the Viſion was ſeen in the open air, and he made it his buſineſs to imitate the place where it appear'd as much as was poſſible. This Building the *Spaniards* pull'd down (as they did abundance of other noble ones in ſeveral places) to ſearch for Treaſure under it; for Gold being ſo ſcarce in this poor Country, they were forc'd to demoliſh Temples and Palaces, or any thing to come at a little of it.

Temple built by *Viracocha*.

This Prince began and continued to be a Conqueror all his time; he ſubjected the Nations Eaſtward to the *Sierre*, and Southward to the fartheſt Province of *Charcas*, 200 Leagues from *Cuſco*. So that the Sea and the Hills on each hand, and Southwards the Deſarts betwixt them and *Chili*, bounded the Empire; neither did he do all there, but turn'd and went Northward, where he impos'd his Laws upon a great many Nations more. But he did one thing which was of more fame than all his Wars, and that was the cutting great Water-channels, which might be rank'd amongſt the Wonders of the World, conſidering the Rocks and Cliffs they were forced to break through, and that without any Iron Tools. There was one that went betwixt *Parcu* and *Picuy* to *Ricanas*, which was 120 Leagues in length, and 12 Foot broad; and another was cut in the Weſtern Parts of the Empire, that run full 150 Leagues even from the high *Sierras* to the *Quechuas*. The *Spaniards* ſuffer'd all theſe uſeful and coſtly Works to run to ruine and decay, as they have alſo above one third part of them that were to water the Corn-grounds.

Boundaries of the Empire.

Great Water-Courſes cut through the Mountains.

The *Inca Garcilaſſo Divega* ſays, that in *A. D.* 1560. he ſaw the Body of this *Viracocha* with that of *Tupac Yupanqui*, and *Huayna Capac*; alſo the Bodies of *Mama Runtu*, Wife to *Viracocha*, and *Mama Oclo*, Mother to *Huayna Capac*, at *Cuſco*, which had then the very hair of their Eye-lids and Eye-brows continuing entire and unblemiſh'd, and all their Robes and Diadems as while they liv'd. They were ſet with their hands a-croſs their Breaſts as the *Indians* uſe to do, their Eyes turn'd downwards, as if looking upon the ground; and their whole fleſh and dreſs appear'd ſo lively and fine, that they made a figure not at all like dead Corps, but rather like ſo many living Princes ſhining in their Royal Ornaments. The main difference (next to the want of ſpeech and motion) was the exceeding lightneſs of thoſe Bodies, which was tried by the weighing of them; but this ſecret of Embalming was a thing which the *Spaniards* cou'd never by any means whatſoever get out of the *Peruvians*. As they were carried along the Streets, the *Indians* were paſſionate to the laſt degree, they kneel'd down before them, and pour'd out ſighs and tears in abundance; in this manner reverencing their earthly Suns, tho' under the total Eclipſe of Death.

Bodies of the *Inca*'s Embalm'd.

This *Inca* left his Throne to his Son *Pachacutec*, who, by ſome of the *Spaniſh* Authors, is confounded with his Father, and the Acts of both wrapt up confuſedly together, or that attributed to one which was paſt all doubt done by the other. This Prince enlarged the Empire 60 Leagues N. & S. in one Expedition, and reform'd the People to the Religion of the *Inca's*; particularly the Province of *Sauſa*, corruptly called by the *Spaniards* *Xauxa*, which was inhabited with a ſtout and valiant People that had their Towns more like Fortreſſes than any thing elſe, but they had fix'd upon a ſordid Creature a Dog for the chief Object of their Worſhip, and upon the ſame ſcore made Dogs-fleſh their chiefeſt dainty. But *Pachatutec* was no leſs intent upon the improving his Country, than the augmenting it by Conqueſts, and therefore buſied himſelf in making Laws, building Temples, Palaces, Store-houſes, and Fortreſſes to defend his Frontiers. After this manner he ſpent ſome Years doing good to his Subjects and Empire, and then ſpurr'd on with the inſatiable deſire of more Victories and Glory, he went out to the making of new Conqueſts, which he did with an Army larger than moſt that had been ſeen, and took in ſeveral Nations in that Expedition. The Victories gotten at this time were ſo great, that the Triumphs and Rejoycings in *Cuſco* upon that ſcore laſted a Month; and there were Solemnities, which till that time had hardly been known. There were of all the ſeveral conquer'd Nations there to grace the Ceremony, and bear a part in the Entertainment; they all appear'd in their ſeveral different Habits, and with the Martial Muſick us'd in their reſpective Countries; they were divided into ſo many diſtinct Bands and Troops, which march'd in order, after the Inca and the Generals, to the Temple of the Sun; all the reſt put off their Shoes when they came to the Boundaries of the Temple, only the Inca himſelf kept his on till he came to the very door, where he made his feet bare, and then went in and gave thanks for the mighty Victories he had gain'd. After this Religious Service, the whole Train return'd to the great Market-place, where they began the other Entertainments of Feaſting, Singing and Dancing, which held for that ſpace of time before-mention'd.

Pachacutec the 10th *Inca*.

Strong Towns in the Province *Sauſa*.

Publick Triumphs.

And this Expedition was follow'd with another into the Valleys of *Piſco*; yea, and *Chincha*, which proved of as great conſequence for the Enlargement of his Territories. Theſe Countries, for the ſpace of 500 Leagues together, worſhipp'd the Sea, and particularly the Whale, the biggeſt Monſter of the ſame.

Valleys conquer'd.

After this he ſubdued the Valleys of *Runa*, *Huarcu*, *Malla* and *Chilca*, which were all ſubject to one Prince. From hence he paſs'd to the Valleys of *Pachacamac*, *Rimac*, *Cancay* and *Huaman*, at which time all the Country about *Lima* was taken in, which was alſo all of it under the Dominion of one King. *Rimac* the *Spaniards* now call *Lima*, very corruptly and abuſively, as they do a great many other places and things beſides; and they gave it the Name of the City of *Kings*, becauſe they founded it on the day of the *Epiphany*. In this Country the *Inca* found a Temple dedicated to the Inviſible *Pachacamac*, who was ſerv'd here with a Worſhip much more inhumane and cruel than any known and practis'd in all the Parts of *Peru*, for here were Men, Women and Children, offer'd in Sacrifice; and 'twas no uncommon thing to ſee that more valuable Blood mix'd with the Blood of Brute Animals at their Altars. But they differ'd from the Rites of the Religion of the *Inca* their Conqueror, not only in the point of Humane Sacrifices,

Other Valleys ſubdu'd.

Pachacamac worſhipp'd.

Rites different from the *Peruvian*.

(of

(of which there were none publick at least in his Dominions) but also in this, that they had an Image to represent *Pachacamac* to their Sences, which the others also protested against. This Image both the King and the Priest reverenc'd so highly, that when they enter'd the Temple they always went backwards, not daring to presume to cast an Eye upon him. Besides this, they had also an Oracle (as they call'd it) from which they had (as they gave out) the Knowledge of things to come.

Treaty of that King and the *Inca*.

Now when the *Inca* brought his Army into this Country, he sent to *Cuysmancu*, the King of it, to demand Subjection in the Sun's Name, whose Kinsman and Deputy he was: But *Cuysmancu* refus'd to yield upon these Summons, and sent word that his *Pachacamac* was greater than the Sun, being the Maker of him and all other Beings, and that 'twas to this Deity that he paid all his Religious Devoirs. The *Inca* replied again, That he and his Country did worship *Pachacamac* as well as he, but they did it without Temple or Sacrifice, honouring him only with a Mental Service, because they knew him not, nor what he wou'd be pleas'd with: And whereas they were afraid to look upon the Image of *Pachacamac*, he and his People dreaded even to pronounce his awful Name.

Conditions of Peace.

In short, after many Parleys and Debates, Peace was concluded upon these terms, That they shou'd worship the Sun as the *Inca* did, and make him a separate Temple like that of *Pachacamac*. That they shou'd take away all their Idols, and worship the Creator of the World without an Image or a Statue. That they shou'd leave off their shedding Humane Blood, and acknowledging the *Inca's* Sovereignty, shou'd obey his Laws. And thus *Cuysmancu* was still to remain in his Kingdom, only paying the impos'd Tribute, or doing the appointed Homage to his Sovereign.

But this restless Prince *Pachacutec* cou'd not sit down quiet with all these great Conquests, but must still go on to promote the Religion of the Sun amongst his Neighbours: His next and last Expedition was to *Truxillo*, as 'tis now call'd, and the Valleys of *Parmunca*, *Hualmi*, *Huarapu*, and some others. But here he met with a certain stubborn Prince that wou'd not hear of any new Deity, nor be obliged to worship the Sun in Complement to the *Inca*, tho' he was not so fortunate as to maintain his Resolutions handsomly by the Sword, but lost both his Liberty, Country and Religion together, in one great Battel.

And now *Pachacutec* turn'd to Domestick Affairs again, founding Towns, Temples, Granaries, Schools, in greater numbers; enlarging the City of *Cusco* it self, and obliging all the *Curaca's* to learn the *Cusco* Dialect. The whole that he added to the Empire was at least 130 Leagues, N. & S. and in breadth from the Hills to the Sea about 60 or 70; but he sat upon the Throne not a little while to do all this Work, not much less than 50 Years, which was also about as much as his Father before him had kept it.

Inpanqui the 10th *Inca*.

This Prince dying, his Son *Tupanqui* succeeded him, who having spent some time in Surveying his large Empire, and not finding it large enough to satisfie his Ambition, resolv'd upon the design of making it yet greater. His first Army was employ'd to reduce the Country on the other side the ridge of Mountains that lie Eastward from *Cusco*, and because there was passage along thitherwards by certain Rivers that have their Rise from those Mountains, therefore he sent his Men to cut a great deal of that stuff which the *Spaniards* call *Higuera*, to make Boats; in which Work they spent two Years, and then proceeded in the Expedition.

Boats made.

The River the Army enter'd by was call'd *Amammayu*, which is divided in those high Mountains into 5 others; and the People they reduc'd at that time were the *Chauchu*, which liv'd on the Banks of the River, a painted feather'd sort of *Barbarians*, and little acquainted with any of those Laws or Customs that the *Inca* came to teach them. The Tribute impos'd upon them was so many Popenjays and Monkeys, so much Wax and Honey, which they continued faithfully to pay to the time of the Empires fate.

Tribute of Monkeys.

Country of *Musu*.

They proceeded from hence till they came into the Country of *Musu*, 200 Leagues from *Cusco*. These People had heard too much of the *Inca's* Fame and Power to pretend to cope with him, and therefore were very willing to have his Friendship, but they did not care to acknowledge Subjection, and become his Vassals: However, the *Inca* admitted them upon these terms, and sent a Colony of *Peruvians*, who planted amongst them, as also the *Musuans* sent an Embassy to *Cusco* to bring from thence the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Inca's* Religion.

Chiribuana an unpassable Country.

The design upon the great Province *Chiribuana*, which is upon the Mountains Eastward from the Province of *Charcas*, had worse Success. The Country indeed was enough to discourage an Army, being all Marshes, Lakes, Bogs, and wild mountainous Tracts, every where unfit for Husbandy and Cultivation; and the People were a sort of Animals as rude and barbarous as one cou'd well suppose to be bred in such horrid places. They eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood of Humane Creatures with eager delight, and for this purpose often ravag'd the Neighbour Provinces, that they might have their fill; but their Custom was, when they had eaten the Flesh of any that died amongst themselves, (for they made no scruple of doing so likewise) to lay all the Bones together, and mourn over them awhile, and then bury them. They made no distinction in Womankind, but us'd all promiscuously, lying with Mothers, Sisters or Daughters, according as the brutish Appetite hurry'd them. The *Inca* was the more desirous to reduce this Country, because the Inhabitants were such arrant Beasts as they were, and needed so much more than all the rest of the Nations known in those Parts to be Civiliz'd and brought into good Order: But however, the charitable Design did not prosper, and an Army of 10000 Men were fatigu'd there two whole Years to no purpose, being forc'd to return without making their Lord the *Inca* Master of the Country.

Inca's Forces repuls'd.

The *Spaniards* also afterwards, in *A. D.* 1572. made the like attempt with the like success, and the Vice Roy was forc'd to return without any other Satisfaction than only that of having seen the *Chiribuanes*, who follow'd him, and threaten'd to eat him if they cou'd catch him.

Conquest of *Chili*.

This Project failing, the *Inca* resolv'd to try at the Conquest of the noble Country of *Chili*, and sent out Spies to discover it, and the difficulties of the ways. These Men found 80 Leagues of Desart from *Atacama* to *Copayapu*, which is a little Province well Peopled, and were forc'd as they went to make Marks by the way, that they might find it at their return; from *Copayapu* to *Coquimpu*, which is 80 Leagues more, they found it all destitute of Inhabitants. The *Inca*, having gotten some account of the Country, sent out an Army of 10000 Men well furnish'd, and quickly after them 10000 more; which sudden pouring in of Forces so daunted the *Copayapuans*, that tho' they refus'd at first to obey the *Inca's* Summons, yet they afterwards bethought themselves, and came to a Composition. This good Success made the *Inca* send another 10000 Men to pursue the Conquest yet farther, and they march'd (tho' with infinite toil and difficulty) as far as the Province of *Coquimpu*, which they subdued also; and so all the Nations till you come to the Valley of *Chili*, from whence that Kingdom takes the Name.

River *Maulli*.

After this they went farther Southward still, about 50 Leagues, and cross'd the River of *Maulli* with 20000 Men; here they met with a most valiant and hardy sort of Enemies, and such as wou'd be by no means perswaded to do as the rest had done, that is, lay down their Arms, and declare themselves Vassals to the *Inca*. In short, they disputed his Sovereignty with so much warmth and fierceness, that they kill'd above half his Army, and let him know by that, that the Conquest of their Country wou'd cost him dear. The Battel was renew'd three days successively, and the bigger part of both sides being kill'd, they then sat down to rest, expecting what wou'd be attempted farther; but neither Party being much dispos'd to a second Action, they withdraw as it were by consent, the *Peruvians* being satisfied to have gone thus far.

Valiant People.

Southern Boundary

The Southern Boundary of the Empire now was the River *Maulli*, it being extended above 260 Leagues beyond *Atacama*, from whence the Spies first set out. All this Work was 6 Years in hand, and the *Inca* had upon this Occasion an Army of above 50000 Men in *Chili*.

Besides this Southern addition to his Territories, he enlarg'd them to the Northward in all at least 1000 Leagues in extent. He also took a great deal of care to adorn and improve his Country; and besides many other publick Edifices, some for Pomp and Majesty, and others for Religious and Civil Uses, he carry'd on the Building of the wonderful Fortress of *Cusco*, for which his Father had laid in a great stock of Materials.

Fortress of *Cusco*.

Tupac Tupanqui the 11th *Inca*.

To him succeeded the Prince *Tupac Tupanqui* his Son, who having bestow'd himself some time at home, prepar'd to follow the Example of his Forefathers. For 'tis to be noted, that the *Inca's* being mounted the Throne, did always first solemnize their Predecessors Obsequies, next to that their own Coronation; and then before they went upon any Foreign Enterprizes, spent some time,

more or less in visiting their own Country. Being at leisure for War, he first conquer'd the *Chacapuyans*, a fierce and valiant People, their Arms mostly Slings, and their Deity a Snake, and the Bird call'd *Cuntur*; this Province lies Eastward from *Cassamarca*. Next to these he pierc'd into the Country of the *Huacrachucu*, a People as untoward and crabbed as their Name is: These worshipp'd Snakes as well as the former, and kept them always pictur'd in their Temples and Houses; on their Heads they wore a roul of black Wooll, and instead of a Feather, the Spike of a Deers Horn. The *Inca* lost a great many Men by medling with these untractable Fellows, and tho' by Policy and Perswasion he did reduce them at last, yet it cost him time and pains, for he was forc'd to send for another Army out of *Peru*, as well to keep them in awe, as to work at draining their Lands for them, that they might be fit for Plowing and Sowing.

Slingers.

Worshippers of Snakes.

These Princes, we may note by the way, when they enter'd a Country that they intended shou'd be their own; always began first to try gentle Methods; they insinuated that they did not come to take away their Country from them, and make themselves Masters of their Wealth and Possessions, but to civilize them, and do them good, to teach them the Laws of the Sun, and abolish all their barbarous Rites and Customs. With such pretences as these did they palliate their greedy Ambition and Desires of Sovereignty, which is no new Story in the World; and it has been often enough seen, that Religion has been made use of as an Engine to move and turn about a Secular Interest.

Pretexts of the *Inca's*.

The next Province the *Inca* attempted, notwithstanding all his fine words and pretensions, gave him a very rough reception; and were so far from hearkning to a Proposal of being civiliz'd, that they exerted the last degree of their barbarity and fierceness to entertain him that made it. This Country was call'd *Chachapuya*, and was at least 50 Leagues long, and 20 broad; the Hills were steep and craggy, the Ways very bad, and in many places unpassable, and the *Inca* lost abundance of his Men. But at last he brought all into subjection, and whether they wou'd or no Established his Laws amongst them.

Chachapuya.

From hence he march'd to *Huancapampa*, a great Country, but consisting of several Nations divided, and at Wars amongst themselves; whom therefore he had a very fair opportunity of conquering all together. These People were the most licentious in their Religion and Worship of any in that part of the World; for whereas most others had some particular Object that they paid more religious Honour and Reverence to than the rest, these worshipp'd every Man what he lik'd best, one a Beast, and another a Bird, and a third Man a Plant; so that their Deities, in short, were whatsoever the Earth, or any Animals upon it, produc'd.

Huancapampa.

Wide Religion.

And then as to their Wars, they fought one with another not for Wealth nor Glory, nor greatness of Command, but for Women; upon whose account, a great many other Men in the World go together by the Ears as well as they. The *Inca* having subdu'd them, gave them Instructors to teach them the Arts of Husbandry, building Houses, and making Clothes; he establish'd Houses of Priests and Religious Virgins amongst them, and made that Province in a little time one of the best and most flourishing in his Empire.

War for Women.

After he had well secur'd this, he went and reduc'd three Provinces more, but such as put him to no manner of trouble about the civilizing and regulating of them, the Inhabitants being a People of excellent Policy and Government, and living in as good Order as the Subjects of the *Inca* themselves cou'd pretend to: These were the Provinces of *Cassa*, *Ayahuaca*, and *Callua*, which deserve particular mention for a Politeness they had in the midst of all the brutish and barbarous Nations round about them. The Province of *Huanucu*, that lies Northward from *Cusco*, was the next that follow'd the fate of the former; 'twas a rich and fertile Country, and the *Inca* endeavour'd to render it a very Religious one, building therein a Temple for the Sun, and a House for the Sacred Virgins, with at least 20000 *Indians* to perform the Offices of both those Mansions.

Huanucu.

The like he did also in *Cannari*, a neighbouring Province; the Inhabitants of which, before the *Inca* came amongst them, worshipp'd the Moon, but were then oblig'd to quit her Service for that of the Sun, and adore what their Master the *Inca* did.

Cannari.

The People of *Quillacu*, who were the next that put on the *Inca's* Yoke, were absolutely the most miserable and sordid in the whole Empire; it was a piece of charity and kindness to conquer them, that they might be brought to something of Humanity in their Manners and Conversation. Besides the natural Poverty and Barrenness of their Country, they had nothing of Art or Industry, or so much as disposition towards any thing that might improve and render them happy. They were slothful and nasty to such a degree, that the *Inca* impos'd a Tribute of Lice upon them, that they might be under a sort of necessity of keeping themselves clean. In a word, there was nothing to be found that cou'd tempt a Prince to come and make a Conquest of this Country, having neither Water, Air nor Land, that was any way good or agreeable.

Quillacu.

Lowse Tribute.

Other Provinces were capable of some Improvement, and the *Inca* adorn'd them with noble Buildings, as he did in the neighbouring one of *Cannari* lately mention'd, where the Temple of the Sun, and his own Royal House, had all the extravagancy of Riches in the make of them that cou'd well be imagin'd almost; but as for *Quillacu*, the *Inca* did not think it worth while to do any thing of that nature there. 'Tis to be suppos'd he taught the stupid Inhabitants as much of his Religion as they cou'd learn, but seeing them fit for little else, he set them to catch Lice, and so pay Tribute that way, they being so poor in every thing besides, that no other was to be expected of them.

The *Inca's* next Expedition was an Introductory step to his Conquest of the rich and pleasant Kingdom of *Quito*, for he took in several Provinces that lay upon the Borders of that Country: And having thus open'd his way pretty well, he began the attempt upon *Quito* it self, with an Army of 40000 Men, and spent two Years there without making any great progress in his Design. Upon this account, because he saw the War wou'd be long and tedious, and his presence was necessary at home, he therefore went back to *Cusco*, and left his Son the Prince *Huayna Capac* to compleat the Reduction of the Country. And this, according to the *Inca's* presage, prov'd to be a tedious Work, for the Prince spent three more before he cou'd do it; but then the King of *Quito* dying, the People were the more easily perswaded to submit themselves to a new Sovereign. And thus was that noble Country, at least 70 Leagues long, and 30 broad, made a Province of the mighty Empire of the *Inca's*. But the young Prince push'd on his fortune farther still, and made the Country of *Quillacana*, with several other barbarous Nations, stoop to his Fathers Yoke at that time. All which Conquests made, he return'd to *Cusco* with a great deal of Triumph, taking care at the same time about the refining these barbarous People a little from their dregs. And the truth of it is, they were some of them almost as great Objects of compassion as those of *Quillacu*. The People of *Quillacana* were as near akin to them in their nasty Qualities as they were in their Names, they devour'd any thing that came to hand, the worst of Carrion was eaten by them; and they themselves eaten up by Lice; the Province had the Name of *Quillacana*, that is, *Iron-nose Province*, from a custom these Barbarians had of boring their Nostrils, and wearing Iron, or any thing they fancied there.

Conquest of the Kingdom of *Quito*.

People of *Quillacana*.

The *Inca Yupanqui* having serv'd himself to this good purpose by his Wars, now gave himself up, for the remainder of his Days, to all the sweets and pleasures of Peace. He mightily enrich'd and improv'd his Country, and particularly carry'd on the building of the Fortress of *Cusco* with a great deal of vigour, employing constantly 20000 Men at the common work of it, besides what were taken up upon extraordinary Services.

This Prince, at his Death, kept up the Custom of his Predecessors, which was to call all their Children and Nobles about them, and make a solemn Discourse to them, which was in the nature of a Last Will and Testament; especially not forgetting to intimate, that they are call'd away from this World by their Father the Sun, to rest in his bright Region above, and that from thence their Successors are to expect an assistance suitable to their necessities. By these ways the *Inca's* kept up the Opinion of their Divine Extraction in the Minds of all about them, and consequently confirm'd their Families in that Sovereignty and Power which this Opinion at first gave them.

The *Inca's* Custom of making Speeches when they die.

Huayna Capac the 12th *Inca*.

Huayna Capac, the eldest Son of this Monarch, succeeded after his Death; and now the Empire being at its full heighth of Glory and Greatness under this Prince, his Life and Actions will require something more of a particular account. This Prince was married to his eldest Sister in his Fathers life-time, but having no Children by her, he was married afterwards to his second Sister, the former being yet alive; and 'twas establish'd by a particular Decree of the *Inca* and his Council, that both the Sisters shou'd be lawful Wives and

Coya's,

Coya's, and not reputed as Concubines. But 'twas not only in this point, but almost every respect, that *Huyana Capac* appear'd to be, and to do something extraordinary above his Predecessors: At the birth of his first Son, besides all the extravagancies of Feasting, and those things which are usual upon such Occasions, he set himself to accomplish some very great Projects, such as the whole World, that heard of them, should wonder at. One of them, particularly, was the making of that famous Golden Chain, which our Author *Garcilasso Dilavega* says, an old *Inca* (one of his Mothers Brothers) affirm'd was the length of the great Street of *Cusco*, which is 700 foot, and every link was as big as a Man's Wrist. Another Author (*Augustine de Zarate*) gives it the Name of *Maroma*, that is, a great Cable, and from the report of some *Indians* living at that time, says that 'twas as much as 200 Men cou'd well lift from the ground. The *Spaniards* made old searching and enquiring after this Chain, but were never so happy as to find it, being laid up safe in some dark Repository or other, amongst those other rarities which the *Peruvians* were resolv'd shou'd never fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*. This Chain was made for the solemn Dance in the Ring, in which they held hand by hand, and so danc'd round a matter of 300 together; and the design of it was, that all holding by this Chain might dance in the Ring, according to the Custom, without joining hands. The young Prince that was born was call'd *Huasca*, in Memory of this great Chain made to honour his birth; for the word *Iuasca* signifying a Rope, and they having no distinct word for a Chain in their Language, his Father thought fit to give him that Name. Yet it must be confess'd, that 'twas a very scurvy one, and of as bad a sound as any in the World; and one can't avoid concluding it very odd for a Man to have such a Name, that he can never hear it mention'd at any time but it must lead him to think of so ugly a thing as the Gallows. However the Prince was call'd *Huasca* for two Years, and then to avoid that ill sound of the Rope, his Father order'd an *r* to be added to it, and made *Huascar* of it; so that both the ends were obtain'd, the Chain preserv'd, and the Rope lost.

Strange Chain of Gold.

Odd Name for a Prince.

The *Inca Huayna Capac* made as mighty doings at the Feast of his Sons weaning and polling as he did at his birth; for 'tis to be noted, that when the young Princes were two Years old, they were taken from the Breast, (and not till then) and their hair was cut off with a sharp flint Razor, the *Inca* himself beginning that Ceremony. At the same time also their Names were finally determin'd, and then it was that the young *Inca* had that decent alteration made in his Name.

Way of breeding the Inca's Children.

The Nobility and the Commonalty follow'd the same method in treating their Children, believing the example of the *Inca* to be most perfect, and every way worthy of Imitation; neither did this pass for presumption, or saucy aspiring in them, but was look'd upon as a piece of respect, and an honouring of their Prince. And upon the whole, the *Inca*'s examples in those matters did deserve Imitation, for the Royal Babes were nurs'd and brought up (tho' not without a state and pomp suitable to their Dignity) yet without any thing of that over-niceness and delicacy which only tends to render them soft and effeminate, and very often vitiates a good Constitution, or hinders it from exerting it self as otherwise it wou'd.

The Nobles and the People took the same course in the Education of their Children likewise; as soon as they were born they wash'd them all over in cold Water, and then wrapt them in Blankets. They gave them Suck but three times a day, let them cry as long or as much as they wou'd; for to do more than this, they said would be to breed them up to Gluttony.

The Commons care in breeding their Children.

But to return to the *Inca*: When the Ceremony of weaning his Son was perform'd, he march'd away with an Army of 40000 Men into the Kingdom of *Quito* to look after his new Conquests there, and in this Expedition he took for a Concubine the Daughter of the last King of that Country, by whom he had (amongst several other Children) *Atabalipa*, who afterwards got into the Imperial Throne, and sat there when the *Spaniards* enter'd the Country. He carried his Arms at this time much farther too, conquering the Valleys of *Cacma*, *Cintu*, *Tucmi*, and several others; together with the Country of *Tumpiz*, where the People worshipp'd Lions and Tigers, and offer'd the Hearts and Blood of Men in Sacrifice to them. These People were very vicious many ways, and particularly horribly addicted to Sodomy; for the preventing of which, the *Inca* took some precautions, and establish'd the Rites of his own Religion amongst them.

From these he pass'd to the Province *Huancavilca*, where there had been a sort of a mutinous Rising, and all the Teachers and Instructors that the old Inca *Tupanqui* had sent to bring them to the practise of his Laws, and of good Manners, had been Sacrific'd in that popular ferment. And when the Criminal *Curaca's* and Governors, that shou'd have hinder'd or punish'd that Outrage, appear'd before him, and expected every Man to hear the Sentence of Death, the Inca chose rather to surprize them with an unexpected act of Mercy and Clemency, giving all the rest their Pardons, and adjudging one only, and that by Lott too, for the Honour of Justice, to be made an Example in that case. But tho' he did not take the Lives of these Men, he thought fit to mark them, as Persons that had been guilty of very great Treachery and breach of Faith, and for that purpose he made every Man of them lose four of his Teeth, two out of the upper, and as many out of the under Jaw; and this punishment he decreed shou'd not be Personal only, but descend to their Posterity after them. This gentleness (where all look'd for the severest torments imaginable) affected the whole Country in such a manner, that the common People wou'd needs bear a part in the punishment inflicted upon the Grandees; the Inca did not require it of them, but they wou'd thrust themselves upon it, and so all, both Men and Women, lost four of their Teeth apiece, and made their Sons and Daughters submit to the same too. This passage the Inca *Garcilasso* tells us he had from one of the Natives of that Country, who had lost some Teeth upon that score.

Pulling of Teeth

The Inca after this began to make his Conquests upon the Sea as well as the Land, and took in the Island of *Puna*, which is 12 Leagues in compass; which he had not done long, but a Rebellion amongst the *Chacapuya's* call'd him into those Parts. When he came with a strong formidable Army, the hearts of the Rebels began to faint, and they who before insulted and abus'd his Messengers, now shook for fear as his revenging power approach'd them. And the Inca indeed had form'd a Design of exterminating and rooting them all out, but they diverted that Storm by a clever policy of their own, and pacified the Inca before he was aware, and contrary to his intentions. This Prince had the Character of a Man of extraordinary good Nature, very Merciful, and gentle and easie of Access. Particularly, he was infinitely Complaisant and Civil to all the fair Sex, gave them always, when he spoke to them, the familiar and gentle compellations of Mother, Sister, or Daughter, according to their Ages; and which was still greater than all, he never denied a Woman any Suit or Request that she made him.

Puna Island conquer'd.

Policy of the Rebels.

This Character of the Inca's good Temper being (as it may well be sup'pos'd to be) pretty generally known, and the Rebels believing a Female Advocate wou'd plead their Cause for them if it were not impossible to be had, they accordingly resolv'd to try if by this Method they cou'd not appease the high Indignation of their Prince, the effects of which wou'd otherwise very quickly lie heavy upon them. And the Person they made choice of for this purpose was a Lady that had been Mistress to the Inca's Father, one well skill'd in the Arts of Insinuation and Address, and that knew how to sooth up a Prince, and work him into good humour. But because the Oratory of a single Person might possibly fail, and a whole Chorus of Women, acting their several Parts of the Passion, might do that which one alone cou'd not, therefore she went forth attended with a great number of Female Supplicants, and presented her self with her Train before the Inca. Neither cou'd that Prince withstand the Assault they made upon him, but found himself quickly charm'd out of all his angry and revengeful thoughts, into an indulgent, merciful, forgiving humour. For whilst the Speaker, at the Head of this fair Troop, was making an eloquent and moving Speech on the behalf of the poor Rebels, the others broke out into varieties of passionate actions and gestures; they fell into the most humble postures imaginable, sent forth the most melting affecting cries, they wept and sigh'd, till the Inca was no longer able to contain himself, but came off from his Seat, and took up the charming Oratress that lay at his Feet, and granted her all the Favours she desired. This was so welcom a grace to the *Chacapuyans*, that they immediately consecrated the Place where the Inca granted their Pardon, and made holy Ground of it. And that no foot of Man or Beast might tread there for the future, to pollute and profane it, they enclos'd it with three Walls, the innermost of which was of polish'd Stone; but the *Spaniards*, when they came, believing there was some Treasure hid in this

Women plead the Rebels Pardon.

The ground enclos'd where the Inca forgave the Rebels.

this place, entirely deſtroy'd theſe Walls, and laid open the hallow'd Ground again.

The Inca having ſet things in good order in this Province, went into the Country of *Manta*, in which it is that the Port call'd by the *Spaniards Puerto Viejo* ſtands. The People here worſhipp'd the Sea and Fiſhes, Lions, Tigers, and great Snakes, but more particularly a certain precious Stone, an Emerauld it was, and reported to be little leſs than an Oſtriches Egg. This Jewel was always ſhewn publickly at their Solemn Feaſts, and the *Indians* came from all Parts about to ſee and adore it, and make Offerings of other Emeraulds to it; for this the Prieſts told them was the moſt acceptable of all they could make. But the *Indians* were not alone in this their Devotion to the Emerauld, for upon the Conqueſt of *Peru*, the *Spaniards* hearing of the Fame of this Goddeſs, came to worſhip her alſo. But, alas! ſhe had left her Temple, and was gone before they came; and tho' they made a violent ſearch after her, yet ſhe cover'd up her Divinity ſo cloſe that they cou'd never find her. Perhaps ſhe was gone along with the great Gold Chain which *Huayna Capac* made, which ſlipp'd away after a very ſtrange manner too, and lay for ever inviſible, as was ſaid before.

Vaſtly great Emerauld.

The *Mantans* had ſeveral very odd Cuſtoms amongſt them, which the Inca (now become their Lord) obliged them to leave off, and take up others more humane and civil in the room of them. They flea'd all the Captives they took in War, and filling the Skins of them with Aſhes, they hung them up at their Temple-gates, and in all their Feaſting and Dancing-places. In their Marriages the Bridegrooms Kinſmen and Friends had always the firſt handſel of the Bride; but beſides this, the Men burnt in lewd and moſt unnatural Fires towards one another.

Barbarous Cuſtoms.

Together with theſe, the Inca ſubdued the *Apichiqui*, and ſeveral other Nations that lay upon the Coaſt, which were in ſome reſpects more brutiſh and barbarous than the *Mantans*. From theſe Countries he paſs'd to *Saramiſſa* and *Paſſau* under the Equinoctial, where he found a ſort of People ſo very ſavage and rude, that he thought 'twou'd be a reflection upon his Dignity to be call'd the Lord of ſuch ſorry Wretches as they were. They had neither Houſe nor Town, nor Temple, no Law, nor no Religion; they liv'd like Owls in hollow Trees, went ſtark naked, and had all their Women in common. Their faces were painted with four ſeveral ſorts of Colours, one quarter with one, and another with another; and this, with their black buſhy hair, made them ſuch Figures, that the Inca *Garcilaſſo* (who had ſeen them himſelf) ſays nothing Humane ever look'd like them. The Inca therefore left them to be their own Maſters, and turn'd away to quiet an Inſurrection amongſt the *Caranques*; theſe he puniſh'd ſeverely, cutting off the Heads of 2 or 3000 of them, tho' very much againſt his humour, which was all for Goodneſs and Mercy.

Severe Juſtice.

The Inca's, amongſt their many Glorious Titles, took delight in none more than that of *Lovers of the Poor*, and *Fathers and Defenders of their Vaſſals*; and this, to be ſure, they did not fail to recommend to their Succeſſors at Death, always putting them in Mind that they ought to preſerve that Title, and by the Juſtice, Clemency, and Eaſineſs of their Government, to ſhew that they deſerv'd to wear it. And therefore they never proceeded to any rigorous treatment of their Subjects, but when the higheſt neceſſity compell'd them to it, chuſing rather to endear themſelves to them by Indulgence and eaſie Forgiveneſs of their Crimes, than by ſevere and cruel Puniſhments to make themſelves fear'd. This Example of the Inca *Huayna Capac*'s ſeverity, was perhaps the only one of any conſequence known ever ſince the Foundation of the Empire, and 'tis plain that there was good reaſon for't; and the Inca very well knew, that a Government without ſome Puniſhments is as likely to be deſpis'd by the Subjects, as one that is all Rigour and Unmercifulneſs is to be hated and not endur'd. This great Prince having thus far enlarged his Empire, now laid aſide all thoughts of making any more Conqueſts, and employ'd his time in the ſetling and well-governing of what he had got. Not to mention the Temples, the Palaces, and other Publick Edifices which he rais'd, he accompliſh'd two Works which were of as great difficulty as they were of no uſe and ſervice to his Country: Theſe were the making of two Highways, each at leaſt 500 Leagues in length, the one within Land, croſs the Mountains and ragged Cliffs, and the other along by the Sea-ſide; both theſe run from *Cuſco* to *Quito*, and were deſign'd for the opening a more free and eaſie Communication between thoſe two great Cities, the Metropolis's of the Empire, in their reſpective places. That which was cut through the Mountains was almoſt ſuch another piece of Work as the ſtupendous Fortreſs of *Cuſco*, conſidering the heighths that were to be levell'd, and the deep and hollow places to be fill'd up, ſometimes of 15 or 20 times a Mans heighth, (as the Inca ſays) and all to be made ſmooth and even, ſo that Carriages might paſs along upon them, as they did. The Road to the Sea-ſide was 40 foot broad, with a high Cawſey, and Walls of each ſide to hold in the Way, and all this both in the Valleys and the Sands; ſo that travelling, which before was unpleaſant in many places, and it may be impracticable or dangerous in others, was now rendred very ſafe and eaſie in all places. It was hinted before, that when *Huayna Capac* conquer'd the Kingdom of *Quito*, he took the King's Daughter for one of his Royal Concubines, by whom he had, amongſt other Children, the unfortunate *Atabalipa*, who ſwayed the Imperial Scepter when the *Spaniards* came in here. This young Prince, by his noble Qualities, ſtrongly engaged his Fathers love and eſteem; and therefore tho' the Prince *Huaſcar* was the Heir, and to wear the Title of *Inca Capac* after himſelf, yet ſuch was his fondneſs of *Atabalipa*, that he reſolv'd to make him no leſs than a Sovereign too, and therefore did in his Life-time fix him in the Throne of *Quito*, making that rich Kingdom his Portion and Poſſeſſion; and becauſe he wou'd be ſure to have him ſit faſt and firm there, he gave him ſome of his beſt Captains, and a part of his Army, with this farther conceſſion too, That all that he cou'd conquer anew ſhou'd be added to his Kingdom of *Quito*. And the old Inca did all this with the free Conſent of his Son the Prince *Huaſcar*, ſo that *Atabalipa* ſat very eaſie upon his new Throne as long as his Father liv'd, tho' Matters prov'd (as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of the Story) far otherwiſe afterwards. The whole Empire and Emperor too enjoy'd a profound Peace and Tranquility, and all things went as well as cou'd be, when all of a ſudden thoſe bright and ſerene days were gone, and every body apprehended a black Cloud gathering over the Country, that threatned ſome fatal Storm. That which ſtruck them with theſe fearful apprehenſions was the ſight of ſome Ships upon the Coaſt, which were the *Spaniards* ſent out by *Nunnez de Balboa*, for the diſcovery of the South-Sea. This was in *A.D.* 1515. and whether before or after *Atabalipa* was made King of *Quito* is not very clear, nor much material; however 'tis certain, the Inca *Huayna Capac* liv'd eight Years after this diſmal Alarm, but never pretended to offer at any farther Conqueſts; he had no ſtomach to that, having once heard ſuch News as this was. But that which made the impreſſion the deeper and ſtronger, was an old Prophecie which they pretended to have amongſt them, which foretold, That when 12 Inca's had fill'd the Throne, the Line of the Sun ſhou'd ſtop there, and a ſtrange Nation ſhou'd come in and ſubdue the Empire to themſelves. Beſides this, ſome time before the *Spaniards* Ships were ſeen upon the Coaſt, there were ſeveral prodigious Appearances in all the Elements, and odd Changes of the common Courſe of Nature, which their Superſtition turn'd into Omens and Prognoſticks of ſome great Alterations in their Nation and Government. One was, that the Moon in a very clear Night had three Circles about her, the outermoſt of a bloudy colour, the middlemoſt black, and the innermoſt like ſmoke. Now this *Phenomenon*, a certain Diviner amongſt them thus expounded the ſignification of to the Inca: The redreſs of the outer Circle (ſays he) ſignifies the War and Bloodſhed that ſhall be in thy Country after thou art gone to reſt with thy Father the Sun; the blackneſs of the middle one denotes the Deſtruction of our Religion and Empire, that they ſhall diſſolve and vaniſh away as ſmoke; which (adds he) is clearly foreſeen by the inmoſt Circle that had the ſmoky Appearance. And this Interpretation was not his own fancy neither, (he told the Inca) but came from the Moon, the Mother of the Imperial Family. The Inca made him no other reply than this, That he dreamt theſe Fooleries the Night before; and then came and told him his Mother the Moon had ſent him that Intelligence. However, tho' he ſeem'd to deſpiſe this Fellows predictions, he was deeply concern'd at what he had ſaid, and therefore made Applications by Sacrifices and Offerings to his Father the Sun, in hopes he wou'd be more favourable to him, and divert this Storm; that is, make his Mother the Moon a Liar and a falſe Propheteſs. This great Monarch *Huayna Capac* died at *Quito*, ordering his Heart and Entrails to be buried there, but his Body to be carried to *Cuſco*, and laid amongſt thoſe of his Anceſtors. In his Teſtamental Diſcourſe to his Children, (of which he had above 200, Sons and Daughters) he alſo recommended to them the love of their Brother *Atabalipa* his Darling Son, and to all the

Atabalipa made King of *Quito*.

Empire conſus'd at the appearance of Ships on the Coaſt.

Prodigies, Oracles, and Prophecies, foretel the ruine of the Empire.

The Circles about the Moon interpreted.

The Inca's fear and concern.

Officers

Inca's love to be call'd *the Lovers of the Poor.*

Great High-ways from *Cuſco* to *Quito*.

Officers and Curaca's he gave a ſtrict charge that they ſhou'd ſerve him with a perſevering Loyalty and Duty; and finally, to the Prince himſelf, to be mindful of his Illuſtrious Deſcent, and maintain the Title of the *Lover of the Poor*. He told them alſo of the approaching Diſſolution of the Government of the Inca's, and ſince the Strangers that were to come and poſſeſs the Country ſhou'd be a People ſo much every way their Superiors, he adviſ'd them to obey and ſerve them quietly, and rather patiently ſubmit to, than ſtrive againſt the common fate. And indeed, the *Peruvians* have pretended to give this Account of the reaſon why the Conqueſt of their Country was ſo very cheap and eaſie to the *Spaniards*; They alledged ſo many Propheſies and Prodigies had foretold the deſtruction of their Empire, that it appeared plainly to be their inevitable fate. Beſides, the Inca upon his Death-bed (and his Dying words they infinitely reſpected, and muſt obſerve to a tittle) commanded them to receive the Foreigners when they came, as their Lords, and yield to them as a People whoſe Excellencies entitled them to reign over them; 'twas this, (ſay they) and not the Arms of the *Spaniards*, that made us reſign our Empire upon ſuch eaſie terms. Tho' by the way, Mankind will not eaſily be perſwaded that their Obedience to a dead Prince cou'd ever carry them ſo far, and that if they cou'd have defended themſelves againſt the *Spaniards*, they wou'd not have done it, in complement to any Oracle, Propheſie, or Death-bed Speech whatſoever.

Friendſhip between the two Brothers at firſt.

But to return to the courſe of our Story: *Huayna Capac* being dead, *Huaſcar* was now *Inca Capa*, all the Empire acknowledging him as ſuch, the Kingdom of *Quito*, and Dominions thereto annex'd, only excepted, which paid Homage to *Atabalipa*. Theſe two Brothers liv'd in Peace and good Underſtanding of one another, for the ſpace of four or five Years after the old Inca's Death; but then *Huaſcar* began to think with himſelf, that he had acted very imprudently in conſenting to place his Brother upon the Royal Throne of *Quito*. And beſides other damages done to himſelf by this Conſent, he was quite lock'd up from making any farther Conqueſts, by the Sea on one ſide, the Mountains on the other, and his Brother's Dominions on the other, which was to the part of *Chili*; ſo that *Atabalipa*, (whoſe Arms were at more liberty than his) by adding new Countries ſtill to thoſe of which he was already in Poſſeſſion, might in time make himſelf as great a Prince, and his Empire as large as his. Theſe thoughts growing very troubleſome to him, he ſent to his Brother to let him underſtand, That by the ancient Conſtitutions of the Inca's, the Kingdom of *Quito* ought not to be ſeparated from the main Body of the Empire, and that his Father had wrong'd the Imperial Crown of *Cuſco* in making ſuch a Diviſion as that was; and therefore, tho' his Conſent to that buſineſs had been extorted by the Authority and Command of a King and a Father, yet he ſhou'd not ſtand to the Bargain but upon theſe two Conditions: Firſt, That *Atabalipa* ſhou'd not extend the Bounds of his Territories, nor add the leaſt Spot of Ground to what the Inca had allotted him. Secondly, That he ſhou'd acknowledge himſelf his Vaſſal, and do him Homage accordingly. This Meſſage, as diſpleaſing as it was to *Atabalipa*, was yet receiv'd by him with a great deal of ſeeming Humility and Compliance with his Brothers Will; and therefore he return'd Anſwer to this purpoſe, That what was now requir'd of him, was not much more than he had done already, for in his Heart he had always been his Brothers Vaſſal, and now, ſince he demanded it, ſhou'd not refuſe to be ſo in outward Sign and Action. The Inca *Huaſcar* was ſo pleas'd with this ready Submiſſion of *Atabalipa*, (when there was reaſon to have expected he wou'd not ſo eaſily have parted with his Sovereignty) that he preſently ſent again to confirm him in the poſſeſſion of his Royalty at *Quito*; but at the ſame time to let him know, that he come and do the Duty of a Vaſſal at *Cuſco* by ſuch a limited time.

Huaſcar's firſt Propoſal which broke the Peace.

Atabalipa's Diſſimulation.

Huaſcar preſſes *Atabalipa* farther.

Thus far did the *Huaſcar*'s imprudent heat, or ill counſel, carry him; prompting him to urge his Brother on to ſuch extremities, that he muſt of neceſſity either reſign his Power and Sovereignty, or elſe lay Plot for Plot, and endeavour to take his that demanded it of him. But *Atabalipa* was not behind-hand with him in this Matter, he had Policy enough to form a good Plot, and Diſſimulation enough to cover it handſomly, and manage it with an air of Serioufneſs and Humility when he had done. In ſhort, he reply'd to the Inca's laſt Meſſage, That he wou'd conform himſelf to his Will, and come to *Cuſco* at the time appointed: but for the greater ſolemnity of the buſineſs, (becauſe he intended a Work of Pity and Devotion, as well as Loyalty and Duty, to his Prince) he crav'd Leave of the Inca that he might bring all the States of the Provinces of his Empire along with him, for he had a deſire to celebrate his Fathers Obſequies in *Cuſco* according to the Rites of his own Country; and this Ceremony perform'd, he and all his wou'd do their Homage. All this *Huaſcar* eaſily granted, and *Atabalipa* had it proclaim'd through all his Provinces, that all Men of Service ſhou'd be ready at ſuch a time (and with their beſt Equipages) to attend him to *Cuſco*. But this was only to amuſe the People, for at the ſame time he gave private Orders to all his Captains to raiſe an Army of the very beſt Soldiers he had; to make them carry their Arms ſo cloſely that they ſhou'd not be diſcover'd, and to match them 5 or 600 together, each Company 2 or 3 Leagues behind the other, and then all to join in one Body when they were come within ten or twelve days Journey of *Cuſco*.

He raiſes an Army.

Thus was an Army of above 30000 Men got together, conſiſting moſtly of thoſe old Weather-beaten Soldiers that had ſerv'd his Father *Huayna Capac* in his Wars; Men that had gotten a habit of conquering, and now conducted by thoſe Experienc'd Captains that had led them on to Victory ſo many times before. *Huaſcar* was ſo far from apprehending any treacherous Deſign in his Brothers head, that he order'd his Army to be ſupplied with all neceſſaries as they march'd through his Territories: But ſome of his old Governors and Officers, who made a nicer Obſervation of them as they paſs'd along, did not like the aſpect of them, and ſent the Inca word, with all ſpeed, that they ſuſpected ſome Treaſon going on, and therefore deſired him to raiſe what Forces he cou'd with all the haſte imaginable. But alas! ſome of the Provinces were a great way off, others were indiſpos'd to War, by the long enjoyment of an idle and peaceable Life, and thoſe Parts where the beſt Soldiers were lay in the way of *Atabalipa*'s Army; yet however, the Inca and Empire being in ſo apparent a danger, they made a ſhift to form an Army of 30000 Men, which was all that cou'd be got together upon ſo ſhort a warning. *Atabalipa*'s Men paſs'd the River *Apurimac* without oppoſition, and march'd on in 3 great Squadrons to *Villacuna*, which is within 6 Leagues of *Cuſco*; as for himſelf, he ſtaid upon the Confines of his Country, to ſee what wou'd be the iſſue of this Undertaking, being in a poſture ready to move towards *Cuſco* if it prov'd well, or towards *Quito* if the contrary.

Inca ignorant of his deſign.

Notice ſent to the Inca.

Army for defence of the Empire.

Tho' the Enemy was thus near the Imperial City, yet was there none that appear'd yet to diſpute their nearer approach to it, ſo that they continued their march till they came within 2 or 3 Leagues of it, and there they found the Inca's Forces ready to give them battel. Here then was the great Controverſie decided, which of the two Brothers ſhou'd remain final Poſſeſſor and Maſter of the Empire of the Sun. In ſhort, the Lott fell to *Atabalipa* to be ſo, for his old hardy Soldiers quickly cruſh'd the more ſoft and undiſciplin'd ones of the Inca, and (which is more, and the crowning part of all their Succeſs) they took him Priſoner too. This was the miſerable fate of *Huaſcar* to fall into his Brothers hands, and now to have his Life at his diſpoſal, of whom but a little before he had demanded Homage. This News was preſently ſent to *Atabalipa*, and proclaim'd alſo through the whole Empire, to diſcourage all the *Curaca's* from attempting to raiſe Forces for his Relief. *Atabalipa* (who was ſecond to none in the Arts of feigning and diſguiſe) made the moſt politick uſe of his Victory that cou'd be: He pretended that his Deſign was to ſet *Huaſcar* upon the Throne again, but ſince the Chance of War had given him this advantage over him, he wou'd make uſe of it ſo far, as to ſtand upon ſome better terms with him for the future, as to the point of his Sovereignty in *Quito*. For this end he wou'd go to *Cuſco*, where he demanded all the Inca's in the Empire to meet him, together with all the Curaca's and Governors, to be Witneſſes to the Solemn League and Contract between *Huaſcar* and himſelf. But what was the iſſue of this Convention? the barbarous Prince Sacrific'd every one of the Inca's that came thither, and all did come at the time appointed, that Age, Sickneſs, or remoteneſs did not hinder. In a word, he ſtuck neither at Age nor Sex, at half or whole Blood, but deſtroy'd all that fell into his hands, Baſtards or Legitimate, Uncles and Couſins, Brethren and Siſters, to the number of 200, the undoubted Offspring of the great *Huayna Capac*. And he did not ſatisfie himſelf barely with their Deaths neither, but executed them with cruelty, and that ſeveral ſorts of ways; but the heighth of his barbarity, was to bring forth his miſerable Brother the Inca *Huaſcar*, and force him to be an Eye-witneſs to all theſe diſmal Executions, that he might die

Atabalipa's Army marches towards *Cuſco*.

The Battel and Victory.

Huaſcar made Priſoner.

Atabalipa's treachery.

He cruelly murders all the Royal Stock.

Ulage of *Huaſcar.*

die in the Death of every one of his Kinſmen. Yea, he made him paſs in Mourning Weeds, and with a Rope about his Neck, through a whole Lane of his Nobles and Officers that were fallen into the ſame woful Bondage with himſelf; and then thoſe unhappy Men ſeeing their Sovereign Lord the Inca in that forlorn condition, burſt out into paſſionate cries, bewailing his lamentable fate; and fell down adoring him as they us'd to do, the cruel

Murder of the Nobles.

Atabalipa made them all to be chopp'd in pieces with Hatchets, or knock'd in the Head with Clubs before that wretched Prince's face. After this he turn'd his fury upon the Women and Children of the Royal Blood, ſhewing as little mildneſs and compaſſion to that tender Sex and Age, as he had before ſhew'd to the other; and this his cruelty he renew'd every Quarter of the Moon, till he had made away with all that came within

The Inca's eſcape.

his reach. Notwithſtanding this raging Perſecution of the Blood and Progeny of the Inca, and the diligent ſearch made to find out all, yet ſome there were that eſcap'd it, and liv'd to tell the Story to the next Generation. Amongſt theſe were two young Boys, Sons of *Huayna Capac*, and ſome remoter Kindred; in the number of which were the Mother and Brother of the Inca *Garcilaſſo de Lavega*. But including theſe, of the whole Race of the Inca's in general there remain'd 567, in *A. D.* 1603. according to our Author's computation, and theſe all of the Male Line of every Inca, for they made no account of thoſe of the Female Line till after the Conqueſt. They reckon'd the Sons of *Spaniards*, by Women of the Royal Stock, for Inca's alſo, becauſe they thought the *Spaniards* to be a People ſomething akin to their Father the Sun; and they had good reaſon to believe ſo, becauſe the *Spaniards* were ſo very kind to them. Now the exact account of the number of the Inca's, was ſent to our Inca Don *Garcilaſſo*, and another to the Grandſon of *Huayna Capac*, in that foremention'd Year, in order to be ſent to the King of *Spain*, together with a Petition for their exemption from thoſe heavy Impoſitions of Taxes and Tribute which they lay under.

Their Names and Pedigree.

There was the whole Stock, the Royal Tree with all its Branches, from *Manco Capac* to the Poſterity of *Huayna Capac*; it was drawn upon white Taffety, with the Names, proper Habits, and Pictures of all the 12 Inca's, and under each Inca all thoſe of his Poſterity. The deſtruction that *Atabalipa* made amongſt the Progeny of the Inca's, rendred him ſo odious to all the Survivors, that his very Name was an abomination to them, and they never gave him any other Title than that of Infa-

The hatred born to *Atabalipa.*

mous Tyrant and Traytor. The ſame rancour too they expreſs'd againſt all his Race, tho' they were no way guilty of his Crimes; and therefore when a Grandſon of *Atabalipa*'s (the Son of his Daughter by the Marqueſs *Pizarro*) was dead, and our Inca's old Uncle came to his Mothers Houſe in *Cuſco*, rejoycing that he had lived to ſee the confuſion of that Family, he demanding of his Uncle why he ſhou'd be ſo glad of the death of a Kinſ-

A Story of it.

man, and one of their own Blood; The old Inca, biting his Mantle, (which is with them a token of the higheſt Indignation) 'And what, ſays he, woud'ſt thou be the 'Kinſman of a Traytor? the Son of him that kill'd our 'Inca, deſtroy'd our Empire, and conſum'd the Sacred 'Stock? I cou'd eat him raw without Sawce now he is 'dead; his Father, the Traytor *Atabalipa*, cou'd never 'have the noble Blood of *Huayna Capac* in him, for if he 'had, he cou'd not poſſibly have committed ſuch Bar-'barities; ſay not therefore that he is our Kinſman, for 'thou doeſt Injury to thy Houſe, to make ſo vile and 'cruel a Perſon a Member of it. Yea, this hatred went ſo far, that they were beyond meaſure pleas'd with the *Spaniards* (tho' the Ravagers of their Empire) for the Execution they did upon *Atabalipa*, and for this reaſon particularly they eſteem'd them as Men ſent from their Deity the Sun, becauſe they took ſo ſevere a Vengeance upon the Grand Enemy and Deſtroyer of the Cœleſtial Race.

Cauſe of *Atabalipa*'s Cruelty.

The Principle that carried *Atabalipa* to all this Murder and Deſtruction, was that of State-intereſt and Policy, for he knew that he was not of the Legitimate Blood of the Inca; that is, tho' the Inca *Capa* were his Father, yet the *Coya* or Siſter of the Inca was not his Mother, as it muſt have been to render him capable of ſitting in the Imperial Throne of *Cuſco*; while ſo many others liv'd therefore, that had more right than he, he knew himſelf not to be ſafe, and ſo took this courſe to free himſelf from the trouble and danger of potent Rivals.

A Brother of *Huaſcar* left.

But this he cou'd not do compleatly neither, for as there were ſeveral of the Royal Blood ſurviving, ſo particularly there was the Inca *Manco*, Brother of *Huaſcar*, and Son of *Huayna Capac*, who deeply reſenting the Cruelties committed by *Atabalipa*, took up Arms to revenge his Family, and do right to himſelf in getting poſſeſſion of the Throne which the other uſurp'd. As for *Huaſcar* himſelf he was yet alive, but kept under cloſe Confinement; and whether *Manco* believ'd him to be dead, or thought the contrary, 'tis certain that he aſſerted his own pretenſions to the Crown, and endeavour'd by force to pull it off from the Head of his Brother *Atabalipa*.

And the buſineſs ſtood between theſe two Pretenders in this manner, That *Manco* fortified himſelf in the Mountainous parts of the Country, and ſat as Lord there, while *Atabalipa* kept all the Lower parts, and thoſe that lay to the Sea, which was the richeſt and pleaſanteſt part of the Empire. Neither cou'd either of them obtain his deſire in the compleat Expulſion of the other, tho' they endeavour'd it vehemently, and the War grew hot betwixt them. But while they were thus contending, there came one to do the Office of an Umpire in deciding their Quarrel, which was *Francis Pizarro* with an Army of *Spaniards*, who brought the buſineſs to the ſame iſſue that the Kite did in the Battel betwixt the Frog and the Mouſe; but 'tis neceſſary, before we come to treat of thoſe Matters, to diſcourſe a little of the firſt entrance of the *Spaniards* into this Country, and how they came about to find their way hither.

War between *Huaſcar* and *Atabalipa.*

Account of the *Spaniards* firſt coming to *Peru.*

The *Spaniards* had been a conſiderable time upon the Continent before they knew any thing of *Peru*; they had built the Towns of *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, diſcover'd the Coaſt along *New Spain*, and traded quite croſs the Country, but from *Panama* to the Parts of *Peru*, they cou'd not accompliſh a Trade by Sea, becauſe the Southerly Winds blowing along the Coaſt almoſt all the Year long, Sailing was very difficult and toilſome, and by Land the paſſage was impoſſible, in regard of the Mountains and Rivers. Yea, 'twas 15 Years before they got beyond the Iſland of *Pearls*, which is but twenty Leagues from *Panama*. However there were ſome Perſons that liv'd in *Panama*, whoſe Minds giving them that theſe difficulties might be conquer'd, and having a great deſire to ſee what the Country (that lay along the Coaſt) wou'd prove, they made preparations for the Diſcovery on't: Theſe were *Diego Almagro*, *Franciſco Pizarro*, and *Fernando Luques* a Prieſt, the Men that ſet up for the Triumvirate of the Southern Diſcoveries, and enter'd into an agreement to ſhare equally both the Loſſes and the Gains, the Care and the Trouble of it. There are ſome that ſay *Pizarro* was a very poor Man, and cou'd contribute nothing towards this Deſign but his Labour and Pains, and there are others that ſay the contrary; but it matters not much whether he was poor or rich, and we ſhall in this part of the Story principally follow * *Jerome Benzo*'s Account, who may be preſum'd to have been acquainted with theſe Matters very intimately, being engag'd in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indian* Service for fourteen Years together. According to this Author, 'twas in the Year 1526. that *Pizarro* and *Almagro* made their firſt Attempt; they both ſet out that Year one after another upon the ſame Deſign; and as for the Prieſt, 'tis to be ſuppos'd he ſtaid at home to pray for a Bleſſing upon their Endeavours. *Pizarro* had at this time no very good luck, for after having ſail'd about 100 Leagues he landed, and was repuls'd by the *Indians* with ſo much reſolution and vigour, that abundance of his Men were ſlain, and himſelf wounded; and with this baulk he was fain to come back to *Panama* again. As for *Almagro*, he went up a River in another part of the Country, where he met with People of a milder Diſpoſition, and (which very highly recommended them to his liking too) they had Gold in plenty amongſt them, of which he got at that ſhort viſit to the value of 3000 Ducats. But in his way home, having a mind to put in at the place where *Pizarro* had met with ſuch rough Entertainment, he found the *Indians* ready to give him the like; and when he landed they fought with him, kill'd him a good many Men, and in the Battel beat out one of his Eyes. But *Almagro* had yet heart enough to reſolve to find his way to ſome of the golden Countries once more, this in this ſecond Attempt they ſucceeded worſe than in the former; for then they were beaten, but yet got ſome Gold, whereas now they got Blows and Wounds, and miſs'd the Gold too. But the covetous Appetite being not half ſtarv'd with this diſappointment of its Food, renew'd its urgent cravings again, and hurried them out upon a third trial. Here we are to obſerve, they did not come back again to *Panama* (both of them) after their ſecond repulſe, but put in at the Iſland *Gorgon*, a ſmall Deſart that lies about 6 Leagues from the Continent, where *Pizarro*, and a part of the Men, were ſet aſhore, whilſt *Almagro* and the reſt went home to *Panama* to fetch Supplies. 'Twas a miſerable Life that *Pizarro*

Perſons that firſt undertook the Voyage.

* He writ a Hiſtory of the *Indies* in 3 Books.

First Attempt.

Second Attempt.

Third Attempt.

Pizarro's Diſtreſs.

Pizarro and his Company led here in the mean time; and *Almagro*, when he return'd, found them almost starv'd. However, being refresh'd, they set sail once more, and attempting to Land, were beat off with considerable loss again, and now were forc'd to go seek out another Island for a Refuge to lie close in, till they had put themselves in a capacity for farther action. And here was the same Scene almost over again that was before; *Pizarro* was set ashore upon the barren Island, and *Almagro* with the Ships went away for *Panama*. But his Men were in general so tired, that they wou'd e'en have gone home too, and left the Discoveries to them that were more fortunate, but that *Almagro* forc'd them to stay, and for fear they shou'd do mischief by writing, wou'd not so much as let them send Letters to their Friends at *Panama*, now the Ships were going thither. However, there were some of them too cunning for him, and sent such Accounts of the Country where they had been, of their Captains, and their confounded covetous Humour and Designs, that the Governor of *Panama* presently sent Orders to *Pizarro* (to *Cock-Island* where they staid) to detain none of those Men there with him by forcible methods, but let them use their liberty whether they wou'd go or stay; and truly, they did use their liberty to pretty good purpose, for they all went away except 14. Neither cou'd *Almagro* add to their number when he came again, for there had gone about such ugly Reports, that every body was afraid of the Service, and he cou'd get no Recruits. With an Army therefore of 14 Men, half for Land-Service, and half for the Sea, they sail'd towards the New World they intended to conquer; but now they took a wiser course than before, for they resolv'd to sail along the shore, and see if any rich prospects presented themselves, and not run headlong, Landing their Men at all Adventures, whether there were Gold to pay them for their hazards and loss of Blood or no; the Army was now reduc'd to a Bakers-dozen, and such a one that 'twas very tenderly to be manag'd. Thus then they sail'd 500 Miles along the Coast, and came to *Chira* a Province of *Peru*, where some of them going ashore (what number is uncertain, but however to be sure less than 40) they got some Cattel, and a few *Indians*, to whom by degrees they taught a little *Spanish*, and of them reciprocally learnt as much of their Tongue, as wou'd serve them to have a little conference with the *Indians* where they came. Having got this necessary assistance of the Language they sail'd back to *Tumbez*, which ('tis to be suppos'd) was the place where they had been so often beat off from the Coast before, or somewhere thereabout. When they came hither, all the *Spaniards* being afraid to venture, a certain *Greek*, a Native of *Candie*, undertook to go ashore, which he did with a broad two-handed Sword mounted upon his shoulder. The *Greek*, with his great Beard and Mustachoes, was no little wonder to the Natives, who flock'd about him, staring upon him with an eagerness, which well discover'd their surprize at the sight of such a Creature. The *Indian* Governor us'd him very kindly, and led him to the Fortress, in which was a Temple dedicated to the Sun full of Riches, which were as great a wonder to the *Greek*, as he was to the Natives. At his departure the Governor wou'd have given him some pieces of Gold, but he seem'd utterly to despise such trifles as those, and made Gold a very sorry base sort of a thing, that the *Indians* might not think that was the bait that drew them thither, nor treat them like hungry covetous wretches as they were. But, in short, he told such a story of the Riches of the Country when he came aboard again, that the hearts of all of them were reviv'd with the News; and *Almagro*, with his one Eye, cou'd very clearly see that this was the place they must come to look for the satisfaction of their Desires in. One may easily imagine with what joy they return'd to *Panama*, and related their Success to the Priest their Copartner in the great Affair in hand; there's no doubt but they bless'd the Saints all round, and pour'd out rapturous Prayers to Heaven, under the hopes and prospect of such Treasures on Earth as were now coming into their Coffers. But since there was nothing to be done securely without the King of *Spain*'s Licence, (and 'twas *Charles* the Fifth that was so at that time) they agreed that *Pizarro* shou'd make a Voyage into *Europe* to obtain it; which he did, but plaid the Knave so far, that he got the King's Commission only for himself, making Sute only in his own Name for the Conquest of the Country. Upon this, at his return into *America*, there grew a mighty quarrel between him and his Partners, they upbraided him with his perfidiousness, and unfaithful management of an Affair wherein they were equally concern'd with himself. However, the matter was made up between *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, and they swore and took the Sacrament upon't, that they wou'd stick by each other, and have one common Interest. But the poor Priest was quite excluded, and trick'd out of all concern and share in the business, which was one sign that he was not a Man of this World, otherwise he had never been impos'd upon in these Matters, and by the Laity too. Perhaps he was the only Man of his Coat that had been so serv'd for a long while; but 'tis but just and reasonable that the Laity shou'd take their turn too, and as the Clergy had put a thousand tricks upon them, they shou'd also put one trick upon the Clergy. But whereas *Pizarro* and *Almagro* bound their Bargain with the Sacrament, 'tis a question whether they took it at the hands of that Priest they had made such a Fool of; for since the efficacy and virtue of it (according to them) depends upon the design and intention of the Priest, he had lain under a shrewd temptation to make Fools of them, and design nothing at all to their advantage. But they were Soldiers, and cou'd (probably) take the Sacrament in the sence that the old Pagan *Rome* administred it, without any great regard to the Institutions of the Popish *Rome*. Having thus setled the point, *Pizarro* set out of *Panama* with three Ships, in which were about 180 Foot and 40 Horse, leaving *Almagro* to come after. In 13 days he arriv'd at the Port of St. *Matthew*, (which was as much as he cou'd do before in two Years) and here he found all the Country up in Arms. Notwithstanding this, he march'd on to *Colonchia* or *Coache*, a great Town, which he assaulted of a sudden and took, and got a large Booty of Gold, Silver and Emeraulds. From hence sending back to *Panama* for more Soldiers and Horses, he proceeded with what he had to the Island of *Puna*, where he was kindly entertain'd, till the Rapes and Robberies committed by the *Spaniards* made the Natives take Arms in their own Defence; but they stirr'd to their own prejudice, and the disciplin'd Forces of the *Spaniards* easily put those rude and untaught ones to the Rout. From hence *Pizarro* went over to *Tumbez* upon the Continent, about 50 Miles distant from *Puna*, where the People refus'd his Friendship, and endeavour'd to oppose his passage; but he enter'd the River by Night, and having good Guides surpriz'd the City, plunder'd it, and the Temple of the Sun, a Repository of Treasures not easily computed. And now he advanc'd farther and farther apace into *Atabalipa*'s Dominions, being in most places very well receiv'd, tho' the *Peruvians* look'd upon him and his Men as a very strange sort of People. As he march'd along, he publish'd to the Country that he came to teach them the Holy Catholick Faith, and to bring them to the knowledge of most excellent Laws and Customs; and the truth on't is, whatever the *Spaniards* did as to the Instruction of the *Indians* in the Faith, they did bring them to the knowledge of several very excellent Customs, particularly those of Swearing, Blaspheming, Perjury, Gaming, and a great many others as good as them, which were never so much as known in the Country before. The *Indians* did not believe these things of the *Spaniards* at their first arrival, if they had they wou'd have given them a less innocent Name. When they saw them first come upon the Coast, they call'd them (in a Fit of Wonder) *Viracha's*, that is, the fome or froth of the Sea; but afterwards they believ'd them to be bad enough to deserve the Name of the froth or spawn of a worse Element than that, and they left off the Name of *Viracha's*, as containing too much of complement in it for such People as they. But there were several of the *Caciques*, or *Curaca's*, that submitted themselves to this Catholick Faith, upon *Pizarro*'s assurance that 'twas so excellent a one; and were willing to acknowledge themselves also the Subjects of the Emperor *Charles* V. whose Power and Sovereignty *Pizarro* preach'd along with that of Jesus Christ. He continued his march to *Chira*, a considerable City, and the first place where he (as the Emperor's Minister forsooth) pretended to exercise Authority over the Lives and Fortunes of the People he was come amongst. The *Cacique* of this City and of another, had conspired to kill some of the *Spaniards*, which 'tis not unlikely they had very well deserv'd, for some Villany or other; and for this, *Pizarro* condemn'd them both to be burnt alive, and several of their principal Men to keep them company in the same punishment. Only, out of his great Grace, he was pleas'd to spare the *Cacique* of *Chira*, as being the less guilty of the two; and not only so, but to give him the government of the other also. At this place (to encourage his Men in the Enterprize he was leading them on to) he divided the Gold amongst them which the *Caciques*, and the People of *Tumbez*, had brought him; and now he march'd directly towards

Marginal notes: *Spaniards* weary of the Voyage. — Fourth Attempt. — They learn the Language. — Come to *Tumbez*. — Policy of the Spy. — Go back to *Panama*. — *Pizarro* goes to *Spain* and tricks his Partners. — *Coache*. — Island *Puna*. — *Tumbez* spoil'd. — *Pizarro*'s Manifesto. — Name given to the *Spaniards*. — *Caciques* submit. — *Pizarro*'s Severity.

Caxamalca, where he had Intelligence *Atabalipa* was at that time. 'Tis a sign how much the *Spaniards* despis'd the Forces of the Inca, when they enter'd his Country with so very small an Army. *Pizarro* did not bring above 220 Men along with him, and out of this number he drew a detachment of 55 for a Colony which he planted by the way, (which was at St. *Michaels*, a Port they gave that Name to, about 6 Leagues from the Sea, in the Country of *Tumbez*) and with the little remainder he adventur'd to go and meet *Atabalipa*. This Prince had had notice of *Pizarro*'s entrance into his Country, and had sent him Presents by the way as he march'd, and withal desired to know what business he had in his Territories, or what he look'd for. 'Twas more than once that he was visited by these Messengers of the Inca, by whom sometimes he sent very soft and kind Messages back again; but as he drew nearer, he discover'd himself more plainly, and chang'd his Stile.

His small Army.

Presents from the Inca to *Pizarro*.

Atabalipa having one time sent him a Present, he order'd them that brought it to tell their Lord, That he was the Servant of a very mighty Prince, (whom he did not scruple to call Lord of the whole World) and was sent to bring this Country to the Knowledge of the true God, and to the Obedience of his Emperor; that with as small an Army as he had now with him, he had conquer'd Princes that were Superiour to *Atabalipa*, who now was at full liberty to make his choice. If he wou'd accept of Peace upon the Terms propos'd, he wou'd help him in his Wars, and leave him in the free possession of his Empire, but if he chose War, he would give him enough of it, and serve him as he had serv'd the *Caciques* of *Puna* and *Tumbez*.

Pizarro's Message to *Atabalipa*.

'Tis probable that *Atabalipa* was not much frightned at this hectoring Message, in that he sent *Pizarro* word he wou'd be glad to see him, and would stay for him at *Caxamalca*: But yet 'tis pretty clear, that all together stirr'd his Indignation not a little, for as no Messenger that *Pizarro* sent cou'd ever be admitted to see his face, but always was referr'd to his Uncle, so he was once or twice about to take off the Heads of them, and had done it, but that he was restrain'd by the fear that his own Messengers wou'd be serv'd the same sawce.

Before we draw the Scene for the *Spaniards* at *Caxamalca*, it will not be amiss to digress a little into some particulars of the Journey and the Way, and especially to touch upon the description of the City of *Caxamalca* it self.

He stays for *Pizarro* at *Caxamalca*.

All the way from the River of St. *Michael* to the City of *Chincha*, is a delightful Valley, very well Peopled, beat through with a fine High-way made with no little cost and labour, and shaded on both sides with Trees. The People of this Valley were said by the *Spaniards* to offer Humane Blood to their Idols, yea, the Blood of their own Children, to sprinkle it upon their Tombs and Sepulchres, and to daub the faces of their Idols with it; and the *Spanish* Writers do generally tell the same story after the Soldiers. But the Inca *Garcilasso Divega* utterly denies all this, and declares no such Customs as these were practis'd under the Government of the Inca's; but on the other hand, that the *Spaniards* invented these scandalous Stories of the *Indians*, that they Sacrific'd their Children, were guilty of Sodomy, Buggery, and the like, to give the more plausible colour to their own cruel treatment of them, and to lessen the heinousness of the injuries they did them, when it shou'd be told to the World they were worse than Brute Beasts that were serv'd in that manner. And Don *Bartholomeo de Casas*, the Bishop of *Chiappa*, who convers'd no little while with these People, is entirely of the same Opinion, as he has publickly told us in his Book of the *Spanish* Cruelties in the *West-Indies*. Now both these Testimonies are the more remarkable and convincing, in that they are the Testimonies of *Spaniards* against *Spaniards*, the one a zealous *Dominican* Friar, a Native of *Spain*, tho' a Bishop in *America*; and the other a *Spaniard* by his Fathers side, tho' a *Peruvian* by his Mothers, especially since the Inca *Garcilasso*'s History of his own Country was examin'd and licens'd for the Press by the Friars, who to be sure wou'd not have fail'd correcting what made so much against their Countrymen, had it not been too true to be denied.

Valley from St. *Michael* to *Chincha*.

Spanish Forgeries.

The *Spanish* Troops turn'd out of this pleasant Road to *Chincha* to go into that of *Caxamalca*, and here they met with Rocks and Mountains; they went up Stairs as it were, and were forc'd to lead their Horses in their hands. As they ascended these elevated places they found the air exceeding cold; the Waters on the top were cold to that extremity, that they cou'd not drink them without warming, neither cou'd they hold out themselves against the violence of it, when they set up their Tents to rest, without the help of good Fires. Upon these places they found a mighty Fortress, that might deservedly be call'd a huge Mass of Stone, for 'twas built of Stone founded upon the Rocks, and wall'd in with the same; and if *Atabalipa* had thought fit to put himself in here, the question is what *Pizarro* or *Almagro*, or any *Spaniard* of them all, cou'd have fetch'd him out.

Difficult passage up the Mountains.

Cold Region.

Strong Fort.

It was in *November*, *A. D.* 1532. that the *Spaniards* finish'd this tedious march, and came to the City of *Caxamalca*. This City was seated 30 Leagues from the Sea, it was four Miles in Circuit, and to be enter'd but by two Gates. The Walls were of very strong Stone, and at least three fathom high, and the Streets as strait and even as a Line. There were abundance of delicate Fountains up and down in the Streets, and all the Houses in general very neat, but some appear'd extremely fine and beautiful. Through the middle of the City ran a Street larger than any in *Spain*, and inclos'd on both sides with a particular Wall. Before it stood a strong Fortress of Stone, up to which they ascended by steps from the Street; and on one side was the stately Palace of *Atabalipa*, with varieties of Lodgings and Gardens belonging to it. All the Apartments of this Palace were painted with several colours in the outside, but all that gaudiness was nothing in comparison with the substantial beauties and riches of the inside, which may be partly imagin'd, considering how extravagant the Inca's generally were in adorning their publick Buildings with all the embellishments that Gold and Silver cou'd put upon them. In one Room particularly were two large Fountains adorn'd with Plates of Massie Gold; one of which run with water so hot, that a Man cou'd not endure his hand in it, and the other with that which was as intolerably cold. And, no doubt, but the Magnificence and Curiosities of the other Apartments were proportionable to this; and therefore, *ex ungue Leonem*, by this part we must guess the rest. Upon one side of the City was a stately Temple walled about, with a great Court before it planted with Trees; this was dedicated to the Sun, who was worshipp'd here with the same Solemnities and profound Devotion, that he was in the Imperial City of *Cusco*. Hither then it was that *Pizarro* came to find *Atabalipa*, who waited for his coming, having a great desire to see those strange Men, of whom he had heard so many strange reports, tho' he had no little reason to look with indignation upon them, having receiv'd so many injuries from them. The Inca was not in the City it self, but in his Camp, a little distance from it, where he lay with an Army of 30000 Men; as for *Pizarro* and his Men, they went into the City, and took up their Quarters there. As soon as he was come, *Atabalipa* sent Messengers to him, with Presents, to bid him welcome; to return which civility, *Pizarro* sent his own Brother, with another *Spanish* Captain, that same Evening to the Camp. These two were admitted into the Inca's Presence, and deliver'd their Message to him, but he sat upon his Throne with an unconcernedness that bespoke him to imagine there was no body there; he did not vouchsafe once to cast his eyes upon them, nor by any word or motion discover any regard to them; but when they had said what they had to say, one of the Princes that stood by made a reply for his Sovereign. But the *Spanish* Captain having signified that his Companion was the Brother of *Pizarro*, this coming to *Atabalipa*'s ear he then lifted up his eyes upon him, and in a few words let him know, That his Brothers boldness in pretending to punish his Subjects was very displeasing to him; however (he added) that for his part, he wou'd be a Friend to the *Spaniards*, and not deal with them as they had (without any just cause) dealt with his People. *Fernando Pizarro* then told him, That his Brother was willing to assist him in his Wars with the Forces he had brought: To which the Inca replied, That he wou'd employ them against a certain *Cacique* in his Country, who had taken up Rebellious Arms against him, and disturb'd the Peace of his Empire. 'Twas his Brother *Manco* that he meant, and thus in scorn call'd a *Cacique*, as if he had been one of his ordinary Vassal Princes, and his Rising no other than a Rebellion.

Description of *Caxamalca*.

Inca's Palace.

Rare Fountains.

Pizarro comes to *Caxamalca*.

Messengers sent to the Inca

His reception of the *Spaniards*.

Pizarro offers to help the Inca.

Pizarro gave him to understand, that if the *Spanish* Forces were employ'd in his Service, he wou'd soon see an end of all his Enemies; and (according to the modesty of that Nation) told him, that ten Horsemen of their Troops wou'd be sufficient to do the whole business, without any assistance from his Army at all. *Atabalipa* at this fell a laughing, and said no more upon that point, but bid the two *Spaniards* drink, which when they wou'd have excus'd, he press'd them so earnestly that they cou'd not defend themselves any longer; so the Women brought

Proud Boast.

brought Liquor of Maize in large Veſſels of Gold, which was as great a Cordial to the *Spaniards* as the Wine it ſelf they drank. *Atabalipa* bid *Pizarro* tell his Brother he wou'd ſee him the next day; and ſo diſmiſs'd them.

Spaniards entertain'd and ſent away.

Some of the *Spaniſh* Writers (*Benzos* particularly) make matters to have been manag'd quite otherwiſe on the part of *Atabalipa*; that he was all along more ſtern and rough in his Meſſages to *Pizarro*; that he ſcoffed at the Forces of the *Spaniards*, derided their ſmall Numbers, and ſent them word, if they lov'd their Lives they ſhou'd be gone out of his Territories. On the other hand, they own nothing of *Pizarro*'s threatning Meſſages to the Inca, but only make him preſs pretty earneſtly to come to an Interview with him, treating him otherwiſe in all reſpects very civilly.

But we chuſe in this Matter rather to ſtick to the Account of *Franciſco de Xeres* (which was that we gave before) than to *Benzo*'s, for tho' the latter Perſon was concerned in the *Spaniſh* Service, yet the former was Secretary to *Pizarro* himſelf, and ſo may reaſonably be allowed to underſtand more of the truth of the Affair. The next Morning being come, a Meſſenger came from *Atabalipa*, to tell *Pizarro* that he wou'd come and ſee him and his Soldiers in their Arms that Day, which the other deſired him to do, and immediately went to the diſpoſing and placing his Forces up and down in the great Street of *Caxamalca*, giving them Orders not to ſtir till the Signal was given, and the great Guns were diſcharg'd. And now *Pizarro* having all things ready, and fitted up a Trap for *Atabalipa*, was ſo impatient till he had got him in it, that he ſent a Meſſenger for him to haſten his coming. But for all this, the Inca made it almoſt Sunſet before he mov'd out of his Camp, but then he came on with all the pomp and jollity in the World. His Army appear'd more like a Compatiy of Stage-players than Men of War; they came ſinging and dancing along, and ſhone gloriouſly, what with their Ornaments of Feathers, and the Gold and Silver that was about them. *Pizarro* did not move a ſtep forwards to meet him, but kept his Station in the great Street, expecting him to paſs through that. Accordingly *Atabalipa* came thither, and made a ſtand in the middle of the Street; he was carry'd upon Mens ſhoulders in a moſt Majeſtick Seat of Gold, and having not a little degree of Majeſty and Comelineſs in his own Perſon, that and his Ornaments together made him appear like the Prince he was.

Pizarro prepares for *Atabalipa*'s coming.

Inca's march to Caxamalca.

As ſoon as the Inca ſtopt, (which 'tis to be ſuppos'd was to ſee and ſpeak with *Pizarro*) there marches up to him the Friar *Vincent*, with a Croſs in one Hand, and a Breviary in the other, and according to his Inſtructions (by the help of an Interpreter) made a Speech to him to this purpoſe: 'That he was a Servant of God, and 'twas his 'buſineſs to teach the Chriſtians things Divine, and that 'he came to inform him in ſuch Matters as wou'd be to 'his Advantage every way if he wou'd attend to them. Then he began with the old ſtuff, 'That the Biſhop of '*Rome*, according to the Power Heaven had intruſted 'him with, had given to their Sovereign Lord the Empe'ror all theſe Lands and Countries which were before 'unknown; and that for this end and purpoſe, that he 'might ſend Godly Men thither to preach the moſt Holy 'Goſpel, and turn the Infidels from their Errors and 'Idolatrous Worſhip. And that the Prince might underſtand his terms, and know what Goſpel, Pope, and Idolatry meant, the Friar converted his Oration into a Sermon, and run over all the Fundamentals of Religion. But if the Doctrine was fine, the Uſe and Application was coarſe; and cou'd not avoid making a very ugly jangle in the Ears of a Sovereign Prince, and one ſo great as *Atabalipa* was too. This, as the Inca Don *Garcilaſſo Divega* relates it, ran in this Stile—— 'For 'which reaſon his Imperial Majeſty has ſent this Cap'tain, that your Realms might receive this benefit, and 'that he might begin the Alliance and Confederacy be'twixt the Majeſties of the Emperor and the Inca. But 'this is to be done in ſuch ſort, that your whole Em'pire become Tributary, and you your ſelf a Subject, 'renouncing the Sovereign Adminiſtration of all your 'Countries, as divers other Kings and Lords have done. 'And that after ſuch ſubjection to the ſublime Majeſty 'of the Emperor, you yield Obedience to the Pope, and 'receive the Faith of Chriſt, utterly abandoning your 'Idols, and all your Superſtitions, which were inven'ted by the * Devil. Theſe things, O King, thou art 'well to conſider, as being very profitable to thee and 'thine; but if thou refuſeſt, thou ſhalt be compell'd 'by War, Fire and Bloodſhed, and all thine Idols ſhall 'be thrown to the ground. We will conſtrain thee 'with the Sword, to leave thy falſe Religion whether 'thou wilt or no, and to embrace our Catholick Faith, 'and pay Tribute to the Emperor. Thou may'ſt do this 'freely and of thy own choice; but if thou doeſt per'ſiſt in thy obſtinacy, know for a certainty, that as of 'Old, *Pharaoh* * and all his Army periſh'd in the Red 'Sea, ſo God will ſuffer that thou, and all thy *Indians*, 'be deſtroy'd by our Arms. A very pretty Speech of a Friar to an Emperor! This Father *Vincent* was ſome modeſt, baſhful, ſhamefac'd Fellow or other, that had not courage to look a Prince in the face, and ſpeak to him roundly; 'tis a wonder *Pizarro* pick'd him out for this Office, for he talk'd as if he were moſt ſadly out of countenance all the while. As for *Atabalipa*, he had patience enough to hear the Man out, and then made a Reply as full of modeſt Wit and Ingenuity, as the others was of blunt Impudence and Sawcineſs. He ſigh'd at the words *Deſtruction* and *Confuſion*, and beginning with *Ataé*, *Ataé*, (which is an Interjection that expreſſes the higheſt ſorrow) he told the Friar, 'That this Meſſage was very 'different from what *Pizarro* had formerly ſent him. 'That it appear'd very ſtrange to him that the Empe'ror ſhould be Lord of the World, and yet the Pope 'have Power to beſtow new Kingdoms upon him. 'That he was not unwilling to accept the Friendſhip of 'ſo great a Monarch, but he ſaw no reaſon why he 'ſhould pay Tribute to him; for a free Prince to do 'Homage to another whom he had never any concerns 'with, was a piece of Injuſtice; and if the Emperor 'cou'd prerend any Right or Title upon him, he ought 'to have ſignified as much, before he had gone to 'threatning Fire and Deſtruction, and to ſeize his Coun'try by force. Beſides he cou'd not ſee (if he muſt pay 'Tribute at all) why he ſhou'd not pay it to *Pachacamac*, 'who was the Creator of all things, and had the beſt 'Title to ſuch an acknowledgment; or if it muſt be to 'any other beſides him, why it ſhou'd not be to Jeſus 'Chriſt, who was the beſt Man, or to the Pope *, who 'was a greater Man than the Emperor by his own 'confeſſion? And as to the Concerns of Religion, he told the Friar, 'The Pope might be as wiſe and good a 'Man as he repreſented him, however it appear'd to him 'that he was a Fool, and a Man of no modeſty, to of'fer to give away that to another that was none of his 'own. Neither ſhou'd he change the Faith of his Coun'try for that new one which he propos'd, and the Chri'ſtians were at liberty to believe in Chriſt which (they 'own'd) died upon a Croſs, whilſt he believ'd in the 'Sun that never died at all. Laſtly, As for themſelves 'and the Prince that ſent them, whatever pretences of 'Right and Juſtice they made, they ſeem'd to be Men 'of Uſurping and Tyrannical Principles, in going about 'to diſtreſs other Nations, and rob and plunder thoſe 'that had done them no wrong. But if they were the 'Servants of *Pachacamac*, and the offended Deity had 'ſent them to puniſh his Country for its Offences, he 'and his were ready to ſubmit themſelves to what they 'ſhou'd think fit to impoſe upon them, but not at all for 'fear of their Threatnings, or their Arms, but to fulfil 'the dying Command of his Father *Huayna Capac*, who 'enjoin'd them to ſerve the bearded Nation that was 'more valiant than themſelves, and ſhou'd bring them 'new Laws and Cuſtoms.

* If the Inca were *Pharaoh*, the *Spaniards* were not the Children of *Iſrael*, that's certain.

Atabalipa's Reply.

* The Pope certainly had more Title than the Emperor, becauſe being Chriſt's Steward, he ought to receive his Rents here below.

What follow'd immediately upon the concluſion of this Speech of *Atabalipa*'s, is differently related by the Authors that write of this Matter. The Inca *Garcilaſſo* ſays, that the *Spaniards* impatient of ſo tedious a Conference between the Inca and the Friar, fell to rifling the *Indians*, and to plundering the Temple of the Sun; that ſome of them drew themſelves out into Battalia to charge upon *Atabalipa*'s Men, whilſt the Inca himſelf, with a loud voice, commanded all of them to lay down their Arms, and make no reſiſtance; for this they were going to do, and in order to it had turn'd upon their Enemies with a great ſhout, according to their Cuſtom. Alſo that the Friar *Vincent* made a favourable Speech to the *Spaniards* on the behalf of the *Indians*, and was ſo far from inſtigating them to fight, that he endeavour'd to cool their heat, and perſwade them from it. But the *Spaniſh* Writers tell the Story ſomething differently, and relate ſome circumſtances which the Inca *Garcilaſſo* is imagin'd to have forborn mentioning out of reſpect to the Friars, becauſe they ſeem to caſt an Odium upon their Order.

Various Reports of the aſſault the *Spaniards* made on *Atabalipa*.

They ſay that *Atabalipa* demanding of the Friar how he came to know ſome of thoſe points of Religion which he had pretended to teach them; and the other replying, that his Book (the Law of God which he held in his hand) told him ſo, the Inca ask'd to ſee his Book, which the Friar gave him into his hand, but had not the Senſe or the Manners to open firſt, but offer'd it ſhut. *Atabalipa*

The Inca's queſtion to the Friar.

* Who was the Superſtition invented by?

Friar's Speech to Atabalipa.

Precious preaching of the Goſpel.

lipa trying a while, and not being able to open it, the Friar reach'd out his Hand to do it for him, but the other disdaining his help, hit him a sound blow on the Arm, and at last open'd it himself. They say he look'd upon the Paper and Letters without any thing of that wonder that the *Indians* ordinarily express'd at things they had never seen before; but having look'd a little while, he threw it away from him with a great deal of indignation, and told the Friar, that it said not a word of those things that he spoke of to him. And now the Friar was all in a flame at this horrid contempt of the Gospel, he ran away with open mouth to the *Spaniards*, proclaiming the heinousness of the Fact, and calling for Vengeance upon the profane Prince. *Come forth, come forth Christians* (says he) *and set upon these Enemies; Dogs which will not accept the things of God; the Gospels are derided, their Prince has thrown the Sacred Book on the ground; come forth and make them smart for so wicked a Deed.* The Friar having thus Authoriz'd all the Murder, Bloodshed, Rapine and Ravishments, the *Spaniards* had a mind to commit, the Drums presently beat, and the Trumpets sounded; the great Guns were discharg'd upon the *Indians*, and the *Spaniards*, both Horse and Foot, fell on with an incredible fury. 'Tis easie to imagine that the Troops of *Atabalipa* (tho' much superiour in number) were not able to stand this shock; the *Spaniards* made what havock they wou'd amongst them, and kill'd 5000, some say half as many more, without the loss of any one Man. And no wonder neither, for the *Spaniards* themselves confess, that not an *Indian* lifted up his hand against them, their Prince's command to the contrary having tied them all fast. *Pizarro* himself press'd up to *Atabalipa*'s Litter, and seiz'd him by the arm, making him a Prisoner; in which action he got a wound, and that from one of his own Men, who were hacking and hewing the poor *Indians* that carried their Emperor upon their shoulders. In a word, the Army was all dispers'd, and the Inca left in the hands of his Enemies; and this whole action was done in so little time, that tho' the Sun was setting when it began, he had not been down more than half an hour before 'twas ended. An inglorious Action, without doubt all Posterity will call it, if at least it be so, for Men to cut the Throats of so many thousands that stood still and made no resistance. After all was over, *Pizarro* finding he had obtain'd so cheap a Victory, cry'd out a Miracle, gave God thanks for it, and had Mass said, as if 'twas a work of special and extraordinary Providence for God to preserve the lives of the *Spaniards*, when the *Indians* never struck a stroke in order to the taking of them away. 'Twou'd be much such another Miracle, for a Man to fall into a dry Ditch and scape drowning; and as reasonable a Devotion as *Pizarro*'s, for him to give God thanks for't when he came out again.

Throws the Book to the ground.

Friar provokes the *Spaniards* to Revenge.

Atabalipa's Army confounded by the *Spaniards* Guns and Horses.

And himself made a Prisoner.

A great Miracle.

Atabalipa being now a Prisoner, was (as may easily be imagin'd) very much afflicted at his hard fate, under which however *Pizarro* endeavour'd to comfort him, and gave him reason to hope at least for very good and honourable treatment at his hands. The Prince promis'd extravagant Ransoms and Rewards in case he wou'd set him at liberty again; that he wou'd fill a Room half again as high as a Man, 22 foot long, and 17 wide, up to half the heighth of it with Vessels of Gold, and the whole content twice over with Silver, and all this in the space of two Months. And it seems to be past all doubt, that *Pizarro* upon this condition promis'd to set him free; but yet so much as what was promis'd, not coming in within the limited time, the *Spaniards* began to grumble at *Atabalipa*, and (as some say) then took up the resolution of dispatching him out of the way. He excus'd the Matter by alledging the great length of the way to *Cusco*, and told them, that if they wou'd send some of their company thither, they wou'd see enough to convince them that he had promis'd no more than was in his power to perform. Accordingly some were sent to *Cusco*, not to look about them, and make Observations upon the place, but with directions to take possession both of the City and Treasures. And they quickly began to search into those Treasures when they came thither, and to Anatomize the Royal Houses and Temples, and discover the rich Parts of them. In short, so many Burthens of Gold and Silver came from thence to *Caxamalca*, that besides the Emperor's fifths, every Horseman had to his share 8880 Castilians in Gold, and 362 Marks in Silver, each Mark being 8 Ounces; the Footmen had half so much, or more or less according to their Merits.

Atabalipa promises a vast Treasure for his Ransom.

Spaniards sent to *Cusco*.

Plenty of Gold.

In this plenty of Gold in the *Spanish* Camp, one may imagine the Rioting, the Gaming and Prodigality that was there. They paid their Debts by the lump, not standing to tell Money, but giving the Creditor a good wedge of Gold or Silver, and if 'twant twice as much as the Debt came to they did not care. Nothing was so cheap, so common, so easie to be got as Gold and Silver, and therefore the Prices of all things were according. A Horse went at 1500 Castilians of Gold, a Quart of Wine for 16, a pair of Shoes for 40, a Sheet of Paper for 10; and so of other things proportionably. The State of the World otherwhere was here inverted, Money wanted Commodities, not Commodities Money. The Officers that were sent to *Cusco*, had a sight of *Huascar* at *Sausa*, in their way thither. That miserable Prince had lain under a woful Confinement ever since his Brother *Atabalipa* had deprived him of his Crown; and now when the *Spaniards* came to visit him, he tamper'd with them for his Release and Restoration. He promis'd three times as much Treasure as *Atabalipa* had done, and told them he was better able to perform it than the other was, because he knew all the Repositories of the Riches of his Ancestors, and where their vast hoards were to be found, which the other was wholly ignorant of. But they cou'd give him no other answer but this, that they must first go to *Cusco*, whether they were sent, and then consider of his Affairs afterwards. In the mean time *Atabalipa* had intelligence of these Proposals of *Huascar*, and therefore saw now that he must e'en make sure work with him; and therefore to sound the *Spaniards*, and see how they wou'd take *Huascar*'s death, he pretended that one of his Captains had kill'd him, and he was in a mighty deal of affliction upon that account. *Pizarro*, that knew nothing of the trick, comforted him under his loss, and promis'd him to see the actors of that Murder severely punish'd. This was just what *Atabalipa* wanted; and seeing the *Spaniards* took his Brothers death so quietly, he dispatch'd a Post with all speed and privacy in the World to destroy him, so that the *Spaniards* shou'd not know but 'twas really done before. And this was executed accordingly, and that formidable Rival remov'd out of the way. Tho' *Atabalipa* was a Prisoner himself in the hands of the *Spaniards*, yet he had a couple of Generals that were free, and lay abroad in the Country, one in one Part, and the other in another; and tho' they had Forces at their command, yet they attempted nothing against the Invaders of their Country. The Names of these two great Captains were *Chilicuchima* and *Quizquiz*, the former of which the *Spaniards* (that were sent to *Cusco*) met at *Xauxa*, where *Huascar* was confin'd, and the latter they found at *Cusco* with an Army of 30000 Men. And 'tis a surprizing consideration, that three *Spaniards* (for no more were employ'd upon that first Errand to *Cusco*) shou'd plunder a rich and glorious City that had such a power of Men to guard it. That they shou'd rifle the Temple of the Sun, take down the Massie Plates of Gold from the Walls, and bring at least 200 Mens load of Gold away, while no body offer'd in the least to hinder them, or so much as to ask them what they did. The Pots, Tankards, and all sorts of Vessels of Gold and Silver, were so numerous, that the *Spaniards* were struck with the deepest astonishment when they saw those Treasures; there were some golden Vessels so big, that 12 Men had much ado to bring one of them; and one of the Inca's Thrones of Massie Gold, and a Receiver for a Fountain of the same Metal likewise, were to be sure no light and easie Carriage. But the Generals were so far from endeavouring to secure these Treasures, that they willingly resign'd them to the *Spaniards*; and tho' 'tis certain, that the reason of it was because they knew the Inca's Ransom was to be paid with it, yet 'tis much that all shou'd keep so quiet, and none shou'd be apt to think the *Spaniards* had gone beyond their Bounds, when the Sacred Houses themselves were not spared by them, tho' there was no need of emptying them for the payment of what was promis'd.

Huascar offers more to be freed

Atabalipa's Treachery.

Huascar killed.

Atabalipa's Generals.

Rich Booty brought from *Cusco*.

The *Spaniards* returning from this first Ransack of *Cusco*, brought the General *Chilicuchima*, and several other great Men, along with them, to see their Lord *Atabalipa* in his Captive state. These Men cover'd their Bodies with very coarse Cloth before they went into his presence, and as soon as they saw him, lift up their Eyes and Hands to the Sun, giving thanks that they had seen their Inca again; then they approach'd him by little and little, and kiss'd his Hands and Feet, and, in a word, did him all the Honours that cou'd be expected in the heighth of his Glory and Prosperity. He also kept his Majesty as much as ever, and as he was prouder than any of the Inca's before him, so also now he wou'd not so much as vouchsafe to look upon any of these his faithful Servants. But the Tragical end of this unfortunate Prince now hasten'd apace, and he that had shed so much of the Blood of his own Family, was to have his

Atabalipa reverenced by his Officers.

own

own'd by Foreigners for the expiation of those Crimes. 'Tis true he had paid his Ransom to the full, and *Pizarro* solemnly and publickly acquitted him in *Caxamalca* of having so done, and order'd it to be signified by sound of Trumpet, and by an act in writing drawn up by the Notary: But notwithstanding this he was not to be discharg'd yet; *Pizarro* told him he must be detain'd a while under a Guard, till more Forces of the *Spaniards* were come up to him for his Security from all attempts, for he had been inform'd that *Atabalipa* had given Orders for the levying an Army to assault the *Spaniards*, and drive them out of the Country, and this he thought to prevent (at least the mischievous consequences of it) by keeping him and his General close Prisoners. Whether this were true or no, some of his own People (the *Spaniards* say) affirm'd it; they reveal'd the whole Plot to *Pizarro*, who perhaps was not unwilling to believe it, nor backward to lay hold of any fair Occasion for the making away with his Prisoner. Matters in short run to that extremity, that *Atabalipa* was openly accus'd of this Fact, and tho' we hear nothing of his Defence, yet we do of his Condemnation and Sentence; which was to be burnt alive. But because they had made a sort of a Christian of him, that is, had baptiz'd him, in consideration of that the Sentence was something softned, and he had the favour of being strangled. When *Atabalipa* heard his Doom, he exclaim'd most bitterly against *Pizarro*, for the breach of his solemn Oath and Promise to set him at liberty; and not only so, but to depart peaceably out of his Country upon the payment of his Ransom. Then turning about with his Devotions to the Sun, he renew'd his exclamations, calling as it were his Deity to witness of the Infidelity and Treachery of the *Spaniards*. But *Pizarro*, who matter'd none of those things, (tho' he was present all the while) commanded his Negroes to stop his mouth, which they did by wringing a Cord with a Stick about his Neck, and so dispatch'd him. The good Friar *Vincent* consented to this Murder also, and voted for the old Catholick way of Execution by the Fire. This Christian Mufti knew very well the Mind and Designs of his Grand Seignior *Pizarro*, and no doubt having sounded his Inclinations to destroy *Atabalipa*, easily proved it lawful by the Gospel, and found out that God would have it so. The Sentence thus executed, his Corps were Interr'd, as some say, in the Church at *Caxamalca*, or as others, in a Royal Tomb amongst the Kings of *Quito*, in that City. His General *Chilicuchima* was more severely handled, being tied to a Stake, and tormented with flaming Brands thrust to his Body, to extort a confession from him of all the Treasures that were yet undiscover'd. He endured these pains a long time, and at last told them, That *Quizquiz*, the other General, had all *Huayna*'s Treasures in his keeping. But besides these, he discover'd where another Mass lay, which *Pizarro* afterwards seiz'd upon. His death was some time after his Masters; but 'twas no little ease to *Pizarro* to have him out of the way too. for he was a Man of great Valour and Courage, and equal Truth and Fidelity to his Master. The Inca *Garcilasso* says, that *Chilicuchima* was murder'd by one of *Atabalipa*'s Captains, together with the own Brother, and all the Sons and Daughters of that miserable Prince, that were then at *Quito*; and this at the Solemnization of his Obsequies, when the Corps was brought to be buried there. That this same Captain had an ambition to set himself up in the Kingdom of *Quito*, and in order to that (imitating his Masters example) took an opportunity to cut off all those that might prove hinderances to him in that design. 'Tis to be noted, the *Spaniards* in their Arraignment of *Atabalipa* accus'd him of Treason; which was, if well consider'd, a very pretty sort of a Charge, and had as much sence in it as all their proceedings had, of Justice and Reason, and common Honesty For what was his Treason? were his Endeavours, to free himself and his Country from a parcel of Men that came to rob him, to be call'd so? And who was he a Traytor to? was it to *Pizarro*, or to the Emperor? If the Emperor was never his Rightful Sovereign, he cou'd be no Traytor to him; and that he was never so is as infallibly true, as that the Pope never had any power to give to him, or any body else, the Lands and Dominions of other Princes. In short, *Pizarro*'s Designs (of sitting as Monarch himself in that glorious Country) made it necessary for all the old Inca's Race to be remov'd, and consequently for *Atabalipa* to die. And this *Herera*, the *Spanish* Historian, and others of the same Nation, don't scruple plainly to speak out; saying also, that *Pizarro* pretended a fear of Mutinies and Troubles where there was little occasion for't, and that *Atabalipa* endeavour'd to answer all those Objections, and wou'd have clear'd himself, but that the *Spaniards* had no mind to be perswaded of his innocency.

Full payment of the Ransom.

Charges brought in against *Atabalipa*.

His Condemnation.

The Generals death.

How things prosper'd with them afterwards, we shall see in its due place; but we must proceed in order with the Events that happen'd upon *Atabalipa*'s death.

Pizarro, to oblige the Country the more, gave them a new Inca after he had taken away the old one. This was also a Son of *Huayna Capac*, and they gave him the Name of *Atabalipa*; but he was a meer Tool of the *Spaniards*, and entirely at their dispose. He (having fasted three days for his Predecessor according to Custom) publickly acknowledged the Sovereignty of the Emperor, and perform'd the Rites of Vassalage to *Pizarro* as his Representative. The principal Ceremony was the Offering of a white feather, which he did, as also all his Caciques did to him; they afterwards own'd the Emperor for their Supreme Lord, (and next under him the new *Atabalipa*) by the Ceremony of holding up the Royal Standard, which every Man did in his turn. Now tho' this Action of *Pizarro*'s was pleasing enough to the one part of the Empire, that is, to the *Cuscoans*, yet 'twas very ungrateful and displeasing to the *Quironians*, and all those of the first *Atavalipa*'s Faction; for as that Prince was of the Royal Line of *Quito*, so his Generals *Chilicuchima* and *Quizquiz* were for advancing that House, and fixing the Imperial Crown there. Upon this Occasion therefore, there grew very great Jealousies and Discontents between them; yea, *Quizquiz* open declar'd himself, and took Arms to Assert the Rights of the *Quitonian* House; and *Chilicuchima*, tho' he did not appear barefac'd, yet was as deep in the Design, and gave private Encouragements to those Troubles. But *Atabalipa* the Second did not long enjoy his new Dignity, for he died before *Pizarro* got to *Cusco*; and the common Report was, that he was poyson'd by *Chilicuchima*, which together, with other more important Reasons, drew on the fate of that General we mention'd but now. He had (before he died) propos'd a Son of the first *Atabalipa* to succeed the Second of that Name; but *Pizarro*, and the *Spaniards* in general, rather enclin'd to *Manco*, the Son of the Inca *Huama Capac*, who was contending for the Empire with his Brother *Atabalipa* when the *Spaniards* first invaded the Country. But the business not being yet determin'd, *Pizarro* continued his march to *Cusco*, and in the way thither he was met by *Quizquiz*, who commanded a good Army, and gave him Battel; but his Forces cou'd not withstand the fury of the *Spanish* Horse, nor abide the terror of the great Guns; so that being entirely routed, in him the Family of *Atabalipa* lost their last great Champion and Defender. So that the *Spaniards* were forc'd as it were to cut their way into *Cusco*; and the truth on't is, 'tis no small wonder that they were able to accomplish it; they themselves were not a little surpriz'd to find themselves Masters of that place. Had it not been for the Emulations and Quarrels between the two Imperial Cities of *Cusco* and *Quito*, in all likelihood it had been impossible for them to have done it; and those Powers firmly united together, wou'd have been an invincible Bar in their way. But they ruin'd the Common Interest by their Intestine Divisions; and 'twas *Spanish* Policy perhaps, to throw that Bone of Contention betwixt them, at least not to take it away from them. Besides, the difficulties of the Way were such, that they might have been fatigu'd to death in their march thither; for the mountainous Passes are so strait and narrow, that 10 Men may defend them against 10000. In some places they were wrought like Stairs out of the solid Cliffs, and in others Stone-work added by Art, to render them capable of being pass'd over. But the *Spaniards* having none to oppose them, made a shift to climb those precipices, tho' abundance of their Horses broke their Necks; and 'tis a wonder all the Men had not done so too. The ridge of Mountains continues from *Tumbez* to *Xauxa*, and from thence to *Cusco*; and from *Caxamalca* to *Xauxa*, runs a vast mountainous Tract cover'd with Snow, which lies there all the Year round. When *Pizarro* came to *Cusco*, he had the prospect of a City much finer, and more magnificent, than any he expected to find in that part of the World. The principal part of it stands on the top of a Hill, tho' it spreads all along the Declivities, and runs down into the adjacent Plain. The Streets were strait and even, tho' narrow, but the beauty of the Buildings made amends for that defect, there being few Houses but what were made of Stone. The Palaces of the Caciques and Noblemen (of which there were a multitude) made a noble appearance, and especially in that part which lay down in the Valley; the Houses of Pleasure of those great Men, the Publick Store-houses, Magazines, and Repositories of the Tributes, were discover'd above all the

The new Inca.

Quarrels between *Cusco* and *Quito*.

Atabalipa the Second dies.

Pizarro marches for *Cusco*.

Mountainous Stairs.

Snowy Mountain.

Description of *Cusco*.

the rest. In the middle was a fair Market-place, square and pav'd with Stone; on the 4 sides of which stood Palaces rais'd by some of the Inca's, all of Stone-work, but painted and carv'd after a very agreeable manner. The stateliest of all these was that built by *Huayna Capac*, and in which he himself commonly resided; the Gates of this Edifice were of Marble of several colours, and the Terrasses sutable to all the rest of the work. Through the middle of the City ran a stream of water enclos'd in a Stone Canal, on each side of which a Horseman might very easily pass; but their main Fund of water were two Rivers which took their course along by the City, and over which they had laid Bridges, such as their Skill in that sort of Building (which was but little) cou'd raise. But that which produc'd a real astonishment in the *Spaniards* was the Fortress, that Incomprehensible Building, so Incomprehensibly built and laid together; in which they found so many appearances of extraordinary Art, and yet were puzzled to imagine what the Art must be, and who the Artist. Having survey'd this Structure, they easily concluded that it went beyond all the Buildings of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and many that had seen the most remarkable Antiquities that several Nations had to shew, confess'd there was nothing like this. But then the inside Furniture was extraordinary likewise, for being the grand Magazine of the Inca's, the general Store-house for their Warlike Provisions, which were gather'd here from all Parts of the Empire, there were such Piles of Clubs, Lances, Bows, Arrows, Axes, Targets, Shields, with other requisites for Soldiers, that had there been but Soldiers to have us'd them, the *Spaniards* must have taken leave of *Cusco* in a little time. In short, the Towers, Terrasses, Walls, Battelments, Rooms, Apartments, Furniture and Contents of this Fortress, were all admirable to them, and the Prospect and Scituation no less pleasing. What Treasures the *Spaniards* found in the City and Castle of *Cusco* they themselves know best, only Writers say they were so great, that what they had before (all those loads of Gold and Silver Plate) hardly bore any proportion to them; but if we remember the general Account of the Riches of the Palaces and Temples of the Inca's, one may guess at what they got by coming hither. *Benzos* says, that they treated the People of *Cusco* with the utmost barbarity to make them confess their Treasures; that in the midst of that prodigious Plenty (which might rather have cloy'd a Man, and given him almost a surfeit of Gold) they rav'd so with the hunger of it, that they did any thing to come at their desired Satisfaction. And whatever might be extorted out of some of them by the pulls of a Rack, or the torments of Fire, yet 'tis past all doubt that some of the most glorious Treasures of the Empire escap'd their hands.

Spaniards plunder the City.

We must now bring the Inca *Manco* (of whom we spoke before) upon the Stage again. This Prince hearing *Pizarro* was at *Cusco* came thither to him, and his Errand was to demand his Right, which was the possession of the Imperial Throne. And to encourage the *Spaniards* to yield to him in this matter, he promis'd to promote their Affairs and Religion too, as the Inca *Garcilasso* tells us. *Pizarro*, who had some inclination to him before, (that is, preferr'd him to any other) accordingly declar'd him *Inca Capa*, and he perform'd the Rights of Vassalage as his Predecessors had done. But when all was done, he was no more than a meer Titular Prince; he had the Title of Inca, but *Pizarro* was so in effect, the *Spaniards* gave Orders, Rul'd, and did what they pleas'd, while he stood still, and was bound to say as they said, and to like all they did. In short, he was a meer Monarch in Effigie, a State-Pageant dress'd up only to be look'd upon.

Manco comes to Cusco.

He is made Inca.

While Matters stood thus at *Cusco*, the Affairs in other Parts of the Empire grew troublesome and perplex'd; for *Quizquiz*, who was once routed by *Pizarro*, gather'd more Forces, and made head again. Besides, *Pizarro* and *Almagro* began to Rival one another, and those Jealousies and Suspicions were sprung upon both sides, that afterwards heightned into a Bloody War, which prov'd the confusion of them all, as we shall see by and by.

The new Inca *Manco* seeing that the *Spaniards* made a meer Cypher of him, and perform'd none of the Articles that related to his real Restoration, complain'd of it to *Pizarro*, and demanded that he might have the full Power of an Emperor, as well as the Title and the Honour. But he excus'd himself from granting that as yet, as well upon the account of the broils and stirs that were in the Country, as also that he expected the Orders of the Emperor, to whom he had sent about that Affair. This Order his Brother *Fernando* was to bring in a little time; however, in the mean while, he himself march'd away from *Cusco* towards *Lima*, (which City was then about being Peopled) and left the Inca *Manco* to the keeping of two other of his Brothers, *John* and *Gonsalvo Pizarro*. These Men held the Inca a close Prisoner; some say they laid him in Chains, tho' 'tis certain that they secur'd him in the Fortress of *Cusco*, as a place where they were sure to hold him fast. The Inca was a Prince of a very haughty Mind, of great Courage and Resolution, and they had reason to fear all things from him if he were Master of himself; but he compos'd himself under this injurious treatment to a wonderful patience and easiness, or at least he dissembled his resentments, and forbore all manner of harsh reflections upon the *Spaniards*. When his own Subjects bewail'd his Misfortune, and exclaim'd against the Injustice and Treachery of his Imprisonment, he wou'd speak soft and comfortable words to them, and tell them his Father *Huayna Capac* had commanded, in his Last Testament, that they shou'd submit to the *Spaniards*; and in the mean time, under all these Oppressions, they shou'd be quiet till they saw the issue of all. However, he did his endeavours not to have occasion to obey his Fathers Last Will and Testament very long, for he flatter'd and caress'd the *Spaniards*, sweetned them with Presents, spoke honourably of them, and never made any complaints of his Sufferings; so that they thought him to be a very easie and well-contented Prisoner. In short, he dealt so with *Pizarro*'s two Brothers, his Jailors, that he obtain'd a degree of Liberty, for they gave him leave to go to *Yucay*, which was the Royal Garden of the Inca's, to spend some time for his refreshment and pleasure. When he was got there, he summon'd his Officers and Grandees privately about him, and aggravating all the foul and base treatment he had had from the *Spaniards* to the last degree, and since he cou'd no longer rely upon their Promises, and plainly saw that they intended to share the Empire amongst themselves, instead of restoring it to him, he told them he intended to take up Arms to recover his Right by Force, and wou'd trust *Pachacamac*, and his Father the Sun, with the Success. All his Captains were very glad to hear him make so bold and brave a Resolution, and accordingly promis'd to maintain his Rights to the utmost of their power, against all the Pretentions and Encroachments of the *Spaniards*. And now preparations were made for a War, which cost a vast deal of *Indian* Blood, and not a little *Spanish*. *Manco* made his first Attack upon *Cusco*, with an Army of 200000 Men, and shooting fire along with their Arrows in upon the *Spaniards*, had like to have burnt down the City about their Ears. In this Siege *John Pizarro* was slain, and the Defendants every way so hardly press'd, that the City was taken, and *Manco* now become Lord of *Cusco* without the *Spaniards* leave. After this the *Spaniards* recruiting their Forces, paid the Inca in the same Coin, besieg'd *Cusco*, and took it from him; but they had not been Masters of it very long, before he came with another potent Army, which drove them out, and seated him there again. Matters being come to this pass, *Pizarro* was forc'd to send another of his Brothers with fresh Forces against the Inca, but he and his Troop were entertain'd after such a rude manner by the *Peruvians*, that not a Man was left to carry News of their ill Success. After this he dispatch'd 4 or 5 Commanders more, one after another, who had all of them the same fate of being routed, and most of them of being kill'd. It was therefore high time for *Pizarro* to come himself in Person, and humble the growing Power of this Enemy; which he did, and what with the terror of his Guns, and arm'd Horses, the first Battel he fought he overthrew the Army of *Manco*. Then to compleat the Work, he sent about to all the *Spanish* Colonies upon the Continent for Supplies of Men and Ammunition, and having made himself considerably strong, he fought one or two Battels more, by which *Manco*'s fate was entirely decided, for his mighty Army was too far shatter'd and broken to be mended up again for another Action. The poor Prince was now driven to his shifts, and obliged to retire to some close and secure Refuges in the Mountains; and 'twas upon the Mountains of *Villaca Campa* that he chose to settle his Abode, whether he made his retreat with 20000 Men, the remainders of his routed Army. *Benzos* makes as if his retreat was not so much the effect of his weakness as his prudence, and that 'twas to avoid being hemm'd in of all sides by the *Spaniards*, for the report now went that *Almagro* was coming out of *Chili* with his Forces, who was more likely to join with his Enemies then him. But having brought him to this shelter, we must leave him here for awhile to take his repose, while we look into the Affairs of *Pizarro* and his Companions,

Pizarro goes to Lima.

Manco Imprison'd.

His Policy.

Gets his Liberty.

He rises against the Spaniards.

Cusco taken from the Spaniards.

And retaken.

Spaniards defeated by Manco.

Pizarro beats Manco.

He retires to the Mountains.

and

and ſee their Fates. We muſt know, that after the taking of *Cuſco*, when *Lima* (the *City of Kings* as it is call'd by the *Spaniards*) was rais'd and peopled, *Pizarro* made his Friend and Partner *Almagro* Governor of that Province. But alſo becauſe he had been an active Man in the *Peruvian* Conqueſt, (and one of the firſt Diſcoverers too) in conſideration of his Services, the Emperor made him Marſhal of *Peru*, and gave him Authority to conquer 300 Miles for himſelf, beginning where *Pizarro*'s Conqueſts ended. As for *Pizarro* himſelf, the greater actions he had perform'd made him *Almagro*'s Superiour; but he alſo now growing great, the other was conſequently jealous of him, as all ambitious aſpiring Men uſe to be of one another. And many Diſputes and Quarrels paſs'd between them, when at laſt *Pizarro*, to rid his hands of ſuch a dangerous Rival in a fair and an honourable way, ſent him into *Chili* to conquer, or to govern, or ſomething of that nature, as the pretence was; but the true deſign was, that he might be knock'd o'th' head there. However, *Almagro* made no ſcruple of going, and in that Country he ſtaid till the time that the Inca *Manco* was finally routed, and forc'd up into the Mountains. But then he had enough of *Chili*, and finding it did not anſwer his expectations, he march'd back into *Peru*, and came directly to *Cuſco*. This place he prerended a Right to the Government of, and wou'd accordingly have enter'd as ſuch, but was oppos'd by *Fernando Pizarro*, who was plac'd in that Station by his Brother, and wou'd not reſign it without Orders from him. But *Almagro* found a way to get into the City in the Night time, and ſurprizing the two *Pizarro*'s that were there, he clapt them both up in Priſon, and the next Day made himſelf be proclaim'd Governor, according to the Imperial Commiſſion. By as good a trick he alſo ſeiz'd *Alvarado*, another *Spaniſh* Commander, who was coming towards him with ſome Forces, and that for no good as he reaſonably imagin'd; and now he Lorded it in *Cuſco* at a violent rate, and threatned *Pizarro*'s Party moſt bitterly. But *Alvarado*, and one of the *Pizarro*'s, that lay there in Priſon, by making uſe of a golden Key, (which will open moſt Locks in the World) got out, and came to the General *Pizarro*, and acquainted him with all *Almagro*'s proceedings. At this he gather'd a conſiderable Body of Men, deſigning to march and drive him out of *Cuſco*, but by the Mediation of ſome, the Matter was ſo far compromiz'd, that both Parties agreed to meet and ſettle the Points in diſpute between them, in a fair and amicable Conference. Notwithſtanding this Contract, *Pizarro* diſpos'd a Company of Men, in a convenient place by the way, to murder *Almagro* as he paſs'd along, but he having timely notice of it avoided the danger. *Pizarro* and he having met together, the iſſue of it was that they were reconcil'd, and Promiſes and Oaths paſs'd on both ſides to bind the Bargain that was made. But which of the two was perjur'd firſt, is as uncertain as 'tis certain that one of them was ſo, for 'twas not long before all theſe Sacred Ties were broken, and the Reconciliation degenerated into the fierceſt Enmity, and the enmity iſſued in a Bloody War, which confounded all the Affairs of the Country. 'Twas *Almagro*'s hard fate to be taken Priſoner in this War, and *Pizarro* no ſooner had him in his Clutches, but he Sentenced him to Death; and that Sentence, no Interceſſion, no Pleading nor Appeal, was able to Reverſe. So he was Strangled, and *Fernando Pizarro* ſent over into *Spain* with the Proceſs. But tho' *Almagro* himſelf was dead, yet he had a Son that ſtill liv'd to be a plague to the Family of the *Pizarro*'s. This Young Man, and ſome of his Friends, quickly went to Plotting againſt *Pizarro*, but he looking upon his own Power and Greatneſs, deſpis'd ſuch trifling Enemies as he thought them to be, and that neglect of them coſt him his Life, for they murder'd him in his own Houſe, together with his half Brother *Martin de Alcantara*; how his four own Brothers were diſpos'd of, we ſhall hear by and by. *Pizarro* being dead, the young *Almagro* invaded the Government, making all Swear to him, and acting all the Arbitrary Tyrannical Parts that Power and Revenge join'd together are wont to do. But theſe bonny Days did not laſt long with him, and as the reſt of the Men of Uſurping and Ambitious Principles had ſome or other to pull them down, ſo was he ſhortly after humbled by *Vacca di Caſtro*, whom the Emperor ſent from *Spain* to put an end to thoſe Broils. *Almagro* 'tis true fought one Battel for his Life, but he had better have died bravely in the Field, for making his eſcape to *Cuſco*, he was there betray'd by a Friend, and ſent to *Caſtro*, who cut off his Head. And now the Emperor thought fit to prevent all future Pretenſions of any Prerenders, and to put an end to all Broils and Differences, by ſending over a Vice-Roy into the Country; and at the ſame time a Publick Decree, that all the *Indians* ſhou'd have their liberty, and be no longer treated as Dogs and Slaves by the *Spaniards*. The Vice-Roy was *Blaſcus Nunnez Vela*, who managed things with ſuch a ſeverity, that he put the Country into a ferment; and the *Spaniards*, who had been ſo long us'd to all ſorts of Licentiouſneſs, and to Tyrannize over the *Indians* as they pleas'd, cou'd not endure the ſtrait Reins of his Government, but took up Arms, and broke out into a Rebellion. They choſe *Gonſalo Pizarro* their Captain, and nominated him Procurator-General of the *Peruvian* Provinces, having none but him now to truſt to for the Head of a mutinous Faction; for beſides that *Vacca di Caſtro* ſeem'd to be a Man of more Loyal Principles, he was out of a Capacity of acting at that time, being made a cloſe Priſoner by the rigorous Vice-Roy *Blaſcus Nunnez Vela*. The Animoſities againſt the Vice-Roy encreaſing, he was ſeiz'd and put under Confinement, but had the good fortune to meet with one Friend (amongſt ſo many Enemies) who reſtor'd him to his liberty. After this he gather'd an Army, and tried for the Government of the *Indies* with *Gonſalo Pizarro*, but he was worſted, and taken Priſoner, and kill'd by an Officer of *Pizarro*'s, in revenge of his Brother's death, whoſe Executioner he had been.

Nunnez's ſeverity cauſes a Rebellion.

Gonſa'o Pizarro routed and kill'd.

To compoſe theſe troubleſome Affairs, the Emperor ſent over *Gaſca*, an Officer of great Policy and Experience, who overcame *Pizarro* in a ſet Battel, took his Head, and the Heads of his chief Adherents, and brought the Country into better order; he eas'd the *Indians* of a part of their heavy Burdens of Tribute, and gave them ſome reſt from the Cruelties of the *Spaniards*, who before hunted them like Dogs.

Gaſca mediates the Tributes.

And thus we ſee the end of all the firſt Diſcoverers and Conquerors of this Country, *Almagro*, *Pizarro* and his Brethren; they all came to violent Deaths, and there was not a Man of that company whom Juſtice did not find out in ſome receſs or other, and by puniſhing ſet a mark upon. And if Matters be well conſider'd, 'twill appear that this recompence was not undeſerv'd as to every one of them; and ſo much Murder and Blood, Perjury and Treachery, Injuſtice and Violence as they were guilty of, was but juſtly revenged in the breaking of them and their Families.

We muſt return now to the Inca *Manco*, whom we left in a ſecure Place upon the Mountains, where he liv'd during theſe Confuſions, much more quietly and happily than he cou'd have done in his Imperial City of *Cuſco*. In the mean time that that ſtern Vice-Roy *Nunnez* manag'd things in the Country with ſo much ſeverity, there were ſome of the *Spaniards*, that to avoid falling into his hands, fled to the Inca in the Mountains, who took them into his Protection, and dealt kindly with them. Amongſt others there was one *Gomez Perez*, whom we will name for the extraordinarineſs of his Inſolence and Ingratitude to his Benefactor. This Man the Inca treated very familiarly, and us'd to play at Bowls with him; but one Day, as they were at that ſport, *Gomez* (who was a cholerick haughty Fellow) in the heat of his play was ſo far tranſported about the little niceties and punctilio's of it, that he forgot all good Manners and Reſpect, and talk'd to the Prince as if he had been a Slave, or ſome very baſe and vulgar Perſon. At which the Inca (whoſe ſpirit was not ſunk with his Fortune, nor his Majeſty grown ſo little as not to reſent an Affront) with his fiſt gave him a good ſound blow on the breaſt, but the enrag'd *Spaniard* repaid it again with a mournful Intereſt, for taking up one of the Bowls, he flung it at the Inca, and ſtriking him upon the Head, kill'd him dead upon the ſpot. The *Peruvian* Nobles, and the Guard that were by, preſently ſet upon *Gomez* and the *Spaniards*, who retired into the Houſe to defend themſelves there, but they fired them out, and being all like ſo many Furies, in ſpite of all Arms and Oppoſition they beat and cut them to pieces. Their rage ran ſo high, that they deſign'd at firſt to eat the raw fleſh of the *Spaniards*, to ſhew how much they reſented the horrible Fact, but (whether they were afraid of being infected by it or no, or whatever was the cauſe) they did not do ſo, but expos'd it for Food to ravenous Birds and Beaſts. The Inca *Manco* left two Sons, one the Inca *Sayri Tupac*, which continued in the Mountains too, till the Vice-Roy *Mendoza* perſwaded him to come in and ſurrender himſelf; this he was brought to by the Policies of ſome that were about him, and whether he died by any *Spaniſh* treachery or no we can't ſay. Only this is clear of him, that he liv'd at *Cuſco* ſome time, and was baptiz'd there, and from thence he went to the Valley of *Yucay*, where he continued three Years, and then died. The

The Inca *Sayri Tupac*.

other

The Inca *Tupac Amaru*

other Son of *Manco* was the Inca *Tupac Amaru*, who choſe to ſettle in the ſame mountainous Places that his Father and Brother had done. The next Vice-Roy, *Franciſco de Toledo*, had a very great deſire to bring this Prince down from the Mountains, and to get him into his Power, for he was the next direct and legitimate Heir of the Empire, and the *Spaniards* did not care to have any Perſon (that cou'd write himſelf ſo) left in Being. For this end they told the Vice-Roy a great many Stories of him, that his Men robb'd the Merchants, and liv'd by Violence and Depredations, and cou'd ruine the Country thereabouts; all which was to inſtigate the Vice-Roy to fetch him down by force, and to ſerve him as they had ſerv'd his Uncle *Atabalipa*. The Prince had already withſtood all the fair and gentle methods of Perſwaſion and Promiſe, he wou'd not be coax'd and flatter'd into Snares, nor reſign himſelf into the hands of Men, who had forfeited their Truth ſo often already in their Dealings with thoſe of his Family. And in this Reſolution he imitated the Examples of his Father *Manco*, who wou'd never be enticed by the *Spaniards*, tho' his Brother (as was ſaid before) did do it; but he was very young, and his Years excus'd his weakneſs. So that the Vice-Roy, who determin'd to have him whatever it coſt, ſent out 250 Men, under the Command of *Martin Garcia Loyola*, to beat about thoſe Mountains, and ſearch out the Inca. And they had much eaſier work of it now than they wou'd have had in the Inca *Sayri Tupac*'s time, for the rough Ways were plain'd, and the narrow Paſſes open'd in many places, by which means the *Spaniards* had no great difficulty to find out their Game. The Inca, who cou'd not defend himſelf long from them, (they purſued him ſo cloſely) and knowing himſelf guilty of no crime, yielded to them, with his Wife, Daughter and two Sons, expecting that the Vice-Roy wou'd have dealt no worſe with him (at leaſt) than he had done with his Brother. But the poor Prince was moſt miſerably deceiv'd, a Proceſs was form'd againſt him, and he condemn'd to loſe his Head, as a Traytor againſt the Majeſty of *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, and Emperor of the New World. In this manner was his Crime proclaim'd, and the Charge manag'd againſt him, which had been much truer if it had been inverted. The Inca hearing his Sentence ſeem'd not much concern'd; he ſaid the Vice-Roy might have ſent him into *Spain* to the King, which wou'd have been as good a Security to him as his Death; but that there was no great need for the *Spaniards* to be afraid of his Arms, for his Father *Manco*, with 200000 Men, cou'd hardly beat 200 *Spaniards* out of *Cuſco*, and they were leſs able to do it now than they were then. The Prieſts and Friars were ſent to prepare him; that is, to Inſtruct him for Baptiſm, which he was not unwilling to receive, becauſe he remember'd (he ſaid) the words of his Grandfather *Huayna Capac*, that the Chriſtians ſhou'd bring a Law better than theirs. This Sentence was ſo contrary to all Humanity and Juſtice, and ſo horrible a reflection upon the King of *Spain*, that the *Spaniards* themſelves did not think 'twou'd have been executed, but only imagin'd the Vice-Roy intended, by ſuch a formality, to terrify the Inca, or had ſome other ſuch deſign. However, to the amazement of all People, preparations were made for his Execution, and a Scaffold erected in the great Street of *Cuſco*, to which the unfortunate Prince was brought in the moſt ignominious faſhion in the World. He was ſet upon a Mule, with a Rope about his Neck, and his Hands tied; in the mean while a Man went before him, proclaiming him Traytor and Rebel. He not underſtanding *Spaniſh*, ask'd the Friars that were with him, what that Man that went before him ſaid? And they told him that he proclaim'd him an *Auca*, that is, a Traytor. With that he call'd the Fellow to him, and ſpoke to this purpoſe, "Say not "ſo, ſays he, for thou knoweſt it is a Lye, and I never "thought or practis'd Treaſon in my Life, but ſay that I "die for the Vice-Roys Satisfaction, and becauſe 'tis his "Pleaſure I ſhould do ſo; not for any faults committed "againſt him or the King, and I appeal to *Pachacamac* "that what I ſay is true. The multitude follow'd him to the Scaffold with bitter cries and lamentations, and there being no leſs (by moderate eſtimation) than 300000 People gather'd together; they were afraid of ſome Tumult, and ſo made all the haſte they cou'd to mount the unhappy Prince upon the Tragical Stage. When he was there, the Prieſts pray'd him to ſilence the clamours and outcries of the People, which he did with a very well compos'd and majeſtick grace; he ſtretch'd out his Arm, with his Hand open, and laid it on his Ear, and from thence by degrees let it fall to his Thigh, upon which immediately follow'd ſo profound a Silence, that that great Multitude ſtood there like ſo many Statues, and not the leaſt noiſe or ſtir was heard amongſt them. In a word, he died with all the compoſedneſs and greatneſs of Mind that cou'd well be imagin'd, and left the *Spaniards* in as much wonder at his courage, as his own People were in ſorrow for the loſs of him. But the bloody Vice-Roy did not ſtop here, but perſecuted all the remainders of the Family; he torturd them in hopes to rack ſome Confeſſions out of them, from which he might have a fair pretence for their Execution. Nay, he did not ſpare the *Meſtizo's*, (as they call them) that is, the Inca's of the half Blood, the Sons of *Spaniards* by *Peruvian* Women of the Royal Houſe, but doom'd them to the ſame puniſhments with the reſt. Only he was ſtopt as to the point of Execution, by the outragious Exclamations of their Mothers, who made ſuch a terrible noiſe, (and mingled it with threatnings too) that the Vice-Roy was afraid to ſhed their Blood. However, he baniſh'd as many as he cou'd light of, ſome to *Chili*, ſome to *Mexico*, others to the Iſlands; and, in ſhort, ſent them all to ſpend the remainders of an unfortunate Life, in Parts far enough from their Native Country. As for thoſe of the Blood Royal, (the pure unmix'd Race of the Inca's) he confin'd 36 of them to the *City of Kings*, to live in a ſort of miſerable Exile there) and together with them, the Son and two Daughters of the murder'd Inca *Tupac Amaru*, the eldeſt of which was not ten Years old. The Archbiſhop of that Place, out of pity, took the Daughter to breed her up, tho' one wou'd have thought (if his Grace had taken but one) it ſhou'd have been more decent for him to have choſen one of the Sons; but God Almighty took care of them, and 33 more of thoſe Royal Exiles, within two Years time, for they all died, coming out of a cold hilly Country into the hot Plains by the Sea. Now there were but three remaining of the Houſe of the Inca's, and theſe were remov'd from *Lima* and ſent home to their own Houſes, where they liv'd but a little while, being quite overwhelm'd with their own miſeries, and thoſe of their Family. Thus they alſo went away after the reſt, out of the reach of the perſecuting *Spaniards*. One of theſe three laſt was the Grandſon of the great *Huayna Capac*, and he left a Son behind him, the one and only remaining branch of the Imperial Stock, and the undoubted Heir of the Crown. This Prince they were jealous of while he ſtaid in the *Indies*, and therefore he was order'd to remove into *Spain*, where a Princely Equipage and Allowance was promis'd him. So he quitted his private Lands and Inheritance in *Peru*, to come and live upon the King's Bounty in *Spain*, where, in ſhort, his Palace was a Monaſtery, and his Courtiers and Attendants a parcel of Piebald Monks and Friars, and his Revenues a ſorry pittance granted out of the Contractation-Houſe at *Sevil*. This baſe dealing broke the poor Prince's heart, and he died at *Alcala de Henares*, where he was ſhut up; he had a Son which died in his Infancy, and ſo the poor Revenue went back again to the Crown, and the Race of the Inca's was quite extinct. But we are not to forget the Vice-Roy, the Author of all this miſchief and confuſion. This Man having ſcrap'd together a prodigious heap of Treaſure, went back into *Spain*; recall'd, 'tis probable, for his vile Managements of Affairs. When he came home, he went to Court to kiſs the King's hand, but the King refus'd him that honour, and bid him get home to his Houſe, telling him he did not ſend him into *Peru* to murder Kings, but to ſerve Kings. And as great Courtiers, when once they begin to tumble, do fall apace, ſo this Diſgrace was preſently followed with another, for the Grand Council of the *Indies* having receiv'd Informations againſt him, they order'd all his Treaſures to be Arreſted. This broke the wretches Heart, and in two days time ſent him away to anſwer for all the innocent Blood he had ſhed. And *Loyola*, the Tool he had made uſe of to drive *Tupac Amaru* out of the Mountains, the Dog that hunted that Innocent Prince into the fatal Snare, (tho' for an aggravation of the crime, he had married that Prince's Brothers Daughter) he came to an end ſomething worſe than his Maſter. He was ſent General into *Chili*, where the bold and brave *Araucans* having ſet their Spies upon him, took an opportunity to fall upon him, which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that he and all his *Spaniards* were Sacrific'd to their fury.

Vice-Roy's Journe to get him.

Spaniards force him out of the Mountains.

He is Sentenced to dye.

He is Baptiz'd.

Brought in a Scandalous Manner to the Scaffold.

Vice-Roy perſecutes the Royal Family.

The Inca's die in their baniſhment.

The only Heir of the Inca's.

His barbarous treatment in *Spain*.

Vice-Roy's Diſgrace.

Loyola's Death.

And now it falls in courſe for us to look a little into the Affairs of the *Spaniards* in that Country; with which, and ſome few Remarks, we ſhall conclude the Hiſtory of this once moſt flouriſhing Empire.

The firſt *Spaniard* that look'd into this Country, in order to a Diſcovery, was *Almagro*, whoſe Army was moſt miſerably harraſs'd in his march hither; for the

First entrance into *Chili* by the *Spaniards*.

Indian

Indian Guides that led him along brought him cros the Snowy Mountains, where they were all like to be ſtarv'd with cold. He went no farther than the Province of *Copiapo*, which is the firſt plain Land in *Chili*, and from hence he return'd again into *Peru*, being weary both of his Journey and his Entertainment too; and he went in good time, for the reſolute *Chilois* were up in Arms, and endeavouring to cloſe the *Spaniards* round, ſo they march-ed off to ſave their Heads.

Second attempt by *Baldivia*.

The next that went upon this Deſign was *Pedro de Baldivia*, who effected that which *Almagro* durſt not ſtand to attempt; yet 'twas no more than half the Country that he conquer'd, and that part too which had acknowledged the Sovereignty of the Inca's of *Peru* before. As for the nobleſt and richeſt part, inhabited by the *Araucans*, he cou'd do little there; thoſe People, together with the moſt Gold, had alſo the moſt Courage and Valour to defend it.

The Inca's of *Peru* cou'd never tell how to manage them, tho' they often tried to do it; yea, by all accounts, they have always held it out againſt all their Neighbours, and never knew what 'twas to be compleatly conquer'd. When the *Spaniards* came firſt upon the borders of this Country, (for they did not dare to enter in) they ſent the Natives word, 'That they were the Children of God, 'and if they would not yield themſelves to be Inſtruct-'ed, and Govern'd by them, they wou'd ſhoot fire a-'mongſt them and devour them. As for the *Araucans*, they neither believ'd they were the Children of God, nor that they cou'd ſhoot fire amongſt them, but yet they reſolv'd to try whether they cou'd or no, and therefore met them in the Field, and fought a moſt cruel Battel, in which they found the *Spaniards* were as good as their words, and cou'd ſhoot fire. And by this means *Baldivia* got ſome ground in the Country, for the *Indians*, as valiant as they were, cou'd not tell what to make of, or how to ſtand before thoſe flaming Meſſengers of Death; and they began to think the *Spaniards* were ſomething more than common Men at leaſt, that cou'd ſtrike their Enemies dead without coming near them.

Baldivia plants the *Spaniards* in *Chili*.

The *Spaniards*, whoſe great Deſign in coming hither was to ſearch out the Gold Mines, quickly began to try what they wou'd yield, and they found them ſo very rich and luxuriant, that he that had leaſt in the company had the value of 20000 Pezo's *per Annum*; and as for *Baldivia* himſelf, he rais'd his Profits to 100000, ſome ſay 300000 Pezo's yearly Income.

The fame of theſe prodigious Riches brought the People flocking over from *Spain*, ſo that now here was a conſiderable Settlement, and the *Spaniards* took up ſix Towns, *viz. Villa Nueva*, *St. Jago*, *La Conception*, *La Imperial*, *Baldivia*, and *La Villa Rica*. The General *Baldivia* built alſo a Fort in the midſt of all theſe Plantations, which he furniſh'd with Soldiers and Ordnance; ſo that now they ſeem'd very ſecure, and to have made a good ſtep towards the entire Conqueſt of the Country. But the *Araucans* having convers'd with the *Spaniards* ſome little time, found by many good proofs that they were Mortal Men as well as others, ('tis probable they had knock'd ſome of them o'th' Head to make the Experiment) and therefore reſolv'd amongſt themſelves that they wou'd deliver their Country from them, and drive them all out; for theſe People, it ſeems, were determin'd never to ſubmit to any thing that wore Fleſh and Blood. Having got an Army ready, and poſted with great privacy not far from the Fort, there went 50 of them up to the Fort with Graſs and Straw for the *Spaniards* Horſes, which they were permitted to bring in, and that without the leaſt ſuſpicion, but the ſubtle *Araucans* had wrapt up their Weapons in this Horſe-meat, Clubs, Halberds, Bows and Arrows. As ſoon as they were in they ſeiz'd the Gate, and gave the Signal to their Companions, who marching up preſently, they fell upon the *Spaniards*, kill'd them all, and got entire poſſeſſion of the Fort. The News of this attempt coming to *Baldivia* at the Town of *Conception*, he ſet out preſently with 200 or 300 Horſe, to chaſtize theſe bold and daring *Araucans*. But they did not put him to the trouble of looking after them long, for they were upon the march to look him; and 'twas his unhappy fate to meet them upon a large open Plain, where they had advantages to ſurround him. There's no need to ſay that they fought; both Parties came with a full deſign to do it, and they did it with a Vengeance. The reſult was, that the *Araucans* had a compleat demonſtration of the Mortality of the *Spaniards*, for the greateſt part of them were kill'd upon the ſpot, and the reſt ow'd their Lives to the goodneſs of their Horſes, that carried them apace out of the Bloody Field, and the reach of the revengeful *Araucans*. But *Baldivia* was the moſt unhappy of all the Army, for he had his Horſe kill'd under him, and fell into their hands alive. Theſe *Araucans* eaſily knew their good Friend *Baldivia*; he that had Invaded their Country, and endeavour'd to make Slaves and Vaſſals of them. They bid him not be afraid, but pluck up his Spirits and be merry, for they only intended to give him his fill of Gold. So they made a great Banquet for him, and whatever Liquor he had at his Meat, the laſt Cup at the concluſion of all was a Cup of Liquid Gold, becauſe the General was ſuch a lover of that ſame; and whatever ſcruples he made at drinking it off, in ſhort the *Araucans* forc'd it all down, and bid him now glut himſelf with Gold. Here was the Story of *Creſſus*, (as it were repeated again) and that amongſt a People no leſs bold and valiant than the *Parthians* were.

Baldivia's death.

Stratagem of the *Araucans*.

Battel with the *Araucans*. *Spaniards* beat.

The next that ſucceeded in the Office of General in *Chili*, was *Pedro de Villa Grande*, who quickly rais'd a good Force to revenge this Diſgrace of his Friend and Predeceſſor *Baldivia*, but his Army was entirely defeated, and all his Artillery taken; and this defeat was ſo much the worſe, in that the whole ſtrength of the *Spaniards*, then in the Country, was put together to make up this Army.

Villa Grande's defeat.

After this the *Araucans* were never quiet, and tho' ſeveral conſiderable *Spaniſh* Commanders came to reduce them, yet they cou'd never compleatly do it, but they riſe up again as faſt as they were knock'd down. Particularly the Vice-Roy of *Peru*, *Mendoza*, ſent his Son with a ſtrong Army to tame theſe fierce People if poſſible, and tho' in divers Battels he kill'd 40000 or 50000 of them, repairing the Towns and Forts they had demoliſh'd, yet before he was quite got out of the Country they were all up in Arms again, beſieging and burning of Towns, and falling upon the *Spaniards* wherever they cou'd light of them. 'Twas in *A. D.* 1599. that they ſurpriz'd the City of *Valdivia* with a wonderful boldneſs. There came down in the Morning betimes about 5000 of them, of which 3000 were Horſe, 2 or 300 being arm'd in Coats of Mail, and ſome of them with Harquebuſſes; all which were *Spaniſh* Plunder, and the Spoils of the Field. The *Spaniards* having a little before this had ſome conſiderable Succeſſes againſt them, were quite intoxicated with their good fortune, and grown ſo careleſs and negligent upon't, that 'twas pity almoſt but they ſhou'd be ſurpriz'd; they had but four Men in their *Corps du Guard* to walk the Rounds, and the whole City was aſleep. The *Araucans*, who by their Spies had intelligence of this general ſupineneſs and neglect, came up to the Town without raiſing any Alarm, ſeiz'd and ſecur'd the Gates, and ſo march'd into the Place in a full Body. They preſently began to ſet the Houſes a-fire, and to cut the Throats of the *Spaniards*; and within the ſpace of two hours had entirely conſum'd the Town, maſſacred all the Inhabitants, won and burnt the Fort, and left all in Ruines. They carried off to the value of 3 or 400000 Pezo's, beſides all the Artillery of the Fort; and they had likewiſe burnt all the Ships in the Road, if notice had not been given them to be upon their guard.

Vice Roy's Son quiets them for a time.

Araucans take the City of *Baldivia*.

From hence they march'd away to *Imperial* and *Villarica*, the former of which places was ſo ſtraitly beſieg'd by them, that all the Inhabitants, except 20, were famiſh'd to death, and thoſe 20 had as hard a fate, being forc'd to yield to the Mercy of the *Araucans*, who wou'd be ſure to have no more Mercy on them than Death and Famine had on their Countrymen. And they went on at ſuch a rate, that the Affairs of the *Spaniards* quickly began to grow deſperate, at leaſt they look'd with a very bad aſpect in the Years 1603 and 1604; for about this time they had Sack'd and Burnt 6 of the 13 Cities which the *Spaniards* had in *Chili*. And by this time alſo they were ſo improv'd in the Art of War, and grown ſo very politick by long Practiſe and Experience, that they were a very formidable Enemy, conſidering how much Valour and Courage they had to mix with that Policy and Skill. Many detachments were made out of the Army in *Peru* for this *Chili* Affair, but thoſe that once came here, ſeldom went back again to *Peru*. All the *Spaniards* look'd upon it as deſperate Service, and reckon'd themſelves as a ſort of Forlorn Hope mark'd out for Deſtruction.

The Town of *Imperial* ſtarv'd.

Oſorno and *Villarica* taken by the *Araucans*.

The laſt places we have Accounts of their taking, were the Cities of *Oſorno* and *Villarica*, which they did with a horrible ſlaughter of the *Spaniards*, breaking of Images, and firing of Churches and Houſes, putting even all the Friars and Religious Men to the Sword as well as the Soldiers, and leading the Nuns and other Women away into Captivity. In a word, they became ſo good Soldiers, lov'd their own Liberties (and hated the *Spaniſh* Yoke) ſo heartily, that the *Spaniards* cou'd never

be free from moleſtations by them. And but that Gold is a very tempting thing, and People love to be in the way where 'tis to be had, and to have it run through their hands, (tho' they don't hold much on't faſt) or elſe 'twas not worth the *Spaniards* while to keep any Fort or Town at all in this Country; for all the Profits were ſwallowed up by the War, and the Gold that was got was no more than enough to pay the Army that muſt conſtantly be maintain'd there.

And thus much for the Hiſtory of theſe Countries, and the Entrance, Conqueſts, and Settlement of the *Spaniards* here. How they behaved themſelves amongſt the *Indians*, and what ſort of Examples of Juſtice, Goodneſs and Humanity they ſet, to recommend the Chriſtian Religion which they brought over along with them to theſe People, is another, but a long and a mournful Story. As it was not to promote Religion and Piety, but to ſatisfie their Covetouſneſs and Ambition that they firſt came thither, ſo 'twas not by the Laws of the former, but of the latter, that they liv'd here, exceeding the moſt barbarous *Americans* themſelves in their Savage fiercenes towards their Fellow Creatures, proud Tyrannick Government, and open violation of all the Rights and Privileges of Mankind. As they lov'd nothing but Gold, did nothing but hunt and ſeek for Gold; ſo they ſtuck at nothing that tended to put them in poſſeſſion of their ſo much deſired prey; not at Treachery and Ingratitude, not at Lying and Perjury, not at Swearing and Blaſphemy, not at Robbing the Orphans and Widows, nor murdering the moſt Innocent in cold Blood: They laid waſte and deſolate ſome of the moſt thriving and flouriſhing Kingdoms in the World; they emptied the Towns of their Inhabitants, whom they either ſlaughter'd without diſtinction of Age and Sex, or forc'd out into the Mountains and wild Places, to be hunted and torn to pieces with Dogs. The *Indians* were always a People of a moſt kind and obliging Diſpoſition, ſo meek and mild, and diſcovering ſo much of a charming Innocence and Sincerity in all their Dealings, that Men that had not wholly diveſted themſelves of all the Vertues of Humane Nature, cou'd not but have been tender and loving to them. They never did any thing to make the *Spaniards* uneaſie, never Plotted nor Conſpired to do them miſchief, till the laſt degrees of cruel uſage had compell'd them to it; nay, ſo far from that, that they ſtudied to pleaſe them, and were glad upon any ſcore to purchaſe a little favour at their hands. But all that they cou'd do, cou'd never ſoften the obdurate tempers of thoſe Men; Humility and Submiſſion cou'd never make them relent, nor ſtrike a damp to the fire of that rage that tranſported them. Nor cou'd all the Riches and Wealth of the Country which the *Spaniards* ſwallow'd every where, procure the miſerable Natives ſo much as a little compaſſion, or a ſmall degree of merciful treatment. No, but their Blood and their Treaſures were both pour'd out together, and the Country fill'd with the mangled Limbs and Carkaſſes of thoſe poor People; ſo that wherever a Man went, he had the proſpect of a Shambles before his Eyes, and found a Field of Blood to travel through. Neither were the beſt and greateſt Men, the Princes and Caciques, excus'd from theſe Barbarities; they ſaw their Palaces rifled, their Wives and Daughters raviſh'd and murder'd before their Faces, and had their own Carkaſſes thrown at length perhaps amongſt the heaps of their Maſſacred Subjects, to feed the Ravens and Vultures. But bare Executions for the moſt part did not ſerve the turn, and the *Spaniards* were not content to put theſe People to death, but they did it with all the circumſtances of Cruelty imaginable; they invented the moſt exquiſite torments for them, and made them die in pains and agonies that wou'd have ſhock'd Humane Nature to have ſeen even the brute Beaſts themſelves ſtruggling under. And where they did not thus diſpatch outright, they drove them away from their Houſes and Habitations, to pine away their lives in Slavery and horrid Bondage in Foreign Countries, or elſe to work and drudge in the Mines; to avoid which miſeries, many thouſands laid violent hands on themſelves and either by Hanging, Stabbing or Drowning, or ſome other wretched Death, put themſelves and their Children out of all their pain at once. As for Baniſhment, the Baſe and the Noble equally ſhar'd that fate, the Mothers and their young Children together; they Tranſported great numbers of Families at a time, to places where they were to be ſold like Beaſts at a Market. In a word, they took away the Lives of ſeveral Millions of People, and all within the compaſs of a few Years; they ruin'd a moſt rich and fertile Country, depopulated Cities and Towns without number, committed all manner of Impiety to the higheſt degree of Licentiouſneſs imaginable, and yet at the ſame time call'd themſelves *the People of God*, and pretended to be ſent to teach the *Indians* thoſe Sacred Laws and Doctrines that won'd conduce to their everlaſting Happineſs. But was the Majeſty of Heaven ever ſo Blaſphem'd by *Pagans*? Did the fooliſh Rites of Idolatry and Superſtitious Worſhip ever expoſe him ſo much to the contempt of the World, as the mixture of all this flaming Wickedneſs with the Pretenſions to his Service, and a Commiſſion from him? The *Spaniards* reſolving to be ſuch as they were, ſhou'd at their firſt coming over have renounc'd both Chriſtianity and Humanity together; told the *Indians* plainly they came from Hell, were only Devils in Humane Shape, and appear'd on purpoſe to torment them, for a great deal of this had been true, and the Honour of the Chriſtian Religion preſerv'd into the bargain, but the other was an impious Affront to Heaven, as well as a filthy piece of Cheat and Hipocriſie, with reſpect to the People they had to do with. And the Notions the *Indians* had of them and their Religion, were ſuch as were to be expected from ſuch Practiſes. They look'd upon them as a ſort of People entirely eaten up of baſe and covetous deſires, and that wou'd do any thing for ſordid Gain; and therefore they have held up pieces of Gold to them in Mockery. 'Ho Chriſtian, (ſays they) 'here's Gold, here's Gold; intimating, there was the thing they admir'd and ador'd. They knew very well it was the governing Idol of their Souls, and that whatever reſpect they pretended to God Almighty, 'twas this only that they worſhipp'd in their Hearts; and therefore the *Spaniards* have heard them ſay, 'Look 'upon this Gold and behold your God; 'tis for this 'that you have ſubdued us, and done ſo many miſ-'chiefs; 'tis for this that you Game, Blaſpheme, Curſe, 'Quarrel, Steal, commit Rapes, and practiſe all manner of Luſt and Villany. And 'twas a ſevere and cloſe, tho' juſt reflection, made by one of the Caciques, upon a *Spaniſh* Commander that came to extort his Wealth from him, and us'd ſeveral foul unjuſt practiſes in order thereto: If thy God ſays he) bids thee Rob, Kill, 'Burn, and do all manner of Miſchief, we can neither 'believe him nor his Law. What miſchief their lewd and wicked Examples did, may be gueſs'd by this Inſtance farther, which was a very remarkable one. There was a Son of one of the Caciques, which, when he was a Boy, was in great towardlineſs and hope, and promiſed very conſiderable things; but having the misfortune to have his Education not amongſt his own Pagan Countrymen, that cou'd have taught him better, but amongſt the *Spaniards* that came to Convert the Country, he grew intolerably Looſe and Debauch'd, and was as good as any of them all at any kind of Villany. Some of his Friends that perceiv'd this change in him, and were ſorry for't, ask'd him one time how he came to grow ſo bad? 'Oh! (ſays he) ſince I have been a Chri-'ſtian, and convers'd amongſt the *Spaniards*, I have 'learn'd to Swear by the Name of God, by the Croſs, 'and by the words of the Holy Goſpel; I have learnt to 'Game, and Lye and Diſſemble as they do; I have 'put on a Sword by my Side too, to fight with in my 'Quarrels; and now I want nothing to be compleatly 'like them in my Converſation but a Concubine, and 'her I intend to bring home very ſhortly. A very fine Story to be told by a Heathen of his Chriſtian Maſters! but from this one may imagine what was done in other caſes, and what a monſtrous Offence and Stumbling-block they have been in the way of the Infidels. Theſe, and ſuch like, are the Miracles they have done in the Country, whatever others they pretend to; one may hear them talk of healing the Sick, and doing extraordinary things with their Unctions and Chriſmes, and conſecrated Wafers, but they have gone beyond all that in other Performances, and have done things that the World will for ever wonder at them for. Neither are theſe things to be look'd upon as the bare Surmiſes or Imaginations of other People, or as the Fictions and Stories of thoſe that are Enemies to the *Spaniards*, and are angry with them for ſwallowing up the Riches of ſo large and glorious a part of the World: Let their own Writers, their own Countrymen, be produc'd as Witneſſes in the caſe; let them ſpeak that were there upon the ſpot, that were acquainted with the Country, and ſaw their Management there. Particularly, let the Reader (that is deſirous of the moſt ample Satisfaction) conſult the Writings of *Jerome de Benzos*, and of Don *Bartholomeo de las Caſas*, the Biſhop of *Chiappa*, and a zealous *Dominican* Friar. This latter we eſpecially recommend, as a Perſon who ſeems to write with an air of great honeſty and integrity; does not diſcover any thing of Partiality, Prejudice or Deſign, or that he was any

The abominable Cruelties of the *Spaniards*.

The Opinion the *Indians* had of them.

A Story to that purpoſe.

Very good Maſters and Teachers of Chriſtianity.

Their own Writers prove all this.

any way biaſs'd in his Writing, but ſeems to be animated all along with a true Religious Zeal, and a compaſſionate Regard to the welfare of the poor *Indians*. He had ſeen a world of theſe Tragedies acted in the *Indies*, where he was Biſhop, and being deeply afflicted at them, and as deſirous to prevent ſuch miſchiefs for the time to come, made a Journey over into *Spain*, to move the Court for that purpoſe. Before he came, there had been a certain Book written by one Dr. *Sepulveda* the Emperor's Hiſtorian, the deſign of which was to Excuſe and Defend the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*; and this he was put upon by ſome of them that had their hands in the Slaughters and Devaſtations there, who ſeeing no way to conceal their Villanies, reſolved to make them appear juſt and reaſonable to the World. *Sepulveda* was a fit Tool for ſuch Work, both as he was a Man of barbarous Principles, and as one, who by his Elegancy and flouriſhing Language, cou'd befriend the worſt Cauſe imaginable, and give Vice and Knavery the Dreſs of Honeſty and good Manners. The ſubſtance of his Book conſiſted mainly in the proof of theſe two Concluſions: *Firſt*, That the Wars of the *Spaniards* againſt the *Indians* were Juſt and Equitable. *Secondly*, That the *Indians* were bound to yield and ſubmit to them, as the Fooliſh are to the Wiſe, as the Baſe and Inferiour to the more Noble and Excellent; and that if they did not do ſo, the *Spaniards* might execute their Pleaſure upon them. But the Book did not meet with any Countenance, and the *Spaniards* themſelves reckon'd it ſo Scandalous, that they wou'd not let it be printed. The Royal Council of the *Indies* refus'd to Licence it; and for all the fulſome flattery of it, in pretending to Aſſert the Right of the *Spaniſh* Monarchs to an Univerſal Sovereignty, they judg'd it unfit to ſee the light. Being repuls'd ſeveral times here, he made his Application to the Emperor by ſome Friends at Court, and got an Order to go to the Royal Council of *Caſtile* for their Approbation of his Book; and 'twas while he was Soliciting here, that the Biſhop of *Chiappa* came upon a very contrary deſign. That Prelate having notice of the Book, and the Contents of it, oppos'd the printing of it with all the vehemence in the World, and repreſented the dangerous conſequences of it ſo effectually to that Council, that they wou'd not venture to determine the Matter themſelves, but referr'd it to the Univerſities of *Salamanca* and *Alcala*, who were deſired to Examine Dr. *Sepulveda*'s Book very nicely. In a word, the Divines of thoſe Academies (after a great many Diſputations) concluded that it was full of pernicious Doctrines, and ought not to be made publick; ſo that the printing of it in *Spain* was abſolutely forbidden. However, the Doctor (who was reſolved to do his utmoſt towards the propagation of Principles of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power) ſcorning, and railing at the Deciſion of the Academies, ſent his Book to *Rome*, the likelieſt place to give a Birth to any thing that was deſign'd to do miſchief. And here it got into the Preſs, tho' the Emperor preſently iſſued out Orders for the ſuppreſſing of it in all his Dominions, and made all the Copies of the Abſtract of it, which were done in the Vulgar *Spaniſh*, (to ſpread the Notions amongſt the People more generally) be gather'd up. In a word, the Biſhop of *Chiappa* now ſet himſelf to write, for an Antidote againſt this Poyſon ſo ſpreading and ſo pleaſing to the *Spaniards* too; in which he ruin'd all *Sepulveda*'s Foundations, and ſhew'd how weak and precarious, as well as contrary to the Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, all that he had advanc'd there was. But whether that Piece was then printed or no, 'tis certain that (beſides the Council of the *Indies*) the Emperor ſummon'd an Aſſembly of Divines and Lawyers to *Valledolid*, in *A.D.* 1550. where the Biſhop, and Dr. *Sepulveda*, both appear'd, and had all the liberty and ſcope that cou'd be deſired allow'd them, to maintain each the Cauſe he had undertaken. A full account of which Diſputation, with the Biſhop's Advantages, his cloſe and ſerious Applications to the Emperor, on the behalf of the *Indians*, (with other Matters to the ſame purpoſe) may be ſeen in his Hiſtory of the *Spaniſh* Cruelties in the *Weſt-Indies*.

An Account of the Controverſie about the *Indians*.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Voyage to Florida, *made by the Fleet under the Command of* Pamphilo Narvaez: *Written by* Alvaro Nunnez, *an Officer in the ſame.*

Fleet for the *Florida* Diſcovery. *June, A. D.* 1527.

THE Fleet conſiſted of five Ships well furniſh'd, wherein were 600 Men, beſides Friars and Spiritual People: The principal Officers were *Alvaro Nunnez*, Treaſurer; *Agozino*, Provoſt-Martial; *Alonzo Enriquez*, Auditor; *Alonzo de Solis*, Factor and Overſeer for his Majeſty of *Spain*; and *Narvaez* Governor. They ſet Sail from the Haven of St. *Lucar* of *Barrameda*, with full Power to conquer all the Country from the River of *Palmes* to the Cape of *Florida*. Staying at the Iſland of *Cuba* ſome time for a Recruit of their Proviſions, they met with a Tempeſt there that extremely damag'd their Fleet, and ſunk two of the Ships. The Wind at that time was outragious and violent to the laſt degree, and did no leſs miſchief at Land than it did at Sea. It blew down Houſes and Churches; and unleſs 7 or 8 Men went together, holding faſt by one another, there was no ſtanding againſt the ſtrength of it, a ſingle Man cou'd not keep upon his Legs. Thoſe that left their Houſes for fear of being buried in the Ruines of them, were in as much danger in the Woods with the continual cracking and falling of the Trees. The loſſes they ſuſtain'd by this Tempeſt, together with the toil and fatigue it put them to, obliged them to continue here and refreſh themſelves for the ſpace of ſome Months; after which they proceeded in their Voyage towards *Florida*, with four Ships and one Brigantine, in which were about 400 Men and 80 Horſes. In this Courſe they met with dangers not much inferiour to the former, being like once to periſh all together by running on the Sands, and at another time by a raging Tempeſt; tho' at laſt, without any farther loſſes, they came up with the Coaſt of *Florida*, and anchor'd in the mouth of a fair open Road. The Governor *Narvaez*, with ſome others, went aſhore to the *Indian* Town that was near, and took poſſeſſion of the ſame in the King of *Spain*'s Name; which they might very well do, without any manner of oppoſition or diſturbance, for the *Indians* were all gone out in their Canoes the Night before. They coaſted about the Gulph ſome 4 Leagues, and then found ſome *Indians* who brought them to their Village, which was at the head of the Gulph; and here they found Pieces of Cloth, ſuch as comes from *Hiſpaniola*, great *Spaniſh* Cheſts, in every one of which was the Body of a dead Man cover'd with Deers-skins, together with ſome fragments of Gold. The *Spaniards* were moſt inquiſitive about the latter of theſe things, how, and where they got it; and the *Indians* gave them to underſtand, by ſigns and words, that it came from a far diſtant Province call'd *Apalachen*, where they might find great quantities of the ſame. And 'twas not long after that *Narvaez* began to ſet out with his Company for the ſearch of this golden Country. They travell'd 15 days without the ſight of Man, Beaſt, or Houſe, meeting in all that Way with no ſort of Proviſion neither but a few Dates. At laſt a Party of 200 *Indians* preſented themſelves to their view, but made ſigns to them that they ſhou'd join their Company to theirs, and go with them to their Villages; and the *Spaniards*, who wanted refreſhment, were willing enough to agree to.

Province of *Apalachen*.

After a little inquiry into the Country that lay to the Sea, they continued their march towards *Apalachen*, and in their Journey a certain Cacique came to pay them a Viſit in his beſt attire, (as 'tis to be ſuppos'd) which was a Deer-skin painted, and attended with a great many of

his People. As they pass'd through his Country they were kindly us'd, and had Maize, and other things the Soil afforded, freely brought by the Natives. In many Parts of the Country up and down they found Maize, Cedars, Sanine Trees, Holmes, Oaks, and low Palmes like those of *Castile*. The Lakes and Pools also lie very thick, some of which are very difficult to be pass'd, as also some of the Rivers, which are swift and rapid, and give a great deal of trouble to them that are to pass them. The Mountains in many places, besides their own vastness, were cover'd with huge tall Trees, abundance of which were thrown down with Tempests, and the Way quite stopt up, so that there was no passing without fetching a great compass; and they observ'd that the greatest part of these Trees were cleft from one end to the other, the certain and undoubted effect of the terrible Lightnings to which those Parts are very obnoxious. Terrible Lightning.

Having march'd through many of these difficulties, they came at last to the so much desired *Apalachen*. The Town of *Apalachen.* Town of that Name they had easie access and entrance into, for there were none but Women and Children there, all the Men being gone abroad either for Sport and Pastime, or out of Policy and Design. However, *Spaniards* assaulted. they very quickly after came out in open view, and assaulted the *Spaniards* with their Bows and Arrows, but the fight was quickly over, and the *Indians* running away left them still in possession of their Town. These People had poor little Houses, but built very close and snug, in Delves and Valleys, for fear of the direful Tempests that happen there. Their main Furniture was Skins of wild Beasts, and little Mills to grind their Maize; they had also some Garments made of Thread, which were us'd only by the Women, but very mean and sorry like all the rest. The Province abounded with Products of the Country. Maize, but we hear of no other sort of Grain, nor not a word of the Gold which the *Indians* promis'd. The Beasts they saw here were chiefly Conies, Hares, Bears, Lions, and one that carried all her Young in a great Bag or Pouch, which Nature had provided for that purpose, till they were able to stand upon their own Legs, and shift for themselves. The Fowl were Geese, Ducks, Herons, Faulcons, Sparrow-hawks, Black-birds, and some others; but of neither sort of Animals any great rarities. The Country was capable of maintaining Flocks and Herds, there being a great deal of good Pasturage in many places. The *Indians* that had quitted the Town, and left their Wives and Children in their possession, came again to demand them of them, and the *Spaniards* deliver'd them all; only they detain'd a certain Cacique, which offended the Natives so, that the next day they return'd and assaulted them with a great fury, and set fire to the Houses where they were. But they did not care to stand to the trial of a Battel when the *Spaniards* came out to fight them, but retired into their shelters, and offer'd no more such disturbances. Another sort of *Indians* came also to make the like experiment upon them, but they cou'd do no good, and were forc'd to fly as the others had done.

The *Spaniards* now began to be weary of staying here, for the Country seem'd to be poor and meanly Peopled, and travelling very difficult by reason of the many Lakes and Mountains. Besides, by the account of their *Indian* Guides, the Province of *Apalachen* was the best of all thereabouts, and farther they wou'd meet with Lakes and Mountains that were more unpassable, and a Country worse Peopled by far than that where they were. As for the Country that lay towards the South, they were inform'd it yielded Maize and Pulse, and some Fish, but they cou'd hear no tidings, much less see any signs of Gold all this while. However they resolv'd to *Spaniards* go to *Aute.* see this Country which the *Indians* (that brought them hither, and still went along with them) call'd the Country of *Aute*. As they march'd thither, the *Indians* perplex'd them most grievously in their passage over one of the Lakes, taking that opportunity to assault them; for the *Spaniards* were forc'd to wade through the water, and were very near Breast high, and when they were all in, the *Indians* that lay close amongst the Trees that were tumbled down into and about the Lake, sent a shower of Arrows upon them, and wounded a great many, both Men and Horses. After this they pass'd the other Lakes quietly enough, for their Enemies had spent the greatest part of their Ammunition upon them; but when they came out upon the Plains, they follow'd them still at a distance, and made their march as troublesome and fatiguing as they cou'd. These People were very tall and strong of Body, and wonderful dextrous Archers; their Bows were as thick as a Man's Arm, and 11 or 12 Span long, and their Arrows fitted to do the worst of Executions. They wou'd shoot at the distance of 200 Paces, and so very exact and level, as never to miss the Mark they aim'd at. And with what a spring their Bows deliver an Arrow may be guess'd from hence, that some of the *Spaniards* saw an Arrow sticking in a great Elm-Tree that pierc'd above a handful into the body of it; and another of them in the fight was struck with an Arrow in the Head, that (notwithstanding his Head-piece) almost made its way through from one side to the other.

When they came to *Aute*, they found no People nor *Aute* People gone. Houses neither, for the former were fled, and the latter burnt, only some Stock of Maize, Gourds and Pulse was left, which the *Indians* ('twas to be suppos'd) cou'd not carry away with them. 'Twas to no purpose for them to stay in such a Country, where the People treated them like Enemies, and no Provision hardly to be had neither; having therefore made some Observations of the Sea-Coasts that lay near, they resolv'd, if possible, to deliver themselves out of so barbarous a place, and do their endeavours to find the way homeward. But how or which way was this to be put in practise? There was no going back again by Land the same way they came, for this wou'd be to run into the same dangers and difficulties, which with so much loss and trouble they had just surmounted; besides their Horses were most of them dead, and the rest so feeble as not to be able to stand upon their own legs, much less to carry them that cou'd not travel afoot. And as for their Ships, they were discharged long before, and Boats they had none, nor knew not where to provide themselves with any; but the case was desperate, and so must have a desperate remedy, and they must run any hazard rather than stay there and starve, or be destroy'd by the *Indians*. They set therefore to making of Boats, Sorry Boats. but having no Nails nor Tools, they us'd the old Iron of Cross-bows, Stirrops and Spurs, instead of them; their Cordage and Tackling was Horse-hair twisted, and the Rinds of Trees, their Sails old Shirts, and in the rooms of Pitch and Tar they daub'd their Boats with the Gum of Pine-Trees; as for Oars, there was Wood enough to make them, as also the bodies of the Boats themselves. But they were worst of all put to it for Vessels to carry their fresh Water in, to supply which defect they flead some of their dead Horses, and sow'd their Skins together into convenient forms, and so us'd them instead of better things for that purpose There were five of these sorry Boats made in all, which were sufficient to contain their whole Company, that was now considerably lessen'd, partly by Sickness and Famine, and partly by the *Indian* Arrows; there was no more than half the number that first landed in the Country. They Dangerous committed themselves to Divine Providence, and undertook one of the most hazardous Voyages that ever was undertaken by Men; but necessity (which obliged them to it) has no Law. After 7 days Sailing (with no little danger by reason of the many Gulphs) they arriv'd at an Island that lies near the Land, where some of the company landed, and got some little Recruits at the Houses of the *Indians* upon the same; they saw some of those People too in their Canoes, but they wou'd not stay till the *Spaniards* came up to them, but made off, and left the Canoes at their disposc. They Sail'd along the Coast for above 30 days, being still in the same Labyrinth that they were at first setting out, as to the knowledge of the Country, and their right way home. Hunger and thirst prevail'd grievously amongst them all this while, and they had no sight of any People but sometimes a few *Indian* Fishers, a poor and miserable sort of wretches that were not able to relieve them, nor wou'd not come near them. Some of their Men died with drinking large draughts of Salt Water, which they cou'd not forbear, the thirst that possessed them was so great. In this Miserable case of the *Spaniards.* distress, and when they were almost at the point of giving up all for lost, they Weather'd a point of the Land where there appear'd to be safe and easie going ashore, and several Canoes of *Indians* came out to see them. But the Barbarians having just look'd upon them, went away again; however the *Spaniards* follow'd them ashore to their Houses, before the entrance of which they found great quantities of Fish, and Pots of fresh Water. The The Cacique kind to them. Cacique, a Prince of these People, had more civility than his Subjects, and offer'd all this Fish and Water to *Narvaez* and his Company; and more than that, invited them to his House. The *Spaniards* were not ungrateful to these People for their hospitable treatment of them, but entertain'd them with the Bread of Maize, and some Trifles which they had brought. The Cacique's House was neatly made of Mats, and he was cover'd with a Mantle made of the Martinets Sable, which smelt like Musk, or rather like Ambergreese; some others

others had Furr Mantles too, but none like that. While the *Spaniards* that came ashore were enjoying themselves here, the barbarous *Indians* got together and assaulted the House, took away the Cacique, wounded *Narvaez*, pursued them to their Boats, and attack'd the Troop (that staid ashore to favour the retreat of the rest into their Boats, and to protect them there) with so much fury in the Night time, that there was not one of them that escap'd wounding. 'Twas but a poor refreshment they got here, yet such as 'twas they were forced to be contented with it, and go to seek their Fortunes somewhere else. After a few days Sailing they met with more *Indians* in their Canoes, who promis'd to give them fresh Water enough if they wou'd furnish them with Vessels to bring it in; so they left two *Indians* for Hostages, and two of *Narvaez*'s company went ashore along with them to fetch the Water. At Night these perfidious Wretches brought back the Vessels, but not a drop of Water in them; neither did they bring the Men with them according to promise, nor wou'd they give any account what was become of them. But instead of that, the next day came a considerable number of them in their Canoes, together with 5 or 6 of their Caciques, dress'd in their Mantles of Martinet Furr, and they were so impudent as to demand their two Men left for Pledges, tho' those of the other side were still detain'd (perhaps Sacrific'd) by them. These Caciques wou'd fain have had the *Spaniards* gone ashore with them, but they saw too much of their treachery already to venture themselves any farther amongst them; besides the Canoes still coming in thick and threefold upon them, they had reason to suspect some Villanous Design was then in hand. When the *Indians* saw they cou'd do no good, and that the *Spaniards* peremptorily refus'd to restore their two Men, they threw off the Mask, and appear'd with the bare face of Enmity; they began to sling great Stones at them, and wou'd have done more mischief, but that a fresh gale of Wind blowing at that time made them keep off, and invited the others to go on with their Voyage. Their want of Provisions upon these Inhospitable Coasts continued very sharp and pressing, and they were now come to the poor Allowance of half a handful of raw Maize a Day. But they had not sail'd many days in this distress before a Tempest rise upon them, that scatter'd that sorry Fleet of Boats from one another, driving them they knew not where themselves; but however, they had no reason to expect ever to see each other again. The Boat in which *Alvaro* (our Author) sailed, happily recover'd shelter in a certain Island whether it was driven, but it was after they had endured the last extremities by hunger, cold, and the violent tossings of a rough and raging Sea. The violence of hunger made them search for Food in the Cottages of the *Indians* that were near, as soon as ever they came ashore; and happening to find all clear and open, (for the *Indians* were abroad in the Field) they took some few Necessaries and return'd to their Boat. But in a very little time the *Indians* had got the scent of them, and came with a matter of 100 Archers upon them; they were very large stout Men, and the weak and weather-beaten *Spaniards* looking upon them with the Eyes of fear, imagin'd them to be Giants. However, they did not offer to let fly any of their Arrows at them; so that *Alvaro* seeing them appear something mild and gentle came up to them, and with a few Toys won their Friendship so effectually, that every one of them gave him an Arrow in token of it, and told him by signs that they wou'd return in the Morning, and bring some Provisions with them. And they were as good as their word, coming at the time appointed with Fish and Roots; and they repeated their Visits thus constantly for two or three days, the *Spaniards* still requiting their kindness with some odd things or other, which were not a little pleasing to them. When they thought they were pretty well provided with Necessaries, they resolved to go on with their Voyage, and for that end went into their Boat, but one boisterous wave overturn'd the Boat, drown'd three of them, and beat all the rest back again upon the shore. They were now in a miserable condition, whatever they had being lost, and themselves quite naked, for they had stript off their Cloaths before to launch the Boat into the water; besides 'twas the Winter Season, and the Weather extremely cold, and a long course of hard living had taken away all the covering of flesh from their Bones, so that they appear'd like so many frightful Images of Death. But 'twas their good luck by searching about, to find some of the Brands which they had just made a fire with before they embark'd, and as Providence wou'd have it, those Brands not quite extinguish'd neither; so that here they quickly blew up a fire, which in some measure comforted them under the piercing blasts of the North wind. They were in this forlorn state not expecting to live, when the *Indians* (who knew nothing of their misfortune) came as they were wont, to bring them more Supplies; but when they saw a parcel of naked Skeletons standing about a fire, believing them to be some very horrible things, they took up their heels and run away as fast as they cou'd. But *Alvaro* made after them, and stopt them at last, with many fair words and perswasions, and told them the Story of their sad Adventure, which they believ'd when they came back and saw one or two of the dead Bodies upon the shore. At the hearing of this they fell a weeping and lamenting after their manner, bewailing the *Spaniards* in very moving terms upon the score of their misfortunes, and express'd a great deal of tenderness and humanity. This encouraged *Alvaro* to desire them to take them into their Houses for shelter, which they readily consented to; and because their Habitations were a good way off, they made several great fires by the way, at which they stopt to rub and chafe the benummed Limbs of these poor Men, and carried them all the way upon their backs, not suffering any one of them to touch the ground with his feet. They also made good fires for them when they brought them home, gave them Food and a warm Lodging, and Sung and Danced all Night for their arrival. These People (like most of the rest they had hitherto seen) were of strong well-compacted Bodies, and of good courage. The Men had one of their Paps pierc'd from one side to the other, and in the hole a little Cane was thrust across, about two or three span long, and two fingers thick; some had both their Paps serv'd thus. The like they did to the under-lip, in which they carried a piece of Cane about half a finger thick. They make this Island their habitation from *October* to the end of *February*, feeding mostly all that time upon Fish, and a sort of Root which they dig out from under the water with much labour and trouble. When that time is expired, they remove into the Continent to seek other Food, for those Roots do then but begin to grow, and are not in their perfection till *November* and *December*. Their Houses are made of Mats, and they have the Hides of Beasts for Beds and Couches to sleep upon; their Weapons are only Bows and Arrows. They are the fondest lovers of their Children in the World, and use them with as much tenderness; if one dies, not only the Family and Kindred, but the whole Village laments the loss; and they keep up their Mourning for a whole Year, performing the Ceremony of Lamentation three times a day, before Sun-rising, at Noon, and at Sun set; first the Parents, and then all the rest of the People. When the Year is up, and the last Funeral Rites accomplish'd, they wash themselves, and shift all their Mourning Apparel, and appear in their wonted Guarb. Old Age they never bewail in this manner, for they don't pay any great reverence to it, as many, yea, most other *Indians* do. They say the old ones are good for nothing but to consume the Maintenance that the Children shou'd have; and that since they have lived their time, 'tis fit they shou'd die to make room. They bury all the other Dead except their Physicians, whom they burn, and turn their bones into a Powder, which (at the Years end, when the Funeral Rites are consummated) they give to their Kindred to drink up in a draught of Water; the design of this, 'tis to be suppos'd, is to turn them into Doctors too, for a supply of the others Mortality. These Physicians have wonderful Privileges above all other People, for they may marry two or three Wives, whereas all the rest are allowed but one. They have farther this advantage, that those whom they cure do esteem them so much, as many times to give them all they are worth in the World, and to procure their Friends to make them Presents besides. Their methods of practise are only to cut and gash the Part affected, let it ail what it will, and then to apply their Mouths and suck out the distemper; then instead of a Plaister, they Sear it with a hot Iron; and for the conclusion of all, blow upon the place, to blow away all the remainders of the grief that wou'd not come out by Suction. And they are so much for propagating the Faculty of Physick, that they wou'd needs have the *Spaniards* their Guests turn Doctors too, and pretend to cure by blowing and sucking as they did. Neither wou'd they admit of their Excuse, that they had no such Skill or Vertue to carry off a distemper after that unaccountable manner: For (say they) all manner of Stones, and Plants that grow in the Field, have a vertue and a goodness in them that is profitable for some distemper or other, and is not Man a more excellent Creature than a Stone, or a Plant, and so has more healing and restoring Vertues in him than they? However,

Indians assaule them.

Perfidious People.

Extreme hunger.

Tempest scatters all their Boats.

Alvaro cast upon an Island.

Indians entertain him and his company.

Beat back to the shore again.

Indians frighted at them.

Indians take them to their Houses.

Description of the People.

Way of living.

Love to their Children.

Disrespect of Old Age.

Honour to Physicians.

Practise of Physick.

Good Argument.

Cures wrought with Spiritual Physick

ever, *Alvaro* says they did not go that way to work that the *Indian* Doctors did, but rather by Spiritual Methods of Prayer and Invocation to recover the Sick that way; their Plaisters and Cordials were *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Maries*, Benedictions and Doxologies, which he reports did wonderful Cures, and gain'd them a mighty reputation in the Country. Yet he confesses they were forced to comply with the *Indian* practise so far, as to blow over the Patient like them; but whether the blast was upwards or downwards he does not tell us, but 'tis no great matter, since both are of the same vertue. While they made their abode with the *Indians* of this Island, (which they call'd the Island of *Malhado*) fortune brought some more of their Companions to them, who had been cast here likewise as they were: And being all together, they determin'd to trim up a Boat, and as many of them as were strong and well to go in it, and endeavour to find some way to come where Christians liv'd, and the rest shou'd stay there till they were recover'd, and their Friends cou'd order Matters so as to remove them also. But just as they were putting this Project in execution, their Boat fail'd and disappointed them; it was no sooner Launched but it sunk to the bottom, and so frustrated their design of escaping for that time. However, four of them that were the best Swimmers undertook to pass over to the Main Land, and so travel till they came to some Town inhabited by *Spaniards*, to give them notice of the distress their poor Countrymen were in here. After these Messengers were dispatch'd, *Alvarado* and his company suffer'd very great hardships and miseries upon the Island. The Weather prov'd bad and unseasonable, and they were ready to starve for want of Provisions; there was a sad Mortality amongst them too, and of 80 Men which there were in all, there were no more left remaining but 15. And which was worse still, a Sickness happening amongst the *Indians*, which swept away great numbers of them, their Superstitious fancy perswaded them the *Spaniards* were the cause of that Mortality; and now, instead of Physicians, they made Negromancers and Murderers of them. In short, this fancy prevail'd so far, that they began to consult about the Sacrificing of them, and this they had certainly done, had not one wiser than the rest argued his Companions into a belief of the Innocency of the *Spaniards* from this consideration, That if they had a power to take away Men's lives, they might be as reasonably suppos'd to have a power to preserve them, which if they had had, to be sure they wou'd not have suffer'd so many of their own Men to die as had done before their faces. This Reason sav'd their lives, but they liv'd an uneasie life here afterwards; both the *Indians* and they too suffer'd great extremities for want of Provisions, and made a very hard shift to avoid starving. Upon this, some of the *Indians* remov'd over to the Main Land, where they cou'd have a better Subsistance, and carried some of the *Spaniards* along with them; and having liv'd there some time, they return'd to another Island about two Leagues from the *Terra Firma*, for the convenience of the fresh Water that was there. *Alvaro* was also transported over to the *Terra Firma* by some other of the *Indians*, who went, 'tis to be suppos'd, upon the same account of supplying themselves with the Necessaries of Life. And thus all were releas'd from the Prison of *Malhado Island*, but still 'twas but a remove from one Prison to another, and they were as far as ever, in their own Opinions, from getting away from these Heathenish People. Whilst *Alvaro* was here, his Companions, at the Island lately mention'd, had notice of the place of his Abode, and got an opportunity to come over to him; the number that came was 12, and two were left sick behind in the Island. These Men resolv'd to travel along the Coast homewards, but *Alvaro* being weak, cou'd not pretend to bear them company in such a Journey; so they went on and he staid. After they were gone, he observ'd his time when the *Indians* were out of the way, and got over to the Island where his two Countrymen were left, and staid there a Year at least, till he recover'd his health a little better. But then he resolv'd to bid farewel to them too, for they us'd him ill, and put him to the painful drudgery of digging under Water for the Roots they liv'd upon. This design he executed, and convey'd himself over to the Main Land again amongst the *Indians* of *Carruco*. Here he had a much easier Life in all respects, for he pretended himself a Merchant, which was a sort of Vocation very grateful to them, and procur'd him both good usage and liberty too. For now his business was to travel up and down from one place to another with Wares; he went where he pleas'd, and return'd when he wou'd, and the People every where made much of him, and desired his company. The Merchandize he carried was Shells, Hides, red Oker, Canes to make the bodies of Arrows, and Flints to make heads, and such like trifles. But that which was the greatest advantage to him by this course of life was, that by this means he had an opportunity of viewing the Country, and contriving his escape, for he travell'd at least 40 or 50 leagues along the Coast.

Malhado Island.

Spaniards die.

Indians alter their Opinion of them.

Alvaro and some of his company meet.

Alvaro flies.

Lives with other *Indians* as a Merchant.

After this manner he spent 6 Years amongst these *Indians* of *Carruco*, and went naked all the while as they go; but the 7th and last Year of his Apprenticeship coming on, he found a way to give his *Indian* Masters the slip, and came to another People upon that same Coast. While he was here, by a strange turn of Fortune he met with two of his Countrymen again, some of them that had been with him before at the Island of *Malhado*, and that had parted from him at the other Island, 12 of them in company, to make their way homeward. But 'twas their hap to fall into the hands of some of the *Indians*, who kept them with them; and as 'tis the custom of those People to rove from one place to another for Sustenance, and to go and eat the Fruit or the Grain that such or such a place affords, at the time when 'tis in season, so it seems those *Indians*, who had these Men in keeping, came upon the same account to the place where *Alvaro* was, and so gave him and his Countrymen an opportunity of meeting together. Here *Alvaro* had a full account of the ruine of their Fleet of Boats, when the violent Storm separated them from one another; how *Narvaez* himself, and all the rest were lost, some drown'd, some starv'd ashore, and reduc'd to the miserable necessity of eating one another; others murder'd by the barbarous *Indians*, who found them straggling up and down in their Country. These few that were now left being thus happily met together, made it their business to consult about ways and means how to get out of the clutches of these *Indians*; and they concluded, that the only way wou'd be to stay till they went to eat *Tune* in a neighbouring Country, as their constant custom was, tho' it were 6 Months to that time. This *Tune* is a Fruit of the bigness of an Egg, 'tis red and black, and of a very good taste; the *Indians* eat them three Months in the Year, and live entirely upon them in the Season, eating nothing else.

Spaniards meet again.

All the Fleet ruin'd.

The Fruit *Tune*.

The *Indians* in this part of the Country (particularly the Nations of the *Marians* and *Jagavans*, amongst whom the *Spaniards* convers'd) were a People of a sordid Life, and brutish and barbarous Customs. Their Paps and Lips were pierc'd like those at the Island of *Malhado*, their Food Roots, and any sort of Animal almost that they can catch; Frogs, Worms, Lizards, Serpents, go down like good savoury Victuals with them, nay Earth, Wood and Beasts dung (when they can get nothing else) will serve the turn. They neither reverence Old Age, nor love their Children as the other *Indians* do, but will kill them with their own hands many times, because they shall not (as they impertinently alledge) be ever serviceable to their Enemies. They don't take any Wives amongst themselves, nor any Husbands for their Daughters neither, for they say they are all Kindred, and 'tis a shame for them to marry their own Relations. So that what Women they have in that way, are either taken from their Enemies in War, or bought of some of the neighbouring People; and the price they generally give for a Woman, is either a good Bow and a couple of Arrows, or else a large Net. They put all the old People to carry burdens, and do such other Drudgery as their feeble Age is capable of. The Men don't much trouble themselves about any Work or Labour, but throw most of it upon the Women, who are generally stout and strong, and both fit for it, and us'd to it. They are so busie about their Houshold concerns, that they allow not above 6 hours of the 24 for rest; they spend the greatest part of the Night in heating their Ovens, and drying the Roots they eat; and then as soon as the Day begins to appear, they go to drawing of Water, and fetching of Wood into their Houses. Their Houses are made of Mats, and stand upon four Arches, and are contriv'd so, that they can take them up and remove them into any place where the conveniency of Food calls them. As to their Temper and Moral qualities, the *Spaniards* give but an ill account of them; they say they practise unnatural Lusts one with another, are very Sottish, will Lye and Dissemble monstrously, Thieve and Steal, not only from Neighbours, but even Fathers and Children from one another. They neither Till the Land, nor Sow any sort of Seed, but leave all to the care and bounty of Nature; yet, notwithstanding their Poverty and uncertainty of Food, they live merry and jocund, and never cease their Sports and Dancings. They are so very swift of foot, and every way so well made for running,

Barbarity towards Children.

But one Wife.

Price of a Women.

Industrious Women.

Ill qualities.

Great Runners.

running, that they'll follow a Deer from Morning to Evening till they have quite run him down, and made him ſo weary as to be taken alive. The beſt of all their living is when they go to eat *Tune*, for then they do nothing but eat almoſt all Day and Night too, and ſpend their time in Dancing and Revelling while that Fruit laſts. When they have done eating the *Tunes* in the Country where they grow, they take ſome and open and dry them, to eat by the way as they return home. In ſhort, this *Tune* time is a Feſtival of the ſame quality and great expectation amongſt them that *Chriſtmas* it ſelf is amongſt the *Europeans*. As for fleſh, the moſt they have of that is Veniſon and Beef; ſome Deer there are about the Country, and even too in ſome places. Theſe Cattel are of the bigneſs of the *Spaniſh* Oxen, have little Horns like thoſe of *Barbary*, and very long hair, and thicker than uſually in other Parts. Of the Hides they make Garments to defend them from the cold of their Climate, Shoes alſo, and Targets for the War. The greateſt plague in this Country is the multitude of Flyes that breed here; and to defend themſelves from which, the Natives very frequently go with a flaming Brand in their hands, and ſometimes burn down the Trees where they are, that the Flyes being depriv'd of their ſhelter may be forc'd to go away. And indeed, *Alvaro* ſays that they are ſo miſerably vex'd and tormented with them, that it may be compar'd with the moſt troubleſome thing in the World. The Country contains a great deal of excellent Paſture-Land, which wou'd maintain mighty Herds and Flocks of Cattel; and wou'd certainly be a very fruitful and profitable one, if the People had but ſence enough to manage it as it ſhou'd be. There's hardly any Mountain to be ſeen in all that Part where the *Spaniards* were, but all plain and open. There are Rivers of good clear wholſome water too, but the Natives having no certain ſetled place of Abode, depend more upon the Rain water for their conſtant Drink than that of the Rivers. When the time was come for the *Indians* to go and eat *Tune*, the *Spaniards*, who had laid their Plot for an eſcape, were unhappily prevented in the execution of it; for the *Indians* happening to fall out amongſt themſelves, and they being diſpers'd in ſeveral Houſes, one with one *Indian*, and another with another, they were by this means parted from one another, and cou'd not put their deſign in practiſe. And ſo once or twice after this the *Indians* hinder'd their running away, but whether by chance or contrivance, ſuſpecting their purpoſe, is uncertain. However, theſe diſappointments forc'd them to ſpend at leaſt a Year more amongſt thoſe wretched People, to their no little ſorrow and vexation; as for *Alvaro*, he declares he liv'd ſuch a curſed Life amongſt them, and they us'd him ſo ill, that he was neceſſitated to change his Maſters by running away three or four times, and narrowly eſcap'd with his Life, they purſuing him with a deſign to Sacrifice him if they cou'd have found him. But as they were ſeparated from one another by the Diviſions and Quarrels of the *Indians*, ſo they were brought to each other again, by the Reconciliation and new Friendſhip of the ſame Parties. So that now they had an opportunity of executing that deſign which had been form'd ſo long, and baulk'd ſo often. They order'd matters ſo as to give the *Indians* the ſlip all together, and begin their Journey out of that Savage Country where they had liv'd more like Beaſts than Men for ſo long time. The *Indians* either did not purſue them, or at leaſt did not take the right way, for they went on without diſturbance, and came to ſome other *Indians* call'd *Ananares*, whoſe Language they underſtood, having traded with them before, and were very kindly receiv'd by them. They liv'd amongſt theſe People about 8 Months, feeding upon ſuch wild Fruits and Roots as they did, and (which is no little wonder in Men that had been us'd not only to a warmer Climate, but to wearing of Cloaths too) going naked for the moſt part like them, except at any time they cou'd procure a few Skins to cover themſelves withal. Here they pretend too, that they did a great many miraculous Cures upon ſeveral ſorts of Sick, and that the *Indians* flock'd into them upon that ſcore from the neighbouring Parts; but when all's done, the greateſt Miracle is their own living in a cold bleak Country, where they went as naked as ever they were born, their keeping ſo many long Faſts, and going for Months together without eating any thing elſe than a little Fruit, and all this join'd with hard Labour and Travel, and yet coming off with life and health at laſt. *Alvaro* ſays farther, that they chang'd their Skins twice a Year as the Snakes do, that their Bodies peel'd all over from head to foot; and what with the impreſſion of the Weather, with carrying heavy Burdens, with travelling through Woods and Thickets, where the Thorns and Briers tore their fleſh, they were in a very miſerable condition, and their Carkaſſes ſo mortified, that 'twas the greateſt wonder Men, who had been us'd to another way of living, cou'd ever go through with it. From theſe People they remov'd to the *Matiecnes*, and the *Arbadoes*, with whom they liv'd ſome time after the ſame poor and hard rate that they had with the former. When theſe People firſt ſaw them before their Houſes they withdrew, and reaſon'd a while amongſt themſelves, ('tis to be ſuppos'd about their reception) which conſult being over, they came in a very friendly manner, taking them by the hands, and leading them into their Houſes. The next People they came to ſeem'd to be ſtruck with a mighty fear and aſtoniſhment at the firſt approach of theſe ſtrange Men. 'Twas a good while before they wou'd venture to come near them, and when they did, they came and laid their hands upon the Faces and Bodies of the *Spaniards*, and afterwards upon their own, bidding them welcome by that kind of action.

Veniſon and Beef.

The Flyes.

Their eſcape.

Sad Life.

Of theſe People (as of all the reſt in general, from the Iſland of *Malhado* hither) they obſerv'd that they give their Children Suck till they are 10 or 12 Years old, and this becauſe of the great ſcarcity of Victuals in their Country; for Nature having made a proviſion for them in the Mothers Milk, they rather chuſe to let them depend upon that for a Maintenance, than upon the uncertain Products of the Earth, or their uncertain getting of them. They part from their Wives whenever (quarrels and differences ariſing between them) they can no longer enjoy Domeſtick peace and quietneſs; this is very common among the younger ſort, but 'tis not cuſtomary for thoſe that have had many Children to turn off the Mothers of them, and abandon them totally. When any Couple is thus divorc'd from each other, they both uſe their liberty to marry when or whom they pleaſe. When a quarrel happens between two Families, you ſhall have them ſeparate from the reſt of the Community, and withdraw with their Women, and whatever belongs to them, into ſome place in the Fields by themſelves; and here they ſtay till either the Neighbours make peace, or they have mutually digeſted the Matter on both ſides, and are diſpos'd to a Reconciliation. If a difference amongſt them ever proceeds ſo far as to come to blows, they take care never to uſe any dangerous Weapons. They commonly take pretty handſome Cudgels and thraſh one another with them, till they have ſufficiently vented their Choler on both ſides; but as for their Bows and Arrows, they reſerve them for their Enemies, and no paſſion ever makes them turn upon each other with thoſe Weapons, or any other that may prove fatal. They are Soldiers good enough, hardy, us'd to Labour, and able to endure it; cunning, and preſently perceiving the fear or cowardice of their Enemies, and taking all the advantage by it imaginable. In ſhort, an Enemy muſt uſe them the worſt that can be, and fear them without any diſcovery of it. Amongſt ſome of them *Alvaro* ſays, there are a ſort of impotent effeminate Men, of much larger and greater Limbs than ordinary, who go in Womens dreſs, and are devoted to Womens work; they carry no Bows nor Arrows, but inſtead of them Burdens of Wood and Water, and within Doors other Domeſtick Offices; and of theſe he declares he ſaw ſeveral.

Of the People in general.

Marriages and Divorces.

Quarrels and Reconciliations.

Effeminate Men.

They have a ſort of Drink made of the Leaves of a Tree like the Mulberry Tree, which they boil very well, and work it up into a froth, and ſo drink it as hot as ever they can ſuffer it to come into their Mouths. All the while this is over the fire the Veſſel muſt be cloſe ſhut; and if by chance it ſhou'd be uncover'd, and a Woman ſhou'd come by in the mean time, they wou'd drink none of it, but fling all away. Likewiſe, while they ſtand cooling and pouring it out to drink, a Woman muſt not ſtir nor move, for they wou'd throw it all to the ground, or ſpue it up again, if they had drunk any; and ſhe her ſelf wou'd incur the Baſtinado. All this time they continue bauling out aloud who will drink? And when the Women begin to hear theſe exclamations, then 'tis that they ſettle themſelves in their poſtures; and were they ſitting, or ſtanding, tho' it were a tiptoe, or one leg up and t'other down, they muſt continue ſo till the Men have cool'd their Liquor, and make it fit to drink. The reaſon of this is every whit as fooliſh and unreaſonable as the cuſtom it ſelf; for they ſay, ſhou'd not the Women ſtand ſtill when they hear their voice, ſome bad thing wou'd be convey'd into the Liquor, which they ſay wou'd make them die; and if ſuch a Generation of Aſſes were all poyſon'd, 'twere no great loſs to the World. Our *Spaniards* continued travelling on thro' this hungry barren Country; the next *Indians* they came to, entertain'd them with a ſort of Food which they had

Strange Cuſtom in drinking.

met

Meal of the Fruit *Meſquiquez.*

met with none of before; it was a kind of Meal made of a Fruit call'd *Meſquiquez*, which is like the *Carobe*, and *Alvaro* ſays of the ſame kind. As it hangs on the Tree it is very bitter, and as they prepare it one wou'd think it ſhou'd not be mended, tho' they are of another Opinion, and therefore proceed accordingly. They make a Trench in the ground of a conſiderable depth, and throw the Fruit into it, bruiſing and ſtirring it about with a great piece of Wood. When they have done this to the purpoſe, they take this Hodge-podge of Earth and Fruit and put it into a Veſſel, pouring as much Water upon it as will juſt cover it; then they taſte whether it be ſweet enough or no, if not, they take more Earth and mingle with it, till they have wrought it up to that degree of ſweetneſs that pleaſes their Palates beſt.

Odd way of eating.

When this is done, they all ſit round the Trench, and every Man thruſts in his hand and takes out a lump to eat; and ſo they eat on in this way of good Fellowſhip, till their Bellies ſometimes are ready to burſt. The Liquor they uſe to waſh down this dirty Meat, is made of the Seeds or Kernels of the Fruit and the husks together; for they take theſe and put them into a Veſſel of Water, and after they have lain ſteeping there a while, they come and ſqueeze them, and the Liquor that is thus preſs'd out, is without any farther preparation fit to be drunk by the beſt of them all.

These Nations the *Spaniards* were now got amongſt were of a much more civil and hoſpitable temper than thoſe they paſs'd through at firſt; but there were ſuch varieties of them, that they don't pretend ſo much as to give us their Names, much leſs cou'd they learn the Language of every one of them. They were pretty well acquainted with ſix ſeveral Tongues, but before they came into thoſe Parts of the Continent where the *Spaniards* dwelt, they had met with above a thouſand ſorts of Languages; ſo that all along they expreſs'd their Minds to the *Indians* by ſigns and motions, which they found no great trouble to make them underſtand the ſence and meaning of.

Divers Languages.

Kindneſs of the *Indians.*

For the remaining part of their Journey they had (for the moſt part) better travelling in all reſpects: The *Indians*, with whom they Abode, wou'd at their departure accompany them to the next Nation, and ſee them well receiv'd; and *Alvaro* ſays, that ſometimes they had thouſands to attend them, neither was it an eaſie matter to get rid of ſome of them. Many times the People, whoſe Country they came into, wou'd march out in a full body to meet them, and bid them welcome; and according to their various Cuſtoms and Manners, ſuch was their Reception and manner of Entertainment amongſt them.

Rude ſort of reception.

One Nation particularly *Alvaro* makes mention of, where the People run out of their Houſes ſhouting and hollowing, and ſtriking their hands upon their Thighs at ſuch a rate, that they frightned them moſt bitterly; and then they throng'd and crouded about them with ſo much eagerneſs, every Man ſtriving to be foremoſt, and come as near them as poſſible, that he ſays they were like to be ſqueez'd to death. The Multitude wou'd not let them touch the ground with their feet, but got them up upon their ſhoulders, and carried them away to their Houſes. Others of them, as ſoon as they had brought the *Spaniards* into their Houſes, wou'd offer them all their Goods, and the very Houſes themſelves too; and tho' there were no great Treaſures there, yet they were not a little pleas'd to ſee the free and open humour of thoſe People. Some again wou'd not come out of their Houſes into the Fields and High-ways to meet them, but ſit at home, and ſtay till they came; and 'tis comical enough what *Alvaro* relates of theſe ſilent People, (who were yet as hearty and kind as the noiſy ones before mention'd) that when they came to their Houſes, they found them all ſitting with their faces turn'd towards the Wall, their heads hanging down, and their long hair dangling over their eyes, as if they had been aſleep, and afterwards were entertain'd by them in a very frank and hearty manner. They commend theſe for the moſt comely and ſenſible People of all that they ſaw; their Women, and all the old People in general, wear a Covering of Deers Skins, the reſt go naked, here and there a Man only excepted. Their Country abounds with Kine, and they have alſo ſome ſtore of Maize.

Silent entertainment.

Indians ſerve them with Food.

The *Indians* were generally very ſerviceable to the *Spaniards*, in getting them Proviſions as they travell'd along with them; and in Countries that yielded Deer, Hares and Fowl, (as ſeveral that they paſs'd did) they wou'd go out with their Bows and Arrows, and kill what was neceſſary for the company. And certainly, if we may give credit to their reports, never were any Men ſo much reverenc'd, (ador'd one may ſay) ſo obſequiouſly ſerv'd, ſo diligently attended and waited upon, as they were by the *Indians*. Thoſe poor People thought nothing too good for them; they believ'd they knew even the moſt ſecret things which they had a mind to conceal from them; that they cou'd heal all their Sick, and inflict diſtempers upon them that were well if they did provoke them, and therefore took care to pleaſe them in every thing, and to do what ever they commanded. And tho' we ſhall hardly take *Alvaro*'s word for the cures they did in the ſeveral Nations they paſs'd through, yet we may, when he tells us, that he and his company made very good uſe of this ſtrange Opinion the *Indians* had of them, and ſerv'd themſelves of it to many conſiderable purpoſes.

Opinion the *Indians* had of them.

In ſome places there were ſigns of Metals and Minerals to be found upon enquiry in that Country; thus they ſaw ſome appearances of Iron, and ſome of the Natives gave them pieces of Antimony, and ſmall Plates of Silver. In another place they found a great Copper Bell with a face engraven upon it; and the *Indians* told them, that where that thing was made a great number of Plates of the ſame Metal were hid under ground.

Metals in the Country.

The *Spaniards* having travell'd a vaſt tract of Land, and ſeen great varieties of theſe Nations, (of which they tell us hardly any thing more conſiderable, than the kind reception and great reſpect they gave and paid to them) came at laſt to the South Sea. After they had the welcome ſight of this, they travell'd many days in great diſtreſs for want of Proviſion; ſometimes they fed upon the fat of Deer, (a thing which they had ſome quantities of by them) but the worſt of all was their being reduc'd to powder of Straw, which *Alvaro* ſays they did eat for ſeveral days, having nothing elſe that was eatable to pretend to, as neither had the *Indians* in whoſe Country then they were. But out of this miſerable place they came into a Land that might be call'd happy, beautiful and fruitful in compariſon; for here they had Maize, Pulſe, Gourds, and Veniſon for the Belly, Deer Skins alſo and Cotton Mantles for the Back. Going farther, they had not only the continuance of theſe Neceſſaries, but ſuperfluities too, the Natives gave them Turquoiſe Stones, ſome Emeraulds, and pieces of Coral, and told them they had the Emeraulds in exchange for Quills and Parrots feathers, from a certain People that dwelt in very high Mountains to the North. Theſe *Indians* were a polite People, in reſpect of a great many others they had met with; they had Houſes more large and handſomely built than was common, their Women were us'd with great reſpect and regard to their Sex, they wore Shifts of Bombazine Cotton which reach'd below the Knee, and a ſort of Sleeves made of Deer Skins which touch'd the ground, and were perfum'd very ſweet with certain Roots; and all in general, both Men and Women, were ſhod.

Fruitful Country.

Women made much of, and well habited.

From theſe they travell'd to others, who liv'd a much more poor and miſerable Life; and from theſe again through another large and populous Country, where the Natives ſow'd Maize and Pulſe three times a Year, and had alſo plenty of Deer. They found here a ſort of poiſonous Tree, which the Inhabitants make uſe of for poiſoning their Arrows, and that either with the Fruit or the milky Juice that drops from the boughs when they are broken off. There are ſeveral of theſe Trees that are ſo ſtrong a poiſon, that the leaves of them bruis'd, and caſt into any Pool or ſtanding Water, will certainly kill the Beaſts that drink of it, according to their report.

Poiſonous Trees.

Theſe poor Travellers now at laſt came to have ſome notice of their Countrymen the *Spaniards*, and that by ſeeing amongſt the *Indians* the Buckle of a *Spaniſh* Girdle, which aſſur'd them they muſt have been in thoſe Parts. Upon examination, the *Indians* told them ſome Men with long Beards, like them, and with Horſes and Armour, had been there; but they ſaw ſad demonſtrations of it as they paſs'd farther into the Country, for the People had left their Towns and Villages, and hid themſelves in Woods and Mountains, the fruitful Lands lay neglected, and a whole rich and pleaſant Country appear'd to be ſpoil'd.

Some of the *Indians* that had ſuffer'd thus being at laſt got out of their holes and hidden places, told them that the *Spaniards* had been there, had deſtroy'd and burnt their Towns, laid the Lands waſte, and carried away vaſt numbers of the People for Slaves; yet were theſe a moſt innocent and courteous People, and made *Alvaro*, with his company, as welcome as poſſible, tho' they had reaſon to expect other treatment at their hands, their Beards diſcovering them plainly enough to be ſomething a kin to thoſe Men that had ſo grievouſly injur'd them. In ſhort, they went on with a great body of

Cruel manner of the *Spaniards* Tyranny.

Indians

Indians attending, till they came where the first *Spanish* Colony was, having all along trac'd the *Spaniards* in their marches, by those marks and footsteps of their Cruelty, which were visible every where. Here they dismiss'd their last *Indian* Guides, but those honest People were not willing to go, till they had (as the custom was) deliver'd them safe into the custody of another *Indian* People. And as the *Spaniards* were very kind to them in proposing to seize them all, and make Slaves of them, so they were as kind to the *Spaniards* in the Opinion they had of them, for they wou'd not be perswaded by any means that they were the same sort of Men with *Alvaro* and his company; for, said they, these Men heal us, but the other kill us; these are bountiful and kind, the others rob and are covetous; the one go naked, and without Horses, as we do, the others have Iron Coats and Lances, and ride on Horseback. In short, the former came from the East, and the others from the West; for which reason also, as well as the rest, they wou'd not believe they were the same People. However *Alvaro*, with much ado, perswaded them to return to their Houses, to Till their Land, and Inhabit their Towns as before, and endeavour to make all their Countrymen join together, to do their best to restore the Country to its former flourishing state. *Alvaro* and his Friends travell'd on till they came where more of the *Spanish* Officers resided; but the *Spaniards*, who were now their Guides, led them through barbarous desolate Ways, and dealt very unkindly with them. They wanted Heathens to receive kindnesses from, for Christians, and their own Countrymen, had none to shew them. They us'd farther endeavours to reduce the *Indians* from the Mountains, and bring them down to Inhabit the plain Country again, promising them upon those terms, and their embracing Christianity, that they shou'd be free from all future molestations, and enjoy their Country in peace. The *Indians* agreed to do this, both to become Christians, and to Till their Land; but how the *Spaniards* perform'd their part of the Covenant is uncertain. *Alvaro* and his Companions, after this, proceeded to *Comp stella*, where the Governor receiv'd them kindly, and from thence to *Mexico*, where the Vice-Roy gave them a noble Entertainment, after their long, tedious and hazardous travel.

Notion the *Indians* had of the other *Spaniards*.

Alvaro comes to *Mexico*.

'Tis to be obsery'd, that *Alvaro* in this march came quite cross the Continent from the North to the South-Sea; and the distance between these two, according to the best of his observation, he judges to be at least 200 Leagues. Farther 'tis remarkable what this Person says of himself, when he was come back amongst the *Spaniards* again, that he cou'd not endure any Cloaths upon his back for a great while together; the reason of which was, partly the tenderness of his body by so much ill usage of it, and partly perhaps his long custom of going naked amongst the *Indians*, which had now made it almost natural to him. It was in *A. D.* 1527. that this unfortunate Voyage commenc'd; and 'twas in *A. D.* 1536. that a period was set to the Travels of *Alvaro* and his little company; little indeed, for tho' he went out of *Spain* with a great number, yet by that time he return'd thither again, he had no more than three Men left, and their Lives and his own were all so many Miracles.

CHAP. XVI.

A Voyage to Florida *by* Fernando de Soto, *with his Discovery of the Countries in that Part of the Continent; Written by a* Portuguese *who went in the same Expedition.*

Soto one of the Captains in *Peru*.

THis Captain *Fernando de Soto*, was one of those who had serv'd in the Wars of *Peru*: He had been at the taking of *Atabalipa*, and all the Sieges of *Cusco*, and had a large share of the Plunder of that rich City. He was also one of the number of those that oppress'd and pinch'd the *Indians* for their Gold; and as there were very few of them Men that came to a good end, so by tracing the course of his Fortunes too, we shall find they had not so happy an issue at last as perhaps he might expect.

The Fleet.

This Person having the Emperor's Grant for the Conquest of *Florida*, furnish'd a Fleet at his own charge, or rather at the charge of *Atabalipa*, for 'twas *Peruvian* Gold that paid for all, and bore him out in that vast expence. The Fleet consisted of five great Ships, 2 Carvels, and 2 Brigantines, and had aboard 600 Men, some say near 1000, but that's no great matter. They went first of all to the Island of *Cuba*, where they staid so long, that the Year was come about before they set out from thence for the Coast of *Florida*. Being arrived safe there, they went ashore about two Leagues from a Town which was the ordinary Residence of a certain Prince called *Ucita*. The *Indians*, for their parts, having discover'd them, gave notice to one another, by making great fires along the Coast, that an Enemy had invaded their Country; and so they kept out of the way, and left their Towns for the *Spaniards* to take possession of.

April, *A. D.* 1538.

They go ashore.

Ucita's Town.

Ucita's Town stood just upon a Bay, so that the Ships might be brought quite up to it; the Cacique's House stood upon a very high Mount hard by the shore, and at the other end was the Temple, on the top of which was fix'd the Image of a great Fowl carv'd in Wood, with gilded Eyes, the only appearance of Gold they saw as yet. The Houses were all Timber, and nearly cover'd with Palm leaves. Here they found some small quantities of Pearl, but those of no great value; the *Indians* pierce them and string them like Beads, to adorn their Necks, Hands and Legs, with them.

They find one of *Navarez* Men.

As a Party of the *Spaniards* were one day beating about the Country to find some of the People, they happen'd to see 10 or 12 of them, and in their company a certain Man that plainly appear'd to be an *European*, but was running about wild and naked like them, and was scorch'd with the Sun, and had his Arms rac'd and pink'd after the manner of the *Indians*. The *Indians* no sooner saw the *Spanish* Horse but they run away towards the Woods, and the *Spaniards* pursuing overtook some of them, and were going to kill them, and amongst the rest this *European-Indian* was going to have a Lance thrust into his Guts; but he cried out for Mercy for himself and them, telling the *Spaniards* he was a Christian, and these *Indians* had sav'd his life. Upon farther Examination, it appear'd that this Man was one of *Navarro*'s miserable company, most of which had met with their fates upon this Continent. He had now liv'd 12 Years amongst the *Indians*, and was at first taken Prisoner by some of *Ucita*'s Subjects, and brought before him, by whom he was condemn'd to be broil'd to death over a slow fire, but that his Daughter begg'd his life; and not only so, but brought him into some degree of favour too. He was then made Keeper of the Temple, and his principal Work was to watch at Night, that the Wolves did not come and steal away the dead Bodies. But in this Post *Ortiz* (for that was the *Spaniards* Name) was very like to lose his life, for a Wolf one Night, in spite of all care, stole away the Corps of a Child of one of the principal *Indians*; and as there were several of those ravenous creatures together, *Ortiz* threw a Dart amongst them, and happen'd to strike that very Wolf that had got the Child, which went a little way with his prey, and then fell down and died, without any defacing or tearing of it. But all this while it being dark, *Ortiz* knew nothing of his good luck in killing the Wolf; and so the next Morning, when the Corps was miss'd, *Ucita* was so enrag'd that he resolv'd to put him to death. But the Wolf being found dead, and the Body just by it whole and entire, *Ortiz* got not only his life, but more esteem than ever he had before. After this a certain neighbouring Prince, call'd *Mococo*, came and fell upon *Ucita*, burning that Town where he then was, and forcing him to retire to another. This made the *Barbarian* have a mind to Sacrifice *Ortiz*, to appease the anger of

History.

Kind Woman.

A good Cast.

Ortiz saves his life by killing the Wolf.

his Deity, as they do very often (it ſeems) make ſuch Sacrifices both of Natives and Strangers too. But this danger the kind young Woman prevented, (ſhe that ſav'd him from the fire) by diſcovering her Father's bloody deſign to *Ortiz*, and perſwading him to make his eſcape to *Mococo*, who was a generous Man, and wou'd uſe him very well. This ſeaſonable Advice he took, and becauſe he did not know the way, ſhe went out of Town with him a matter of half a League in the dark Night, and having ſet him in the right way, left him to the Influence of his good Stars for the reſt of his Journey. Such a compliment as this one ſhall ſeldom hear of, and *Ortiz*, whatever he thought of it himſelf, had no little obligation to this young Woman.

He flies to Mococo.

Being come to *Mococo*, he was receiv'd with a great deal of Joy, and that Cacique ſwore, according to his way, to treat him with all kindneſs, and give him his liberty to go away with any Chriſtians when they came into that Country; exacting of him at the ſame time an Oath after his own manner, that he ſhou'd never run away from him to any other Lord. And here he liv'd 9 Years more, with as much content as he cou'd expect amongſt a People no politer than they; and 'twas now that *Mococo* hearing of the *Spaniards* arrival, ſent *Ortiz* (according to his promiſe) accompanied with theſe *Indians* to their Camp, and was like to have been kill'd by his own Countrymen by the way (as was ſhown before.) *Mococo* himſelf came alſo to the Camp to ſee *Soto*, who eſteem'd him much for his kindneſs to *Ortiz*, and made him ſome Preſents. But *Ortiz*, who had liv'd ſo long in the Country, cou'd not give *Soto* any intelligence of what he chiefly wanted, which was rich Mines, only that about 30 Leagues from *Puerto de Sprito Santo*, (as they call'd the Port where they had taken up their abode, and which was *Ucita*'s Town) that there was a great Cacique nam'd *Paracoſſi*, to whom both *Mococo* and *Ucita*, and all the reſt upon that Coaſt paid Tribute, whoſe Country was much more fruitful than that which bord'er'd upon the Sea, and might perhaps afford ſomething elſe, at leaſt the News of it. So a Party was ſent to *Paracoſſi*'s Country to ſee what was to be done there, and they diſpatch'd a Meſſage to *Soto* again with this News, That according to the report of *Paracoſſi*'s Subjects, there was a Province call'd *Cale*, lying towards the Weſt, from whence they might draw plenty of Gold; and that ſome People that had made War with thoſe of *Cale*, had declar'd that they came into the Field with Gold Head-pieces, or at leaſt ſome Defence for their Heads of the ſame nature. Upon this *Soto* left a certain number both of Horſe and Foot, for the keeping of *Puerto de Sprito Santo*, and march'd away with all the reſt of his Men into the Country of *Paracoſſi*. From thence he went on to *Cale*, the Town of which Name was quite emptied of all its Inhabitants by that time he came to it. His Men were fatigu'd with a miſerable march hither, through Woods and Bogs, and over Lakes and Rivers, pinch'd for want of Proviſions too, tho' they got a cure for that diſeaſe when they came to *Cale*, for they found a good ſtock of Maize ripe in the Field, which *Soto* ordered to be gather'd for the uſe of his Men. But we hear not a word of the Gold which thoſe *Indians* before ſpoke of, ſo that 'tis likely enough they told the *Spaniards* a fine golden Story of a Country a good way off, to carry them out of their own Country, where they might have been troubleſome Gueſts.

Mococo comes to ſee Soto.

Paracoſſi a great Cacique.

Province Cale.

Gold.

Soto comes to Cale.

Cale.

Plenty of Maize.

From *Cale*, *Soto* march'd towards *Apalache*, a very large and fruitful Province, as he was inform'd; but one part of his Army ſtaid at *Cale*, with Orders to continue there till they heard from him. Upon his way thither he heard that the Country he was going to was the ſame where *Narvaez* had been before, and the ſame where he made his Boats for that fatal Voyage, becauſe he cou'd go no farther by Land. This made all the company very melancholly, and they begg'd the General not to proceed in that deſign, leaſt they all had the ſame fate that *Narvaez* and his Men had; but he was abſolutely ſet upon it, and wou'd have Ocular demonſtration of what was told him of the Country, and not rely altogether upon reports. The greateſt diſtreſs the *Indians* ever put him to in this Journey (indeed he had no direct oppoſition in the way of fighting but this) was that which happen'd at a certain Town call'd *Napetuca*, where the Inhabitants thought good to make head againſt them, and ſo ſome of them were kill'd, and the reſt took ſhelter in two Lakes that were there by. The *Spaniſh* Horſe encompaſs'd the Lakes to keep the *Indians* in, who alſo endeavour'd to creep out cunningly when the Day was ſhut in, but being diſcover'd they were forc'd to plunge into the Water again. However, at laſt they were perſwaded to yield to the *Spaniards*, and all came out of the Lake, 12 only of the nobleſt excepted, who choſe rather to die than to fall into their hands, and were forc'd to be drawn out by the hair of the Head by other *Indians*. But, in ſhort, this did not quell their courage, for tho' they were all made Slaves of, and were divided amongſt the *Spaniards*, yet they found ways to meet together to plot and conſpire a Riſing; neither did they fear to put it in execution, and that with a wonderful deal of fury and reſolution. *Soto* himſelf was the firſt Man that was aſſaulted by them; the *Indian* that was his Interpreter was appointed to begin with him, and while he was diſcourſing to catch him by the Throat and choak him. This he had well nigh accompliſh'd, and all the reſt fell upon their own Maſters with what Weapons came next to hand. In a word, there being above 200 of theſe Deſperadoes, and the *Spaniards* not aware of them, it coſt them ſome trouble (not much blood) to reduce them, but that was effectually done at laſt, and the greateſt part of them executed for what they had done. This ſlaughter at *Napetuca*, made the *Indians* more cautious of their coming within the reach of the *Spaniards*, and *Soto* found ſome conſiderable Towns empty of People upon that ſcore. But what *Indians* they took they us'd cruelly, that is, made them ſerve with intolerable rigour, and the *Indians* did not fail to requite them for't whenever they cou'd file off their Chains, or get their Keepers in the Woods alone. *Soto* had a Journey otherwiſe well enough to *Apalache*, being not ſo much ſtraitned as at ſometimes for Proviſions, but meeting good ſtore of Maize, French-beans and Pompions by the way. When he came to *Apalache*, he found likewiſe ſtore of theſe ſorts of Food in ſeveral Towns about, ſo that here was living good enough for his Army. And now he thought good to ſend for all the reſt of his Troops from *Fort Spirito Santo*, to come to him to the Province of *Apalache*; which accordingly was done, moſt part of the Foot coming by Sea, and the reſt travelling along the Land. The *Indians* ſometimes ſallied out upon them by the way, but they cou'd not do them any great miſchief, much leſs hinder their march to *Apalache* to their General. *Soto* now reſolved to proſecute the diſcovery of the Country, ſent out one of his Captains to ſearch the Weſtern Coaſt, who brought him News of a Province call'd *Ochus*, that lay ſome 60 Leagues to the Weſtward from *Apalachen*, where was a Port capable of giving Ships a very good ſhelter and defence from the Weather, and ſome other things, which made *Soto* reſolve to go and find out that Country. And that he might be ſure of Supplies, he ſent away to the Iſland of *Cuba* for a Stock of Proviſions, and appointed thoſe that went with the Veſſels to come to him there, at that Port, in the Province of *Ochus* before-mentioned. But the love of Gold made him change the project of a Weſtern Journey into an Eaſtern one; for a certain Slave, who was a Native of a certain Country lying to the Sun-riſing, told ſtrange Stories of the Riches of it, how great his Queen was, and how great her Capital City; all which enflamed *Soto* with ſuch a deſire of ſeeing this fine Queen and Country, that he reſolved immediately to march thither. The Name of this Country was *Tupacha*, and ſince 'twas a long march, they were oblig'd to carry a good ſtock of Proviſions, to ſerve in caſe of any uncertainty by the way. They found going this way *Indian* Towns much handſomer than they uſe to meet with, and which inſtead of Thatch Coverings, were done with Reeds ſo prettily, that they look'd almoſt as if they had been Til'd. They have their Summer and their Winter-Houſes; the latter of which are daub'd with Clay within and without, and made very warm; the former have Kitchins adjoining to them, where they make fires, and do their domeſtick Work. They have alſo their Barbacoas where they keep their Maize, which are little Houſes ſtanding upon Stakes, and floor'd with Cane Hurdles. The difference between the Houſes of the Lords and the vulgar People, lies not only in the largeneſs of them, but alſo the Ornaments of great Galleries in the fronts of them, and under them Benches made of Cane, and all round about them high Lofts, where they lay up what the *Indians* bring them for Tribute, which is Maize, Deer Skins, and Mantles made of the inner rind of the Barks of Trees, or of a ſort of Graſs like Nettles, which being beaten reſembles Flax. The Women wear two of theſe Mantles, one put about them from the Waſte downward, and another over their ſhoulder, with the Right Arm out, according to the ancient cuſtom. The Men have no more than one Mantle, which goes over their ſhoulder too, but they wear a Deer Skin to cover the Privy Parts. Theſe Skins are admirably well dreſs'd, and colour'd (red or black) to perfection, which colours they give their Mantles alſo; they make their Shoes of the ſame Leather. *Soto* paſs'd

They aſſault the Spaniards.

Ochus.

Tupacha a rich Country.

Indian Houſes.

Habits.

through

Spaniards afraid of the Journey.

Napetuca.

Indians run into the Lake.

The *Caciques* kind to *Soto*.

through the Countries of divers great Caciques, some of whom came to him, and brought him considerable Supplies of Provision, and all in general treated him very civilly; they also furnish'd him with *Indians* to carry his Provisions and Baggage for him. These were the Caciques of *Achese*, *Ocute* and *Patofa*, of whose Countries, People and Government, we have no particulars, the *Spaniards* being upon a march, and not making many Observations by the way. Some parts of the Country were very fruitful, beautiful and pleasant, as others (particularly out towards *Port Spirito Santo*) barren, full of Lakes, Thickets and Woods of wild Pine-Trees. But *Soto* having now travers'd a great deal of ground, was miserably blunder'd to find out the golden Country, neither cou'd the *Indian* that first inform'd him, and now was his Guide, well tell how to extricate the *Spaniards* out of this Labyrinth. They pass'd Rivers that were deep and dangerous, and cou'd hardly find any open Way; no Towns neither cou'd they see for several days together, and their Horses grew weak for want of Fodder, only the Men had still some Provisions left for themselves. At last, after much searching, they happen'd to find a Town, which tho' left by all the People almost, yet yielded them good store of Maize, a thing they stood greatly in need of. Some severities also made two or three straggling *Indians* tell them of a great Province call'd *Cutifachiqui*, which lay but two days Journey off; so they continued their march thitherwards, and upon the Way met some *Indians*, who told them that the Queen of that Country had notice of their arrival, and staid to see them in a certain Town of hers. However, as *Soto* march'd, she came on to meet him, and brought him Presents of what her Country afforded, which were fine Skins, Furrs and Mantles, not to mention Provisions. She gave him also a rich Chain of Pearl, which she took off from her own Neck and put about his. Her Country Soil was rich and fat, had a great deal of good Pasture-ground, fair Meadows, delicate Rivers, and Woods, not such unpassable ones as they had met with in other Parts, but pleasant and easie to be travell'd through, and full of Wall-nut and Mulberry Trees: The People were of a handsomer Make, and more civil Manners, than any they had yet seen in *Florida*, and all Shod and well Cloath'd too. There were several great Towns quite void of Inhabitants, and over-run with Grass, which was occasion'd (as the *Indians* said) by a Plague that rag'd there, and forc'd them to remove to other Places.

Province of *Cutifachiqui*.

Queen comes to *Soto*.

Store of Pearl.

The Queen seeing the *Spaniards* were very fond of Pearl, directed them to search some of the Graves of those dispeopled Towns, and here they found 392 pound weight of them. The Country being so good, and likely to afford such plenty of Pearl, the *Spaniards* were willing to take up their Residence here, and perswaded their General to yield to it; but he, who was for finding another Treasure like that of *Atabalipa's*, was bent not to make any thing of a Settlement here, till he was sure he cou'd find no richer Country. The Sea was not above two days Journey from the Town where the *Spaniards* were quarter'd, and they found by several tokens that some Christians had been here before them, which the *Indians* confirm'd as a truth. This was Don *Lucas Vasquez de Allyon*, who came hither as Governor in *A. D.* 1525. and died here; and his company was entirely dissolv'd, as well as the design frustrated, by their own private Quarrels and Dissentions.

Tho' the Queen of *Cutifachiqui* had us'd the *Spaniards* so civilly, yet they cou'd not forbear wronging and oppressing her Subjects; which she resented so far, that she resolv'd to go away, and not furnish the *Spaniards* with any Guides or Slaves to carry Burdens, as otherwise she had design'd to do. For this reason *Soto* made a Prisoner of her; and going on upon his design of finding out Golden Countries, he carried her along with him, using her more like a Slave than a Princess. But upon the Road she prov'd too cunning for him, and gave him the slip; for pretending to go aside into a Wood to do her Occasions, she (in company of two or three of her Women) run quite away, never standing to put the complement of a Farewel upon the General. And that which made it so much the worse was, that she took care to take with her a little Chest of Pearls, which *Soto* had intended to beg of her if she had staid a little longer, but now she prevented his asking for them. They pass'd through her Country for 100 Leagues together, through all which way, because she was a Prisoner, she made her Subjects serve the *Spaniards*, tho' much against their inclinations, after the injuries they had done them; but the Queen was Absolute, and all her Subjects paid her a most profound respect. *Soto* having lost this Prize, proceeded in his march to find out the Province of *Coca*, which he had heard News of while he was in *Cutifachiqui*. And the Provinces he pass'd in his way thitherward were those of *Chalaque*, a poor and barren Country, the People of which fed upon Roots and Herbs: *Xualla*, one every whit as bad as the former: *Chiaha*, a very fruitful one, abounding with Maize, Mulberries, Nuts, Plumbs, Wall-nuts and Honey. The Cacique entertain'd him with all the freedom in the World, and offer'd himself, and his whole Country, to his Service. The Town of *Chiaha* stood in an Island between two arms of a River, and was seated very near to one of them. The River divides it self into these two branches, two Crosbow-shot above the Town, and they both join again about a League below the same. The Plain between both the branches, is in some places one, and in others two Crosbow-shots over; the branches themselves are broad, but both of them may be waded over. There were all along the sides of them very good Meadows and Fields sown with Maize; the Country being so fruitful, the *Spaniards* and their Horses both recruited their strength very well, and became fit for farther travel. The next Province was that of *Coste*, the *Cacique* of which received the *Spaniards* civilly, but by their own rude Manners they had like here to have run themselves into danger; for as *Soto*, with 7 or 8 of his Men only, went up to the Town to see the *Cacique*, some other *Spaniards* from the Camp went to searching and ransacking the Houses, which the *Indians* took so ill, that they got good Cudgels and bang'd those Fellows pretty handsomly.

Province of *Chalaque*.

Xualla.

Chiaha.

Coste.

Spaniards thrash'd by the *Indians*.

In short, they were all in an uproar, and *Soto* having so few Men with him, thought the best way to quiet them wou'd be by using some piece of policy, and therefore he got a Cudgel too, and seeming to take the part of the *Indians*, he fell a beating his own Men; and this took so with them, that they laid down their Weapons and were quiet. In the mean time he sent private Orders for some more of his Men to march that way, and so giving the *Cacique* good words, and holding him in discourse, he drew him on till he had him out of the Town, and within the bounds of the Camp, and then made him and his attendants Prisoners; yet he releas'd them afterwards, without any farther damage, upon their furnishing him with Guides and Burden-carriers. The next Province was that of *Coca*, the *Cacique* of which came out to meet him, sitting upon a sort of Throne carried upon the shoulders of some of his principal Men; he was cover'd with a Garment of *Marterns*, and had a Crown of Feathers upon his Head, several *Indians* went about him singing and playing upon Flutes. This Country was fat, and rich in Fruits and Corn; and besides what they use to find in other places, here they met with Grapes very large and sweet. Some of these Vines were tall, and run up the Trees abroad in the Fields; others very low, which bore the best Grapes, but they were all wild, and for want of digging and dressing the Grapes had large kernels in them, very different in that respect from what is commonly observ'd of that Fruit. *Soto* having staid here some time, without finding any thing of what he came to look for, march'd on for the Province of *Tascaluca*, and as 'twas his custom (most commonly at least) to carry the *Cacique* of one Province with him till he came to the next, that they might command their People by the way to come and serve the *Spaniards*, so he did now, carrying the *Cacique* of *Coca* along with him, and discharging him, as he did the rest, when he had no farther occasion for them, or reason to confine them any longer. The Provinces he pass'd now were those of *Ulibahali* and *Tallise*, the principal Towns of which bearing the Names of their respective Provinces, were large and populous, and the former fortified with an odd sort of a Wall which was made of great Posts driven deep into the ground, and long Rails laid across them, and daub'd all over with Clay in the inside and outside; they saw many Towns wall'd after this manner afterwards. Both these Countries were fruitful, and the *Caciques* very friendly to the *Spaniards*.

Cacique seiz'd.

Soto's way of dealing with the Caciques.

Now they enter'd into the Country of *Tascaluca*, and march'd till they came within two Leagues of the Town of that Name, where the *Cacique* resided. The course of *Soto's* Travels thus far lay thus: From *Port Spirito Santo* to *Apalache* 100 Leagues E. & W. from *Apalache* to *Cutifachique* 430 Leagues S. W. & N. E. from *Cutifachiqui* to *Xualla* 250 Leagues N. & S. from *Xualla* to *Coca* 190 Leagues E. & W. from *Coca* to *Tascaluca* 60 Leagues N. & S.

Soto's Journey.

This Cacique of *Taſcaluca* was a great Prince, Lord of a very large County, and one that very well knew his own Power. *Soto* firſt of all ſent an Officer, with ſome few Horſe, to ſee him: The Cacique ſat in great State under a Canopy, upon an elevated place before his Houſe, and a Circle of his great Men encompaſs'd him round about. He was a Man of heighth and bigneſs more than ordinary, and in ſpite of all his barbarouſneſs diſcover'd a Majeſty that procur'd him reſpect. He ſeem'd not to take much notice of the *Spaniards*, and while they pranc'd their Horſes before him, he look'd upon them with a countenance that ſpoke Scorn and Diſdain. Afterwards, when *Soto* himſelf came to him, he never offer'd at all to ſtir from his Seat; but he made bold to take his Majeſty by the Hand, and ſo they both ſat down together upon a Seat that was under the Cloth of State. In ſhort, for all his Pride and Greatneſs, *Soto* made bold a little farther with him too, and that was to carry him along with him, as he had done others before.

They were now travelling to *Manilla*, the Capital Town of a Province belonging to a Cacique ſubject to this great one of *Taſcaluca*. This ſubtle Prince pretended to *Soto*, that he wou'd ſend Advice to the Cacique of *Manilla*, that he might provide Victuals and Carriages againſt they came thither, but in reality he order'd him to aſſemble as many Soldiers as he cou'd to fight the *Spaniards* that held him thus a Priſoner. However, the Cacique of *Manilla* came out to meet *Soto*, with his Muſick, and receiv'd him with great ſhews of Joy and Friendſhip; and *Soto*, attended with 10 or 12 of his Men, ventur'd to go into the Town with the two Caciques. Here the Cacique of *Taſcaluca* deſired of *Soto* that he might ſtay in that Town, and not be obliged to go any farther; which he refuſing to grant, the Cacique, upon ſome pretended occaſion, went out of *Soto*'s preſence and got into a Houſe, where he ſtood upon his Guard, and told *Soto* poſitively that he wou'd not go any farther; and more than that, bid him be gone out of his Territories. But it ſeems there was one of the *Spaniards* Captains there by, who hearing the Cacique talk ſo boldly to his General, took hold of the Gown or Mantle he had on, but he ſlipt it over his Ears, and ſo got out of the *Spaniard*'s hands. With that the *Indians* began to ſtir, and the *Spaniard* ſeeing them do ſo, drew his Curlaſs, and gave the Cacique ſuch a chop along the Back, that he had almoſt laid him open. This put all into an Uproar, and tranſported his Subjects into all the fury and greedy deſire of revenge imaginable. In ſhort, the *Indians* came out, and preſently began to pour ſuch plenty of Arrows upon the *Spaniards*, that *Soto*, with the reſt, were forc'd to endeavour with all ſpeed to make their way out of the Town as well as they cou'd; but ſome of them were kill'd, and all the reſt (even the General himſelf) grievouſly wounded. The *Indians* purſued them too, and light of their Baggage all in a lump, which they brought back into the Town; and here was all their Pearl, and all the fine things they had pick'd up throughout the whole Journey loſt at one ſtroke. To revenge this affront, *Soto* brought up all his Army, both Horſe and Foot, to aſſault the Town; and tho' the *Indians* defended it with as much Valour as the others did attack it with Fury, nay, ſeveral times drove the *Spaniards* out again after they had forc'd their way in, yet at laſt they were run down by the *Spaniſh* Horſe, and the Town fired about their Ears, the Sword and Flames together devouring at leaſt 2500 of them. Of the *Spaniards* there were 18 kill'd, (ſix of which were Men of account) and 150 wounded; but they loſt irrecoverably all their Baggage in the flames that conſumed the Town. All the Trumpery us'd in the Celebration of Maſs was burnt too, but they ſav'd a Prieſt and a Friar that had got into the Town when *Soto* went firſt thither, and cou'd not make their retreat back again to the Camp when he did; and here the *Indians* ſhut them up in the Houſe where they were, and wou'd certainly have practiſed a new ſort of Mortification upon their Carkaſſes, but that they cou'd not get into the Room where they were, for they had barricado'd up the Door, and the Prieſt and the Friar ſtood each with a good luſty Bar in their hands, one of one ſide the Door, and the other of the other, ready to knock down the firſt Man that entred; and the *Indians* that cou'd not come in there, were got to uncovering the Houſe to fall upon them that way, when the *Spaniſh* Troops (in very good time) came to their reſcue. As for the Cacique of *Taſcaluca*, the *Indians* had perſwaded him to retire out of danger, and ſo had conveyed him away before *Soto* came to take his revenge. The Country about *Manilla* is rich and well inhabited, and there are ſeveral great Wall'd Towns lying up and down in it. As ſoon as all the wounded Men were cur'd,

Soto enters *Manilla*.

Spaniards aſſaulted.

Spaniards take the Town.

Soto departed from *Manilla*, and paſs'd through the Province of *Paſallaya*. At ſome places in this, the *Indians* made a brisk oppoſition as they paſs'd the Rivers, and wou'd by no means accept of their Friendſhip, or have any thing to do with them. In the Province of *Chicaca*, to which they came next, they met with a far worſe Entertainment. The Cacique was to all appearance very kind and friendly to them, and ſo were a couple more which he brought to *Soto*, and preſented him with what their Country afforded; but in reality they were their inveterate Enemies, and waited only for an opportunity to fall upon them. But what theſe cou'd not do, their Friend the Cacique of *Chicaca* did for them; for the *Spaniards* lying at that Town, and (tho' they had juſt reaſons of ſuſpicion) neglecting their Watch, the *Indians* came in three or four great Squadrons privately in the Night time, and entring the Town, ſet it on fire in a moment almoſt, and put all into a moſt lamentable confuſion. The *Spaniards* run out without Cloaths or Weapons, their Horſes were ſome of them burnt in the Stables, and others broke their Halters and got looſe; they were ſtunn'd with the noiſe, and ſo blinded with the ſmoke, that they knew not which way to run or go, neither were they capable of obeying any Orders at that time. In a word, had the *Indians* purſued the buſineſs cloſe, and made the fighting part of the Attack anſwerable to the firing part, the *Spaniards* had been quite ruin'd; but they thought the *Spaniards* Horſes that run looſe about had had Men upon their backs, that were driving about to encompaſs them in, and ſo they run away as faſt as they cou'd, having done the firſt part of the miſchief. The *Spaniards* loſt 11 Men, 50 Horſes, and 400 Hogs, in this fire, beſides a great deal of their Cloaths and Warlike Furniture; but to repair the loſs of the latter, *Soto* ſet up a Forge, and made what was neceſſary in that reſpect. The *Indians* made another general Aſſault upon them ſome time after this, but then the *Spaniards* were well encamp'd in a Plain, and keeping a better Watch, they eaſily diſpers'd thoſe *Indian* Squadrons that came to diſturb them. From hence he went through the Province of *Quizquiz*, and came to the Banks of the noted River *Rio Grande*, where he encamp'd, and made Barges for the paſſing of that River; and here they had Maize in plenty. While they lay here, a certain great Cacique that liv'd on the other ſide of the River, came with 200 Canoes full of *Indians*, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and Shields; their Bodies were painted, and they had Plumes of Feathers of ſeveral colours. This Fleet of Canoes came within a ſtones caſt of the ſhore, and there the Cacique and *Soto* enter'd into a Conference; and tho' the former ſaid he came to ſubmit himſelf, and to receive *Soto*'s Commands, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, yet 'twas plain that he came to aſſault him cou'd he have found an opportunity. For he wou'd not be courted to come aſhore; and farther, when he ſaw *Soto* and his Men in ſo good order, and ready for an aſſault, he made all his Canoes give back of a ſudden, and retire from the ſhore, without any thing of compliment or farewel. But the *Spaniards* were civiller than they, for they took leave of them with their Croſsbows, and kill'd ſome of them. Their Canoes were furniſh'd with Tilts, Flags and Plumes, that made a very fine ſhew. *Soto* after this paſs'd over *Rio Grande*, and marching into the Country of this treacherous Cacique he found all the Towns empty of Inhabitants.

Province of *Chicaca*.

A dreadful aſſault.

Another aſſault.

Treacherous Cacique.

The next Province he came into, which was called *Caſqui*, he met with much better treatment; the People attended his coming peaceably in their Towns, and freely gave him what Proviſions they had. The Country was full of great Towns, and they ſtood ſo cloſe together, that from one Town one had the proſpect of two or three more. 'Twas fruitful too, and yielded abundance of Wallnuts, Plumbs, (many ſorts of them better than thoſe in *Spain*) Mulberries, and Fiſh. The Cacique came forth to receive him with all his principal Men, and offer'd him a ſincere Service, which he did upon all Occaſions as ſincerely pay him. His *Indians* made a Bridge of Trees over a Lake that communicates with the *Rio Grande*, for *Soto* and his Army to paſs, without which they had been at a ſad loſs, becauſe of the depth and ſtrong current of the Water. By this means he was let into the Country of *Pacaha*, the Cacique of which wou'd not ſee nor come near them. Here were alſo abundance of great Towns, and thoſe defended with Walls; the chief Town had ſtrong Walls beſet with Towers, and Loopholes both in the one and the other; it was alſo encompaſs'd very near all round with a Ditch, that was ſupplied with Water from a great Lake adjoining. From this Lake the Cacique had cut a Gut that opened

Caſqui.

Pacaha.

opened into the *Rio Grande*, and brought the Fish from that River into the Lake, where the Cacique kept them for his Recreation; and there was both a vast number, and a great variety of Fish in it, most of which were different from the fresh water Fish in *Spain*. *Soto* travell'd from hence Southward, and entred the great and plentiful Country of *Quigante*. The Cacique sent him Presents, but wou'd not venture to see him; his chief Town was the greatest they had yet seen in *Florida*.

Coligoa. From hence he went to the Province of *Coligoa*, which lies to the North West of the former, in the way to which he pass'd Woods and Desart places, in many of which there were Lakes and Pools infinitely repleniſh'd with Fish, which was the main of their Diet in this Journey. The People of the Country fled from the *Spaniards*; and the Cacique, who was making his escape with the rest, happen'd to be taken by them, together with some of his Subjects, of whom *Soto* notwithstanding demanded no more than Guides and Intelligence. Here was vast plenty of Maize, French-beans (better and larger than those in *Spain*) and Pompions, which were also extraordinary good. These People informing him of the fruitful Province of *Cayas* that lay to the South, *Soto* proceeded to find it out, and in the way pass'd through that of *Paliſema*, which afforded him but little Entertainment; there was but very little Maize, neither was the Cacique, or hardly any of the People, to be come at. The Cacique (who run away not out of enmity but pure fear) left his House hung with Deer-skins curiously colour'd and wrought, and the floor cover'd with the same, for *Soto* to lodge in; and this as a token that he

Cayas. desired his friendship. When they came into the Province of *Cayas*, they found little of that plenty (that was spoken of) in any respect, except Maize, and that indeed was extraordinary. There was no appearance of such numbers of People neither as the *Indians* of *Coligoa* had hinted. *Soto* found in the way parcels of Deer-skins laid up and down, which the Cacique had order'd to be left there as a sign of Peace, according to the custom of his Country; this Prince being catch'd by the *Spaniards*, gave a good account of the Province as to the well-peopling of it, but their Eyes did not tell them so, and they were forc'd to take the Caciques word for't.

Salt made. This Country yielded them one thing besides Maize, which they had all along wanted, and that was Salt, which the Natives drew great quantities of from the water of a certain Lake that was warm, of a very brackish taste, and plentifully impregnated with this Mineral; 'tis one of their best Commodities, and they exchange it with other People for Skins and Mantles.

Soto's Travels thus far are to be computed in this manner, beginning at the Province of *Taſcaluca*, where the last account of them ended. From *Taſcaluca* to *Rio Grande* 300 Leagues, a low Country, and full of Lakes. From the Province on the other side *Rio Grande* to *Pacaha* about 50 Leagues, and the Country more open, airy and champion, and the best Peopled in *Florida*. From *Pacaha* to *Quigante* 100 Leagues. From *Quigante* to *Coligoa* 40 Leagues. From *Coligoa* to *Cayas* as many; and in most of these places 'tis a plain Country, the Woods not thick and troublesome, and the Fields fruitful and pleasant.

Autiamque. *Soto* having staid some time at *Cayas*, went away to find out the Province of *Autiamque*; this lies to the South East of the former, and is a fruitful and plentiful Country, at least in all those respects that any Countries in *Florida* have had a character already. The *Indians* voided the Town of *Autiamque* before the *Spaniards* came into it, and the Cacique absented himself and wou'd not appear. *Soto* found this so good a place, that he took up his Winter Quarters here, and fortify'd his Camp so as to lie secure from all attempts of the *Indians*. The great Game they had while they lay here was catching of Conies, of which there were a vast number, and one sort particularly as large every way as the greatest Hares, but of the same colour and make with the *Spanish* Conies. Here *Soto* had the misfortune to lose *Ortiz* (of whom we spoke before) which was no small loss, because having liv'd so long in *Florida*, he knew a great many of the Languages, and serv'd for an Interpreter wherever they came. Upon this account he was confin'd from travelling far into the Land for the time to come; his Troops also were sadly shrunk, and all the Horses almost dead, and those that were alive but in ill case, having gone a Year unshod for want of Iron.

Nilco. From *Autiamque* therefore he march'd towards the Country of *Nilco*, designing to come to the Sea as soon as possible, in order to the getting some Supplies of Men and Horses from *Cuba*. He pass'd through the Province

Ayas. of *Ayas*, where he had a bad Journey on't, partly by the great Snows that fell, and partly by the Lakes and Watery Roads and Ways through which he was obliged to go. In the Territories of *Nilco* they found several great Towns, and most of them well repleniſh'd with Maize, French-beans, Wall-nuts and Prunes. The *Indians* wou'd not come at them any where in the Country, nor serve them with any Provisions; and in the chief Town where the Cacique us'd to reside, they set his House afire, because the *Spaniards* shou'd not lodge in it, and so run away. As for the Cacique himself, he sent *Soto* a Present of Pearl, and a Mantle of *Marterns* Skins, but did not think fit to come and bid him welcome into his Country.

Guachoya. *Soto* endeavouring now to find out the Sea, came next to the Province of *Guachoya*, and to that part of it that is wash'd by the *Rio Grande*. The Cacique of this Country came to *Soto*, and brought Provisions with him; but

Quigalta. he of the neighbouring Territories of *Quigalta* was a Man of stiffer Humour and higher Mettle. *Soto* having a mind to make this Cacique pay him the same respect that the others generally had done, sent to tell him that he was the Son of the heavenly Sun, and that all the Caciques as he came along serv'd and obey'd him; but he requested his Friendship, and therefore wou'd have him come and bring some of the good things of his Country with him for a token of that Friendship. The Cacique

Bold Answer of the Cacique. return'd for Answer by the same Messenger, That whereas *Soto* said he was the Son of the Sun, if he wou'd command the great River to dry up he wou'd believe him; and as for all the rest, for his part he did not use to make Visits to any, but rather all those that had any notice of him came to visit him, and serv'd him too either willingly or by force. And therefore, if he had a mind to see him, he must come to that Town where he was, which if he did in a peaceable way, he shou'd be receiv'd in like manner; but if he came to fight, he wou'd attend him in his Town, being never us'd to shrink or turn his back for any Man whatsoever. Had *Soto* been in a good case, and wou'd the River have suffer'd him to pass over, he wou'd have gone and tried to cool the courage of this bold Cacique, who spoke words to him that he had never heard from any *Indian* before. But Matters were otherwise, his Forces were sadly diminish'd, he himself was now dangerously ill, and the River (in those Parts) was near half a league broad, 16 fathom deep, and run with a very swift current. This fretted him extremely, and 'twas a great disturbance to him that he cou'd no way find out a passage to the Sea, nor had no prospect of coming well out of this Country again. In short, with

Soto's death. these distempers of his Mind, and that of his Body, (which to be sure was not a little heightned by the other) *Soto* was quite overwhelm'd, and died in this Province of *Guachoya*, nominating *Luys Moſcoſco de Alvarado* his Camp-Master General and Governour, in his stead. There was something to do to conceal his Death from the *Indians*, because 'twas probable they might take some advantage by it, for *Soto* had made them believe (at least perswaded them to it) that the Christians were Immortal; the contrary of which, when they had found by experience, and that in the case of the greatest Man of them all too, they would have been the more encourag'd to make some farther Experiments upon their Mortality. The account therefore they gave of the Matter to the *Indians* that enquired after him was this, That he was gone to Heaven, as he us'd to do sometimes, and because he was to stay there a few days about business, he had for that reason substituted another to govern during his absence. But, in short, they easily guess'd the truth,

Indians discover the death of Soto. and discover'd that his Body was imprison'd under ground, hard by one of their Town-Gates, instead of mounting above the Clouds, and flying up into Heaven; for they observ'd the Earth turn'd up there, and made signs to one another, intimating they knew who lay there. Upon this account *Moſcoſo* was fain to remove him, and instead of the Earth, to give him a burial in the Water; so his Body was thrown into the River, and that without any thing of the Ceremony due to so great and valiant a Commander.

It seems 'tis the Custom in this Country, (as well as in many others both in the Eastern and Western Worlds) for the Deaths of Lords and Caciques, to be attended with those of Slaves and inferiour Men; for the Cacique of *Guachoya* sent two *Indians* to *Moſcoſo*, on purpose to be Sacrific'd upon the Occasion of *Soto's* Death, and to attend and wait upon him where he was now gone, but *Moſcoſo* did not send them upon that Errand. The *Spaniards* had now nothing else to do but to find their way out of the Country as fast as they cou'd, since he that brought them hither, and kept them here, was gone. They resolv'd to travel by Land, not putting themselves

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to any farther trouble about looking after the Sea, especially since they were so ill provided for a Voyage, as having neither Ships, Compass, Chart, nor Pilot. In pursuance of this resolution, they march'd through the Provinces of *Aguacay*, *Amay*, *Nagateux*, *Nissoon*, *Nondacao* and *Soacatina*, even as far as the River of *Daycao*; in which march they were exceedingly harrass'd and fatigu'd, the *Indians* that they seiz'd for Guides leading them many times purposely out of the way. And here when they came to this River, they found a poor and a barren Country, cou'd get no Intelligence, nor had no prospect of continuing their Journey with any manner of safety through the Land; so that now they were reduc'd to very great distresses, and cou'd not tell what course to take to deliver themselves. The Journey they had made of it from *Cayas* (where the last computation broke off) hither was thus: From *Cayas* to *Autiamque* near 200 Leagues, hilly ground: From *Autiamque* to *Aguacay* 230 Leagues, plain even ground: From *Aguacay* to the River of *Daycao*, where they now were, 120 Leagues, all hilly Country. When they saw that there was no going on by Land, they determin'd even to go back again to the Province of *Guachoya* to the *Rio Grande*, (made remarkable by *Soto*'s Death and Burial in it) and there build them some Vessels, such as the Materials they cou'd get wou'd allow, and so venture at last to Sea. So they travell'd Eastward back again, from the River of *Daycao* to the Country of *Guachoya*, where they had been before, a long and tedious march, especially to be gone twice over to no purpose.

They come back to *Rio Grande*.

At a certain place upon this River call'd *Minoya*, they spent their Winter, and improv'd it in making seven Brigandines, which they had Timber enough for, but were forc'd to caulk with Hemp and Flax: However, as it happen'd, they had some good Workmen amongst them, without which this Project also had been of an impossible execution, (they must have Winter'd in *Florida*) perhaps for ever.

While they staid here, 18 or 20 of the Caciques about them form'd a Design of assaulting them, and had a great force of Men ready for that purpose; but *Moscoso* discover'd the Plot in good time, and letting the *Indians* know as much, they were afraid to give them any disturbance. *Indian Plot.*

When the time of Year was come for sailing, they went aboard their Vessels, and sail'd down the *Rio Grande* from *Minoya*, and were 17 days before they came to the Sea, the distance run being about 250 Leagues. Near the Sea that River is divided into two arms, each of them a League and half broad; it runs with a violent stream into the Sea, and the Coast is so shallow and gentle, that the fresh Water enters a great way into the salt. Providence favour'd them in their Voyage so, that after 52 days sailing they came safely into the River *Panuco*, the number of them then living being 311, and the time that they were out, from *A. D.* 1539. to *A. D.* 1543.

Thus we have seen how unfortunate *Florida* has been to the *Spaniards*; but *Peru* and *Mexico* were so very kind and fortunate to them, that they might easily forgive this for being otherwise.

CHAP. XVII.

A brief Account of some of the first French *Voyages to the Northern Parts of* America.

First Expedition.

IN *A. D.* 1524. one *John Verrazano* a *Florentine*, was sent out by King *Francis* the Third, and the Queen Regent his Mother, who is said to have made Discoveries from the 28th to the 50th degr. N. L. upon which score some of the *French* Nation have pretended a Right to all that Coast, and made their *New France* almost as big as all *Europe* besides. Wherein 'tis certain, that they are very greatly mistaken, since all that Land, and much more, had long before been discover'd by Sir *Sebastian Cabot* for the King of *England*, and he was without doubt the first that set foot upon the *American* Continent on the behalf of any Christian Prince; and this he did *A. D.* 1496. or, as others will have it, in 1497.

Cabot the first Discoverer.

Second Expedition.

In *A. D.* 1562. that famous Admiral of *France* Monsieur *de Chastillon*, sent Monsieur *Ribalt* to discover the Coast of *Florida*, and the adjoining Parts. He arriv'd at *Cape Francis* in *Florida*, which lies in 30 degrees; to which *Cape* he gave that Name, as also to the River there the Name of *May*, and to several other Rivers the Names of some known in *France*. He built a Fort and furnish'd it with Provisions, and so leaving a Colony there he came home again; but those left behind, tho' the *Indians* were kind to them, cou'd not be kind to one another, but mutiny'd and fought, and at last all came away, being like to be famish'd ere they reach'd *England*, where they went ashore.

French fall out.

Third Expedition.

The same Admiral procur'd the King to send three Ships more to the same Coast, in *A. D.* 1564. under the command of Monsieur *Laudonniere*, who went ashore about 10 Leagues from *Cape Francis*, and the *Indians* received him with a great deal of kindness.

Silver.

Some Parts or other of this Country affords Silver, for *Laudonniere* had a wedge of Silver presented him, which was said to come from the Province of *Thimogoa*; tho' we hear of no particular discovery made of that Province. Only this is said too, that some of the *French* Soldiers assisting one of the Savage Kings in his Wars, brought away with them some quantities both of Gold and Silver, but how much, or from whence, they don't tell us.

Strange Lightning.

A great Lightning happened here, which burnt up 500 Acres of Land, and kill'd all the Fowl thereabouts; and after it follow'd so violent a heat, that the Fish in the River of *May* died with it by whole Cart loads, and from the putrefaction of them proceeded several grievous diseases. The Savages believed the *French* had done all this mischief with their great Guns, and that that was the Lightning that killed the Fowl in the Air, and made the Fish die in the Rivers.

Old Man.

They saw here a Wonder of Old Age that deserves to be remember'd, a Man with six Generations descended from his own Loins, he himself being almost 300 Years old, and his immediate Son near 250.

French quarrels.

The *French* ruin'd their Designs here again by Mutinies, Divisions and Quarrels amongst themselves; some run away to the *Spaniards* at *Cuba*, and others staid where they were, living in great distress for want of Provision, even to the next degree to downright starving. But Sir *John Hawkins* happening to come thither with 4 *English* Ships, was so charitable as to afford *Laudonniere* and his company one for their Transportation home.

Fourth Expedition.

But as they were preparing for their Voyage, in comes Monsieur *Ribalt* with 7 Sail from *France*, which the Admiral had sent for the recruit and maintaining of the Colony there. This put a stop to the Voyage, and the *French* were now in hopes of getting the Gold Mines of *Apalatci* into their hands, (some proofs of which they had seen) when a Fleet of 7 *Spanish* Ships, guided by one of the runaway *Frenchmen*, came to drive them all away. As for *Laudonniere*, he made his escape, and came home safe to *France*; but *Ribalt* was first wrack'd, and afterwards Massacred, with all his company, by the *Spaniards*.

Spaniards drive them out.

The *Spaniards* strengthned themselves here with three Forts, one begun by the *French*, and two others built by themselves; but they horribly exasperated the Natives here, as they do every where, and prepar'd them for revenge.

Fifth Expedition.

But this kindness of the *Spaniards* was well requited by the *French* in *A. D.* 1567. under the Command of Monsieur *Gourges*, who coming with three Ships, made a League with several of the Savage Kings, took all the Forts, and kill'd all the *Spaniards*.

French drive out the *Spaniards*.

And to observe the *Lex talionis* in all points, he hang'd abundance of the *Spaniards* upon the very same Tree on which the *French* had hung a Year or two ago: And the *Spanish* Admiral had written over the *French* in great Letters, *I do not this*

Lex talionis.

as

as to Frenchmen *but as to* Lutherans; so *Gourges* likewise writ over the *Spaniards* Heads, *I do not this as to* Spaniards, *but as to Robbers and Murderers.* He raz'd all the Forts, not having Men to keep them, and so came home to *France*, where he was ill rewarded by his Prince, tho' the Voyage was undertaken at his own, not the publick Cost; he was forc'd to hide himself, (the King of *Spain* had so possess'd the *French* King in his prejudice) but in *England* he met with good Entertainment from Queen *Elizabeth*.

Cartier's Voyages. One *Jaques Cartier*, in *A. D.* 1534. set out from St. *Malo* with two Ships, and came to *Newfoundland* and *Bird-Island*, which receives its Name from the incredible multitude of Birds of several sorts found there. *Cartier* seems to have done no more this time than the finding out these two Islands; however, the next Year, he went out again with three Ships, and came to *St. Lawrence's Bay*, to *Canada* and *Hochelaga*. After this the King of *France* sent him again, in *A. D.* 1540. as also *Francis de la Roche*, Lord of *Robewall*, to be his Lieutenant in *Canada*. This latter went in *A. D.* 1542. but only built a Fort and Winter'd there, and then came back; so that the *French*, as yet, had little or no footing in these Parts of the World.

CHAP XVIII.

An Account of a Voyage to Canada, *by* Samuel Champlain: *Dedicated to* Charles de Montmorencie *Lord High Admiral of* France.

A. D. 1603 THE Voyage thither contains no remarkable Occurrence, except that only of the vast Banks of Ice they met with. They were indeed rather so many floating Islands, being big enough for the Habitations of many thousands of Animals, and many Islands in the World are well inhabited that are less than they. There were two of them particularly that were above 8 Leagues long; one of which they saw when they were between 44 and 45 degr. N. L.

Tadoussac Port. The Port they first anchor'd in the Country was that of *Tadusac*, which is form'd like a Creek in the entrance of the River of *Saguenay*. It is but a small Port, and lies open to the S. and S. S. E. Winds; but there is Water enough to the Eastward, towards the opening of the River of *Saguenay*, along by a Hill, which is almost cut off from the Main by the Sea. At the entrance of it there are two Points, the one on the West-side, which runs a League into the Sea, called *St. Matthews Point*, the other on the S. E. side, containing a quarter of a League, which they call the *Point of all the Devils*. These two Points are very near a League asunder, and are dry at Low water. They brought along with them a couple of Savages, which had formerly been carried from this Country into *France*, and very well used there; for this end particularly, that they might commend the bounty and kindness of the *French* Nation to their Countrymen at home, and so make way for their Settlement in the Country.

The great *Sagamo*, or Savage King, was at their arrival engaged in a great Feast at the *Point of St. Matthews*, and there 'twas that the *French* had their first Conference with him. The Savage that was to tell the story of their good usage in *France*, and of that Prince's desires to plant his Subjects amongst them, did it so effectually, that *Anadabijou*, the Grand *Sagamo*, was highly pleas'd, and easily granted all; and all the rest of the *Sagamos* express'd their good will and liking of it too. They were at this time celebrating a Feast for an advantage lately obtain'd over the *Iroquese* their Enemies, about one hundred of whose Heads they had brought along with them, the better to grace the Ceremony. In the great Cabbin where they were met together, they had 8 or 10 several Fires about 6 paces distant from one another, over every one of which were hung a Kettel full of some sort of flesh, either Wild Fowl, Bever, Bear, Seal, or Orignac, which is like an Ox. While Dinner was dressing, one took a Dog and danc'd with it about the Kettels, which stood in the middle of the Cabbin; and when he came by the great *Sagamo*, he threw the Dog down upon the ground, at which all, with one consent, cried ho! ho! ho! Which done, that Man went and sat down in his place again, and another rise up and did the like; and thus they spent the time till their Victuals was ready. When they went to eating, every Man had his Dish before him made of the Bark of a Tree, and a certain Person that Carv'd gave to every one his Portion. When their hands were greasie, they wip'd them either upon the hair of their own heads, or that of their Dogs backs. After Dinner they went out to dancing, and to express the greater joy, did it with the Heads of their Enemies in their hands. In these dances they use no great motion, but do more by odd gestures and turnings of their Bodies than any thing else. When the Men began to sing, all the Women and Maids, which sat down in ranks by one another, started up of a sudden, and threw off their Mantles of Skins, stripping themselves as naked as ever they were born; and when the Song was ended, and the Men with one voice cried ho! ho! ho! the Women and Maids sat down again in their places, and cover'd themselves with their Mantles; and these odd actions they repeated several times. These People are of an Olive colour, more by reason of the paint they use than by Nature; they are generally of very good shape and well-proportion'd. Their Habit is Skins and Furrs, with which they are entirely cover'd in the Winter, but in Summer only a part of their Bodies. At that time also they make a sort of Rackets, which they fasten to their feet, that they may go over the Snow without sinking. In the severe Winter-Seasons they are bitterly pinch'd for Provisions, because abundance of the Animals they live upon retire themselves into warmer Climates. They have much more Sense and Ingenuity than many of the *Americans* have, but are revengeful, false and treacherous. In their Consults and Debates, only the Ancients are present; and 'tis a custom with them to stop in their Speeches, and think a while, and then go on again. As for Religion, they believe one God, one Mother, one Son, and one Sun in the Firmament, but that God is above all the rest. There's little sign of any external Worship or Devotion amongst them; and the great *Sagamo* gave this account of the matter, That every one pray'd in his Heart what he thought good. And concerning the Original of Mankind, their Faith is, That when God had made all things else, he took a bundle of Arrows and stuck them into the ground, from whence grew Men and Women.

Habit. *Manners and Religion.* *Devotion.*

Great Feast.

Diversion before Dinner.

Marriage amongst them is a Woman's making choice of that Man for her constant Companion and Bedfellow that she has made trial of before, for 4, 5, or 6 Years, more or less as she pleases. And as she has the liberty of trying a great many, so 'tis past all doubt that she takes him whom she finds the most agreeable Companion during the time of his Probation. *Marriage.*

In their Funerals they do no more than put the dead Body into a great hole in the ground, together with all the Goods and Houshold-stuff belonging to them; so that this is not only a burial of Bodies, but of Pots, Pans, Kettles, and the like Lumber. When their Friends are dead, they say they are gone into far distant Countries, to rejoice with their Relations and Acquaintance. Monsieur *Champlain* preach'd the main Points of the Christian Religion to them, and tho' they were patient hearers, and approvers of that Law, yet he does not tell as that any of them proceeded so far as to be doers of it, and to renounce their own barbarous Rites and Customs. *Funerals.*

The Cabbins or Houses these People dwell in are low, made like Tents, and cover'd with the Bark of a Tree, only they leave an open place in the Roof, about a foot wide, to let the light in upon them; they make several fires in the middle of them, and there are many times *Houses.*

eigh-

eight or ten Houſholds together in one Cabbin. They lie upon Skins promiſcuously by one another, and the Dogs lie by their Maſters ſides upon the ſame Couches.

Their Canoes are made of the Bark of the Birch-tree, and are ſtrengthened within with ſeveral little circles of Wood; we ſuppoſe they mean Hoops, or ſomething of that nature. They are ſo very light, that a Man may carry one of them eaſily, and the Natives very frequently do ſo, when they have occaſion to paſs any Land from one River to another. They are 8, 9 or 10 paces long, and half a broad in the middle, but they grow narrower towards the ends; there are but two that row in them, and thoſe are the Man and his Wife.

River of Saguenay.

As for the actions of the *French* in the Country this time, they made ſome diſcoveries both of the River of *Saguenay*, in the mouth of which the Town of *Tadouſſac* ſtands, and alſo of the great River of *Canada*. As for the former, they went no farther than 10 or 12 Leagues up it, and ſo came not near the great fall, which by report is between 40 and 50 Leagues from *Tadouſſac*. 'Tis ſaid alſo, that beyond the great fall there are various others, and then ſeveral Lakes communicating with one another by intermediate Rivers; the fartheſt of all which Lakes are properly the head of this River *Saguenay*. As far as they went they found the Country mountainous and rocky on both ſides the River, the Soil unpleaſant, and all the Iſlands in the River meer deſart ground, and inhabited by nothing but a few ſmall Birds. But their Voyage in queſt of the fall of the great River of *Canada* was more conſiderable, in order to which they ſet out of *Tadouſſac* and paſs'd by *Hare-Iſland*, the *Iſland of Filberds*, and the *Iſland of Orleans*; the former of theſe is about 7 Leagues from *Tadouſſac*, and contains nothing remarkable. The ſecond is pleaſant and wooddy, has ſtore of Slate, and a good gravel Soil; it's within two

Iſland Orleans.

Leagues of *Hare-Iſland*. The *Iſland of Orleans* is a ſmooth level, and delightful ſpot, and about 8 Leagues long; 'tis dangerous paſſing by the North-ſide of it, becauſe of the Banks of Sand and Rocks that lie between it and the main Land, where 'tis almoſt dry at low Water.

Quebec.

After this they came to an Anchor at *Quebec*, which is a Streight of the ſaid River of *Canada*, which is ſome 300 paces broad. Excepting one very high Mountain on the North-ſide of the Streight, the Country is plain and level, full of fine grounds beſet with Oaks, Birches, Firrs, Cypreſſes, Wild Vines, and ſeveral ſorts of Fruit-bearing Trees.

Diamonds.

The *French* ſay alſo, that along the Coaſt of *Quebec* there are Diamonds in the Rocks of Slate, which are better than thoſe of *Alonſon*; from *Quebec* to the Iſland of *Filberds* are 29 Leagues. Beyond *Quebec* the River grows wider and wider, in ſome places a League broad, in others a League and half, in others two Leagues, which is the moſt. The proſpect of the Country grows alſo pleaſanter ſtill, and you ſee all low Champion grounds, which promiſe ſomething of Fruitfulneſs conſiderable.

The North Coaſt is full of Rocks and Banks of Sand, and therefore ſailing that way you muſt take the South-ſide, and go about half a League from the ſhore. From *Quebec* they ſail'd to St. *Croix*, which is 15 Leagues farther, and the Country continues ſtill the ſame pleaſing proſpect, the ground level, and abundance of good Fruit-trees, beſides plenty of Woods which ſtand well to the eye; the Soil is black and ſoft, and only wants Art and Induſtry to improve it to very good purpoſe.

River of the Iroqueze.

They kept ſtill Coaſting on by the North ſhore, and came to the mouth of the River of *Iroqueze*, in which courſe they had a view of various little Iſlands, Lakes and Rivers, too many to claim a particular deſcription; but this is obſervable, that the Land for the moſt part yielded much the ſame pleaſant proſpect as before, and the Vines and Wallnut-trees, which were in abundance, made it manifeſt 'twas not a barren Soil.

The River of the *Iroqueze* runs with a very rapid Current, inſomuch that their attempts to go up it were fruſtrated; it is at leaſt 3 or 400 paces broad, and has ſeveral Iſlands in it. Proceeding on towards the fall of the great River of *Canada*, they diſcover'd abundance of Iſlands, many of which were extremely pleaſant and fruitful, eſpecially them towards the South Coaſt, where they found in ſome of them moſt ſorts of the ſmaller Fruits, as Strawberries, Rasberries, Gooſeberries, with many others they did not know: As alſo for Animals, Does, Conies, Bears, Bevers, Otters, with a great many other kinds they had not ſeen before. When they came to the entrance of the fall, they found an Iſland almoſt in the very middle of that entrance on the South-ſide of which they paſs'd, and tho' they quickly began to find the ſwift current of the Water, yet they found it withal extremely low and ſhallow, ſometimes not exceeding 5, 4, or 3-foot: Abundance of Rocks and little Iſlands alſo lie ſcatter'd about in the River, many of which are juſt even with the water. Upon all theſe accounts they ſaw there was no going farther in the Pinnace, and ſo the Skiff was made ready, in which the Author, with one or two more, and a few of the Savages for their Guides, attempted to purſue the diſcovery of the fall: And they went ſo far as to be able to give this account of it, That the water runs with a force and ſwiftneſs that is very ſurprizing, yet the fall is as it were ſtep by ſtep, and the depth ſometimes not above one or two fathom, and never above three fathom. The breadth is about a League, and there are abundance of Rocks and Iſlands up and down in it, particularly in the middle there are ſeveral long narrow Iſlands, that make the fall divide it ſelf into two others, one to the North, and the other to the South-ſide, both which are very dangerous for any Skiff or Boat, tho' ever ſo ſmall, to paſs, and nothing but the light Canoes of the Savages can poſſibly do it. The *French* went aſhore and travell'd a while by the River, to ſee if they could find the end of the fall, and having gone about a League, they found no more Rocks, nor any thing of ſuch a fall as before, but the water continued running with a ſtrange ſwiftneſs, and that current (as the *Indians* ſaid) held on for 3 or 4 Leagues.

Great fall of the River of *Canada*.

Account given by the Natives.

The Savages alſo inform'd them, that after this firſt great fall, there are ſeveral others to be paſs'd, and ſo through a continuation of Falls and Lakes, (many of which communicates with one another by Rivers, and are vaſtly large and wide) ſome of them had paſs'd a great way in their Canoes, but they had not ſeen the end of it, nor how far they cou'd have gone that way. The firſt fall to which the *French* came lies in 45 degrees N. L. and according to all that they cou'd gather from the deſcriptions of the Savages, they found it muſt be near 400 Leagues from thence to the South Sea.

Other Voyages of the *French*.

After this they return'd to *Tadouſſac*, from thence they ſet out again ſailing to *Gachepay*, the *Bay of Cods*, the *Iſland of Percee*, and the *Bay of Heat*, but in this Courſe they made no remarkable Obſervations nor Diſcoveries. *Gachepay* is ſcituated about 100 Leagues from *Tadouſſac*, in a fair Bay about 7 or 8 Leagues long, and 4 broad in the mouth. Theſe Bays are not very far diſtant from one another, and all of them (as alſo the *Iſland Percee*) are places for green and dry Fiſh.

Copper-Mines.

They ſaw nothing of Gold or Silver in all their progreſſes, at leaſt they would not tell of it if they did, only there were ſome ſuſpicions of a Silver-Mine near a certain Bay in about 44 degrees S.L. within 5 or 6 Leagues of the South Coaſt. Copper-Mines there certainly were in the Country, as particularly near the River of *Souricoua*, where their Countryman Monſieur *Prevert* had been to make trial of them, as he himſelf inform'd them at the *Iſland of Percee*, from which place 'tis not difficult to find the way to the River of *Souricoua*. With this Perſon they return'd back again into *France*, where whatſoever Diſcoveries they made to their own Prince, they do not think to tell the World any more.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Monsieur Monts's *Voyage into* New France; *Written by* Mark Lescarbot.

The French *King's Patent granted to Monsieur* de Monts, *for the Planting of* Canada, *&c.*

'HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarre*. To our dear and well-beloved the Lord of *Monts*, one of the ordinary Gentlemen of our Chamber, greeting. As our greatest care and labour is, and hath always been, since our coming to this Crown, to maintain and conserve it in the ancient dignity, greatness and splendour thereof, to extend and amplify, as much as lawfully may be done, the bounds and limits of the same. We being, of a long time, informed of the situation and condition of the Lands and Territories of *La Cadie*, moved above all things, with a singular zeal, and devout and constant resolution, which we have taken, with the help and assistance of God, Author, Distributer, and Protector of all Kingdoms and Estates, to cause the People, which do inhabit the Country, Men (at this present time) Barbarous, Atheists, without Faith or Religion, to be converted to Christianity, and to the Belief and Profession of our Faith and Religion; and to draw them from the ignorance and unbelief wherein they are. Having also of a long time known by the Relation of the Sea Captains, Pilots, Merchants and others, who of long time have haunted, frequented and trafficked with the People that are found in the said places, how fruitful, commodious and profitable may be unto us, to our Estates and Subjects, the Dwelling, Possession, and Habitation of those Countries, for the great and apparent profit which may be drawn by the greater frequentation and habitude which may be had with the People that are found there, and the Traffick and Commerce which may be by that means safely treated and negotiated. We then for these causes fully trusting on your great Wisdom, and in the Knowledge and Experience that you have of the quality, condition and situation of the said Country of *La Cadia*, for divers and sundry Navigations, Voyages and Frequentations that you have made into those Parts, and others near and bordering upon it, assuring our selves that this our resolution and intention, being committed unto you, you will attentively, diligently, and no less courageously and valorously, execute, and bring to such perfection as we desire, have expressly appointed and established you, and by these Presents, signed with our own hands, do commit, ordain, make, constitute and establish you, our Lieutenant-General, for to represent our Person, in the Countries, Territories, Coasts and Confines of *La Cadia*, to begin from the 40th degree unto the 46th, and in the same distance, or part of it, as far as may be done, to establish, extend, and make to be known our Name, Might and Authority. And under the same to subject, submit and bring to obedience, all the People of the said Land and the Borderers thereof: And by the means thereof, and all lawful ways, to call, make, instruct, provoke and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the light of the Faith and Christian Religion, to establish it there: And in the exercise and profession of the same, keep and conserve the said People, and all other Inhabitants in the said places, and there to command in peace, rest and tranquillity, as well by Sea as by Land: to ordain, decide, and cause to be executed all that which you shall judge fit and necessary to be done, for to maintain, keep and conserve the said places under our Power and Authority, by the forms, ways and means prescribed by our Laws. And for to have there a care of the same with you, to appoint, establish, and constitute all Officers, as well in the Affairs of War, as for Justice and Policy, for the first time, and from thence forward to name and present them unto us, for to be disposed by us, and to give Letters, Titles, and such Provisoes as shall be necessary, *&c.*

Given at Fountain-bleau *the eighth day of* November, *in the Year of Our Lord* 1603. *and of our Reign the fifteenth. Signed* Henry, *and underneath by the King,* Potier. *And sealed upon a single Label with yellow Wax.*

THO' Monsieur *de Monts* Name be only mentioned in this Title and Patent, yet we must know that several others were concern'd in the Voyage as well as him, and as they were all Men of some note, so the course of the Story will make it appear that what he did, as to the point of Discovery, was but little in comparison with what they did. *Monsieur de Monts* not alone in the Voyage.

There went along with him Monsieur *Poutrincourt* and Monsieur *Champlain*, he whose Voyage was deliver'd just before. They had no more than two Ships, and tho' they set out at a time of Year when contrary Winds were hardly to be expected by those that sail to those Parts, yet they were distress'd with them so far, as to render their Voyage much more long and tedious than otherwise it wou'd have been. *March*, A. D. 1604.

Being come as far as *Sand-Island*, they sail'd to the South of it, and came to *Cape de Sable*, and from thence to the *Bay of St. Mary*, which they commend for a very commodious place to dwell in, and say also that there are both Iron and Silver Mines there. *Cape de Sable.*

From hence they proceeded to a great Bay which is 40 Leagues long, and 14 at least broad, and which they call'd *La Bay Francoise*, or the *French Bay*. Here they found a most delectable Port, to which they gave the Name of *Port-Royal*; 'tis 8 Leagues in Circuit, defended with Mountains on the North-side, and on the South with small Hills which pour out a thousand fine streams, that renders the place extremely pleasant. On the East, between the Mountains and the Hills, is a River in which the Ships may sail 15 Leagues and more, and on the Banks on both sides is nothing but fair Meadows all the way; this they call'd the River *Le Equille*. *Port-Royal* a fine place.

From *Port-Royal* they sail'd to the Copper-Mines, mentioned in Monsieur *Champlain*'s Voyage. This was a high Rock between two Bays; the Copper appear'd very fair and pure, and the *French* Goldsmiths fancied a Golden Mine might be at the bottom. There was some store of Diamonds too about these Rocks, tho' not warranted for fine; and a certain sort of blue Stones, which they reckon'd not less valuable than Turqueses. Copper-Mine.

From the Copper-Mines they came to the River of *St. John*, the Country along by which is very fruitful and pleasant, full of Vines, and other good Plants and Trees. This River affords a good conveniency for a Correspondence between *Port-Royal* and the great River of *Canada*, for People may hear of one another this way in 16 or 17 days, which they can't do by the way of the Sea in a Month, nor then neither without danger; for in 6 days time they go to *Gachepay* by the Bay or Gulph of *Chaleur*, and in 8 days they may go to *Tadousac* by a branch of this River coming from the N. W. *River of St. John*, and the conveniency of it.

Leaving the River of *St. John* they sail'd to *St. Croix*, which is 20 Leagues distant, and here they resolv'd to make their abode for some time. This Island is half a League in compass, and the mark to discover it is three or four Mountains topping one another upon the sides, but at the North end only one sharp pointed one, from whence the River runs down. Right over against the Island are store of most pleasant fresh water Brooks, and the Soil there is very rich and fat, and needs little Tillage to make it yield fair crops of Corn; for Monsieur *Monts* sow'd some Rye, which he was forc'd to leave there ungather'd, but two Years after some of the company found a glorious crop there, which had sprung up from the grains that had fallen into the ground. *St. Croix.*

Monsieur *Poutrincourt* sail'd away from hence into *France*, leaving Monsieur *Monts* and his company here; but terrible illnesses forc'd him and them to remove from hence also into other Quarters, which they set out to seek as soon as the rough Season was over. They wanting a more warm and temperate Dwelling, went to the Southern Parts to find it out. The Voyage they made in order to it was 120 Leagues, from *St. Croix* to the River *Kinnibeki* 60 Leagues, the Coast lying East and West; and from *Kinnibeki* to *Malebarre* 60 Leagues more, the Coast lying North and South. The People that lie from *St. Johns* River as far as *Kinnibeki* are called *Etechemins*, and those from *Kinnibeki* to *Malebarre* go by the Name of *Armouchiquois*, an odd sort of People, as we shall see afterwards.

Voyage to *Malebarre*.

Tho' the Country hereabouts was more agreeable and temperate than that from which they remov'd, yet they staid here but a small time; for Monsieur *du Pont*, who had been with Monsieur *Champlain* in these Parts before, arriving from *France* with Recruits of fresh Men for Monsieur *de Monts*, they agreed all to return back to *Port-Royal*, and make that their Residence, till they had carried on the Discovery of the Country farther, and found some more profitable or inviting place. This design they put in execution; and being come thither, Monsieur *de Monts*, and some of the company, return'd in the Ships to *France*, leaving Monsieur *du Pont* and the rest, amongst whom the chief were Monsieur *Champlain* and Monsieur *Champdore*, Men acquainted with the Country, and very useful in the conduct of the Affairs of the Colony. At parting Monsieur *de Monts* made Monsieur *du Pont* a promise, that he would send him the following Year new Supplies from *France* to *Port-Royal*, where he was to stay the limited time in expectation of them. And here it may be said that they had a pretty good Correspondence and Traffick with the Savages for Otters, Bevers, Stags, and such like things. But he cou'd hardly fadge here any more than Monsieur *Monts* had done at *St. Croix*, for some of his Men died, and what with one disaster or another, having spent the most part of the appointed time here, he built him a Bark, and one or two Shallops, with which he resolv'd to go to some of the places where the *French* use to dry their Codfish, to get a passage by those Ships into *France*, if his Recruits did not come in due time.

Come to *Port-Royal* again.

Now Monsieur *de Monts* had taken care the mean while to furnish out a Ship for this Voyage, into which Monsieur *Poutrincourt* also put himself, resolving to try this Country once more; the Writer of this story too (Monsieur *Lescarbot*) came over at the same time. Their Voyage contain'd nothing remarkable in it, but only the account of the mighty Banks of Ice which are brought down from the North to the Seas of *Newfoundland* and *Labradore*. That which they call the great Bank is (as the Author affirms, but more from common estimation than his own particular knowledge) 200 Leagues long, and 18, 20, or 24 Leagues broad; and here 'tis that the great fishing for Cods goes on. The mark by which the Seamen know they are near it is a multitude of Birds, the chief of which are those call'd by the *French* Hapsoyes, or Liver-catchers, because they so greedily devour the Livers of the Codfish that are thrown into the Sea; and 'tis certain that they are so fond of that sort of Meat, that they will venture into any danger for it; nay, tho' a Poll were lifted up over their Heads to knock them down, yet they wou'd have a pull at their beloved Liver.

Monsieur *Poutrincourt*'s Voyage to *Canada* a second time.

Monsieur *du Pont* was gone from *Port-Royal* before they came thither, having left two *Frenchmen* only for the preservation of the Stores of Meat and Merchandize repos'd there; neither did they scruple to venture themselves there, amongst a Nation of Savages, to do this Service to their Country. Before they had been here long, Monsieur *du Pont* (who was gone to find out some *French* Ships, and had had tidings of their being at *Port-Royal*) came hither to them; and after some time spent together, the two companies parted again, Monsieur *du Pont*, and some with him, for *France*, and Monsieur *Poutrincourt* in quest of some Southern Region beyond *Malebarre*, where they might meet with all conveniences for a Plantation.

Du Pont goes to *France*.

The Author, and some others, were left at *Port-Royal* in the mean time, where they liv'd in very great plenty, having Bread-Corn, Pease and Beans, Rice, Raisins, Oil and Butter, of their own; and the Country afforded Wild-geese and Ducks, Larks, and other good Fowl, Deer, Sturgeon, Salmon; and, in a word, any Fish or Flesh that the Savages cou'd procure, for whatever Game came into their hands they wou'd commonly bring the *French* half of it.

Monsieur *Poutrincourt* sailed to the Island of *St. Croix*, and from thence to *Kinnibeki*, and so on to the Bay of *Marchin*. Here many kindnesses pass'd reciprocally between the *French* and the Savages, and Monsieur *Poutrincourt* made a League with the Prince of them. League with the Savages.

From hence they sail'd to the Bay of *Chouakoet*, at the entrance to which is an Island full of Vines, the Trunks of which they found to be three or four foot high, and as big as ones fist in the lower part; the Grapes were some of them as big as Plumbs, but the juice so thick that it left a stain behind it upon whatsoever it came. They proceeded to a certain Port of *Chouakoet*, where the Savages entertain'd them kindly, and brought Merchandize to truck with them.

From hence they came to another Port which was farther than Monsieur *de Monts* had ever been, tho he had (as was said before) been as far as *Malebarre*, which is beyond the Bay of *Chouakoet*. This Port was a very delightful one, and now they were in the Country of the *Armouchiquois*, a thievish, sly sort of People, and who must be narrowly watch'd by all that have any Dealings with them. They are much fear'd by many of the neighbouring Nations, and with respect to their treachery and resolution, as well as their thievish qualities, they ought to be fear'd by all People, for there's nothing that hinders them from the accomplishment of any design they have a mind to but only meer Impossibility, or accidental Frustration; yet they carried it civilly enough to the *French*, and were ready to contend with one another who shou'd bring them in most Provisions. *Armouchiquois*.

The *Armouchiquois* wou'd not let any of their People, that were wounded, be touch'd by a *French* Chirurgeon, till they had first sung and baul'd over them a while, and then they willingly resign'd them up to be cured. Monsieur *Poutrincourt* continued not long amongst them, yet neither did he prosecute that Southern Discovery, but returning to *Malebarre*, proceeded from thence back again to *Port-Royal*. 'Tis to be noted, that the entrance to *Malebarre* is exceeding difficult, by reason of the great streams and shoals that are there. The adjacent Country is well Peopled, and affords great store of Grapes. Being come to *Port-Royal*, they pass'd the Winter there pleasantly enough, having plenty of all sorts of Provisions, and Sports and Recreations in the Woods and Fields, that help'd to take off the burden of the time that lay upon their hands; but that Season over, and no Recruits coming from *France*, but on the other hand a Messenger, signifying, That all the Projects about Planting the Country were broke to pieces, and nothing farther (now at least) was to be expected, upon this score Monsieur *Poutrincourt* was now oblig'd to think of a speedy return, which was not a small grief to most of them, the Country being so fine and charming, and the People so good humour'd about *Port-Royal* where they resided. The Savages express'd no less concern (than they) at their departure; yea, they wept heartily, having been always in hopes that some Settlement wou'd have been made amongst them, since the assistance of the *French* was so useful to them in their many and frequent Wars with their enemies. However Monsieur *Poutrincourt*, tho' he came away, yet did it with a firm resolution to return thither again as soon as matters cou'd be brought to bear; yet he staid long enough, before he set sail, to see a noble crop of Corn come up, some Samplers of which (of several sorts) he brought along with him, to let the *French* Nation see that Country was not to be neglected upon slight and trivial Occasions. These few tokens of the fruitfulness of the Country, obtain'd the end they were design'd for so far, that the King was very much pleas'd with what he had seen, and confirm'd Monsieur *de Monts* Privileges to him afresh. Upon this, he quickly made Provision for the last Improvement of the King's favour, in sending several Families thither to begin the Plantation, and lay the first Foundations of a *French* Government. This was *A. D.* 1608. and 'twas but two Years after that (the *Canada* Affairs going on now more prosperously) Monsieur *de Poutrincourt* went over again, as well to discharge himself of his promise made to the Savages, as to satisfy his own inclinations which were strongly bent to that Country. He carried over a considerable number of People with him, particularly Artificers of several sorts, who were very useful Members of a new Plantation.

Bad entrance to *Malebarre*.

Poutrincourt returns to *France*.

Privileges confirmed.

New Colony.

Poutrincourt comes over again.

The place he fix'd on for his Settlement was *Port-Royal*, as being that he had always admired, and was also granted him by Monsieur *de Monts* by the King's Order. Monsieur *Poutrincourt*, presently upon his arrival, set himself to the Improvement of the Land, by Plowing and Sowing, and Dressing, for the following Year. After which necessary care for the Bodies of his own People,

People, he began to take care of the Souls of the Savages, and after Instructing of them in some Principles of the Christian Religion, he proceeded to Baptism, which Sacred Rite was Administred to several of the chief of them. Particularly there was baptized the great *Sagamo* or Prince of the Savages, that inhabited about *Port-Royal*, his Wife and his two Sons, he himself being honour'd with the King of *France's* Name, she with the Queens; and the two Sons, one with the Pope's, and the other with the Dauphin's. The Spirit of Popery was gotten into this Savage King by that time he was baptiz'd; he was no sooner out of the Font almost, but he began to breathe defiance against all the World about him that wou'd not be of his Opinion. He threaten'd his Savage Neighbours with Fire and Sword, and was resolv'd to carry all the Plagues and Terrours of War into the Bowels of their several Countries, if they did not follow his Example, and become Christians as well as he. But his Spiritual Fathers, had they been themselves in the right Spirit, wou'd have told him he was in the wrong, and let him know 'twas the way to make the other Savages afraid of Christianity, to see him come all of a flame out of the Water of Baptism. What Monsieur *Poutrincourt* did after his Settlement here we cannot inform the Reader, but we can say something of Monsieur *Champlain*, that most Industrious and Indefatigable Discoverer of Countries.

Savages baptized.

This Person made two Expeditions with the Savages of *Quebec*, one against their old Enemies the *Iroqueze*, and the other to discover the People beyond the Falls of the great River of *Canada*. The former had no more considerable in it than this, That the *Quebeckers*, by the help of the *Frenchmen* arm'd with Guns, routed the *Irequeze*, and came back with a great deal of Triumph.

Champlain's Discoveries.

In the latter Expedition, Monsieur *Champlain* did something remarkable, for he pass'd above 80 Leagues beyond the Falls of the great River, as far as a certain great Lake which is 100 Leagues long. The Country hereabouts was extremely fine and fruitful, abounding in all the best of those things that have hitherto been mentioned as the Products of any of these Parts. The People were valiant, and bold fighters too, and put *Champlain* and his company hard to it to defend themselves. Their Villages were fortified with strong Barricadoes of Pales, and their Houses two or three Stories high. Their Houses were themselves like so many Forts; in the lower parts were planted huge great Bows that discharged Arrows big enough to knock a Man down; in the highest they had Murdering holes and Battelments, from out of which they flung and cast great Stones, that annoy'd their enemies at a distance. In the middle Story they lay up their Corn, and other Provisions; and hither their Women retire themselves in the time of action, where they are not idle neither, but do all the Service their Sex will allow them to do.

There is a vast store of Bevers along this great Lake, but 'tis in vain to come hither to drive a Trade for the Skins of them, for the People burn their Bevers as we do our Hogs, and so effectually prevent all Trade that way. Monsieur *Champlain* was so set upon the business of discovering this Country, that he resolv'd not to leave off till he had piere'd as far as the Western Ocean, or that of the North, and so to open the way to *China*. But as many a one in this case has fail'd of being as good as his word, so we believe Monsieur *Champlain* did the like, for without all doubt had that passage been open'd, the performance had been taken notice of in the World.

CHAP. XX.

An Account of the first English *Plantations in* Virginia.

1st Voyage. THE famous Sir *Walter Raleigh* had first of all a Patent for these Discoveries, granted by Queen *Elizabeth*. *A. D.* 1584. he set out two Barks for that purpose, which arriving on that part of *America* since call'd *Virginia*, took possession of the Country in Her Majesties Name, and return'd after taking a short view of it.

2d Voyage. *A. D.* 1585. Sir *Richard Greenvile* was sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh* with 7 Ships, and came to *Virginia*, where he left a Colony. These Men discover'd from *Roanoak* to the Country of the *Chesepians*, above 130 Miles; and to *Chawanock* N. W. as far. The Savages form'd a Conspiracy against them, and made them uneasie; so that Sir *Francis Drake*, who had been plundering *Spanish* Towns, coming thither with his victorious Fleet, they all went back with him to *England*. This unexpected return of the Colony, was the reason why a good large Ship, set out by Sir *Walter Raleigh* the same Year, coming thither, and finding all the *English* gone, presently return'd again. Sir *Richard Greenvile* also, who was abroad with three Ships, arriving at the same place, and seeing no Colony staid not long there, but leaving 15 Men well furnish'd for two Years, to keep possession in the Island of *Roanoak*, came back to *England*.

3d Voyage. *A. D.* 1587. Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent another Colony of 150 Persons, with a Governor, and 12 Assistants, to whom he gave a Charter, and Incorporated them by the Name of Governor and Assistants of the City of *Raleigh* in *Virginia*. Their directions were to plant at the Bay of *Chesepiak*, and erect their Fort there. Enquiring after the 15 *English* left lately in the Country, they were informed by *Manteo* (a Christen'd *Virginian*, and who had been in *England*) that some were kill'd by the Savages, and the rest fled for Refuge into the other Parts of the Country. This Colony could not tell how to settle neither, but growing uneasie under their wants, perswaded their Governor to return home.

4th Voyage. *A. D.* 1590. Mr. *John White*, the late Governor, put to Sea with three or four Ships and Pinnaces, and came to *Hatorask* in *Virginia*, but the bad Weather wou'd not permit any farther search into the Country, so they sail'd for *England* without doing any more.

CHAP. XXI.

A Relation of a Voyage to the Northern Part of Virginia; *perform'd by Captain* Gosnoll. *Written by Mr.* Gabriel Archer, *who went the same Voyage.*

A. D. 1602. CAptain *Gosnoll* arrived first at the Northern Parts of this Country, where finding a prospect of things to his liking, he did not trouble himself to undertake the discovery of the Southern. They went along the Coast a considerable way, seeing many pleasant Islands, but for the most part uninhabited, and yet by their fruitfulness capable of maintaining a great number of People. The first Savages they met with, after signs of Peace made on both sides, and a long Speech made by their Commander, (which the *English* to be sure understood a great deal of) came boldly on board their Ship. The Commander himself was dress'd with Wastcoat, Breeches, Shoes, Stockins, Hat, and all the Accoutrements of an *European*, but all the rest had only Deer-skins about their shoulders, and Seal-skins tied about their middles. They were painted, tho' their natural swarthy colour was easily discern'd; their hair very long, and tied up with a knot behind. They had certainly convers'd with some *Europeans*, as appear'd by several of their words, and wou'd fain have had the company of the *English* longer. The next they met were more finely deck'd than the former, having all of them Copper Pendants in their Ears; but one had a Breastplate of the same Metal a foot long, and half broad; and another had his Head all stuck with Feathers, that rendred him a very frightful Figure. They brought little trifles to Barter, but they were a shy, sly, thievish sort of People. 'Twas in the Latitude of little more than 42 degr. North, that they first came upon the *Virginian* shore; and 'twas in the Lat. of 41 degr. 10 min. that the Captain fix'd his Residence. It was in an Island which he call'd *Elizabeth Island*, that lies 4 Leagues from the Main, a small unpeopled Spot, and over-run with Trees, but fertile and pleasant enough to engage Inhabitants. On the N. W. side is a Lake of fresh Water almost a League in Circuit, and very near the Sea; in the midst of which is another little Island about an Acre in compass, and this they thought the most convenient place for the building of a Fort, and therefore began it here. About this Lake there was an infinite number of Tortoises, several sorts of Fowl and Fish too, so that those that liv'd here might have a fair prospect of Provisions enough.

A Savage in European Dress.

Copper Ornaments.

Elizabeth Island.

A Fort begun.

Elizabeth Island it self, as it abounded with Trees of many kinds, which we see here in these Parts of the World, so the most remarkable of all were the Sassafras and the Cherry-trees, as they call them. The former are well known for their use in Physick, and are no rarities in this Island; the latter have this extraordinary in them, that together with the Leaf, Bark, and bigness, not different from ours in *England*, the Fruit grows at the end of the Stalk 40 or 50 in a cluster. The Vines were very numerous here too, and the more common Garden and wild Fruits in great abundance. The Animals, both Terrestrial and of the Water, are such as are common every where in these Parts, and great plenty of them all. The Minerals were Copper, Emery-stones, Alabaster, together with some others of a blue Metaline colour, which our Author knew not what to make of; some there were that said 'twas Steel Ore, but they ought to have consider'd that tho' Gold Mines are very scarce, yet Steel Mines are certainly much scarcer, and they are never found but where a Brass Mine lies either at the top or the bottom. There is also Stone for all sorts of Building, and an Earth which they suspect may prove of the same nature with the *Terra Sigillata*.

Strange Cherry-trees.

Minerals.

Fine Earth.

Tobacco.

The Island affords also Materials for Dying, and for Smoking; and no place yields finer Tobacco than this. The main Land adjoining, which they visited also, was in all respects as charming, as curious Meadows, Groves, Brooks and Rivers cou'd make it. They had some communication with the *Indians* of the main Land, who came and Barter'd with them for some of their *European* rarities; and there was nothing hardly but what was so to those People. The Commodities they gave in exchange for Knives, and other Toys, were Bevers, Lucerns, Marterns, Otters, Foxes, Conies, Seals and Deer-skins. They were all deck'd with Chains, Collars, Ear-rings and Bracelets of Copper; their complexion Olive-colour'd, their stature much higher than the *English*, their hair very black and long, tied up behind in knots, in which they stick feathers, and so make them look like Coronets. Those to whom Nature has denied good Beards, borrow the hair of other Animals to make false Beards, and so supply that defect.

One of the *English* Sailors having a Carrot-colour'd Beard, a certain Savage thought it was not natural, because not of the colour of the hair of his Head, and having a great mind to one of that colour, he offer'd the Sailor to change Beards with him, pretending to give a very good one of his own making for that bunch of Carrots which grew upon the others Face; but the *Englishman* did not care to have the hair of a Bear, or a wild Cat perhaps, planted upon his Cheeks, and therefore told the *Indian* he would make no such bargain with him. These People (the Women especially, to whom the Men are wonderfully observant) are commended by them as some of the handsomest of *America*, and very gentle and courteous too, not much fearful of harms from others, because not seeming to design any themselves; but we doubt this good character will not agree to all the *Virginians*. They strike fire with a flat piece of Emery-stone and sort of Mineral, which they can't tell us the name of, but they have a piece of dry Touch-wood ready, which receives the spark they knock out between the other two. The Affairs of the Plantation might have gone on very well, had all the Planters been unanimous and easie in their Settlement here, but they were intent upon their private Interests, and contriv'd only to make a profitable Voyage. The Captain labour'd against it, but to no purpose; so having gotten good store of Sassafras, Cedar-wood, Furrs, and other good Commodities, they set sail for *England*, leaving their little Fort, which 10 Men, in about 19 days, had made fit to harbour a considerable number, together with their Provisions.

Good humour of a Savage.

The succeeding Year, *A. D.* 1603. there was a *Virginian* Voyage, with a small Ship and a Bark, set out at the charges of some Merchants of the City of *Bristol*, and perform'd by Captain *Pring*. They fell in with the same Parts of the Country that Captain *Gosnoll* had been at before, but they tell us nothing new of the Country or People, but what we have heard already from the others, Neither did they make any new Discoveries, or meet with any remarkable Occurrences of any sort; upon which account, we shall not trouble the Reader with any particular account of their Voyage.

Capt. Pring's Voyage.

The same Year, *A. D.* 1603. a Voyage was made to *Virginia* in the *Elizabeth* of *London*, under the Command of Captain *Gilbert*, in which nothing considerable, or valuable, occurs neither. They traded with the Savages at *Santa Lucia*, *Dominica*, *Mevis*, *St. Christopher*, and from thence proceeded to the *Virginian* Coast, coming to the Bay of *Chesepiak*; from whence going farther Eastward, they went ashore, where in the Woods the *Indians* set on them, and Captain *Gilbert* himself, was one amongst 4 or 5 that had the misfortune to fall by their Arrows. The Voyage thus broken, the rest return'd to *England*.

Capt. *Gilbert's* unfortunate Voyage.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

An Account of a Voyage to Virginia, *set forth by the Right Honourable* Henry *Earl of* Southampton, *and the Lord* Thomas Arundel; *performed by Captain* Waymouth *in the* Archangel. *Written by Mr.* James Rosier.

March, An. D. 1605. THE way to *Virginia* was pretty well known, and the Commerce with those Parts in some measure advanc'd, when this Ship the *Archangel* was sent thither. She sail'd on prosperously till she came towards the desired Coasts, and found her self in the Latitude of 41 degrees and half, where the company aboard her began to wish extremely for a sight of the Land to recruit their wasting stock of Wood and Water. False Charts. And whereas their Charts gave them reason enough to expect it, and they bare in directly with it according to their prescriptions, yet they found none in almost 50 Leagues running. But after much expectation they got a sight of Land, which prov'd an Island of no great compass, and very wooddy along the shore, but by the Fruits that appear'd, no barren nor despicable spot; there were streams of fresh water running down the Cliffs in great plenty, and vast numbers of Fowl about them too, and Fish enough all along the shore. From hence they cou'd discern a great many other Islands, and the main Land it self, from the W. S. W. to the E. N. E. Several of these Islands adjoining to the main Land they visited, and found them all very full of Trees, both Timber and Fruit, and those of several sorts. Some of them afforded at a little depth, Clay red, blue, white, proper for making Brick or Tiles. And what the Soil of another was, may be gather'd from this experiment of it, that Pease and Barley, a small quantity of which they set in a little Plat, grew 8 Inches in 16 days time, and so continued growing every day more than half an Inch, and yet this was no more than the very crust of the ground that was thus rich and good.

Pentecost-Harbour. Amongst these Islands they found a Harbour in which Ships of any burden might lie defended from all manner of Winds, in 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 fathom, upon a tough Clay Oze; and this they call'd *Pentecost Harbour*, because 'twas at that time that they found it.

Turpentine. The Firr-trees were the most numerous about these Islands, and the Turpentine they yielded was the best and sweetest our Sailors pretend ever to have seen.

Pearl. The Muscles found about the Rocks afforded small Pearl in abundance, nay, they found some that were large and orient; the shells of these Muscles look'd like Mother of Pearl in the inside.

Several Canoes of the Savages came off from the Main to traffick with them, as they lay at this excellent Harbour, and the chief Commodities that pass'd were Knives, and other like trifles, on one hand, and Skins and Furrs on the other. Manners of the Savages. These Skins were the Apparel of the Savages, they hung down to their Knees, and were made fast upon the shoulder with a leather Strap. Some of them wore Sleeves, others Buskins and no Sleeves; some the hair of their Skins outward, others turn'd it inwards; and besides all this, they had a piece of Skin tied about their Waste, and coming between their Legs to cover those Parts which Nature bids conceal. These People wore no Beards, but the hair of their Heads very long, and tied up behind, tho' many of them were curl-pated, and needed no string for their hair. Their Faces were all painted with some colour or other, and Nature had form'd them with good Features, tho' miserably disguised by that base practise of painting. What Women they saw (which were but few, for either they were modest, or their Husbands jealous) were handsom, fat, and well made, only something too short. They stood behind their Husbands, and wou'd hardly be seen. Their Children were very comely, but all naked except their Legs, which were cover'd with thin Leather-buskins fasten'd with Straps to a Girdle about their Waste; this Girdle is hung all round with small pieces of Copper. Their Bows, Arrows, and Canoes, had nothing but what is common enough amongst the Savages: Their Tobacco-pipes were sometimes made of Earth, sometimes the Claw of a Lobster, but 'twas always something that wou'd hold as much as 10 or 12 of ours. Barbarous Custom. The Savages and our Men growing pretty well acquainted, some of them lay aboard the Ship while one or two of the *English* went and lay ashore to see the Manners of them; but they saw nothing that Night or two they lay ashore, but an impertinent Custom, in which, while one of the company rising up of a sudden, and crying bough, wough, all the Women fall flat upon the ground, and the Men repeat the same words, stamping with both feet till they make the ground shake again; which noise is not half so bad as that they make with their Mouths at the same time. They hold on stamping and staring about till some of the younger sort fetch some Stones from the shore, which they take every one one, and fall a beating (first of all) the Fire-sticks, and next the ground, with all their might, in which frantick gestures they continue for two hours; after which they all retire with their Wives to their several separate Mansions in the Woods. Treacherous Disposition. The Savages, tho' they seem'd to be very honest-minded, and to have a great Friendship for our Men, yet in reality they had nothing less, but rather form'd Designs to betray them. They wou'd have drawn them into an Ambuscade, under a pretence of Traffick, at a certain place, but they happily discover'd the Plot, and avoided the ill consequences of it. As for the qualities of the Main Land, they were (as far as they discover'd it) superiour in goodness to those of the fruitful Islands beforementioned, and therefore to be sure very fine; but the discovery of which they seem to be proudest was that of A noble River, and the several conveniences of it. a River, which they do upon many accounts prefer to any known *American* River. They went up it with their Ship several Leagues, and give this account of it: That for a matter of 40 Miles it keeps a good breadth, as it runs up into the Main; in most places it is a Mile, sometimes three quarters, but never less than half a Mile broad. It flows 16 or 18 foot at high Water, and at low Water you have from 6 to 10 fathom depth. There are abundance of Harbours for Ships of all Burdens, and which will secure them better from any Wind or Weather than any known in *Europe*. On both sides there are at a small distance from each other several gallant Coves, some able to contain 100 Sail, where the ground is soft Oaze, with a tough Clay underneath for Anchor-hold: Nature also has made several excellent Places, as Docks to Grave and Careen Ships of all Burdens, and secure from all Winds. The neighbouring Land trends along on both sides in a smooth Plain, and instead of Rocks and Cliffs, one sees borders of green Gras and tall Trees, Firr, Oak, and the like. The ground in a word is such, that with a little labour it might be converted into good Pasture; in many places 'tis all clear Meadow already. The River yields vast plenty of Fish, and is every way as delightful, as perhaps the best Rivers of Old, described by the Poets, have been. On both sides there are various branches of it that run into the Main Land, which afford a very easie and convenient transportation of Goods from one place to another. Those that come to *Pentecost-Harbour* before-mention'd, will find this River without any difficulty; but this company seem to be the first *Europeans* that were ever here, for they cou'd not discover in all their passage up the River, by any signs whatsoever, that any had been here before them. And whereas 'tis usual amongst all Christian People to erect Crosses in those Newfound-places, they found none hereabouts, but yet left one or two to signifie they had been here. The Company cou'd all have sat down cheerfully upon the Banks of this River, and planted there; but their Commission now ran otherwise, and they were obliged to leave the farther discovery of this, and the rest of the Country, till another time. They leave the Country. The Captain having finish'd all his Traffick with the Savages

ſet Sail for *England*, carrying 4 or 5 Savages along with him, together with all their whole Eſtates of Bows, Arrows and Canoes.

The Reader may pleaſe to expect larger and more particular Accounts of the Country and People, in a full Diſcourſe to that purpoſe.

CHAP. XXIII.

An Account of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia, A. D. 1606. *Written by Mr.* George Percy. *To which is prefix'd the firſt Patent for the Plantation of* Virginia, *granted by K.* James *that ſame Year.*

King James's *Patent*, &c.

'JAMES by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our loving and well-diſpoſed Subjects, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, Knights; *Richard Hakluyt*, Clerk, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, *Edward Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hannam*, *Rawleigh Gilbert*, Eſquires; *William Parker*, *George Popham*, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that we would vouchſafe unto them our Licenſe to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of ſundry of our People into that part of *America* commonly call'd *Virginia*, and other Parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto us, or which now are not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian Prince or People, ſituate, lying, and being all along the Sea-Coaſt between 34 degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and 45 degrees of the ſame latitude, and in the main Land between the ſame 34 and 45 degrees, and the Iſlands thereunto adjacent within one hundred Miles of the Coaſt thereof. And to that end, and for the more ſpeedy accompliſhment of the ſaid intended Plantation and Habitation there, are deſirous to divide themſelves into two ſeveral Colonies and Companies, the one conſiſting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our City of *London* and elſewhere, which are, and from time to time ſhall be joined unto them, which do deſire to begin their Plantations and Habitations, in ſome fit and convenient place between 34 and 41 degrees of the ſaid latitude, all alongſt the Sea-Coaſt of *Virginia*, and Coaſt of *America* aforeſaid. And the other conſiſting of ſundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Cities of *Briſtol* and *Exeter*, and of our Town of *Plimouth*, and other places which do join themſelves unto that Colony, which deſire to begin their Plantations and Habitations in ſome fit and convenient place between 38 and 45 degrees of the ſaid latitude, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, as that Coaſt lieth. We greatly commending, and graciouſly accepting of their deſires, to the furtherance of ſo Noble a Work, which may by the Providence of Almighty God hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majeſty, in propagating of Chriſtian Religion, to ſuch People as yet live in Darkneſs, miſerable Ignorance of the true knowledge and worſhip of God, and may in time bring the *Infidels* and *Savages* (living in thoſe Parts) to humane civility, and to a ſetled and quiet Government, do by theſe our Letters Patents graciouſly accept of, and agree to their humble and well-intended deſires: And do therefore for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, grant and agree that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, *Richard Hakluyt*, and *Edward Maria Wingfield*, Adventurers of our City of *London*, and all ſuch others as are or ſhall be joined unto them of that Colony, ſhall be called the firſt Colony, and they ſhall and may begin their ſaid firſt Plantation and Seat, of their firſt Abode and Habitation, at any place upon the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* or *America*, where they ſhall think fit and convenient, between the ſaid 34 and 41 degrees of the ſaid latitude. And that they ſhall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation, by the ſpace of 50 Miles of *Engliſh* Statute-meaſure all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Weſt and South-weſt, as the Coaſt lieth, with all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea Coaſt: And alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid place of their firſt Plantation and Habitation, for the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Eaſt and North-eaſt as the Coaſt lieth, together with all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea-coaſt. And alſo all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſame 50 Miles every way on the Sea-coaſt, directly into the main Land, by the ſpace of 100 like *Engliſh* Miles. And ſhall and may inhabit and remain there, and ſhall and may alſo build and fortify within any the ſame for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their beſt diſcretions, and the direction of the Councel of that Colony. And that no other of our Subjects ſhall be permitted or ſuffered to plant, or inhabit behind or on the backſide of them towards the main Land, without the expreſs licenſe or conſent of the Councel of that Colony, thereunto in writing firſt had or obtained. And we do likewiſe for us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe preſents, grant and agree that the ſaid *Thomas Hanham*, *Rawleigh Gilbert*, *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, and all others of the Town of *Plimouth*, in the County of *Devon*, or elſewhere, which are or ſhall be joined unto them of that Colony, ſhall be called the ſecond Colony, and that they ſhall and may begin their ſaid firſt Plantation and Seat, of their firſt Abode and Habitation, at any place upon the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, where they ſhall think fit and convenient, between 38 and 45 degrees of the ſame latitude, and that they ſhall have all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation, by the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, as is aforeſaid, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America* towards the Weſt and South-weſt, and towards the South as the Coaſt lieth: And all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over-againſt the ſame Sea-coaſt. And alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid place of their firſt Plantation and Habitation, for the ſpace of 50 like *Engliſh* Miles, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the Eaſt and North-eaſt, and towards the North as the Coaſt lieth, and all the Iſlands within 100 Miles directly over againſt the ſame Coaſt, and alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſame 50 Miles every way on the Sea-coaſt, directly into the main Land, by the ſpace of 100 like *Engliſh* Miles; and ſhall and may inhabit there, and ſhall and may alſo build and fortify within any the ſame, for their better Safeguard, according to their beſt Diſcretions, and the direction of the Councel of that Colony, and that none of our Subjects ſhall be permitted

The firſt Colony to be planted betwixt 34 & 41 degrees of N. latitude. They to have all the Lands, &c. for the ſpace of 50 miles W. S. W. from the place of their firſt plantings, and all Mines, &c. The like E. N. E. with all Iſlands for 100 miles in the Sea over-againſt them, and within the Land, &c. None to inhabit on the backſide without their ſpecial Licenſe in writing, &c.

'permitted or ſuffered to plant or inhabit behind, or on 'the back of them towards the main Land, without the 'expreſs licenſe or conſent of the Councel of that Colo- 'ny, in writing thereunto firſt had and obtained. Pro- 'vided always, *&c.*

It followeth that neither Colony ſhall plant within one hundred Miles of each other; alſo that each Colony ſhall have a Councel of thirteen Perſons to Rule and be Ruled, according to Articles ſet down and confirmed under the Privy-Seal, (which I have, but for brevity omit, as alſo the reſt of this Patent) the Seals of each Colony appointed, the digging of Mines granted in the ſame, and on the backſide of their Colonies within the main Land, paying the fifth of Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth of Copper, to the King; liberty to carry all Subjects (not reſtrained) which will go with them. Of Coining for the Colonies uſe there, of repelling Enemies, of ſtaying Ships which trade there without leave, were too long to rehearſe, ſeeing this Patent hath been often altered and renewed.

THis Account appears to the World with the Name of the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, who was Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*; yet to do Juſtice to all, we are oblig'd to tell the Reader, that he will find here the Remarks and Obſervations of ſeveral Perſons of the Plantation put together, but particularly thoſe of the worthy Captain *John Smith*, who was a principal Agent and Manager in theſe Parts. There being ſo many of them, it's not irregular to prefix the moſt Honourable Name to ſuch a Medley of Accounts, having only inform'd the World that it is a Medley, and not the Compoſure of one ſingle Man.

A. D. 1606. The number of Planters that went over at this time was conſiderable, being better than 100; the moſt noted

Council of *Virginia.* of whom were the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, Capt. *Goſnoll*, Capt. *Smith*, Capt. *Ratcliffe*, Capt. *Martin*, Capt. *Kendall*, Mr. *Wingfield*; theſe were of the Councel all except Mr. *Percy*. But beſides theſe, and a whole Train of Gentlemen, there were Men of all neceſſary Trades and Occupations; Bricklayers, Blackſmiths, Carpenters, Taylors, Barbers, Surgeons to take care of their Bodies, and a Reverend Divine to provide for the health of their Souls. The Fleet conſiſted of two Ships and a Pinnace, commanded and conducted by Capt. *Newport*. Our Planters fell in with ſome of the *Weſt-Indian* Iſlands by the way, and went aſhore upon moſt of them they came to, either to make ſome Obſervations, or to procure ſome Refreſhment.

Iſland *Dominica.* *Dominica* (which was the firſt) they commend for a fine and pleaſant Iſland. They praiſe the lovely Woods, the ſweet ſmelling Trees, and the wholſome Fruits that grow there; but the People they repreſent as ſome of the moſt brutiſh and degenerate of Mankind, ſlovenly to a Prodigy, and, in a word, of much ſuch a nice and ſqueamiſh compoſition as the *Hottentots* are. They will

Sordid People. let a Man ſpit in their Mouths as long as he pleaſes; one may ſerve them as we do Dogs, and they'll ſwallow thoſe favours with as much pleaſure as the Currs do, licking their Lips as if they wanted more. Now one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that thoſe that are ſo much pleas'd with a Man's ſpitting in their Mouths, wou'd not be much diſpleas'd if he ſhou'd do ſomething elſe there; and it muſt be own'd, that this wou'd be a very great convenience for Travellers, ſuppoſing Cloſe-ſtools to be wanting in the Iſland.

Their Habit. They wear their hair a matter of a yard long, and of an equal length every where, only 'tis plaited or parted before, ſo that it does not hang down to that length over their Faces; for if it did, a Man wou'd find himſelf pretty much puzzel'd to gueſs what ſort of Animals they were, whoſe upper and more noble part was ſo abſolutely loſt in a Wood of hair. They paint and work their Skins, which is all the Apparel they have, and all the Ornament too, except a few Beads, or pieces of Copper hung at their Noſtrils, Ears and Lips. They are as barbarous as the moſt barbarous of the Cannibals, not knowing either how to live quietly by one another, or to treat Strangers with any thing of Courteſie and Humanity.

Hot Bath. At the Iſland *Guadelupa*, our Men found a Spring ſo ſo hot, that it boil'd a piece of Pork perfectly well in the ſpace of half an hour.

Moderate Bath. They paſs'd the Iſland of *Monſerrat*, and St. *Chriſtopher*, (both then uninhabited) and anchor'd at *Mevis*. Here they found a Bath in a Valley betwixt two Hills, of the ſame Nature and Uſe with thoſe in *England*. The Conies, Fowl and Fiſh, this Iſland abounded with, enabled them to keep a good Table as long as they ſtaid here, but they were obliged to be always upon the watch for fear of the treacheries of the *Indians*, who yet never came near them; and to ſpeak the truth, were more careful about hiding themſelves in places of ſecure ſhelter, than contriving how to give the others any diſturbance.

The freſh water of *Mevis* has the ill character of growing putrid and ſtinking in a very little while, ſo that 'tis of little uſe to Seamen.

Virgin-Iſlands affords no Water. From hence they paſs'd to the *Virgin-Iſlands*, famous for an excellent Bay capable of harbouring 100 Ships; but here the Seamen are at a loſs again about water, for that of *Mevis* is not good, but at this place there is none neither good nor bad. Beſides Fiſh and Fowl in abundance, they met with a ſort of Trees at this Iſland whoſe Bark taſted like Cinnamon, and was hot in the mouth like that.

They proceeded to the Iſland *Mona* and *Monetta*, at the latter of which there is a terrible rocky landing, but the Iſland at the top is all ſmooth fertile ground, and ſo full of Fowls, that our People found it a hard matter to ſtir without treading upon Birds or Eggs.

Having had ſight of the main Land of *Virginia*, (the firſt of which that appear'd they call'd *Cape Henry*) they enter'd *Cheſepiak*, where ſome of them landing for a little diverſion, were aſſaulted by the Savages, which ſtole ſuddenly and cunningly upon them; they track'd them indeed, but cou'd never find them.

Engliſh aſſaulted by the Indians.

The adjacent Country was very charming and inviting; thoſe that love to ſee fine rows of Cypreſs and Cedar-trees, might here have had their fill of ſuch proſpects; and thoſe that love to pick Strawberries, might here have loaded themſelves with thoſe that were four times bigger, and as much better taſted, than ours in *England*. However, there were no good depths of water here for their Ships, upon which account they quitted this lovely place, and paſs'd over to a certain point of Land which they call'd *Cape-Comfort*, becauſe there-

Cape-Comfort. abouts they had the conſolation of a good depth of water. And this was *Cape-Comfort* to them in another reſpect too, for here they found People that wou'd converſe with them; the Savages, tho' ſhy at firſt, yet invited them afterwards to their Town *Kecoughtan*, where they entertain'd them with the beſt of their Proviſions, and afterwards with their Dances. Theſe People had their hair an Ell long on the left ſide of their Heads, and ſhaved on the right; but on that ſide where it is permitted to grow, they tie it up in a knot and ſtick feathers in it. Their Bodies were painted, ſome with one colour, and others with another; their Privy-parts cover'd with Skins beſet with the teeth and little bones of Beaſts. Inſteud of other Ornaments, they had thruſt whole legs of Fowl through their Ears; which was very proper, for Nature had furniſh'd a Drum in that part, and 'twas natural enough for them to add a pair of Drum-ſticks. Our Planters were now roving about to find out a good place for a Settlement, in which enquiry they came to

Savages entertain them.

King of *Paſpiha* treats them. the Town of *Paſpiha*, and the King of that place treated them kindly. While they were here, the King of *Rapahanna* came himſelf in a Canoa, on purpoſe to in-

King of *Rapahanna.* vite them to his Town. He went before, and when they came (which they did in their Shallop well guarded with Muſquetteers) he receiv'd them with an extraordinary deal of ceremony. He came down to the Water-ſide with all his Train, at the head of which he walk'd playing upon a Pipe made of a Reed. His Head was adorn'd with a ſort of a Coronet in the form of a Roſe, but of no finer Materials than Deers hair colour'd red; this ſtood on one ſide his Head, faſten'd upon the knot of his hair, whereas on the other was a large Plate of Copper, and in the middle of all ſtood up ſtaring a couple of great feathers, which made his Majeſty look as if his Wife had introduc'd him into the moſt Noble Order of Knights of the Horn. His Body was painted crimſon, and his Face blue; he had plenty of Pearl in Chains and Bracelets about him; and which was very particular, through each Ear was thruſt a Birds claw. In ſhort, this Savage King, tho' dreſs'd like a Jackanapes, yet behav'd and carry'd himſelf like a Man, and a Man of much civiller Education than any his own Country could afford him.

Town of *Rapahanna.* After they had all reſted awhile, he led them away to his Town, and they ſay the Walk thither was it ſelf one of the fineſt Entertainments that cou'd be deſired. Sometimes they paſs'd through goodly Corn-fields, at other times through Woods, ſo delicately water'd with Springs and Brooks, that if the King had had no Town nor Palace to go to, he might well have been allow'd a great ſhare of happineſs only by living in thoſe ſweet rural Manſions. His Palace was ſeated upon the top of a very ſteep Hill, and the *Engliſh* being come thither, he entertain'd

entertain'd them with all the best Provisions it afforded. When this Visit was finish'd they went on, pursuing their design of finding out a proper place for the Colony to settle in, and after several places view'd, they fix'd upon a spot in the King of *Paspiha*'s Country, about 8 Miles from *Cape-Comfort*, where the Ships had been brought.

Colony settled.

There was another point of Land which they call'd *Archer's-Hope*, where the advantages of a rich and fruitful Soil, an easie satisfaction, and plenty of Provisions, wou'd have invited them to settle, but their Ships cou'd not ride there near the shore as they cou'd at *Cape-Comfort*, where they were Moor'd to the Trees in six fathom water. And now the little Government began to model it self into the Figure which the Sovereign Authority of *England* had appointed. The Boxes being open'd, and the Orders read, the President was sworn, and the Council likewise. This President was to be but an Annual Archon, and to concert all his Measures of Government with the Council, without whose Approbation and Consent nothing was to be done. All Matters of moment were to be examin'd by a Jury, but determin'd by the major part of the Council, in which the President had two Voices. 'Tis to be noted that Captain *Smith*, tho' nominated in their Orders for one of the Council, was yet at the first opening of the Government here excluded from being so; neither was that all, but they had laid him under confinement too, and 'tis to be suppos'd intended to make him the first example of Justice in the new Commonwealth. This wou'd have been done, cou'd his Enemies (which envied his fair Reputation and Character) have made good their Forgeries against him; but they were so happy as to discover themselves, and the Captains Innocency too, by those very Perjuries which they intended to stain and render it suspected by. When the Villains had done him this kindness as to clear him, he was, according to his Merit, and the Orders of his Country, receiv'd a Member of the Council. The next business to be done after the Settlement of the Colony, was to raise some Fortifications for its Defence; so they began a Fort, and follow'd it with so much diligence, that in the space of a Month they had finish'd it. The form of it was Triangular, having three Semilunar Bulworks at every Angle, with 4 or 5 pieces of Cannon mounted on every one of them. They set themselves also to cultivate the Land, and sowed a great deal of Corn, which in a small time ran up to a very considerable heighth; so rich and good was the Soil where they had planted themselves.

Archer's-Hope.

Nature of the Government of the Colony.

Capt. *Smith's* ill Usage.

Fort built.

The Savages of *Paspiha* in the mean time were oftentimes hankering about the Fort, and plainly shew'd that they wanted only an opportunity to put some very ill designs, which they had formed against them, in execution. The King himself came once to see it, with 100 Men arm'd well after their fashion, and wou'd fain have perswaded the *English* to have laid aside their Arms, and entertain'd him in a friendly manner, without those frightful tokens of War in their hands; but they were wiser than to be impos'd upon by his smooth words, and were more than sufficiently convinc'd that they ought to expect all design and enmity from him, where he cou'd have the advantage of expressing it in a way of treachery and surprize.

Savages of *Paspiha* treacherous.

The President (which for this first Year was Mr. *Wingfield*) employ'd some of his Men to discover up the River of *Powhatan*. This River they represent under a very advantageous character; it ebbs and flows 160 miles, and Ships of great burthen may ride in it with safety. In six days sailing the Discoverers came up as high as a Town call'd *Powhatan*, which is seated pleasantly upon a Hill, having fine Corn-fields about it, and good Defences granted by Nature. The Prince of the circumjacent Country was call'd *Powhatan* also, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more afterwards.

River *Powhatan* discover'd.

As far as this Town the River is Navigable, but higher within a mile, by reason of the Rocks and Islands, there is not passage even for a small Boat; and this is what they call the Falls of the River. The Discoverers say, that wherever they landed upon it, they saw the sweetest Woods in the World; Cypress, Cedar, Wallnut Trees, and Vines in abundance, under which a Man might find a delightful shelter at any time. The ground also in most places was cover'd with fragrant Flowers of several sorts; and the Strawberries, Rasberries, and Mulberries, were as numerous as the Flowers. The River divides it self into several branches that scatter through the Woods, and yield good store of excellent Fish. They went up to the Head of the River and erected a Cross, proclaiming *James*, King of *England*, Lord of that Country and River; as a memorial of which they nam'd it *Kings River*. And now they returned back again to the rest of the Company at the Fort, which was also dignify'd with the Name of their Sovereign, and call'd *James Fort*.

King *James* proclaim'd.

Captain *Newport* having seen these beginnings of the Colony (which hitherto were not over promising) sail'd back for *England* with the Ships that transported them. But it was not long after he was gone, that their Affairs began to be in a very ill condition; and whereas before there were not many happy signs that promis'd much good, now there appear'd a great many unlucky ones that seem'd to threaten no less than the ruine of the whole Plantation. One thing was, the Savages began to grow troublesome, and continually plagu'd them either with Alarms, Assaults, or one sort of treachery or another. The King of *Rapahanna* indeed continued their Friend, yea, he bound himself to be so for ever, by a solemn lifting up of his hands to the Sun, which is the sublimest act of Devotion known or practis'd in the Country. But the King of *Paspiha*, who lay nearer to them, was a thorn in their sides, and tho' he dar'd not pretend to wage open War with them in the Field, yet, as he cou'd not be their Friend, so he did not fail to make them sensible of the effects of his enmity whenever he had a fair opportunity. These distresses however were not the greatest that came upon them; they had Wants, Sicknesses, Discontents, and treacherous Practises amongst themselves. The President was a Man of Self-interest and Design, fond of his own Ease and Pleasure; both which he preferr'd before the good of the Community, and did not care how it went with them, so he had his own private Contents and Satisfactions. All the best Provisions both for eating and drinking he engross'd to himself; he had Sack, Oil, Aquavitæ, Beef, Butter and Eggs, while the rest of the company had the Kettle, with a little Wheat or Barley Meal in it, to Dine and Sup upon. If their own Pains and Industry supplied them with any thing from abroad; if they cou'd catch Fish or Fowl they might, and wash it down with cold water when they had done, otherwise they were oblig'd to take up with his scanty Allowances, which was much beneath what the poorest *Indians* in the Country were reduc'd to.

Ill State of the Colony.

K. of *Rapahanna* their friend.

Paspiha their enemies.

Unworthy President.

In short, what by their continual hard Labours, and this pinching of their Bellies, a great many fell sick and died, the President himself living all the while in Ease, Health and Plenty, and not seeming to be any ways mov'd or affected with these Calamities. But the Company, who had suffer'd after this manner for the space of three or four Months, pluck'd up their Spirits, and took pity upon themselves; and did themselves that act of Justice and Kindness, as to depose this infamous President, and put him out of a Capacity of tyrannizing for the time to come. The Person substituted in his room was Captain *Ratcliffe*, who, if he had more Honesty and Goodness than his Predecessor, yet had not Spirit nor Judgment enough for such a Charge; so that the main stress of all business lay upon Captain *Smith*'s shoulders, who cou'd have made the Plantation happy (at least prevented many of their misfortunes) had he sooner been entrusted with the Management of their Affairs. The Savages about this time (when 'twas least expected from them, and no body can tell what motives induc'd them to be so kind and charitable) came and brought in a good Supply of Provisions; a Supply not only to Plenty, but Superfluity, they pour'd in more than the *English* wanted for that present, tho' they knew there was no harm in having a stock by them.

President deposed.

Capt. *Smith* manages Affairs.

Captain *Smith* began his Superintendency with laying the foundation of a little Town about the Fort; he employ'd some in one Office, and some in another, but ever did the largest share of Work himself. And this business he push'd on so vigorously, that in a short time he had rear'd Houses for the most part of the Plantation to bestow themselves in; and this was the beginning of *James's Town*. The next thing was to search the Country for Trade, and to fix a sure and lasting Correspondence with some of the Natives that might turn to some account. In order to this he went down the River to the Town of *Kecoughtan*, where the Savages looking upon him and his Company as Men half starv'd, derided him; and to express their scorn, offer'd him to exchange a handful of Corn for the Swords and Muskets they had brought with them, and propos'd to buy their Clothes off their backs also upon the same terms. But the Captain, to requite this Insult of theirs, since he cou'd not by fair means bring them to more civil carriage, us'd his Muskets in another sort of exchange; that is, he gave them 10 or 12 good thumping Bullets out of them, which put an end to their jesting, and made them run away into the Woods in good earnest to save their lives.

James's Town begun.

Capt. *Smith* goes to the Savages.

They abuse him.

He drives them away.

Savage simplicity.

The

The *English* presently upon this fell to rummaging their Houses, and searching over their Stores of Provision, for as that was all they wanted at this time, so they did not expect to find any hoards of Gold and Silver here. While they were thus engag'd, in came the Savages again, making most horrible outcries as they march'd along, and carrying their *Okee* before them, whose presence was to give them courage in the assault they were going to make: This *Okee* was an Idol made with Skins, and stuff'd out with Moss, and hung all over with Chains and pieces of Copper. They were well arm'd with Targets, Clubs, Bows and Arrows, and charg'd the *English* with a great deal of fury; but they on the other side having once fired their Muskets upon them (which fetch'd down the Idol, and laid several of his Worshippers sprawling upon the ground) so effectually routed them, that they thought of nothing so much as making every Man the best of his way into the Woods.

They assault the *English*.

And the next thing was (as soon as they were recover'd from the horrible fright) to send an Ambassador to beg Peace, and redeem their Gun-shot Idol, which Captain *Smith* was free enough to grant, upon condition of a Boats lading of Corn. The Savages did not boggle at those terms, but comply'd with them, and brought Corn, Venison, Wild Fowl, which they deliver'd with Musick and Dancing into the bargain.

They ask for Peace.

The Captain return'd just in time to prevent the execution of a base and scandalous Project, which was that of abandoning the Country, and running away from all their pretensions there. The Plotters were just ready to be gone, and had gotten into the Pinnace for that end, but Captain *Smith* fired so briskly at them with his Muskets and Faulcons, that he brought them to this Dilemma, either to sink in the River, or to stay; the latter of which they chose, tho' the action cost some blood, and Captain *Kendall* lost his life by it.

Capt. *Smith* prevents their going away.

Not long after, the mean spirited President, and Captain *Archer*, had form'd such another design, and were in like manner baffled by the same courageous Person. But the restraints he laid them under were quickly taken off, by an unhappy accident that happened to himself; and besides the Winter now coming on, the Rivers were so cover'd with Swans, Geese, Ducks and Cranes, and so many sorts of Game were to be had in the Woods, that the Mutineers, who feasted their Carkasses to satisfaction here, began to lay aside all thoughts of their own Country.

Capt. *Smith* taken by the Savages.

As for Captain *Smith*'s misfortune, it was thus: He went out upon the Discovery of the *Chickahamine* River, and having gone as far as he cou'd go in his Barge, he quitted that, and went on in a Canoe, having only two or three *Englishmen*, and as many Savages, with him. His Men that staid with the Barge went (some of them) ashore, contrary to his express Orders, and one of them being snapt by a Party of Savages, they forc'd him to tell where his Master Captain *Smith* was gone, and immediately they march'd after him, to the number of three hundred Men, under the command of *Opechankanough* the King of *Pamaunke*. And tho' 'twas his ill fortune to be found out by them, and consequently assaulted, yet he resolv'd to sell his Life as dear as was possible, and in pursuance of that resolution dealt his Bullets so freely amongst them, that he kill'd three in a little time, and made all the rest keep their distance. They follow'd him in the mean while with their Arrows, and the Captain wanting a Target to defend himself, tied one of the Savages, that came in the Canoe with him, on to his Arm, and so made use of him to guard his own Body from their Arrows. In this manner he endeavour'd to make his retreat to the Canoe, but keeping his Eye more upon his Enemies than upon his Way, he happened to slip into a sort of a Quagg, and as the Savage and he were now very close together, he pull'd him in along with him, and there they both stood up to the Waste in Mud and Water. The others did not dare to come near him till he had thrown away his Arms, which he did, when he had staid so long that he was almost dead with cold. So at last, when they had compounded the matter, the Savages pull'd him out, and carried him to a fire, where they rubb'd and chaf'd his benumm'd Limbs, and recover'd his vital Warmth that the cold Quagmire had considerably abated. His Men were all kill'd, and he himself was going the same way, being bound to a Tree, and the Arrows of the Savages ready mounted upon the String to let fly at his Breast: But in the very interim the King forbad it by a sign to the contrary, which sign was the lifting up a little Compass-Dial which the Captain had given him just before. The Savages wondred extremely at the playing about of the Needle in the Box; and the more, because they cou'd see it move through the Glass that cover'd it, but cou'd not come to touch it with their fingers. But 'tis not easie to express their admiration, when the Captain explain'd something of the Uses of it to them, and launch'd out into a sort of Cosmographical Lecture; this Discourse knock'd them all in the head, and they gap'd and star'd like Men that had Convulsions in their faces. After this they led him away with all the Savage Triumph imaginable to *Oropaxe*; the King march'd in the middle, having the Muskets and Swords, taken in this action, carried before him as so many honourable Trophees of his Victory. The Captain came next him, being led along by three great Lubbers, and a guard of 6 Bowmen on each hand of him. When they had brought him to *Oropaxe*, the Women and Children came staring about him with as much earnestness as if he had been some Monster, which when they had their fill off, preparations were made for a solemn Dance.

Savage simplicity.

He is led to *Oropaxe*.

This was a sort of Thanksgiving for the great Victory obtain'd by 300 Men over 3, and owing more to fortune too than their own Courage; for if Captain *Smith* had not slipt into the Bog, and so lost the use both of his Arms and Legs, they might e'en have gone home again as simply as they came. The Men of War threw themselves into a Ring, in the centre of which stood the King and Captain *Smith* with a Guard; the others danc'd about them, making all the odd postures and horrid noises imaginable, their Clubs and Quivers of Arrows hanging at their backs, and their Bows in their hands all the while. But their Dress was as remarkable too as their Postures, for over their Arms they had thrown Foxes and Otters Skins, upon their Heads the Wings of of a Fowl extended to the full length, with pieces of Copper, Shells, and the Rattles of Snakes; their Faces and Shoulders were painted red, to make all look the more agreeable. When they had finished three Dances they led him into a House, and feasted him with no worse Meat than good Venison, of which they gave him as much as he car'd for every Day; and not only then, but in the Night time also did they follow him with this sort of Victuals. This made the Captain believe they had a design upon his Carkass, and fatted him up only to eat him at last: But he was comfortably mistaken, as the sequel prov'd; for when he had staid awhile here, they carried him to several of the neighbouring Nations of the Savages to shew him, and so at length to the King's Habitation at *Pamaunke*. At this place he had very civil Entertainment, especially from the King's Brother: but he observ'd both here, and at other places, that his Hosts would never eat a bit with him, nor none of the company whatsoever, but he always eat alone by himself; the reason of it he cou'd not know, and considering what a parcel of Slovens they are, he had no great reason to care for their company.

Capt. *Smith* feasted.

While he staid at *Pamaunke*, he was witness to some of their Ceremonies, which for their oddness one may call Conjurations. but for what reason they were perform'd shall be said by and by.

Strange Custom.

Early in the Morning a great fire was made in a long Room, and a Mat spread on each side, on one of which the Captain was plac'd. The Guard being gone out of the Room, in comes a huge grim Fellow, leaping and skipping, that a Man might well enough have mistaken for the Devil, he made so deviliſh a figure. That of his Face that could be seen, was as black as Coal cou'd make it, but the greatest part was hidden, by a parcel of Snake and Weazel-skins that hung down all about his Head, Shoulders, Back and Face, and were tied together Tail to Tail upon the crown of his Head; but besides all this, the pretty Image had a Coronet of Feathers too, and a Rattle in his Hand. The voice and gestures, the passions, were all sutable to the Dress and outward Figure, that is hellish, frightful and abominable. Shaking his Rattle he began his Invocation, and encompass'd the fire with a Circle of Meal. Upon this there rush'd into the Room three more such Figures, and a little while after three more, which all danc'd, and shew'd the same Tricks and Postures that the first had done. At last they all sat down right against the Captain, three of one side, and three of the other, and the Arch-Devil in the middle. Then beginning with their Rattles they struck up a Song, which ended, the chief of them laid down five Wheat-corns, and straining himself with such violence that he swell'd again, he made a Speech, at the conclusion of which they all gave a groan, and then laid down three grains more. To this impertinent action succeeded another Song, and to the Song an Oration, laying down between whiles as many grains as before, till they had encircled the fire twice with them. All this done they took a bundle of Sticks, and

began their Songs and Orations again, at the end of every one laying down a Stick between the Divisions of the Corn; when the whole bundle was exhausted, the Ceremony was concluded. For three Days together did they eat after this ridiculous manner, and fasted every one of them till Night, and forced the Captain to do so too, but at Night they eat and drank soundly for't.

Now if the Reader's curiosity will not be satisfied without knowing the design and scope of all this, and he asks what was all this bustle for? We answer, It was to find out whether Captain *Smith* was really their Friend or no, and whether he did not design them some mischief. For (as they expounded the Mystery) the Circle of Meal signified their Country, the Circle of Sticks Captain *Smith*'s Country, and the two Circles of Corn the Seabounds betwixt them; and so from thence, by a very natural Method, they found out whether any evil was like to come from the Country of Sticks into that of Meal. The reason is very clear, and is easily made out by *P. op.* 5. *Cap.* 2. of *Hiccius Doccius*, about cutting the *Hicco-Poco* Curves at right Angles.

Savage Geography.

These People believe the Earth to be round and flat like a Trencher, and their Country to be the very middle spot of all. Having also seen the great Uses, and many strange Effects of Gun-powder, they got a little quantity of it together, which they kept very carefully, intending to sow it the next Spring, in expectation of a Crop of the same. They had a mighty desire to have some of that rare stuff growing amongst them; particularly they had a curiosity to see the Seeds on't, which they fancied were mighty pretty things. 'Twas pity but they had had a Plantation of Gun-powder: they thou'd have sow'd one Field with that, and another with Muskets and Pistols, and seen which wou'd have been ripe first; such a Harvest as that once in two Years, would have made them a horrid plague to all the Country round about them.

A good thought about Gun-powder.

Capt. *Smith* brought to *Powhatan*.

But Captain *Smith* had not yet run through the worst of his dangers, for they carried him away at last to *Werowocomoco*, to appear before *Powhatan* the great Prince of the Country. When he came to make his Entrance he was staid, till *Powhatan* and his Attendants had put themselves into their best Dresses and Postures; all which time he was the Object of the very great Wonder of the gazing Croud without doors.

Powhatan's State.

Powhatan himself was set by a Fire-side on a Seat like a Bedstead, and cover'd with a Robe of Skins, the tails of which hung down in sight very pleasantly. On each hand of him sat a young Girl of 16 or 18 Years old, as on each side the Room was a row of Men, and behind them another of Women; and all, both Men and Women, painted red, with feathers (or some Spoils or other of Birds) about their Heads, and Chains of Beads about their Necks. This was the pomp the Savage Assembly appear'd in at this time, and this was the Splendour that they had made so much preparation to equip themselves into.

The Captain's reception.

At the Captain's Entrance they all gave a great shout, and without any other Ceremony water was presently brought him to wash his hands, and a bunch of feathers to wipe them; and then the best Meats King *Powhatan*'s Pantry cou'd afford were serv'd in, and the Captain eat heartily. After this they consulted together awhile, the issue of which was, that two great Stones were brought in and laid at the King's feet, and as many of the Savages as could lay hold of the Captain dragg'd him thither, and forcing him to lay down his Head upon the Stones, stood ready with their Clubs to beat out his Brains. But the King's beloved Daughter *Pocahuntas* having conceiv'd a respect for the Captain, diverted the Execution for a moment, and humbly entreated her Father to spare his Life: Which request, when she found him no ways at all inclinable to grant, but seemingly fix'd in his resolution to sacrifice him, she stept of a sudden towards the Captain, and got his Head into her Arms, declaring by that action, that either his Life shou'd be sav'd, or hers lost together with his. In short, the arms of this Lady was so good a Protection to the Captain that he got his life by it; and *Powhatan* seeing his Daughter as much bent the one way as he was the other, was at last contented he shou'd live, and live to make little Toys and Baubles for his Daughter, who had now a Title to him, and had purchas'd his Service for ever. But the business is, how did the King come to know, or what made him think, that Captain *Smith* had been us'd to any Handycraft Trade, and was capable of doing any of that sort of Work? Why he judged of the Captain by himself, and believ'd him to be such another *Jack of all Trades* as he was.

His danger and relief by the King's Daughter.

The King of all Trades.

Powhatan made his own Robes, Shoes, Pots, Bows and Arrows, and did all Offices like the meanest of his Subjects; and he reasonably presum'd, that since he did thus, Captain *Smith*, who had no Majesty to pretend to, might have been brought up to the same.

A strange Ceremony.

A few days after this Deliverance, *Powhatan* made the Captain be brought to a great House in the Woods, and there set upon a Mat by the fire, and left alone; which could be no great matter of terror to him that had seen all those devilish Rites perform'd at *Pamaunk*. When he had staid there some time in expectation, he heard a most frightful noise, and presently in comes *Powhatan* most horribly disguis'd, and 20 more with him. He came up to the Captain, and told him that now they were made perfect Friends together, and all grudges were remov'd; that to testify the truth of the Friendship on his part, he wou'd give him his liberty immediately, and send him back to *James-Town*, desiring only in requital a Grind-stone, and a couple of Guns. So the Captain return'd with a Savage Guard, whom he entertain'd at *James-Town*, and instead of a Grind-stone shew'd them a Mill-stone, which they were sensible they could not carry to their Master; and so instead of a couple of ordinary Guns, he shew'd them two Demi-culverins, which the Savages found likewise too heavy for their shoulders. But besides, they did not care to meddle with them, for the Captain loading them with Stones, discharg'd them against a great Tree; the boughs of which they brought down with such a horrible noise and fury, that the Men were half dead with fear, and were very well pleas'd to be charg'd only with a few Toys for their Master, in the room of the other things that he demanded. The Captain's conduct in this was not any way blame-worthy, for 'twas not politick to put Fire-arms into the hands of the Savages; and if he had never a Grind-stone to spare, the best way was to shew them a Mill-stone instead on't.

Capt. *Smith*'s return.

He sends Presents to the King.

We can't say whether the Company was glad to see Captain *Smith* return from his Captivity amongst the Savages or no; but this is certain, that he was glad to come just at time that he did, for he broke the Neck of another Project of deserting the Fort and Town, and running away to *England*.

A 3d Plot discovered and prevented.

Quickly after his return came Captain *Newport*, with fresh Supplies from *England*, which put them all in good heart again: The Savages also, who had been wonderfully pleas'd with Captain *Smith*'s Conversation amongst them, brought in store of Provisions; part of which were Presents from *Powhatan* to him, and part to be sold at the rates he should determine.

Trade with the Savages spoil'd by the Company.

Thus there began a very good Commerce with these People, but the ill-natur'd President and Council spoil'd it; for they envying Captain *Smith*'s great Interest and Reputation amongst the Savages, and to possess them with a notion of their own Authority and Greatness, wou'd give four times as much for Commodities as he had agreed with them for, and so sacrific'd the Common Good of the Plantation to their own ambition and base humour.

Capt. *Smith* and Captain *Newport* go to *Powhatan*.

The Seamen also, that came with Captain *Newport*, being allow'd to trade at Pleasure with the Savages, wou'd, according to their extravagant ways, (whenever they come ashore) part with their Commodities upon so easie terms, and give so much for so little, that by degrees, a thing which might have been had at first for an Ounce of Copper, cou'd not be purchas'd under a Pound; and so proportionably of other things that went in Barter. But this liberality (or foolish extravagancy rather) of Captain *Newport*'s Men, wrought in *Powhatan* such an Opinion of the Masters greatness that he desired to see him; so he and Captain *Smith*, with a good Guard, went to *Werowocomoco*, where the Savage King entertain'd them with all the pleasures and the good things his Court and Town were capable of yielding. As much a Savage as he was, he had Pride and Majesty in him; and tho' he was his own Taylor and Shoemaker, yet he cou'd put on the King when he pleas'd, and when 'twas fit for him to appear so to others. Our *English* found it so at this time, not only in his putting his wild Court into the best posture for their reception, but also his scorning to trade and barter with them for such little trifling matters as the common People did. 'Captain *Newport*, (says he addressing himself 'to him) it is not futable to my Greatness to drive a 'Trade for trifles in this Pedling manner, I esteem you 'as a great Prince, therefore lay me down all your Com-'modities together, what I like I will take, and in re-'compence I'll give you what I think fitting their value. In short, *Powhatan* set such extravagant prices upon his Commodities, that they cou'd come to no terms with him at all, till a parcel of blue Beads charm'd him, and he

Powhatan's State and Pride.

he agreed to give two or three hundred Bushels of Corn for a pound or two of them.

Their trade with him.

The King of *Pamaunk* also was bewitch'd with a passion for the same trifles, and allow'd the same good rates for them that *Powhatan* had done.

Quickly after their return there happen'd a grievous Fire at *James-Town*, which did a great deal of damage in burning their Pallisadoes, Store-houses, the Church, besides private Houses.

More Supplies.

Captain *Newport* being gone back with his Ship for *England*, there came in another Recruit of Men and Provisions for the Plantations; a Ship that set out from *England* with Captain *Newport*, but had been forc'd by contrary Winds to take up for some time in others Parts of the *West-Indies*.

Town repair'd.

By the care and diligence also of Captain *Smith*, and Mr. *Scrivener*, (an honest and understanding Gentleman that came along with Captain *Newport*, and was admitted one of the Council here) the Buildings both publick and private were repair'd, the Town put into a good posture again, the Fields dress'd, and the Corn sow'd; all which business lay neglected by the lazy President, and his as sloathful Managers. But now there happen'd an unlucky difference between the Savages and them, which was an introduction to the after-disorders and calamities of the Plantation.

Quarrel with *Powhatan*.

Powhatan had presented Captain *Newport* with a parcel of Turkeys; to requite which kindness, the Captain very indiscreetly made him a Present of Swords, number for number with the Turkeys. The Savage expecting to have always the same advantageous returns for his Fowl, sent Captain *Smith* such another Token, (after *Newport* was gone back to *England*) which he receiv'd, but sent back no Swords, to the very great disappointment of *Powhatan*, and raising of his choler and indignation. He saw the Swords did not come, but he was resolv'd to fetch them; and therefore first of all, tried to bring them by tricks and policies, afterwards he proceeded to open force and insolence, coming up to the very Walls, laying Ambuscadoes for the Workmen, and surprizing them in their business, with many more affronts of the like nature. The President and Council saw all this, but wou'd not meddle to right themselves, and curb these insolent People, but let them run on in a trade of doing mischief, pretending the Orders from *England* were very strict in this Matter, and severely prohibited the doing any thing to affront and provoke the Natives.

Insolence of the Savages.

Capt. *Smith* corrects them

But Captain *Smith* understood the Orders after another manner, and therefore one Day, when the Savages came up and abus'd some of his Men, he fell upon them to rights, and thrash'd them handsomly; and taking some of them Prisoners, he drove the rest home well cudgell'd, to tell their King how they had been entertain'd. This brought no less than an Army of them up to *James-Town*, where they threaten'd terrible things, if their Prisoners were not presently deliver'd to them. But the Captain, to try their Mettle, with a small force went out and attack'd them, and reduc'd them in a very little while to a condition of begging Peace, and receiving it upon his own terms. Examining his Prisoners too, they confess'd that *Powhatan* had set them at work to get their Weapons from them, and then cut their Throats; with all the particulars and circumstances of the Plot.

Powhatan's submission.

As for *Powhatan* himself, his courage was so far cool'd, that he sent his dear *Pocahuntas* (as the fittest Person he cou'd pitch upon to mediate with Captain *Smith*) to excuse the injuries that had been done, to desire his Mens liberty, and to assure the *English* of his friendship. The Captain, who ow'd his Life to this Savage Lady, was so grateful and complaisant as to discharge the Prisoners at her request; but it was not before he had both given them such a correction as might make them take care how they fell into his hands again upon the like Occasion, and afterwards us'd them so well, that they might know they had to do with a Person that cou'd be very kind and civil.

The Council wou'd fain have pick'd a hole in the Captain's Coat, upon the score of this breach with the Savages, but there was no room for't; for he had shed no Blood, but done the Plantation very good Service in unpluming the Savages a little, who else wou'd have been very troublesome. And 'tis certain this made them stand so much in awe, that the very Name of Captain *Smith* was almost enough to fright them.

Capt. *Smith* goes out to discover.

When this Squabble was over, Captain *Smith* was sent out by the President and Council to discover the Country of *Monacan* beyond the Falls, which Design he went upon in a little Barge, and with no more than ten or twelve Men: The Discoveries made were very inconsiderable, the Savages in many places treated them as Enemies, and wearied them with Ambuscades and other Treacheries; again, in other places they were kind and friendly, and did their best to obtain the good-will of the *English*. But they were effectually convinc'd, by an accident that happen'd, that *Powhatan* was their Mortal enemy, whatever fair shews of the contrary he made; for a certain Ambuscade of Savages being put to the rout, when they came to parley, made a Confession that *Powhatan* had order'd them to lie there, and he was encourag'd by the Malecontents at *James-Town*. A fine Project, for *Englishmen* to set Savages at work to cut the throats of *Englishmen*! The Captain narrowly escap'd with his Life this Expedition, he was given over for a dead Man, and his Burying-place provided. 'Twas not the Savages that brought him into this extremity, but a certain Fish which had a Sting of two or three inches long: They say it was like a Thornback, but had a longer tail, and a weapon in the end of it as long as was said, which went into the Captain's flesh very near an inch and half. The effect was a violent swelling, and a tormenting pain, which symptoms were notwithstanding carry'd off by good applications of the Chirurgeon, and all made well again. This Fish was good to eat, for the sick Man that was so like to die in the Morning, was able to make a Supper of it in the Evening.

Treachery of *Powhatan* and the Company at *James-Town*.

Venemous Fish.

At their return they found the company at *James-Town* in an uproar against the President, and ready to Depose him; his unfitness for business, and especially his riotous manner of living, (when their Stores were low, and all the rest must pinch that his extravagant appetite might be glutted) provok'd them to take those violent courses after a great deal of tame forbearance. The desire likewise of the Company was, that Captain *Smith* wou'd take the Presidency (at least the Administration of it) upon himself, which he did, and making honest Mr. *Scrivener* his Substitute in that Affair, he went out a second time to pursue his Discovery. But the result of both these attempts put together, amounts to no more than the discovery of a few Nations of Savages, and some Rivers, the Names of either of which wou'd be of no great Service to the Reader, since there's nothing of importance relating to either of them; and especially too, since what is material upon either of those heads, shall be brought into our General Account of *Virginia*, which will be added in its due place. Only this may be said, that they had the same fortune amongst the Savages now as in the former Expedition, some of them being very friendly and hospitable, others as full of treachery, and ready to assault them upon all opportunities of doing it with advantage.

President Depos'd.

Capt. *Smith's* 2d attempt.

A. D. 1608. Capt. *Smith* made President.

Captain *Smith* at his return upon the Election of the Council, and the unanimous request of the whole Society, receiv'd the Letters Patents, and actually enter'd upon the Presidentship. Quickly after this, Captain *Newport* arriv'd from *England* with fresh Supplies, and with Presents for *Powhatan*, which Prince they thought to oblige the more by sending for him to *James-Town*, where they intended to entertain him with some pomp, and were willing too to let him see something of the *English* Grandeur and Magnificence. The new President was thought the fittest Person to undertake the delivery of this Message to *Powhatan*, and he very willingly accepted of the Office, and went with four Persons only in his company. When they came to *Werowocomoco*, *Powhatan* was not there, but about some thirty Miles off, and in the mean while the Captain had this comical Entertainment from some of his Women. He and his company were without the Town in a fair Field, just by the side of a Wood, where they were sitting upon Mats by a fire, and a great many of the Inhabitants, both Men, Women and Children, were about them, as they always gather about Strangers. While they were in this posture, they heard a most dismal shrieking and howling in the Wood, such a noise, that the Captain believ'd no less than *Powhatan*, with his whole Army, was come to surprize them, and therefore he and his Men accordingly stood to their Arms. The People however assur'd him there was no danger, and desired him not to disturb himself, and by that time they had done this, the enemies rush'd out of the Wood and shew'd themselves. They were a Troop of young Women, about 30 in number, as naked as ever they were born (only a few green leaves before, and their Skins painted, some red, some black, some green, some blue;) in a word, there were Girls of all colours. One had a Quiver of Arrows at her back, another a Bow and Arrows in her hand, a third a Club, a fourth a Sword; and, in short, every one some weapon, or some device or other. But their Head-attire was the most charmingly fine and pretty, for each of them had a large pair of Stags-horns planted

He goes to *Powhatan*.

A comical Adventure

upon her Forehead, ſo that here was *Acteon* and *Diana* in one Perſon. They made moſt fearful cries as they came out from among the Trees, and inſtead of running to puſh the Captain and his Men with thoſe horns they had got, they all joyn'd hands and caſt themſelves into a Ring, and fell a dancing about them, being themſelves their own Muſicians all the while.

This wild Scene continued for near an hour, and then they all ſcutl'd away again into the Wood, where having put themſelves into a handſomer poſture, they came and made Captain *Smith* a ſolemn Invitation to go and ſee their Lodging: He accepted of the civility, and followed them into the Houſe, but he was no ſooner got within Doors, but they all came crouding and preſſing about him in ſuch a manner, that a Man of leſs courage than the Captain wou'd have been afraid of a Rape. One hung about his Neck, and another caught hold of his Arms, and all cried out, *Don't you love me? Don't you love me?* So that no body cou'd be anſwer'd firſt, becauſe every body ſpoke at the ſame time, and 'twas a wonder if they were all worth loving. Here was a Man hardly beſtead, this was a very unequal Match; two to one we commonly ſay is great odds, but thirty to one was a very hard caſe indeed.

Fine Courtſhip.

How the combat ended we can't ſay, but we ſuppoſe the Captain came off very well, and diſengag'd himſelf handſomly. This Salutation ended, they gave him a Treat of Fiſh, Fleſh and Fruits, ſome of them waiting, others ſinging and dancing all the while. At the concluſion of the Treat, they conducted him to his Lodging, and it being dark night, and the Country affording no Torches, they lighted him along with Fire-brands.

Powhatan coming the next day, the Captain told him of the Preſents that were prepar'd for him at *James-Town*, and the general deſire there was of ſeeing him there, in order to the concluding of the common League againſt the *Monacans*. But the ſubtle Savage made him this Reply: 'If your King (ſays he) has ſent me Preſents, 'I am alſo a King, and this is my Land. I will ſtay here 'eight days to receive thoſe Preſents; and I expect that 'your Father (that is Captain *Newport*, whom *Smith* cal-'led Father amongſt the Savages) ſhou'd come to me, 'and not I to him; neither will I go to your Fort, nor 'bite at any ſuch bait. As for the *Monacans*, I can re-'venge my own Injuries; and if my People have told 'you of any Salt water beyond the Mountains, their 'relations are falſe.

His Conference with Powhatan.

This was all the Anſwer the Captain cou'd get, and was forc'd to return with this to *James-Town*. Too much good uſage had made *Powhatan* proud and inſolent; and 'tis plain, that he valued himſelf and his Commodities vaſtly more, upon the account of that regard that he ſaw the *Engliſh* had to both. There was nothing of Trade now to be had with him, and the more he ſaw the others preſs for it, the more backward he ſhewed himſelf. One wou'd have thought that the Plantation ſhou'd have been too ſenſible of this baſe humour of the Savage, to do any thing afterwards to gratify it; and that it ſhou'd have been their care rather to mortify it, and take ſuch courſes that he might ſee they were not really fond of his Friendſhip, tho' they ſeem'd to court it. But on the contrary, they were ſo weak as to blow up his Pride and Vanity yet more, and under the pretence of obliging and winning him, to make themſelves and their favours ſo cheap, that the conſequence of it was the rendring of both deſpicable.

Powhatan's Pride and Craft.

The folly of the Plantation.

Amongſt other extravagancies of this nature, *Powhatan*, forſooth, muſt be crown'd, and proviſion muſt be made to do it with ſome ceremony too. And becauſe he wou'd not come to *James-Town*, to receive his Crown there, it muſt be ſent him to *Werowocomoco*; and Captain *Newport* was the Man that went upon this goodly Errand. The Preſident, 'tis true, oppos'd this fooliſh Deſign, or at leaſt never approv'd it, but there were others that thought 'twou'd help (together with the Preſents that were to be carried at the ſame time) to joyn him faſter to them in the Band of Friendſhip. In a word, that to receive a Crown from the *Engliſh*, wou'd diſpoſe him to proſtitute his Kingdom to them. But the Jeſt of all was, that *Powhatan* himſelf was not at all fond of this fine thing call'd a Crown; he had no ambition to have ſuch a ſplendid Bauble ſet upon his Head, and wou'd eaſily have excuſed them from the trouble of coming thither to do it. He knew well enough the meaning of the Preſents they brought him, but when they came to the Ceremony of the Coronation, the Man was ſurpriz'd; he did not underſtand what they pretended to do with his Head, and was afraid of ſome deſign againſt his life. And whereas, when the Crown was going to be put on, Captain *Newport* told him he muſt kneel; he was ſo obſtinately reſolv'd not to kneel, that all the company was tired with perſwading him to it, neither wou'd he take his own Peoples word for't that there was no danger in ſo doing. At laſt, with much ado, by leaning hard upon his ſhoulders, and ſo forcing him to ſtoop a little, they got him into ſomething of a decent poſture, and the Crown was ſet upon his Head, and he receiv'd the Complements of the *Engliſh*. Juſt at this time, when the buſineſs was done, according to appointment, all the Guns were diſcharg'd from the Ships, the noiſe of which frighten'd his Majeſty ſo effectually, that he ſtarted away out of their hands, and look'd about him to ſee if the Enemies were coming to knock him o'th' Head. But he recover'd, after ſome time, and to expreſs his Royal Bounty, he gave Captain *Newport* his old Shoes and Mantle; for we muſt know, they had brought him an entire Coronation Suit, even a Scarlet Cloak, which ſerv'd at that time for a Robe. But his gratitude to the Plantation for theſe favours, was no more than a Preſent of ſeven or eight Buſhels of Wheat, not a conſiderable quantity to ſerve for a Supply of their Wants, nor ſo much as the Offer or Promiſe of Trade for that purpoſe; as to any thing of this he ſaid not a word, neither would he (at Captain *Newport*'s requeſt) lend him either Men or Guides to make the diſcovery of *Menacan*.

Powhatan crown'd.

Powhatan's Ingratitude.

This was the Generoſity of the Savage King, and if the Plantation found him afterwards Inſolent and Domineering, or deſpiſing the *Engliſh* Commodities, and over-valuing his own, they may e'en thank themſelves for't: For what need was there of ſetting a Crown upon this barbarous Head? And what need of ſuch coſtly Preſents, as Scarlet Cloaks, Bed and Furniture, Baſon and Ewer, and the like, where a few Glaſs-Beads, or pieces of Copper, wou'd have done as well? To Court and Complement Savages at that extravagant rate, is only to teach them to deſpiſe thoſe that do it; and our Men never found it better Dealing with that ſort of People, than when at the ſame time, together with Civilities, they ſhew'd them good Reaſons why they ſhould fear and ſtand in awe of them.

Captain *Newport*, preſently after his return to the Town, ſet out for the Diſcovery of *Monacan*; all the Council, with at leaſt 120 Men, went upon this Deſign, the Preſident, with about 80 more, ſtaying behind at the Fort. The Preſident had foretold the ill ſucceſs of their Enterprize, which they were as ſadly ſenſible of at laſt, as they were far from believing at firſt: for, in a word, they ſaw only two Villages of the *Monacans*; that was their Diſcovery, and they had their labour for their pains, and that was their reward.

The Savages now pretty plainly diſcover'd their Deſigns of ſtarving the *Engliſh*, for they made it their buſineſs to keep their Corn and Proviſions from them: and the Preſident was forc'd to go out and lay ſome of their Country under Contribution to get neceſſary Supplies; the People he ſerv'd thus were the *Chickahamines*, the *Nauſamunds*, with ſome others. But this ſort of way wou'd never hold long, and therefore the Preſident reſolv'd to endeavour to force ſomething out of *Powhatan*, who had not the gratitude to ſerve his Benefactors of his own accord. And that which the rather induc'd him to it was, that *Powhatan* had about this time ſent him word, that if he wou'd come to him and bring a Grind-ſtone, a parcel of Swords, Guns, Beads, and other trifles, he wou'd give him a Ship's lading of Corn. The Captain ſubſtituted Mr. *Scrivener* in his place, and ſet out for *Werowocomoco*, with the Pinnace and two Barges, having in all no more than 46 Men, tho' he order'd more to be ready at home in caſe of need. An honeſt Savage by the way perſwaded him not to ſee *Powhatan*, or at leaſt to give him no manner of opportunity of ſeizing their Arms, becauſe his deſign was only to cut their Throats. When they came thither, he entertain'd them with the ſame freedom that he us'd to do, but pretended he had no Corn to diſpoſe of, and that he did not ſend for Captain *Smith* to come upon that ſcore; yet he added, that for 40 Swords he would procure them 40 Buſhels. But the Captain confronting him with the very Meſſengers that brought him that word, the Savage, when he ſaw he cou'd not deny it any longer, turn'd it off with a laugh. Then he ask'd to ſee what Commodities they had brought; none of all which wou'd pleaſe him without Guns and Swords, valuing ſtill a Basket of Corn above a Basket of Copper, ſaying he cou'd eat the one, but not the other. Upon this, Captain *Smith* was oblig'd to tell him in pretty ſmart terms, That he was not inſenſible of his Artifices in delaying and whiling off the time at that rate; that he had always aſſur'd him he had no Guns nor Swords to ſpare, and ſhou'd be ſorry

Capt. Smith goes to Powhatan.

Powhatan's treacherous pretences.

Capt. Smith's ſharp Diſcourſe to him.

It's comical Sight.

sorry to be compell'd to employ what he had against him, as ill Usage and Affronts might some time or other make him do, otherwise he wou'd preserve entire the good Correspondence that had been hitherto cultivated betwixt them, with all the zeal in the World. Many other Discourses pass'd between Captain *Smith* and *Powhatan* at this time, in which the Savage mightily insisted upon his laying aside his Arms, and for his Men to come ashore like Friends, without those formidable Weapons, Guns and Swords, which did so vehemently fright his People, that (as he pretended) they were unwilling to come near the *English* upon that score. The Captain perfectly well understood the meaning of all this, and since he manifestly saw that *Powhatan* intended nothing else than the murdering or making a Prisoner of him, he resolv'd not only to stand the more nicely upon his guard, but also, if a favourable opportunity offer'd, to put a trick upon the Plotter, and snap him first. They both now had the same designs upon one another: *Powhatan* waited but till more Men (which he had sent for) came to the House; and Captain *Smith* but staid till his Men landed under pretence of Trade. But *Powhatan*'s being come first, he himself slipt cunningly away, leaving two or three of his Women to hold the Captain in talk; in the mean while the House was beset with arm'd Savages, and the Captain had but eight of his own Men with him in this distress. As soon as he was sensible of the treachery, he presently open'd the Doors and rush'd out amongst them, and with his Sword and Pistol open'd himself such a passage amongst those naked Rascals, that he was quickly got out of their reach. They fled from him like so many Hares before a Hound, and seeing the Plot had miscarried, quickly began to excuse the matter, and pretend there was no harm design'd. *Powhatan* also sent a Present of Pearl, and Messengers to excuse his own abrupt going away, and the coming of that multitude without his knowledge. In short, they were now so officious, that the Captain easily got all his Corn into his Barges, and so went away to *Pamanuk*, intending to call upon *Powhatan* at his return. But here he fell into the hands of as treacherous a Wretch as *Powhatan*, namely *Opechancanough* King of *Pamanuk*, one set at work by *Powhatan* to do what he could not yet do himself. This Savage, to colour his Designs the better, struck presently into a Trade with him, and provision was made for a much greater Traffick to be carry'd on one day at the King's House. The Captain, with about fifteen or sixteen very well arm'd went thither, *Opechancanough* entertaining them with a great deal of seeming friendship and heartiness; but they had not been there long, before they discover'd that the House and adjoyning Fields were beset with Savages, well furnish'd with Weapons too. One may imagine they were shock'd at this News, but the brave Captain heartned them up with an Oration, and they all vow'd to follow him wherever he led them. Being sure of the Courage and Fidelity of his Men, he was now not afraid of the Savage Army, tho' they had been a greater number, and they were at least 700. But turning to *Opechancanough*, he told him he was sensible of his design to murder him, but before the Men of both sides begin to shed one anothers Blood, let you and I (says he) have a trial by our selves. Take your Arms, and I'll take the same, and strip off my Cloaths and be as naked as you, and the Conqueror of us two shall be Lord and Master of both Troops. If you don't like this, draw your Men into the Field, and if they ben't enough, go fetch more, but let every one bring a Basket of Corn, and I'll take the value in Copper, and so let the conquering side take all. The Savage was dash'd at this bold Challenge, and instead of accepting on't, endeavour'd by good words to abate the Captain's choler, and bring him into better temper. In order to this, he told him that there was a considerable Present for him at the door, which he intreated him to step forth and receive: The meaning of which was, that by that bait he shou'd be drawn out to the door, where there was an Ambuscade of above two hundred Men, ready to salute him with their Arrows, as soon as he came. But being aware of the design, and having set a Guard upon the door, he comes up to *Opechancanough*, (whose horrid treachery had now transported him beyond all bounds of patience) and in the very midst of his Guard seizes him by his Fore-lock, and clapping a Pistol to his Breast, made him instantly resign his Bow and Arrows. Holding him still in this posture, he dragg'd him out before all his Men, who were astonish'd to see that any Man dar'd use their King in such a manner: however, the Captain called to them, and commanded them all to fling away their Bows and Arrows, and come and hear what he had to say to them.

Savage dissimulation.
Plot against Plot.
Capt. Smith drives the Savages.
The treacherous design of the King of Pamanuk.
Capt. Smith challenges him to fight.
A Plot against Capt. Smith.
Bold attempt.

The Savages very readily obey'd him; down went the Weapons, and about him they throng'd to hear his Speech, rejoycing to see their King alive, to whom the Captain now had given a little liberty again. As for his Discourse to these People, he only charg'd them, in short, with their Villainous Designs and Treacheries, and threaten'd them severely in case they made him lose his labour, and did not bring him Corn as they had promis'd. 'You promis'd (says he) to fraught my Ship 'ere I departed, and so you shall, or I'll load her with 'your dead Carkasses: But still, if you'll come and 'trade as Friends, you shall never be molested or griev'd 'by us. And they did presently go and fetch in such heaps of Commodities, that the President was quite weary'd with looking them over; so that he was forc'd to retire himself into the House to take a Nap, leaving his Men to manage that Affair. But some of them were weary too, and fell asleep, and part of the Guard that shou'd have attended the Captain were carelesly dispers'd up and down; all which advantages being perceiv'd by the quick-ey'd Savages, forty or fifty of the stoutest of them, arm'd with *English* Swords, press'd into the House, and there were two or three hundred more marching after to second them. But the Rascals made such a noise a crouding in, that the Captain was wak'd with it, and presently taking up his Sword and Target he flew in amongst them, and some few of his Men (that were by him) charging at the same time, they quickly rid the House of them, and made them squeeze out a little faster than they did in. The Plot being thus frustrated, according to their way they came to beg Pardon; but the Captain dissembled his resentments, and so having spent some time in Mirth and Feasting with the King, came aboard safely again with all his Company that same Night. The next Morning they wou'd have trepann'd them into an Ambuscade on shore, under pretence of trading, but these old Birds were not now to be taken in such Snares. The following Night the Savages thought that the *English* had secretly sent away one of their Barges, which they concluded must be to fetch more Men and Arms, and that must be in order to the executing of that Vengeance which Captain *Smith* had threaten'd, for their trifling thus with him in the Matters of Trade: Very early therefore the next Morning the King sends the Captain a good Chain of Pearl, begs him not to send for any more Men, upon which condition he wou'd load him with Corn; and to take away all ground of suspicion, bring it a Ship-board too. And he was as good as his word; fear made him honest, and the Corn was punctually deliver'd. It's plain all this was the effect of no good-will, for the Captain, with some others, (particularly Mr. *West* the Lord *De la Ware*'s Brother) was like to be poyson'd by them before they went away; that is, they actually took the Dose, but it was not strong enough to kill, and only made them sick. *Powhatan* was the cause of all these attempts against the Life of Captain *Smith*; and all the rest of the Petty-Kings hereabouts being his Vassals, he cou'd command them to go upon what Designs he pleas'd. As for *Opechancanough*, he was his Brother, and consequently every way his Tool.

He threatens the Savages.
They bring in their commodities.
Capt. Smith in danger.
Another Plot.
They bring Corn.

The Captain returning homeward, call'd (as he had resolv'd) at *Werowocomoco* again, intending, if he had opportunity, to seize *Powhatan*, with his Stores of Corn; but he was fled, and had remov'd all before they came, and those that went ashore were like to be kill'd for their pains too. The cause of this (and a great deal of mischief more) were some *Dutchmen* which the Captain in kindness had lent to *Powhatan* to build him a House. These horrid Villains betray'd all the Secrets of the Plantation to him, and some of the Ammunition of it too, in the President's absence. In short, they put him upon most of his cursed projects, and did what they cou'd to ruin the *English* Interest in *Virginia*.

The Dutchmens Villany.

Captain *Smith* return'd to *James-Town* with 270 Bushels of Corn; but there had been this further misfortune in his absence, that Mr. *Scrivener* and Captain *Walde* (both Persons of Courage and great Usefulness) going out upon a small Expedition, were with all their little Company over-turn'd in their Skiff and drown'd. The Plantation however was now in possession of a pretty Stock of Provision, and might have enjoy'd some prosperous days had it not been for those devilish *Dutchmen*, and their Accomplices; for a Party of Rascals they had at *St. James-Town* that sided with them, and help'd to convey Ammunition out of the Fort to them. The place of their Rendezvous was at the Glass-House, which is about a Mile from *James-Town*, in the Woods; and near this place they had planted an Ambuscade of Savages to take Captain *Smith*, who was gone out one day to search this

Mr. Scrivener lost.
Rendezvous of the Traytors.

Nest

Nest of Rogues. The Bird he won'd have taken (one of the Traytors) was fled, and having sent all the Musketeers he brought out with him after this fellow, he walk'd home alone. Upon the way he meets the King of *Paspaheigh*, one of *Powhatan*'s Tributaries, (or Allies at least in the War against Captain *Smith*) and a wonderful strong stout Man. The Savage won'd fain have drawn him into his Snares, but the Captain won'd not go; so that seeing no other way, he endeavour'd to shoot him, but *Smith* prevented him there, for he presently clos'd in with him, and endeavour'd to dispatch him with his Faulchion. But here again the Savage prevented him, for finding his design to stab him, he catches *Smith* up in his arms, and runs away with him to the River (just by) into which he plunges both himself and him. Here they tried to drown one another as fast as they cou'd, for Swords and Guns signified nothing in the water. Whilst they were struggling in this Element, there came two of the Captain's Men upon the shore, which sight lost the King of *Paspaheigh* all his courage: However the Captain had him fast by the Throat, and held him so, till the Men came in and took him off; and then his Majesty begg'd his Life very heartily, but notwithstanding was carried Prisoner to *James-Town*, from whence afterwards, by the negligence of his Guards, he made a shift to escape.

An Adventure of Captain *Smith* with a Savage King.

Captain *Smith*, after this, by his prudent and politick managements reconcil'd the *Paspaheigh*'s to the *English* Interest, and bound them by a solemn Treaty to bring in Provision. By a lucky hit also of bringing a Savage to himself, that was almost stifled with the fumes of Charcoal, he got the name of a Man of extraordinary Power, and one that cou'd raise the Dead to Life. This over-aw'd *Powhatan*, and all his Allies, so that they desired Peace, and brought Presents; yea, many of them that had stolen things from the *English*, came and made Restitution of their own accord, believing that Captain *Smith*, who cou'd restore the Dead to Life, cou'd also discover their Villanies. When the stock of Provisions grew low, and the Rats (which came in for the best share of it) had, together with other accidents, done their worst towards the destroying it, the Captain set the Company at work to trace the Country, and find their own Provision, and Billetted them about upon the Savages in the neighbouring Parts; these courses stirr'd the Gall of the lazy dronish People, and set them a murmuring. In short, tho' the Captain did all that cou'd be expected from a brave Governour, and a Man of an Heroick temper and courage, yet he could not please these Malecontents, but was ever obnoxious to their ill-natur'd Censures and Reflections. But a sudden turn of Affairs now came on, which promis'd quickly to remove this President from them, that was by his Honesty and Bravery become such a burden to Knaves and Cowards: For the Council in *England* hearing of the disturbance in the Plantation, fix'd upon the Lord *De la Ware* to go and govern there, who sent, as his Deputy, Sir *Thomas Gates*, with Sir *George Summers*, together with 9 Ships, and at least 500 Persons. What was the success of this Voyage, we shall see by and by: thus much only is to be said now, that the Admiral Ship of this Fleet, wherein were the two Knights, and the new Commission, was separated from the rest, and forc'd away by bad Weather to the *Bermuda* Illands, and one or two more were driven another way; the rest came safe to *Virginia*.

Capt. *Smith*'s reputation amongst the Savages.

The Factions of the Company.

Along with these Ships return'd some of the troublers of the Peace of the Plantation, who had gone back to *England*, and now came again to be a fresh plague to Captain *Smith*. 'Tis not easie to describe the Disorders they were the occasion of, and the extravagancies they committed; as likewise the Plots and Snares they laid for his Life, and the many Dangers he went through. However, being President still, (tho' his Year was well nigh expired) he exerted his Authority, restraining some, and punishing others, and disposing of others into places where they might be capable of doing the least mischief. The chief Heads of the factious People were Captain *Ratcliffe*, Captain *Martin*, and Captain *Archer*; and their main quarrel against the President seem'd to be this, That he was a Man of far more Merit than they, and that his Vertues attracted the love of all People that had Eyes to see them, even the Savages themselves. In these confusions the Honourable Mr. *West* went, by the President's leave, to Plant at the Falls of the River of *Powhatan*, with 120 Men; and Captain *Martin*, with near as many, to *Nausamund*. But this latter Plantation was presently blown up, for *Martin* must needs seize the King of *Nausamund*, and rifle his Houses and Country: all which Villanies he did with so much fear and consternation too, that he encourag'd the Savages to fall upon him, which they did with so good success, that they redeem'd their own King, kill'd several of the *English*, and carry'd off above 1000 Bushels of their Corn; tho' the weak-spirited Captain had a Reinforcement of Musketeers sent him by the President, yet he dar'd not attempt any thing with them, but left his Company to shift for themselves, and ran away to *James-Town*, loaden with all the honour of these noble Actions.

Mutinous People return'd to *Virginia*.

Their Designs against Capt. *Smith*.

New Plantations.

The Success of that at *Nausamund*.

As for the Company at the Falls of the River *Powhatan*, Mr. *West* left them as soon as he had seated them; but whether he had fix'd them in that place, or they had remov'd themselves as soon as he was gone, this is certain, that the President (who went presently after to overlook them in their new Seat) found them in a place of most intolerable inconveniences. Upon that he presently sent away to the Savage King *Powhatan*, to buy of him the Town standing upon this River, both which bore his Name *Powhatan*, which was not only yielded to, but also very good terms were made for the *English* with the Savages; they were to bring in constant Supplies of Corn, in lieu of which the *English* were to give them a trifling Matter of Coppier, and to be their Protectors against the *Monacans* their Enemies. But these Furies wou'd not hear neither of the place he had provided, nor the good terms he had made for them; they began to run into downright Tumults, and to make use of their Arms. Captain *Smith* had but five Men with him, and 'twas an imprudently bold action of him to trust himself with so slender a Guard amongst 120 of such outrageous Mutineers. However, they forc'd him to retire from the shore into a Boat, by which means he got to their Ship that had all their Provision aboard her, and the Mariners proving Honest and Loyal, he made himself Master of it, and now had them at his Mercy. The disorderly Company fell now to plundering the Savages, breaking open their Houses, and stealing their Corn; nay, that was not enough, but they beat and abus'd those poor wretches most unmercifully, and rais'd their fury and revenge to the highest degree. They came in their Canoes to Captain *Smith*, and complain'd that the *English* he had brought them for Protectors, us'd them more barbarously than their Enemies the *Monacans*, and therefore, as for his sake they had patiently endur'd it a great while, so now, if they did not mend their Manners, they should take up Arms in their own Defence, and revenge the Injuries that had been done them. The President spent eight or nine Days in vigorous endeavours to reclaim this licentious multitude, but all being in vain, he resolv'd to leave them and sail away to *James-Town*. The Ship was no sooner under Sail, but the Savages immediately fell upon them ashore, gave a brisk assault to the Fort, and cut off as many as they found straggling about in the Woods. This put them all into the dreadfullest fright imaginable, and the Captain being yet within hearing of all came back again, and found them so scar'd with this accident, that they were ready to submit to his Mercy upon any terms whatsoever. He made some of the Heads of them examples for their crimes, and then remov'd the whole Company to *Powhatan-Town*, where they were most gallantly Seated, had good Houses, a pretty Fortification, and able to secure them from all the Savages in *Virginia*, and 300 Acres of very good Land ready to plant; besides, a most pleasant and healthful place, and well deserving the Name they gave it, *Nonesuch*. The Savages also, were appeas'd and satisfy'd, and new Officers appointed; thus all being Friends, and every thing setled in good order, Captain *Smith* was going a second time for *James-Town*, but just at that instant arriv'd Mr. *West*, who had indiscreetly planted them at the Falls of *Powhatan*, and tho' that Honourable Person was no way concern'd in, or any encourager of their Disorders, yet his arrival undid all again, the Factions grew as high, and the insolent Mutineers talk'd as loud as ever, and nothing wou'd serve their turn, but they must quit this fine Town where the Captain had planted them, and return to their old Seat at the Falls of the River. And so they did, and Mr. *West*'s good humour was govern'd by them: as for the President, he determin'd to strive no longer with them, but e'en let them take their own course, and brew as they bak'd; so he left them, and sail'd away for *James-Town*. But in the way a terrible misfortune befel him, for sleeping in his Boat, his Powder-Bag accidentally took fire and blew him up, scorching and tearing his flesh after a most fearful manner; and the Captain frying as it were in his own Cloaths, to quench the fire that tormented him immediately leap'd over-board, and plung'd himself into the River, where he was very like to be drown'd before they cou'd recover him again. In this

How they of the River *Powhatan* manag'd Matters.

Capt. *Smith*'s care to settle them better.

They plant at *Powhatan*.

They leave it again.

Capt. *Smith*'s misfortune.

The Savages rife.

They fall against him.

Their Oppression of the Savages.

miserable

miserable case (having no Chirurgeon to dress him) he was forc'd to travel to *James-Town*, where, notwithstanding his illness, he wou'd not be excus'd from publick business.

They conspire against his life.

The mutinous Captains, *Ratcliffe*, *Martin* and *Archer*, were quickly to be brought to their Trials, according to the Laws of the Plantation; to prevent which, they endeavour'd to dispatch the President as he lay upon his his Bed so extremely sick, that cou'd they have had patience enough, they might reasonably have hop'd his malady wou'd have done it for them in a little time. However, the Villain that shou'd have Pistol'd him had not courage enough to do it; so that this Plot being baulk'd, they thought the best way was to Usurp the Government, and so make their Power serve to vindicate their own Innocency, and stain his that had made them guilty.

The Soldiers stand up for him.

Captain *Smith*'s old staunch Soldiers wou'd fain have taken off the Heads of these Plotters against his Life, and Disturbers of the Publick Peace, but he wou'd not yield to any such Design, but got himself convey'd a Shipboard, and took Orders for his present return to *England*. This (next to his Death) was the thing that pleas'd the malignant Party the best, and now all their care was to get the Commission from him; but the Captain wou'd never surrender it to them, tho' he conniv'd at their stealing it away. Then taking his farewel of them, with many severe reflections and reproaches for their base Practices, and calling all to bear witness that 'twas not long of him that the Plantation was left thus expos'd without a Govetnour, he came away from a Country of which he cou'd say thus much, That he had been more barbarously us'd there by his own Countrymen than by the wildest of the Savages.

Capt. *Smith*'s departure.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Continuation of the Virginian *Affairs, from* A. D. 1610. *to* A. D. 1620.

WE concluded the last Chapter with Captain *Smith*'s departure, who left the Colony in a miserable confus'd state, tormented with a parcel of factious Usurping Spirits, that studied nothing less than the Publick Good, nor more than their own Private Advantage. At his going away the whole number was very near 500, their Store-Houses full, their Arms, and all Military Furniture, in good case, and as much Powder and Shot as they needed. They had all sorts of useful Animals about them too, from Horses even to Hens and Chickens; yet neither all the Captain's former Benefits, nor these his last Cares for them, to leave them in so good a condition, cou'd ever perswade them into any soft and kind thoughts of him, or to afford him the least degree of generous treatment.

State of the Colony when Capt. *Smith* went away.

They accuse him when he is gone.

He was no sooner gone, but all those turbulent People, with one consent, began to rail at him; especially those whom he had any way chastis'd for their Insolencies, and who now had full liberty to invent whatever Scandals they wou'd, and swear to all they invented. There were as many several Stories told of him, as there were Persons that envied and maligned him, and the degrees of their Malignity were very well discover'd by the magnitude of their Lyes. One said this, and another that, and a third another thing; and so they had their Says all round. As for those whose Inventions were dull, and they had not Sence enough to patch up a plausible Story themselves, the good Council help'd them out at a dead lift, and advis'd them what they should Swear. The Ships waited upon them all this time, while they were laying their Accusations together, for they were ready to sail back to *England* before, but they were compell'd to stay till the Witnesses were all furnish'd, that they might go and testify Captain *Smith*'s crimes to his face.

His enemies speak well of him in *England*.

But the Jest of it was, that the best of all his Friends cou'd not give him a better Character, than several of those very Men did who had made such a confounded noise in *Virginia*, and were sent over on purpose to do the same in *England*. As to the rest of them that stuck to their Principles, their Accusations had so evidently all the Characters of Malice and Forgery stamp'd upon them, that all People, who were not blinded by prejudices, clearly saw that it was so, and the Captain's Vertues did shine but the lighter, for all their violent endeavours to eclipse them.

Capt. *Ratcliffe* and the *Dutchmen* kill'd.

There were several of his most virulent Adversaries, that by unexpected events came to receive a just recompence for their unreasonable enmities and treacheries against him: The *Dutchmen* were knock'd in the head by *Powhatan*; for when the talk was first of my Lord *De la Ware*'s coming over, those fellows highly commended that Lord to him, and promis'd to do mighty things for him, if he wou'd give them leave to go to him when he came. 'No, (says the Savage) you have betray'd Captain *Smith* to me already, 'and you'll betray me also to this Lord: for being 'false to your own Master, you cannot be true to me; and so commanded his Men to beat out their Brains.

Captain *Ratcliffe* also, with a Company of Men, attempting to trade, were surpriz'd and slain by *Powhatan*; and so were several more of the *English*, that went out under the command of Mr. *West* and Captain *Martin*. For as soon as ever the Savages heard that Capt. *Smith* had quitted the Country, they revolted every where, and took all the opportunities that cou'd be, both to starve them and cut their throats. *Powhatan* absolutely denied them Trade, and the Savages in all places refus'd to repleniish their decaying Stores with fresh Supplies of Provisions. And now they began to find the want of Captain *Smith*; yea, his greatest enemies were then ready to curse the loss of him. In a word, the 500 that Captain *Smith* left, were within six Months reduc'd to 60, and those forc'd to live upon the wild Products of the Fields, or sometimes a little Fish; yea, the Living sometimes liv'd upon the Dead. The cause of these Distresses was not to be attributed to the barrenness of the Country, but their own Riot and Luxury, their want of good Government, and prudent Care in laying up Provisions; and lastly, their ill Conduct in making the Savages their enemies. 'Twas in these straits that Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Summers*, found the miserable remainders of the Plantation when they arriv'd at *James-Town*.

Savages at War with them.

Captain *Smith*'s enemies report the loss of him.

The Reader was inform'd in the last Chapter, that the best part of this Fleet came to *James-Town* without the two Knights: The business was, that they were separated from one another by one of the most violent storms that was ever known. For a matter of four days continually, they did nothing but pump and toil themselves, to keep the Ship from sinking; they threw out 100 Tun of water every four hours, and yet for the most part of the time, when the Ship had least in her, she bore ten foot deep. They had no leisure to eat, drink or rest; so that now they were upon the point of committing themselves to the Mercies of God, when Sir *George Summers* happily discover'd Land. This prov'd to be the *Bermuda-Islands*, which from this excellent Person had afterwards the Name of the *Summer-Islands*. Here they came all safe ashore, and tho' these Islands had formerly had a very ill name, and were said to be fit for nothing but Devils to dwell in, yet they found them a very commodious Habitation for Men, and bless'd the Providence that cast them here.

Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers* voyage.

Cast up at the *Bermudas*-*Islands*.

The description of these Islands shall not be given here, but remitted to its proper place, where we treat of them professedly. As for the Colony, they did not want Provisions, but there were no Inhabitants for them to converse with. The Governour had the plague of several Mutinies too, some of which were stopt by severities, and others by gentle treatment of the Offenders. They exercis'd all Religious Duties during their stay, and had

Mutinies.

opportunities

opportunities of performing all the Rites of the Christian Religion, in a place where perhaps never any Religion was practis'd before. Besides Preaching and Praying, they had Marriages, Births, Baptisms and Burials here. They set up a Cross as a Memorial of their wonderful preservation and safe arrival at this place; a short account of which was engraven in a Copper Plate, in English and Latin, and plac'd upon the same Cross, together with his Majesties Picture in Silver. They also built a good Pinnace to help them on in their Voyage to *Virginia*, which was at least 140 leagues from the *Summer-Islands*; and, in a word, having every way fitted up themselves for such a Voyage, they set sail, and had a prosperous Voyage on't thither. They came first to the famous Bay of *Chesepiack*, and then to *Cape Comfort*, where they had the comfort of hearing that all the rest of the Fleet were come in safely the Year before; but the affliction of hearing at the same time, that the Colony at *James-Town* was in a most lamentable condition. The President then in being was the Honourable Mr. *Percy*, at that time over-looking the Affairs of the Fort, which they had built at *Cape Comfort* the Year before. This Fort was very advantageously situated, and by reason of the Shoals which lie of the Sea-side, it easily commanded the mouth of the River, tho' it be as broad as the *Thames* between *Greenwich* and the *Isle of Dogs*.

Christian Service perform'd there.

Come to *Virginia*.

When they came up to *James-Town*, they were sad Eye-witnesses of the deplorable state of the Colony there; all things were out of order, their Stores exhausted, and themselves upon the point of starving. And that which made the distress yet far more terrible was, that here were no Supplies brought to their relief; all that was in these Ships being no more than sufficient for 150 Men for a little while. Neither was there any hopes of getting any in the Country; for besides that, the Savages were all at Daggers draw with them, it was now their Seed-time, and their Corn was but just, or scarce put into the ground. That little matter however which Sir *Thomas Gates* brought with him from the *Bermudas*, he generously resolv'd shou'd be divided amongst them all; which when it came to be calculated, was found not possible to last longer than 16 days, tho' husbanded to the best advantage, and each Man's share no more than wou'd suffice just to keep him from being famish'd. All these things put together, were reasons strong enough to introduce a general resolution of quitting the Country, and there was a necessity of doing it presently, for after they were all starv'd there was no running away. Accordingly they bestow'd themselves as well as might be in the Pinnaces then in the Road, and those they brought from the *Bermudas*, and so the whole Plantation went off together, having buried all their Ordnance before the Fort-gate, and by the particular care of Sir *Thomas Gates* the Town was left standing, tho' some discontented People had a great mind to have set it afire. But they had proceeded but a little way down the River, when they met the Right Honourable the Lord *De la Ware*, who was then unexpectedly arriv'd to enter upon his Government of *Virginia*. So that now they all repair'd to *James-Town* again, with no little Joy at so pleasant a disappointment, and the care of the Deputy in preserving the Town from the flames, appear'd to have been to some purpose. His Lordship brought three Ships with him exceedingly well furnish'd with all necessaries, and enough to enable the Plantation to hold out for some time. All things were now regulated, his Lordship's Commission read publickly, the Council nominated, and all the Officers appointed to their several Trusts and Charges. The Lord *De la Ware* had the Title of Lord Governour and Captain General: Sir *Thomas Gates* Lieutenant-General: Sir *George Summers* Admiral: The Honourable *George Percy* Commander of the Fort: Sir *Ferdinando Wainman* Master of the Ordnance: Captain *Newport* Vice-Admiral: *William Strachey* Esq; (the Author of this account) Secretary and Recorder. The other Inferiour Officers were also nominated, and the usual Oaths administred to all. Tho' his Lordship had brought a Stock of Provisions, yet since that wou'd quickly require to be eke'd out with further Supplies, Sir *George Summers* therefore propos'd a Voyage to the *Bermuda-Islands*, from whence he wou'd fetch 6 Months Provision of Fish and Flesh, and accordingly he and Captain *Argoll* were dispatch'd thither for that purpose. But the effects of this Voyage prov'd very unhappy, for these two worthy Persons lost one another at Sea, and Captain *Argoll*, instead of the *Bermudas*, fell in with the Coast of *Sagadahoc*, where refreshing awhile, he return'd with a small quantity of Codfish to *James-Town*. As for Sir *George Summers*, he also fell in with the same Coast, missing the *Bermudas*, but having refresh'd there awhile, he continued his search of those Islands, and at last found them, and his Death there, the effect of his over-toiling himself upon a Surfeit. His Heart and Bowels were buried upon the spot, and his Body brought back to *England* in his own Ship, which, without any Iron about her, one Bolt only in her Keel excepted, endur'd the Voyage through that mighty Ocean. In the mean time, the Affairs of the Plantation went but badly on; the Savages did nothing but insult them, coming up to the very Works, and assaulting the Men there, and knocking all o'th' head that they found at any time unarm'd or straggling in the Woods. The *English* had from several considerations hitherto forborn to chastize them any thing rigorously for these Insolencies, but now they saw there was no end on't, and they grew but the bolder and sawcier for being thus let alone, and therefore they began to treat them after another manner, and teach them good Manners by a little use of the Sword.

The sad state of the Colony in want of Provisions.

They resolve to go away.

The Lord *De la Ware's* arrival. *A. D.* 1610.

They settle at *James-Town* again.

An unfortunate Voyage to the *Bermudas*.

Sir *George Summers's* death.

The Savages continue their violence.

Sir *Thomas Gates* went and plundered the Town of *Kecoughton*, more to frighten the Savages than to get any great Spoil. The Lord Governour also sent a sort of an Embassie to *Powhatan*, to demand the restitution of all *English* Prisoners, and satisfaction for all Injuries done, promising all Friendship and Kindness in case of his compliance, and on the other hand threatning to take a severe revenge, and pay all the old Scores, if he refus'd to do Justice. But he (who had now lost all fear of the *English* together with Captain *Smith*) let them know he shou'd yield to none of their Proposals, but bid them all depart his Country, at least confine themselves to *James-Town*, and not rove about searching his Towns and Rivers, and making his Property their own; and if they did not, he wou'd make his People do them all the mischief they fear'd. As for the Messengers, he commanded them never to presume to appear before him any more, unless they brought him a Coach and Horses, for he had heard that the great Lords in *England* us'd to ride in such state to see one another.

The *English* correct them.

Powhatan's proud answer.

And demands it.

Some of his *Indians* had been in *England*, and having seen Coaches, had told him what things they were, otherwise a handsome Wheelbarrow might have serv'd well enough; and what a pretty figure wou'd his *Virginian* Majesty have made, with his Copper Crown and Scarlet Cloak on, (the *English* gave him) in this one wheel'd wooden Coach? After this, *Powhatan* still kept on his old way of intriguing and watching the Colony; his Spies went prouling about in every Quarter, and his Ambuscades lay up almost to the very Palisadoes. The *English*, when they catch'd any of them, gave them Martial Law, and resolv'd, if *Powhatan* did not alter his course in a very little while, to carry Fire and Sword into the Bowels of his Country. But this accident happen'd in favour of him, that the Lord Governour (who otherwise wou'd have been as good as his word) quickly after his arrival lost his health, and by degrees came to so ill a habit of Body, that in 8 Months time he was constrain'd to return to *England*, having no prospect of any compleat cure but his own Native air. His Lordship substituted the Honourable Mr. *Percy* Deputy-Governour in his room, who was to remain in that Post till farther Orders from *England*. He left the Colony upwards of two hundred, in good state as to health, and furnish'd with ten Months Provision at least. Before his Lordship's departure, Sir *Thomas Gates* was sent for to *England* by the Council for the *Virginian* Affairs there, to give a true account of the Country, and to let them know in plain terms, whether it were such as was ever likely to answer all the cost the Society had been at, in their Contributions towards the Support of the Plantation there. The answer of which worthy Gentleman was such, as gave them every way ample Satisfaction, and Encouragement to go on with their Design; the Reasons of which being drawn mostly from the nature of the Country it self, the Reader will easily see in the Description of *Virginia*, which we shall present him with afterwards.

English resolution.

Lord's sickness.

Lord *De la Ware's* cure of the Colony.

When the Lord *De la Ware* came to *England*, he did himself in Person give the Council a large account of the Affairs of the Colony, which was publish'd by Order of the said Council. For the better securing of the *English* Plantation there, he had order'd three Forts to be built; two of which were seated near *Cape-Comfort*, and the third near the Falls.

His account to the Council.

The Company being encourag'd by what they had heard from the Lord Governour, and Sir *Thomas Gates*, sent over a fresh Supply by Sir *Thomas Dale*, who bore the Title of Marshal in the Country, and was to command there in chief till Sir *Thomas Gates's* arrival from *England*. This Gentleman found the Plantation labouring under their old Distempers of Idleness and Laziness, having

Sir *Tho. Dale* sent. *A. D.* 1611.

having thrown no Corn into the ground, but trusting to the Stores the Lord *De la Ware* had left, and what the Bounty of the Fields would afford them. He presently fell to repairing the Town, and having made a Discovery of *Nasamund*-River up to the very Head, and after that of the River of the Colony, he fix'd upon a place, (towards the Falls of this latter, near an *Indian* Town call'd *Arsahattocke*) a high Land, encompass'd with the main River, and about 18 Miles from the Falls, where he intended to plant a new Town. He had done no more than preparing his Materials for this new Building, when Sir *Tho. Gates* arriv'd from *England*, who came in the Quality of Governour, and brought six Ships well-furnish'd with Men, Cattle and Provision. Sir *Tho. Gates* approv'd of the design of erecting a Town at the Falls of the foremention'd River, so that Sir *Tho. Dale* presently went about it, and in four Months space had form'd something that might (in *Virginia* at least) be called a Town, to which (in honour of the noble Prince *Henry*) he gave the Name of *Henry-Town*. After the arrival of these two Knights, the worthy and brave Captain (afterwards Sir *Samuel*) *Argoll*, open'd a trade with the *Indians* of *Patowomeek*, and meeting with a very friendly reception amongst them, he deliver'd in at *James-Town*, as the Fruits of this Expedition, 1100 Bushels of Corn. He discover'd this time up the River which they call'd *Pembroke*-River, that runs up into the Land about 65 Leagues, being Navigable for any Ship. They saw great store of a sort of Cattle as big as Kine, that prov'd very good and wholsome Meat; they were a very heavy, slow sort of Creatures, and tho' Inhabitants of the Woods, had nothing of that wildness in them that other Beasts have. The Captain likewise discover'd a Mine, a trial of which he sent into *England*, and several strange kinds of Earth, one that the *Indians* of that Country always us'd to eat for Physick, and said that it cured all disorders in the Belly; another like a Gum, white and clear; another red, like *Terra sigillata*; another very white, and so light, that it wou'd swim like Corn at top of the water.

Henry Town.

Patowomeek.

Capt. Argoll's Discoveries.

Sorts of Earth.

Captain *Argoll*, in this Expedition, perform'd also another very good piece of Service, which was the redemption of the *English* Prisoners that liv'd an uneasie life with *Powhatan*, partly upon the account of their Slavery, and the continual apprehensions of some cruel death they should be put to at last. And he brought it about by this pretty Stratagem: *Pocahunta*, the Beloved Daughter of *Powhatan*, resided about this time with the great King of *Patowomeek*, which Captain *Argoll* having notice of, he apply'd himself to the King of *Pastancie* Brother to the former, and propos'd to him to get this young Princess deliver'd into his hands. Now tho' the King of *Pastancie* was the Captain's very good friend, yet he was afraid of having his hand in such a business as that, for fear of drawing *Powhatan*'s anger and revenge upon himself, as there was just reason enough to expect it. However, the Captain telling him (that if he did not do it) it wou'd be a breach of the Friendship and good Correspondence that was between them, and promising at the same time to stand by him with a good force in case *Powhatan* should ever assault him, he consented, and went away to his Brother the King of *Patowomeek*, to perswade him to resign her. And he having deliberated upon the Matter a little while, chose rather to oblige the *English*, and lose *Powhatan*'s Friendship, than the contrary, and so deliver'd up *Pocahunta* into the Captain's Custody. Upon this, word was presently sent to *Powhatan*, that if he ever intended to have his Daughter again, he must dismiss the *English* Prisoners, with all the Arms and Tools that his People had stolen from the Colony at *James-Town*, and give a good quantity of Corn into the bargain. The Savage was bitterly perplex'd at this News, but not knowing how to help himself, he sent word back, That if the Captain wou'd bring his Ship into his River, he wou'd satisfie his Demands, and there make Friends with him and the *English*. With which answer, Captain *Argoll* return'd to the Plantation, and deliver'd *Pocahunta* to Sir *Tho. Gates* the Governour, by whom she was treated with all the civility and respect in the World. As for her, she was ever a lover of the *English* Nation, and was so far from esteeming this as a Captivity, that she reckon'd it a Freedom. She was young, being not above twelve or thirteen Years old when she preserv'd Captain *Smith*'s life; and in all points the Pride and Flower of her Country. In order to the managing this Affair with *Powhatan*, it was resolv'd that Sir *Tho. Dale* should go instead of Capt. *Argoll*; so he set out in his Frigot, with 150 Men, taking *Pocahunta* along with him, and came into the *Pamunkie*-River, where *Powhatan* then resided.

Capt. Argoll's contrivance to force Powhatan to make restitution.

Pocahunta seiz'd.

Powhatan complies.

Sir Tho. Dale goes to Powhatan.

It was some time (notwithstanding all the former pretences) before the business cou'd be accomplish'd. The Savages pretended not to know what Sir *Tho. Dale* came about, and wou'd have referr'd him for dispatch to *Opechancanough* instead of *Powhatan*, who was, they said, three days Journey off. In short, they made so many delays, that the *English* were forced to quicken them by some Hostilities, and threatnings of more; so that at last *Powhatan* sent his Men, but he sent them in such numbers, that it look'd as if he design'd something else besides the redemption of his Daughter. *Pocahunta*, for her part, wou'd hardly vouchsafe to talk to any of them, at least she did it only to a few of the chief; and them she told, That since her Father lov'd her no better, as appear'd by his preferring a parcel of old rusty Tools before her, she wou'd e'en dwell with the *English* still, who shew'd her all manner of kindness.

Pocahunta's reflection upon her Father.

Powhatan, presently after this, sent a Messenger to assure Sir *Tho. Dale*, that all the Guns, Swords and Tools, together with some Corn, shou'd be sent to *James-Town* in 15 days time, and the Prisoners also shou'd come along with them. He promis'd also, that all Deserters from the Colony shou'd be sent back; and any of his Subjects that did mischief, shou'd be resign'd to them to be punish'd as they thought fit. Lastly, he nam'd several of his Neighbour Kings, whom he desired should be included in the Peace; and as for his Daughter, he freely consented she should live among the *English*, desiring Sir *Tho. Dale* to treat her as his own Child.

Powhatan's Proposals.

With these conditions they return'd to *James-Town*, and *Powhatan* was as good as his word, and perform'd them all by the time limited. *Pocahunta* was very well pleas'd with her life amongst the *English*, and by the care of Sir *Tho. Dale* was throughly Instructed in the Christian Religion, which after some time she made an open and solemn profession of, and was thought fit to be enter'd into the Visible Church by Baptism, which accordingly was administer'd to her. After this (with her Father's and Friend's approbation) she was married to an *English* Gentleman of the Plantation, and her Uncle gave her in the Church.

Pocahunta baptiz'd and married.

But to go on with Captain *Argoll*'s happy Managements in this Country: The Nation of the *Chickahominies* having signified their desire of a Friendship with the *English*, Captain *Argoll* went to them to conclude it. They had no King amongst them, but were govern'd by eight great Men: They were a very stout and warlike People, and wou'd never upon any terms acknowledge the Sovereignty of *Powhatan*. Yet now they were very willing to own King *James* of *England* for their King, and said they wou'd be call'd the *Chikahominy* Englishmen. The Captain promis'd them assistance against their Enemies, and made each of their Governours a Present of Copper, which pleas'd them highly. The Conditions were, That every Harvest they should bring Corn to *James-Town*, two Bushels and a half for every Man that carried a Bow: in requital of which, they should receive every one a portion of Copper, and each of their Governours a Suit of red Cloth; and with these the Savages were very well satisfied. Their Country is a delicate spot, and yields them Corn enough to pay their Tribute, without pinching or straitning themselves. Captain *Argoll*'s Industry and Zeal for the good of the Plantation, did not rest in these performances neither, but put him on upon making some useful Discoveries Northward towards *Sagadahoc*, and beyond; to *Port-Royal* and *Santa-Crux*. In which latter Adventures, if he had brought no other advantage to the Colony than the displanting and driving out the *French*, (who had begun to fortify within our Limits) taking their Ships, and bringing them away to *James-Town*, this had been sufficient to have Intitled him to a large share of praise; but this benefit did not come alone, but together with it such quantities of Victuals, Apparel, and other Necessaries, as prov'd a very substantial help to the Colony in the circumstances it was in. And now we must go on with the Series of those Publick Affairs.

The Chickahominies submit to King James.

Capt. Argoll routs away the French.

Sir *Tho. Gates*, the Governour, had return'd to *England* before all these last Events happen'd, and gave the Company such an account of the Affairs in *Virginia*, as encourag'd them to go on with their honourable Designs of cultivating that Country. *A. D. 1614.*

Sir *Tho. Dale* presided upon his going away, and under his good Government matters were brought to that good pass that we have heard; and then he also came away for *England*, leaving Captain *Yardly* Deputy-Governour in his room. Along with him came *Pocahunta* the Daughter of *Powhatan*, (by her Christian Name *Rebecca*) together with her Husband, into *England*. *Tomocomo* also, one of *Powhatan*'s Counsellors,

Sir Tho. Dale returns. *A. D. 1616.*

Powhatan's Daughter comes into England.

Tenet came

came over at the same time. Those that saw these Persons at *London*, give this Character of *Pocahuntas*, That she behav'd her self in all respects like the Daughter of a King, and was treated as such, not only by the *Virginia* Company, but all the Nobility that convers'd with her. She intended to have return'd to her Native Country again with the next Ships, but being come as far as *Gravesend*, in order to it, 'twas her fate to die there, giving very good proofs of her sincerity in embracing the Christian Religion, and a sound progress therein.

As for *Tomocomo*, he stubbornly persisted in his Paganism, notwithstanding all endeavours to bring him off; he preferr'd the God his *Virginians* worshipp'd, far before him the *English* ador'd, and told several stories of the manner of his Deity's appearance amongst them. This Savage was sent over by his Master *Powhatan*, chiefly to see whether *England* was so fine a Country, so well stock'd with Men, and so fruitful of Corn, as was reported in *Virginia*; for they were inclin'd to believe, that the poverty and barrenness of their own Country had brought the *English* over thither. As soon as he came first ashore at *Plimouth*, he got a Stick and made a notch in it for every Man he met, thinking that way to keep an exact account: but his method of computation fail'd him, and he found a whole Tree might quickly be notch'd out in that manner, yea, tho' he shou'd carry home a Cart load of that Arithmetick to his Master, he shou'd not make him much the wiser; so he laid it down, and contented himself only to see and wonder, for reckon he cou'd not.

Good way of Casting Accounts.

Captain *Yardly* applied himself in his Government to the advancement of Tobacco in the Plantation, but was oblig'd to force the *Chickahominies* to pay the Tribute of Corn they had agreed for with Captain *Argall*; yet many other Nations of the Savages supplied them with Provisions, and all liv'd peaceably with the Colony during his stay. He returning for *England*, Capt. *Argall* was sent to supply his place. The Lord *De la Ware* also went away quickly after, intending to fill up the same place that he had formerly done, but he had the misfortune to die at Sea, and never reach'd *Virginia*. *Powhatan* died not long after this, and was succeeded by *Iopatan* his second Brother, who, together with *Opechancanough*, confirm'd the League with the Colony.

Capt. *Yardly* Governour. A. D. 1617.

Capt. *Argall* A. D. 1617.

Lord *De la Ware's* death. *Powhatan* dies. A. D. 1619.

Captain *Argall* being call'd over into *England*, Captain *Yardly* (then Sir *George Yardly*) return'd to take the Government upon him, which was highly to the satisfaction of all the Plantation. Many Supplies and Recruits came over at several times, to encourage and carry on the business here. The Tobacco-planting went on briskly, and one industrious Man cou'd very well manage four Acres of Land with a thousand Tobacco-plants upon it, tho' many out of greediness won'd have more, and suffering too many leaves to grow upon one Stalk, had, together with their much greater quantities, much worse Tobacco. The Tobacco of the growth of this Country was so acceptable in *England*, that the best of it was sold by the Tobacconists for the product of another Country, and the very worst and coarsest trash of all went under the Name of *Virginian*. This was a double Robbery; and if *England* suffer'd in the Commodity, buying that for other Tobacco which indeed was *Virginia*, *Virginia* suffer'd in its Reputation, and was little oblig'd to those Knaves, that represented it as a Country producing Tobacco fit only for Porters and Carr-men to take. But there are ill Practises and Deceits in all Professions, and the Cheat runs along from the Matters of Souls, to Bodies and Estates, and even down as low as Pipes and Tobacco.

Tobacco Planted.

Cheat of the Tobacconists.

CHAP. XXV.

An Account of the State of the Virginian *Affairs, from the latter part of* A. D. 1619. *till* A. D. 1624.

ONE would think by the large Accounts of Ships, Men and Goods now sent over into *Virginia*, that all things there shou'd be in a very prosperous State, and the Plantation out of all Danger of being ever Insulted by its Enemies, for before the Year 1619. was expir'd, there were no less than eight Ships dispatched by the Company, besides four more by private Adventurers, carrying at least 1260 Persons, who found in *Virginia* near 1000 remaining of them that had gone before. And there were great quantities of the most useful Commodities of all sorts transported in these Ships; Iron, Cordage, Pot and Soap-ashes, Timber, Salt, Silk, Vines, all sorts of Tools, Armour, Powder, &c. The Colony now began to put on the face of an orderly Government, and to appear like something able to Defend and Maintain it self. It was distinguish'd into Boroughs, the Lands were shar'd and laid out, the Publick ones, and those belonging to private Societies. There was a Colledge erected, and Publick Houses for the Entertainment of new *Virginian* Guests. The Laws were reduc'd into form according to the *English* Model, and Justice sat Enthron'd with an awful Majesty here, in some proportion to what it did at home. The same Year also there were eleven or twelve private Patents granted for particular Plantations, the Undertakers in all which were to bring over sufficient numbers of People for the management of their respective Lands. Several well-disposed Persons also gave rich Gifts, towards the promoting so good a Design as the cultivating of this Country, especially towards the building of Churches, and the Endowment of them; and Publick Schools for the Education of the Children of the Infidels in the Christian Religion, and good Learning. *A. D.* 1621. these Encouragements still went on, for what by the Earl of *Southampton*, the Company, and by private Adventurers, there went over 21 Ships, in which were 1300 Persons; and the private Patents granted this Year were twenty six, upon the Fund of each of which a considerable number of People were to be Transported. This Year was also a Year of great hopes, as to the Improvement of the Commodities brought thither: Their Iron-workers assur'd them, no Country in the World was fitter for that business than *Virginia*, both for Wood, Water, Wine and Stone. The *Frenchmen* also that belong'd to the Plantation were as positive, that none was properer for Vines, Olives, Rice and Silk; and 'tis certain there was good Wine made, which was the product of the Country. The Salt-works went on together with the rest, and there was a prospect that enough would be made to furnish them for all the great and profitable Fishings upon that Coast. The Cotton-plants that came out of other Parts of the *West-Indies* prosper'd exceeding well; yea, the *East-Indian* Vegetables thriv'd here too, the famous Plant *Nill*, from whence the Indigo is made, wanted only Skilful hands to manage it. In short, it was not only these, but Sugar, Hemp, Flax, Woad, Mulberries, Oranges and Lemons, Corn, and various other useful Vegetables, that the Plantation set themselves to the Improvement of, and easily saw that their Labour was not in vain. But the two principal Commodities that they resolv'd particularly to attend the encrease and improvement of, were Silk and Wine, which also they were especially directed to by an Order from his Majesty to the Earl of *Southampton*, Treasurer, and to the Council and Company of *Virginia*, and from them to the Governour and Colony residing in that Country.

Large Supplies sent to *Virginia*, A. D. 1619. & 1620.

The Colony settled like a State.

Private Patents.

New Supplies in A. D. 1621.

Orders for improving Silk and Wine.

The Governour in this Year 1621. was Sir *Francis Wyatt*, who, by his Letters to *England*, certify'd the Company of the happy and flourishing State of the Colony: All things were in a profound Tranquility, the Savages were quiet in every Quarter of the Country about them, and there was no noise or clamour of War to be heard; every Man sat secure under the shadow of his own Tree, and eat the Fruits of his Land without disturbance. There seem'd to be an entire Confidence, a friendly Trust (without any tincture of jealousie and suspicion) repos'd in one another mutually, by our People

Sir Fr. Wyat Governour A. D. 1621.

People and the Natives. Their Houſes ſtood open to each other of both ſides, and the *Engliſh* (who of the two were capable of giving the better Entertainment) very commonly fed the Savages at their Tables, and lodg'd them in their Bed-chambers. The Planters were ſcattered up and down the Country in ſeveral little Companies, and follow'd their rural Labours with alacrity, being under the ſure guard of a Peace. The great Prince of all the Country at this time was *Opechancanough*, the Brother of *Powhatan*, and now his Succeſſor, and the ſame Perſon too whom the brave Captain *Smith* drag'd along by his Forelock in ſight of all his Army, none of whom durſt ſtir to relieve him. All manner of injuries, and rough dealings of both ſides, ſeem'd to be perfectly forgotten; and this Prince was enter'd into the ſtricteſt League with the Plantation, not only for reciprocal Defence, but as one concern'd with them in the profits of Mines, or any other Diſcoveries made in his Country. And whereas his Majeſty (*Opechancanough*) us'd to dwell in a ſort of a Manſion, that might without injury be compar'd rather to a Hogſty than a Houſe, to oblige him the more, they built him a Houſe after the *Engliſh* faſhion, and put ſome Furniture in the inſide, ſo that he was now ſeated after another manner than ever any of his Predeceſſors had been. Of this Houſe he was ſo exceſſively proud, that he did nothing but walk in and out, ſhewing it to all the ſtrangers that came, who admir'd the ſtrange pomp he liv'd in as much as he did himſelf. But that which moſt particularly pleas'd his Savage fancy, was the Lock and the Key of the Door; he was ſurpriz'd to ſee that the turning of a little piece of Iron one way ſhou'd make the Door open, and the contrary motion ſhou'd ſhut it as faſt. This Engine was ſo wonderful to him, that he was never weary of making Experiments upon it, and 'twas a thing that he ſpent a good part of the day in to lock and unlock his Doors. He was no ſooner up in the Morning, but to work he went with his Keys; and if neither the Locks nor they were broke and ſpoil'd, it was none of his fault. The place of a Turn-key in ſome Jail wou'd have fitted him to the life, and if the Colony had any ſuch to beſtow, they wou'd have done well to have preferr'd him to it.

This wiſe King admiring Gun-powder as much as he did Locks and Keys, laid out a good piece of ground for a Gun-powder Plantation; and having Manur'd it in ſuch a manner as he thought moſt agreeable to the nature of that Seed, he threw it liberally into the well-prepar'd Soil, not doubting but he ſhould reap the Fruit of his Labours in a rich and plentiful Crop. But the *Virginian* Soil not being apt for Gun-powder, he cou'd never bring it to any thing, nor have the pleaſure of ſeeing it ſhoot up into the Blade, tho' he very much deſired it.

But we muſt turn our Eyes now to a more melancholy Scene, and ſee the Plantation (after theſe happy days) involv'd in the greateſt miſeries and confuſions; all this Peace and Quietneſs was but the Savages preparation for Murder and Bloodſhed. They wound themſelves thus into the greateſt familiarities and freedoms with the *Engliſh*, to accompliſh their ruin with the more ſecurity, and to be the leſs ſuſpected while they were contriving of it. Nay, ſo perfect was their diſſimulation, that but two days before the Maſſacre, they guided a Company of the *Engliſh* ſafe through the Woods, and return'd thoſe that had been amongſt them upon buſineſs in a very friendly manner, and all this to encreaſe their confidence in them, and take them off from their guard; that ſo, when the ſurprize came, it might be the more effectual, and the ſtroke given do a compleat and full execution. They had aſſembled themſelves in great numbers together, and being divided into ſeveral Bodies, reſolv'd to fall upon all the Plantations at one and the ſame time.

Friday Morning, *March* 22. *A.D.* 1621. was the fatal time, and the Cut-throats, in purſuance of their deſign, came about the *Engliſh* Houſes, having no manner of Weapons with them, but inſtead of them bringing Furrs and Proviſions to truck for Glaſs-Beads, as they uſe to do at other times. And the *Engliſh* entertain'd them with their accuſtom'd freedom, and in many places ſet them down at their Tables to Breakfaſt with them, little imagining what a ſort of Breakfaſt the others intended to give them. When they ſaw their opportunity they ran to all the Weapons they ſaw lying about the Houſes, all the Tools and Inſtruments by which miſchief might be done, and fell a killing as faſt as they could drive: And what ſome did in the Houſes, others did abroad in the Fields, and other places, amongſt the Workmen and Labourers that were at their ſeveral Employments. They ſpar'd neither Age nor Sex: they treated their greateſt Benefactors with the ſame cruelty and rigour that they did others whom they might have a pique againſt; nay, if there were any difference, they us'd them the moſt barbarouſly, and ſpurn'd their mangled Carkaſſes with the greateſt malice and contempt. The number that fell by their hands was near 400, taking Women and Children into the account; and amongſt the Men were ſeveral Perſons of conſiderable Figure in the Colony, and of the Council too. The Slaughter had certainly been Univerſal, and the *Engliſh* entirely Extirpated this time, had not the merciful Providence of Heaven open'd the Mouth of a Savage, to tell of the Plot before 'twas put in execution. By this means, timely notice was given to *James-Town*, and they ſtood upon their guard; and ſo they did in ſeveral other places that were within the reach of this Intelligence, and where 'twas poſſible to give warning of the danger. And wherever the Savages found them in that poſture, they march'd off as faſt as they cou'd, never venturing to ſtand the trial, tho' in ſome of the Plantations there were but a few Men together, and but ſlender arm'd and fortify'd neither.

The next Year the *Engliſh* reveng'd this Outrage in *A.D.* 1623. ſome meaſure, marching into the Country, and burning the Villages and Corn-fields of the Savages: They turn'd the Town of *Pamunke* alſo (which was *Opechancanough*'s chief Seat) topſy-turvy, and left him a lively Image in his Country, of that Ruin and Deſolation he had ſpread through the Plantation. What mov'd the perfidious Savage to treat the *Engliſh* thus is uncertain, neither cou'd they ever know any other cauſe for it, than the killing of a Savage who had baſely murder'd an *Engliſh* Gentleman in the Woods: But he was a politick ſly Raſcal, fit to manage an Intrigue, and *Opechancanough* was ſaid to be highly Incens'd for the loſs of ſo uſeful a Tool, and to Vow this Revenge upon that ſcore. He prov'd ever afterwards a moſt inveterate Enemy to the *Engliſh*, and practis'd with a King upon the Eaſtern ſhore, to furniſh him with ſome quantities of a Vegetable poyſon, to deſtroy all them that ſurvived the Maſſacre; but that honeſt Savage refus'd it, and came and diſcover'd the whole Matter to the *Engliſh*, offering to juſtify the truth of it, with five or ſix of his great Men, at any time. *Opechancanough* had the fate of a miſerable death, and 'tis believ'd ſome of the *Engliſh* gave him that for his Reward.

The Colony, after this dreadful ſhock, came into a ſetled State again, and his Majeſty of *England* not a little concern'd at it, order'd them a ſtock of Arms and Ammunition out of the *Tower*, that they might be able to defend themſelves from the like Inſults for the future; and alſo appointed a Commiſſion to examine the Affairs of *Virginia*, and find out the lets that had hitherto hindred her from anſwering the Coſt that had been beſtow'd upon her.

CHAP. XXVI.

The History of Virginia, *drawn from the Writings of Captain* John Smith.

Boundaries. WHat the Boundaries of this Country are, will be more easily seen by surveying a Map, than describ'd by our writing down the Names of the Countries: That part of it which the first Plantations took up, was from 37 degrees to 39 degrees North Lat.

Entrance. The entrance to it by Sea is at the mouth of a very fine Great Bay of *Chesapeack*. Bay call'd *Chesapeack*-Bay, which is eighteen or twenty Miles wide. The Cape on the South-side was call'd *Cape-Henry*, in honour of the Prince; and that on the North-side *Cape-Charles*, in honour of the Duke of *York*. The adjoyning Country is as sweet and pleasant as most that the World can show; and there are all the Beauties that Mountains, Valleys, Plains, Brooks, and large Navigable Rivers can add to a Country. These Navigable Rivers are five in number; they lie on the West-side of the Bay, and have their Falls within 15 or 20 Miles of one another.

Navigable Rivers *Powhatan* River. The first of these, and which is next to the Mouth of the Bay, is called *Powhatan*-River, from a very considerable Country that lies upon it: It has its Course from the W. & by N. its Rise from certain Rocks in the Country of *Monacan*, its Mouth near three Miles broad, and is Navigable 150 Miles, but not to be pass'd any farther by reason of Falls, Rocks and Shoals. There are abundance of other Rivers of lesser note, that lose themselves in this great one; and upon all, or most of them, dwell some little Nations (or large Families of the *Virginians* under their respective Werowances or Petty Kings. About 14 Miles Northward from the *Powhatan* is the River *Pamaunke*, which is Navigable sixty Miles, and with small Barges thirty Miles farther. The *Pamaunke.* *Toppahanock.* third is the River *Toppahanock*, Navigable 140 Miles. The fourth *Potawomeck*, which is six or seven Miles broad, and navigable as many Miles as the former. *Pawtuxunt.* The fifth *Pawtuxunt*, inferiour in magnitude to the rest, but the Channel 16 or 18 fathom deep in many places. To which may be added another large and navigable River, 30 Leagues to the Northward, which the *English* *Bolus.* call'd *Bolus* upon the account of the Soil resembling *Bole-Armenick* thereabouts. All these (the last only excepted) have varieties of People inhabiting about them, many other lesser Rivers also falling into them; the Names of either of which wou'd be of little consequence for the Reader to know, unless so far as the Colony was concern'd with them, and in that case, as there is occasion, they may be mention'd. The temper of the Country is such, as very well agrees with the Constitutions of *English* Bodies, being once a little us'd and season'd to it. The Summer is as hot as in *Spain*, and the *Its Seasons.* Winter at least as cold as in *France* or *England*. The heats of the former Season are very comfortably mitigated by cool Breezes, and the extreme cold of the other continues not long. There are uncertain vicissitudes of Droughts and rainy wet Weather; and the Thunder and Lightning is more terrible here than in *Thunder.* any parts of *Europe*, at least 'tis so for the most part. *Winds.* The Winds are no more reducible to certain Rules here than in other parts, only frequent Observations have confirm'd and recommended these. That the S. W. Wind blows the strongest gusts, and brings Thunder and Heat. The N. W. is very cold, and is attended with fair Weather. The N. exceedingly sharp; and the E. and S. E. foggy and rainy. The main of the Summer *Length of Summer and Winter.* is in *June*, *July* and *August*; and the Winter half *December*, *January*, *February*, and half *March*.

The Soil. The Soil (take it all together) is such as may well enough bear a part in composing the Character of a happy Country. *Sorts of Earths.* In some places you meet with a black Mould, in others a fat slimy Clay, in others a Gravel; but 'tis not uncommon to light upon Marble, Fullers-earth, Bole, or at least a thing so very like it, that the *English* gave it the Name of *Bole-Armenick*, and believed it might be as good as the *Lemnian* (tho' here 'twas to be called *Virginian*) Earth. What Mines there are is uncertain, only there were some indications of Copper and Antimony: The dissolving Snows wash off also from the Mountains (about *Chesepiack* Bay) a certain glittering Matter which they cou'd not well tell what to make of, but in a Country that had had a reputation for Gold, would perhaps have been taken for something of that nature. In all the Country there is little or no Grass but what grows in low marshy Grounds, for 'tis all over-run with Trees, that by their continual droppings, and the strength of the Soil together, turn all into high rank Weeds; which, notwithstanding, is a distemper that might be cured by good Husbandry. *No Grass.*

Trees. The principal Wood of this Country is Oak and Wall-nut, tho' there is plenty also of most other sorts of Trees. Of the former sort you shall meet with abundance, so tall and strait, that they will bear two and a half foot square of good Timber for twenty Yards together. There are two or three kinds of them; and one of those kinds, whose Bark is much whiter than the rest, yields an Acron which is sweet, and being boil'd half a day in several Waters, affords a very sweet Oil, which the Natives keep by them to anoint their Heads and Limbs. The Ash and Elm are very good for making Soap-ashes, but the large Trees always make the best. The Cypress-trees (for so our *English* call'd them, because the Wood, the Fruit and the Leaf, did most resemble it) are many of them three fathom in compass about the Root, very strait and tall, and running up fifty, sixty or eighty foot without a branch shooting out of either side. Neither are Firr, Cedar and Sassafras-trees, strangers to this Country, but on the other hand very plentiful, as the many Ships lading of the two latter, which the *English* have carried from hence, will sufficiently prove. And besides the Gums which these Trees yield plentifully, there is another like a white Poplar, from whence comes a clear odoriferous Gum resembling Turpentine, and for its excellency call'd by some a Balsam.

Fruits. In many parts of the Country there are Chesnuts, equal to the best that any *European* Country produces. The Plums are of three sorts; the red and white are like our Hedge-plums, but the others, which they call *Putchamins*, grow on a Tree as high as the *Palmeto*: the Fruit is like a Medlar, 'tis first green, then yellow, and when ripe 'tis red; if it be not fully ripe, it will draw a Man's Mouth awry, and put him to pain in the eating of it, but when 'tis in its perfect state, 'tis as delicious as an Apricock. The Cherries are shap'd like Damzens, however, for the sake of the Cherry, colour and taste, the *English* gave them that name. The Vine is a sort of a wild Plant here, but with care and dressing might be made to turn to good account: In many parts you see them climbing up to the tops of the highest Trees, yet these bear but few Grapes. But by the Rivers-sides, and about the Dwellings of the Savages, where they are not robb'd of the Sun's heat, they are laden with Fruit, tho' it be not the effect of any Art or Care in pruning and manuring, but purely the bounty of Nature. These they call Hedge-grapes, but there is another sort near as big as a Cherry, which they call *Messamines*, which yield a thick heavy Juice, and not of so pleasing a taste when made into Wine. The *Chechinquamins* are a Fruit *Chechinquamins.* in much esteem amongst the Natives, it is husked like a Chesnut, but resembles an Acron other ways; it is but small, as also is the Tree it grows upon. The *Rawcomins* *Rawcomins.* are like our Gooseberries in most respects, and they eat them either raw or boil'd. The *Putchamins* do as much *Putchamins.* resemble Medlars, and these, together with Wall-nuts, Chesnuts, Acrons, and *Chechinquamins*, the Natives dry and keep; and at any time when they please to have that Liquor, they beat them very small, and mixing Water with them, after they have let it settle, and pour'd off the clear Liquor, they have a Drink which they value not a little. Of the Chesnuts also and *Chechinquamins*, boil'd about three or four hours, they make both Bread and Broth too; either of which is an Entertainment for their greatest Men. In the watery Valleys grows a Berry which they call *Ocoughtanamins*, which are very like Capers. These they dry in Summer, and when they have a mind to eat them they boil them near half a Day, which it seems they require, being otherwise very unwholsome. The *Mattoumes* are a Fruit that grow

grow as our Beans do in Meadows; the Seed of which is not much unlike Rye, tho' smaller. This they use for making a dainty sort of Bread, upon which they spread Deers Suet as we do Butter. Strawberries, Raspberries, Currans, Hurtleberries, are as common here as in *England*.

Roots. *Tockawhoghe.* Their chief Root for Food is that which they call *Tockawhoge*, which grows like a Flag in low muddy places, the Root it self being of the bigness, and having the taste of a Potato. They are forc'd to give them a substantial washing over the Coals, or at least to slice and dry them well in the Sun, and to eat them with Sorrel and Meal, or something else, to qualify the extream heat and acrimony of them, or else they wou'd be very prejudicial, for eaten raw they are as bad as poyson.

Wighsacan. Their other main Root, which they call *Wighsacan*, serves for Physick, as the former did for Food; they bruise it, and apply it to the part affected.

Pocone. *Pocone* is a Root, which being dried and pulveriz'd becomes red; this they use for painting their Bodies, as well as curing them of pains and swellings.

Roots for colouring. Of the like use is the *Musqualpene*, which is as red as Blood, and with which they paint their Mats, Targets, and the like. Abundance of the *European* Plants are found here, as Saxifrage, Pellitory of *Spain*, Angelica, with several others. The increase of their Corn is very considerable, every Stalk commonly bears two Ears, many three, and some four; and every Ear has ordinarily from 200 to 500 grains. The Stalk, while it is green, has a sweet juice in it, which they suck very greedily when they gather their Corn; for 'tis to be noted, that as we gather our Pease green, so do the *Virginians* their Corn when it is green, and then they roast (that is ripen) it afterwards by a good Fire, chusing rather to do it that way themselves, than to let the Sun, by a kindly heat, do it for them.

Planted Fruits. Pease and Beans they have also amongst them, but these are in the number of their dainties, and they plant them amongst their Corn. The only planted Fruits they have are Pumpions, Macokes, which are like Musk-melons, but less, and not so well tasted, ripening in the beginning of *July*, and continuing till *September*: and Maracokes, a Fruit like a Lemon, which begin to ripen in *September*, and continue till the end of *October*; both these increase infinitely.

Animals. As for the Animals, the principal are their Deer, which differ not at all from ours. The Bears are very small in comparison with them in *Muscovia* and *Tartary*. The Beavers are as big as an ordinary Dog, but their legs exceeding short, and the two fore-feet as much like a Dogs, as the hinder are a Swans; the tail is quite void of hair, and 'tis one of the choicest bits the Savages desire to eat. The Otters are very numerous, and much such as ours are, and the Savages eat them as heartily as they do Fish. The Foxes are very small, and like our Silver-hair'd Conies, but wholly without that rank smell that they have in these Parts. Their Dogs ought rather to be call'd Wolves, since they never bark but howl; yet are they really distinct from the Wolves, which are in this Country no bigger than our *English* Foxes. Martins, Polecats, Weazels, and other Animals of that Tribe, they have, but they are seldom seen; and 'tis observable of them, that they are not near so ravenous as they are with us, and the Hen-roosts lie very quiet as for any thing they do to disturb them.

Other strange Beasts. The *Aroughcun* is a Beast much like a Badger, but lives much up in Trees as Squirrels do. Squirrels here are almost as big as our smaller sort of Rabbits. The *Assapanick* the *English* call a Flying-Squirrel, because by spreading their legs, and extending their bodies to the full stretch, they will as it were fly along for 30 or 40 Yards together. The *Opassum* has exactly the Head of a Swine, and a Tail as much resembling that of a Rat; the Female has a Bag under the Belly, wherein she lodges, carries and suckles her young. The *Musseseus* is a small Creature like our Water-Rats, but smell extremely strong of Musk, which ours are far enough from doing. The *Virginian* Hares are none of them bigger than our Conies, and very few of them to be found.

Fowl. For Fowl, *Virginia* affords plenty of the Nobler and more Princely sort, as well of the Vulgar. There are Eagles, and all sorts of Hawks, but (which is odd) they prey mostly upon Fish. Partridges are little bigger than our Quails, but the wild Turkeys are every way as large as our tame ones. Black-birds, Thrushes, with a great many sorts of small Birds of various colours, are in great plenty too. In the Winter there come vast numbers of Swans, Cranes, Herons, Geese, Ducks, Widgeons, Dotterels, Ox-eyes, Pigeons and Parrots, with many other kinds which the *English* were strangers to.

Fish. For Fish, you have there Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seals, Stingrays, (whose tails are so dangerous, as Captain *Smith* found to his cost) Salmon, Trouts, Soals, Plaise, Herrings, Cony-fish, Rock-fish, Eeles, Lampreys, Cat-fish, Shads, Perch, Crabs, Shrimps, Craw-fish, Oysters, Cockles, Muscles. They tell us also of a very strange Fish, which for the resemblance may be call'd the Dragon-fish, of which we have no other description than only this, that 'tis a very odd spectacle.

Inhabitants. But let us now come to the Inhabitants: This large and happy Country is not stock'd with People at all in proportion to the goodness and greatness of it. The greatest numbers are of Women and Children; the Men but few, especially the Warriours, for within sixty Miles of *James-Town* there were about 7000 People, and of Men fit for War no more than 2000. And in one respect 'tis well enough that there are no more People, for not taking care to make any considerable profit of their Lands, (tho' the fruitfulness of the Soil does strongly solicit their diligence in that case) did they swarm so here as they do in some Countries they must be half starved, at least they must be forc'd to take another course to maintain themselves.

Virginia not full of People.

Their different sizes. But tho' the People lie so thin, yet they differ as much both in language and stature, as can well be suppos'd in so little a compass of ground; for some are very short and little, as the *Wighcocomocoes*, others again are extremely large and tall, and but one remove from Giants, as the *Sesquesahancocks*, to whom our *Englishmen* appear'd but as little puny Fellows, and as so many mouthfuls for them.

The People. They are generally tall and strait, and well-proportion'd, of comely features enough, and of a brown complexion; tho' 'tis certain that they are born white. They are black-hair'd, and Nature has scarce given the Men any Beards at all; those that have any thing considerable are very few. A Barber therefore wou'd hardly live amongst the People of *Virginia* by shaving faces, since he may go half a score Mile before he meets with a Beard; yet by frequent practising with the Soil, a Crop of that kind might be made to spring up, and Beards come to thrive in *Virginia* as well as Tobacco.

Their Custom in managing their hair. These Savages have also that ungainly Custom of shaving the hair off their Heads close of one side, and letting it grow long of the other; but the Women are their Barbers, and cut it into varieties of shapes for them according to their fancies. As for themselves, they clip and snip their own as best pleases them; however, they always observe this Rule, to leave some part of it long as the Men do.

Their Apparel. The Apparel of both Sexes is no other than the Plush and Velvet that comes off from the backs of wild Beasts. These Skins are dress'd in Winter-time with all the rough hair upon them, and in Summer without it. The better sort wear Mantles of Deers-skins, not much different in fashion from the *Irish* ones, some embroider'd with white Beads, others with Copper, others painted after their manner. There are some also that have Mantles made of feathers, so well wrought and woven with threads, that nothing but the feathers cou'd be discern'd. The Ornaments belonging to them are Beads, and pieces of Copper in their Ears, Bracelets about their Arms, and Chains of the like nature about their Legs.

Womens finery. The Women are not contented with these, but have the forms of Birds, Beasts and Serpents, wrought upon their Skins; and to these they sometimes add various paintings. But the Men have some of them the most extravagant fancies imaginable in the choice of their Ear-ornaments.

Ear-Jewels of the Men. How wou'd it make any Man laugh to see a *Virginian* with a dead Rat hanging by the tail in his Ear? To see another with a living Snake thrust through the hole made in that part, and twisting it self about his Neck, or flapping him sometimes in the Face? Neither wou'd it be less pleasant to behold them with the ridiculous attire of their Heads: The Wing of a Bird, with the Tail of a Rattle-Snake fastned to it; the Skin of a Hawk (or some strange Fowl) stuffed out, and the Wings extended to their full length; The Hand of some dead Man (some Enemy slain in the Wars) dried and set bolt upright. What gay folks these are now? And how much neater any of these Dresses are than our Hats and long Perriwigs?

Painting their Skins. Their faces and shoulders are often painted red with the pouder of the Root *Pocone* mix'd with Oil; this they do to preserve their Skins from the parching heat in Summer, and the pinching cold in Winter. The figures they paint upon their Bodies are various; but this is a general Rule, that he is the greatest Gallant that has the ugliest forms, and looks most like a Devil. That the Women, instead of Topknots, have appear'd in *Virginia* with Stags-horns upon their Heads, Captain *Smith* was an Eye-witness in one of his Journeys to *Weramocomoco*; but that being only a Lusory Scene, and the design of those young Women being manifestly to surprize him, one can't from thence establish the certainty of the Custom of Womens wearing horns in that Country.

They

They were then in Masquerade, and being naturally as wild as Bucks, thought fit to appear in Disguise like Stags. Yet this is to be said of the *Virginian* Women, that they are modest and can blush; and there is this particular effect of their modesty very visible besides, that they always take a nice care to hide the obscene Parts.

Habit of Sasquesahanocks.

The *Sasquesahanocks*, who differ very much from all the rest of the *Virginians* in their bulk and stature, are also much more formidably dress'd; they look like so many *Hercules*'s arm'd with mighty Clubs, and cover'd with the Skins of Bears and great Wolves, the compleat Heads of which were on to the Hides, and shew'd their horrible Teeth, seeming yet to threaten destruction. The Paws also were on as well as the Teeth, and made the Monsters that wore them appear as fierce as those to which they belong'd. Their way of speaking was such as might naturally be expected from such huge Bodies. The voice in the wide cavities of their Throats, sounded like a noise coming out of some hollow Cave or Vault; and were those Men to talk in solitary places through Speaking-trumpets, a credulous Mob might easily be impos'd upon, and made believe they heard the voice of something more than Humane. 'Tis a wonder this Generation of Men were not all Priests, since Nature has form'd them so well for Imposture, and since those Men, in all these Countries, cheat the People with far less advantages for doing it. Our *English* were visited by some of this Nation, and therefore are the more bold in giving us this particular account of them. They had much ado to defend themselves from being ador'd and worshipp'd by them, so many excellencies did the *Sasquesahanocks* find in their small proportions, which they could not see in their own Gigantick ones.

Strange voices.

As for their Women, they don't tell us they saw any of them, but 'tis more than probable they are of the same size with their Husbands, and so are their Matches in a double respect. Now the worst part of these People is that which is visible to the Eye; their outsides are rough and coarse, but their tempers are more honest and innocent than the rest of their Neighbours, for the *Virginians* are generally sly, crafty, treacherous, seldom constant and true to their Word, but where fear or compulsion makes them so. They don't want sence and quick apprehension, but they want honesty and sincerity, which is the worse want of the two, and renders them that lie under it the worst Neighbours to them that are about them. If they don't steal and thieve from one another, 'tis not because their fingers don't itch at it, but because they are afraid their Conjurers shou'd discover them: For they have a sort of Men amongst them that pretend to be Revealers of Secrets, and whether they are so or no, the common People believe them to be so, and consequently are honest, because they are afraid to play the Rogue.

Sasquesahanocks good Condition'd.

Character of the Virginians in general.

The *Virginian* Women we said before were modest; but some of our Authors say, That *they are careful not to be suspected of Dishonesty without the Leave of their Husbands.* From whence a Man might infer, that when their Husbands gave their consent they cou'd let that care drop, and be suspected of Dishonesty; or (which amounts to the same) do something to give cause to that suspicion. For when the Man gives leave, if the Woman should go no farther than bare suspicion, 'twou'd be a very strange thing. As for the Habitations of these People, they build their Houses for the most part by the Rivers, or at least not far from some fresh Spring. These Houses are built like our Arbours, of small young sprigs bow'd down and tied together, and cover'd very close with Mats, or the Barks of Trees, which, as they order the Matter, defend them so well, that in spite of Rain, Wind or Snow, they are as warm as Stoves. At the top, right against the Fire-place, there's a hole to let the smoke out, but yet so much stays in (for all the hole) that 'twill make a Man that is not us'd to it cry to stay there.

Their Houses.

Their Beds and way of Sleeping.

Their Beds are little Hurdles made of Reeds, and cover'd with Mats, and supported about the Floor by strong Hurdles of Wood. Here they lie Heads and Tails by one another, round about the Fire, some cover'd with Mats, others with Skins, and others stark naked. And 'tis no little number that thus huddles together while they take their natural rest, for if in one House you see eight or ten, in the next perhaps you shall find twenty or thirty in this posture. Adjoyning to their House are their Gardens, or Fields, for the Service of their Families, nay, for the most part they stand in the middle of them; and not far off is some little Wood or other that supplies them with firing.

Their Employments.

The Men bestow their time in Hunting, Fishing, and other such Exercises, while the Women are employ'd in making Mats, Baskets, Pots, providing Victuals, planting and gathering the Corn, and lugging it home upon their shoulders: For the *Virginians*, we must know, scorn all those kinds of Labours, and look upon them as too sordid and effeminate for their Sex, and therefore throw them upon their Women. But yet the Men don't think it beneath them to make their own Cloaths, and certainly the work of a Taylor is much more Womanish than that of a Husbandman; and a Man looks more silly with a Needle between his fingers, in the Chimney-corner, than with a Spade or a Pickax in his hand abroad in the Fields. The hardest of all their Work is indeed the planting and dressing of their Fields, for which reason one wou'd think the Men shou'd have taken it upon themselves. In order to the preparing of the ground, they do thus: As the Country is naturally over-run with Woods, so they come and bruise, and beat the Barks of the Trees, to make them burn the easier; then they make Fires all about the Roots, and scorch them so effectually, that they grow no more. The next Year they do, with a very little labour, pull these scorched Trees up by the Roots, and in that Mould where they stood they plant their Corn. The way is, making a hole in the ground with a Stick, to put 4 grains of Wheat, and 2 Beans, into the same hole: These holes are made about 4 foot distance from one another. 'Tis the business of the Women and Children to keep all clean and clear of Weeds; and when the Corn is grown middle high, they hill it about like a Hop-yard.

Planting the Fields and sowing their Corn.

The beginning of their Plantation is in *April*, but the chief is in *May*; and so they continue till the midst of *June*. What they sow in *April* they reap in *August*; in *May* in *September*, in *June* in *October*. 'Tis one piece of Husbandry practis'd here, which is not common in other Countries, to sow or set other things amongst their Corn. 'Twas said just now that they bury Wheat and Beans together in the same hole; but this is not the only instance of it, for you shall see them plant Pumpions, and other Fruits, amongst their Corn, neither do they believe that either of these will do the other an injury by its neighbourhood. 'Twas hinted before that they don't let their Corn stand upon the ground till 'tis ripe, but gather it green, and roast it by the Fire. Many times they bruise it in a Mortar, and lapping it up in the leaves of the same, boil and eat it as a great dainty. They make a sort of Meal or Flower of their roasted Corn, of which they make Cakes; and these they sometimes Bake and sometimes Boil, eating the Broth together with the Bread. And they do in general eat the Broth of all things they boil, whether Fish or Flesh, and this indeed one wou'd not so much wonder at, when one hears they eat that made of Meal alone; yet Porridge made of Shell-fish, a Man wou'd think shou'd be but poor stuff.

Seasons for planting.

Odd piece of Husbandry.

Way of managing their Food.

According to the various Seasons of the Year, so does their Diet alter and change. In *March* and *April* they feed much upon Fish, Turkies and Squirrels. In *May* and *June* they live upon Acrons, Wall-nuts, Strawberries, Mulberries, Oysters, Crabs and Tortoises. In *July* and *August* they eat Roots, Fish and green Wheat; and at other Seasons live upon their roasted Corn, and what they get by Hunting. This diversity of feeding makes a strange alteration in the state of their Bodies; sometimes they are round and plump, at other times as lean as Rakes. They change just as the wild Beasts themselves do, that at certain Seasons have their Ribs well lin'd and cover'd, and quickly after appear ready to start out of their Skins.

How they live at several times of the Year.

The whole Business and Sport of the *Virginians* (the Men I mean) is to Fish and Hunt; and these they may be allow'd to understand very well, since they are brought up to them from their Cradles, and concern themselves about nothing else. Their Fishing is for the most part in their Canoes; their Lines are made of the sinews of Deer, or a sort of Grass they call *Pemmenaw*, or else of the Barks of Trees, either of which the Women very dextrously Spin into a thread. Their Hooks are some sharp crooked Fish-bone, tied on to the end of the Line. But sometimes they use certain long Arrows, with which they shoot the Fish in the River. And there is one Nation of the *Virginians* that always use long Javelins, headed with bone, which they dart into the Water, and strike their Prey swimming. But Hunting is an Exercise of much more toil, as well as profit to them, and 'tis this that they mainly value themselves upon. 'Tis a matter of Glory with them to be well accomplish'd in this Sport; the Young Men raise their Reputation, and recommend themselves to Wives, by their dexterity and good management here. Their Bows and

Their Fishing.

Their Hunting.

Their Customs.

and Arrows do a double Execution, and kill the Women as well as the Deer. At these times they leave their Habitations for a considerable while together, and march out sometimes 200 or 300 in a company. They know all the Haunts and lurking Places of the Game they seek, and discover no little Art in traversing their ground, and bringing their Deer up into the Pounds where they are sure to have them. Up by the Heads of the Rivers they find plenty of Sport, and there's hardly any thing comes in those narrow Passes that escapes them.

How they surround and catch the Deer.

When they have sight of a parcel of Deer, they compass them round about with Fires, and betwixt those Fires (which are at no great distance from one another) they take their own standings. When this is done, they begin to set up a most fearful cry, which scares the Deer, and makes them run for their lives; but finding themselves surrounded with Fire, they are forc'd to run about in that Circle, from one quarter to another, till the Hunters Arrows have pierc'd them. The Hunters sometimes drive them into some narrow point of Land, and from thence they force them into a River, where their Ambuscade-Boats presently destroy them.

With what policy they hunting alone.

But they have another sort of Hunting, wherein one Man alone attempts a Deer, and this is done by a peculiar policy. 'Tis true, there's no great matter of Craft in shooting or catching a Deer, but as the *Virginians* manage it, there is a trick in it which scarce any but themselves practise. When a Savage goes out a Hunting alone, he dresses himself up in the Skin of a Deer: His arms come through holes that are fitted for them, as likewise his legs; and the Head, which is preserv'd entire upon the Skin, comes upon his Head. Thus the Man appears like a Deer; and to appear the more so, he crawls upon all four, and places himself behind some Tree, till he sees some of his fellow Bucks come in view. When he has his Sport in sight, he stalks along towards it, and takes care as he marches to keep his Horns right upon his Forehead, that the Deer may be sure to see them stand in the same place that his own do. If the Deer starts, and seems to discover any thing that does not belong to his own kind, the Man composes himself into a decent posture, and looks as Deerish as possible; he sets his Head in order, and stretches out his Cloven foot, and goes to work upon the Grass as those Creatures do. In short, what by one imitation and another, he trepans the Animal into a Security, and so shoots him; for this Buck (we must know) carries a Bow and Arrows with him, which the others do not.

How they strike fire.

Thus much for their ways of getting Provision; in order to the dressing of it they must have Fire, and that they procure after this manner. They don't use Flint and Steel as we do, which are Heterogeneous Substances, but go a more compendious way to work by Homogeneous ones. They rub Wood upon Wood, in order to the getting of Fire; for having made a hole in a thick square piece of Wood, they take another pointed Stick which fits that hole, and by a continued swift motion heat it so far, that at last it takes fire. And having gotten a spark, they quickly make a blaze, for they have always their Tinder ready at hand, which is Moss, Stubble, or any sort of dry Rubbish.

Their Customs.

Having now taken a short view of the State of Nature, and their way of living, we shall in the next place come to Moral Considerations, and see how they manage themselves as Societies, and what sort of Laws and Customs they are under the power of.

Their Consultations for War.

In Matters of War and Peace they always consult their Sages, and most commonly their Friends and Allies. 'Tis very seldom that they determine to fight another Nation, without having the consent of the Priests for't, those Men conducting them by their Opinions in all cases of importance. And when they are come to the conclusion of fighting, they go regularly to work, appointing such Men to command and lead their Troops as they know to be of a well-tried Valour.

Why they make War.

Their Reasons for making War, are very different from those which make most People in these Parts of the World fall together by the Ears: They don't fight for Lands or Goods, for meer Dominion, or for fighting's sake, but chiefly to purchase Women and Children; which, if they get a good stock of, they have all the Success that they desire their Arms to be blest'd withal. If ever they begin a War upon another Nation, 'tis upon this account, or that of some Wrong and Injustice done: For as there are few of them that are not some way or other Enemies to one another, so any little Injury or Affront whatsoever is a sufficient ground for fighting. If a Savage of one Nation should beat, or scuffle with one of another, this is enough to engage the whole *Posse* of both sides.

The *Virginians* Enemies to one another.

'Twou'd be endless to reckon up all the Nations in *Virginia*, that are declar'd Enemies to one another: The most considerable are the *Powhatans* and the *Monacans*; the *Massowomecks*, and their implacable Adversaries the *Sasquesahanocks*. These are most of them populous Nations, and are continually plaguing and tormenting one another. The *English* were many times solicited, with great importunity, by the *Powhatans* and *Sasquesahanocks*, to espouse their Cause, and undertake the Protection of them against their respective Enemies; 'twas so in Capt. *Smith*'s time, and it might have been done with a few Men, a little trouble, and to very great advantage, but the perverse Council (at that time ruling the Roast, and envying the Glory of that brave Man) wou'd not give way to it.

Their Treacheries.

As the *Virginians* are naturally treacherous and full of deceit, so they abound in stratagems and tricks to ruin one another in their Wars. There's no People under the Sun that understand Trap better than they; that can lay a Snare more artificially, and bring an Adversary into it more cleverly. They do more by Surprize (by far) than by fair and open fighting, and please themselves more with a Victory, when they pop out of a Wood upon an Enemy, than when they meet him handsomly in the Field, and fight upon equal terms.

Manner of their pitch'd Battels.

The manner of their Engagements our *English* learnt, by an Entertainment which the Savages themselves gave them; in which Scene they represented their way of fighting. The Spectators being plac'd in their respective Stations, the Combatants appear'd, painted and disguised in the fearfullest manner they cou'd invent. They were about 100 of a side, one part representing *Powhatan*'s, and the other *Monacan*'s, the two most contending Nations upon the Continent. Being led on by their Captains, they took their Stands at the distance of a Musket-shot from one another, and rank'd themselves fifteen a breast; the Ranks being 4 or 5 Yards distant, and standing so upon the slope, that the Rear cou'd shoot as conveniently as the Front. While they stood thus, Messengers past betwixt them, carrying these Conditions, (to be mutually observ'd) That which Party soever had the Victory, those of the vanquished that escaped shou'd have their Lives, upon a submission to Mercy within two days, but their Wives and Children shou'd be a Prize for the Conquerors. With all these formalities was the ludicrous Scene carry'd on; and now the Messengers being return'd to their respective Parties, both sides address'd themselves to action. They march'd towards one another in good order, with their Sergeants in Flank, and Lieutenants bringing up the Rear, but they came on leaping and singing their War-Tune; for all which mirth and merry postures, they did not at all break their Ranks, nor put themselves out of their due places. Upon the first discharge of Arrows they gave such horrible shouts, and made such screechings, that our People say) a Troop of Infernal Hounds cou'd scarce have made more terrible ones. When they had spent their Arrows, they clos'd together prettily enough, charging and retiring, every Rank seconding the other. As they got advantage, they catch'd their Enemies by the hair of the Head, and pulling out their wooden Swords, made a shew of beating out their Brains. The *Monacan* Party decreasing, (for abundance lay for dead, that were alive enough to run away) the *Powhatans*, to get a compleat Victory, charg'd their Enemies in form of a Half moon, which they finding to be a design to inclose them, fled towards their Ambuscades, upon which they drew the others very cunningly, and here the Battel was renewed with vigour. In short, the *Powhatans* now did their best to get out of this Snare, and retir'd towards their old Quarters; and here was an end of the Battel; which cost much less Blood than those between these two Parties use to do.

Martial-musick.

Their Martial-musick is something Analogous to Trumpets and Drums: Instead of the former, they have Pipes made of Canes or Reeds; and for the latter, a great deep Platter of Wood, the hollow of which is cover'd with a Skin. But their main Instrument is the Rattle, which is made of Gourd or Pumpion-shells; and of which they have Base, Tenor, Counter-tenor and Treble. The Pipes, the Wooden-platters, the Rattles, and the Voices, all put together, do make such a charm, that a Man that had once heard it, wou'd never desire to hear it more.

Weapons.

What their Weapons are will easily be guess'd; they have no Notion of any others than Bows and Arrows, Targets and Swords, or at least a Weapon that stands them in the stead, and does the Work of a Sword.

Their Arrows how made.

Their Arrows are made of strong Wood, headed with Bone, and those heads are some of them two or three Inches

Inches long. But they have another ſort of Arrows made of Reeds, piec'd with Wood, and headed with Splinters of Cryſtal, or ſome ſharp Stone; or perhaps with the Claw or Bill of ſome Bird. To make the Notches of their Arrows, they uſe the Tooth of a Beaver ſet in a Stick, with which he grates it by degrees. Their Targets are round, and made of the Barks of Trees; their Swords of Wood: Tho' many times, inſtead of Swords, they uſe other contrivances, as the ſharp Horn of a Deer put through a piece of Wood, or a great Flint ſet after the ſame manner. But after their Acquaintance with the *Engliſh*, they grew leſs fond of their own contrivances of this nature, becauſe they found better amongſt them; and 'twas hinted before, that ſome of our People were ſo ſilly as to make them very familiar with Swords and Hatchets, and not only them but Fire-arms too.

Their Knives. What they commonly us'd to help themſelves with inſtead of a Knife, was only a Splinter of a Reed, with which a Man wou'd wonder to ſee how very cleverly they'll cut their Feathers, and their Leather for making Shoes and Buskins; alſo how they will open a Deer, and joint him, and divide him into his ſeveral Parts.

A Glew. With the Sinews of Deer, and the tops of the Horns of the ſame Creatures, they make a very tenacious Glew that will not diſſolve in cold Water. Theſe People, as barbarous and unpoliſh'd as we reckon them, have yet not a ſmall number of Ceremonies in their Viſits and Entertainments of one another. If any great Man comes to ſee another that pretends to any degree of State and Power, in the firſt place the Mats are ſpread upon the ground for them to ſit on; for the *Virginians* make juſt the ſame uſe of theſe, that the *Turks* do of their Carpets.

Ceremonies of Entertainment amongſt the *Virginians*. The Viſitant, and the Perſon viſited, being ſeated upon their Mats oppoſite to one another, the latter, with all his Company, do in a ſort of a Muſical way (or betwixt ſinging and ſhouting) bid him welcome. After this, two or three of the chiefeſt of the Hoſt's Company make Orations to him, the ſence and ſcope of which, is to let the Gueſt know how acceptable his preſence there is, and how much he is belov'd. But this they do with ſuch vehement paſſion, and ſuch an intenſe ſtraining of their Bodies, that the drops of ſweat run down their faces apace; and they run themſelves quite out of breath, and pant as if they were ready to die. A Man that ſhou'd ſee this Scene, and was ignorant of the Cuſtom, wou'd think them to be raving all the while, and either downright mad, or expreſſing a violent indignation againſt their Gueſts. When the pathetick Speeches are done, the Victuals comes in, which is by far the better part of the Entertainment. Whatever they have in the Houſe they bring out, and are pleas'd to ſee thoſe they entertain eat freely. Towards Night they provide his Lodging; and to make the whole kindneſs compleat, bring him a Woman very well dreſs'd (according to their faſhion) to be his Bedfellow. This is a ſort of Civility not ſo commonly practis'd in other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*; but the *Virginians*, it ſeems, wou'd hardly think themſelves made truly welcome at their Friends Houſes, if the Joys of the Woman were not added to thoſe of eating and drinking. Their trading is too inconſiderable for a deſcription, for as they aim at no higher things than Beads and pieces of Copper, ſo they have nothing.

Their Phyſicians. There are ſome People in *Virginia* that profeſs themſelves Doctors, and by certain odd unaccountable Methods pretend to cure diſtempers. They gabble out a deal of ſtrange ſtuff, and accompany their words with actions ſo horrible, that ſome People who are fearful of Witchcraft, wou'd conclude, inſtead of being cured, they ſhou'd be bewitch'd. What they wou'd make the World believe is, that they cure the diſtemper by ſucking away the cauſe of it, for they apply their Mouths to the part affected for that purpoſe. The *Braſilians* (we have heard in its place) take the like courſe, and are for drawing away the diſtempers of their ſick People into their Mouths; and we believe the *Braſilian* and *Virginian* Doctors have both the ſame degree of Skill and Succeſs in this Affair. They go a much more direct and natural way to work, when they make thoſe fearful noiſes, and put themſelves into ſo many Deviliſh poſtures, for perhaps this may frighten away the diſtemper, or at leaſt the Patient out of his Wits, and that's as good as curing of him. Yet theſe Diſeaſe-ſuckers had ſo high an Opinion of our *Engliſh* Surgeons, that they believ'd any Plaiſter of theirs wou'd cure any hurt; and that what was intended for a broken Bone, or an Ulcer, wou'd ſerve as well for a Fever or a Dropſy, if it were but a Medicine of theirs, and adminiſtred by them. The common People notwithſtanding, are for the moſt part their own Phyſicians.

Their way of curing diſtempers. For a Dropſy, they go into a little Hut built like our Dove-houſes, and made as cloſe as a Stove, and making a little Fire here they ſit and ſweat it out; the ſame they do for any pain or ache. Swellings they cure by Inciſion with a ſharp Flint, or ſometimes burning the Part, and ſucking out the Corruption (a parcel of naſty Whelps) with their Mouths. But if the ſwelling happens to be in a place out of their reach, (as ſuppoſe it to be juſt behind) then their own Mouths are excus'd, and ſome bodies elſe performs the cleanly work for them.

Strong Purge. Every Spring they conſtantly Purge themſelves with the Juice of the Root *Wighſacan*; they pour down a vaſt quantity of it mix'd with Water, and continue loading their Guts in that manner till it works moſt furiouſly with them, and makes them a little weak and maukiſh for three or four days after. Horſes perhaps, ſhou'd they be ſerv'd ſo, wou'd be purg'd to death, or at leaſt quite off their legs; but the *Virginians*, who are not of ſo infirm and puny a Conſtitution as thoſe Animals, are only a little out of order upon't, and after 100 or 200 Stools can't be brisk again, till Nature has reſted her ſelf upon the hurry for three or four days.

Conjurations and Lying of Storms. They have a ſort of Men alſo amongſt them, that pretend no leſs to cure diſtempers in the Elements than theſe others in Humane Bodies. They have Methods for quieting the Sea, and ſilencing the Winds, when they rage in a Storm. When the Waters begin to run high, they haſte away to the Sea-ſide, or the Banks of the Rivers, and after ſeveral Invocations and Outcries made, they throw Tobacco, Copper, and other traſh, into the Water; this is in order to appeaſe that Power which they believe to be very angry upon ſuch occaſions, and muſt have ſome ſuch Offerings made him before he will be quiet again.

Their Funerals. When they have any dead People to diſpoſe of out of the way, they take, inſtead of Shovels and Pickaxes, great Stakes made ſharp at one end, and ſo dig a hole of conſiderable depth in the ground, in which they lay a parcel of Sticks acroſs, and lapping up the Corps in Skins and Mats, they lay them upon thoſe Sticks, and ſo cover them up with Earth. But all their Jewels (that is their Beads, pieces of Copper, and the like) go under ground along with them; neither is there any Man buried without his Treaſure.

Funerals of their Kings. The Burials of their Kings differ from thoſe of the common People in many reſpects: The Bodies are firſt Embowell'd, and then dried upon Hurdles, till they are very dry. About their Necks, and every Joynt, are hung Chains of Beads and Copper, (the Toys they us'd to wear) nay, their very inſides are ſtuff'd with ſome traſh or other. Being wrapt very carefully in curious white Skins, and then roul'd in Mats, they are laid in their Sepulchres (which are Arches made of Mats) in very great order. In all Burials, the Body being laid in the ground, the Women preſently appear with their faces in deep Mourning; that is, they black them over with a mixture of Cole and Oil, and then they go to their noiſy Lamentations in the Houſes, which commonly laſt for 24 hours, and is much ſuch a ſort of Muſick as a Man may hear at a Catterwauling. But when Kings die, the Mourning is much deeper, all the Paſſions more intenſe, and the noiſe conſequently more intolerable.

Women Mourners.

Their Religion. The Religion of the *Virginians* conſiſts principally in this, That whatſoever is above them in Power, and able to do them any hurt, is an Object of their Worſhip. Any thing that may do them miſchief, in ſpite of all the care they can take to prevent it, is a ſort of a Deity to them, and they expreſs a reverence for it accordingly. Therefore Fire, Water, Thunder and Lightning; nay, even the Horſes, the great Guns and Muſkets of the *Engliſh*, were at firſt worſhipp'd by them. But that which they ſtand moſt in awe of, is a Being they call *Okee*, and which the *Engliſh* Interpret the Devil. They confeſs themſelves they don't ſerve him out of Love, but fear of his Power and Malice, and that they have oftentimes Conferences with him. In their Temples they have his Image ſtanding up, a loathſome and deformed Object to look upon, but dreſs'd up with all the fineries of Chains and Bracelets that their Invention can add to him. Cloſe by this Image are the Sepulchres of their Kings, who, it ſeems, reckons it a felicity to lie by his ſide.

Okee their Deity.

Their Temples. The *Virginians* have peculiar Edifices conſecrated to their Deities, and devoted to the Exerciſes and Ceremonies of their Religion. In the Territory of every Werowance there is one Temple at leaſt, and one Prieſt (perhaps two, three or four) for the Service of that Temple.

The great Cares at Pamunky.

Temple. The Principal and most Sacred place of all for their Devotion is at *Uttamussack* at *Pamunke*; here, upon the tops of certain Hills in the Woods, are three great Temples, or Houses, fill'd with the Images of Kings and Demons, and with the Tombs of the deceased Werowances. They imagine so much Sanctity in these places, that none but the Priests and Kings themselves dare to come into them. The Savages, as they go up the River in Boats, at a little distance from it, throw pieces of Copper, Beads and Roots, into the Water, when they come over against it, as a sort of Sacrifice or Offering to the Di inity of the place; neither do they dare to pass along without paying this Acknowledgment. In this place are always Resident 7 Priests, the chief of whom differs from the Inferiours in this chiefly, that he is more filthily dress'd than they, and what that Dress is, may be known from the Relation made by Captain *Smith*, concerning their Conjurations done in his presence at *Pamunkey*. That Story gives a full account of their Dress and their Proceedings too, both of whi h the Reader will find to be as well ridiculous as deviliſh.

Priests

Notions of a future State.

The common People have no Notion at all of any Immortality with reference to themselves; but their Kings and their Priests they believe shall be Immortal. They say they go, when they die, beyond the Mountains towards the setting of the Sun, and remain there for ever, not in the form they appear in here in this World, but in the shape of *Okee*; that is, like so many Devils. For they pay the Object of their Worship this Compliment, to believe the form he appears in to be handsomest, and to think they are never so beautiful as when they are likest him. All their Notions of the felicity of these Kings and Priests, in the pleasant places beyond the Mountains, are suitable to the gross delights they enjoy and converse with here. Thus they say that their Heads shall be painted there with fine Oil and Pocones; that they shall be delicately trimm'd with feathers, and have plenty of Beads, Copper, Axes and Hatchets; that they shall be continually smoking Tobacco, and Dance and Sing with their Ancestors in the Flowry Fields of that Region. As for themselves, (as was said before) they don't expect to live any where, when once they die in this World, and consequently smoke, and dance and sing, like Persons that are to take their leaves of them for ever. There does not seem to be any distinction of Time into common and sacred amongst them, their conduct speaking for them, that all Time is alike to them, as far as it cou'd be observ'd. Yet this Custom is taken notice of, that in times of very great Want and Scarcity, or when they have triumph'd over their Enemies, or gather'd in the Fruits of their Fields, that they all meet together, Men, Women and Children, in order to a certain Solemnity. What they do at this time, is to make a rouzing Fire, for the most part in the Fields, and all to sing and dance about it for four or five hours together; and what with their shouting, and noise of their Rattles, 'tis a most fearful clatter they make upon this Occasion. Sometimes, instead of dancing round a Fire, they set a Man in the middle and dance round him, he all the while clapping his hands, and making as if he kept time to their Songs. All this ended, they go away to the far better Sport of Feasting.

Strange Custom.

But once every seven or ten Year, they have a sort of a Solemnity much more strange than this; 'tis practised amongst all the Nations of *Virginia*, and the *English* saw it amongst those that were their Neighbours at *James-Town*. They take 15 of the most likely Boys they can find, between 10 and 15 Years old, and paint them all white: And when they have put them into this trim, they bring them out to the People, who spend all the Forenoon in singing and dancing about them with their Rattles. In the Afternoon they lead them under a great Tree, and set them close about the Roots of it, where all the Men stand by them like a Guard, every one having in his hand a great Rod made of Reeds, tied up in a bundle together. Now all the Men with these Rods in their hands, being in exact order, and making a Lane by their Ranks, in come five young Fellows to fetch away these Boys, which they did one after another in their respective turns, so that each of these five had five Boys apiece to lug out. But that which was the oddest part of the Scene was, that these Fellows all the while run the Gaunlet, and were whipp'd by the Guard after a most severe manner, while they were going for, and carrying out the Boys. And since they did not fetch their Boys all together, but went in order one after another, each for his five, it's certain that this cou'd be no little punishment; for here were a multitude of hands, and every hand had a Rod, and every Rod was heartily applied to the naked Backs of those poor Fellows, and they had not the advantage of missing a lash from one and another, as they wou'd have had if they had run all together. And yet they endured all very patiently, and carefully skreen'd the Boys with their naked Bodies, that none of the lashes fell upon them. After the Boys were pass'd, the Guard fell upon the Tree, rent the very Body, and tore off all the branches of it, adorning their Heads with the leaves. But what became of the Boys afterwards the *English* cou'd not positively affirm; only this they say, that they were all laid of a heap in a Valley as if they were dead, and there was a great Feast made for the Company there upon the spot. It shou'd have been observ'd before, that all the while the Guard were a lashing the young Men, the Women wept, and cried out most passionately, and employ'd themselves in providing Mats, Skins and Moss, as things fitting for the Funerals of their Children. Yet the King of *Quiyoughcohanock*, in whose Territories this Solemnity was perform'd, told the *English* that the Children were not dead when they lay there in the Vall y, but that the next day after they were to drink the Liquor of the Root *Wighsacan*, which wou'd make them all mad, and that *Okee* wou'd come and suck the Blood of some of them that fell to his share.

Severe Discipline.

He gave also this account farther of the matter: That these *Boys* were to be kept in the Woods for the space of nine Months, by another Sett that had gone through this Discipline the last Solemnity; and that here they endure the greatest hardships, and are so absolutely under the Government of these Keepers, that they do the most unnatural things in the World at the least word of Command from them. If they bid them lie down naked in the Snow, they'll lie there till they have leave to rise again; or if they Command them to go and take Provisions from their Parents, they are so afraid of the Malediction they threaten them with in case of refusal, that they'll tear their Mothers throats out, but they will have what they were order'd to bring. In short, they are documented at such a rate by these deviliſh Tutors, and made so fierce and wild, that they very often do mischief to People they find straggling in the Woods. When the nine Months are expired, those that survive all these difficulties come to their last Probation, which is, amongst several Dishes of Broth that are set before them, and some of which are poyson'd, to distinguish and find out them that are not poyson'd. What becomes of those that do not hit upon the right we can't say, 'tis probable the poyson ends their days; and considering the life they had liv'd, a Mess of such Broth wou'd have done them a kindness nine Months before. As for those that happen upon the wholsome Messes, they have done enough to establish their Reputation in this Country for ever. They are now consummated Priests and Conjurers in the Opinion of the common People; and this any body else wou'd readily allow them to be, if 'twant by hap-hazzard that they did what they did. We must suppose the poyson to be such, as not any way sensibly to have alter'd the qualities of the Broth; for if it did, where wou'd be the trial of Skill in discerning one Dish from t'other? And certainly, he that can tell when his Meat is poyson'd, without being first told so by his Meat, does very honestly deserve the Name of a Conjurer. The *Virginians* look upon this Solemnity as so important a piece of their Devotion, that if they shou'd omit it, they shou'd expect to incur the highest displeasure of *Okee*, and he wou'd revenge it upon them, not only by with-holding the Necessaries of Life from them, but also by making a horrible Slaughter amongst them, and destroying far more than they destroy themselves by these Methods. In such Bondage do these poor Wretches live, under that Cloud of Ignorance of the true God, that over-spreads their Country; yet we can't but do our Countrymen the Justice, to own that they us'd their hearty endeavours to dispel this Cloud, and give them the true Light.

An odd trial of Skill.

The King of *Quiyoughcohanock* (before-mention'd) was one they made many trials upon, and tho' not with the great and most desired success, yet not without any at all; for he made no scruple to own, that the God of the *English* exceeded his, as far (to use his own homely comparison) as their Guns and Pistols did his Bows and Arrows. When he wanted Rain, he wou'd send to *James-Town* to desire the *English* to pray to their God for it, alledging that his own were unkind, and wou'd not send him any.

The Virgini. ans Notion of the God of the English.

This Prince, as he was a Man of the finest Sence, and best Disposition the *English* ever convers'd with in all that Country, so 'tis probable he had gone farther had he been free from restraints: But where People are so infinitely superstitious in their Way, and so tenacious of

their Notions, as all the *Americans* are, and where the Priests ride and govern at that rate as they do amongst them, 'tis hard for a Prince to make any Innovation upon the Religion of his Country.

Their Government.

The *Virginian* Government and Policy is next to be consider'd: The Succession is Hereditary, tho' not in the first place to Sons and Daughters, but to Brothers and Sisters. All the Brothers being dead, the Sisters mount the Throne, in order according to their Age; and when they are gone, the Children of the eldest Sister succeed, and so those of the second, and so on. But it never comes to the Heirs of the Males, unless in case of defect of the others; and never to the Children of the Body, but in case of defect of all the others besides. There are no written Laws in the Country, because no Writing nor Letters; but Custom is the main Rule they go by, next to the absolute and uncontroulable Will of the Prince. This is indeed the great Law by which all these People are govern'd; but this is to be understood of a Sovereign Prince, such a one as *Powhatan*, for as for all the Tributaries, they are tied entirely to the Measures of Custom. There are none more Arbitrary in their Government than these Princes are, and all their Vassals pay them as much respect. They lay their Tributes and Presents at their feet, with the humblest Adorations imaginable, and look upon the least frown that sits on their brow, with as much awe as Death it self. And there is not a little reason for't, for they punish Offenders with a most cruel rigour, and hardly spare any that they ever suspect.

The Succession.

Laws.

Memorials.

Instead of Records, and other Memorials, they set up certain Stones (which they call *Pawcorances*) in the places where, and at the times when they have had any extraordinary accident or encounter. And they are very careful to teach their Children the meaning of them very exactly, and so see that they understand those accounts of the History of their Country. 'Tis not uncommon for them also to Offer Blood, Tobacco and Deer-Suet, upon these *Pawcorances*, at their return from Wars and Hunting, when things have succeeded well with them.

Before we finish this account, it may not be amiss to add a few things more particularly relating to that Prince of so great a Name and Power in these Countries, and so often brought upon the Stage in the foregoing Scenes; *Powhatan* we mean. His natural Name was *Wahunsonacock*, but he took the Name of *Powhatan* from the Country and Town so call'd, and sometimes his principal Residence. Several of his Countries came to him by Inheritance, but the greatest part were Conquests. He was a tall well-proportion'd Man, with a sowre thoughtful look, gray-headed, and little or no Beard at all, (as is usual in those Parts) and about Sixty when the *English* first knew him. Any one wou'd have thought him as subtle as he has been represented to be, by the sight of so politick a face; but besides, he had the aspect of a Soldier, and was hardy and able to endure any Labour or Travel. A Guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest Men in his Country constantly attended him by Day; and every Night, at the four Quarters of his House, four Sentinels were plac'd, who answer'd in their respective Stations to one that hollow'd from the *Corps du Guard* every half hour. And if any of the Sentinels fail'd in this point of Duty, an Officer came forth presently that beat him soundly. His House at *Oropacks* (at the head of the River *Chickahamine*, to which place he retired from *Werowocomoco*, for fear of the *English*) stood in a Thicket, and at the four corners of it were the Effigies of a Dragon, a Bear, a Leopard, and a Giant. 'Twas here that most of his Treasure was laid up, and here none but the Priests came near him. He always kept a multitude of Women; one generally lay on the Bed by him, another sat at his Head, and a third at his Feet; but when he sat upright, he always sat between two, one of each Hand of him. Before and after his Meals, some of his Women bring him Water in a Wooden Dish to wash his Hands, and others wait with a bunch of Feathers (instead of a Towel) to wipe them. When he is weary of any of his Women, he bestows them as so many special favours upon those of his great Men that have most Merit. Herein he falls in with the practise of other Princes in the World; for crown'd Heads will ever have that variety, to think that other Men will be proud of their Leavings. Here we shall take our Leave of *Virginia*, and pass to the *Bermuda* Islands.

An account of *Powhatan* and his manner of living.

CHAP. XXVII.

An Account of the first Plantation of the Bermudas *or* Summer-Islands, *with the Natural History of the Country; Extracted from the Memoires of Captain* Smith, *Mr.* Richard Norwood, William Strachie, *Esq; with some others.*

Description of the *Bermudas*.

WE have heard before, that an *English* Fleet under the conduct of Sir *Tho. Gates*, and Sir *Geo. Summers*, put into these Islands; but this was not the first time an *Englishman* had set footing here, for the Discovery of these Islands, by those two Worthy Knights, was made *A. D.* 1609. but one of our Countrymen had been here in *A. D.* 1593. The Name of this Person was *Henry May*, one of Captain *Lancaster*'s Company, who had been in the *East-Indies*, and in his return put over to *Trinidado*, and so to *Porto-Rico* and *Hispaniola*, for refreshment. Here Captain *Lancaster* desiring a certain *Frenchman* (Monsieur *de Barbotiere*) to give this *Henry May* a Passage home in his Ship, by the way they were wrack'd upon the *Bermuda-Islands*. This Man came home to *England* in *A. D.* 1594. and to be sure told of his Adventure; yet we don't find that there was any motion made towards the sending a Colony to those Islands till some Years after. But Sir *George Summers* (as was related before) dying at the *Bermudas*, and his Men going not from thence directly to *Virginia* according to his last Command, but to *England*, whither they brought his Body, these Persons at their return gave such an account of the Country to the *Virginia* Company, that they thought it worth their while to establish a Correspondence between *England* and it. Accordingly they sold these Islands to 120 Persons of the same Company, who obtain'd a Charter from his Majesty, and became the Proprietors of it.

A. D. 1612. a Ship call'd the *Plough* was sent thither with 60 Persons, and one Mr. *Richard Moor* for Governour, an honest and industrious Person. He spent the most part of his time in fortifying the Islands, and training the People sent over to Martial Exercises; he built nine or ten Forts, and furnish'd them all well with Ammunition. During his Government, there began that grievous and most tormenting plague of Rats, which continued for near five Years. The Original of it was a small Troop of those Vermin that came out of a Ship, that multiplied so prodigiously ashore, that such numbers were hardly ever seen in the World. They had their Nests about in every Tree, and all the ground was cover'd with them; neither cou'd a spot hardly be found where they had not Hous'd themselves. They devour'd Fruits, and the Trees too that bore them; when the Corn was sown, they wou'd come in the Night-time and dig it up, or to be sure as soon as it began to grow it shou'd not 'scape them. When 'twas gather'd and laid up within Doors, they made a most fearful destruction of it. They tried all ways and means imaginable to rid the Country of these pestilent Creatures, as by breeding up abundance of Cats, teaching their Dogs to kill them, setting up Traps, and laying Poyson up and down in all places for them; and yet, in spite of all these Methods, (which notwithstanding swept away multitudes of them) they encreas'd to that degree, that the Country was reduc'd to the last distresses by them. For two Years together

The Soil.

gether they were so destitute of Bread, that afterwards, when they came to have it again, they had forgot the Use of it so far, as not to mind to eat it with their Meat. Neither was it the main Island alone that was thus plagued by them, for they swam the Salt Water, and spread into all the neighbouring ones thereabouts, insomuch that there was not one of them, for many Miles round, but what had a share in the Calamity. Cou'd the *English* have planted the Island as fast as the Rats did, they wou'd quickly have made a very surprizing Figure in that part of the World: But this distress wore off by degrees, tho' 'twas some Years first, and the Rats went away as strangely as they came; by what Causes they can't tell, but at last it came to this pass, that the Wild Cats and the Dogs, that us'd to live upon them, were abundance of them famish'd for want of their accustomed Food, and others left the Woods, and came down to the Houses, to get a Maintenance there. There's no reason to imagine a greater encrease of the Cats and Dogs at one part of that time than another; and since the Rats encreas'd as well as they, and were too many for them all along, 'tis not probable that the entire destruction of them was owing to those Creatures. But this Observation they made, which was odd enough: That about the time when this Plague of Rats began, there was a considerable number of Ravens came to the Island, which staid there all the time the Rats staid, and departed again upon their going away; and as there had been none of those Birds seen there before that time, so neither have there been any observ'd since. Now what connection there is between Ravens and Rats, the Philosophers must enquire: but there is a Maxim amongst them, that will prove the former to have been, some way or other, the cause of the latter, for they both came and went together; now that's the Cause of an Effect, (say they) *quâ posità ponitur effectus & quâ sublatâ tollitur.* Mr. *Moor* having fill'd up the 3 Years of his Government, was succeeded therein by Capt. *Tucker*, who also was very industrious in improving the Country, and doing all things for the benefit of the Plantation. Before he left it, he saw it reduc'd into a very flourishing condition again; there were good Houses built, Fruits planted, Grounds clear'd of Woods and Rubbish, and an Orderly form of Government established. He resign'd his Charge in *A. D.* 1618, and was succeeded in it by Capt. *Butler*, who came over *A. D.* 1619, bringing four good Ships, with at least 500 People along with him, and there being 500 more there before, the Body was now pretty considerable. Capt. *Butler's* 3 Years being expired, one Mr. *Bernard* was sent by the Company to supply his place, which within 6 Weeks after was vacant again, Death bringing that Gentleman a *Quietus est*. And now, till farther Orders came from *England*, one Mr. *Harrison* took the Charge upon him. And thus we have brought the *Bermuda* Affairs to *A. D.* 1623, in all which time there being no memorable Occurrents in the Colony, and our Authors going no farther than this term of Time, we shall now come to the Description of the Country.

Description of the *Bermudas*.

The *Bermudas* are a cluster of small Islands, which may be reckon'd at least 500. There are none of them of any considerable compass, yet some much larger than others, as Time and the Sea, continually washing upon them, has worn them away in different proportions. They lie as it were in the Figure of a Croissant, and within the Circuit of 6 or 7 Leagues at most; so that being so many in number, and lying in so small a compass, 'tis plain they can't be very large. The main, or great Island of all, is 16 Miles in length from E. N. E. to W. S. W. and lies in 32 deg. 20 min. N. L. It is beholding to Nature for a very considerable Fortification of Rocks, which do every way round extend a great way, only less to the E. than to any other point of the Compass. There are no more than two places where Shipping may come safely in, and it is not easie for a Man to find those places out; but then those places are so well fortify'd, that if an Enemy shou'd light of them, he wou'd be easily kept out. These Rocks in most places appear at low Water, for it ebbs and flows there not above 5 foot. The very shore it self is for the most part a Rock, insomuch that 'tis not easie to find out an Island so entirely surrounded, and so well guarded by them as this is.

The Soil.

The Mould is of divers colours and tempers; the red, which resembles Clay, is the worst of all; the whitish, (which is like Sand) and the blackish, is good, but the brown between them both is best of all. Under the Mould, some two or three foot deep, lies a solid white body, which they call the Rock, but with very little reason, for 'tis not harder than Chalk, and 'tis as full of Pores as a Pumice-stone, and those Pores contain abundance of Water. Nay, as much Rock as 'tis, the Trees usually fasten their Roots in it, and draw their nourishment from it. In many places there is a Clay found under it. The densest and hardest kind of this Rock, is commonly that which they find under the red Mould; this has but very little Water in it, and lies in the ground in Quarries, as it were thick Slates one upon another. All the Water finds a passage out by the chinks and crevises that are between the several Lares, so that 'tis very seldom that any fresh Water is found in those places; for 'tis to be noted, that all (or at least the far greatest part of) the fresh Water they have in this Island, comes either out of the Sea, being strain'd in its passage through the Sand, or else from the rocky Body just now mention'd, in which the saline Corpuscles are left, as they are in the march of the Water through the Sand. The *English* digg'd several Wells within four or five paces of the Sea, and these held such a correspondence with the Sea, that they ebb'd and flow'd as it did, and yet the Water was fresh and good.

The fresh Water.

Weather.

The Weather is for the most part fine and pleasing here; and abating some extraordinary Storms and Tempests, the Air is generally calm, and of a moderate temper. But it must be confess'd, that the Thunders and Lightnings at these Islands are more terrible than any where, and the latter oftentimes splits the Rocks asunder, tumbles mighty pieces down, and buries them in the Sea. Once every New Moon these Storms have their round for the most part; and 'tis particularly observ'd, that if a Circle be seen about the Moon, a prodigious Tempest does not fail to follow. And these Circles are taken notice of at the *Bermudas*, to be vastly larger than they ever appear any where else: Thus, when the *English* lay there, in order to their Voyage to *Virginia*, there was an extraordinary *Halo* seen, and the Thunder and Lightning that follow'd upon it, was such as almost frighted them out of their Wits. The N. and N. W. Winds are the most predominant, and always turn Summer into Winter when they blow. The Rains that are, are more frequent in Summer than Winter, and tho' they don't last long, yet when they do fall, they fall with a strange violence, and the Heavens are as black, as if 'twou'd never hold up and be clear any more. The Product of the Isle for Corn is Maize, that common Grain, all the *West-Indies* over; and of this they have two Harvests in a Year, for what they sow in *March* they gather in *July*, and so again in *December* they have the Fruits of their *August* Labours. When the *English* first came thither, they found the Country over-run with Woods and Plants of several kinds; Cedars, Palmetoes, Pepper-Trees, Lawrel and Olive-Trees, Mulberries, and many others they knew not the Names of, were the Natural growth of the Island. But the Palms here are not the true *Indian* Palms, such as at *St. John de Porto Rico* are full of a small Fruit like Almonds, and of the bigness of the grains in a Pomgranate, nor of that kind of Palms neither which bear Dates, but a sort of Simeron, or wild Palm, that yet does, as to all visible resemblances, (except that of the Fruit) come as near to the true Palm as can be. They were high, strait, sappy Trees, no branches but in the uppermost part, and at the very top or head of all grow leaves, which spread and fall down upon the Tree like a Coronet; these leaves are so broad, that one of them alone will serve for an Umbrella, and a Man may well enough defend himself with it from a good shower of Rain. The inmost part of the head a top they call the Palmeto, it is white and thin, and will peel into a great many Plates which are very smooth and fine, and a Man may use them instead of Paper. They dress the Palmeto after various manners, and the *English* commend them for very good Meat. These Trees bear a Berry which is black and round, and as big as a Damson, being ripe about *December*; they are then very luscious, but scalded when green they eat much like our Bullases. The leaves don't continue on all the Year round, but fall off in the cold Winter Months, being quite blasted by the rough North Winds. They observ'd abundance of Silk-worms Hous'd about these leaves, and it being a matter of frequent Observation with them, one may conclude they were not mistaken, and that some profits of that nature also might redound from hence. Of Cedar-Trees there is no small store, and the Berry that they yield is very pleasant and good for eating. The Olives are not many, and the Pepper is much short of the *Indian*. There are abundance of odoriferous Woods, and Woods of divers colours, black, yellow, red; and some of these coloured Trees bear a round blue Berry, which has both the rough taste, and the styptick quality of a Sloe, and much us'd by the *English* for the Flux, which the greedy eating of the luscious Palm-Berries wou'd bring them very

Winds.

Trees.

Bermuda Palm-Trees.

Silk-worms in the Palm-leaves.

Cedar-Berries.

Colour'd Woods.

Medicine for the Flux.

Prickle Pear. ly frequently into it. Upon the Rocks there grows a ſort of Fruit in ſhape and bigneſs like a Catharine-Pear, full of prickles all round, and for that reaſon the *Engliſh* call'd it the prickle Pear. It is green in the outſide, but being opened is of a deep murry; 'tis full of Juice like a Mulberry, and juſt of the ſame taſte and ſubſtance. They are very good eaten either raw or bak'd.

Other Fruits. In Parts near the Sea-ſide, there is found a kind of Wood-bind (as the *Engliſh* call'd it) that runs up upon Trees like a Vine; the Fruit of which is ſomething like a Bean, but only flatter. If it be eaten any way whatſoever, 'twill purge a Man vehemently, but without doing any farther harm. There is a Plant like a bramble, bearing a long yellow Fruit, with a hard ſhell within, which is a hard tough Berry; this ſtamp'd and taken inwardly, will purge gently.

Red Pepper. The red Pepper there is like our Barberies, and beaten or bruis'd with the Teeth, ſets all the Mouth and Tongue of a violent heat; but if ſwallowed whole, has the ſame effect with black Pepper. But now beſides theſe, which are the natural Products of the Country, there are moſt of the ſerviceable and ſubſtantial Fruits of other Parts of the *Indies*, and of *England* too, tranſplanted thither, and thrive exceedingly well. The moſt remarkable ſtrange Plants are theſe; theſe at leaſt are what our People obſerv'd. The Poyſon Weed, ſo call'd from its venemous Nature. It is in ſhape like the *Engliſh* Ivy, but the very touch of it cauſes a redneſs in the Part, itching and bliſters, which notwithſtanding go all away of their own accord in a little while, without any other ill effects. The red Reed is a tall Plant, whoſe Stalk is cover'd with a red rind; the Root of it ſteep'd in a ſmall quantity of the Juice of it drunk alone, is a forceable Vomit, and commonly us'd there for Indiſpoſitions of the Stomach, and that to very good purpoſe. The Sea-feather is a Plant that grows upon the Rocks at the bottom of the Sea, it's almoſt in the form of a Vine-leaf, but far more ſpread, with Veins of a paliſh red ſtrangely interwoven and mixt with one another; the Vertues of it are unknown. Excepting this Poyſon Weed, there is not any venemous thing known in the Country; no, not amongſt the Animals as well as the Vegetables. But 'tis obſervable, that here is a ſort of a perpetual Spring, and tho' the Trees throw off their old leaves, yet they are always ſeen with freſh green budding out at the ſame time. There is the like continuity in the Animal-line too, as to the Seaſons of the Year; the Birds breed all the Year round, or at leaſt moſt Months in the Year, as a Man that walks the Fields will be abundantly ſatisfied by ſeeing their Young ones.

Several Plants.

Poyſon-Weed, &c.

Animals at the *Bermudas*. In the ſurvey of the Animals of this Iſland, the account of the Quadrupeds will take up but little room. Theſe Authors tell us nothing of Lions, Tygers, and other ravenous Inhabitants of the Woods; nor of Kine and Sheep, the more tame and gentle ones of the Fields. But

Wild Hogs. wild Hogs they do affirm are Natives of the place, at leaſt the *Engliſh* found them there, when they came with Sir *George Summers* the firſt time. Theſe Creatures were a very comfortable Supply to them, and the numbers they took of them ſo conſiderable, as to leave it paſt all doubt that the Iſland was plentifully ſtock'd with them. The way by which they came to diſcover their being here, was the ſending ſome few of their own Swine out into the Woods to feed; for when they rambled home again, a huge wild Boar kept them company, and paid for this his Complement to the ſtrange Hogs with the loſs of his life. The ſame decoy that brought this wild Boar into their clutches, afterwards brought ſeveral more; and then when they ſaw that there was Sport abroad, they made a Trade of going a Hunting in the Woods, and always return'd with Boars and Hogs enough to make it well worth their while. Abundance of theſe they

Feeding of the Hogs. brought home alive, where they put them in Sties, and fatted them with the Palm and Cedar-Berries that dropt from the Trees in the Months of *Auguſt*, *September*, *October* and *November*. But when the time came about that thoſe Berries fail'd, and the Hogs conſequently grew poor and low, the main part of their ſubſiſtence then was Tortoiſes, of which they had multitudes not to be

Sorts of Fowl. computed. Very few Iſlands can pretend to greater ſtore (and perhaps variety) of Fowls, than the *Bermudas* can; for here you have Hawks of all ſorts, Herns, Bitterns, Oſſpreys, Cormorants, Bald-coots, Moor-hens, Swans, Teal, Snipe, Duck and Widgeon. Bats and Owls are alſo very common here, with multitudes of ſmall Birds, Wood-peckers, Sparrows, Robins, (or at leaſt Birds very like them) tho' the beſt part of theſe have been deſtroy'd by the wild Cats. But for Birds not ſo common, here is the Tropick Bird, as 'tis uſually call'd; the Pemblico, a Bird ſeldom ſeen by day, and an unwelcome foreteller of ſtormy tempeſtuous Weather; the Cohow, another Bird of the Night, and whoſe Muſick is not much more pleaſant, tho' not ſo fatal as that of the former. It is of the bigneſs of a Sea-mew, and is hardly ever ſeen by day, but in the darkeſt Winter or Autumn-nights comes forth of its Neſt, and hovering about in the Air, makes a very odd and harſh noiſe. The colour of it is inclining to a Ruſſet, their Bellies all white, and the long feathers of their Wings ruſſet and white. They breed moſtly in thoſe Iſlands which are high, and ſo far alone in the Sea, that the wild Hogs can't ſwim over to them, for it ſeems they do either diſturb or devour them; and the Cohows are as much expos'd to them as can be, for their Neſts are not in Trees, or upon the high Clifts of the Rocks, but upon the plain ground, where they live and breed like ſo many Conies in their Burrows. The way the *Engliſh* took to catch them, was to ſtand upon the Rocks in the Night-time, and there hollow and ſcream, and make all the uglieſt noiſes they could poſſible, which wou'd bring the Cohows flocking about them, and fixing themſelves upon their Heads and Arms, and all the while anſwering the note of the Men, and hollowing as faſt as they. At this rate they took with eaſe more than 20 dozen in two hours frequently; and when they wanted other Proviſion, 'twas but ſending out their Cock-boat to ſome of theſe Iſlands, which in a very little time wou'd return with enough to ſerve the whole Company. They are a very well reliſh'd ſort of Meat, as fat and plump as a Partridge; their Eggs are as large as a Hens-egg, and differ other ways very little from them, only that they are ſomething ſpeckled.

The Cohow.

Their way of breeding, and the manner of catching them.

The *Bermudas* have not leſs plenty of Fiſh than they have of Fowl; moſt of thoſe that are common here our Author tells us of, both the Scaly and the Shell ſort, but then vaſt numbers of others beſides, to which they cou'd give no Names, frequently occurr'd. The Whale, with his everlaſting Enemies the Sword-fiſh and the Threſher, are no uncommon ſights upon this Coaſt; but the Tortoiſes do abound ſtrangely there, and they are as good and great too as any where in the whole Univerſe beſides.

Fiſh.

No venemous Creatures.

As for venemous and dangerous Creatures, this happy ſpot has none; at leaſt as far as the *Engliſh* had then diſcover'd. Here are no Toads nor Adders, Scorpions nor Crocodiles; Lizards there were, before the wild Cats deſtroy'd deſtroy'd them all, but neither the Character of venemous nor hurtful otherways agrees to them.

Spiders.

Neither do the Spiders ſeem to deſerve either of thoſe Names, ſince they cou'd not find by any Obſervations that they were at all pernicious; yet they are of a very large ſize, but withal beautifully colour'd, and look as if they were adorn'd with Pearl and Gold. Their Webs are in colour and ſubſtance a perfect raw Silk, and ſo ſtrongly woven, that running from Tree to Tree like ſo many Snares, ſmall Birds are ſometimes catch'd in them; this Captain *Smith* reports, upon whoſe Credit as great an improbability as this may be ventur'd to be related.

Flies, Ants and Worms, the hurt they do.

The moſt troubleſome Animals of all upon the Iſland are ſome Inſects: The Muſkeroes and Bugs creep into their Cheſts and Cupboards, and beſides what they devour, by their moſt ill-ſcented Excrements defile all about them. The little Ants are ſo troubleſome in Summer time, that they are forc'd to dry their Figs on high Frames, and beſmear all the feet of them with Tar, to ſtop the paſſage of thoſe Creatures, which elſe would ſpoil all. Neither are the Worms leſs pernicious to their Corn and Tobacco; and they are forc'd to take a deal of pains every Morning to deſtroy them, or elſe they had as good quit their Plantation.

Ambergreeſe found at the *Bermudas*.

It may not be amiſs here at the concluſion, to take notice (tho' out of its place) that this Iſland has afforded good ſtore of Ambergreeſe, which ſome of the Plantation made a good Market of. This is encouragement enough to hope, that what once came into the hands of theſe Men, may alſo ſometimes light into the hands of honeſter than they, who are there in the way to find it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

An Account of some of the first Attempts towards the Discovery and Plantation of New-England.

THE first Person that went out upon this Affair, was that Worthy Gentleman Mr. *Henry Challons*, in a Ship call'd the *Richard* of *Plimouth*, his Company not being in all above 30, and his Vessel but small, tho' the Design was great. This Voyage was undertaken at the Charges of the Right Honourable Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governour of *Plimouth* Fort, together with several other Gentlemen and Merchants of the West Country. They set out in *August*, *A. D.* 1606, but the issue of this Attempt was unfortunate; for being gotten as far as the *Spanish West-Indian* Islands, they fell in with a Fleet of *Spanish* Ships, by whom they were taken, and after a great deal of ill Usage, carried into *Spain*, where their treatment also was very cruel and inhumane. This Misfortune did considerably damp the Courage of the first Adventurers; however, the Lord Chief Justice *Popham* quickly after sent out another Ship, under the Command of Captain *Hanam*, whose business was not so much to Plant, as to make Discoveries in order to it. And when they came back, they gave so good an account of the Country, that all People were as much encourag'd as they had been the contrary by the first Miscarriage, and those that fell off before, now came boldly on to be Adventurers again. Hereupon Captain *Popham* and Captain *Gilbert*, were sent away with 2 Ships and 100 Men, Ordnance, and all necessary Provisions for their Use, till farther Supplies could be sent. But before these Ships cou'd come back again, the Lord Chief Justice *Popham* died, the stopping of which so principal a Wheel in this business, made abundance of the rest stand still. Yet Sir *Francis Popham*, his Son, encourag'd the Affair with his most zealous Endeavours, and contributed liberally towards the sending forth a fresh Supply, which accordingly the next Year was performed. These Ships arriving there, brought the uncomfortable News of the Deaths of the Lord Ch. Justice, and Sir *John Gilbert*, (Brother to the Captain, and President of the *New-England* Council) and had also, as soon as they came, the sad News from the Planters that Captain *Popham* was dead, a Man in whom a very great Confidence was repos'd, and from whom no little Matters were expected. Captain *Gilbert* also (his Brother being dead) was obliged to return to *England* to take possession of his Estate, so that there was no considerable Man left upon the spot to stand at the head of the Company. All these Misfortunes, together with the loss of their Stores, which they had suffer'd that Winter by Fire, so dispirited the whole Plantation, that they unanimously resolv'd to go back to *England* with these Ships. This Resolution they accordingly put in practise, and at their coming home so discourag'd all the first Undertakers, that here seem'd to be a full stop set to the *New-England* Affair, and there was now no longer so much as any discourse about settling a Plantation there. The *English* thus as it were quitting their pretensions to that Country, the *French* presently came and made theirs, fixing themselves within our Limits: But the *Virginian* Plantation taking notice of this, and not liking their Neighbourhood, (had there been no other reasons for the removal of them) immediately dispatch'd Sir *Samuel Argall* to displace them, which he perform'd with a great deal of courage and dexterity. For having seiz'd the Forts they had built at *Mount Mansell*, *St. Croix*, and *Port Royal*, he carried away all their Ordnance, Provisions, and Ship it self, to *Virginia*, and so effectually frustrated their whole Design of Seating themselves there. The *French* being expell'd, some there were who not willing to part with *New-England* upon so easie terms, at least not till one trial more had been made) sent out another Ship under Captain *Hobson* and Captain *Herley*, to make some Discovery that should revive the Design of Planting again. Along with them went a couple of Savages of the Country, who had been here in *England*, and were likely to do some good Service. But a little before this Ship came, there had been one *Hunt* an *Englishman* upon the Coast, a Manager for some private sordid spirited People of our own Nation, that were for seeking their own Profit by any Methods, how prejudicial soever to the Common Interest of their Country. This Fellow having enticed some of the Natives into his hands (and they came, confiding in the sincerity of his promises) clapp'd them under Hatches, and carrying them away, sold as many of them for Slaves as he cou'd, the rest being taken from him by the contrivance of some honest Friars, who pitied the poor Savages, and desired to Instruct them in the Christian Religion. But this Villanous practise sour'd the Natives, and enrag'd them against the *English* to a high degree; and these two Savages that came over in the Ship, as soon as they understood it from their Countrymen, resented it as deeply as they, and bent all their thoughts upon revenge. In short, they plotted to cut the Throats of the *English*, and taking a fit time for't, made a furious assault upon them; but our People, who had some notice of their indignation, and the cause of it, were so wise as to be always upon their guard, and so were not surpriz'd, yet the Action cost them some wounds, but no lives at all, tho' many of the Savages were cut off. 'Twas to no purpose now to stay in the Country, the Natives being all in Arms against them; so Captain *Hobson* e'en sail'd home again to *England*, bringing the sad News of a War with him. However, 'twas thought convenient to try if Peace and Trade cou'd be by no means obtain'd with this Country, which by the intervention of so many unlucky accidents had so often seem'd to refuse them: And therefore two good Ships were set out at the Charge of Capt. *Roydon*, Capt *Langham*, Mr. *Bully* and Mr. *Skelton*, and committed to the Conduct of Captain *Smith*. The Captain being come to *New-England*, fish'd, traded with the Inhabitants, and with 8 Men alone ranged the Coast, and took a Plot of the Country. In a matter of 6 Months he made his Voyage out and home, and got near 1500 *l.* in his Pocket by the advantage he made of Otter and Beaver-Skins, Salt-fish, Train-Oil, and such like gross Commodities. The next Dispatch was of 4 good Ships, by the *Virginia* Company, which Captain *Smith* not undertaking, they entertain'd the Men that had been with him the former Voyage, and understood the business. These return'd also within 6 Months, with Fish, Train-Oil and Furrs. The same Year Captain *Smith* set out a second time for *New-England*, with two Ships, and ill Weather breaking his Masts, he was forc'd to return to *Plimouth* again, where, rather than lose all, he presently put to Sea again only with a Bark. But now this brave Man was to have his share of Misfortunes as well as others; for sailing in amongst 8 or 9 *French* Men of War, his little Bark was taken, but made a shift to escape again out of the enemies hands, while the Captain himself was left aboard them, and entirely at their dispose. By this means he was carried Prisoner into *France*, and besides all the extremities that he suffer'd during his confinement there, when he came home again, he was little better than ruin'd by these sad Misfortunes which frustrated the Voyage.

But notwithstanding the Captain's Personal Misfortune, a certain Ship (one of 4 that was intended for him) went that Voyage, and came home again very well laden; and this the very same Year that he was thus lamentably baulk'd.

The next Year, from *London* and *Plimouth*, there went at least 8 more, and got good quantities of Fish and Train-Oil, which they sold at *Spain* and the *Canary-Islands* for considerable profit. The next Year to this, none went out upon any Publick account; but the succeeding Year, there was set out from *Plimouth* two lusty Ships, that made a prosperous and profitable Voyage of it (out and home) in 5 Months time.

The next Year, tho' several Ships were ready to set Sail from the same place, yet one only went, but made so good work of it in 6 or 7 Months time, (from the time they went out to the time they return'd) that every Sailor that had but a single share, had besides his Charges 17 *l.* clear Money in his Pocket. Along with this Ship, there went

A. D. 1606. Lord Chief Justice *Popham* promotes the Discovery.

First disappointment.

Another trial.

A 3d Attempt.

Many discourag'd.

Fresh Ships sent.

The Plantation discourag'd.

They come away.

The *French* take their places.

Sir *Sam. Argall* drives them out.

A. D. 1611. More Ships sent.

Hunt's Villany.

English assaulted.

A. D. 1611. Capt *Smith's* successful Voyage.

Another Voyage. *A. D.* 1615.

Capt. *Smith's* unfortunate Voyage, and taking by the *French*.

A. D. 1615.

A. D. 1616.

A. D. 1618.

A. D. 1619.

went for *New-England* the Worthy Captain *Darmer*, who did very good Service in *Virginia* and *Newfoundland*, as well as *New-England*. He prosecuted a Northern Discovery with excellent success, finding out many goodly Rivers, and very pleasant fruitful Coasts and Islands, for the space of 80 Leagues from E. to W. for so that Coast ranges along from *Hudson's* River to Cape *James*. But while he was prosecuting these Discoveries with more zeal for the Publick Interest than care for himself, he was betray'd by the Savages, and wounded in 14 or 15 places by them; of which wounds, upon his return to *Virginia*, he died. The three succeeding Years Matters went on still better; more Ships went, (to the number at least of 50) and more profit was made both by the Fishing-trade and Furrs. And now we have seen the Correspondence between the two *Englands* thus open'd; we must come to Accounts something more particular, and then to a Description of the Country.

Capt. *Darmer's* Discoveries and Death.

CHAP. XXIX.

A Relation of a Plantation settled at Plimouth *in* New-England, *with the Proceedings thereof.*

IT was in *September*, *A. D.* 1620, that this Voyage was undertaken; with what number of People and Ships, or with what quantities of Provision, we can't say, only since they call themselves a Plantation, neither shou'd be very inconsiderable.

The excellent Bay at *Cape Cod.*

'Twas the beginning of *November* before they arrived at *Cape Cod*, the most remarkable Point of the *New-English* Land. Coming to an Anchor in the Bay, they found it a very good and commodious one, capable of entertaining 1000 Sail, and giving sufficient Recruits of Wood and Water. The entrance is about 4 Miles wide, and 'tis encompass'd all round, even to the very Sea, with Oaks, Pines, Juniper, Sassafras, and other sweet Woods. They declare they saw here the greatest plenty of Fowl that ever they saw, and had they had Tackling for the Whale-Fishery, they might have made a very rich return from hence, for they saw those monstrous Fishes playing hard by them every day.

Good fishing for Whales.

Their business now was to make some Discovery of the Country, and find out a convenient place to seat themselves in; and in order to this, they made several Attempts by Companies sent out for that purpose. The first consisted of about 16 Men well arm'd, who quickly saw some of the Natives, but they run away from them, and hid themselves in the Woods, while the *English* follow'd them from one Thicket to another, and endeavour'd to trace them through Valleys and over Hills, but cou'd neither overtake them, nor light of any of their Habitations. They found indeed in this Ramble a great deal of ground fit for the Plow, and several Fields where Corn had actually been sown; also some of the *Indian* Sepulchres, which were certain heaps of Sand cover'd over with Mats, and had Bows and Arrows buried in them, but they did not deface them much, for fear of affronting the Natives. In another of these *Tumuli* they found a good quantity of *Indian* Corn, part of which they brought away for Seed, intending to pay the Natives when the Soil paid them. Strawberries and Wallnuts they met with great plenty of, and some Vines. There were some marks also of Christians that had been there before, as a Ship-kettle in the remainders of an old House, and the Ruins of a Fort, which to be sure was not built by the Savages; their Fortifications (of Posts and Stakes knock'd into the ground) are as eafie to be known from the *European*, as their rude Houses of Leaves and Mats from the others of Brick and Stone. The next time 24 were dispatched in the Shallop, to make a farther Discovery of the Country and the Rivers. Those that were landed searched about, but cou'd find no People; yet they light upon some quantities of Wheat, Beans and Oil, which the *Indians* had buried, and stood the Revivers in very good stead. Happening also upon some more of those Graves but now mention'd, they resolv'd to dig up one of them which appear'd much larger than the rest: The outside covering was Boards, under which was a Mat; next to that were Bowls, Trays, Dishes, and then another Mat, under which was a Board about three quarters long, finely painted and carved. To this succeeded another Mat, under which were two Bundles that promis'd something more curious. The greater of these Bundles being open'd, discover'd a large quantity of a very fine and perfectly red powder, (of a strong, but no offensive smell) and in this were the Bones and Skull of a Man, the latter of which had fine yellow hair still upon it, and some of the flesh unconsum'd. Together with these Relicks, was made up in the same Bundle a Knife, a Pack-needle, and 2 or 3 old Iron things, and all was pack'd up in a Sailors Canvass Cassock, and a pair of Cloth Breeches. In the less Bundle there was the same sort of powder, and the Head and Bones of a Child; about the Legs, and other Parts of which, were Strings and Chains of white Beads, and by it was laid a Bow about three quarters long, with some other odd Nickstacks. Our Men continuing their Search, found several Graves more, but no more Corn. But it was the luck of some of them to fall in with two or three of the *Indian* Houses; the Nests were there indeed, but the Birds were fled, so that the *English* were at liberty to take and look what and where they pleas'd. These Houses were made of young tender Trees bent down Arbour-wise, and cover'd from top to bottom with thick and well-wrought Mats. The Doors were about a Yard high, and made only of Mat; the Chimneys were wide holes left open at top, to be cover'd with Mats when they pleas'd. All was as warm and close as cou'd be, for the Houses were not only Matted in the outside, but in the inside also. In the midst of them were four little Stakes knock'd into the ground, with Sticks laid across them, upon which they hung their Pots. Their Beds were so many Mats spread round about the Fire-place; for as the Fire keeps them warm in the Day, so 'tis a Principle with them to keep that warm in the Night. Had the *English* wanted Baskets, Bowl-dishes, Trays, Earthen-pots, or any Lumber of that kind, they might have had enough in these Houses.

Indian Graves.

The contents of a great Grave.

Indian Houses.

Houshold-stuff.

The other things the Houses afforded were Corn, some sorts of Seed, Provisions, and the like; some of the best of these they took away, intending (as before) to pay their Debts another time when they were able.

The third Attempt they made upon a Discovery was with their Shallop again. Now they happen'd to have a sight of some *Indians*, who wou'd not come near them, nor stay till they came near, but run away and shelter'd themselves in the Woods.

More Graves

Another large Burying-place was the most considerable thing that entertain'd them in this Ramble; the Graves here were more sumptuous than those they saw before, and the whole ground was encompass'd with a Pallisadoe, but they did not stand to enquire into the contents of them, but left the Bones to their repose.

Assaulted by the *Indians.*

One Night while they were out, the *Indians* came in a good Body and assaulted them, but keeping a strict Watch, they received no damage by them. The prospect they had of the Country this time, gave them very good satisfaction as to the success of the Design of Planting here. They found an excellent Soil in most places, and both Timber, Fruit-trees, and good Herbs in abundance.

They go to view the place where they planted.

The Company now having so good an account of the Country from those that had been sent to view it, they went all together to make a Judgment of it, and to come to their last Resolutions about a place to settle in; so they pitch'd on a Spot upon the Main Land, a high ground, where there was a great deal of Land clear'd that had been us'd to Corn, and was well water'd with Springs and Brooks. There was also near to it a good Harbour for Shipping, and other conveniences sufficient to encourage a Settlement there. This Harbour was a Bay

larger

larger than *Cape-Cod*, and afforded store of excellent Fowl and Fish; and two fine uninhabited Islands that lay within it, were as well replenish'd with all sorts of Timber. This place was also so near to *Cape-Cod*, that from a certain Hill adjacent (on which they design'd to raise their Fort) *Cape-Cod* might easily be seen. Here then they went to building as fast as they cou'd, and in 3 or 4 Months space the first rudiments of a Town appear'd; for 'twas the whole business of the entire Company, (them excepted that watch'd) and every Family had their proportion of Work allotted them. By that time so many Houses were built, that it might be call'd a little Town, the Savages began to make Visits to them. And first of all came one Savage alone, marching boldly into the Street, and saluted the *English* in their own Language, bidding them welcome into the Country. He was one of the Sagamores or Lords of the *Moratiggon*, a Country about 5 days Journey by Land from their Town; he had convers'd amongst the *English* that had come thither, and was a Person of a free easie Carriage. Notwithstanding his (Savage) Dignity, he was as naked as the Child just born, excepting only his Waste that was cover'd with a Leather; he was a tall strait Man, with long black hair, (but no Beard) and came Soldier-like with his Bow and Arrows in his hand. The *English* treated him with good Victuals and strong Liquors, which made him like their company so well, that he did not care to leave it. He inform'd them, that the place where they were seated was call'd *Patuxet* by the *Indians*, and that all the former Inhabitants were dead of a Plague; so that by this account, it seems the *English* dispossess'd no body.

Houses built.

A Savage comes to them.

Patuxet the *Indian* Name of the place.

They dismiss'd him at last with some Presents, which pleas'd him so far, that he came again quickly after, and brought 5 or 6 more along with him. These had Deer-skins on, and the chief of them a wild Cats-skin upon his arm; most of them too had a sort of long Hose that reach'd up to their very Groins, and pieces of Leather wrapt about their Wastes. Their hair hung long behind, and was cut short before much like his that came first; only this difference, that some of these had it truss'd up with feathers, and after several other antick fashions. They were of a dark complexion like the *English* Gipsies, and were very tall proper Men. These eat and drunk very freely with the *English*, and to make them amends for their kindness, entertain'd them with some of their *Indian* Dances.

More Savages come.

Quickly after News came by some of the Savages, that *Massasoyt*, the great Sagamore of the Country thereabouts, was come to a place hard by, to have an interview with the Governour; but the Governour thought fit, first of all, to send some other Person to speak with him, and know his mind, and accordingly dispatch'd one Mr. *Winslow* with a few Toys (Presents) for the King and his Brother. *Massasoyt* receiv'd the Messenger civilly, and liking the Proposals he made of Peace and Friendship, and of his being taken into the number of King *James* of *England*'s Allies, he march'd on to go meet the Governour, leaving Mr. *Winslow* in the Custody of his Brother *Quadequina*, and giving a sufficient number of Hostages for his Security. He came towards the Town with 20 Men only, and those unarm'd, and was met by the Way by Captain *Standish* (the chief Manager of the Military Affairs) with a File of Musqueteers. They conducted him into a House, where a Seat of State was prepar'd for him, which was three or four Cushions pil'd up upon a green Rug.

The great Sagamore of the *Indians* comes to see the Governour.

The Governour came in with a Drum and Trumpet before him, and a Guard; and *Massasoyt* having kiss'd him, they sate down together. Presently an Entertainment was brought in, the chief of which was Strong-Waters (a thing the Savages love very well) and the King having once set the Pot to his Nose, drunk such a swinging draught, as made him sweat all the time he staid there.

The Ceremony of his Reception, and the Treaty of Peace.

The next thing was to enter upon a Treaty, which the Strong-Water was a very good preparative to: And what the Governour propos'd was to this effect. 'That 'Restitution or Satisfaction shou'd be made in case of 'any Injury or Damage on either side, and Offenders 'duly punish'd. That they shou'd mutually assist each 'other in their Just Wars. That all *Massasoyt*'s Allies 'shou'd be comprehended in this Treaty, and notice gi-'ven thereof by him accordingly. That whenever the 'Savages came amongst the *English*, they shou'd leave 'their Weapons behind them, and the *English* shou'd 'likewise free them from all Jealousie and Suspicion in 'like manner. These Proposals were readily embrac'd, and so the League of Friendship solemnly concluded.

Massasoyt was a lusty tall Man of a middle Age, of a grave demure Countenance, and sparing of Speech. His Dress was little different from that of his Men, (the same with that before-mention'd) only he had a Chain of Fish-bones about his Neck, in which Ornament all the Majesty of his Guarb was compris'd; for without that, the others look'd as much like Kings as he, tho' with that, he look'd more like a Jackanapes than they. His Face was painted with a Murry-red, and both that, and his Head, were well lick'd over with Oil; so that it may easily be imagin'd what a greasie figure he made. He had a long Knife hanging in a String at his Bosom, and behind at his Back a little Pouch of Tobacco; this was Furniture he never was without, but the Chain perhaps was only for high Days, and select Company, or when something of the King more than ordinary was intended to be shewn. His Men had also their Bags of Tobacco at their backs, and their faces painted with varieties of colours; some shew'd an outside of Deer-skin, others of Badgers, and others of Asses-skins; these last being stark naked.

The description of him and his Company.

After this Interview, the King retir'd with all his People into the Woods, about half a Mile from the Town, where the Women and Children came to them, and they lodg'd that Night. This Entertainment *Massasoyt* shortly after requited in the best manner he cou'd, to a couple of *English* Gentlemen that went to see him while he staid in those Woods; and it appear'd by all tokens, that he had a real desire to maintain a Friendship with the *English* Nation.

Massasoyt's Return.

But the Company having let him digest and pause upon the League for the space of 3 or 4 Months, thought fit to try (by a sort of Embassy sent for that purpose) how it sat upon his Stomach. And there was another, and a more politick Design in this too, which was to make some farther Discoveries of the Country, to see where their strength lay; and since they were Allies, to know where to find them if occasion required. Mr. *Winslow*, who had already convers'd with *Massasoyt*, 'was thought to be the fittest Person to undertake this Employ, wherein he was accompanied by one or two more, and particularly a Savage, that spoke good *English*, for an Interpreter. This Savage was one of those that had formerly been betray'd, and carried away by *Hunt* the *Englishman*; and since he acts a considerable part upon this *New-England* Stage, we are obliged to name him; the *Indians* called him *Tisquantum*, a sly crafty Knave he was, and tho' the *English* did not know him now, yet afterwards they came to have a true notion of him, and plainly discover'd his treacherous practises. Well, our *Englishmen*, in company with him, set forward for *Pakanokick*, the ordinary Residence of the Great Sagamore *Massasoyt*. The *Indians*, all along by the Way, treated them with a great deal of courtesie, and plain honest freedom. They willingly gave them of their Provisions to eat, wou'd carry any Baggage for them; yea, take them themselves upon their backs, and wade with them through the Rivers. In some places they found the Country almost depopulated; there were fine Corn-fields and Pasture-grounds, without either Cattle or Inhabitants. 'Twas a great Plague it seems that had swept away these People, and left the Country in so mournful and desolate a state. About one River (where formerly abundance of People had dwelt) there were then but two Savages remaining, and those both Old Men, unfit for the hazards of War, or to stand the Champions and Defenders of their Country. Yet as soon as they saw the *English* entring the River, they ran to the opposite Bank, and stood charged with Bow and Arrow in their hands; with a vast deal of courage, they demanded who and what they were, intending, if they had found them enemies, to have expos'd their old Carkasses to all manner of dangers, rather than suffer them to have pass'd the River, but hearing them declare themselves Friends, they freely permitted them to land, and welcom'd them with the best Food they had. When they came to *Massasoyt*, they found him the same Man, as to his Resolutions of maintaining an inviolable Friendship with the *English*, that he was at *Plimouth* Town. Abundance of the Sachems, or Petty-Governours, came about them while they were there; but the jest of all was, that they cou'd get no Victuals at Court. *Massasoyt* himself had none to entertain them with; it fell out so at that time, for they live from Hand to Mouth, and go with a full or an empty Belly, according as they have, or have not success at their Sport. Our *Englishmen* had been very free of their own Provisions by the Way, and had bestow'd it all upon the *Indians* they met with, not doubting but at *Massasoyt*'s House they should meet with a Belly full; but it seems they

English go to him.

A.D. 1621. Kindness of the *Indians* to them in their Journey.

Desolate Country.

Resolute Savages.

Massasoyt continues a Friend.

Scarcity of Provisions at the time they visited him.

they were sadly disappointed, and had not the Savages bestirr'd themselves, and got a few Fish, and a Partridge or two, they had come away without making one Meal there. *Massasoyt* was heartily ashamed of his being so ill provided, but could not help it; however, he made up those defects with other kindnesses and tokens of his good will, for he lodged the two *Englishmen* upon the same Bed with his Wife and himself, tho' for want of room, two more of his Grandees were forc'd to squeeze in upon the same Mat; so that all things consider'd, our People were in as ill a case, as to the point of Lodging, as with respect to their Diet, and neither their Bellies, nor their Bones, cou'd reproach each other, with any luxurious Pleasures or Satisfactions. Yet all this had been perhaps tolerable, had they had no other company upon these hard Beds but the King and the Queen, and the two Grandees, but there were abundance of other Intruders that came without asking leave from his Majesty, and 'tis to be suppos'd were pretty much us'd to the House; what the *Indian* Name of these may be we don't know, but in *English* we call them Fleas and Lice, some of those Animals that formerly plagu'd *Egypt*, and were no small plague now in *America*. Upon all these accounts, they hurried away as fast as they cou'd, and tho' *Massasoyt* earnestly press'd them to stay longer, yet they remembred their Lodging, and thanking him for his kindness came away.

Fleas and Lice.

'Twas no small satisfaction to the Colony, to find that *Massasoyt* stood so firm and tight to the Articles of the League, and that he discover'd so much Fidelity to the *English* Interest. Their Satisfaction was also encreas'd by a new Friendship with a neighbouring Prince, contracted much about this time: It was *Jyanough*, the Sachem of *Cummaquid*, a most affable, courteous, and well-accomplish'd Person, and in nothing Savage but the rudeness of his Habit. He and his People studied to do the *English* all the good Offices imaginable, and as they had occasion to come into his Territories, ever treated them with the utmost Civility, and the best Provisions he had.

Jyanough King of *Cummaquid*.

But there were another sort of Neighbours call'd the *Narraghansets*, that were much otherwise affected towards the Plantation, and in plain terms breath'd Defiance, threatning no less than the utter Destruction of it. The *Indians* of all sides talk'd of this Expedition of the *Narraghansets* against the *English*, and that which render'd it the more probable was, that they were a numerous People, and as bold and daring as they were great and strong: And that all this was more than meer talk, appear'd convincingly shortly after, for there came a Messenger from *Conaucus*, the great Sagamore of the *Narraghansets*, who brought a bundle of new Arrows wrapt up in a Rattle-Snakes Skin. As for the *English*, they knew not the meaning of this Present; the Arrows and the Snake-skin were equally a Mystery to them, but *Tisquantum*, their Interpreter, unfolded the Riddle to them. He knew the Customs and Manners of those *Indians*, and assur'd the *English* that this was no less than a formal Challenge, and that the *Narraghansets* did by these Symbols defie them to Mortal Battel, and proclaim themselves their everlasting Enemies.

The *Narraghansets* Enemies to the *English*.

Their bold Defie.

The *Narraghansets* appear'd the bolder in this Defie of theirs, in that it was given just upon the coming of a Ship with Recruits to the Colony. But they knew well enough what they did, and understood by their Spies that the *English* had only an addition made to their Numbers, but none to their Arms nor Provisions, (which are equally the Support of a War) by the coming of this new Ship. However, they took this advantage to let the *English* see how little they fear'd them; and the truth of it is, 'twas an Insult big enough, considering they had no means of being sure that the *English* knew upon what grounds they made so light of them, and that the rest of the World round about, who did not know the true State of the Case, wou'd judge it an effect of pure Resolution and Bravery.

The Insolence of the *Narraghansets*.

But the Governour having consulted upon the point, took the Arrows out of the Skin, and having stuff'd it full of Powder and Shot, sent it back again to the King of the *Narraghansets*. This was to let him know that his Challenge was accepted, and that whenever his People came with their Bows and Arrows, the *English* wou'd be ready to receive them with Powder and Shot. When the Messenger deliver'd this Present to *Conanacus* he was extremely surpriz'd, and having found 'twas Powder and Shot, he wou'd not so much as touch it, nor suffer it to stay in his House; so that 'twas e'en brought back again as it went. The Savage King, 'tis probable, thought the *English* had sent that Powder and Shot to do him a mischief beforehand; to murder him before the War began, and so prevent the shedding of more Blood, for he knew that Men were kill'd with such things as those were, (tho' he did not know how nor which way) and therefore he did very wisely in not suffering the Powder and Shot to lie within doors, lest it shou'd have gone off of its own accord, and so a blown him up to rights. This was a Judicious consideration; and the *English* Plot was thus entirely defeated. However, the *English* took care to fortify their Town, and put themselves into the best posture of Defence, that in case the *Narraghanset* King came (to revenge that horrid Design upon his Life) they might be in a condition to receive him. This done, they proceeded with some Designs of Trade.

The Governour sends Powder and Shot.

The *Indian* King won't receive it.

They had a long time promis'd the *Massachuset Indians* to come and Traffick for their Furrs, and now notwithstanding these rumours of Wars, they resolved to be as good as their Word; so Captain *Standish*, accompany'd with 10 Men, together with *Tisquantum*, and *Hobbamock* (which was one of *Massasoyt*'s greatest Captains, and liv'd now with the *English* at *New Plimouth*) set out upon this Design. But they had not gone far, before a certain *Indian* comes to the Governour, and tells him that the *Narraghansets* were marching towards the Town, and that *Massasoyt*, the great pretended Friend of the *English*, was joyn'd with them, and he must therefore prepare for an assault. And the Rogue told this Story with so much passion, and so many other appearances of truth, especially a Bloody face, which he said he got by speaking for the *English*, that the Governour believ'd him, and therefore shot off 2 or 3 pieces of Ordnance for a warning to Captain *Standish* and his Company to return, if they were not out of hearing; which they not being, came back again, and put themselves into a readiness to fight. But in vain did they expect the Enemy, who never came, having no such Design at that time. And *Hobbamock*, who was more nearly concern'd for his Master *Massasoyt*, assur'd the Governour of his Fidelity, and that all this Report was a Scandal upon him. To be sure of this, the Governour dispatch'd a Messenger to *Puckanokick*, the place of *Massasoyt*'s ordinary Residence, which found him at home quietly minding his own Affairs, and thinking of no Plots nor Wars; but he was highly concern'd, when he heard how he had been misrepresented to the *English*, and it work'd so far upon him, that he went away to the Plantation shortly after, on purpose to clear himself, and wipe away those aspersions that had been cast on him. This was the first discovery of *Tisquantum*; for the Savage that had acted that part before, and alarm'd all the Plantation, was one of his Creatures, and was set awork by his Master.

A cunning Plot of *Tisquantum*.

The Town alarm'd.

Massasoyt abus'd.

Now this Fellows design in all this under-hand dealing, was not so much to expose the *English*, as to pursue his own Reputation and Advantage, and make his Country-men think him a mighty great Man: For he us'd to tell them, that he cou'd manage the *Englishmen*, and perswade them to Peace or War as he pleas'd; and by this means, they entertain'd a high Opinion of him, and us'd to make him large Presents in the quality of a Mediator. He undertook to procure them Peace or Protection, Trade or Commerce, or any other favour from the *English* that they desir'd. And on the other hand, when the Gifts did not come in fast enough, he wou'd denounce War against them, and threaten to set the *English* upon their backs; so that he was much more look'd upon than many of their Sachems, yea, *Massasoyt* himself was grown an insignificant Person in comparison with *Tisquantum*. For whereas the Savages us'd to apply themselves to the former, to mediate with the *English* on their behalf, now the latter was all in all; and who forsooth, but he, had Power at *Plimouth* Town? And the Tricks he had put upon the *Indians* round about were so many, and had proceeded so far, that the *English* having now found out the Rascal, were obliged to expose him as such to those *Indians* he had deceiv'd, and to assure them of their Friendship and constant Resolution to maintain Peace with them, upon other Terms than *Tisquantum* us'd to represent.

Tisquantum's Designs.

But one of this Fellows deceits was so Comical, that we will divert the Reader with the account of it. 'Twas his business to strike his Country-men with a very awful fear of the *English*, and by representing them as a People something more than ordinary, to make himself (who was very familiar with them) to be taken for something extraordinary too. He told them therefore, that the *English* had the Command of the Plague, and cou'd dispense it about in the Country as they pleas'd. He said that they kept that Fury buried in a certain hole in the ground just by their Store-house, and cou'd let it out at

A. D. 1622. A pleasant Story.

any

any time upon their Enemies, and so kill them without the trouble of fighting. And as a consequence of the former, that by keeping that hole fast stopt, they cou'd keep the distemper a Prisoner under ground, and hinder the malignant Contagion from flying abroad to disturb the Country. Now the *Indians* who had had the Plague raging amongst them, and so had known the terrible effects of it, cou'd not possibly hear any thing more astonishing; and therefore (not knowing the Knave they had to do with) thought the *English* a very strange sort of People, believ'd it was their interest upon all accounts to keep the Peace with them, and for that end courted *Tisquantum*, by whose means alone they hop'd to have the fatal hole kept close stopt. But in the late alarm, it happen'd that certain Barrels of Gun-powder, that were buried under ground, were dug up, and *Hobbamock* seeing the great hole where the Barrels lay, chanced to ask *Tisquantum* the meaning of it: Why (says he) this was the place where the Plague was buried; which so surpriz'd the other, that he went immediately to ask some of the *English* themselves, who told him, They had not (but the God they serv'd had) the command of the Plague. Thus all *Tisquantum*'s Roguery came out, and the *Indians* were satisfied they were liable to no such Persecution from their Neigbours as that came to. 'Tis possible the Rascal might mean the Gun-powder all the while, for that was a raging Plague amongst the *Indians*, and a great many of them dy'd on't. The politick King of the *Narraghansets* we know, wou'd not suffer the Infection to lodge under his Roof, but threw it out of doors with all imaginable haste; and 'tis probable he had seen some Men drop down very suddenly of it, or else he wou'd not have been in such a hurry. But whether *Tisquantum* meant that or no, 'tis certain he impos'd upon the *Indians* to as great a degree, as if the Plague had been actually Imprison'd in that Cavern he spake of; and like the Winds, cou'd have been let out and call'd in, at any time when the Keepers pleas'd.

'Twas hinted before, how *Massasoyt* was represented to the *English* as a Confederate with their Mortal enemies the *Narraghansets*, and this by the sly insinuations of *Tisquantum*: Now this abuse provok'd *Massasoyt* so far, that he sent to the Governour to have the scandalizing Slave resign'd to him, and the rather, because being one of his own Subjects, he had a Right to demand, as well as a Power to punish him; but the *English* found, or made some excuses for not delivering him up, and tho' Peace was afterwards made for him, yet this refusal in some measure sour'd that Prince: and the truth on't is, it seems hardly worth their while to have lost the least degree of his Friendship for the sake of a designing Villain, allowing him to have been an Interpreter.

Massasoyt displeas'd.

No Wars coming on, the Colony improv'd their time in trading with the *Indians*: They went that Voyage to the *Massachusets*, from which they had been once hindred by the noise of the coming of the *Narraghansets*, and their Trade with that People turn'd this time to very good account. A while after, the Governour in Person going out upon the discovery of a passage within the Shoals of *Cape Cod*, (which attempt prov'd ineffectual) and having some expectations of Corn from the *Massachusets*, he went thither; but a Sickness had been amongst that People, and hindred their Country Affairs. They complain'd also to the Governour of the *English* that were seated in the Bay hard by them; of their prouling about, and stealing their Corn. These we must know were a little Plantation by themselves, lately come over, upon one Mr. *Weston*'s account, and who thought fit to Seat themselves in this place. They spent and spung'd upon the Colony at *Plimouth*, and robb'd the Savages too; and which was worst of all, they had enter'd into a sort of a Partnership, as to some points of Trade, with them of *Plimouth* Town, which seem'd to give them Partners shares also in the scandal of the abuses and injuries offer'd to the *Indians*. The Governour found there was no good to be done here, those new Planters having indeed quite spoil'd the Trade both for Corn and Furrs, giving as much for a Quart of Corn as the *Plimouthians* us'd to give for a good Beaver-skin; so that he return'd into the bottom of the Bay of *Cape-Cod*, to a place call'd *Nausset*, where the Sachem us'd the Governour very kindly, and furnish'd him with 8 or 10 Hogsheads of Corn and Beans. The same usage they met with at *Mattachiest*, together with a good quantity of Corn. And 'tis observable, that being under a necessity of leaving a considerable Stock of Corn, which they had bought here, behind them one Winter, at their return to fetch it they found it perfectly untouch'd, and not only so, but well guarded and preserved by the *Indians*; such an awe had they of the *English*, and so readily did the Sachem (who was commanded by the Governour to look after the Corn) obey the Orders laid upon him.

Their Trade with several Indian Towns.

New Plante's oppress the Indians.

Nausset and Mattachiest.

After this they traded at *Namasket* and *Mancmet*, Inland Towns, and got good store of Corn. That latter place stands upon a fine River that yields abundance of excellent fresh Fish, and runs into the *Narraghanset* Bay. It lies S. W. from *Plimouth*-Town about 20 Miles. The Sachem of this Country us'd the Governour with very great civility, and was one of those that had acknowledg'd the Sovereignty of King *James* of *England*.

Namasket and Manomet.

The next Voyage about this Corn-trade was to *Mattachiest*, and Captain *Standish* undertook it. Here the *Indians* discover'd much another sort of temper than they had done before, for they pilfer'd and stole away several things from the Company, which tho' in themselves but Trifles, yet the Captain was resolv'd not to lose, and therefore threaten'd the Sachem till he had made him take Orders for the restitution of them again.

Another Voyage.

But this was not all, for the Captain plainly discover'd that they had a design to murder him and his Men, but he kept a good Watch all the while he was there, and so defeated them. Neither was this the first time the *Indians* had been fingering the *English* Commodities; for before this, when they were trading at *Nausset*, they slily got away some things, and the Captain was forc'd at that time to give them some rough words before he cou'd have them restor'd.

Treachery of the *Indians.*

But to proceed: Some time after, when their decaying Stores requir'd a fresh Supply, Captain *Standish* went to *Manomet*, to fetch home a parcel of Corn that the Governour had contracted for. The Sachem of this place had given the Governour, when he was here, a very kind Entertainment, but he treated the Captain now not near so well. In short, he very evidently saw that they had the same treacherous Minds with them of *Mattachiest*, and this passage alone was enough to have perswaded him of it, had there been no others grounds for suspicion. While he was at the Sachem's House, in comes a certain *Massachuset Indian*, by Name *Wituwamat*, a proud insulting Fellow, and one that had imbrued his hands in the Blood both of *Englishmen* and *Frenchmen* more than once. He was a lusty strong Man, and had Courage enough, and knew it so well, that he lessen'd it wonderfully by his extravagant braggs of it. This sawcy Savage cou'd not forbear jeering the *English* and *French* before the Captain's face, and laughing at their weakness and pusillanimity: For (says he) they never die like Men, but like Children, crying, and making a parcel of foure faces, when they are Mortally wounded. But he did not content himself with this piece of Insolence, but taking a Dagger from about his Neck, (which Weapon he had gotten from some of the *English* of *Weston*'s Plantation) he presented it to the Sachem, and afterwards made a long Speech, accompanied with a World of impudent gestures and actions; and 'twas very evident, that he intended not only to affront Captain *Standish*, but also to let him know that he design'd to do so. The Captain indeed, tho' he understood the Language in some measure, yet not well enough to make sense of a tedious Speech; however, he understood enough to make him sensible what the Man wou'd be at, yet being fearful of beginning to open a wide breach, he let them alone, and resolv'd to see what they wou'd make of it themselves.

Capt. Standish at Manomet.

The Indians false there.

The carriage of a bold Indian.

Now (as they came afterwards to be inform'd) *Wituwamat*'s Speech to the Sachem was to this effect: That the *Massachusets* had formerly design'd to destroy the *English* Colony planted by them in the Bay, but they consider'd, that if they did that, they must cut off them at *Plimouth* too, or else they shou'd lie expos'd to a severe revenge. But then finding themselves not strong enough to carry on both those designs, they endeavour'd to engage their Neighbours assistance, and came now to bespeak him to joyn with the other Sachems round about, who were resolv'd to do their utmost towards the Extirpation of the *English*. Farther he told him, That since Captain *Standish* was thus luckily fallen into their hands, they ought not to slip the opportunity, but make him and his Men the first Examples. After this Message, *Wituwamat* was mightily caress'd by the Sachem, and there was a manifest difference between his Entertainment and the Captains. This was a plain Declaration of his Mind, and 'twas as much as to say that he was resolved to joyn in the Confederacy against the *English*. The Captain easily saw the difference made between *Wituwamat* and himself, but however digested that, as long as they did not come to other extremities. Now the number of Men he had with him was very inconsiderable, they were not above 6 in all, whereof one half was with the Shallop, and the other ashore with him;

The scope of his Message to the Sachem.

yet they did not dare to come to open violence tho' he had so few, and the Captain having got all his Corn ready, made the *Indians* carry it down to the Shallop, according to their promise, and so came off clear. At this time there was a notable Rascal (an *Indian* of *Cape-Cod*) very officious about the Captain, and wou'd needs help him in getting his Corn aboard, and doing other pieces of Service, almost whether he wou'd or no. He had been acquainted some time with the *English*, and now being got into the Bay, appear'd more courteous and diligent to please than ever; but his true design was to kill Captain *Standish*, and being to lie amongst the *English* that Night, promis'd the Sachem that he wou'd Stab him before they parted, and then his Men might fall upon the rest of the company. But as it fell out, that Night the Captain cou'd not sleep, and did nothing but turn to and fro (and sometimes walk about by the Fire-side) all Night long; so that the Assassinate fail'd of his purpose. The next day the Wind serving, they sail'd back for *Plimouth*, and this *Indian* with them, who wou'd fain have perswaded the Captain to have gone to a certain place along with him, where he had (as he pretended) large Stores of Corn to furnish him with; and Capt. *Standish*, who suspected nothing of his treachery, wou'd have accompany'd him thither, but Providence prevented it, and the Wind turning suddenly about, oblig'd them to lay aside those thoughts, and sail home. Thus the second Plot was baffled too, and the Life of a brave Man happily spar'd. In the interim that Capt. *Standish* was at *Manomet*, News came to *Plimouth* that *Massasoyt*, their Old Friend and Allie, was very like to die, which was no small trouble to the whole Plantation, for they had always found him punctual, just and sincere in all his Treaties and Dealings with them. Now since 'twas the custom amongst the *Indians*, when any (especially a great Man or a Sachem) are sick, for all that profess a Friendship for them to send to visit them, the Government determin'd to pay that Civility to *Massasoyt*, and Mr. *Winslow* (accompanied with the trusty *Indian Hobbamock*, and one *Englishman* more) was dispatch'd upon that Errand. By the Way they had News that the good Prince *Massasoyt* was dead, (which had almost spoil'd their Journey) but considering the uncertainty of Reports at a distance, they went on.

Capt. *Standish*'s dangers.

Massasoyt sick, and the Visit made to him.

Hobbamock's sorrow for his Prince.

But *Hobbamock* burst out into a bitter Lamentation, for the supposed death of his beloved Lord and Master: He went on crying, *Neen womasu Sagemus, Neen womasu Sagemus*, My Sachem, my Sachem, many have I known, but never any like thee. Then he wou'd turn to Mr. *Winslow*, and run into a long harangue upon the Praises of his Master, and bid him depend upon it, that he shou'd never find any other *Indians* so Just and Honest, and Good as he. However, when they came to *Puckanackick*, they were surpriz'd with the joyful tidings of his being yet alive, tho' in a condition in which his life was not long to be expected. He had not quite lost his Senses, only his sight was gone, when Mr. *Winslow* came to his Bed-side, and *Hobbamock* telling him there was his good Friend *Winslow*, he put out his Hand, and faintly repeated those words, *Keen Winsnow*, that is, *Art thou* Winslow? for they can't pronounce the Letter *l*, but always use *n* in the room of it. To which Mr. *Winslow* replying, *Ahhe*, Yes, he return'd, *Matta neen wonckanet namen Winsnow*; that is, *O!* Winslow, *I shall never see thee again.* And the truth on't is, the noise and bustle that was about him was enough to have kill'd a Man almost without a distemper; for being mightily belov'd amongst the *Indians* for his Vertues, there was a vast concourse of Visitants about his House and Chamber. Several of these were at their Charms and Incantations for his recovery; that is, making loud noises and clamours, and disturbing the Sick Man instead of doing him good. Besides, there were 6 or 8 Women employ'd to chafe his Arms and Legs, in order to the keeping of the natural heat in them; and what with the gibble-gabble of these, and the wild noises of the Charmers, our *English* Visiters declare that their Heads were distemper'd. *Massasoyt* yielded to all these Ceremonies and Customs of his Country, but in spight of all the Means, concluded himself a dead Man. But Mr. *Winslow* comforted him in the best manner he cou'd, and began to act the part of a Physician towards him, administring some Cordials which he brought from *Plimouth*, and found that they were not without their success. This encourag'd him to go on in his practice, and the success still attending the endeavour, the issue was, that in a few days time the Patient was so far recover'd, as to be out of danger of dying this bout. But 'tis hardly to be express'd how kindly he took this Visit from the *English*; to make some returns, he discover'd all the whole Plot of the *Massachusets*, how many of the Sachems they had drawn in, and what applications they had made to him to joyn with them too. But withal, he earnestly advis'd the *English* not to wait till the *Massachusets* began with them, but to begin first themselves, and cut them all off; otherwise, if they spar'd them upon those Principles of tenderness that they had hitherto done, they wou'd have cause to repent it hereafter. With infinite thanks, and fresh assurances of true love to the *English*, they departed from *Massasoyt*'s Town, in company with *Conbatant* the Sachem of *Mattapuist*, who entertain'd them at his House. This was a sort of an unsettled (if not a hollow-hearted) Friend of the *English*; however, he entertain'd them civilly, and dismiss'd them without any wrong, tho' Mr. *Winslow* and *Hobbamock* both had been employ'd in a Service against him.

Mr. *Winslow* cures him.

Massasoyt's great rude to the *English*.

Conbatant receives them.

At their return home, the Affair of the *Massachuset*-Plot was taken into publick consideration, and since the Evidences that prov'd that bloody and barbarous Design were so many and so clear, that there was no room for doubt of it, it was determin'd Capt. *Standish* shou'd go and prevent them. Matters were now come to that pass with the *English* of *Weston*'s Plantation, that they cou'd hardly live there for the continual Violences and Insults of the *Indians*; they wou'd come and take their Provisions out of their very Fort, and eat it before their faces, and if any body spoke a Word to gainsay them, they wou'd draw their Knives and hold them to their Breasts. In short, they were in a very miserable condition, and cou'd not possibly hold out (between want of Provisions and of Strength) much longer. It must be own'd, that their own Unjust treatment of the *Indians* brought all these Miseries upon them, and they were so far from being not accessary to their own Misfortunes, that if the Savages had executed their Design upon them, it must have been allow'd they had receiv'd but a Just recompence.

Resolution to punish the *Massachusets*.

Miserable Case of the other Colony.

However, since they had plotted to carry their revenge so far, and to destroy the innocent with the guilty, to Massacre them at *Plimouth* as well as the others, 'twas but reasonable for the *English* to attempt something in their own Defence. And they concluded it the best way to go to Work in such a manner, that the *Indians* might not have any frightful alarm given them, and so fly and hide themselves from their Just indignation; but rather, seeing no signs of any impending Storm, might be left to their full liberty, and so discover themselves with the more plainness. For this reason, Capt. *Standish* took no more than 8 Men (of which *Habbamock* was one) along with him; but whatsoever other action was forborn at this time, he had positive Orders to bring the Head of that daring Savage *Wituwamat* along with him at his return. Being come to the Plantation among the *Massachusets*, he found the People carelesly dispers'd up and down the Country, like Men that neither knew nor fear'd any danger; they had neither Swords nor Guns amongst them, and they suffer'd the Cut-throat *Indians* to lodge and live together with them, as if they had been their Friends and Countrymen. But when the Captain told them their danger, and the horrid design of the *Indians* to murder them all, then they cou'd reflect upon former passages, and find out some grounds of suspicion that all was not as it shou'd be, and that there was some wicked design in hand. 'Tis strange to think what these Men had done with their Senses all this while, that People must come from another Country to tell them that their next Neighbours were about to cut their Throats. And most certainly, the very reason why they were not all dispatch'd (every Man of them) before that time, was because the *Indians* were not in a capacity to prevent the revenge that was to be expected from *Plimouth* Town; that is, to murder them as well as the rest. Captain *Standish* endeavour'd to conceal his resentments and design from the *Indians* as much as was possible, but yet a cunning *Indian* Spy discover'd something of Revenge in his face, and gave the hint to his Countrymen. Now besides the hectoring Savage *Wituwamat* before mention'd, there was also another among the *Massachusets* whose Name was *Pecksnot*, as bold and insolent a Fellow as the other, and of as much courage and strength; and these two were Champions that they repos'd a great deal of confidence in. This *Pecksnot* talking one day with *Hobbamock*, discover'd that the design of their coming was very well known amongst the *Massachusets*. *We know* (says he) *that Captain* Standish *is come to kill us all, and tell him that we know it, but fear him not, neither will we run away from him; let him begin as soon as he dares, he shall not come upon us unawares.* Notwithstanding this sawcy Challenge, the Captain let him alone; yea, tho' they came and whet their Knives before

Design upon the *Indians*.

Carelessness of the new Plantation.

The Insolence of the *Indian* Hectors.

fore his face, and us'd several threatning gestures and actions, yet he would not begin till he had a favourable opportunity. But this came shortly after; for the two Hectors being one day amongst the *English* playing their rude pranks, as they us'd to do, *Wituwamat* bragg'd of the goodness of the Knife he had in his hand, upon the Handle of which there was a Womans face carv'd: *But* (says he) *I have one at home that's better than this, which has a Man's face carv'd upon't; and these two Knives I intend shall be married together. That Knife at home* (he continued) *has done many an Execution both upon* English *and* French; *and as for this,* hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, marra cuts, *by and by it shall see, and by and by it shall eat and devour, tho' without speaking a word.*

A Jest upon the Captain.

Pecksnot also (who was a Man of a very large Stature) thought fit to put his Jest upon the Captain, who was but of a small one: *Ku* (says he to Captain *Standish*) *tho' a great Captain, yet you are but a little Man; and I, tho' I am no Sachem, yet am a Man of great Strength and Courage.* This was a pretty intelligible way of calling a Man Coward; however, the Captain did not thank him for this Savage Complement till the next day. But then having these two Fellows, with two more of their Gang in company, one of which was a Brother of *Wituwamats*, and Villain-like, trod exactly in his Steps; and having just the same number of his own Men with him, he gave the Signal to have the Door shut fast where they were, and so being in a Room by themselves, and an equal Match for number on both sides, there cou'd be no foul play. The Captain himself began with *Pecksnot*, and after a vast deal of struggling got him down, and cut his Throat with his long Knife. The *Englishman* that fought with *Wituwamat* kill'd him too, and so did the third his Man; only *Wituwamat*'s Brother was taken alive, and preferr'd to a pair of Gallows afterwards. It's incredible how many wounds and stabs those two valiant Savages receiv'd before they died; how they struggl'd and catch'd at the Weapons to the very last breath, and died without any unmanly noises or signs of fear. The Captain having done this hardest piece of the Work, went presently away to do the easier; that is, to rout the rest of the *Indians* that were banded together in several places. Some he and his Men cut off, and another Company of the *English* of that Plantation fell upon more of them; and had not some that escap'd given warning to the rest, the *Massachusets* had that time been shrewdly diminish'd in their numbers. But there was at length a good body of *Indians* got together, and they had courage enough to come and meet the Captain and his Men in the open Field; but that heat was quickly cool'd, and they retir'd behind the Trees, where they stood, and sometimes shot, and sometimes scolded, and gave the *English* foul Language, never daring to leave those wooddy shelters. The Captain call'd to the Sachem to come and decide the Controversie by single Combat between them two, but he cou'd get no answer to it, but Arrows and ill Words. These being dispers'd, they return'd back to *Plimouth* Town, where the Captain was receiv'd with a great deal of Joy and Triumph, and *Wituwamat*'s Head was set up upon the Fort. It is not easily conceiv'd what a terror this execution done upon the *Massachusets* struck in the rest of the Plotters round about; they forsook their Houses, and ran to and fro in the Woods like distracted People, being continually afraid that the Just revenge of the *English* pursued them in all places. Not long after also, several of those malignant Sachems died, and left the *English* either none, or (at least) less virulent enemies in their room. And now it may be said, that the Plantation began to flourish something considerably, having, besides the Blessings of Heaven in good Corn and Fruit Seasons, the Encouragements of *Old England* in fresh Supplies from thence.

The Indians slain by Capt. Standish and his Men.

They are routed in other places.

The terror of the *Indians.*

Our Authors go no farther with the History of the Colony and their Affairs: so that we shall here break off the thread of this Discourse, and come to that of the Country and People, where, and amongst whom, they were seated.

CHAP. XXX.

An Account of New-England, *with the Manners and Customs of the Natives.*

New-England suppos'd an Island.

THis Country (whatever the *English* say of it) the Natives believe to be an Island, and go so far as to tell the very Name of that Inlet of the Sea that parts it from the Main Land of *Virginia*. This Inlet they call *Moheggon*, and constantly affirm that the *English* and *Dutch* pass that way between the two Countries, and drove a great Trade there. For the confirmation of this Opinion of the Natives, it is alledged that they had no knowledge of the neighbouring Country of *Virginia*, tho' it be not above 150 Leagues from them; that they never heard of *Powhatan* the great Prince of those Parts, nor knew nothing of the *English* Plantation there, till they were inform'd of it. And the reason of this was suppos'd to be, because some Waters (such as they cou'd not pass in their Canoes) lay between them and that Country. But they must be credulous enough, that will receive these things as Arguments to prove *New-England* an Island. Perhaps any great Lake they can't find the end of, they call a Sea; at least those that did not understand their Language well might think so. However, if the *English* have ever travell'd by Land from *Virginia* to *New-England*, 'twill be as much as is needful to put an end to this dispute. For the temper of the Air and the Seasons, *New-England* differs very little from Old, at least that part where the Plantation was fix'd; altho' in the Latitude of 42 deg. one wou'd expect that from this nearer position to the Line, it shou'd be much hotter here than in *England*, yet Experience shews the contrary, or if there be any difference 'tis next to indiscernible. On the other hand, the Winters are thought to be both longer and sharper than in *Old-England*, and Cold more piercing, and the Frosts more severe. But this difference, which is contrary to what shou'd follow, if one consider'd meerly the situation of places upon the Globe, is not a Phænomenon peculiar to *New-England*, but is observable in other Parts of the World.

The reason of it.

Temper of the Air.

Great Frosts.

As for the nature of the Soil, here is Sand, Gravel, Clay as good as any in the World, excellent for Pots, and that will wash as well as any Soap. There is also great store of Stone, tho' not so dense and hard as in many other Countries. The Products of the Country as to Plants, Fruits, Corn and Animals, are so much the same with those of *Virginia*, and the neighbouring Parts, that they need not be allow'd a particular description.

Soil excellent Clay.

The main Commodities for Trade are Fish and Furrs, of both which there is such plenty, and so good, that if great profit upon that score be to be expected from any Country, 'tis from hence.

Trade.

The Natives are not so grosly ignorant of a Supreme Almighty being here, as they seem to be in many other Parts of the World: For as they have a Notion of several Divine Powers, so they conceive of one Superiour to all the rest, and that created all things. This Power they call *Kichtan*; and they say farther, That he made at first one Man and one Woman, from whom descended all the Nations of the Earth, but how they came to be so scatter'd about, and dispers'd into Countries so remote from one another, they can't tell. They believe this Power to be good, and pay a sort of acknowledgment to him for Plenty, Victory, or other Benefits receiv'd. His Habitation they say lies Westward in the Heavens, and all good Men when they die go thither, where they meet all their Friends, and have their fill of all manner of Pleasures. As for bad Men, when they die they go to *Kichtan*-Habitation too, and knock at the door, but they have no answer from him but *Quachet*, that is, walk away; and so, they wander about in restless discontent and penury. This Supreme *Kichtan* they hold to be a

Natives belief of a God.

Their thoughts of a future State.

Power altogether invisible, and not any of the Priests themselves ever pretend to have seen him at any time.

Their account of the Devil. So rin appearing to them.

But they stand in more awe of another Power, which they call *Hobbamocko*, and our *Englishmen* the Devil. 'Tis to him they make their application for the cure of distempers, and he scruples not (as they affirm) to make very frequent appearances to them; sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, like a Man, a Deer, an Eagle, but most commonly in the form of a Snake. To see him is an Honour that they are vastly ambitious of; however, 'tis conferr'd only upon those of the better sort, and the meaner sort of People, as much as they long for't, have scarce any of his Visits. But the mischief of it, these better sort of People, to whom *Hobbamocko* is thus kind, are the Powahs or Priests, and the Paniese or Counsellors of State to the Sachems; that is, Men of Intrigue and Design, that love to govern and keep the People in awe about them.

The delusions of the Powahs.

And according to the accounts our *English* give of the Matter, the very Notion of this *Hobbamocko* was put into the Peoples Heads by the Powahs; and the business of making him, and not *Kichtan*, (whom they believe to be all good) their great Physician, seems to have been entirely the Device of those (too successful) Cheats. One may guess at the Original and whole Management of the Imposture, by this particular part of it.

Method of curing the Sick.

When a Man lies sick of some grievous distemper, the Powah (who is the black Power's Agent and Officer) comes to do the good Work of curing him. The administration is nothing else but an Incantation; the Priest howls, screams, sings, jabbers, mutters, makes horrid faces, and looks as ugly as *Hobbamocko* himself.

The Tricks of the Powahs.

He has a thousand antick tricks and postures over the diseased Man, who all the while the Invocation lasts, shews his consent to it by some few words dropt ever now and then, and sometimes breaks out into a strain of Musick along with the Powah. And if there be a wound in the case, after the noises and postures are ended, he goes to licking the same. But the misery is, that 'tis not the Powah that does this, tho' he seems to do it, but 'tis the Snake or the Eagle that sits upon his shoulder that does the business; that is, (as we are to suppose) *Hobbamocko* in the shape of those Animals. This Spectrum is invisible to all but the Powah himself, who can see it very plainly tho' none of the rest can; and yet they are such Fools as to believe 'tis there, giving the Lye to all their Senses at once, rather than to the Knave that imposes upon them. Now for a Man that has his eyes open, and good ones too, to be perswaded that an Object stands before him when he can see nothing of it, is no higher a denial of sense, than to believe that an Object which he sees before him is really not there; and consequently, shou'd an *Indian* catch one of the Powahs in Bed with his Wife, that wou'd be no proof at all of his being there, for the Man's eyes may cheat him one way as well as t'other, and see what is not to be seen, as well as not see what is to be seen. So that these Fellows may lie with all the Women of the Country, and be taken in the fact too, and yet never provoke the Jealousie of the Husbands, nor be call'd guilty for't.

What they tell the Sick of their diseases.

But to go on with their honest practises a little farther: When they come to a sick Man, they generally tell him a very pretty Story of the Cause and Original of his illness. If they find the distemper any way hopeful and likely to be cur'd, they tell him that *Hobbamocko* sent it for some Offence or other, who if he calls upon him in his distress, will still afford him relief: On the other hand, if the case be desperate, then they say that *Kichtan* is angry, and laid that affliction upon the Patient; and all Maladies from this hand they affirm are incurable. Thus they give them a far worse Notion of God Almighty than the Devil, while they make the former a cruel and inexorable Being, but represent the latter as one that by Sacrifices and Prayers may be appeas'd. And our *English* Planters positively tell us, from the Confessions of the *Indians* themselves, that the Worship of *Kichtan* was almost worn out amongst them; and that many had said, within their memory, that Power was much more Invok'd than he was at that time.

Their Sacrifices.

The most zealous of all the *Indians*, in their Religious Superstitions, were the *Narraghansets*, the inveterate enemies of the *English*. They have large spatious Houses in the nature of Temples, which are ordinarily frequented only by the Powahs; but at their Solemnities, vast Crouds of People resort thither, and offer the best of their Treasures in Sacrifice, that is Skins, Hatchets, Kettles, and the like. All these are thrown by the Priests into the midst of a great Fire, and burnt (as our Authors say) to ashes; which we believe may be true of the Skins, but hardly of the Kettles and Hatchets. Those that offer liberally towards this Sacrifice are esteem'd (not Fools as they deserve to be, but) wise and devout Men. And 'tis such a matter of reputation to be open-handed in this case, that the *Indians* about *Plimouth*-Town told the *English*, they wish'd their Sachems wou'd appoint the like Sacrifices amongst them too. This is just as if they wanted to be rid of their Houshold-stuff, or were so overburthen'd that they cou'd not tell what to do with it; but those that look into their Houses will find it otherwise.

The Paniese, and the Discipline those go through that are of that Order.

The Paniese, or Counsellors to the Sachems, are not only the wisest and most courageous Men that can be found, but generally of the largest size too. The Sachems never make War, or undertake any weighty business, without their Advice; and when the Armies march, these Men are always the immediate Guard of their Persons. To keep up so honourable an Order as the Paniese are esteem'd to be amongst all the *Indians*, they chuse out the likeliest and most promising Boys, and train them up with abundance of care, and in the Observation of peculiar Rites and Customs. 'Tis not a little hardship these Boys go through while they are under this Disciple; they abstain from all curious Meats, drink the Juices of bitter Herbs till they are ready to spue themselves to death; they are beat over the Legs and Shins with Sticks, and made to run through prickly Bushes and Brambles, to render them hardy, to inure them to Pain and Labour, and (as they say) to make them the more acceptable to *Hobbamocko*. For 'twas hinted before, that these Paniese are some of them to whom the *Indians* affirm he makes very frequent Visits, tho' our *English*, in all their Conversations with them, never had the luck of coming to any of their Houses when he was there. But this seems pretty certain of these Men, that they discover in all great and dangerous attempts a Boldness and Courage beyond that of the other Warriours, and the common People firmly believe them to be above the reach of Swords and Darts, and that no (ordinary Weapons at least) will kill them.

Government of the Indians.

The Government of the *Indian* Sachems is altogether Hereditary; and if the Father dies before the Son or Daughter is of Age to succeed him, the Minor is committed to the Tuition of some able Counsellour, who Manages the Affairs of the Country till the other is fit to take that burden upon his or her own shoulders. Some of these Sachems are little Tributary Princes that pay Homage, and depend upon some greater ones for Protection, without whose Knowledge and Consent they cannot make War nor Alliances.

Tributes.

There's none of them all but receive a sort of an Annual Tribute from their People, which is for the most part some Baskets of Corn. These they bring and set down in order in some place near the Sachem's Dwelling, where the Paniese stand ready to give them thanks on the Sachem's behalf; and then going away, and acquainting him with it, he comes out himself, and expresses his Gratitude to his People, by good Words and some Presents, and so dismisses them. Now considering the absolute Dominion of every Sachem in his own Country, this is but a very reasonable Acknowledgment, for their Territories are their own Inheritance and Property; and if any Man has occasion for so much Land, he goes and takes it of the Sachem, who marks him out as much as he has need for, and sets him his Bounds. So that the Sachems are so many Landlords to their People; and 'tis but Just, since there is no such thing as Money amongst them, that the Tenants shou'd bring of the Fruits of their ground to make compensation for the use on't. Neither do they pay only in Corn, but if any Man within the compass of his own Land kills any Venison, the better part thereof goes to the Sachem, or sometimes the Skin.

Sachems receive all Strangers.

The Sachems generally keep open House for all Strangers and Travellers. Any such People, when they pass through their Territories, go thither of course, where they are entertain'd according to their quality; but the Custom is always, as soon as they come, to tell whither they go, and how long they intend to stay.

Their Wives and Concubines.

No Sachem will take a Wife that is not of a Birth equal to his; Concubines indeed they chuse according to appetite and fancy, and stick not at the want of Extraction, if other things please. And tho' they keep a great number of these Women of Pleasure, yet all are subject to the Wife, who is the Supreme Governess of the Family. The Subjects take the same liberty too, and give their Wives the same preheminence; besides which, they keep them during life, but turn away the Concubines at pleasure. When a Woman leaves a single Life and becomes a Wife, she presently cuts her hair, and then wears a sort of a Veil upon her Head till her hair is grown again. The time of War is a time of General Goal-Delivery to all Women that are uncomfortably Yok'd: For if any Woman

Woman has either a bad Husband, or one she can't love, away she runs to the Enemy, where she is sure to be made welcome; for the *Indians* never think they have Women enough, and fight to gain such Prizes oftner than Sovereignty.

Punishments of Adultery.

In the Case of Adultery, the Husband puts away the guilty Wife, or sometimes rests satisfied with basting her sides: But what the Wife does with the guilty Husband, we can't inform the Reader; tho' 'tis but Just she shou'd use her Ladle a little about him, in order to his Reformation. While the *Indian* Women have their Monthly Purgations, they retire from their Husbands, and live in a House alone; afterwards they wash themselves, and all that they have either touch'd or us'd, and so come back to make a part of the Family again.

Of Injustice in common dealings.

In Matters of unjust and dishonest Dealing, they proportion the punishment according to the number of times the Delinquent has offended. For the first Crime he is reproach'd with his Villany after a very disgraceful manner; for the second he is beaten with a Cudgel upon the naked back; and for the third, besides a sound beating, he has his Nose slit, that all Men may know and avoid him. Now in all these Cases, the Sachem is not only Examiner and Judge, but Executioner too; 'tis he that beats and whips the Malefactors, and (when the Matter requires it) slits their Noses too. Murder is always punished with Death, without the least favour; and the Sachem does this bloody Work himself. Indeed, if the Criminal be a great way off, and can't conveniently be brought, the Sachem sends his own Knife, with which the Execution must be done tho' it can't be done by his own Hand. But any other punishment that is not Capital, the *Indians* will not receive but from the hands of their Sachems; they won't be beat or whipp'd by an Officer, but their Prince may do it to all extremities, and they'll never offer to run away. Nay, for a Man to cry or flinch during the time of his Correction, is reckon'd a more infamous thing than either the Offence it self, or the Punishment.

The Sachem executes Justice.

Mournings for the Dead.

The Burials in this Country have been Occasionally describ'd before; the most remarkable Circumstances succeeding these are the Mournings, which continue for several days Night and Morning, in which all the Friends of the deceased bear a part, and make a very doleful wretched noise. If a sick Person happens to recover of his illness, there is mighty joy; and because Sickness is always chargeable, the Friends send him Gifts to help to make it up, and come and dance, and feast with him.

Respect to Old Age.

The laudable Custom of paying a reverence to Old Age is strictly observ'd by all the *Indians* in these Parts; yea, the younger People will do all mean Offices to excuse the old ones from it, tho' they be strangers to them. And let a Man have as many Years over his Head as he will, yet he is not counted a Man, till he has done some action worthy the Place he fills, and the Post he stands in.

Labours of Men and Women.

The Men employ themselves in Hunting, Fishing, and making Materials for the Wars; but the Women, besides the burden of the ordinary Houshold Affairs, (that lies upon them of course) manage the Husbandry too, and do all in the Field as well as the Kitchin. The best way for the Women to get out of this Slavery, wou'd be to make their Husbands believe they Cuckold them when they are abroad at Work; for the Men can't always watch them, and perhaps they wou'd chuse rather to be at the trouble of the Tillage of their Land, than have Horns grow without any Tillage. For the Habits of these People: Besides a sort of Covering next the Pudenda, they wear a Deer-skin loose about them like a Cloak, which they will turn to the Weather-side upon Occasion; also Breeches, Stockings and Shoes, all in one piece, made of the same Materials. This is their travelling Habit, but when they are at home, they pull off their Breeches, with all the appendages of them. But for a Habit of extraordinary warmth and defence, they have the Skin of that Beast which they call a Mos in their Tongue, and seems to be the only rarity of the Country, that is, in comparison with other Animals, which are common with this, to other *American* Countries. This Beast is as big as an Ox, and has a Head and Neck like a Red Deer, but his hair is long like an Elk, and he has a short Mane that runs down his back a considerable way. Under the Throat hangs down a great bunch, which is of a dark colour. The Legs are very long, and so is the Tail, which reaches down almost to his heels; and the Feet are as large every way as an Oxes. The flesh is excellent good Meat, and the Natives Barrel it up, and keep it all the Year round. The Skin makes a very substantial Buff, and will serve a Man for all the same uses and purposes. But to return to the People. The *Indians* are a sensible ingenious People; they keep Account of the Time by the Moon, and know divers of the Constellations by name. They have Proper Names for the Winds also, and by constant Observation have very good Skill in judging of the changes of the Weather. Their Language is very copious and difficult to be attain'd; but they have nothing of the Use of Letters, or any such Symbolical ways of expressing things as some of the *Americans* have. To supply this defect, and keep up the memory of ancient things amongst them, they dig deep holes in the ground, in the place where any memorable action was perform'd, which they take care to preserve from being stopt up, from Generation to Generation. So that as a Man travels the Country, if he can but understand his Guide, he may read as it were the History of their Affairs, and make his Journey pleasant and easie to him. These are standing Monuments that never wear out; but the Names of Persons (such is their Custom) are in continual flux and change. Males and Females, when they come to Years of Discretion, retain not the same Names they had when they were Young; and if they do any remarkable thing, they still assume a new Name upon't. Now to augment an old Name by a new Title, upon the account of some extraordinary Performance, has been a practice amongst some of the politest People in the World; but to quit an old Name entirely, and take up a new one, is what seems to be peculiar to these People. But the reason of no one part of Mankind (in Arbitrary Matters especially) is to be a Standard to the rest; and if the *Indians* of *New-England* think they have reason for so doing 'tis sufficient.

Habits.

The Beast] call'd a Mos.

The Use made of it by the Natives.

The Learning of the *Indians*.

Language.

Memorials.

Charging Names.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Discovery of New-Scotland, *with His Majesties Patent for the Plantation of the same.*

King *James*'s Patent to Sir *William Alexander*, for the Plantation of *New Scotland*.

JAcobus Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ fideiq; defensor: Omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ Clericis & laicis salutem. Sciatis nos semper ad quamlibet quæ ad decus & emolumentum regni nostri Scotiæ spectaret occasionem amplectendum fuisse intentos, nullamque aut faciliorem aut magis innoxiam acquisitionem censere, quam quæ inexteris & incultis regnis ubi vitæ & victui suppectunt commode novis deducendis Coloniis factu sit; præsertim si vel ipsa regna cultoribus prius vacua, vel ab infidelibus, quos ad Christianam converti fidem & Dei gloriam interest plurimum, infessa fuerint. Sed cum & alia nonnulla regna, & hæc non ita pridem nostra Anglia laudabiliter sua nomina novis terris acquisitis sed in se subactis indiderunt, quam numerosa & frequens divino beneficio hæc gens, hac tempestate sit nobiscum reputantes, quamque honesto aliquo & utili cultu eam studiose exerceri ne in deteriora ex ignavia & otio prolabatur expediat plerosque in novam deducendos regionem quam Coloniis compleant, operæ pretium duximus qui & animi promptitudine & alacritate corporumque robore & viribus quibuscunque difficultatibus, si qui alii mortalium uspiam se audiant opponere, hunc conatum huic regno maxime idoneum inde arbitramur quod virorum tantummodo & mulierum jumentorum & frumenti, non etiam pecuniæ transuectionem postulat, neque incommodam ex ipsius regni mercibus retributionem hoc tempore cum negotiatio adeo imminuta sit, possit reponere. Hisce de causis sicuti & propter bonum fidele & gratum dilecti nostri consiliarii Domini Willielmi Alexandri equaitis servitium nobis præstitum & præstandum, qui propriis impensis ex nostratibus primus externam hanc coloniam ducendam conatus fit, diversasque terras infra designatis limitibus circumscriptas incolendas expetiverit. Nos igitur ex regali nostra ad Christianam religionem propagandam & ad opulentiam, prosperitatem, pacemque naturalium nostrorum subditorum dicti regni nostri Scotiæ acquirendam cura, sicuti alii Principes extranei in talibus casibus hactenus fecerunt, cum avisamento & consensu prædicti nostri consanguinei & consiliarii Joannis *Comitis de Marr Domini Erskene & Garrioche Summi nostri Thesaurarii computorum rotulatoris collectoris ac Thesaurarii novarum nostrarum augmentationum hujus Regni nostri Scotiæ, ac reliquorum dominorum nostrorum Commissionariorum ejusdem Regni nostri, dedimus concessimus & disposuimus, tenoreque*

reque præsentis chartæ nostræ damus concedimus & disponimus præfacto Domino Willelmo Alexandro, hæredibus suis vel assignatis quibuscunque hæreditariè omnes & singulas terras continentis ac insulas situatas & jacentes in America, intra caput seu promontorium communiter Cap. de Sable appellatum jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum aut ab eo circa, ab æquinoctiali linea versus septentrionem, à quo promontorio versus littus maris tendentis ad occidentem ad stationem Sanctæ Mariæ navium (vulgo S. Marics Bay) & deinceps versus septentrionem per directam lineam introitum sive ostium magnæ illius stationis navium trajicientem quæ excurrit in terræ orientalem plagam inter Regionis Suriquorum & Etechemmorum (vulgo Suriquois & Etechemines) ad fluvium vulgo nomine Sanctæ Crucis appellatum. Et ad scaturiginem remotissimam sive fontem ex occidentali parte ejusdem qui se primum prædicto fluvio immiscet, unde per imaginariam directam lineam quæ pergere per terram seu currere versus septentrionem concipietur ad proximam navium stationem, fluvium vel scaturiginem in magno fluvio de Cannada sese exonerantem. Et ab eo pergendo versus orientem per maris oras littorales ejusdem fluvii de Cannada ad fluvium stationem navium portum aut littus communiter nomine de Gachepe vel Gespie notum & appellatum. Et deinceps versus Euronotum ad insulas Bacchaos vel Cap. Briton vocatas Relinquendo easdem Insulas à dextra & voraginem dicti magni fluvii de Cannada sive magno stationis navium & terras de Newfoundland, *cum insulis ad easdem terras pertinentibus à sinistra. Et deinceps ad Caput sive promentorium de Cap. Briton præfatum jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta quinque graduum aut eo circa. Et à dicto promentorio de Cap. Briton versus meridiem & Occidentem ad prædictum Cap. Sable ubi incipit perambulatio includenda & comprehenda intra dictas maris oras littorales ac earum circumferentias à mari ad omnes terras continentis cum fluminibus torrentibus, sinubus, littoribus, insulis aut maribus jacentibus prope infra sex lucas ad aliquam earundem partem ex occidentali boreali vel orientali partibus orarum littoralium & præcinctuum earundem. Et ab Euronoto (uti jacet Cap. Britton) & ex australi parte ejusdem ubi est Cap. de Sable omnia maria ac insulas versus meridiem intra quadraginta leucas dictarum orarum littoralium earundem magnam insulam vulgariter appellatum Isle de Sable vel Sablon includen. jacen. versus carban vulgo South-South-East, circa triginta leucas à dicto Cap. Britton in mari & existen. in latitudine quadraginta quatuor graduum aut eo circa. Quæ quidem terræ prædictæ omni tempore affuturo nomine Novæ Scotiæ in America gaudebunt, Quas etiam præfatus Dominus Willelmus in partes & portiones sicut ei visum fuerit dividet eisdemq; nomina pro beneplacito imponet. Una cum omnibus fodinis tum regalibus auri & argenti quam aliis fodinis ferri, plumbi, cupri, stanni, æris, &c.*

In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti Chartæ nostræ magnum Sigillum nostrum apponi præcipimus Testibus præditis nostris consanguineis & Consiliariis Jacobo Marchione de Hamilton Comite Arraniæ & Cambridge Domino Aucn & Innerdail, Georgio Mariscalli Comite Domino Keith & alt. regni nostri Mariscallo, Alexandro Comite de Dunfermling Domino Fyvie & urquhant nostro Cancellario, Thoma Comite de Melros Domino Byres & Byrning nostro Secretario, Dilectis nostris familiaribus Consiliariis Domino Richardo Kockburne Juniore de Clerkington nostri Secreti Sigilli custode, Georgio Hay de Knifarunis nostrorum Rotulorum Registrorum ac Concilii Clerico, Joanne Cockburne de Ormestoun nostræ Justitiariæ Clerico, & Joanne Scot de Scottistarvet nostræ Cancellariæ Directore, Militibus. Apud Castellum nostrum de Winsore decimo die mensis Septembris Anno Domini milesimo sexentesimo vigesimo primo Regnorumq; nostrorum annis quinquagesimo quinto & decimo nono.

SIR *Ferdinando Gorges*, who presided over the Affairs of *New-England*, considering the largeness of the Bounds laid out for Plantations in those Parts, and the slow progress made in Planting, made a motion to Sir *William Alexander*, one of His Majesties Privy-Council for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to procure a particular Patent for the Planting such a part as shou'd be call'd *New-Scotland*; and to be held of the Crown of *Scotland*, and govern'd by the Laws of that Kingdom. Which Patent was accordingly granted by His Majesty, and the Limits of the Country were thus settled, To take in all that lies to the E. of *St. Croix*, compass'd with the great River of *Canada* on the N. and the main Ocean on the S. as may be seen more at large in the Patent above.

The first Ship that went with a Company aboard her *A.D.* 1622. to Plant there, was sent out in *A. D.* 1622. but setting out too late, they were forc'd to Winter at *Newfoundland*. The next Year they set Sail from thence, and having made *Cape-Breton*, they kept along the Coast till they came the length of *Port du Muton*, where they discover'd 3 pleasant Harbours, and went ashore in one of them, which they call'd *Luke's-Bay*. Here they trac'd for a great way up, a delicate River which was 3 Fathoms deep at low Water; on each side of which were flowry Meadows, and a prospect of a charming Country; Roses red and white they took notice of, and a sort of wild Lilly, which, wild as it was, was a Flower of a most pleasing fragrancy. They Coasted along to the next Harbour, which was but 2 Leagues from the former, and here they found a River more pleasant than the other, and that had 4 Fathom at low Water, and the Fields and Meadows that lay about it were dress'd with Roses and Lillies like that they had seen before. Within this River they found a place very fit for a Plantation; 'twas a fat Soil, well stor'd with Fruits and Grain, and naturally apt to be Fortified. The Fruits they observ'd growing there were Gooseberries, Huttleberries, Wineberries, Rasberries, and Strawberries: And the Grain, Wheat, Barley, Rye, Pease, which latter grow every where in abundance, and are very large and good to eat, only they taste something of the Fitch. Sailing along to the next Harbour, which was about 12 Leagues distant, all the way the pleasures of the Country continued; and tho' here were allurements enough, yet the place last mention'd was concluded on as the most commodious for a Settlement. In all these Rivers they found plenty of Fish, as Cod and others, both great and small; and all along the Coast, (as also upon the Rivers themselves) great store of wild Fowl, as wild Geese, black Duck, Woodcock, Hern, Pigeon, and many other sorts which they did not know. The sorts of Wood the Country afforded were Oak, Firr, Spruce, Birch, and several other kind of Trees they had not seen before. They return'd back to *Newfoundland*, and from thence to *England*, very well satisfied with this Discovery; but for some reasons did not stay there now, but intended to return the next Year early in the Spring, to lay the Foundation of a new Plantation there.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Discovery and Plantation of Newfoundland; *with an Account of the Country, and His Majesties Patent for the Plantation of the same.*

THis Country was first discover'd *A. D.* 1497. by Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, who was set forth by King *Henry* VII. After this follow'd the Voyages of *M. Rut*, *Albert de Prato*, *M. Hore*, and others, to the same place. In *A. D.* 1583. Sir *Humphry Gilbert* went thither, carrying a large Patent granted by Q. *Elizabeth*, and took actual possession of the Country in Her Majesties Name at *St. John's* Harbour. This Worthy Knight sailing from thence to *Virginia*, lost in that Course his best and largest Ship, and in his return towards *England*, himself with the other; and all that surviv'd the foregoing Shipwrack were overwhelm'd with a Storm. Notwithstanding all these advances made towards a Plantation, yet the Affair was neglected till some Publick Spirits thought fit (in *A. D.* 1609.) to put their Country in mind of it. One Mr. *John Guy* of *Bristol* wrote a Treatise on purpose to revive the business, and animate the *English* to Plant there. This motion took so well, that the following Year, *A. D.* 1610. a Patent was granted by K. *James*, and a Colony sent over, of which the Worthy Mr. *Guy* went Governour.

His Majesties Patent for Newfoundland.

JAMES, *by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all People to whom these Presents shall come greeting; Know ye, whereas divers Our loving and well-disposed Subjects, are desirous to make Plantation to inhabit and establish a Colony or Colonies, in the Southern and Eastern Parts of the Country, and Isle or Islands, commonly called* Newfoundland, *into the Coast and Harbour, whereof the Subjects of this Our Realm of* England *have for the space of 50 Years and upwards, Yearly used to resort in no small numbers to fish, intending by such Plantation and Inhabiting, both to secure and make safe the said Trade of Fishing to Our Subjects for ever; And also, to make some commendable Benefit for the Use of Mankind, by the Lands and Profits thereof, which hitherto from the beginning (as it seemeth manifest) hath remained unprofitable. And for better performance of such their purpose and intentions, have humbly besought Our Regal Authority and Assistance, We being well assured that the same Land or Country adjoyning to the foresaid Coasts, where Our Subjects use to fish, remaineth so destitute and desolate of Inhabitants,*

habitants, that scarce any one Savage Person hath in many Years been seen in the most parts thereof: And well knowing that the same lying, and being so vacant, is as well for the reasons aforesaid, as for many other reasons very commodious for Us and Our Dominions. And that by the Law of Nature and Nations, We may of Our Royal Authority, possess our selves, and make grant thereof, without doing wrong to any other Prince or State, considering they cannot justly pretend any Sovereignty or Right thereunto, in respect that the same remaineth so vacant, and not actually possessed, and inhabited by any Christian, or other whomsoever. And therefore, thinking it a matter and act in well becoming a Christian King, to make true use of that which God from the beginning created for Mankind; And therefore intending, not only to work and procure the benefit and good of many of Our Subjects, but principally to increase the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and the propagation of Our Christian Faith; have graciously accepted of their said intention and suit. And therefore do of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give, grant, and confirm by these Presents, unto Our right dear, and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Henry *Earl of* Northampton, *Keeper of Our Privy-Seal, and to Our trusty and right well beloved Sir* Laurence Tanfield *Kt. chief Baron of Our* Exchequer, *Sir* John Dodridge *Kt. one of Our Sergeants at Law, Sir* Francis Bacon *Kt. Our Sollicitor General, Sir* Daniel Dun, *Sir* Walter Cope, *Sir* Piercival Willoughby, *and Sir* John Constable, *Kts.* John Weld *Esq;* William Freeman, Ralph Freeman, John Slany, Humfrey Slany, William Turner, Robert Kirkam, *Gentlemen,* John Weld *Gentleman,* Richard Fishburne, John Brown, Humfrey Spencer, Thomas Juxon, John Stokely, Ellis Crispe, Thomas Alport, Francis Needeham, William Jones, Tho. Langton, Philip Gifford, John Whittingam, Edw. Allen, Ric. Bowdler, Tho. Jones, Simon Stone, John Short, John Vigars, John Juxon, Ric. Hobby, Robert Alder, Anthony Haveland, Tho. Aldworth, Will. Lewis, John Guy, Ric. Hallworthy, John Langton, Humfrey Hooke, Philip Guy, Will. Meredith, Abram Jeninge, *and* John Dowghtie, *their Heirs and Assigns. And to such, and so many as they do, or shall hereafter admit to be joyned with them in form hereafter in these Presents expressed, whether they go in their Persons to be planted in the said Plantation, or whether they go not, but do adventure their Monies, Goods and Chattels, that they shall be one Body, or Commonalty perpetual, and shall have perpetual Succession, and one Common Seal to serve for the said Body and Commonalty: And that they, and their Successors, shall be known, called, and incorporated by the name of the Treasurer, and the Company of Adventurers, and Planters of the City of* London *and* Bristol, *for the Colony or Plantation in* Newfoundland, *and that they, and their Successors, shall be from henceforth for ever inabled, to take, require, and purchase by the name aforesaid (Licence for the same from Us, Our Heirs and Successors, first had and obtained) any manner of Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, within Our Realm of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *and that they, and their Successors, shall be likewise inabled by the name aforesaid, to plead and be impleaded, before any Our Judges, or Justices, in any of Our Courts, and in any Actions and Suits whatsoever. And We do also of Our said special grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, give, grant, and confirm unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, under the reservations, limitations, and declarations hereafter expressed, all that part and portion of the said Country, commonly called* Newfoundland, *which is situate, lying and being to the Southward of the parallel Line to be conceived to pass by the Cape or Headland, commonly called or known by the Name of* Bonewitt Inclusive, *which Cape or Headland is to be Northward of the Bay, commonly called* Trinity-Bay, *and also which is situate, lying, and being to the Eastward of the Meridian Line, to be conceived to pass by the Cape or Headland, commonly called or known by the Name of Cape* Sancta Maria, *or Cape* Saint Maries Inclusive, *which Cape or Headland is to be Eastward of the Bay commonly called the Bay of* Placentia, *together with the Seas and Islands lying within 10 leagues of any part of the Sea-coast of the Country aforesaid, and also all those Countries, Lands and Islands, commonly called* Newfoundland, *which are situate between 46 degrees of Northerly latitude, and 52 degrees of the like latitude, and also all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Mines, Minerals, Pearls, and precious Stones, Woods, Quarries, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoever, together with all Prerogatives, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, and Preheminencies, within any the said Territories, and the Precincts thereof whatsoever, and thereto or thereabouts, both by Sea and Land, being, or in any sort belonging or appertaining; and which We by Our Letters Patents may or can grant, and in as ample manner and sort, as We, or any of Our Noble Progenitors have heretofore granted to any Company, Body Politick or Corporate, or to any Adventurer or Adventurers, Undertaker or Undertakers, of any Discovery, Plantation, or Traffick, of, in or into any Foreign Parts whatsoever, and in as large and ample manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed. Nevertheless Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do by these Presents expresly and declare, that there be saved, and reserved unto all manner of Persons of what Nation soever, and also to all and every Our loving Subjects, which do at this present, or hereafter shall trade, or voyage to the Parts aforesaid for fishing, &c.* April 27. A. Reg. 8.

The Company under Mr. *Guy* succeeded very well in the Country, they got acquaintance with the Natives, and gradually won them to a familiarity with them, by doing of them little kindnesses. Neither do we find that they ever had any disturbances from them, but offering the Natives no violence, had none offer'd by them. And tho' there were none that liv'd near where they were seated at first, yet wou'd they come and traffick with them, that is, leave things in a certain place where the *English* shou'd find them, and so stand to their Courtesie to leave what they thought good in the room of them. This confidence they seem'd to repose in them, because the *English* once lighting of some of their Houses when they were all absent, took away none of their Houshold-stuff or Provisions; only they put several things out of their places, and left some Trifles there, that the Savages, when they came home, might know some strangers had been there. This made them first search the *English* out, and afterwards express such a good Opinion of them. And there's no doubt to be made, but the most Savage People in the World might (before they be too much abus'd at least) be brought to a friendly Correspondence with strangers by gentle Methods, and a just and fair Carriage towards them. And there's as little question to be made, but that the contrary deportment has greatly contributed towards the making many People much more barbarous, than Nature and their own Dispositions ever made them. Amongst those that made Voyages to this Island before there was any Settlement there, Capt. *Richard Whitbourn* was one of the chief, who was also there at the time that Sir *Humphry Gilbert* was. This Worthy Person made at least 5 or 6 Voyages thither, some before, and others after the Plantation. And 'tis from his Remarks, and those of Mr. *Guy*, and some of the Members of the Colony, that we extract the following Account of the Country.

The Island of *Newfoundland* lies between the 46th and 53d deg. of N. L. separated from the nearest part of the *American* Continent, about as far as *England* from the nearest part of *France*. It is almost as large as *Ireland*, and the greatest part of it lies above 3 deg. more Southward than any part of *England*. All along the Coast are many large and excellent Bays, some of them stretching into the Land towards one another more than 20 Leagues. On the East-side are the Bays of *Trinity* and *Conception*, which stretch themselves towards the S. W. *Tor* and *Capalin* Bays lying also on the E. stretch towards the W. The Bays of *Trepassey*, *St. Mary*, *Borrell* and *Plaisance*, which are all on the South-side, extend their arms towards the N. The great Bay of *St. Peter* on the S. W. side, runs towards the E. and lies E. by S. from the great River of *Canada*, which is about 20 Leagues distant. The bottoms of these Bays do all meet together within the compass of a small Circuit; by which means, passing over Land from Bay to Bay, the discovery of the whole Country is much facilitated. There are, besides these, many others of less Note, and in most of them small Islands, (none of which are farther than a League from the shore) very pleasant and fruitful. Hardly any Country in the World can shew a greater number of safe and commodious Harbours than this; but the two most remarkable are the Harbours of *Trinity* and *Trepassey*. The former lies in 49 deg. and is most advantageoully seated for Shipping both to anchor in, and to sail from thence towards the E. W. or S. It has 3 Arms or Rivers, long and large enough to receive many hundred Sail, which may Moar fast at Anchor near a Mile from the Harbours Mouth. Adjoyning to the Rivers-side, and within the Harbour, is much open Land, that yields Grass enough both Winter and Summer to maintain great store of Cattle. The *Bay of Flowers* lies to the N. of this Harbour, (not above a League distant by Land in many places) but because of ledges of Rocks even with the Water, and very dangerous, no Ships go thither to Fish; so that *Trinity* Harbour is the most Northerly Fishing-place frequented by our Nation upon the Island. *Trepassey* Harbour is also a very commodious one, and has the advantage of lying in a more temperate Latitude, as being in 46 deg. very near. It is a fair, pleasant and wholsome Coast, and free from Rocks and Shelves. Of all the Harbours, this is the most Southerly, and most convenient to receive any Shipping that comes for, and from *Virginia*, the *Bermudas* Island, or the great River of *Canada*. The Seasons here are very temperate, neither are there any extremities of Heat and Cold greater than those in our own Climate; and the often repeated experiences of the *English* have put it out of all doubt, that 'tis a healthy place, and agrees very well with their Constitutions. The Soil is exceeding fruitful, and without any Art or Cultivation produces Plants, Fruits and Grain, profitable for Man and Beast. Bilberries, Barberries, Rasberries, Cherries, Gooseberries, Strawberries white and red, Pears, Filberds, grow in such plenty, that a Man may much sooner tire himself with eating and gathering, than in looking about for Entertainment. And as these are of a wild growth, so are many good Herbs which one may see abroad in the Fields, as Parsly, Sorrel, Alexander, and a great many others besides. Wheat, Barley, Rye, Pease and Fitches, were found in the Country; but the *English* brought in Oats and Beans, which thrive exceeding well. In a word, there is hardly any sort of Fruit, Root, Pulse, or Plant, that flourishes in *England*, but will flourish here. The proof of this they had in the prosperity of their Lettice, Cabbage, Coleworts, Turnips, Carrats, with the rest of the common Furniture of Gardens. The high Lands are adorn'd with Woods that keep their charming green all the Winter long; and the Plains are watered with Ponds, Brooks and Rivers, which refresh the Meadow-grounds, and make the Grass high and rank. Vast numbers of Cattle might be bred up here, and depend entirely upon the Meadows for sustenance; for as there is great plenty of Grass, (and a Spring of it even in the Winter) so it has a good spirit and strength with it from the rich Soil where it grows. There is abundance of admirable Timber in this Country; they commend the Firr and Spruce-Trees for Ship-Masts, and all other Uses, and don't scruple to compare them, in point of Serviceableness, to those of *Norway*. And they say, that no Country can shew Pine and Birch-Trees, of dimensions every way, so stately as *Newfoundland*. As for the Animals; the Beasts are Deer, Hares, Foxes, Squirrels, Wolves, Bears, and the amphibious Beavers and Otters. And whether it were fan-

cy or no we can't say, but our People believ'd the Beasts of prey here to be more tame and gentle than in other places. To this purpose they tell a Story, That being one time a fishing, and having a great Mastiff-Dog with them, there came a parcel of Wolves out of the Woods, and seated themselves pretty near the place where they were at their work, and there they sate howling and making a most terrible noise. The courageous Dog went up to them, and instead of snarling and grinning at one another, (the ordinary Prologue to fighting) they began to wag tails and fawn, and at last went to downright playing; and, in short, lik'd one anothers company so well, that they all went away together into the Woods, there the Dog staid amongst them 9 or 10 days, and then came home safe and sound to his Masters. And this Comical Scene between the Dog and the Wolves was repeated three several times; so many times did he take his Ramble with them, and when the Frolick was out came home again. This made some of our Planters surmize, that the Wolves were better natur'd here than other where; and the truth on't is, the Dog's entertainment was odd enough, and we'll allow the Wolves to be Hospitable. But a Man wou'd have said a great deal more to't, had one of the Masters taken the Mastiff's place, and gone along with the Wolves into the Woods; and after 9 or 10 days spent with them, come home again without a hole in his Coat. They say too, that tho' the Bears are so very numerous here, yet they never receiv'd any hurt by them; the reason of which (most probably) was, because they never came in their way, for Bears don't use to be guilty of that piece of good breeding to any thing that comes within the reach of their paws. As for the Foxes, as cunning as they are, our People cheated abundance of them of their fine Coats; and so they did the Martens, Beavers, and the rest of the Furry Tribe, which (according to the Genius of the *Newfoundland* Animals) were so good-natur'd as to be catch'd. The Fowl are (of the lesser sort) Sparrows, Larks, Blackbirds, Bullfinches, Thrushes, Nightingales, Fillidays, and the like. And of the larger, Partridge, Geese, Ducks, Pigeons, Snipes, Teal, Curlews, *&c.* And of the Sea-Fowl, Penguins, Murres, Hounds, Sanderlings, Redshanks, *&c.* Lastly of Birds of Prey: All sorts of Falcons, Ospreys, Ravens, Gripes, Crows, Gulls, Pitterel's, Tercells, *&c.* The plenty and variety of Fish are not less than those of the Fowl: All the World knows the reputation of *Newfoundland* for Cod, and what a rich Trade it yields only with respect to that one Commodity. But there's no Harbour or River here but what's well stor'd with excellent Fish; amongst which we may mention Salmon, Pearl, Eels, Trouts, Herrings, Mackaril, Flounders, Launce, Capelin, Pales, Dorrel. Then Whale, the Sovereign of Fishes, Porpoises, Seals, and others of a Royal Character; and to conclude, all sorts of Shell-fish. But the great rarity of all the Animals is the Mermaid, (or call it what you please, so you do but mean a Creature that lives in the Water, and as far as it appears in view of a Humane shape) which is infallibly an Inhabitant of these Seas, if at least we may believe Capt. *Whitbourn* (the principal Author of this Account of the Country) upon his word. He affirms that at *S. John's* Harbour, *A. D.* 1610. as he was standing by the Water-side one day early in the Morning, he spied a Creature making very swiftly towards him, which by the Eyes, Nose, Chin, Ears, Neck, Forehead; and, in a word, by all those upper Parts which were very well proportion'd, appear'd to be a Woman. The Hair indeed was to be excepted; for instead of that, there were all round about upon the Head as it were blue streaks, which much resembled hair, and hung down to the Neck. The Captain says he beheld it intensely, (and so did another of his company, that stood not far from him) and staid till it came to about the length of a long Pike from him, and then he thought it time to go backwards. When the Creature saw that he went from it, it turn'd about also and made away, which gave him the opportunity of viewing the shoulders and back Parts of it, down to the Waste, which he declares were as square, smooth and white, as the like Parts in Mankind. From the middle to the lower part (to use his own words) it went pointing, in proportion like a broad-hooked Arrow; but how it was in the fore part of the Body, from the Neck and Shoulders downwards, he could not discern, because it did not advance towards him so much above the Water as it went away. This Syren had a mind to the Captain's company, in some Palace or other within the Dominions of *Neptune*; but he (tho' otherwise a Man of good breeding) refus'd the favour, and slighted her. What she wou'd have done with him there the Lord knows; however, he knew there was no good Wine in that Country, but on the other hand, a most confounded guzling of Salt Water, such as wou'd no way agree with his Constitution. So he retired from her, and thereby perhaps escap'd a drinking bout, which wou'd have cost him his Life, and depriv'd him of Christian Burial too. The Syren let him go, and did not attempt, by any farther discovery of her Charms, to reduce him. She had shewn him those of her Face, but thought him unworthy of the Charms of her Voice; those, which Poets through all Antiquity have so wonderfully extoll'd. However, the same Creature came shortly after to the side of a Boat, in which were some of the Captain's Men, and endeavour'd to come into them. These Fellows were sufficiently scar'd at the sight of it, but ready to leap out of the Boat when they saw it attempting to get in; yet one of them recover'd so much Spirit, as to manage his Oar, with which he struck the Syren a sound blow cross the Head, that made her let go her hold, and drop into the Water. But that it did not kill her was plain, by her coming afterwards to some Boats in the Harbour; at which time the Boats being near the shore, the Men got all out and run for their lives. This appear'd to be the very same with the former, and the same it was, unless she died with that blow upon the Head and walk'd afterwards. Upon the whole, we can't see why this Relation shou'd not as effectually perswade all People that there are such Creatures, as the Voyage it self shou'd that there is such a place as *Newfoundland*; for a Man us'd to converse with the Dangers and Monsters of the Sea, one may very easily believe not to be timerous. And a Man can have no Interest in forming a Story of a Mermaid, which is not at all adapted to serve any Design in Church or State. If the Reader won't be convinced by this, there's no way for him but to follow the Captain to *St. John's* Harbour, and there wait for Ocular Demonstration. Of the Natives of this Island, our Planters tell us but little: But in general, as far as they know of them, that in their Habits, Customs and Manners, they resemble the *Indians* of the Continent, but far less polite in their Civil Government, as well as less Ceremonious in their Religion (if they have any at all) than many other Nations of the *Americans* are. They live altogether in the N. and W. Parts of the Country, which are least frequented by the *English*; but the *French* and *Biscainers*, who follow the Whale-fishing thereabouts, report them to be a tractable, ingenious People, patient of Labour, and not Mercenary, but ready to work for a small Reward. Our *English* indeed saw some of them, and those were all painted with Oker, cloath'd with Stags-skins, (made into sort of Gowns) that reach'd to the middle Leg, and the Sleeves coming down at least half way the Arm, and Beaver-skins about their Necks. They were bare legg'd, and most of them bare footed, only one had Shoes and Mittens on. There was nothing of a Cover for the Head amongst them; they wore their hair pretty long, a great lock behind plaited with feathers, with a feather in it standing upright by the crown of the Head, and a small lock plaited before. Their hair is of very different colours, tho' they observe no proportion, but paint their Cloaths as well as their Bodies red. They are of no large size, but are broad breasted, and of a bold strong make, and stand very upright; tho' by the report of some, they don't walk so, being something inclinable to the Vices of Cheating and Stealing. Their greatest Art is seen in the construction of their Kettles, Canoes and Oars; the former are made of the rinds of Trees very neatly sow'd together, and the seams overlaid with Turpentine, but when they set them over the Fire to boil their Meat, how they do to keep the rinds from scorching, and the Turpentine from melting, is hard to conceive. Their Canoes are about 20 foot long, and 4 and half broad in the middle, made in the form of a Crescent, Stem and Stem alike, and both equally distant from the greatest breadth. From the Stem and Stem, there rises a light Staff a Yard high, whipt about with the long strings of certain Roots that serve instead of Cords, which they take hold by to bring the Canoe ashore. They will carry 4 People very well, and yet don't weigh 100 weight; so that when they go a Land, they count it no burden to carry their Canoes with them. Instead of boards in the making of them, they use the outer Bark of the Birch-Tree, and sow them with the same artifices that they do their Kettles. As for their Oars, they are of two sorts; one is about 4 foot long, of one entire piece of Firr, the other 10 foot, and made of two several pieces, the first as long, big and round as a Half-pike, the second is the Blade of the Oar, and is let into the end of the long one, slit and whipt very strongly. The former of these they use as a Paddle, and the latter as an Oar. This is all that our Planters tell us of this Country, that is remarkable; with this Account therefore of the *Newfoundland*, we shall finish our History of the New World.

FINIS.

AN INDEX OF THE

Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Towns, Places, *viz.* in the First Volume of *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.*

Note, For Shortneſs; *k* ſignifies *Kingdoms*, *pr Province*, *c Countries*, *p People*, *ci Cities*, *m Mountains*, *r Rivers*, *s Seas*, *la Lakes*, *i Iſlands*, *f Forts*, *b Bays*, *ca Capes*, *h Harbours*, *t Towns*, *v Villages*, *ſa Sands*, *ha Havens*, *cas Caſtles*, *n Nation*, *d Deſart*, *ſh Shoals*, *ro Road*, *w Women*, *po Ports*, *ſtr Streights*, *pl Plain*, *poi Point*.

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